Instructions
• Use black ink or ball-point pen.
• Fill in the boxes at the top of this page with your name, centre number and candidate number.
• Answer question part (a) and part (b) of the topic for which you have been prepared. There is a choice of questions in part (b).
• Answer the questions in the spaces provided – there may be more space than you need.

Information
• The total mark for this paper is 60.
• The marks for each question are shown in brackets – use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.
• Questions labelled with an asterisk (*) are ones where the quality of your written communication will be assessed – you should take particular care on these questions with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression.

Advice
• Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B1 – Britain, 1830–85: Representation and Reform

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 1, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 1

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 1, 2 and 3.

How far do the sources suggest that support for Chartism was rooted in the economic and social distress of the period?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3. (20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the 1832 Reform Act fulfilled the aims of its Whig creators?

Explain your answer, using Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge. (40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that changes to party political organisation, in the years 1867–85, were mainly caused by the 1867 Reform Act?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge. (40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B2 – Poverty, Public Health and the Growth of Government in Britain, 1830–75

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 2, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 2

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 10, 11 and 12.

How far do Sources 11 and 12 support the impression of Edwin Chadwick that is presented in Source 10?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 10, 11 and 12.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the main reason for the problems in implementing the New Poor Law after 1834 was that it was primarily designed to deal with the issues of rural poverty?

Explain your answer, using Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that little progress was made in public health provision in the years 1830–66?

Explain your answer, using Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 2 = 60 marks)
Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☑. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☑.

Chosen question number:  

Question 1 ☐  Question 2 ☐

(a) ..........................................................................................................................
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Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

(b) ..........................................................................................................................
((b) continued)
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B1 – Britain, 1830–85: Representation and Reform

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1
(From Bronterre O’Brien, The Operative, 17 March 1839. O’Brien was a leading Chartist.)

Universal suffrage means meat and drink and clothing, good hours, and good beds, and good substantial furniture for every man, woman and child who will do a fair day’s work. Universal suffrage means a complete mastery, by all the people, over all the laws and institutions in the country; and with that mastery the power of providing suitable employment for all, as well as of securing to all the full proceeds of their employment.

SOURCE 2
(From a speech made by Benjamin Disraeli to the House of Commons after the presentation of the first Chartist petition, 12 July 1839. Disraeli was a young Tory MP.)

It has been supposed, that the basis of Chartism was strictly economic. I have great doubts of that, because where there are economic causes for national movements they generally lead to rioting, not to organisation. On the other hand, Chartism is not motivated by any desire for political rights. I do not believe political rights could ever be the basis for any great popular movement.

SOURCE 3
(From Benjamin Wilson, The Struggles of an Old Chartist, published 1887. Wilson had been a physical force Chartist and later became a Gladstonian Liberal.)

What the Chartists wanted was a voice in making the laws they were called upon to obey. They believed that taxation without representation was tyranny, and ought to be resisted. They took a leading part in agitating in favour of factory reform, the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, improving education, the Co-operative movement, civil and religious liberty and the land question. They were the true pioneers in all the great movements of their time.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From Duncan Watts, Whigs, Radicals and Liberals 1815–1914, published 1995)

In the new partnership between the aristocracy and the middle classes following the 1832 Reform Act, the Whigs felt that they had secured the best possible outcome. Their measure had averted a national catastrophe, and, they believed, it had brought the Constitution somewhere near to perfection. Grey had never intended to give the mass of people the vote, but he felt they were entitled to good, effective government and this, he believed, had been achieved by his ministers’ timely concession.

SOURCE 5
(From a speech made by Lord John Russell to the House of Commons, 20 November 1837)

When I brought forward the 1832 Reform Act, the cry was that it was too extensive. But it was the opinion of Earl Grey that it was safer to make a large measure of reform, than a small measure of reform. In bringing forward the measure we were assured that we were bringing forward one which might have a prospect of being a final measure. I think that entering again into this question of representation so soon would destroy the stability of our institutions.

SOURCE 6
(From Anthony Wood, Nineteenth Century Britain 1815–1914, published 1960)

The significance of 1832 is undeniable. The system might be far from democratic, but the old assumptions and powers in society were no longer operative, for it seemed hardly possible that the new electorate might be organised and disciplined as the old had been. Neither the Crown nor the Lords would be able to enjoy their former control over the composition of the Commons. The effects would only gradually make themselves felt, but the ultimate consequences were to be immense. As Peel had seen, the Act had opened a door, and through that door were to come the later Parliamentary Reform Acts of the nineteenth century.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From Bob Whitfield, The Extension of the Franchise 1832–1931, published 2001)

After the extension of the franchise to many working men in the boroughs in 1867, the parties recognised that success in borough elections would depend on the efficiency of their organisation at constituency level. Equally important was the ability of the parties to ensure that their known supporters were registered as voters. This was a complicated business. In many large towns, a person’s right to vote depended less on the validity of his claim and more on the efficiency of the local party organisations in maximising voter registration.

SOURCE 8
(From Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution, published 1872. Bagehot’s original work was published in 1867, but he updated it with this preface in 1872.)

Undeniably there has recently been a great change in the organisation of politics. A new world has arisen and we naturally assume that the reason for this change is the Reform Act. This is a complete mistake. If there had been no Reform Act at all there would, nevertheless, have been a great change in English politics. There has been a change of the sort which, above all, generates other changes—the emergence of new leading politicians.

SOURCE 9

In 1868, Chamberlain issued strict voting instructions in Birmingham to spread radical votes in the most effective way. The result was a clean radical sweep of the three seats. From this victory, Chamberlain went on to build up a complex and powerful local machine. The size of the Liberal victory in 1868 led most Liberals to neglect the development of their basic machinery of registration associations and local clubs. The Conservatives, however, were forced by defeat to rebuild through better organisation which helped to bring victory in 1874. Then the roles were reversed: the Tories relaxed and the Liberals organised.
Choose EITHER B1 (Question 1) OR B2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

B2 – Poverty, Public Health and the Growth of Government in Britain, 1830–75

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10
(From The Times newspaper, 11 July 1854)

The greatest objection to the Board of Health is the deserved unpopularity of Mr Chadwick. He is empowered to carry out their wrong-headed ideas without restraint or responsibility. He is driven with all the enthusiasm of a propagandist and all the intolerance of an inquisitor. He is firmly persuaded of his own absolute correctness, intolerant of all opposition, inconsiderate of the feelings and wishes of the local bodies with whom he is brought in contact and determined to have his own way.

SOURCE 11
(From a letter sent by Thomas Carlyle to Edwin Chadwick, 1 August 1842, in response to the draft copy of Chadwick’s Sanitary Report which he had sent to many leading men of the day. Carlyle was a well-known writer.)

Many thanks for your Report, which I mean to read over with attention. Glancing hastily through it, I am struck by the frightful difference of the duration of a workman’s life in Manchester and in Rutland! Are you perfectly sure of your details there? It is one of the most hideous facts I ever came across as an example of the workings of Laissez-Faire. The Government will have to attend to it shortly.

SOURCE 12
(From an article by B. W. Richardson in Social Science Review October 18, 1862. Richardson was a doctor who knew Chadwick.)

Whenever the history of this period comes to be written by an impartial observer, freed from the jealousies by which we are surrounded, he will find amongst the noted men of this time no one more difficult to understand than Mr. Chadwick. However, Chadwick exerted a striking influence and caused great changes. His intentions were obviously sound, and his mind, when both sides of a question were fairly laid before him, was as honest and logical as that of any man in the realm.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13  
(From M. E. Rose, The Relief of Poverty 1834–1914, published 1972)

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Act which followed contained weaknesses which severely limited their usefulness. It concentrated too much upon a single problem, that of the able-bodied unemployed, particularly in rural areas. It feared they were being demoralised by ill-conceived grants of outdoor relief. The reformers of 1834 therefore focused their attention upon rural poverty, and produced the machinery to deal with it. Yet the problem of the future was to be the far more difficult one of urban, of industrial poverty.

SOURCE 14  
(From Rosemary Rees, Poverty and Public Health 1815–1948, published 2001)

The Poor Law Commission had a powerful constitutional position, but it did not have the direct power that many people assumed it could wield. The commissioners could issue directives, draw up regulations and monitor their implementation, but in reality there was no mechanism for making reluctant parishes do what they were told. The commissioners had no powers to insist that the new unions built a workhouse. A stubborn Board of Guardians could delay the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act almost indefinitely.

SOURCE 15  
(From the Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, published 1837)

The administration of relief by the Nottingham Board of Guardians had hardly begun before an interruption in the American cotton trade led to massive unemployment. It became evident that a need would soon arise for relieving more persons than could be provided for within the walls of the union workhouses. We felt it to be our duty to authorise the Guardians that the rule which prohibited them from giving relief to able-bodied male persons, except in the workhouse, should be suspended whenever they found it necessary to do so.
**Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)**

**SOURCE 16**

Before the great cholera outbreak in 1866, progress in public health was slow, and, where it occurred at all, piecemeal. The early Victorian approach to public health was fundamentally negative. Central government did not attempt to set the pace, but rather to provide the powers which others might, if they wished, use. The whole tradition of government was against the positive interference of the central powers. As long as local and national governments put property rights before everything else, it was impossible to push through change.

**SOURCE 17**

In the first half of the 19th century, medical knowledge was defective. The science of sanitary engineering was in its infancy, and the experts disagreed sharply about the best technical solutions to a given problem. Recommendations for massive state intervention in public health attracted the support of many concerned men, but full-scale legislation had to wait until 1848. Meanwhile the sanitary reformers’ support for cleanliness, good drainage, light, fresh air and pure water went a long way towards saving lives.

**SOURCE 18**
(From Edwin Lankester, *Cholera, What it is and How to Prevent It*, published 1866.
Lankester was a member of the committee that reported on the 1854 cholera outbreak.)

In 1854, the Board of Guardians met to consult as to what to do. Dr. John Snow was admitted to this meeting and gave it as his opinion that the pump in Broad Street was the cause of all the pestilence. He was not believed – not a member of his own profession, not an individual in the parish believed that Snow was right. But the pump was closed nevertheless and the plague was contained.