



**HISTORY**

**9769/58**

Paper 5h Special Subject: Gladstone and Disraeli, 1867–1886

**May/June 2013**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper



**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **3** printed pages and **1** blank page.



**Answer the following question.**

**Nominated topic: Ireland and its problems, 1867–1886**

- 1 Study all of the following documents and answer all the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents, it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own knowledge.

**A** *Michael Davitt explains the basis of support for Irish nationalism.*

Our struggle has been for the rights of religion, the use of land for the maintenance of our people and for the privilege of ruling ourselves. You, the English, have resisted us by every exercise of power and statecraft on all and each of these, our fundamental rights as a nation.

Interview published in *Freeman's Journal*, a pro-Nationalist newspaper, 6 January 1885.

**B** *Parnell addresses the Irish people in January 1885.*

We shall struggle for the great and important interests of the Irish tenant farmer. We shall ask that his industry shall not be fettered by rent. We shall ask from the farmer in return that he shall do what in him lies to encourage the struggling manufacturers of Ireland. He should not consider it too great a sacrifice, when he wants anything, to consider how he may get it from Irish manufacturers. We shall also endeavour to secure for the labourer rights to the land of his country. We consider that whatever class – farmer or landlord – tries to obstruct the labourer in the possession of those fair and just rights, they should be coerced into doing justice to the labourer.

I come back to the consideration of the great question of National Self-Government for Ireland. It is impossible for us to say in what way or by what means the National question may be settled and full justice done to Ireland. But no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation. No man has a right to say to his country: 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further'.

Speech reported in the *Cork Examiner*, 22 January 1885.

**C** *Gladstone proposes Home Rule for Ireland in a speech in the House of Commons.*

The two questions of land and Irish government are, in our view, closely and inseparably connected. They are the two channels through which we hope to find a solution to the problem of social order in Ireland. Intimidation does prevail to a painful extent in Ireland. Law is discredited in Ireland because it comes to the people of that country with a foreign accent, and in a foreign garb. These Coercion Bills of ours are stiffly resisted by the Members who represent Ireland in Parliament. The English mind, by cases of this kind and by the tone of the press towards them, is estranged from the Irish people and the Irish mind is estranged from the people of England and Scotland. Something must be done to restore to Ireland the free course of law, the confidence of the people in the law, apart from which no country can be called a civilised country.

What we seek is a settlement of that question and we think that we find that settlement in the establishment, by the authority of Parliament, of a Legislative Body sitting in Dublin, for the conduct of both legislation and administration under the conditions which may be prescribed by the Act defining Irish, as distinct from Imperial, affairs. The unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy. The welfare and security of the whole must be preferred to the security and advantage of the part.

William Gladstone, Speech, 8 April 1886.

- D** *An organisation opposed to Irish Home Rule presents an economic argument for the preservation of the Union.*

One of the objects of the Parnellite party is the 'fostering' and protection of Irish industries. But it is Irishmen who have most reason to fear the establishment of an Irish Parliament, if that Irish Parliament 'forces' the development of Irish industries. There are many Irish industries which are capable of development; but a forced growth, a hothouse development and protection of any industry will never bring that industry to a healthy condition. The most effective way of fostering Irish industries is to get rid of the unhealthy agitation for Protection which has prevailed in this country for the last half-dozen years.

The Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, *The Real Dangers of Home Rule*, 1886.

- E** *A modern historian evaluates the importance of the land question in the growing pressure for Irish Home Rule.*

In Ireland, relations between landlord and tenant were not those of people bound together in community but of a people divided, especially by religion. Landlords and tenants held divergent views on the legitimacy of landownership: for many tenants, it was they who truly held a right of property, and many tended to treat the land as if it was indeed their own. Ultimately, in the eyes of many Irish tenants, the only fair rent was no rent at all. The issue of landownership underlies Irish nationalism in this period.

Richard English, *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland*, 2006.

- (a)** How far are the arguments advanced in Document B in favour of 'National Self-Government for Ireland' (lines 9–10) corroborated by those in Document C? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence presented by this set of documents for the view that the 'Irish Question' in the 1870s and 1880s 'was a land question, pure and simple'?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

**Answer one of the following questions.** *Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied as well as contextual knowledge.*

- 2** 'Nothing more than unprincipled opportunism.' How valid is this judgement on Disraeli's role in developing the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867? [30]
- 3** Assess the impact of Gladstone's political ideas on the development of the Liberal party in the period 1867–80. [30]
- 4** How effective was British foreign and imperial policy in the years 1880–85? [30]

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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