
HISTORY

9769/58

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

May/June 2014

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 an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

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 4 printed pages.

Answer the following question.

Nominated topic: Gladstone's political ideas

- 1 Study all the following documents and answer 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 contextual knowledge.

- A** *Gladstone advocates an increase in the number of working-class voters in a speech to the House of Commons.*

I have heard it said in the House that to increase the rights to vote of any portion of the working class would be to bring about domestic revolution. I thought it time to remind the House that as the working classes already take on the duties of citizenship, they deserve the right to vote. The working classes are not adequately represented in this House. They are not represented in accordance with their share in the income of the country. They are not represented in proportion to their intelligence, their virtue or their loyalty. You cannot fight against the future. The great social forces of progress are on our side. The banner which we now carry will be borne by the united people towards a certain and not distant victory.

Adapted from Speech, 27 April 1866.

- B** *A Liberal MP, who was an active member of the National Education League, speaks to the House of Commons in the debate on what became the 1870 Education Act.*

The School Boards form the backbone of the Bill, and make it a measure which will be acceptable to the country and reflect the ideas of progress and reform of the government. However, I regard as the great weakness of the Bill that decisions about whether there should be a separation made between religious and secular instruction in schools should be left to the School Boards throughout the country instead of being directly laid down by Parliament. The Boards will be influenced by their own religious feelings and are often hostile to Nonconformism. I cannot, under these circumstances, approve the method by which the government is dealing with religious difficulties. I am also sorry it should be thought necessary to give merely permissive powers to the School Boards to enforce compulsory attendance. This House ought to decide whether it should be made compulsory for parents to send their children to school. I am disappointed to find the Government shrinking from the responsibility of abolishing entirely all school fees. But my faith in the principle of the Bill is great.

George Dixon, Speech, 17 February 1870.

- C** *In the same debate another Liberal MP gives his view of the proposed Act.*

I thank God I have lived to witness the introduction of such an admirable scheme of education to help the working class. The School Boards are provided by the Bill with the machinery necessary to secure the attendance of children at schools. I cannot myself believe that they would neglect the duty to make sure attendance was compulsory, or that public opinion would neglect to enforce this. When the frightful ignorance prevailing among the lower classes is more generally known, all objections to compulsory education will vanish. I have never regarded the religious difficulty as being of any considerable importance, because I believed that the people of this country generally desire that their children should receive religious teaching about principles of Christianity. The best proof of this is that 3,000,000 children belonging to the working classes are in attendance at Sunday schools. I regard the Bill as a step in the right direction, and expect that it will soon lead to a general system of national education.

A. J. Mundella, Speech, 17 February 1870.

D *Gladstone makes an election speech during his Midlothian campaign.*

We have great forces opposing our march towards progress. We cannot expect support from the aristocracy. We cannot expect support from the landed interest; we cannot reckon on the clergy of the Church of England. We can expect no support or understanding from those who put their own interests before the interests of the public. But above these narrow interests, there is a something greater: the nation itself. The nation is a power hard to rouse but, when roused, harder still and hopeless to resist. This nation has found its interests ignored by the present government. It has resolved that this state of things shall cease, and that right and duty shall be done. It is our task to represent the nation.

Adapted from Speech at West Calder, 1 April 1880.

E *A biographer of Disraeli reflects on Gladstone's ideas and their appeal to the masses.*

While Gladstone's ideas were pure, honest and well-intentioned, they were not calculated to inspire popular enthusiasm and support. The fact is, he rarely thought of the people, or rather that for him, the people meant the middle class. He no doubt regarded the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army as a measure of democratic reform which must appeal to the masses. But, in fact, the masses cared nothing whether the test for becoming an officer was to sign a large cheque or pass a fairly stiff examination in Latin and Algebra. They knew that either was beyond the reach of a poor man. Again, Gladstone thought that setting up elementary schools was conferring the greatest benefit a statesman could extend to the common people. But in the nature of things, it was a benefit which was not appreciated immediately and thought by some to be an act of tyranny. The middle classes respected him for his ideas of financial discipline and for his morality, but he had little hold on working men. His religious piety seemed to be at odds with his position at the head of a party which contained those who were hostile to the established religion of the Church of England, or indeed to religion in any form. In short, the ideas of the Government were not those which chiefly appealed to the masses. Many in his party saw Gladstone as a concealed Tory.

E. T. Raymond, *Disraeli, the Alien Patriot*, 1925.

(a) How far are the views about the Education Bill given in Document B corroborated by Document C? [10]

(b) How convincing is the evidence presented by these documents for the view that, in the years c.1866–80, Gladstone's political ideas shaped the Liberals as a united party of progress?

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 What best explains why a minority Conservative government was able in 1867 to enact a major parliamentary reform? [30]
- 3 'The evidence from his ministry of 1874–80 clearly shows that Disraeli's domestic policies were both limited in design and ineffective in execution.' Discuss. [30]
- 4 'The electoral reforms of 1884–85 were the most significant achievement of Gladstone's ministry of 1880–85.' Discuss. [30]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1 Document E © E. T. Raymond; *Disraeli, the Alien Patriot*; Hodder & Stoughton; 1925.

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