
HISTORY (PRINCIPAL)

9769/57

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

May/June 2016

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.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 in Section A.

Answer **one** question from Section B.

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.

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.

Section A

Nominated topic: The Second Reform Act (1867) and Disraeli's second ministry of 1874–1880

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

- A** *Disraeli informs the Queen about progress on the Reform Bill and notes with glee the disarray of his political opponents.*

The House of Commons met today under the impression that one of the great political-party fights, that decide the fate of ministers, was about to take place. If Mr Gladstone's motion were passed, it would be impossible for the Government to proceed with its Reform Bill. It had been rumoured that the Ministry would be defeated by a majority of at least forty-five. Today, however, more than a hundred Liberal MPs told Mr Gladstone that they must decline to support his motion. This is a collapse perhaps unequalled in party and political history. The result is that Your Majesty's government is not only immensely strengthened but that our Reform Bill, in all its good and necessary provisions, is safe. This is mainly owing to Your Majesty's support for your ministers in their difficult enterprise.

Letter to Queen Victoria, 8 April 1867.

- B** *The Queen's Private Secretary writes to Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and refers to the Liberal government's failure to enact a Reform Bill in 1866.*

The Queen was very sorry to hear of the Government's defeat by so large a majority on an amendment to the Reform Bill, though she rejoiced to know that you did not consider the points on which you were beaten to be vital. Her Majesty now desires me to express her earnest hope that you will avoid the mistake made by the recent Liberal government in abandoning its reform proposals. Should further amendments be carried against you, and if they are in accordance with the feelings of the House and of the Country that a Reform Bill is necessary, she hopes that you will accept them and thus not again postpone the settlement of this question, as the recent Liberal government did so unnecessarily last year.

Letter, 4 May 1867.

- C** *The Prime Minister, Lord Derby, explains why he supports parliamentary reform.*

In the adoption of this Bill we may find the means of putting a stop to the continued agitation of a question which, as long as it remained unsettled only stands in the way of all useful legislation. No doubt we are making a great experiment and 'taking a leap in the dark' but I have the greatest confidence in the sound sense of my fellow countrymen and I entertain a strong hope that the extended franchise which we are now conferring upon them will be the means of placing the institutions of this country on a firmer basis and will increase the loyalty and contentment of a great portion of Her Majesty's subjects.

Speech in the House of Lords, 6 August 1867.

D *Disraeli explains what had been his strategy for passing the Reform Bill.*

I had to prepare the mind of the country and to educate our party. When you try to settle any great question, there are two considerations which statesmen ought not to forget. First, let your plan be founded upon some principle. But that is not enough. Let it also be a principle that is in harmony with the manners and customs of the people you are attempting to legislate for. For example, there is a principle in saying a man shall have a vote who has, by his residence and his contribution to local taxation, proved that he has an interest in the welfare of his community. So, if you can apply that principle in harmony with the manners and customs of your country, then you have the chance of a happy solution to a great question.

Speech at a Reform Banquet in Edinburgh, 29 October 1867.

E *A modern historian explains why, and how, the Conservative government passed a Reform Act in 1867.*

In May 1867, the Reform League arranged a mass meeting in London's Hyde Park. The government enrolled special constables and prepared troops. The meeting went ahead, and the Home Secretary, who was unable to maintain order during the event, resigned. Such events, and the talk of revolution that accompanied them, kept reform on the agenda, but they were not the driving force behind the passage of the Reform Act. The crucial factor was the Conservatives' determination to stay in office and escape their almost permanent minority status. To this end, Disraeli accepted numerous amendments to the Bill, which made it more far-reaching than originally proposed.

Hugh Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy, 1832–1918*, published in 2001.

- (a) How far is the evidence of the Queen's political sympathies on the reform question given in Document A corroborated by that given in Document B? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence presented by this set of documents that the main objective of Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative government in passing a Reform Act in 1867 was to 'increase the loyalty and contentment of a great portion of Her Majesty's subjects' (Document C)? In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Section B

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 How popular was Gladstonian liberalism within Gladstone's own party in the period 1868–1880? [30]
- 3 'The domestic policies of Disraeli's second ministry (1874–1880) were unadventurous in scope and limited in achievement.' Discuss. [30]
- 4 What best explains why the foreign and Imperial policies of Gladstone's second ministry (1880–1885) were so concerned with the continent of Africa? [30]

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