



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate
Principal Subject

HISTORY

9769/58

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

May/June 2011

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: Disraeli's political ideas

- 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 contextual knowledge.

A *Disraeli on the influence of the monarchy.*

Gentlemen, the programme of the Conservative party is to maintain the Constitution of the country. It will be said that the personal influence of the Sovereign is now absorbed by the responsibility of the minister. You will find there is great fallacy in this view. The principles of the English Constitution do not contemplate the absence of personal influence by the Sovereign. The Sovereign is in constant communication with the most able statesmen of the period, and of all parties. The Sovereign must soon attain a great mass of political information and political experience. Information and experience are irresistible in life. The longer the reign, the greater the influence of the Sovereign. When there is a moment of peril, then the Sovereign can appeal to a similar state of affairs that occurred perhaps thirty years before. A minister who could treat such influence with indifference would not be a Constitutional minister, but an arrogant idiot.

Benjamin Disraeli, Speech at Manchester, 3 April 1872.

B *A view of the monarchy from an intellectual and a Liberal party supporter.*

The serious arguments for monarchy all come to this. It is there. The monarchy, although a political irrelevance, is associated with every phase of English society. It is the embodiment of the established order. Thus, it is a most potent symbol. To the governing classes it is a sign of their right to govern. To the wealthy, the monarchy is the symbol of respect for wealth, respect for luxury, and respect for an idle class. To the entire middle class, from the capitalist down to the smallest tradesman, the monarchy represents prosperity and the existing order of things. Politically it has no tangible importance. We can decently take off our hat to the English monarchy when it passes our way. It seldom gives us trouble. But the obsolete notion of loyalty to the crown chokes the sense of loyalty to the public. England is amongst the first of nations because it has long passed into that stage in which public opinion is the foundation of power. It has long passed that stage in which allegiance is an accident of birth.

Frederic Harrison, Article in the Journal *Fortnightly Review*, 1872.

C *Disraeli explains what he means by 'Conservative principles'.*

The people of England, and especially the working classes of England, are proud of belonging to a great country and are resolved to preserve, if they can, the empire of England. They believe that the greatness and the empire of England are to be attributed to the ancient institutions of this country. The working classes of England are English to the core. They adhere to national principles. They are for the maintenance of the kingdom and the empire. Well, then, as regards the political institutions of this country, the maintenance of which is one of the chief beliefs of the Tory party, the feeling of the nation is in accordance with the Tory party.

Benjamin Disraeli, Speech to the Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, at the Crystal Palace, London, 24 June 1872.

D *The value of effective political organisation is explained.*

The National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations was established in the autumn of 1867 for the purpose of effecting a systematic organisation of Conservative feeling and influence throughout the country. The Constitutional cause has suffered much from the want of organisation amongst its supporters. Through this want, the great Conservative strength, which has existed in all parts of the country and in every class of people, has been deprived of its just influence upon public affairs. It is now obvious that the measure of Reform achieved for the nation by Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli has greatly strengthened the hold of Constitutional principles upon the important constituencies. During the debate on Mr Gladstone's Irish Church Resolutions in 1868, 37,000 letters were issued from the office and 864 petitions, bearing 61,792 signatures, were presented through the Union.

National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations,
Principles and Objects (1872).

E *Disraeli seeks support for the Conservative party at the general election of 1874.*

Gentlemen, this General Election is one of no mean importance for the future character of this Kingdom. The Prime Minister is not opposed to our national institutions or to the maintenance of the Empire. But, among his adherents, some attack the Monarchy, others object to the independence of the House of Lords. Others again urge him to disestablish the Anglican, as he has despoiled the Irish, Church. Trusted colleagues in his Cabinet openly wish to thrust religion from the place which it ought to occupy in national education. I ask you to return me to the House of Commons to resist every proposal which may impair the strength and stability of England and to support by every means her imperial power.

Disraeli, Speech to the Electors of Buckinghamshire, January 1874.

- (a) How far, and why, do the views about the importance of the monarchy given in Documents A and B differ? [10]
- (b) How convincing is the evidence presented by these documents for the view that respect for the existing constitution and support for the empire were central to the development of Disraelian Conservatism in the years 1867–74?

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 'In its domestic policies, the Gladstone government of 1868–74 demonstrated clear adherence to liberal principles.' How far do you agree with this judgement? [30]
- 3 Explain why the question of Irish home rule exerted such an influence on British domestic politics in the years 1873–86. [30]
- 4 How different were the imperial policies of the governments of Disraeli and Gladstone in the years 1874–85? [30]

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