

OXFORD CAMBRIDGE AND RSA EXAMINATIONS
ADVANCED GCE
2589
HISTORY

Historical Investigations 1799–1955

THURSDAY 14 JANUARY 2010: Afternoon

DURATION: 1 hour 30 minutes

SUITABLE FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED CANDIDATES

Candidates answer on the Answer Booklet

OCR SUPPLIED MATERIALS:

16 page Answer Booklet

OTHER MATERIALS REQUIRED:

None

READ INSTRUCTIONS OVERLEAF

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- **Write your name clearly in capital letters, your Centre Number and Candidate Number in the spaces provided on the Answer Booklet.**
- **Use black ink.**
- **Read each question carefully and make sure that you know what you have to do before starting your answer.**

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

- The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.
- The total number of marks for this paper is 90.
- This paper contains questions on the following Option:
 - Gladstone and Disraeli 1846–80 (pages 4–7)
- Answer the Passages question, and ONE other question.
- You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.
- The time permitted allows for reading the Passages of the one Option you have studied.
- You are advised to spend equal time on the Passages question and the essay you select.
- In answering the Passages question, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you explain and evaluate the interpretations in the Passages, as well as to inform your answer.
- In answering an essay question, you are expected to refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations to help you develop your arguments.

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 1846–80

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **QUESTION 4** and **ONE** other question.

4 Study all the Passages.

Using these **FOUR** Passages **AND** your own knowledge, assess the view that it was Gladstone's fault that there was a Conservative victory in 1874. [45]

A From: the Diary of the Earl of Kimberley, 21 February 1874. Kimberley was Colonial Secretary in Gladstone's first ministry and sees the Liberals' defeat as largely their own fault.

The result of the election was a surprise. It is clear that the chief cause of our fall was a vague general distrust of the Cabinet and especially of Gladstone. We had exhausted our programme and cautious men asked 'What will Gladstone do next? Might he seek to recover his popularity by extreme radical measures?' It must be admitted that those fears were not altogether groundless. We really had no policy except the financial changes promised by Gladstone: and once those measures had been passed, who can tell what our chief's restless spirit would have turned to? There is no evidence of a real Conservative reaction; and the other party must have their turn. Of course, the tameness of our foreign policy, the mismanagement of the beer question, the confusion of the Treasury and the other minor causes all helped to cause the defeat.

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B From: Michael Winstanley, *Gladstone and the Liberal Party*, published in 1991. This historian considers that changing circumstances caused the Liberal defeat.

It would be unfair to blame Gladstone personally for the defeat in 1874. His handling of situations may, on occasions, have highlighted divisions in the party but it did not create them. It is difficult to see what else he could have done as Prime Minister.	20
Any attempts to meet in full the demands of one section of the party would have lost the support of others. Liberal divisions were not new and they had not prevented the party from winning easily in every election, except 1841, in the past fifty years. The problems in 1874 were more fundamental. They reflected a Liberal failing to come to terms with the priorities of the new mass electorate. The Liberals' issues were seen as increasingly irrelevant and their organization was outdated.	25
The abolition of income tax was no longer a popular cause; only a small minority of the expanded electorate paid it. The Tories put forward few specific policies so Gladstone had no opportunity to unite his party against a common enemy.	30
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C From: Stephen Lee, *Aspects of British Political History 1815–1914*, published in 1994. This historian claims that Disraeli was responsible for the Conservative victory.

The crucial test in 1874 was whether Disraeli could persuade the electorate to support his policies: to maintain the institutions of the country, to preserve the Empire and to ‘elevate the condition of the people’. His handling of the electoral campaign was masterly. He made the most of the weaknesses of the Liberals and sought to win over the groups who had been annoyed by the reforms of Gladstone’s first ministry, which included much of the newly enfranchised working class who disliked his trade union legislation. Disraeli exploited their disillusionment and their support enabled the Conservatives to win an overall majority. He also launched an effective personal attack on Gladstone, accusing him of ‘blundering and plundering’ and of ‘incessant and harassing legislation’.

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D From: Terry Jenkins, *Disraeli and Victorian Conservatism*, published in 1996. This historian believes that better organization helped the Conservatives to win in 1874.

One explanation that is frequently put forward for the remarkable Conservative triumph in 1874 is that it was largely due to the improved state of the party's organization in the constituencies. This was allegedly due to the work of J.E. Gorst who was appointed as Principal Agent by Disraeli in 1870. But, contrary to the notion that Gorst had begun the improvement in party organization, a good deal of work had been done by the Conservative party managers of the 1850s. One cannot assume that it was just Gorst's work that delivered the gains in 1874. The key to explaining the Conservatives' electoral breakthrough is to be found in the drift towards Conservatism on the part of the middle classes, rather than the wonderful influence of a 'Tory Democracy' as claimed by Disraeli.

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Answer EITHER

- 5 Assess the criticisms made by Gladstone of Disraeli's foreign and imperial policies. [45]**

OR

- 6 To what extent did Gladstone achieve his aims in Ireland in the period from 1868 to 1874? [45]**

Candidates are reminded they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.



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