



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 2012

2 hours

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 4 printed pages.



Answer the following question.

Nominated Topic: Foreign and Imperial Policies, 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 contextual knowledge.

A *William Gladstone enters the debate over Turkish action in Bulgaria.*

I entreat my fellow countrymen ... to require and to insist, that our government ... shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves ... One and all, bag and baggage shall, I hope, clear out from the provinces they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden and of child; to the civilization which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God or, if you like, of Allah, to the moral sense of mankind at large.

W. E. Gladstone, *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, 6 September 1876.

B *A newspaper editorial comments on Gladstone's intervention in the Eastern Question.*

Mr Gladstone's indictment of the Turkish Empire precipitates what is, perhaps, the most extraordinary issue ever presented for the decision of statesmanship ... If we would duly understand the present difficulty, we must look a good deal beyond the politics of the hour and the scene of the present excitement. Mr Gladstone's language goes much further than a mere denunciation of the conduct of the Turks in Bulgaria and the Insurgent Provinces. It amounts to an indictment of the whole of Turkish rule, from the beginning to the end, in Asia no less than in Europe. There is not a favourable line in the tremendous picture which he draws ... How far has it been considered what [Gladstone's words] denounce, and how far they go? The ... Turkish Empire, it should be remembered, [is] not merely a military force in occupation of Bulgaria; [it] represents one of the most powerful and memorable organisations which have appeared on the scene of history, and which still hold a place upon it. Their religion ... though it may be neither a mild nor a chivalrous nor a cultured Mahommedanism, is at all events Mahommedanism, and that implies no slight force in human history.

The Times, 8 September 1876.

- C** *In a speech at Aylesbury, Disraeli explains the government's position over the crisis in Bulgaria.*

Unquestionably, there is a ... large portion of Her Majesty's subjects, whose thoughts and sentiments are attracted and absorbed by other things than the maintenance of the permanent interests of this country or the maintenance of peace. These are matters which require and are receiving the most earnest and constant attention of the Government. But, unhappily, a great portion of the people of this country, prompted by feelings which have drawn their attention to extraneous matters, have arrived at a conclusion which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, if carried into effect would alike be injurious to the permanent and important interests of England and fatal to any chance of preserving the peace of Europe. Why ... are we to be attacked, because ... we attempt to settle with the concurrence of all the Powers of Europe the future relations that should subsist between the Christian subjects of [the Turkish Empire] and the Turkish government? [Those who oppose us] tell us that nothing will satisfy them except the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and the institution of Slavonic governments ... Now Her Majesty's Government, and I believe the Government of every country, are perfectly aware that if such plans are attempted to be carried into effect we shall be landed in a European War of no slight duration ... I throw aside for the moment all philanthropic, all moral, all abstract opinions of any kind; but I say this ... that these schemes are impossible and can only lead to a great war.

Speech, 20 September 1876.

- D** *In a speech to Conservative MPs in London, Disraeli defends the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention.*

I hold that we have [at Berlin] laid the foundation of a state of affairs which may open a new continent to the civilisation of Europe and that the welfare of the world and the wealth of the world may be increased by availing ourselves of that tranquillity and order which the more intimate connection of England with that country [Russia] will now produce. But I am sorry to say that, though we taxed our brains and our thoughts to establish a policy which might be beneficial to the country, we have not satisfied those who are our critics. I was astonished to learn that the Convention of 4 June has been described as an 'insane' Convention. It is a strong epithet. I do not myself pretend to be as competent a judge of insanity as my right hon. opponent [Gladstone] ... My lords and gentlemen, I leave the decision upon that Convention to the Parliament and people of England.

Speech, 27 July 1878.

- (a)** To what extent, and why, does the impression given in Document B of the Turkish presence in Bulgaria differ from that given in Document A? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by these documents for the view that the government's policy over the 'Eastern Question' in the later 1870s was in Britain's best interests?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A-D). [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 Why did the Conservatives lose the general election of 1868 so comprehensively? [30]
- 3 “Disraelian conservatism” represented a coherent body of ideas.’ Discuss with reference to Conservative domestic policy in the years 1867–80. [30]
- 4 To what extent were the changes to the electoral system made in 1883-85 responsible for the upturn in Conservative fortunes in 1885–86? [30]

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