Materials
For this paper you must have:
• an AQA 12-page answer book.

Instructions
• Use black ink or black ball-point pen.
• Write the information required on the front of your answer book. The Paper Reference is 1F.
• Answer three questions.
  In Section A answer Question 01.
  In Section B answer two questions.

Information
• The marks for questions are shown in brackets.
• The maximum mark for this paper is 80.
• You will be marked on your ability to:
  – use good English
  – organise information clearly
  – use specialist vocabulary where appropriate.

Advice
• You are advised to spend about:
  – 60 minutes on Question 01
  – 45 minutes on each of the other questions answered.
Extract A

What had Disraeli achieved for his party? It is a measure of the enigma of his career that there is no agreed answer to this question. One can certainly say, if he wrecked the party in 1846, he had gone a long way towards rebuilding it by the end of his life. The Conservatives were a party of government between the second and third Reform Acts, whereas they had not been one in the twenty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws. The change cannot be attributed to the ability of a single individual. There was an element of chance in personalities; the replacement of Palmerston by Gladstone gave an opening which might not otherwise have come. There were, moreover, deep social currents moving favourably for the Conservative and these were largely outside the control of a single person. Disraeli had a measure of luck, but the test of a political leader is the ability to exploit his luck and on this test Disraeli comes out well.

Adapted from Robert Blake, The Conservative Party from Peel to Thatcher, 1970

Extract B

Disraeli cared for causes only as a means of combat. His only genuine emotion in politics sprang from personal dislike – of Peel in his early career, of Gladstone toward the end. Disraeli hounded Peel out of the party leadership and seized the vacant place. He was the first politician to put loyalty to party above loyalty to country. Disraeli riveted on our political life the conception that politics consists entirely in two parties fighting for office. These two parties were to represent not programmes but interests: which interests, Disraeli did not much mind. Sometimes he talked of the Conservative party as ‘the landed interest’; sometimes he appealed to all who had ‘a stake in the country’. None of this mattered. The important thing was the struggle for power. It is also true to Disraeli’s tradition of not knowing what to do with power when it has got it.

Adapted from A J P Taylor, ‘Dizzy’ in Essays of English History, 1976
There would appear to have been a strong element of mere vote-catching in Disraeli’s advocacy of social reform and the other aspects of Tory democracy. Social reform for Disraeli was a means to an end, not an end in itself. His great success was to put an end to the Conservatism which preached loyalty to ancient institutions, but which did not govern. Disraeli thus emerges as Peel’s real heir. Disraeli disagreed with Peel’s method rather than his objective. Through ‘Tory democracy’ Disraeli hoped that these ancient institutions would not be discarded but would be revitalised. Disraeli explained precisely what these institutions were: ‘I mean the splendour of the Crown, the lustre of the Peerage, the privileges of the Commons, the rights of the poor – that harmonious union of all classes on which our national greatness depends’. Despite his failure in the 1880 election, the later prestige of the Conservative party indicates that Disraeli was successful in his attempt to interpret original Tory principles within the setting of the modern world.

Adapted from B H Abbott, *Gladstone and Disraeli*, 1972

Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in these three extracts are in relation to the role of Disraeli in the development of the Conservative party after 1846.

[30 marks]
Section B

Answer two questions.

02 'William Pitt the Younger was able to dominate politics between 1784 and 1806 because of the weakness of the opposition.'

Assess the validity of this view. [25 marks]

03 How significant was the role of Daniel O'Connell in the debate over Catholic emancipation 1798–1828?

[25 marks]

04 ‘Pressure for change in the period after the Great Reform Act to 1855 was a response to economic problems rather than a desire for political reform.’

Assess the validity of this view? [25 marks]

END OF QUESTIONS

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Question 1 Extract B: AJP Taylor, Essays in English History, Penguin
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