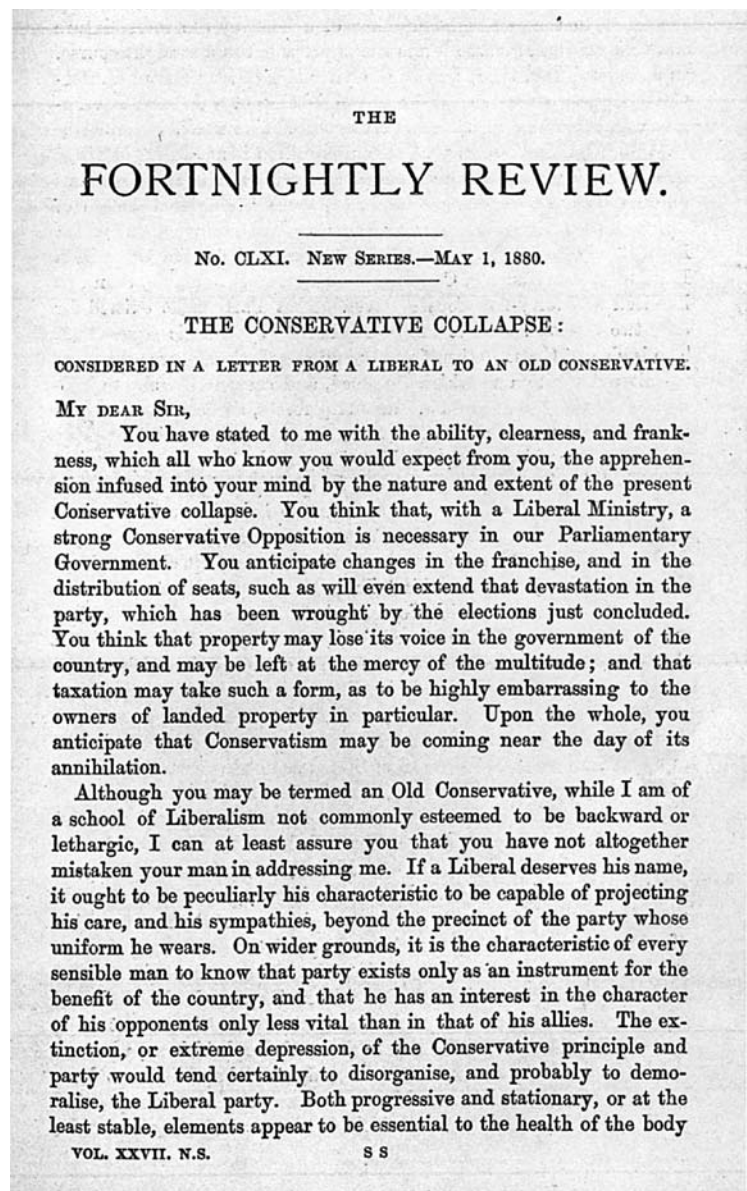


# GLADSTONE CONSERVATIVE

On 1 May 1880 the *Fortnightly Review*, edited by John Morley,<sup>1</sup> published an anonymous article of about 7,500 words under the heading 'The Conservative Collapse: Considered in a Letter from a Liberal to an old Conservative'.<sup>2</sup> The pseudonym 'Index' concealed the authorship of Gladstone, then on the threshold of his second administration, and the article is of considerable interest both for what it says and for the circumstances in which it was written. The aim of this article by **Patrick Jackson** is to consider what this little known episode reveals about the idiosyncratic views of Gladstone on Liberalism and on the nature of party leadership; and also to consider how Liberal supporters such as Morley were made to realise that the old man's indispensable leadership was only available on his own terms.

Front page of the *Fortnightly Review* article of 1 May 1880



# GLADSTONE AND THE CONSERVATIVE COLLAPSE

**G**LADSTONE'S DIARIES provide the salient facts: on 13 April 1880, 'Began tentatively an anonymous letter on the Conservative Collapse'; on the following day, 'Worked on Anon Letter: really drawn forth by the letter of Lord Bath'; and on 17 April, 'Finished my "letter" & revision of it.'<sup>3</sup> The use of the word 'anonymous', and of inverted commas around 'letter', indicates that this was intended from the outset to be a published article, stimulated by a letter from Lord Bath but not simply a personal reply to it.

The period when Gladstone wrote the article was a brief interlude between the end of a strenuous election campaign in Midlothian and his resumption of power as Prime Minister. On 7 April he returned to his home at Hawarden, near Chester, from Dalmeny House, Lord Rosebery's seat near Edinburgh ('this most hospitable of all houses') which had been his base during the election. Despite 'frightful unearthly noises at Warrington', the overnight railway journey had provided 'time to ruminate on the great hand of God, so evidently

displayed'.<sup>4</sup> During the next few days the scale of the electoral victory became apparent, as it emerged that Disraeli's Conservative Party had lost a third of the seats it had held in the previous parliament. For Gladstone the downfall of 'Beaconsfieldism' was 'like the vanishing of some vast magnificent castle in an Italian romance.'<sup>5</sup>

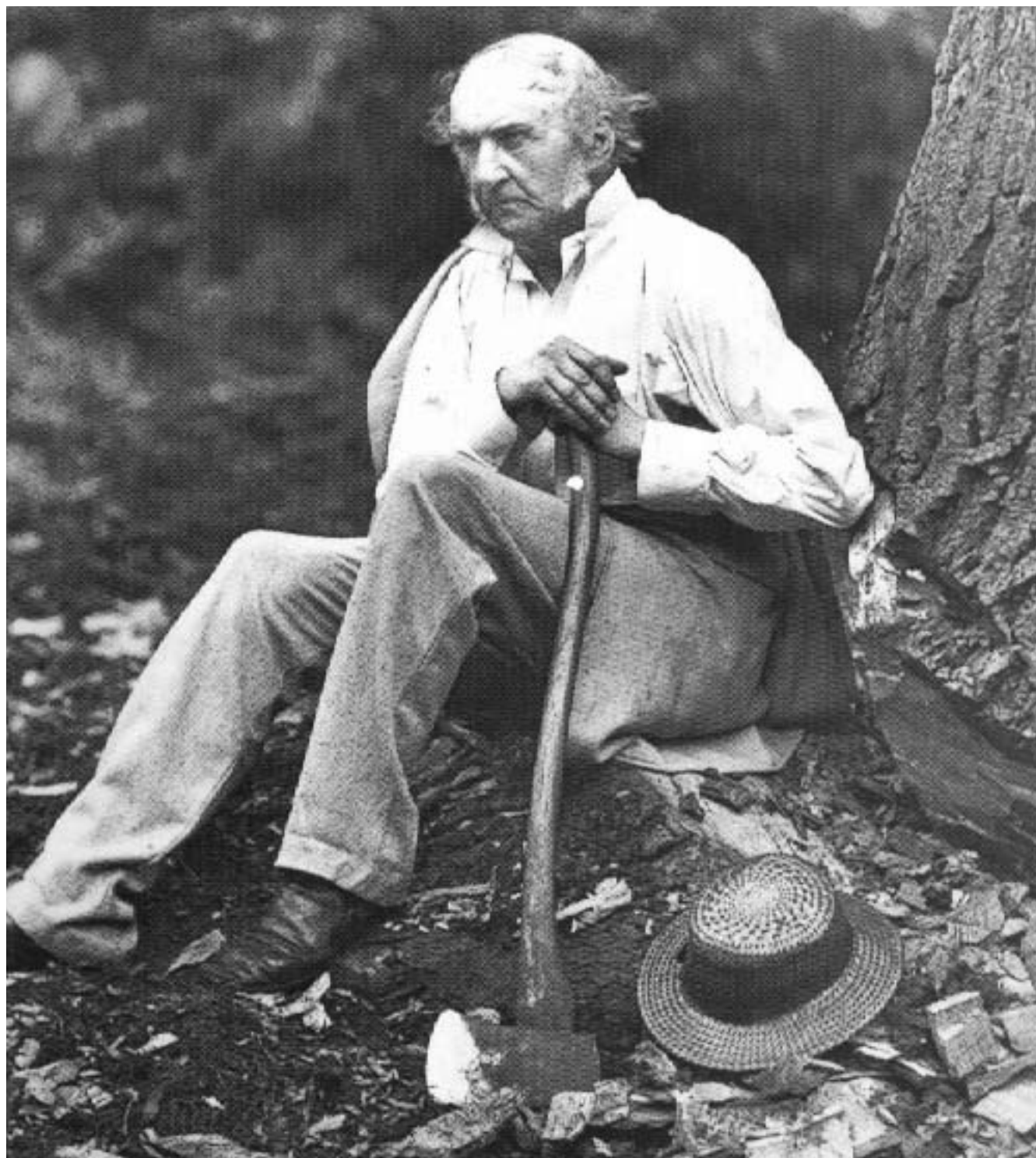
However, Gladstone was not the leader of the triumphant Liberal Party, having resigned in high dudgeon in 1875, and the Queen was determined to avoid sending for 'that *half mad firebrand*'.<sup>6</sup> She did not return from Baden Baden until 17 April, but told Disraeli in a cipher telegram to let it be known unofficially that she intended to send for Lord Hartington.<sup>7</sup> Gladstone, for his part, did not return to London until 19 April ('a plunge out of an atmosphere of peace into an element of disturbance'<sup>8</sup>), and while in seclusion at Hawarden he did not see either of the official party leaders. However, on 13 April, in a letter to his friend, the former Chief Whip Lord Wolverton, who was deputed to see Granville and Hartington on his behalf,<sup>9</sup> he set out his position in deviously convoluted terms:

**For Gladstone the downfall of 'Beaconsfieldism' was 'like the vanishing of some vast magnificent castle in an Italian romance.'**

The claim, so to speak, of G and H, or rather, I should say, of G with H as against me, or rather as compared *with* me, is complete ... [If] they should on surveying their position see fit to apply to me, there is only one form and ground of application, so far as I see, which could be seriously entertained by me, namely their conviction that on the ground of public policy, all things considered, it was best in the actual position of affairs, that I should come out.<sup>10</sup>

It was essential to Gladstone's self-esteem that he should not appear to be actively seeking to resume the leadership he had voluntarily renounced. However, there was nothing more to be done until the Queen showed her hand, and on the same day, amid sessions spent reading '*dear Guy Mannering*' and 'that most heavenly man George Herbert', Gladstone began to draft the article on 'The Conservative Collapse'.

The Marquis of Bath was forty-nine, twenty-two years younger than Gladstone, and had served as ambassador-extraordinary in Lisbon and Vienna. Although nominally a Conservative he



**W. E. Gladstone  
in 1877**

was in many ways much closer to Gladstone than to Disraeli, whom he disliked and distrusted. Bath was a devout high-church Anglo-Catholic and, like Gladstone, he had strongly opposed the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, which had empowered bishops to discipline clergymen guilty of introducing unauthorised ritualist practices, scathingly described by Disraeli as 'the mass in masquerade'.<sup>11</sup>

Bath had also played an active part in Gladstone's campaign against the Bulgarian atrocities, making Longleat available for meetings and consultations.<sup>12</sup> He was thus the sort of Conservative with whom Gladstone would find it natural and congenial to correspond.

Bath's long letter of 11 April 1880<sup>13</sup> left no doubt about his attitude towards the outgoing Tory administration:

We have had no security with the present government who have proved ready to tamper with every question in order to meet the exigencies of the moment, and I have been ever ready to recognise how conservative has been your financial policy compared with Northcote's.

Bath said that he 'rejoiced that the government are driven out.'

Honour, religion, the interests of mankind generally require it ... But I must frankly admit I am dismayed at the Conservative collapse.' It would be 'difficult to secure any voice to property in the government of the country and ... easy to leave the few money & land owners to the mercy of the multitude'.

As a landowner himself, and a life-long believer in the social and political role of the aristocracy, Gladstone was naturally sympathetic to Bath's concerns, and began his reply with the reassurance:

Although you may be termed an Old Conservative, while I am of a school of Liberalism not commonly esteemed to be backward or lethargic, I can at least assure you that you have not altogether mistaken your man in addressing me ... [It] is the characteristic of every sensible man to know that party exists only for the benefit of the country, and that he has an interest in the character of his opponents only less vital than in that of his allies ... Both progressive and stationary, or at least stable, elements appear to be essential to the health of the body politic; and the two parties may be ... compared to the oars right and left of a boat, by the intermixture and composition of whose forces she is propelled in a straight course. In a general way, then, I accede to your *thesis* that a strong Conservative Opposition is needed for the well-being of a Liberal Government, and for the due and safe performance of its work.

~

In 'The Conservative Collapse', Gladstone set the outcome of the general election in a historic context. He had entered the House of Commons as a Tory in 1832, and the Conservative Party was now numerically weaker than in any parliament since then. In most of the large

urban constituencies outside London Liberals had been returned with large majorities, and even more significantly the Conservatives had in many areas lost their traditional hold on the rural counties, despite the continued allegiance of most of the landlords and clergy. The proposed extension of the county franchise would probably have the initial effect of further reducing the Conservative representation, although Gladstone perceptively envisaged the possibility that 'after a time the liberal enfranchisement of the rural labourers, together with the consequent redistribution of seats, may be found to have given it a permanent increase'.

Gladstone was in no doubt about the underlying strength of Conservatism. The established institutions of monarchy, church, army, administrative hierarchy, and landed power were all inherently Conservative, and in recent years this strength had been enhanced by growing national prosperity:

Personal wealth is ten times more conservative among us now than it was forty years back. It had then scarcely a single *novus homo* on those Tory benches where lately the great brewers, the distillers, the tradesmen ... and the dabblers in speculations, mustered by the score. Nay more, during the last few years, though the existence of the sea-serpent has not yet been established to the satisfaction of the world in general, yet the existence of the Conservative working man has, and this in considerable, though very far from dominant numbers.

This led Gladstone to the heart of his thesis. He suggested that 'this rout, so terrible in the eye of the political wire-puller', was not really a Conservative defeat: 'it is the men, and the men only, who have been condemned.'

Although a Liberal, who would gladly see what are termed Conservative principles *en bloc* in a minority at a general election, I am bound to make the admission that they have not now been on trial ... The spirit of the Administration has been concentrated in one extraordinary man. But what has been the relation of that remarkable personage to historic Conservatism?

Gladstone paid a generous tribute to his defeated rival. Disraeli was 'not a man of mere talent, but of genius', and the moment of his downfall was not a time for 'dwelling on the matters, grave as they may be, which will be put down on the wrong side of his account. Thus much is certain, that in some of his powers he has never been surpassed; and that his career, as a whole, is probably the most astonishing of all that are recorded in the annals of Parliament.' Nevertheless Gladstone set out to demonstrate that Disraeli had subverted the traditional policies of the Conservative Party, and had not sought to conceal his intentions. As far back as 1844, two years before the overthrow of Peel after the repeal of the Corn Laws, Disraeli had denounced the 'organised hypocrisy' of the Conservative government:

The notice thus given was afterwards as formally renewed when, at a great festival, he apprised the party that he had been busy in educating them, and that they required a great deal of this education. This some may have termed insolence ... It is, at any rate, plain speaking, and those to whom it was uttered have lost all title to complain.

The traditional Conservatism of Peel, under whom Gladstone had served his ministerial apprenticeship, was characterised by a rigid economy in expenditure, and an 'instinctive indisposition to raise questions which might

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bring Conservatism into collision with Liberalism on an open field'. By contrast 'not even in the most faltering tones is the praise of economical management' urged on behalf of the Disraeli government: what they claimed credit for was 'a systematically free expenditure for great national objects'.

Gladstone itemised the successive measures by which Disraeli had aroused unnecessary controversy and turbulence: the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal company; the Royal Titles Act, making the Queen Empress of India; the rash commitment to sustain the crumbling Ottoman Empire; the war in Afghanistan; and the invasion of Zululand. This whole group of 'astonishing transactions' was 'the pure offspring of executive discretion ... hatched almost without an exception in the darkest secrecy, Parliament and the nation neither knowing nor approving, however generally, the intention until it stood revealed, full grown and full armed, in act'. Gladstone denounced the prevailing spirit of Disraeli's foreign policy:

Studious of theatrical effects, regardless of ulterior consequences, grounded in no firm principle, dependent on the whim of the moment, and having for its prime endowment an art, or knack, of misdirecting the temporary sympathies of the public ... it is better known to us by fruits than by definitions; and the nation, after tasting, has found it as ashes in its mouth.

The traditional Conservative foreign policy of Wellington, Peel and Aberdeen had been characterised by 'scrupulous regard for treaties, marked and uniform courtesy to foreign powers, equally marked indisposition to entangle the nation in novel and hazardous engagements, and a most careful abstinence from all language which could excite popular passion or national pride.' The weakness of

this approach was that it 'leaned too much to established power', and did not 'duly appreciate the claims of rising liberty'. It was Canning who set the precedent for intervention in support of the cause of national liberation, and thereafter this had become part of the Liberal tradition. Disraeli's offence had been that, 'while imitating ... the Liberal policy, on its dangerous and peccant side, that of habitual stir, it has never once stirred on behalf of freedom, but always against it'.

The future hopes of Conservatives now depended partly on the mistakes of an over-confident Liberal Party. Bath had warned that a Liberal government might have found it easier to deal with a strong 'Conservative opposition without than with a Liberal opposition within its ranks'. Gladstone seems to have shared this apprehension:

With great powers come great temptations. It remains to be seen whether this party will be able to command itself, as it commanded its adversaries ... It has borne bad times; can it bear the good?

More fundamentally the prospects of the Conservatives would depend on learning the lesson that the creed for which they had been 'so emphatically dismissed was a pseudo-Conservatism'. They must

... shape again a policy which, if somewhat stiff and narrow, shall yet be modest, manly, upright, self-denying, assiduously practical. Let them think once more of the old foundations ... when, before their very eyes, their house built upon the sand has fallen, and great has been the fall of it.

Interestingly Gladstone did not address one major issue raised by his correspondent. About a quarter of Lord Bath's letter was devoted to his 'alarm' over the prospect of 'any change in the Probate or succession duties so



far as land is concerned'. Gladstone no doubt sympathised with the portrayal of the burdens falling upon landowners, but recognised that it would be impolitic to give any kind of reassurance. In the event the decision was deferred until after the old man's retirement in 1894, when Harcourt's budget imposed a graduated scale of death duties on land as well as personal property. It was then left to Gladstone's successor Rosebery to voice the anxieties of the landowners.<sup>14</sup>

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For John Morley the opportunity to publish an article by Gladstone was a long-sought journalistic scoop. In November 1877 he had unsuccessfully tried to persuade the nominally retired leader to write something on the Eastern Question, pleading that the *Fortnightly Review* had remained 'staunch to what you have persuaded the best part of England to regard as the true cause'.<sup>15</sup> In September 1878 Morley renewed the 'old prayer and humble petition for the honour of an article from you. I have done such battle as I could for many months on behalf of the policy in which you have been the leader, and a contribution from you would be an invaluable encouragement ... to waverers and doubting friends'.<sup>16</sup> Finally, in April 1880, Morley achieved his objective, and readily waived the normal rule that contributions to the *Fortnightly Review* should be signed.<sup>17</sup> He assured Gladstone that he would handle the proofs personally, 'so that we may not put the discretion of the printer and others to too severe a test. No one will be in the secret but myself: of course in time it will be likely to ooze out – from internal evidence if for no other reason'.<sup>18</sup> Many insiders must have recognised Gladstone's style; Edward Hamilton certainly did so.<sup>19</sup>

This was a crucial period in Morley's career. He was forty-one, and during the thirteen

years of his editorship the *Fortnightly Review* (now a monthly publication, despite the name) had won a formidable reputation as a medium for advanced, and often very controversial, radical opinions. Notoriously the editor favoured a lower case 'g' for god. Many of Morley's own contributions were articles on philosophical subjects, or excerpts from work in progress on the writers of the eighteenth-century French enlightenment. However, he had also shown a keen interest in more immediate political questions, and had come under the powerful influence of Joseph Chamberlain, who had been encouraged to use the *Fortnightly* as his platform. Morley looked forward to a parliamentary career; in 1869 he had unsuccessfully contested a by-election in Blackburn, his birthplace, and at the 1880 general election he had been defeated at Westminster, in one of the few areas less susceptible to the swing toward Liberalism. On 21 April 1880 Morley was again disappointed when the Liberal caucus in Nottingham decided by 27 votes to 24 in favour the candidacy of his namesake Arnold Morley.<sup>20</sup> It was to be three years before John Morley was finally returned to Parliament as one of the members for Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Morley's attitude towards Gladstone warrants careful consideration. From 1886 onwards he was to be a convinced disciple, acting as Gladstone's closest ally in the struggle for Irish home rule, and ultimately paying tribute, after the old man's death, in a great biography. However this position of unquestioning loyalty was reached only gradually. Like most radicals Morley had been disappointed by the performance of the first Gladstone government from 1868 to 1874, and the 1870 Education Act was a particularly sore subject. As Morley saw it, by favouring the church schools Gladstone had failed to grasp an unprecedented opportunity to re-establish elementary education on

a truly national, secular basis, and this had alienated nonconformist Liberals. When Disraeli introduced household suffrage in the boroughs, wrote Morley, he had the satisfaction of 'dishing the Whigs, who were his enemies', whereas Gladstone had 'dished the Dissenters, who were his friends'.<sup>21</sup> Morley was also critical of Gladstone's lack of interest in labour questions, and in January 1873 he sharply suggested that intervening on behalf of the imprisoned leaders of a gasworkers' strike would have been a more effective way for Gladstone to persuade the working classes to believe in providence than the attacks on agnostic writers in which he did 'so deplorably little justice to his own intellectual quality'.<sup>22</sup>

The low-key opposition leadership of Gladstone's Whig successors, after his resignation in 1875, did not inspire enthusiasm among the radicals, and Gladstone's emergence from semi-retirement to lead the attack on Disraeli's foreign policy was welcomed by Morley, who fastidiously dismissed Disraeli as 'a second rate romance writer', and 'one of the most random-minded, flighty, and essentially unreal men that ever lived'.<sup>23</sup> In October 1876 Morley responded warmly to Gladstone's high-minded campaign against the Bulgarian atrocities:

We know few spectacles so fine, so moving, as that offered by England today:— Mr Gladstone ... setting all hearts aflame ... all the living and thinking part of the nation raising up so powerful a voice in condemnation of Turkey and breaking once and for all with British policy in the East.<sup>24</sup>

However it was far from clear that Gladstone would be prepared to endorse the sort of domestic programme demanded by the radicals. Morley agreed with Chamberlain that only the disestablishment of the Church of England would rekindle the

Cartoons of John Morley, from *Vanity Fair*

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enthusiasm of the nonconformists, but this was a policy that Gladstone was unlikely to accept, even though some high churchmen regarded disestablishment as a price worth paying to escape parliamentary interference in liturgical matters. In a *Fortnightly Review* article, 'Next Page of the Liberal Programme', published on 1 October 1874, Chamberlain had written that, much as Gladstone was respected, it was 'not for his credit, or for ours, that we should take him back as we recover a stolen watch – on the condition that no questions are asked'. Changing circumstances might persuade Gladstone to reconsider his position on disestablishment, but if not, 'his worst enemies will admit that he has earned his right to repose'.

In January 1880 Chamberlain told Morley that he had come round to the view that 'the balance of advantage would be greatly in favour of Gladstone's lead', although 'he would be King Stork, and ... some of us frogs would have a hard time of it under him'.<sup>25</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the 1880 general election Morley's earlier doubts seemed to have receded, and in a letter dated 7 April 1880, acknowledging Gladstone's message of commiseration over the defeat at Westminster, the 'heartfelt congratulations' sounded genuine:

It is needless to say how keenly I exult in the magnitude of the victory which you have won. It is not often given to a public man to perform so beneficent a service, in stirring all that is best in his countrymen in successful protest against all that is worst. It is only now that I realise how dark was our hour two years ago.<sup>26</sup>

The uncertainties of the situation increased when Morley heard from Mrs Gladstone's nephew, Alfred Lyttelton, that it was 'quite understood in the family circle' that Gladstone would

come back as Prime Minister for only two years 'just to see the ship well on her voyage'.<sup>27</sup>

By the time Gladstone's article appeared in print on 1 May 1880 he was back in office as Prime Minister, having undermined the self-confidence of the Queen's preferred candidate. When Hartington reported to Gladstone, on his return from Windsor on the evening of 22 April, he was warned that any support for a government formed by him, 'or by Granville with him', would be conditional:

Promises of this sort I said stood on slippery ground and must always be understood with the limits which might be prescribed by conviction.<sup>28</sup>

The reluctant Queen was persuaded to accept the inevitable. However, Morley's reservations were reawakened by what, in the June issue of the *Fortnightly Review*, he called 'delays and hitches, ungracious and unnecessary as well as impolitic' in the formation of the new cabinet. Lord Bath ought to have been reassured to see that seven out of the fourteen members of the cabinet were peers (or, in Hartington's case, the heir to a peerage). Although Gladstone had agreed under pressure to include Chamberlain, it was clear to Morley that if he had been free to follow his own inclinations Gladstone would not have conceded cabinet rank to 'any member of that division of the Liberal Party which has been chiefly instrumental in procuring from the constituencies so emphatic a reversal of the verdict pronounced six years ago'. In the *Fortnightly Review* article Morley issued a reminder that although 'Liberalism owes much to Mr Gladstone, Mr Gladstone owes not less to the work that Liberalism has undertaken and accomplished on his behalf'.

It may not be too fanciful to speculate that Gladstone's article on 'The Conservative Collapse',

**The two leaders, although so different in many respects, were alike in insisting that their leadership would be made available only on their own terms.**

when considered coolly after the electoral euphoria had died away, might have contributed to Morley's uneasiness.<sup>29</sup> He originally told Gladstone that he found the argument 'irresistible', and that it 'ought to touch deeply all honest conservatives, and to reconcile them to what is in truth their own deliverance'.<sup>30</sup> However for radicals the article revealed a streak of the old Conservatism in the new Liberal Prime Minister. As Peter Ghosh has put it in a recent article, 'the idea of a once and future Liberal leader offering advice on the reconstruction of the Tory party was extraordinary to a degree ... and the episode stood as a further revelation of his eccentricity in relation to the rank and file of the Liberal Party'.<sup>31</sup>

Gladstone had shown that he intended to be a Liberal after his own fashion, rather as he had accused Disraeli of being a Conservative after his own fashion. If the election had been a verdict on men, rather than on the rival merits of traditional party policies, then victory as well as defeat could be attributed to individuals. The two leaders, although so different in many respects, were alike in insisting that their leadership would be made available only on their own terms. After 1886 the Liberal Party was made to pay a high electoral price for Gladstone's leadership. By then Morley, like most of his front-bench colleagues, was prepared to pay the price, but Chamberlain was not.

*Patrick Jackson has written political biographies of three Gladstonian Liberals, Lord Hartington (The Last of the Whigs, 1994), W. E. Forster (Education Act Forster, 1997), and Sir William Harcourt (Harcourt and Son, 2004). He has also edited selected extracts from the journals of Lewis Harcourt (Loulou, 2006), and is now writing a life of John Morley.*

1 A footnote to the 13 April 1880

- entry in Colin Matthew (ed.), *Gladstone Diaries*, vol. IX (Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 501, suggests that Morley was 'just ceasing to be editor' of the *Fortnightly Review*. In fact he did not resign the editorship until October 1882.
- 2 Walter E. Houghton (ed.), *The Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals*, vol. 2 (University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 227.
  - 3 Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries*, vol. IX. In his *Life of Gladstone*, vol. 2 (Macmillan, 1903), p. 617, Morley merges the entries for 13 and 14 April.
  - 4 Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries*, vol. IX. Entries for 6 and 7 April 1880.
  - 5 Letter to the Duke of Argyll: Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, vol. 2, p. 615.
  - 6 Arthur Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby* (Macmillan, 1942), p. 184.
  - 7 Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, vol. 6 (John Murray, 1920), p. 532.
  - 8 In *Gladstone* (Macmillan, 1995), p. 434, Roy Jenkins wrongly said that Gladstone returned to London on 13 April 1880.
  - 9 On 10 April 1880 Gladstone recorded a conversation in which Wolverton 'threatens a request from Granville and Hartington. Again I am stunned, but God will provide.' (Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries*, vol. IX, p. 500).
  - 10 Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries*, vol. IX, p. 501.
  - 11 Patrick Jackson, *Harcourt and Son* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), p. 55.
  - 12 R. T. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876* (Harvester Press, 1975), p. 185.
  - 13 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44463 f 96.
  - 14 Jackson, *Harcourt and Son*, pp. 252–54.
  - 15 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 2. F. W. Hirst, *Early Life and Letters of John Morley*, vol. 2 (Macmillan, 1927), p. 60. In December 1876 Gladstone had written a signed article for the *Contemporary Review* on 'The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Question', and in May and August 1877 articles by him on Montenegro and Egypt appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* (reprinted in *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. 4 (John Murray, 1879), pp. 259, 305, 341).
  - 16 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 6.
  - 17 Hirst (vol. 2, pp. 91–92) suggests that Morley persuaded Gladstone to send him a contribution about the general election, but it seems clear that Gladstone wrote the article without prior invitation. The adoption of a policy of signed articles in the *Fortnightly Review* was an innovation; in the older reviews anonymity had been the norm. Thus Gladstone's article on the Franco-Prussian War for the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1870 had been unsigned. However, when the article was reprinted in *Gleanings of Past Years* (vol. 4, p. 197) he appended a note, dated 1878, saying that this was the only one of his articles 'meant ... to be in substance, as well as in form, anonymous'.
  - 18 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 15 and f 17, 21 April 1880. Morley persuaded Gladstone not to use the initial 'E' as a pseudonym, since when the authorship became known 'this signature might be taken as artificially misleading'.
  - 19 Dudley Bahlman (ed.), *Diaries* (Clarendon Press, 1972), entries for 1 and 2 May 1880.
  - 20 Letter from Morley to Gladstone: Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 15.
  - 21 John Morley, 'The Struggle for National Education', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 August 1873.
  - 22 John Morley, 'The Five Gas Stokers', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 January 1873.
  - 23 John Morley, 'Home and Foreign Affairs', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 July 1876.
  - 24 Ibid.
  - 25 J. L. Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Macmillan, 1932), p. 288.
  - 26 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 13.
  - 27 Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, vol. 1, p. 290.
  - 28 Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44764 f 43. Patrick Jackson, *The Last of the Whigs* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), pp. 110–23.
  - 29 Correspondingly, of course, the tone of the article would have appealed to the less radical sections of the Liberal Party, and I am indebted to Professor John Vincent for the suggestion that Gladstone's intention might have been to reassure those who feared that he had gone too far in the Midlothian campaign.
  - 30 21 April 1880. On 5 May Morley sent Gladstone an 'honarium' of £36. Gladstone Papers ADD MSS 44255 f 17 and f 21.
  - 31 Peter Ghosh emphasises the point that Gladstone was using Peel 'as an exemplar to Conservatives, not to Liberals', and discounts the idea of a Liberal lineage from Peel to Gladstone. ('Gladstone and Peel' in Ghosh and Goldman (ed.) *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 70–71.)

## Journal subscriptions

As noted in the last edition, the subscription rate for the *Journal of Liberal History* is increasing from the 2006–07 membership year, which starts with this issue, number 53.

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