

GLADSTONE'S MIDLOTHIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1879

- 4 J. P. Parry, *The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain* (London, 1993), pp. 257–60, 290–92.
- 5 R. T. Harrison, *Gladstone's Imperialism in Egypt: Techniques of imperial domination* (Westport, CT, 1995); J. Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams. Opium and the Arrow War (1856–1860) in China* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. pp. 431–33; and E. F. Biagini, 'Exporting "Western and Beneficent Institutions": Gladstone and Empire, 1880–1885', in D. Bebbington and R. Swift (eds.), *Gladstone Centenary Essays* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 202–24.
- 6 H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1875–1898* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 1–60.
- 7 W. E. Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches 1879* (Leicester, 1971), First Speech, pp. 35–36.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 9 Interestingly, in this case Gladstone insisted on a European consensus, to the exclusion of the USA, only because he reckoned that '[our] American friends have too remote an interest in [the Ottoman Empire] to take part' (*ibid.*, p. 54).
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 37.
- 13 J. L. Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (London, 1964), p. 706.
- 14 Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches*, Second Speech, pp. 89–90.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 16 Cf. J. Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London, 2001); J. Alberti, *Eleanor Rathbone* (London, 1996); and S. Pedersen, 'National bodies, unspeakable acts: the sexual politics of colonial policy-making', *Journal of Modern History*, 63 (December 1991).
- 17 Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches*, Third speech, p. 115.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 D. W. Bebbington, *William Ewart Gladstone: faith and politics in Victorian Britain* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1993), p. 179.
- 22 Matthew, *Gladstone 1875–1898*, p. 23.
- 23 H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809–1874* (Oxford, 1986), p. 225.
- 24 Matthew, *Gladstone 1875–1898*, p. 123; cf. W. Hinde, *Richard Cobden* (London, 1987), pp. 202–03, 207–08, 270–71.
- 25 A. Pottinger Saab, *Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria and the working classes 1856–1878* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), p. 94.
- 26 On the international dimensions of this question see D. Beales and E. F. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* (London, 2002), pp. 114–33, 163–75.
- 27 Matthew, *Gladstone, 1875–1898*, p. 198. In 1879 Gladstone thought that Disraeli's purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal had amounted to assuming 'the virtual government of Egypt', in so far as Britain, jointly with France, was now in control of Egyptian revenue and responsible for the servicing of her national debt (*Midlothian Speeches*, First Speech, p. 49). His understanding was that Britain had accepted a virtual 'Protectorate' on the Nile – with all the political and moral obligations that a protectorate entailed. This helps to explain why he was so readily persuaded to invade Egypt in 1882.
- 28 E. D. Steele, *Palmerston and Liberalism 1855–1865* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 246.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

LETTERS

Lib-Labs

Roy Douglas

Andrew Hudson's interesting article on the Lib-Labs (*Journal* 41) raises a few points which call for comment.

The National Agent Francis (not Henry) Schnadhorst and the Chief Whip Herbert (later Viscount) Gladstone were both interested in securing the election of more working-class MPs, but at different periods. Schnadhorst retired from the post of Secretary of the National Liberal Federation in 1893 and from Chairmanship a year later. His health collapsed about that time, and he died early in 1900. Herbert Gladstone was Chief Whip from 1899 until he joined Campbell-Bannerman's government late in 1905.

The Hanley by-election of 13 July 1912 did not result in a Tory victory (though many people, including the *Punch* cartoonist, anticipated otherwise), but in a victory by the Liberal land-taxing enthusiast R. L. Outhwaite. The result was: Outhwaite 6647; Rittner (Tory) 5993; Finney (Labour) 1694.

The author is right in stating that the affiliation of the Miners' Federation to the Labour Party 'was not universally welcomed'. In the general election of January 1910, the Lib-Lab miners' MPs who defected to the Labour Party were only able to hold their seats where they had no Liberal against them. The only one of their number who encountered Liberal opposition was John Johnson in Gateshead. The feeling of the local miners was indicated on polling day when eight thousand of them

demonstrated against him in the streets of the town. The Liberal won the seat; Johnson ran a poor third.

Archie Macdonald

Michael Meadowcroft

Excellent issue (*Journal* 41) just arrived! On Jaime Reynolds' and Robert Ingham's biography of Archie Macdonald, I knew Francis Boyd very well. He was the Lobby Correspondent for the *Guardian* for very many years and he told me that when Archie Macdonald appeared at the Commons in 1950 he, Francis, sought Archie out, basically to introduce himself as just about the only Liberal journalist around the place. He duly met Archie and congratulated him warmly on

his election. Archie's response was the comment, 'Ah, yes – now there's three things wrong with the *Manchester Guardian* ...'!

The novelist Ernest Raymond was the conduit for the 1962 victory in the Town Ward of Hampstead Borough which put Archie Macdonald on to that council. There's a hilarious account of it in Ernest's autobiography, *Please You, Draw Near*, published by Cassell in 1969, pages 115–19. It's particularly about persuading his friend and fellow author, Pamela Frankau, to stand with him and Archie in the three-member ward on the guarantee that she wouldn't win! All three of them came to my Liberal councillors' training sessions that year and I recall Archie putting on an air of some superiority as an ex-MP.