BRITISH PARTY POLITICS, 1852–1886

BRITISH PARTY POLITICS, 1852–1886

ANGUS HAWKINS

First published in Great Britain 1998 by

MACMILLAN PRESS LTD

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and London
Companies and representatives throughout the world

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-0-333-57081-4

ISBN 978-1-349-26167-3 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-26167-3

First published in the United States of America 1998 by

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS, INC.,

Scholarly and Reference Division,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010

ISBN 978-0-312-17537-5

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hawkins, Angus.

British party politics, 1852–1886 / Angus Hawkins.

p. cm. — (British history in perspective)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 978-0-312-17537-5 (cloth)

1. Great Britain—Politics and government—1837–1901.

2. Political parties—Great Britain—History—19th century.

I. Title. II. Series.

DA560.H338 1997

320.941—dc21

97–9963

CIP

© Angus Hawkins 1998

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
07 06 05 04 03 02 01 00 99 98

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
1 Parliamentary Government	9
<i>The Nature of Parliamentary Government</i>	11
<i>The Critics of Parliamentary Government: Peel and the Court</i>	30
<i>The Critics of Parliamentary Government: Radical Traditions</i>	35
<i>Summary</i>	44
2 Mid-Victorian Parties, 1852–9	47
<i>The Aberdeen Coalition, 1852–5</i>	50
<i>Palmerston's First Ministry, 1855–8</i>	56
<i>Derby's Conservative Government, 1858–9</i>	66
<i>Conservative Defeat and Liberal Union</i>	72
3 Palmerston and Liberalism, 1859–65	79
<i>Palmerston's Liberal Leadership</i>	80
<i>Gladstone: the 'People's Chancellor'</i>	86
<i>Liberal Government: Finance, Reform, Religion and Foreign Policy</i>	89
<i>Bright Resurgent and Gladstone 'Unmuzzled', 1863–5</i>	101
<i>Palmerston's Departure</i>	106

4 'A Leap in the Dark', 1866–8	109
<i>The Myths of 1867</i>	112
<i>Liberal Dissension, 1866</i>	115
<i>Conservative Reform, 1866–7</i>	119
<i>The Impact of Reform</i>	131
5 Gladstone and Liberalism, 1868–74	141
<i>Gladstone's Liberal Leadership</i>	141
<i>Liberal Reform, 1868–73</i>	149
<i>Liberal Discord, 1872–4</i>	159
6 Disraeli and Conservatism, 1874–80	178
<i>Disraeli's Conservative Leadership</i>	178
<i>Conservative Reform</i>	186
<i>Empire and Foreign Policy</i>	195
<i>Conservatism Becalmed, 1878–80</i>	206
<i>Disraeli's Legacy</i>	210
7 The Crisis of Liberalism, 1880–6	217
<i>Liberal Opposition and the Midlothian Campaigns, 1875–80</i>	218
<i>Liberal Government: Ireland, Egypt, Bradlaugh, and Reform, 1880–5</i>	226
<i>'Elijah's Mantle'</i>	242
<i>The Home Rule Crisis, 1886</i>	246
<i>Gladstone's Legacy</i>	260
8 The Rise of the Party System	266
<i>The Emergence of Party Government, 1867–86</i>	268
<i>The Ascendancy of the Party System after 1886</i>	281
<i>Notes</i>	291
<i>Annotated Bibliography</i>	309
<i>Index</i>	317

For Emma and Kate

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing a survey text a large number of debts of various kinds are incurred which can only be inadequately, but no less gratefully, acknowledged. The comments of Michael Bentley, Tom Buchanan, Terry Jenkins, Bruce Kinzer, John Powell, John Prest, and the unfailingly supportive editorship of Jeremy Black were invaluable. My heavy debt to the scholarship of others is indicated in the notes. The unstinting efforts of Linda Cox saw the typescript through to completion. Valery Rose and Jocelyn Stockley expertly guided it through the press. My colleagues at Oxford and family enabled this project to be finished when much else demanded my time. I hope they find what follows worthy of their valued friendship and unfailing support.