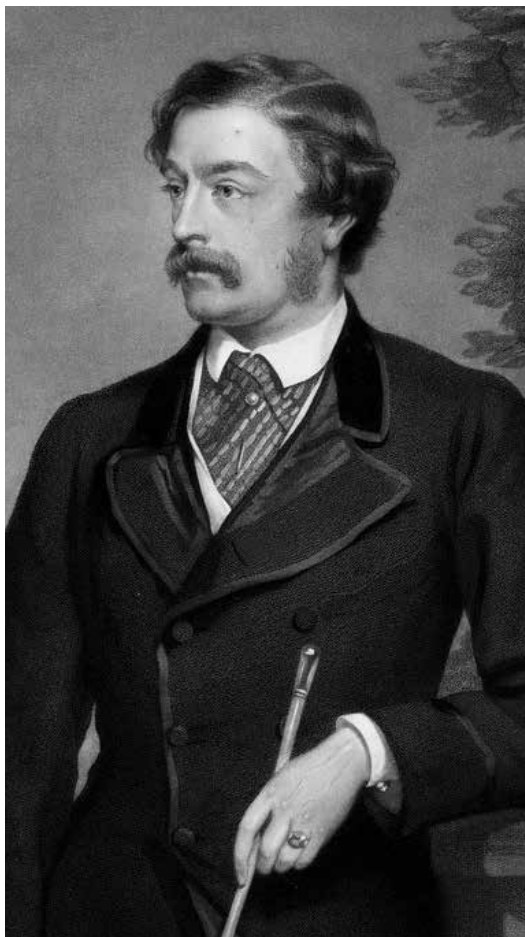


Friends and families

Hugh Gault traces the political careers of two aristocratic neighbours in the late nineteenth century.



Sefton and Derby: Politics, Principle and Opportunity

THE MOLYNEUX AND Stanley families were neighbours on the outskirts of Liverpool up to 1980, with the eastern-most point of the Molyneux estate at Croxteth only a few hundred yards from the western edge of the Stanley one at Knowsley. A path through the appropriately named 'Little Wood' connected them.¹

The history of the Sefton, or Molyneux, family stretches from Robert de Molyneux in 1125² to the death of the 7th Earl in 1972 and his wife in 1980. They had no children, and the title became extinct. The main family home at Croxteth Hall (see photograph) was subsequently opened to the public, and the grounds surrounding it became a country park for the people of Liverpool.

The Derby, or Stanley, family remains extant, and the current Earl of Derby is the nineteenth. Their estate at Knowsley remains private, although Knowsley Hall itself, like many stately homes in private hands, can be hired for weddings and other purposes.³

In the two brief paragraphs above lie many clues to the differences between the Stanley and Molyneux families. While both families had been prominent in public affairs for hundreds of years, the dominant story of the Molyneux family was of being at odds with the established order. Often this was about religious difference, but not always; and as there were several landed families in Lancashire that were known to be Catholic, the Molyneux/Sefton dynasty were not exceptional in this regard.

Thomas Stanley on the other hand became the 1st Earl of Derby in 1485, ennobled by the new king, Henry VII, after the Battle of

Left: Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby, photographed by William Walker, 1867
(© National Portrait Gallery, London)

Right: William Philip Molyneux, 4th Earl of Sefton, by George Sidwell Sanders, Henry Graves & Co, Sir Francis Grant, 9 June 1865
(© National Portrait Gallery, London)

Bosworth Field. Thomas Stanley's second marriage to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond in 1472 made him stepfather to her son Henry Tudor, the future king, but for most of the subsequent Wars of the Roses he fought on the opposite (Yorkist) side. Yet his support of the Yorkists was not unwavering even then, and could never be taken for granted, for he exercised discretion from time to time and his endorsement was never inevitable. He seems to have finalised his eventual switch to the Lancastrians only when he could be certain of Henry Tudor's victory.⁴

By contrast it would be almost another 300 years before an Irish earldom was conferred on the Molyneux family by George III in 1771.⁵ The title Charles Molyneux (1748–1795) took, or at least his wife Isabella Stanhope (1748–1819) chose, was Maryborough, a very Protestant appellation (only 'Williamville' might have been more so) in an attempt to distance the family from their Catholic background and return to royal favour. His son, the second Earl in the Irish peerage, William Molyneux (1772–1838), was created Baron Sefton by William IV in 1831.

A Molyneux had fought with Henry V at Agincourt, and another had been one of the keenest Royalists during the Civil War. The latter's brother Sir Caryll, the 3rd Viscount Molyneux, found himself outlawed by parliament and subsequently was one of the accused in the Manchester treason trial of 1694. An informer John Lunt had accused eight prominent Lancashire men, including Sir Caryll Molyneux, of involvement in a Jacobite plot to restore the exiled James II to the throne. Lunt's story was readily believed by William III's government because it fitted their assumption that many Lancashire Catholics were closet Jacobites. Lunt claimed that Molyneux held a meeting of Jacobites at Croxteth Hall in June 1690, though Molyneux was already under house arrest by the authorities who feared an invasion from Ireland. Largely because of the difficulty of capturing Lunt, it would be 1694 before the case came to court. It soon collapsed, partly

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because Lunt had fabricated the plot and was himself being held on other charges, partly because it was unlikely that such a crass operator who knew little of Lancashire would be given such a mission, and partly because some of Lunt's accusations were demonstrably erroneous, not least in terms of timing.⁶

In the fifteenth century, the Molyneux family quarrelled with the Stanleys over control of Liverpool, to the point where it threatened to become an armed feud. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the 15th Earl of Derby, Edward Stanley (1826–1893) counted the 4th Earl of Sefton, William Molyneux (1835–1897) among his few friends. While as neighbours and near contemporaries it made sense for their relationship to be cordial, there were many reasons why it might be more superficial and distant than it proved to be.

Personal affiliation and political differences

Few sons of prime ministers become major politicians in their own right; even fewer rescue the family estate (in this case Knowsley) from the indebted and parlous condition in which their predecessor had left it. Edward Stanley the 15th Earl achieved this partly by good management, condemning those who

had frittered away the generous provision handed down to them, especially his father, the 14th Earl of Derby, who had been Tory prime minister three times in the middle of the nineteenth century. But the 15th Earl was also fortunate in new railway companies paying to lay tracks across his land in the 1870s. He stood out from his Derby predecessors and successors (even down to the current 19th Earl) in choosing to close down the horse-racing operation that had proved such a drain on the estate's resources in previous years.

Politically the 15th Earl followed his father's recent Tory allegiance and, perhaps reluctantly for he sympathised with the Whigs on several issues, started on the Tory benches in the Commons.⁷ In 1858, Lord Stanley (as he then still was) joined his father's second cabinet, initially if briefly as colonial secretary, and four months later as the first secretary of state for India having guided the Government of India Bill through the Commons.⁸ The government fell the following year and with it Stanley's chance of becoming governor-general of India, the post he really coveted and which his father had used as an inducement for him to join the government in the first place.

Stanley's next cabinet post was at the Foreign Office, starting in 1866 in his father's last government. This appointment lasted twice as long as had his time at the India Office, for he remained Disraeli's foreign secretary in 1868

Croxteth Hall, April 2019 (© Hugh Gault)



after his father's death. After the government's defeat in that year's general election, he was in opposition for the next six years before returning as foreign secretary in 1874.

It was during the subsequent four years that the 'Eastern question' was to the fore once again with a crisis in the Balkans. Turkey's massacre of Bulgarian Christians had led Russia to invade Turkey, threatening British interests in the Mediterranean. Derby resisted another war with either Russia or Turkey, despite Disraeli's views. In March 1878 Derby indicated at cabinet that he would definitely be resigning, leaving it to Disraeli to decide (with Lord Northcote) when the House of Lords should be informed and when his seals of office should be returned to Queen Victoria.⁹ Derby's resignation speech to the House of Lords on 28 March, and the Earl of Beaconsfield's (Disraeli's) reply, are both circumspect. Derby did not explain his reasons in detail for 'it is not in the interest of the State [that they] should be made public', adding that while his cabinet colleagues also sought to maintain peace in Europe, he differed from them in how best to achieve this: 'We agree as to the end, but unhappily we differ as to the means'. Both he and Disraeli made it clear, though, that there was no breach between them, and their personal relationship remained as strong as ever. It seems that Derby had objected to the Congress of Europe going ahead and 'a dispute ... not ... of form or of words, but ... involving a very substantial reality'.¹⁰ In other words, and reading between the lines, Derby judged a breach of international law could or would result if the Congress of Europe took place and, while he won his point through resignation, he recognised that the party price might be heavy.¹¹ His entry in the Oxford DNB asserts that 'His own party never forgave him for holding them back from the brink of war'.

Derby had threatened to resign over a similar issue the previous January, withdrawing it two days later when his concerns had been heeded, but the option of resignation had been in his mind for some time, for, in March 1877,

he had recorded that he wanted to leave the government before Disraeli retired. He had no illusions that he would be long remembered: 'I have read and seen enough to know that no politician is long missed, and that there is more vanity than patriotism in thinking one's services indispensable.'¹²

Sir William Philip Molyneux, the 4th Earl of Sefton, was in the Lords for forty-two years from 1855. Before this, he had served in the Crimea in the Grenadier Guards, initially as an ensign before retiring as a captain in 1858 when already an Earl. This military career was another marked difference between Sefton the Whig and Stanley the reluctant Tory. To the extent that he focused on politics at all, Sefton was less interested in national politics than in those that affected Liverpool and Lancashire, where he was lord lieutenant until 1895, two years before his death. His county interests included local elections, for example the December 1868 election in North Lancashire where he was optimistic about Spencer Compton Cavendish (1833–1908) retaining the seat he had held since 1857. In Sefton's view Cavendish (then Lord Hartington and later the 8th Duke of Devonshire) would first have to tone down his more radical pronouncements, some of which frightened Sefton, but if that was done Sefton was content to 'obey orders'.¹³ In the event Hartington lost the seat in the December 1868 election – as did several other Lancashire Liberals. In 1880, however, the Liberal Party won the general election that year and Sefton wrote to Cavendish to congratulate him.¹⁴

Sefton was in the House of Lords for almost six years before his first speech, when he responded on behalf of the Whigs to Queen Victoria's address at the opening of parliament on 5 February 1861. Much of his response was formulaic, but he hoped that any errors he made would be 'attributed to my inexperience of public affairs, rather than to any wish on my part to obtrude my opinions unnecessarily on your Lordships' notice'. He also referred to the return of 'the noble Earl opposite [Stanley's father the 14th Earl of Derby] restored to health'.¹⁵

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By contrast Stanley was committed to both local and national affairs. He was chair of the Liverpool magistrates and sought to improve housing conditions in Liverpool. In June 1871, for example, Stanley (by then the 15th Earl of Derby) chaired a meeting to promote a limited liability company that would develop new sites in Liverpool and refurbish and improve existing court housing (labourers' dwellings).¹⁶

Another marked difference was in their personal styles. Sefton lived in and for the moment and two of his sons, the 5th and 6th Earls, continued his sporting obsessions, particularly shooting and fishing, with frequent trips to Abbeystead, the family hunting estate near Lancaster that the 4th Earl had built. Stanley was a more reflective character, as evidenced both by keeping a daily diary for more than forty years and in its contents, often weighing up the pros and cons and revealing his real opinions on people and topics. Few politicians of cabinet rank find the time, even if they have the inclination, to confide their detailed record of contemporary events to a diary and that he should do so was even more unusual in Derby's day. Yet Derby's diaries cover his political life from 1849.¹⁷ His judgements of people are frequently illuminating, for even when he writes of friends such as Sefton or Charles Darwin, he is alive to their less attractive aspects. He could of course be candid because these were views

Derby appreciated Sefton's chattering 'away in his boisterous, good-natured fashion', perhaps dismissing the less attractive aspects as defence mechanisms of the reticent and shy.

recorded in his diary not expressed publicly, and even if they might become known in the future, he must have thought that his balanced and judicious approach was both appropriate and defensible.

In September 1884 Derby spoke to Earl Granville, the Liberal leader in the Lords, about the claims of three candidates for a vacant Garter post:

Sefton stands first on this list: Kimberley and Rosebery the other two. ... [Granville] complained of Sefton being unpopular in Lancashire, where it is said he makes none but Conservative magistrates. This I do not believe, and told Granville so, but Sefton's unpopularity is a fact. It is caused by his loquacity, his somewhat swaggering manner, and occasional fits of temper: added to which he will seldom make speeches on public occasions, though when he does they are very good.¹⁸

Yet Derby appreciated Sefton's chattering 'away in his boisterous, good-natured fashion', perhaps dismissing the less attractive aspects as defence mechanisms of the reticent and shy.¹⁹

In the later diaries Derby frequently writes dismissively of the limited abilities of many of his fellow members of the House of Lords, as he does too of those who were seeking his financial and charitable support – often inappropriately and sometimes fraudulently in his view. Eminent people such as the writer Anthony Trollope, a fellow committee member of the Royal Literary Fund, whose tendency to take offence and blustering arrogance Derby found insufferable, was accepted to have virtues as both an entertaining novelist and enlightened administrator. Derby was ready to praise those who he felt deserved it, whatever their role, and his loyalty and even temper must have made him an agreeable employer, often granting long-standing employees pensions out of his own pocket or tiding them over difficulties.²⁰

Sefton was Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire from 1858 until 1895 but in the final two years the power to create magistrates was removed from him, allegedly because of a pro-Unionist bias.²¹ This is at odds with the record the 15th Earl of Derby had made in his diary twenty years before as he and Sefton walked back together from church in August 1874: 'Talk also of magistrates: Sefton gives himself much

credit for refusing all appeals to make them from political partisans and I believe he may say this with truth'.²² Sefton underlined this position when he responded in the Lords on 5 June 1893 to the action removing his ability to create magistrates:

During the 35 years of his Lord Lieutenancy he had never made a single appointment on political grounds, and since 1870 he had never nominated or refused to nominate a County Justice on political grounds. He did not think any noble Lord would say that if he had occupied a similar position he would have complied with the Chancellor of the Duchy [of Lancaster]'s request, and he doubted very much whether the right hon. Gentleman himself ever imagined for one moment that he would lend himself to such a transaction. [The Chancellor's] letter was a courteously worded, but formal notice to quit. It might be possible to find or create some better authority than the Lord Lieutenant for the appointment of Magistrates; it might be desirable to do away entirely with the "great unpaid" and to appoint Stipendiary Magistrates in every Petty Sessional Division; but surely it was undesirable that the appointments to the Lancashire County Bench should again be used for political purposes as undoubtedly they were before 1870.²³

The 15th Earl of Derby had recently died and Sefton lamented the impact on Lancashire, as well as himself:

He missed that evening the assistance – and Lancashire will miss the advocacy – of the noble Earl who so lately led the Liberal Unionist Party in their Lordships' House. Lord Derby had been Chairman of Quarter Sessions in Lancashire for many years. That noble Lord knew Lancashire well, and noble Lords on both sides would admit that no better opinion and higher authority could be quoted on a subject of this kind.

In Lord Derby's last letter to him – probably the last letter the noble Earl ever wrote, or, rather, dictated on any county or public question – he condemned the [Chancellor's action]. All who had appointments in their gift, all who had responsibilities so often and so erroneously called "patronage" occasionally made mistakes which unfortunately it was not in their power to correct. He claimed no exemption to that rule. ... He appealed to his noble Friend the Leader of the House – he appealed to the noble Lords who sat beside him – to use their influence ... [and] ... prevent a very great wrong being done to a great county.²⁴

This was Sefton's second speech in the House of Lords, thirty years after his first, and that he made it at all (for it was his final one as well) demonstrated how strongly he felt the injustice as if he was "the black sheep of Lords Lieutenant". As important in his view though was the impact on Lancashire.

Derby first becomes a Gladstonian Liberal

Resigning from the cabinet over a matter of principle, as Derby had done, was less unusual in 1878 than it is today, but it was still exceptional. However, it did not necessarily herald the even more remarkable step Derby was to take two years later. That Derby and Sefton sometimes confided in each other, despite the apparent differences in their political allegiances, is clear from the above, but in early 1880 Sefton encouraged Derby explicitly towards the Liberals. In mid-January he asked Derby to meet the leader of the Liverpool Liberals and by March had encouraged Derby to support the Liberal candidates in the Lancashire county election.²⁵ By the end of March 1880, Derby was providing financial assistance as well as moral support, putting up £3,000 alongside Sefton's £2,000 and thereby covering between them half the cost of the contest.²⁶ Also in March 1880, Derby's steps towards the

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Liberals moved out of the realm of confidential debate into the public sphere. That month Derby had written to Sefton about the forthcoming general election, and specifically the conclusion Derby had reached that he could no longer support the Conservative Party (par-

A Liberal at heart but pragmatically a one-nation Conservative ... , Derby had served both the Tory and Liberal parties in three of the highest offices of state in the Victorian era. His friend Sefton had been an ally, the 'figurehead of Liverpool Liberalism' ... and responsive to Derby's request to broadcast Derby's dissatisfaction with the Tories in 1880, enabling his change of party and his subsequent contribution to a Liberal cabinet.

ticularly, and perhaps most tellingly, over foreign relations), for he judged their policy of neutrality 'an evasion of public duty'. Consequently, he assured Sefton, he had 'no choice except to declare myself, however reluctantly, ranked among their opponents'. Derby may have been in a somewhat fevered state, in effect revoking his recent history of Tory loyalty, but it is also clear that he knew what he was doing and had chosen his confidante Sefton as the messenger. Sefton was a Liberal Party grandee after his lengthy time in the Lords, but he was by nature a Whig landowner rather than a political conspirator. Nevertheless, he could hardly refuse the opportunity he had been handed, for Derby had added, 'you may make any use of this letter that you please'. Three days later, on 15 March, Derby's letter to Sefton was published in *The Times*.²⁷ Derby's letter was significant primarily as an indication of the way sentiment was moving, not least for appearing at the start of Gladstone's campaign. This is noted by Hanham,²⁸ with Mitchell describing it as a guarded endorsement of the Liberals.²⁹

Once the election was won, Derby was wooed by the Liberals but he was not prepared to transfer his allegiance until the end of November 1882, when he was enticed into

Gladstone's cabinet as colonial secretary (having been persuaded to switch from the India Office, his original preference). It is claimed in Derby's entry in the DNB that one civil servant referred to the colonial secretary as 'dawdling Derby', while another lamented his 'constitutional feebleness'. What such comments may illustrate though is the contrast between Derby's careful and considered judgement of the many challenges he faced (particularly in South Africa) and the precipitate rush that the imperial mindset may have expected as of right. As late as May 1884,

Derby accepted Gladstone's offer of a vacant Garter post, having previously turned down the same offer from Disraeli on his cabinet resignation in 1878.³⁰

Derby left office in 1885 when Gladstone's government fell, though he maintained 'a real tie of loyalty to [Gladstone]'.³¹ Indeed, up to this point Sefton and Derby had both supported the majority of Gladstone's proposals for, as Derby noted in his diary, Sefton called on him in February 1885 to outline the contents of a speech censuring recent Joe Chamberlain pronouncements that he intended to give in Liverpool. Derby persuaded him to tone it down so as not to cause a disturbance.³² But later that year, at a dinner in honour of Sefton, Derby would himself speak about 'Chamberlain's new programme, not with approval ...'.³³ Nevertheless, Derby refused to rejoin the cabinet in Gladstone's new government in January 1886 over Home Rule and the re-creation of an Irish parliamentary body alongside that at Westminster.³⁴ Derby concentrated the remaining years of his life on Liverpool and on Liberal Unionist matters in the Lords. He was Liberal Unionist leader from 1886 to 1891 but 'in some ways he remained very much a Liberal' and thought coalition with the Conservatives 'out of the question'.³⁵

He was no more than a reluctant ally of Salisbury, and was particularly negative about Salisbury's government, for even in his earlier days he had been a cautious Conservative. To his mind the Liberal Unionists were 'a device for separating Liberals from Conservatives, rather than Liberals from Liberals'.³⁶

Towards Liberal Unionism

Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill for Ireland was defeated in the Commons in 1886, ninety-three Liberal MPs having voted against it. Gladstone called a general election and lost it to the Conservatives of Lord Salisbury. The Liberals had been split into 191 Gladstonian Liberals who, even with the support of 85 Irish Home Rulers, were outnumbered by 78 anti-Home-Rule Liberals and 316 Conservatives. Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Hartington had formed the Liberal Unionist party in 1886 but refused to join a coalition with the Conservatives:

When Hartington asked Chamberlain his advice ... Chamberlain was quite adamant in his refusal and was supported by Lord Derby who distrusted the Conservative leader. ... Chamberlain and Derby also advised Hartington that the party should continue to sit with the Gladstonians, now on the opposition benches.³⁷

It would be 1895 before the Liberal Unionists formally joined Salisbury's third administration – and by then Derby was dead. He had become increasingly sceptical of Liberal Unionism for he thought them focused solely on Home Rule and he was bored with this one-eyed approach.³⁸ In 1891 his co-leader in the Lords, Hartington, became sole leader when he became 8th Duke of Devonshire.

Although Sefton may have shared Derby's increasing dissatisfaction, they were among the twenty largest contributors to the discreet fighting fund that Hartington and his son-in-law Lord Wolmer established to meet

the Liberal Unionist costs at the 1892 general election.³⁹ Sefton had given £1,000 and Derby £3,000, significant donors to the total of £131,785, more than double the fund's £60,000 target.⁴⁰ In the event less than £27,000 was spent on the general election itself, though nearly £67,000 had been expended in one Liberal Unionist interest or another. The rest was retained in Wolmer's 'secret' account until it might be required.

After his return to office in 1892, Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was even more bitterly contested the following year. It was eventually forced through the Commons, but comprehensively defeated on second reading in the Lords by 419 to 41 on 8 September, 1893.⁴¹ This date was not long after the withdrawal from Sefton of the right to create magistrates. It may be assumed that Sefton voted in the Lords majority, perhaps partly in memory of his friend Derby.

Conclusion

Derby's independence, and independent thought, comes through in the candour of his diaries, and he was always aware of his responsibilities as well as privileges as the largest Lancashire landowner. A Liberal at heart but pragmatically a one-nation Conservative like Disraeli, he had served both the Tory and Liberal parties in three of the highest offices of state in the Victorian era. His friend Sefton had been an ally, the 'figurehead of Liverpool Liberalism' Derby called him,⁴² and responsive to Derby's request to broadcast Derby's dissatisfaction with the Tories in 1880, enabling his change of party and his subsequent contribution to a Liberal cabinet.

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1 National Library of Scotland Ordnance Survey map Lancashire CVII.NW surveyed 1891, published 1894

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- 2 *Victoria County History of Lancashire* (vol. iii), p. 73.
- 3 [knowsleyhallvenue.co.uk](https://www.knowsleyhallvenue.co.uk) – accessed 6 Dec. 2021.
- 4 Thomas Stanley (c.1433–1504) entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB).
- 5 J. J. Bagley, *A History of Lancashire* (5th edn., Darwen Finlayson, 1970), pp. 28–29.
- 6 Enid Lonsdale, ‘John Lunt and the Lancashire plot 1694’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 91–106.
- 7 His father the 14th Earl had served in the Whig reforming ministry of Charles, Earl Grey (1764–1845), before breaking with them in 1834 over church reform and joining the Tories, first in Peel’s government before becoming leader of the protectionist majority after the split over the Corn Laws and then prime minister himself. The 12th Earl had served very briefly in the Whig governments of Portland and Grenville but was mostly interested in horse racing. The 13th Earl was a lifelong Whig supporter.
- 8 James Olson and Robert Shadle (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire* (Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 991 – accessed online 14 Feb. 2020.
- 9 John Vincent (ed.), *The Diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826–1893) Between September 1869 and March 1878* (Camden Fifth Series, vol. 4; Royal Historical Society, 1994), p. 532 (diary entry of 27 Mar. 1878).
- 10 Derby’s resignation speech in the House of Lords is at https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1878/mar/28/state-ment#S3V0239Po_18780328_HOL_6, as is Disraeli’s reply – accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
- 11 See House of Lords debate (including speeches by Disraeli, the Whig and then Liberal leader Earl Granville, and Derby) at https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1878/apr/08/message-from-the-queen-army-reserve#S3V0239Po_18780408_HOL_18 – accessed 4 Jul. 2022.
- 12 Vincent, *Diaries 1869–1878*, p. 387 (diary entry of 30 Mar. 1877)
- 13 14 and 28 Jul. 1868 letters: Letter from William Molyneux, 4th Earl of Sefton to Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington – Correspondence of Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire – Archives Hub ([jisc.ac.uk](https://www.jisc.ac.uk)); Letter from William Molyneux, 4th Earl of Sefton to Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington – Correspondence of Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire – Archives Hub ([jisc.ac.uk](https://www.jisc.ac.uk)) – both accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
- 14 14 Apr. 1880, Letter from William Philip Molyneux, 4th Earl of Sefton to Spencer Compton Cavendish, Marquess of Hartington – Correspondence of Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire – Archives Hub ([jisc.ac.uk](https://www.jisc.ac.uk)) – accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
- 15 <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1861/feb/05/address-in-answer-to-her-majestys-speech> – accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
- 16 Stanley was also a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery where he appears in fifty-seven pictures. They hold five images of Sefton.
- 17 They have been edited in four volumes by John Vincent. In addition to the 1994 one referred to above, the other three are: *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party: Journals and Memoirs of Edward Henry, Lord Stanley 1849–1869* (Harvester, 1978); *The Later Derby Diaries: Home Rule, Liberal Unionism and Aristocratic Life in Late Victorian England* (University of Bristol, 1981); *The Diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826–1893) Between 1878 and 1893: A Selection* (Leopard’s Head Press, 2003).
- 18 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, p. 699 (diary entry of 3 Sep. 1884).
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 831 (diary entry of 13 Feb. 1886).
- 20 For example, 2 Jan. 1884 diary entry regarding Scott, his head servant for the previous fifteen or so years, whose ill-health and that of Scott’s wife had forced them to hand in their notice.
- 21 P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Secularism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool 1868–1939* (Liverpool University Press, 1981), p. 510.
- 22 Vincent, *Diaries 1869–1878*, p. 178.
- 23 Hansard, Parl. Debs. (series

- 4) vol. 13, col. 155–157 (5 June 1893) – reported in third person, as the Lords Hansard then was; accessed 14 Jul. 2022.
- (Sefton was responding to the explanation and rebuttal that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had given in the House of Commons on 25 Apr. 1893 for removing the power to create magistrates from him: Hansard, Parl. Debs. (series 4) vol. 11, col. 1128–1130 (25 Apr. 1893) – accessed 14 Jul. 2022.)
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, pp. 206 and 219 (diary entries for 18 Jan. and 12 Mar. 1880).
- 26 Ibid., p. 223 (diary entry of 31 Mar. 1880).
- 27 *The Times*, 15 Mar. 1880.
- 28 H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone* (Harvester, 1978 (orig. 1959)), p. 289.
- 29 Dennis J. Mitchell, *Cross and Tory Democracy: A Political Biography of Richard Assheton Cross* (Garland Publishing, 1991), p. 156. Mitchell noted that the letter was also published in the *Manchester Guardian* on the same date (15 Mar.).
- 30 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, p. 659 (diary entry of 1 May 1884).
- 31 Vincent, *Diaries 1878–1893*, p. 838.
- 32 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, p. 752 (diary entry of 13 Feb. 1885).
- 33 Ibid., p. 818 (diary entry of 31 Oct. 1885).
- 34 Ibid., p. 831 (diary entry of 30 Jan. 1886).
- 35 Ibid., p. 838 (diary entry of 2 Jan. 1887).
- 36 Ibid., p. 839.
- 37 Ian Cawood, ‘A distinction without a difference? the Liberal Unionist–Conservative alliance’, *Journal of Liberal History*, 72, pp. 14–25; also, Ian Cawood, *The Liberal Unionist Party: A History*, (IB Tauris, 2012), pp. 14–16, 18, 20–24.
- 38 Vincent, *Diaries 1878–1893*, p. 838.
- 39 Lord Wolmer letter to Lord Hartington (by then 8th Duke of Devonshire), 5 Sep. 1892, clarifying that not all the funds had been expended in the July general election and the residue had been banked at Childs & Co. as ‘Lord Wolmer’s LU Account’. It is reprinted in full as an appendix to T. A. Jenkins, ‘The funding of the Liberal Unionist party and the honours system’, *English Historical Review*, 105, pp. 920–938. Wolmer and Hartington were the only two people who knew of this account.
- 40 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, pp. 87–8 (diary entry of 20 May 1890).
- 41 Hansard, Parl. Debs. (series 4) vol. 17, cols. 563–649 (8 Sep. 1893). Though both Hansard and the following day’s *Times* report the scale of the vote, neither list the votes of individual peers. Although this second bill allowed continued Irish representation in the Commons, it is difficult to think this was a reason for Sefton to change his previous view.
- 42 Vincent, *Later Derby Diaries*, p. 833.

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- 37 *Flintshire Observer*, 4 Oct. 1900.
- 38 *County Herald*, 5 Oct. 1900.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 *County Herald*, 5 Oct. 1900.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 *County Herald*, 12 Oct. 1900.
- 44 Lewis’s diary, 14 Nov. 1900 National Library of Wales, Lewis Papers B13.
- 45 *County Herald*, 16 Nov. 1900.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Hansard, Parl. Debs (series 4), vol. 88, col. 886 (15 Dec. 1900).
- 49 Ibid., col. 888.
- 50 Ibid., col. 890.
- 51 Hansard, Parl. Debs. (series 4), vol. 94, col. 1228 (6 Jun. 1901).
- 52 Lewis’s diary, 15 Jun. 1901, National Library of Wales, Lewis Papers B14.
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