

Preface

Writing on the declining efficiency of parliament, young Mr. Gladstone in 1856 offered the bold prophecy that for the foreseeable future administrative rather than constitutional reform would be seen as the key to good government.¹ He could hardly have been more mistaken. In the wake of Lord Salisbury's stunning electoral victory in 1895, had he recalled his earlier prophecy, he must have been compelled to admit man's fallibility when it came to forecasting the future. Yet Gladstone's failed prophecy is understandable. After all, how could he have anticipated that Salisbury by the 1890s would be the beneficiary of a sea change in public perception of the house of lords, one that the Conservative leader had himself generated? For Salisbury's activity had given rise to a lively ideological debate that bore no relationship to good administration, centering in fact on the pattern of political power at Westminster. The skill with which Salisbury redirected public perception of the houses of parliament provides this study with one of its leading themes.

In the course of writing the study I have incurred numerous obligations. I am happy to acknowledge, first of all, my gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen for access to materials in the Royal Archives and also for permission to refer to and quote from letters of Sir Arthur Bigge (Lord Stamfordham), one of George V's two royal secretaries; and in this connection I wish also to thank D. M. Blake, European Manuscripts Curator, Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, who as holder of the Crown Copyrights gave permission for the use of these letters. I am likewise indebted in this matter to Oliver Everett, Royal Librarian at Windsor Castle, who assisted me in this and other ways.

My thanks are also extended to the following for their permission to quote from letters and other documents in which they hold the copyright or which they have in their possession. I am indebted in particular on this point to the marquis of Salisbury and the earl of Selborne, as readers of this study will quickly per-

1. Gladstone's essay was published in the *Quarterly Review*, 99 (June to Sept. 1856), 521-70.

ceive, and also to the duke of Northumberland though it has not been necessary to call upon him to the same degree. Let me express my appreciation as well to Ann Lambton, who was helpful with regard to the Robert Cecil papers, and to the late T. D. Wragg, formerly Keeper of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth and his successor, P. Day, for their kindness.

Among the institutions that were generous with their assistance were the British Library and its India Office Library and Records; the Bodleian Library, and the libraries of the Universities of Cambridge and Birmingham. Though it is possible to list only a few names in this connection, I wish to thank by name the following: Colin Harris of the Bodleian Library, which houses the Lady Clarendon "Diaries" and the voluminous Selborne papers; and J.F.A. Mason of Christ Church, Oxford, and Robin Harcourt Williams of Hatfield House, skilled librarians, who guided me through the Salisbury papers. I am grateful as well to Dr. B. S. Benedikz for assistance with the Joseph Chamberlain papers at the University of Birmingham and to Patricia Gill, County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office, which has the papers of the fifth duke of Richmond. Access to these papers and permission to publish from them for the purposes of this study are "by courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgements to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist." Finally, it is a pleasure to express my obligations to Bridget Taylor, the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, who helped me in diverse ways, and also to Professors John Weiss of the City University of New York, and R. W. Davis, Washington University, St. Louis for their timely advice.

My gratitude is also due to the Syndics of the University Library, Cambridge, for granting access to the Crewe papers, which the University owns. I have incurred further obligations with regard to the papers of Andrew Bonar Law, Lord Willoughby de Broke, and John St. Loe Strachey, which are in the Record Office of the House of Lords. I wish to thank the Clerk of the Record Office for permission to make use of these papers and also the present Lord Willoughby de Broke and Charles Strachey.

It would be remiss of me not to express appreciation for

the opportunity to read and quote from two unpublished doctoral dissertations: David Robert Fisher, "The opposition to Sir Robert Peel in the Conservative party, 1841-1846" and Patricia Kelvin, "The development and Use of the concept of the electoral mandate in British politics, 1867 to 1911." Both were completed at the University of London, the first in 1970, the other in 1977. I have also profited from conversations with Dr. Kelvin; and although I have had no opportunity to discuss his dissertation with Dr. Fisher, I have used it extensively in my own work and am happy to express at this time my deep sense of obligation to him for his generosity in this regard.

Research for my study was supported (in part) by repeated grants from the Faculty Research Award Program of the City University of New York. Without its generous support, it would have been very difficult for me to make the trips to England that were required. I was also the recipient in 1986 of a "Travel to Collections Grant" from the National Endowment for the Humanities; but other attempts to secure financing from foundations were unsuccessful. I was of course seeking grants as a woman well before the development of the present social climate, and in the circumstances it was fortunate for me that there existed in the City University a Faculty Research Award Program.

I was also fortunate in having access to the skilled and gracious assistance of Deborah Trepp of The New York Public Library. On countless occasions her contribution to preparing my typescripts for publication has been indispensable. I wish also to acknowledge with thanks the willingness of Jeanne Hodgson of Herbert H. Lehman College, CUNY, to borrow through interlibrary loan countless books otherwise not readily available to me; and the care and facility manifested by Jacob Goldstein, who presides over the 57th Street Copy Center in Manhattan, in duplicating endless pages of typescript as the book took shape. In their individual ways, all of them were very helpful to me.

Finally, I wish to express my deep appreciation to my husband Arthur Weston, who has consistently supported and encouraged my scholarly interests. He has always understood their importance to me; and despite the daunting presence of countless boxes of papers in our home never lost his patience and good humor.

