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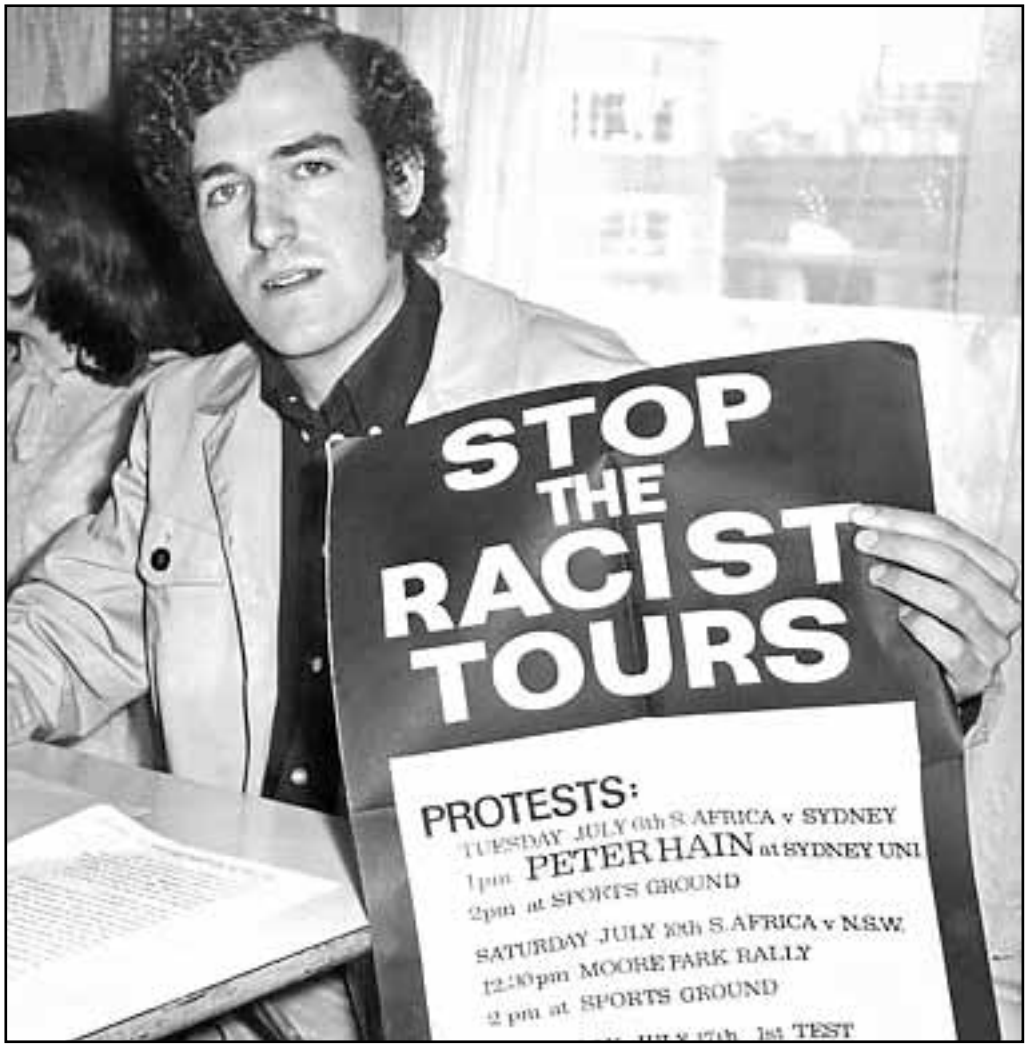
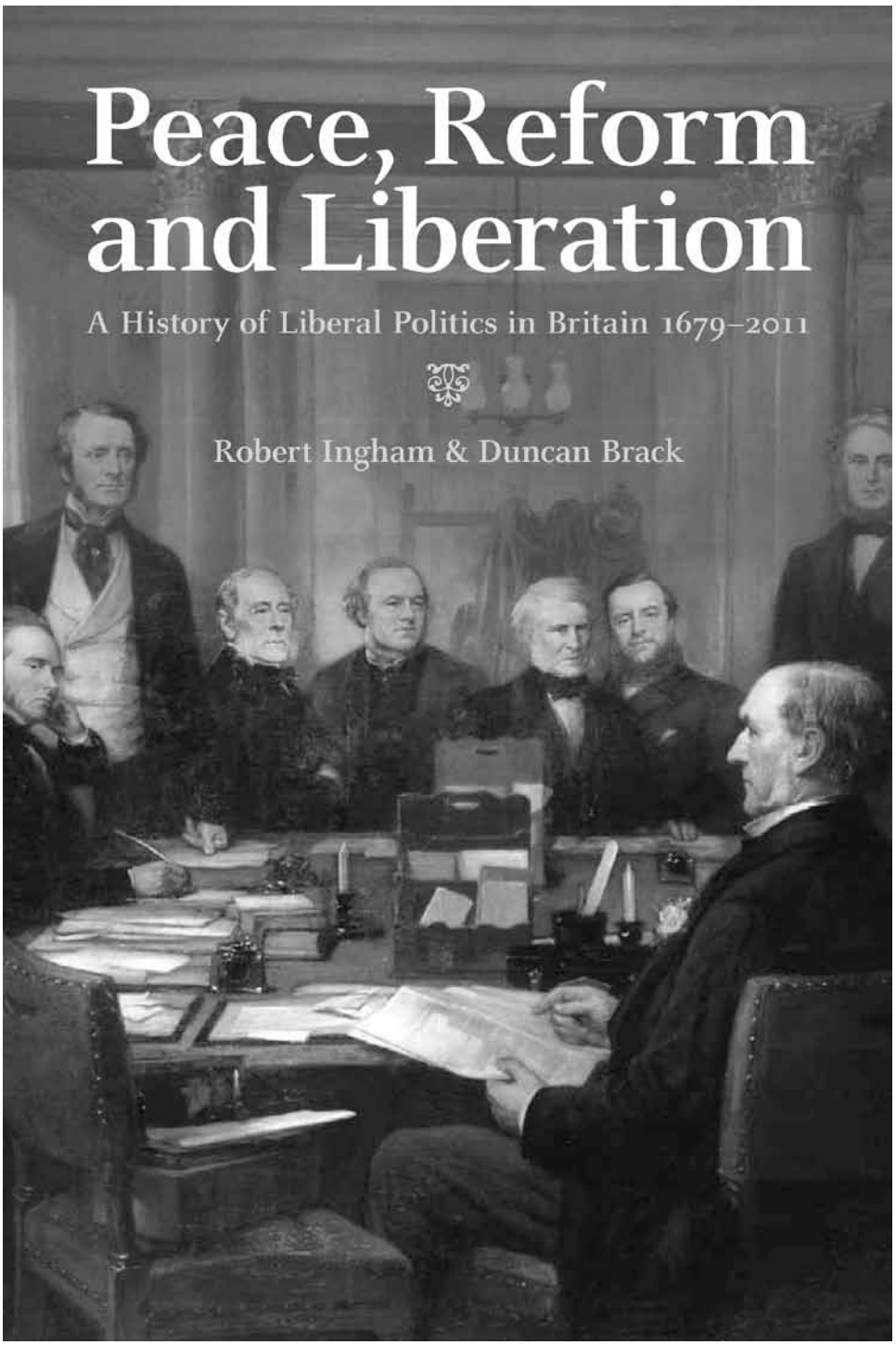
Journal of Liberal HISTORY



Campaigning against apartheid

Liberal Democrat History Group



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Liberal Democrat History Group

The Liberal Democrat History Group promotes the discussion and research of topics relating to the histories of the Liberal Democrats, Liberal Party, and SDP, and of Liberalism. The Group organises discussion meetings and produces the *Journal of Liberal History* and other occasional publications.

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LIBERAL HISTORY NEWS SPRING 2012

Orpington celebrated

Liberal legend Eric Lubbock celebrated the 50th anniversary of his Orpington by-election winner with a star-studded dinner at the National Liberal Club last month, writes **York Membery**.

A host of big names past and present attended the fifth Orpington Circle Dinner, chaired by Paul Hunt, to pay tribute to the still-sprightly octogenarian and to talk about the campaign and its significance.

Former Liberal MP Michael Meadowcroft, who campaigned alongside Eric at Orpington in March 1962, told the hundred plus guests at the banquet: 'This was a by-election where the Tories got it all wrong – and we not only got it right, but did "disgustingly well", to quote Jo Grimond.'

'Like everyone working at party HQ at the time, I was sent to Orpington to help out in the campaign,' recalled Meadowcroft. 'The original Liberal candidate, Jack Galloway – a man who had a personal defect that he shared with Lloyd George – had been replaced at the eleventh hour by Councillor Eric Lubbock, a sound local squire and a figure of great moral rectitude.'

The seat had been left vacant for five months and in Peter Goldman the Tories clearly chose the wrong man to fight it. 'He'd park his caravan in a street. Tthe Tories would announce that "Peter Goldman is here" and urge anyone who wanted to meet him to visit him in his caravan,' said Meadowcroft. 'I don't think he knocked on one door.'

The day before the by-election, Liberal campaign manager Pratap Chitnis (now Lord Chitnis) got wind of the fact that a new opinion poll in the *Daily Mail* showed the party closing on the Tories in the seat. He 'somehow got hold of 5,000 copies of the paper which we handed out to commuters on the day of the by-election,' added Meadowcroft. The by-election duly saw Eric sensationally win the seat with a near 22 per cent swing, giving him a near 8,000 majority. He went on to hold it until 1970.

Another veteran of the campaign, William Wallace (now Lord Wallace of Saltaire), explained how the Orpington by-election was 'a world away from today's world'.

'We did most of our canvassing in the afternoon back then, and there was nearly always someone at home,' he said, noting that many of those who eventually voted for the Liberals were the sons or daughters of Nonconformists. 'What's more, people were keen to discuss politics.'

After a letter of congratulation from the party leader Nick Clegg, thanking Eric for his 'astounding contribution as an MP, chief whip and peer' was read out, Eric, who now sits in the Upper Chamber as Lord Avebury, got up to say a few words himself. The 83-year-old modestly attributed much of the Liberal success at the by-election to Chitnis, 'who ran the campaign very effectively', and his 'fantastic team' who 'made a big difference'.

While Meadowcroft rightly observed that Orpington did not 'herald a great change in politics' at the time, the final speaker of the night, party president Tim Farron, who wasn't even born when it took place, argued that it had greater long-term significance than is sometimes appreciated.

'The Orpington by-election rightly occupies an important place in Liberal mythology,' he said. 'It was a David versus Goliath struggle. Up until Orpington, the party's success had depended upon a handful of people who refused to accept that "the game was up", the conventional wisdom of the day – but afterwards things were never quite the same again.'

He added, to applause: 'The simple truth is that without Orpington there would have been no Bermondsey, Christchurch or Ribble Valley. In short, the long march back to power began at Orpington.'

Eric Lubbock, Lord Avebury (front row, centre), with Orpington by-election veterans (photo Michael O'Sullivan; www.michaelosullivan.co.uk)

Even before this dinner, the Orpington Circle had raised £25,000 for the Liberal Democrat by-election fund.

Now hear what leading Liberal Democrats really thought – by Adrian Slade

Since 2004 the *Journal of Liberal History* has been the guardian of what, although I say it myself, is now becoming a uniquely interesting party archive – a set of CDs and audio-cassette tapes of in-depth interviews I have conducted with leading Liberal Democrats of the last decade. The collection spans the years 2002–11 and each interview is now available for listening from the *Journal* archive.

The collection includes the very last media interview given by Roy Jenkins, the very first UK interview given by Paddy Ashdown after his return from four years in Bosnia, interviews with the Federal Party Presidents and Welsh and Scottish leaders and London Mayoral candidates of the past ten years and, most recently, interviews with Nick Clegg and all the Liberal Democrat Secretaries or Ministers of State in the Coalition Government. I have also retained separately from this archive taped interviews with all the new Liberal Democrat MPs of the 2005 and 2010 intakes.

In the summer of 2002 when, for my own interest, I interviewed former Liberal leadership contender John Pardoe, I never thought that this would become the first in a nine-year series of similar talks with other significant Liberal Democrats. Before 2002 the party had had no spoken record of how its leading members viewed their political past, their earlier party experiences, the more dramatic events that shaped their political lives or their current views of the party and its prospects.

All my write-ups of these interviews have subsequently been published in the *Journal* or *Liberal Democrat News* but inevitably they are in abbreviated form. Only the *Journal* archive has the full, unexpurgated, recorded versions. The list features all the most familiar Liberal Democrat names in today's party, but there is also an interview with one significant name from the past, Ludovic Kennedy, and a 2006 interview with a beleaguered Russian Liberal, Grigory Yavlinsky, leader of Yablokov, the Russian Democratic Party., who addressed the Lib Dem conference in September 2006.

Now many of the original earlier recordings have been transferred from tape to CD and the archive has been substantially expanded, exclusively on CD, to include more interviews conducted between 2006 and 2011. Readers of the *Journal* or any others interested can, for example, now listen on CD to any or all of the recordings of my 2011 interviews with a the Liberal Democrat Secretaries and Ministers of State in the Coalition or my three full-length interviews with Nick Clegg in 2009, 2010 and 2011.

For a unique insight into the thoughts and motivations of all those above, enthusiasts for Liberal/Liberal Democrat History may now borrow these CDs and tapes from the *Journal*, to copy and listen to at home *(subject to certain conditions)* for a token fee of £5 per CD or £3 per tape. If you are interested, ask Mark Pack (mark.pack@gmail.com) for a copy of the full interview list, summary content details, conditions of use and application form or, if you are certain what you want to hear, just return the form below.

Audio recordings available

2002–06 CDs and tapes

In approximate chronological order, the following interviews have now been transferred to **CD** (some singly, some in pairs according to length):

John Pardoe, Shirley Williams and Roy Jenkins, David Steel, Bill Rodgers, Jim Wallace, Mike German, Simon Hughes, Tim Razzall and Chris Rennard, Ludovic Kennedy (2002) and Grigory Yavlinsky (2006), Charles Kennedy (2004) and Paddy Ashdown (2006)

The following are still available on **audio-cassette**:
John Lee, Eric Avebury (Lubbock), Paul Marsden (2002), Mike Storey and Sir Trevor Jones, Barry Norman (2003), Tony Greaves, Tom McNally and Charles Kennedy (2003).

2006–11 CDs

Menzies Campbell and Nick Clegg (2008/9), Tavish Scott and Kirsty Williams (2008), Brian Paddick, Ros Scott and Lembit Opik (2008), Susan Kramer and Tim Farron (2010);

QUESTIONS OF STATE series: Michael Moore and Danny Alexander, Vince Cable and Chris Huhne, Steve Webb and Sarah Teather, Nick Harvey and Tom McNally, Paul Burstow and Jeremy Browne (2011); Nick Clegg (2010 and 2011), Willie Rennie and Brian Paddick (2011).

To: Mark Pack, *Journal of Liberal History* archive, 2a Heathville Road, London N19 3AJ

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THE YOUNG LIBERALS AND ANTI-A

Catherine Ellis and **Matthew Redding**
explore the Young Liberals' contribution to anti-apartheid campaigns and sporting boycotts in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The YLs played a major role in protests against apartheid, particularly in the Stop the Seventy Tour (STST), whose goal was to prevent an all-white South African cricket team from touring in Britain in the summer of 1970. STST was the most important campaign in the Young Liberals' history and is often claimed as the most successful protest movement in post-war Britain. As Peter Hain, a prominent Young Liberal and the leader of STST, observed as he reflected on a lifetime of anti-apartheid activism, 'The Stop the Seventy Tour was not about sport – it was the first step towards making apartheid unacceptable to the world'.[1]

Despite the significance of STST and the importance of Young Liberals within it, the YLs have attracted much less academic attention than other British youth organisations of this period, and anti-apartheid campaigning has tended to be

NG GAMES
APARTHEID CAMPAIGNS, 1968 – 70

overshadowed by other contemporary protest movements, particularly against nuclear proliferation and the Vietnam War. This article attempts to redress the balance by examining the Young Liberals' contribution to international efforts to end racial segregation in South Africa.[2]

Campaigns against apartheid in the late 1960s took place against a background of anxiety about the results of Harold Macmillan's 'wind of change' sweeping across Africa, Britain's colonial legacy, and the integration of Commonwealth immigrants into British society. The same period was marked by the rising profile of teenagers and young people, whose political and social activities frequently disturbed their elders and challenged established mores.

These anxieties collided in anti-apartheid protests, which pitted radical young activists against 'white', 'imperial' sports run by a coterie of often elderly, upper-middle-class men. The struggle against apartheid thus exposed contemporary tensions around race, empire, social class, and age. An examination of the YLs' role in British anti-apartheid campaigns demonstrates the importance of Young Liberal contributions to the transnational struggle against South African race laws. More broadly, it further develops our understanding of relations between the Liberal Party and its youth wing, and contributes to a growing body of research on youth in British politics and political responses to youth culture in a period of high-profile student sit-ins and youth-led single-issue campaigns.

The Young Liberals

The National League of Young Liberals (NLYL) originated in Birmingham in 1903 as the League of British Young Liberals, inspired by Giuseppe Mazzini's Young Italy Movement. The League spread rapidly through the Midlands and the North-West while a separate League of Young Liberals was formed in London. The two groups amalgamated in 1908.[3]

The NLYL grew to become the most influential, yet least studied, youth wing of Britain's major political parties, their significance often overshadowed by the Young Conservatives' extensive social activities and the Young Socialists' flirtation with Trotskyism. The Young Liberals developed their highest public profile in the 1960s and early 1970s, when they campaigned on issues as diverse as trade union policy, education reform, the Middle East, apartheid, and Britain's role in NATO. Indeed, Young Liberal activism was described by sociologists Philip Abrams and Alan Little in 1965 as 'the most striking and only truly distinctive aspect of political participation of youth in contemporary Britain'.[4]

Left: Stop The Seventy Tour protesters outside Lord's, March 1970

The YLs wanted to attract young people disillusioned by 'the hypocrisy and dishonesty of the big parties', and also sought to address what they saw as a lack of leadership and radicalism in the 'senior' Liberal Party.[5] The YLs were represented on local and national Liberal councils, and they pressed for greater radicalism in foreign and domestic affairs through the writing of their New Orbits Group and the presentation of often combative resolutions at Liberal Assemblies and NLYL conferences. The YLs received significant credit for their role in the Liberals' 1962 by-election victory in the previously safe Conservative seat of Orpington, as well as local electoral successes through their 'community politics' initiatives in the early 1970s.

Like Britain's other political parties in this period, the Liberal Party tried to harness the dynamism of young people. While the Young Conservatives' primarily social function ensured that relations with the Conservative Party were fairly smooth, Labour was considerably more troubled by the Young Socialists' slide to the militant left. The Liberals tried to present themselves as the 'party of youth' through initiatives such as the *Charter for Youth* (1964), which promised reforms in education and vocational training, community initiatives, and a reduction in the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen. Relations between the YLs and the 'senior' party were

often tense, however, particularly over matters of defence and foreign affairs. The Young Liberals and the Liberal Party were usually in broad agreement on major issues, but they differed over the degree of radicalism and the methods of campaigning, especially the preference of some YLs for direct action, which intensified in the late 1960s. By 1969, the party's Annual Report noted that, even as the YLs' membership was declining, there was 'new militancy' in the organisation, 'with particular emphasis on campaigns of civil disobedience', specifically protests against international tours by all-white South African tennis and cricket teams.[6]

Liberals and apartheid

British colonial governments bore considerable responsibility for introducing racial segregation to southern Africa beginning in the late eighteenth century, when a sense of white superiority over the native black population was encouraged to unite white British and Afrikaner settlers. At the same time, apartheid offended against traditional liberal principles of individual freedom and human rights, exemplified most clearly in the liberal humanitarianism that inspired nineteenth-century campaigns to abolish slavery. Looking back from the 1960s, the Liberal Party claimed a proud history of opposition to racial segregation in southern Africa. Herbert Asquith's Liberal government had granted independence to the Union of South Africa in 1910, which gave Liberals a sense of 'special responsibility' toward the region. Liberal information papers claimed that the party had expressed concern about the 'colour bar' from 1906 onwards, and Liberal politicians consistently criticised the failure of later British governments to honour their commitments to improve political rights for black and coloured South Africans.[7]

Liberal condemnation intensified as the policy of apartheid, literally meaning 'apartness', was codified following the Afrikaner National Party's victory in South Africa in 1948. The Liberal Party officially denounced apartheid in 1949 and 1950 and supported black African interests against colonial European pressure throughout the 1950s, including support for the international boycott of South African goods that began in 1959. Liberal MPs strongly condemned the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960, in which white South African troops opened fire on black protestors, and called for South Africa to be refused readmission to the Commonwealth in 1961. The Liberal policy statement, *Partners in a New Britain* (1963), stated that Britain 'must not compromise with apartheid', and the party both encouraged successive British governments to support an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa, and offered support to persecuted South African Liberals such as Randolph Vigne. Beyond South Africa, Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of Rhodesian independence from Britain was also a focus of concern for Liberals. The 1966 Brighton Assembly included an emergency motion calling for 'an unambiguous pronouncement that independence will not be granted to any Rhodesian government unless it is based on universal adult suffrage'. At the same Assembly, MP (and later party leader) Jeremy Thorpe's speech advocating the bombing of railway lines into Rhodesia earned him the nickname 'Bomber' Thorpe.

Apartheid was firmly entrenched in all aspects of South African life, but it was particularly visible internationally through racial segregation in sports. In 1957, the South African Minister for the Interior, while denying that the government was interfering in sport, required that 'Whites and non-Whites should organise their sporting activities separately; that there should be no inter-racial competitions within our borders; and that the mixing of races in teams to take part in competitions within the Union and abroad should be avoided'.[8]

Both domestic and international pressure mounted against such measures. In 1958, the South African Sports Association was formed to coordinate and advocate on behalf of non-white athletes. In 1961, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) banned South Africa, and the following year the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was formed to press the International Olympic Committee to expel South Africa unless black athletes were permitted on South African Olympic teams. South Africa was subsequently banned from competing in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics, and was officially expelled from the Olympic movement in 1970. Lingering international ambivalence towards apartheid was apparent, however, through the fact that a white South African delegate continued to sit on the International Olympic Committee.

Anti-Apartheid Movement poster, 1969/70

Despite many other restrictions on its sporting activities, South Africa remained active in international cricket and rugby, and these two sports became the focus of anti-apartheid protests in the late 1960s. Both cricket and rugby were 'imperial' games, spread and transfused into local cultures through British rule. For the most part, international rugby and cricket competition was confined to 'white' Commonwealth countries: the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Consequently, South African interests were protected by an imperial 'old boy network' committed to keeping politics out of sports and maintaining traditional sporting ties.

Earlier protests against all-white South African cricket teams touring England in 1960 and 1965 were dismissed as 'feeble' by the Secretary of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) and had virtually no impact on the sport; however, in 1968 the

South African government refused to allow the English cricket team to tour its own country because the team included a coloured (former South African) player named Basil D'Oliveira. The 'D'Oliveira Affair' focused wider public attention on apartheid in sport and initiated an international protest movement that eventually resulted in South Africa's exclusion from international test match cricket for more than two decades.[9]

In response to D'Oliveira's exclusion, the Liberals passed a resolution at their 1968 Assembly calling on the MCC and other English cricketing authorities to cut all ties with South Africa. At the same time, student protest and grassroots activism were on the rise, and the Young Liberals eagerly took up the cause.

Young Liberals and anti-apartheid campaigns

The Young Liberals' involvement in the anti-apartheid movement grew naturally out of the Liberal Party's long-standing opposition to racial segregation in South Africa, but it was characterised by its own distinct methods and identity.

For the YLs in the 1960s, opposition to apartheid became a litmus test for the 'libertarian socialism' and radicalism that many YLs espoused. The YLs had already established their credibility through direct action campaigns and protests against the Vietnam War and Ian Smith's rule in Rhodesia, as well as earlier anti-apartheid demonstrations, and thus they were well placed to take a leading role as momentum built against apartheid in sport. Furthermore, other radical youth organisations such as Trotskyists and Maoists were more engaged in anti-Vietnam demonstrations than apartheid protests, leaving the field open to the YLs.

Building on earlier Liberal protests against the situation in Rhodesia, Peter Hellyer, the NLYL International Vice-Chairman, spoke to a resolution on southern Africa at the 1967 Liberal Assembly. He urged the Liberal Party to 'show that we are in tune with the present day world' by rejecting 'fascist' white regimes and supporting the 'wind of change' blowing across Africa. But Hellyer insisted that supporting a resolution was not enough – mouthing 'pious sentiments' was no better than the 'cowardly hypocrisy' of Harold Wilson's Labour government that supported British business interests in Africa at the expense of human rights. Liberals must follow the YL example and take real action.

The Young Liberals' involvement in the anti-apartheid movement grew naturally out of the Liberal Party's long-standing opposition to racial segregation in South Africa, but it was characterised by its own distinct methods and identity.

Early in 1968, the YLs formed a South Africa Commission and their involvement in the anti-apartheid movement gained momentum. The focal point of their campaigning was South Africa's participation in international sports competitions, and their protests took place principally through the Stop the Seventy Tour (STST) committee led by Peter Hain. Hain was the son of white anti-apartheid and South African Liberal Party activists who had fled to London in 1966 after one of their friends was executed by the South African government. Upon arrival in England at the age of sixteen, Hain found the Young Liberals a 'vibrant, irreverent force for radicalism' and quickly joined – although first he had to set up a YL branch in his local constituency. He became a member of the YL executive and the Liberal Party's national executive, as well as Vice-Chairman of the South Africa Commission. Both he and Hellyer also served on the executive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), a major London-based protest group with strong Liberal and Labour Party support.

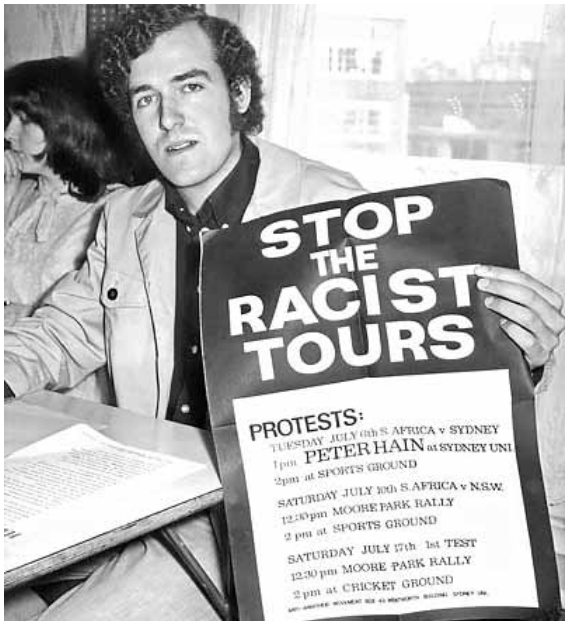
Building on their earlier speeches, rallies and demonstrations, YL anti-apartheid activity intensified in early 1969. In response to news that an all-white South African cricket team would tour in Britain the following year, Hain and other YLs decided that the AAM's 'legitimate' protest methods were inadequate. In January, Hain submitted a resolution to the YLs' South Africa Commission pledging 'to take direct action to prevent scheduled matches from taking place unless the 1970 tour is cancelled'. The resolution was sent to the MCC and other clubs, where it met with considerable hostility. For example, Wilfred Wooller, a hard-liner within the Cricket Council, told anti-apartheid campaigners that he had 'no sympathy with your cause in any way shape or form, and regard you as an utter nuisance'. Hain later claimed rather cheekily that Wooller was 'our greatest ally … [e]very time he speaks up we get a thousand more supporters'.[10] During the International Cricket Conference at Lord's in June, the YLs also released a letter signed by their Chairman, Louis Eaks, warning that a campaign of civil disobedience would go ahead if the 1970 tour were not cancelled.

In collaboration with SANROC, groups of YLs began to disrupt cricket matches in the summer of 1969, starting with a private South African cricket tour sponsored by Wilf Isaacs, a Johannesburg cricket enthusiast. At the first match in Basildon, ten YLs protested on the pitch until they were dragged off by police, a scene repeated in disruptions at every match for the rest of the tour. Protestors invaded the pitches and at least one cricket pitch was dug up. A Davis Cup tennis match was also interrupted when Hain and three other YLs ran onto the courts and were arrested. In a private prosecution later brought against him by barrister Francis Bennion, Hain was found guilty of conspiracy for disrupting the Davis Cup match but was acquitted on three other charges related to the cricket tour.

The Liberal Party supported the YLs' efforts in their early stages. Arguing that the cricket tour would be 'an affront to black South African sportsmen, and to Britain's coloured community, and in addition, an outright capitulation to racialism', in July 1969 the Liberal Council called for the 1970 cricket tour to be cancelled and offered support for 'the initiative taken by various individuals, including Young Liberals, in mobilising opposition to the tour'.[11]

Soon afterwards, STST was formed as a broad-based direct action coordinating committee to bring together opponents of apartheid in sport. Hain was STST's first Press Officer and subsequently became chairman of the organisation. Although STST was formed in response to rugby and cricket tours, Hain emphasised that its goal was much more ambitious, to make apartheid 'unacceptable to the world'.[12]

The YLs' choice of direct action for their anti-apartheid protests was an explicit rejection of the 'bridge-building' approach (most often put forward by conservative business



interests) that argued that trade connections and the pressures of free-market capitalism, as well as exposure to successful multi-racial societies such as Britain, would encourage South Africa to give up apartheid. The YLs rejected that position entirely, insisting that the only way to compel change was to isolate South Africa completely through direct actions such as boycotts, 'militant political resistance' and 'guerrilla struggle'.[13] Such tactics also had the advantage of producing attention-grabbing images, a point that was not lost on the YLs in an increasingly televisual age. During protests against the rugby tour, for example, newspapers carried images of the Springboks retreating behind barbed-wire fences.

STST was inspired by the 'Committee of 100', a militant offshoot of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) that used direct action in its protests, as well as the anti-Vietnam War and American Civil Rights movements that politicised many young people across the industrialised world. While single-issue campaigns often took the support of young people away from mainstream political parties, the Liberals tried to become an 'umbrella organisation' that encouraged single-issue pressure groups to work together with the Liberal Party, and the Young Liberals became an attractive outlet for young people looking to change the system. This was part of the Young Liberals' efforts to bring politics back to the grassroots and establish a 'coalition of radicals', an area in which they had some success.

The initial focus of STST was the cricket tour, but the South African rugby team was scheduled to come to England before the cricketers in the winter of 1969–70 (their first appearance in England since 1960–61, and only the sixth since 1906). STST therefore decided to target the rugby tour as a dry run for the cricket tour the following summer. At a press conference, Hain warned British sporting authorities that 'their complicity in apartheid sport will no longer be tolerated', and one week later the Liberal Party called for the rugby tour to be cancelled.

The rugby tour went ahead but was met with sustained protests. Hain claimed that the twenty-five-match tour attracted over 50,000 demonstrators who faced over 20,000 police officers. The first match (at Oxford) was cancelled on the recommendation of the local police, two others were moved to new venues, and some 400 people were arrested. STST distributed thousands of posters and leaflets featuring their slogan, 'Don't Play with Apartheid'. Although the type of direct action espoused by STST and the YLs was supposed to be peaceful, if highly disruptive, violence did break out, including serious clashes in Swansea in which STST demonstrators were savagely beaten by local rugby players hired by the police. The scale of the protests so demoralised the South African players that they voted to go home. They were required to continue, but at the end of the tour the Springbok manager, Corrie Bornman, confessed that 'The last three months have been an ordeal to which I would never again subject young sportsmen'.[14]

The rugby tour was the 'perfect spring-board' for STST's protests against the cricket tour, which was due to start in May 1970. From Hain's perspective, direct action, previously relatively untried, was evolving into a natural part of the protests: 'the movement had grown out of a campaign of demonstrations and consequently was already geared to action'.[15] In late November 1969, while the rugby tour continued, anti-apartheid groups including the Young Liberals, STST, and SANROC sent a petition and letters to the MCC threatening to disrupt summer cricket matches along the same lines, including mass demonstrations and pitch invasions, if the tour were not called off. The Liberal Party, together with one hundred Liberal and Labour MPs, also demanded the cancellation of the tour and pledged to join in protests. The Labour Minister of Sport, Denis Howell, echoed that view on television, criticising South Africa's reaction to D'Oliveira the previous year and stating that he had 'no time for any sport based on racial considerations'.[16]

Meanwhile, the tone of protests against the cricket tour became increasingly violent and the role of the Young Liberals attracted increasing attention, to the growing dismay of the 'senior' Liberal Party. In early January 1970, weedkiller

was sprayed on the Worcester cricket grounds 'as a warning of things to come'. Two weeks later, on the night of 19 January, fourteen of the seventeen grounds that were to host the tour were simultaneously raided. Many pitches were painted with anti-apartheid slogans, some were dug up, and weedkiller was sprayed on the Warwickshire ground. These actions had a 'phenomenal impact', according to Hain:

> Everyone had been caught by surprise and the widespread strength of the movement had been strikingly demonstrated in one night. More than this, the fear at the back of the cricket authorities' minds, and probably at the back of most people's minds, had suddenly been realised: the image of the cricket tour collapsing amidst a series of torn pitches and weedkiller was conjured, and began to crystallise.[17]

Responsibility for the raids was unclear until journalists asked Eaks, the Chairman of the YLs, for a comment and he claimed to have been involved along with 'some Young Liberals'. Although the YLs had not organised the vandalism, the press quickly associated the organisation with the incident, which exacerbated existing tensions between the Liberal Party and Young Liberals over the use of direct action.

In response to his support for the attacks on the cricket grounds, the Liberal Party executive passed a vote of censure against Eaks in February 1970. YLs, led by Hain, reacted angrily, questioning the right of an 'arrogant' party executive to 'interfere' in YL affairs, and pledging full support for their chairman. Two months later, however, Eaks was voted out at the annual YL conference, replaced by Tony Greaves. The following year, Hain was elected YL Chairman, largely on the strength of his leadership in the anti-apartheid campaigns.

While the protests galvanised the anti-apartheid movement, they also strengthened the resolve of those who wished to see the cricket tour go on. The gulf between the Young Liberals' perspective and that of their opponents was clear when the Cricket Council called for a crusade to defend 'civilised pursuits' against 'the great unwashed'. Cricket administrators branded AAM campaigners 'a minority who seeks to impose their views by violent demonstrations', and they argued for 'the rights of the individual to play and watch cricket'.[18]

But no effective or coordinated opposition group ever emerged. Among large-scale organisations in Britain, only the Conservative Party remained mostly silent against apartheid; indeed, in the early 1980s, the Young Conservatives still produced 'Hang Nelson Mandela' badges. STST put political parties in a very difficult situation, particularly after the Prime Minister, Wilson, announced that a general election would be held on 18 June 1970. Although the Conservatives wanted the cricket tour to go on and tried to use the STST protests to smear both Labour and the Liberals, none of the parties wanted to campaign in the midst of what was likely to be a very tense summer.

Protests intensified through the early months of 1970 as tour preparations continued in a siege-like atmosphere complete with barbed wire, guard dogs, and heavy security. After the rugby tour protests, many British sports journalists and radio hosts announced they would not cover the cricket tour. The Queen also said she would neither attend matches nor invite the South African team to Buckingham Palace. The tour came under even more pressure when African and Caribbean countries declared they would boycott the Commonwealth Games to be held in Edinburgh in July. Wilson's government debated whether it should intervene and cancel the tour as the prospect of an all-white Commonwealth Games 'raised implications which went well beyond the sphere of sport'. The Home Secretary, James Callaghan, shied away from direct political intervention but hoped the high cost of policing the matches would encourage the Cricket Council 'to reconsider the desirability of proceeding' on its own.[19]

Conclusion

The Cricket Council finally cancelled the South African cricket tour on 22 May 1970, following a meeting with Callaghan. The extensive media coverage generated by groups such as STST had mobilised existing opponents of apartheid and galvanised thousands of others to join in international boycotts and protest movements. As a consequence, South Africa became increasingly isolated in the early 1970s, banned from the Davis Cup and international competition in weight lifting, squash, wrestling, gymnastics, and athletics, in addition to the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games. New Zealand's cricket authorities also cut off all communication with South African cricket authorities, and in 1971 the South African rugby tour to Australia was met by protests very similar to those that had accompanied matches in Britain two years earlier. South Africa's cricketers pressed their government to avoid complete exclusion from international competition by choosing a team strictly on 'merit', but Prime Minister B.J. Vorster would not concede. Facing the threat of more protests, Australian cricket authorities then cancelled the planned Springbok tour to Australia in 1971–72, and South Africa was effectively removed from international sports for the next twenty years.

The Young Liberals' commitment to ending apartheid continued. Building on the success of STST, leading YLs such as Greaves, Hain, and Gordon Lishman produced a *Radical Manifesto* for the 1970 election. This manifesto promised to 'project an alternative concept of society' based on the fundamental liberal values of 'love, reason, and freedom', including commitment to 'a multi-racial Britain in a multi-racial world'. Accordingly, the YLs called for the immediate repeal of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act because it denied some British citizens the right to enter Britain, and they condemned British governments for basing foreign policy on pragmatism rather than principle. They pledged to continue their support for 'the spontaneous moral protest of youth' against nuclear arms, the Vietnam War, apartheid in sports, and white supremacy.

At their 1970 conference, the YLs passed a motion reaffirming their belief that 'international capitalism' was shoring up apartheid. They emphasised their support for

Left, from top:
Peter Hain, May 1970
Peter Hain, June 1971
Peter Hain arrested in Downing Streer, 1969

'participatory and socially just societies' and called on the Young Liberal Movement to fight 'southern African racialism and oppression' through various means, particularly the use of 'militant non-violent direct action' against South African sports tours. The YLs also demanded a 'detailed investigation' to uncover South African financial interests among Liberal Party members, and pressed the Liberal Party to require that members who refused to give up such interests must resign their membership. On a community level, the YLs encouraged their members to take action against local firms with South African connections.

The 1970 election was disastrous for the Liberals: the party lost seven of its thirteen MPs and saw its proportion of the vote fall to 13.5 per cent. The YLs' leading role in anti-apartheid activities ensured that the Young Liberals were the most publicised aspect of the Liberal Party during the election campaign. Many senior party members blamed the poor election results on the YLs' direct action tactics, although other commentators looked to more systemic weaknesses in the party's leadership and policy-making. Nonetheless, the momentum developed by the YLs within the party over the previous eighteen months was evident at the 1970 Liberal Assembly, where delegates passed a YL resolution that established 'community politics' as the guiding principle of party activism until the mid-1970s.

While debate continues over the role of international protests and direct action in bringing apartheid to an end in the early 1990s, the YLs' leading role in STST provided the youth organisation with an unprecedented level of unity and public profile and connected them to larger contemporary debates around human rights, imperial and colonial issues, and radical political activism. The Stop the Seventy Tour solidified the Young Liberals' position on the extra-parliamentary left and reinforced their radical credentials. STST also remained a touchstone for the Young Liberal Movement in forums such as their newspaper, the *Liberator*, through the 1970s, and provided inspiration for a new 'Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour' (SART) organisation in 1973, in which youth groups including the YLs, the National Union of Students, the Young Communists, and the Labour Party Young Socialists tried (unsuccessfully) to stop the British Lions from playing in South Africa in 1974.

For the YLs, STST built on their existing credibility in protest campaigns, and fitted well with their distinctive amalgam of mainstream political activity, grassroots 'community politics', and a commitment to direct action to achieve real change.

For the Liberal Party, the Young Liberals' anti-apartheid activities provided an effective, if not unproblematic, response to the attraction of single-issue campaigns for young people in the late 1960s. For the YLs, STST built on their existing credibility in protest campaigns, and fitted well with their distinctive amalgam of mainstream political activity, grassroots 'community politics', and a commitment to direct action to achieve real change. Like other political youth organisations, the YLs were rarely ideologically coherent but they were deeply committed to racial equality and the eradication of racial segregation in South Africa. When it came to apartheid, the Young Liberals were not playing games.

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Matthew Redding is a recent graduate of Ryerson University's Arts and Contemporary Studies program. He contributed to this project as a Ryerson Undergraduate Research Opportunities Scholar.

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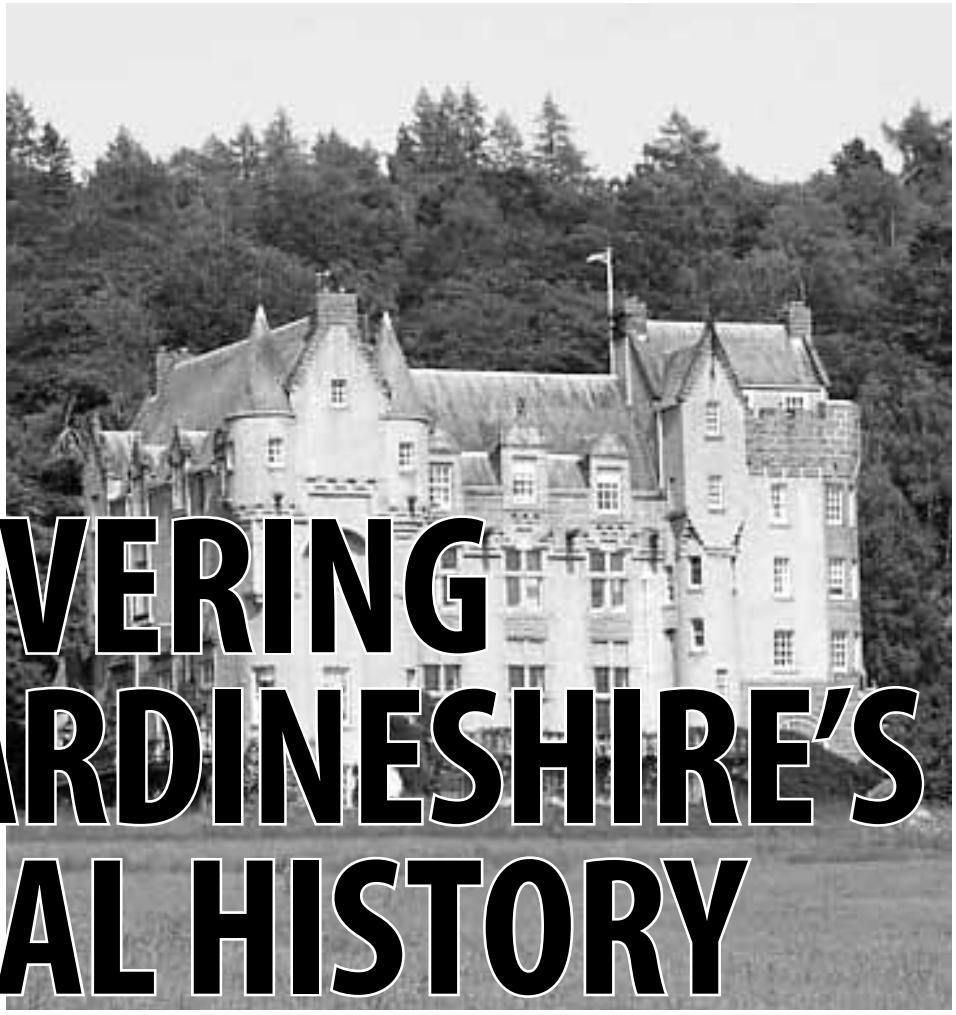
Liberal Heritage

Dr Alexander (Sandy) S. Waugh continues the *Journal*'s series in which well-known Liberal Democrats take a look at the Liberal heritage of their own locality.



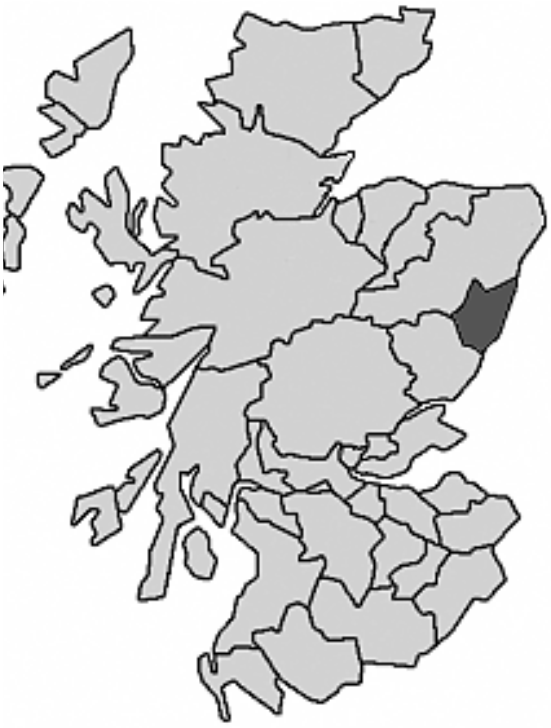
DISCOVERING KINCARDINESHIRE'S LIBERAL HISTORY

Kincardineshire (aka The Mearns), with an area of 380 square miles and a population of 45,501 (2001 census), is situated in North-East Scotland between the North Sea and the mountains which rise to over 2,500 feet. It is bounded on the south by Angus (aka Forfarshire), on the north and west by Aberdeenshire and on the north-east by the City of Aberdeen Although generally coastal and rural, with the traditional economic activities including fishing, farming, forestry and tourism, since the advent of North Sea Oil many of the coastal and inland urban communities have experienced substantial increases in population from commuting both to Aberdeen and offshore. This, together with a necessary expansion of community and leisure facilities and services, continues to sustain local prosperity. Kincardineshire ceased to have its own county council in 1975 and since 1996 has been within the jurisdiction of Aberdeenshire Council for local government purposes, although it retains its identity as a Lord Lieutenancy and for registration and postal purposes. There are currently fifteen councillors for Kincardineshire wards, elected by STV, in 2007, for five-year terms: seven Liberal Democrats, four Conservatives and four SNP.

Kincardine Castle, a nineteenth-century manor house. The remains of the earlier keep are located nearby .

Kincardineshire, since becoming a sheriffdom (county) in the twelfth century, has played a significant role in Scotland's history. In 1296 King John Balliol wrote a letter of surrender from the now entirely ruined Kincardine Castle to Edward I of England after a short war which marked the beginning of the Scottish Wars of Independence. The inland Castleton of Kincardine, in the south of the county, was the original county town, until that status was transferred to the coastal Stonehaven, sixteen miles south of Aberdeen, in 1600. After Charles II was crowned at Scone, in Perthshire, in January 1651, the Honours of Scotland – crown, sceptre and sword of state – were taken for safety to the coastal Dunnottar Castle, two miles south of Stonehaven. Thereafter, the castle was besieged by Cromwellians from September 1651 until its surrender in May 1652. However, in the meantime, the regalia had been smuggled out of the castle and hidden beneath the pulpit in the nearby Kinneff parish church, thus being spared the fate of the English regalia during the Cromwellian interregnum. The Scottish crown, sceptre and sword of state (now in the Crown Room of Edinburgh Castle) were thereafter represented in the heraldry of Kincardineshire.

Thirty years ago, as the local prospective Liberal candidate, I was consulted by BBC Scotland – then filming a dramatisation of Lewis Grassic Gibbon's novel, *Cloud*



Kincardineshire in Scotland; and as it was in 1859.

Howe – about the 1929 general election in Kincardineshire that featured in the novel. Unfortunately, I said that the local Liberal colours were then red and yellow whereas, as I was soon told after the episode was broadcast, they were green. From this stemmed my determination never again to be caught out about Kincardineshire's Liberal history, especially as the continuity of such is underlined by many family relationships.

Inverbervie, Kincardineshire's only Royal Burgh, was represented in the constituencies of Aberdeen Burghs in 1708–1832 and of Montrose Burghs in 1832–1950. Otherwise, Kincardineshire was a constituency of its own in 1708–1918; was part of Kincardine and Western Aberdeenshire in 1918–1950; and, including Inverbervie, part of North Angus and Mearns in 1950–1983, of Kincardine and Deeside in 1983–1997, and has been part of Aberdeenshire West and Kincardine since 1997.

Montrose burghs

The burghs' MPs were Whigs, Radicals and Liberals until 1931 and Liberal Nationals thereafter. Two of its MPs had UK reputations. Dr Joseph Hume, after representing other constituencies, was the burghs' Radical MP in 1842–1855. He was the self-appointed guardian of the public purse and caused the word 'retrenchment' to be added to 'peace and reform'. He was successful in challenging the old anti-trade union combination laws and the law prohibiting the export of machinery, and also campaigned against flogging in the army, the impressment of sailors and imprisonment for debt. John Morley, a Liberal Cabinet minister in 1886, 1892–1895 and 1905–1914, having lost his original constituency (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) at the 1895 general election, was elected for the burghs at a by-election in 1896 and served until created Viscount Morley in 1908. His *Life of Gladstone* (1903) was dedicated to 'The Electors of Montrose Burghs'. He also wrote biographies of Cromwell, Burke, Voltaire and Cobden, helped the passage of the 1911 Parliament Act through the House of Lords but resigned from the Cabinet in opposition to the declaration of war on Germany in 1914. Robert Harcourt, elected at the 1908 by-election and serving until 1918, was a younger son of Sir William Harcourt, a Liberal Cabinet minister in 1880–1885, 1886 and 1892–1895 and a younger brother of Lewis (Loulou) Harcourt, a Liberal Cabinet minister in 1907–1916. No Liberal contested Montrose Burghs after 1929, although a former Liberal, Tom MacNair, unsuccessful Labour candidate in 1945, was thereafter Liberal candidate for Banff in 1964.

Kincardineshire

One of the county's earlier Whig MPs (in 1797–1806) was Sir John Stuart who was an early patron of James Mill, whom he took to London in 1803. Thus when James' son, John was born in 1806 he was given the middle name Stuart in recognition of such early patronage and support. After William Gladstone's father, John Gladstone (1st Baronet from 1846) bought Fasque in inland Kincardineshire in 1829, the then Tory MP, first elected in 1826, was opposed at only the 1832 general election. When he retired in 1865, the election was contested by Sir Thomas Gladstone (2nd Baronet), Conservative and James Nicol, Liberal who was elected and served until his death in 1872. As William Gladstone wrote in his diary, 'Tom has made what is called a mess of it'. The prime minister's descendants inherited Fasque and the baronetcy, and, when canvassing in 1983, I secured the support of his great-grandson, the late Peter Gladstone for my candidature.

After 1872 Kincardineshire was represented by three other Liberals. General Sir George Balfour (from 1872) was a son-in-law of Dr Joseph Hume (see above). John Crombie (from 1892) was related by marriage to the Wason family which provided Liberal MPs for South Ayrshire, Clackmannan & Kinross, and Orkney & Shetland in 1885–1921.

Arthur Murray (from 1908) was a brother of Alexander Murray (The Master of Elibank), Liberal Government Chief Whip in 1910–1912.

Kincardine and Western Aberdeenshire

Arthur Murray, a Lieutenant Colonel, was returned unopposed as a Coalition Liberal for the new constituency in 1918, re-elected as a Liberal in 1922 and defeated in 1923. (Sir) Charles Barclay-Harvey, Conservative, elected in 1923, was re-elected in 1924, defeating James Scott, the new Liberal candidate. However, in 1929, James Scott regained the constituency for the Liberals. He was PPS to Sir Archibald Sinclair (Secretary of State for Scotland) for a few months before the 1931 general election when he was defeated by Barclay-Harvey who was re-elected in 1935 against Arthur Irvine, the new Liberal candidate. The 1935 campaign marked Jo Grimond's active entry into Liberal politics. He spoke at a meeting in Johnshaven on the Kincardineshire coast.

Just before the 1929 general election there was a Liberal Bazaar in Banchory (seventeen miles inland from Aberdeen and my Kincardineshire home town since 1975) to raise funds to buy a car for the local Liberal agent. The patroness was the Marchioness of Aberdeen, wife of a former Liberal Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Governor General of Canada. She was also a sister of Edward Marjoribanks, 2nd Lord Tweedmouth (from 1894), Liberal Government Chief Whip in 1892–1894 and a Liberal Cabinet minister in 1894–1895 and 1905–1908, and mother-in-law of John Sinclair (Lord Pentland from 1909), Liberal Secretary for Scotland in 1905–1912.

Barclay-Harvey's appointment as Governor of South Australia caused a by-election in March 1939 when, with Arthur Irvine again the Liberal candidate, the new Conservative candidate, (Sir) Colin Thornton-Kemsley was elected with a majority of 5.9 per cent. In 1938, as an office-bearer in the Epping (West Essex) Conservative Association, Thornton-Kemsley had attempted to secure the association's repudiation of its MP, Winston Churchill. Given that the Conservative Central Office was thought by Churchill to be behind these manoeuvres, the reward of an apparently safe seat for Thornton-Kemsley is a logical extension of such an accusation. In later Conservative literature the cover-up was to refer only to his being 'one of [Churchill's] principal supporting speakers in four General Elections'. (Sir) Arthur Irvine, who joined the Labour Party in 1943, was Labour MP for Liverpool Edge Hill from 1947 and Solicitor General in 1967–1970. His death caused the by-election in March 1979 which was won by David Alton, Liberal.

The constituency's marginal status was confirmed in 1945 when Thornton-Kemsley was re-elected with a majority of 3.2 per cent against John Junor, the new Liberal candidate, thereafter *Sunday Express* Editor and knighted in 1980 by courtesy of Margaret Thatcher.

Buchanan-Smith's death caused a by-election in 1991 and saw the election of Nicol Stephen as Liberal Democrat MP with a vote of 49.0 per cent.

North Angus and Mearns

Thornton-Kemsley won the first general election in the new constituency in 1950 and remained as its MP until 1964. Until 1964, the Liberals only fought the seat once, in 1950, Tom Adam achieving third place. Thornton-Kemsley contested four general elections in the new guise of 'Liberal Unionist' although, like most other such 'allsorts' candidates, he had no previous Liberal or Liberal National connection. Indeed, when a number of genuine Liberals attended the inaugural local Liberal Unionist Association meeting, they were 'asked to leave'.

However, with an upsurge in Scottish Liberal activity and fortunes in the early 1960s, the local Liberals were fortunate in securing as candidate Ken Barton, a North Angus farmer related to the Lubbocks by marriage and also a son-in-law of Lord Boyd Orr, winner of the 1949 Nobel Peace Prize. Thornton-Kemsley having retired, the new Tory candidate in 1964 was Alick Buchanan-Smith, who was elected with 49.3 per cent against 34.0 per cent for Ken Barton. Although Ken Barton retained second place in 1966, the Liberal vote slumped thereafter, in part due to SNP intervention. John Grimond was in fourth place in 1970 with 11.5 per cent, J. C. Hall took third place in February 1974 with 15.1 per cent, Malcolm Bruce (MP for Gordon since 1983) took fourth place in October 1974 with 9.9 per cent, and there was no Liberal candidate in 1979.

Kincardine and Deeside

Buchanan-Smith was the Conservative candidate for the new constituency in 1983, and I was the Liberal/Alliance candidate, seeing a resurgence in local Liberal credibility with my vote of 29.4 per cent. Nicol Stephen, my agent in 1983, was then Liberal/Alliance candidate in 1987 and established the seat's marginal status with a Liberal/Alliance vote of 36.3 per cent. Buchanan-Smith's death caused a by-election in 1991 and saw the election of Nicol Stephen as Liberal Democrat MP with a vote of 49.0 per cent. He was defeated in 1992, with an adverse swing of 13.5 per cent and the election of George Kynoch, Conservative. Nicol (Lord Stephen from 2011) was subsequently an MSP in 1999–2011, Scottish Liberal Democrat Leader in 2005–2008 and Deputy First Minister of Scotland in 2005–2007.

Aberdeenshire West and Kincardine

Sir Robert Smith (3rd Baronet) was the Liberal Democrat candidate for the new constituency in 1997, when a notional swing of 8.3 per cent against George Kynoch, Conservative secured Sir Robert's election. He was re-elected in 2001, 2005 and 2010. He is a grandson of Sir Robert Workman Smith (1st Baronet), Conservative MP for Central Aberdeenshire in 1924–1945, and a distant cousin of the late Alick Buchanan-Smith. He was an early member of the SDP, has twice served on Aberdeen University Court and, when elected in 1997, was a local councillor and Vice-Chairman of the Grampian Police Board.

Sandy Waugh joined the Scottish Liberal Party in 1951. His has a doctorate in Scottish Church History, is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and a member of the Liberal Democrat History Group. In 2008 he published privately A Scottish Liberal Perspective 1836–2008 – A Centenary Commemoration for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman 1836–1908.

JOYCE CARY – LIBE

'Britain is profoundly a liberal state. Its dominating mind has been liberal for more than a century.' These words were written by a novelist whose works *Prisoner of Grace*, *Except the Lord*, and *Not Honour More* explore the British liberal tradition against the backdrop of the great electoral landslide which gave the Liberal Party its overwhelming majority in 1906. Chester Nimmo, the main protagonist of this 'political trilogy', is a member of the resulting New Liberalism which took hold as a result. **John Morris** celebrates the work of the English novelist Joyce Cary, whose work is rooted in Liberal ideas.

ERAL TRADITIONS

Born in Londonderry in 1888, Arthur Joyce Lunel Cary was named after his mother Charlotte Joyce in the Anglo-Irish tradition of his class. Following the Irish land reforms of the 1880s, the family, now stripped of its lands, settled in London, where Charlotte died of pneumonia in 1898 when Joyce was nine years old and his brother Jack just six.

Schooled first at Tunbridge Wells then at Clifton, at the age of sixteen Joyce spent a short period in Edinburgh and Paris in order to explore his skills as a painter. Returning to England in 1909, he joined Trinity College, Oxford where he read law. Somewhat of an adventurer, he found a new vocation in the service of the British Red Cross during the First Balkan War in 1912. The King of Montenegro himself decorated Cary for valour for his efforts in assisting the wounded. A memoir of his experiences – his first attempt at writing, which contains several sketches and diagrams – was published posthumously in 1964.

Applying for a post in the Northern Nigerian political service in 1914 so that he could afford to marry, Cary headed for new adventures but was invalided back to England in 1915. Following his permanent return in 1920 (his wife deplored his long absences), he settled in Oxford. Throughout the 1920s he wrote extensively, but was not to publish his first novel, *Aissa Saved,* until 1932 at the age of forty-four. Critical acclaim did not really come, however, until 1936 when *The African Witch* was made a Book Society choice, and he was finally recognised as a fine novelist with the publication of *Mister Johnson* in 1939, which was also based on his experiences in West Africa.

Though now largely forgotten, Joyce Cary was the author of many novels which were as highly regarded as those of his contemporaries Graham Greene and Evelyn Waugh. 'The author of Prisoner of Grace was a "different" writer from most of his contemporaries, different in his outlook, his gifts, his variety, and in the themes of his books,' writes Walter Allen. 'If, as I think is true … England and the English cannot be understood except by reference to the working of the Protestant, Nonconformist spirit, then a reading of Cary … is essential to the understanding of the English'.[1]

Though the titles of the political trilogy give away a religious theme, Cary's primary intention was also to explore 'the whole Liberal angle and its religious basis'.[2] 'Cary was a profoundly religious spirit of that intensely individual and protestant kind which cannot find fulfilment in any corporate body; he had to carve out his creed by himself and for himself. Brought up as an orthodox Anglican, he lost all religious faith in early manhood to find a new one in mature life. It was not orthodox; it was not Christian in any substantial sense. Cary did not identify God with Christ or with any kind of personal spirit'.[3] Indeed Cary admitted, 'No church would have me'. Religion, he said in a 1954 interview he gave in the *Paris Review*, 'is organized to satisfy and guide the soul – politics does the same thing for the body. God is a character, a real and consistent being, or He is nothing. If God did a miracle He would deny His own nature and the universe would simply blow up, vanish, become nothing'.[4] Cary's conviction instead was that beauty and human love proved the existence 'of some transcendental spiritual reality with which a man must relate himself harmoniously if he is to find satisfaction'.[5]

Joyce Cary (1888–1957)

Cary's interest in politics – and his ideas about the roots of English character in the Liberal and protestant traditions – resulted in an introduction to the Liberal Book Club by George Orwell, who was familiar with his novels. The club's committee included Osbert Sitwell, and among its patrons were Augustus John, J. M. Keynes, Compton MacKenzie, A. A. Milne and C. P. Snow. The Liberal Party had invited Cary to write a treatise as early as 1931, but this new introduction resulted in a volume originally to have been entitled 'Liberty and Freedom'. Published as *Power in Men*, it became the club's selection for May 1939, billed as 'an examination of the failures and disappointments of democracy in practice'. In it, Cary makes the point that both totalitarianism and anarchy lead to the same thing – to the erosion of freedom and personal choice, and to tyranny. Democracy, on the other hand, rather than being some sort of state of political bliss, is in fact a never-ending argument about ideas and direction: a debate which simply propels rather than settles anything for too long; a constant

Joyce Cary and his wife Gertrude

conflict of ideas in a world of 'perpetual creation'.

In *Power in Men* Cary traces, point by point, the meaning of liberty and of man's creative power, which, he writes, is realised through education and industry. Identifying the absence of a true measurement of happiness in Jeremy Bentham's formula – the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number' – Cary instead presents an alternative: the greatest *liberty* of the greatest number, measured by pay, leisure and education. Building on the old definition of liberty as the 'absence of restraint', or what Cary calls 'freedom from', he defines freedom as 'the provision of the means to self-fulfilment', or 'freedom to'.

Power in Men was the last selection of the Liberal Book Club to reach print before the outbreak of war led to the abandoning of the project. Though Cary was unhappy with the editing of the work, the TLS commented on its chapter and verse style as an excellent idea if the book were 'to become the philosophical basis for Liberalism reborn' and following its publication he was offered a parliamentary candidacy by the Liberal Party leadership. It took Cary two weeks to reply to this invitation. Declining the offer and citing other 'present commitments', the real reason, disclosed in a letter, was that he felt he had 'neither time nor money to fly at politics'.[6]

Cary spent the first part of the war as an ARP warden in Oxford. After the threat of invasion receded, however, there was room for other ideas, including his most ambitious yet. *To be a Pilgrim*, the central part of Joyce Cary's first trilogy (which includes what is arguably his most famous novel *The Horse's Mouth*, apart from, perhaps, *Mister Johnson*) is the memoir of Tom Wilcher who reflects on a life overshadowed by his brilliant brother Edward, a Liberal member of parliament since 1906. 'The essence of *To be a Pilgrim* is the sense of life as pilgrimage,' wrote Cary, 'and the whole background of the book is democratic history as facet of the protestant evangelical mind …'.[7] Edward appears to be the prototype of Chester Nimmo, the central character of the 'political' trilogy which the author began after the war, in which he explores in detail the life of another fictional MP whose meteoric career as a Radical ends in failure when the Liberals were trounced in the 1922 elections.

In this, the second trilogy, Cary explores the liberal and protestant traditions of English politics. Of all his works, it is the most closely linked to *Power in Men*. 'Chester Nimmo's memoirs of his childhood and youth are a great departure for Cary. They suggest John Bunyan, and Charles Dickens in his tragic and comic veins,' writes Malcolm Foster.[8] Nimmo first hears a disciple of Proudhon, 'a sort of Tolstoyan anarchist' who despised religion. He then meets a Marxist labour leader, but breaks with him 'over ways and means',[9] objecting to the love of power over men which he detects in Marxist philosophy. As *Power in Men* explores these questions, so too does the trilogy tell of Nimmo's experiments with various ideologies: 'Cary makes an analysis of what meanings are necessary to political creativity. The argument of *Power in Men* is therefore relevant to the action of the trilogy, and in the broadest possible and most fundamental ways. That *Power in Men* and the novels rise in different directions from the same source should make us more alert in either case to what Cary's vision of the human situation ultimately is,' writes Hazard Adams in his 1963 introduction to *Power in Men*.[10]

Intrigued by the idea of returning to Africa, in late 1942 Cary agreed to travel to Tanganyika to take part in a project for a propaganda film that the Ministry of Information was producing. It was one of several designed to keep up morale, to rally the Empire to the war effort and to highlight the constructive features of the British Imperial system. The director, Thorold Dickinson, had been alerted to Cary's knowledge of Africa through a new treatise, *The Case for African Freedom* (Cary believed in African gradualism), which had just been published. Although Cary knew nothing about films, he undertook to write the script with the director. It was not until after they had set sail for east Africa on The Duchess of Richmond, however, that either realised they had left the script behind. Talk of films was a new world to Cary, who asked cameraman Desmond Dickinson (no relation) who his favourite film star was. 'Greta Garbo,' was the reply. 'Oh?' Cary asked. 'Who's she?' The crew were staggered to realise that Cary knew hardly anything about film and had in fact seen very few.[11]

Men of Two Worlds, though not a box-office success, was received well by the critics and, more importantly, it whetted Cary's appetite for more. His next project, begun in 1945, was to be a propaganda documentary, again directed by Dickinson, on the irrigation works the British administration had built in northern India. The film, it was hoped, would help to 'convince the Indian population of the benefits of

British rule at a time when it was very important that India remain peaceful'.[12] Cary was to handle the script, but the volatile situation that he and Dickinson encountered upon their arrival in India led them to abandon the project, the crew forced to avoid more than one riot. This did not deter their appetites for filmmaking, however. On their return to England, Dickinson began a commercial project for a feature film dealing with the process of revolution. Also written jointly by the director and Cary, the first script for *The Secret People* was an exploration of anarchist beliefs, and was set in the summer of 1914. However, Cary withdrew from the film during its production because the producers struggled with his script, which they felt was too literary. A new script, written by the director and Wolfgang Wilhelm, set the story in the 1930s, but Cary remained interested in the film's progress and visited the studios many times and it was here he met a young star making her screen debut: Audrey Hepburn. This was to be Cary's last involvement in film. Turning away from that medium to a new project that would better enable him to express his ideas, he soon began writing again, and the film's themes foreshadowed those to which he was finally able to give satisfactory expression in his political trilogy, and in a number of essays.

'Britain is profoundly a Liberal state,' wrote Cary in the essay *Britain's Liberal Influence*. 'As we know it today it has two main sources: the Protestant tradition, and the Whig revolution of 1688 with its ideals of toleration and individual right'.[13] Originally published in French as 'L'influence britannique dans la révolution libérale' in the June 1955 issue of *Comprende*, the essay traces the religious tradition to before the reformation. The Catholic Church, Cary points out, was a source of Liberal opinions long before, in that it was the only house of learning and the only secure refuge open to men of 'a reflective turn'. The Church taught charity, forgiveness, love of one's neighbour and even tolerance. However, men of learning naturally bred a spirit of enquiry and many inevitably became heretics in the eyes of Rome.

But it was not until the fourteenth century, Cary explains, that the first English reformer, Wycliffe, directly challenged the tradition of the Catholic Church. It, in turn, denounced him, but Wycliffe's influence had already spread, particularly to Bohemia where it inspired the Hussites whose demands have been credited with anticipating the Reformation. By the early seventeenth century, Archbishop Laud's church, though oppressive and intolerant, begot the anarchist and republican sects that overthrew the monarchy in England. But England, writes Cary, was lucky in that the early parliamentary tradition allowed the bloodless 'glorious' revolution of 1688 which established toleration as a principle and asserted the rights of the people and freedom of religion: civil liberty. And though the revolution was not democratic, it continued to produce apostles of democracy, idealists and philosophers for the next 150 years. The great Reform Bill of 1832 made way for true democratic government and it was the new middle class of manufacturers who joined the Liberal Party (first known by that name in the early 1830s), and which also contained radicals who fought for the welfare of the masses.

'Britain is profoundly a Liberal state,' wrote Cary in the essay *Britain's Liberal Influence*. 'As we know it today it has two main sources: the Protestant tradition, and the Whig revolution of 1688 with its ideals of toleration and individual right'.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, parliament steadily became more democratic and every new franchise bill meant a further devolution of power as the clamour for votes for all became louder. In the twentieth century, the Liberals were displaced by the socialists with their programme for free social services, the abolition of poverty and the redistribution of wealth which led to the welfare state. But it was the great reforming Liberal government of 1906 which was to institute the social welfare programme that introduced medical inspection and, where necessary, treatment of school children, safeguards for neglected or abused children, the old age pension and National Insurance: the social policy framework, in other words, that still exists today.

In instituting these measures, the Liberal government had moved from Victorian laissez faire towards social responsibility, but it remained opposed to the ideas of the left. Ironically, as Cornelia Cook points out, the same traditions which linked Liberalism to the labour movement 'also militated against the levelling spirit of socialism, clinging to the spirit of self-help and divine providence', and the socialists, in the guise of the new Labour Party, became the voice of the working people because of 'the unwillingness of an economically oppressed people to await the benevolence of providence'.[14]

But Liberalism has bequeathed many of its attitudes – freedom for emotional fulfilment, intellectual freedom, physical security – to its successors on both left and right, asserts Cook, and this Cary explores in the novels: 'For Cary, the value of human life was supreme. In affirming the truth he and Nimmo unite to make the trilogy a statement as well as a picture of Liberalism.'[15] In the novels, Cary does well to remind his readers about the truth of this legacy: 'I suppose nobody now can realise the effect of that revolution,' he wrote in the first part of the trilogy, *Prisoner of Grace*. 'Radical leaders like Lloyd George really did mean to bring in a new kind of state, a "paternal state", that took responsibility for sickness and poverty' and he directly refers to 'the true spiritual roots of the British Liberal tradition – the veritable Protestant succession of the free soul'.[16]

Cary believed that the Liberal revolution of the previous two centuries was no 'passing phase' and that it was the natural expression of human development, of the individual's desire for freedom. To his mind, there were only two alternatives. 'What I believe,' he said, 'is that wangle is inevitable in the modern state, that is to say, there is no choice between persuading people and shooting them'.[17] By 'wangle' Cary refers to the apparently perpetual habit of the politician who can never give a straight answer, who may be economical with the truth, equivocal, and even disingenuous in the face of political pressure and the need to 'persuade'. This leads us back to the political trilogy's central theme: when persuasion leads to accusations of lying, what should our response be? Malcolm Foster summarises the problem thus: 'how can a politician achieve that elusive balance between morality and practicality?'.[18] The novels tackle the natural prejudice against politicians who tell lies, which Cary believed to be an inevitable part of democratic society. This is not to say that he approved. On its publication, he felt that readers of *Not Honour More* 'completely

misunderstood the crucial point of the trilogy', i.e. that politicians did not necessarily have to be 'crooks', especially in a democracy, saying in a radio interview, 'Now I am very glad of the chance in this broadcast to deny this because it is just the opposite I believe'.[19]

Foster identifies the question of whether the trilogy's main protagonist Chester Nimmo MP is 'as good as he could be in his special circumstances, and better than many were in much easier ones?' as central to the novels. Is he saved by his protestant faith in man's personal relationship to God? Or is he a crook?

The answer can only be found within the pages of the second book, Nimmo's memoir, *Except the Lord*. The quote, from Psalm 127 ('Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it') implies that Nimmo's stance is that 'government, like each life, is a house which must be built with the inspiration of – not in spite of – the Lord',[20] and that therefore no man or state can be absolute, and men are fallible and are required to act as they see fit.

To write the novel, and in particular to paint a credible picture of Nimmo's father, Cary turned to numerous books and essays on the Seventh Day Adventists. In addition, Nimmo as a youth is introduced to the world of play-acting through his attendance at the Lilmouth Great Fair. This 'foreshadows his own role as political orator and practitioner of deception, and the idea of class conflict'.[21]

Nimmo favours 'wangle' over 'shooting people', but this gets him into trouble. 'Persuasion is an art,' Cary said, 'but not necessarily an art of lies',[22] but in the whole trilogy he attempts to demonstrate how persuasion can degenerate into lies by showing the actual unfolding of events in the continuous present, as Nimmo responds to them, using his imagination to react as he believes he should. In the *Paris Review* interview Cary said: 'In the democracies we persuade. And this gives great power to the spellbinder, the artist in words, the preacher, the demagogue, whatever you call him. Rousseau, Marx, Tolstoy, these were great spellbinders … My Nimmo is a typical spellbinder … Poets have started most of the revolutions, especially nationalist revolutions. On the other hand, life would die without poets, and democracy must have its spellbinders.' Nimmo 'belongs to the type of all of them', he said, mentioning Lloyd George, Aneurin Bevan and Billy Graham among others, revealing the character type on which he based Nimmo, the 'spellbinder'.[23]

As an exploration of two major influences on British political life – how the Liberal Party influenced the preoccupations of British politics and how the progress of democracy and freedom is ensured in a dangerous and confusing world – the novels are not without a fair measure of humour and are an enjoyable and enlightening read which deserve a wider audience.

Cornelia Cook writes that, though not directly based on him, Nimmo's characterisation 'was greatly facilitated by Cary's use of David Lloyd George as an historical model',[24] referring to his religious boyhood, opposition to the Boer War and career in parliament: 'As Lloyd George became President of the Board of Trade in 1905, Chester in that year becomes Under-Secretary for Mines. He is promoted to Asquith's Liberal Cabinet in 1908, the year Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer'.[25] Further similar parallels are drawn between the two careers, which end with the 1922 election defeat and both men's withdrawal from government.

Like other members of Cabinet, pacifist Chester Nimmo's moment of crisis comes in the final days before war is declared, when two his colleagues resign rather than become members of a War Cabinet. He is widely expected to resign along with the others but stays on, much to the dismay of his constituents. During the July 1914 crisis, though most leading Liberals were determined to stand by France, Liberal newspapers were against war, and at least five non-interventionist members of the Cabinet – the fictional Nimmo included – intimated that a declaration of war would lead to their resignations. Indeed Nina Nimmo expects her husband to resign. She recounts being confronted as late as 4 August – the day war was declared – with reports of the resignations of anti-war Ministers in the London papers and being asked why Chester was not among them. 'I said that it must be a mistake of the reporters, who had left him out,' she says. 'It did not occur to me for one moment that Chester would not resign. He had pledged himself never to enter a War Cabinet …'.[26] The novel explores this decision and its ramifications in detail and Cary paints rather an ambiguous portrait of Nimmo, the pacifist who changes his mind without actually tendering his resignation in the process. Although the trilogy ends in the deaths of the principal characters whose stories it retells, the work is a positive one, asserts Jack Wolkenfeld. 'It affirms important fundamental values', he writes. 'Each of the books uses the same basic standards by which to measure men, decency, truth [and] sincerity … The man who most tries to live by these standards and who, though ultimately unsuccessful, comes closest to doing it is also the man who has greatest freedom of the mind, and who in addition is the man whose intuition [through creative imagination] has brought him closest to the spiritual reality. By these standards Chester Nimmo is not an extremely good man. But under the circumstances, he is perhaps the best man possible. He is certainly the freest.'[27]

The trilogy was Cary's last major work. Diagnosed with motor neurone disease in 1955, Joyce Cary died two years later at his home in Oxford. As an exploration of two major influences on British political life – how the Liberal Party influenced the preoccupations of British politics and how the progress of democracy and freedom is ensured in a dangerous and confusing world – the novels are not without a fair measure of humour and are an enjoyable and enlightening read which deserve a wider audience.

John Morris received his Ph.D. at the University of Exeter in 2011. He is currently adapting his thesis, which focuses on the deployment of music in British World War Two propaganda, for publication by IB Tauris in 2013.

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6 Malcolm Foster, *Joyce Cary, A Biography* (Michael Joseph, 1968), p. 337.
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LETTERS

The 2010 election and the Coalition

Martin Pugh, in his review of K. O. Morgan's *Ages of Reform: Dawns and Downfalls of the British Left* (*Journal of Liberal History* 73), states that 'there is scant historical support for [the] view' that an early second election following May 2010 if the Liberal Democrats had allowed a minority Conservative government to take office, 'would lead to … an inevitable government victory'.

Leaving aside the fact that Labour achieved a majority to last for a full term at both the 1966 and October 1974 elections, and his repetition of the error that Labour 'lost' the 1951 general election – when it polled its highest ever vote – the problem would have been Cameron's opportunity to blame the Liberal Democrats' failure to join a coalition for political instability in the face of economic crisis. Such circumstances would hardly have produced a propitious electoral atmosphere for the Liberal Democrats.

Arguably, every 'early' election since 1923, when the Liberal Party benefited from its apparent reunification after the Lloyd George coalition, has seen a diminution of the Liberal vote, on occasion, such as in 1924, 1931 and 1951, catastrophically so. These are not encouraging precedents.

Michael Meadowcroft

Pat Collins

I read with great interest Graham Lippiatt's comprehensive article on the charismatic Pat Collins, former Liberal MP for Walsall (*Journal of Liberal History* 73). When I was parliamentary candidate for the Walsall South constituency at the general election of 1987, more than forty years after his death, Pat Collins was vividly remembered by older voters of all persuasions.

One of the local party officers, the late Millicent Gray, recalled Asquith's visit to Walsall during Collins's brief reign as MP in 1922–24. She described Collins as being almost illiterate. This often led him into hilarious misunderstandings of vocabulary. When refurbishment of the spacious vestibule of Walsall Town Hall was being discussed, a fellow councillor suggested that a chandelier would make an attractive feature. This was instantly dismissed by Collins on the grounds that 'We couldn't afford to employ anyone to play it!'

Incidentally, Miss Gray, though in her eighties, was one of my keenest supporters. She had dissented from the decision of Walsall Liberals to opt for the Liberal National faction after 1931. She remained, with a handful of colleagues, loyal to the independent Liberal Party of Samuel/Sinclair/Davies until the general election of 1951, when the local party at last bravely decided to contest the seat after a lapse of twenty years. The Tory candidate still fought under the Nat-Lib-Con label. Walsall returned a Labour MP from 1945 to 1955 before being split into North and South Divisions.

Lionel King

Punch and cartoons

According to the note on the 1912 cartoon that illustrates Roy Douglas's article on the Lloyd George Land Taxes ((*Journal of Liberal History* 73), '*Punch* cartoonist Bernard Partridge expected the competition between the Liberal and Labour candidates at the Hanley by-election to deliver the seat to the Unionists'.

Who can say what Partridge thought? The two weekly *Punch* political cartoons were devised by an editorial committee, hence their often ponderous character. The artists drew to order, though they may well have been generally comfortable with the views they portrayed.

From the 1920s and 1930s newspaper political cartoonists like David Low and Vicky were given licence to express their own convictions as forthrightly as they chose; but I don't think *Punch* ever changed its practice.

Andy Connell

Henry George the socialist

A few comments on three articles in the *Journal of Liberal History* 73 –

Firstly, in his 'The Lloyd George land taxes', Roy Douglas stated that it is quite inaccurate to describe the US economist and philosopher Henry George, an early advocate of land value taxation, as a 'socialist'. However, in George's most significant electoral venture – as a candidate for Mayor of New York in 1886 – he ran on a Socialist ticket, with the result being Abram Hewitt (Democrat) 90,552, Henry George 68,110 and Theodore Roosevelt (Republican) 60,435.

Secondly, in his 'Liberal National leader – Charles Kerr, Lord Teviot', David Dutton referred to the Woolton-Teviot (Tory-Liberal National) pact of May 1947. However, this pact only applied to England and Wales. A separate pact, between the Scottish Unionist and Liberal National Associations, was not announced until 2 December 1947.

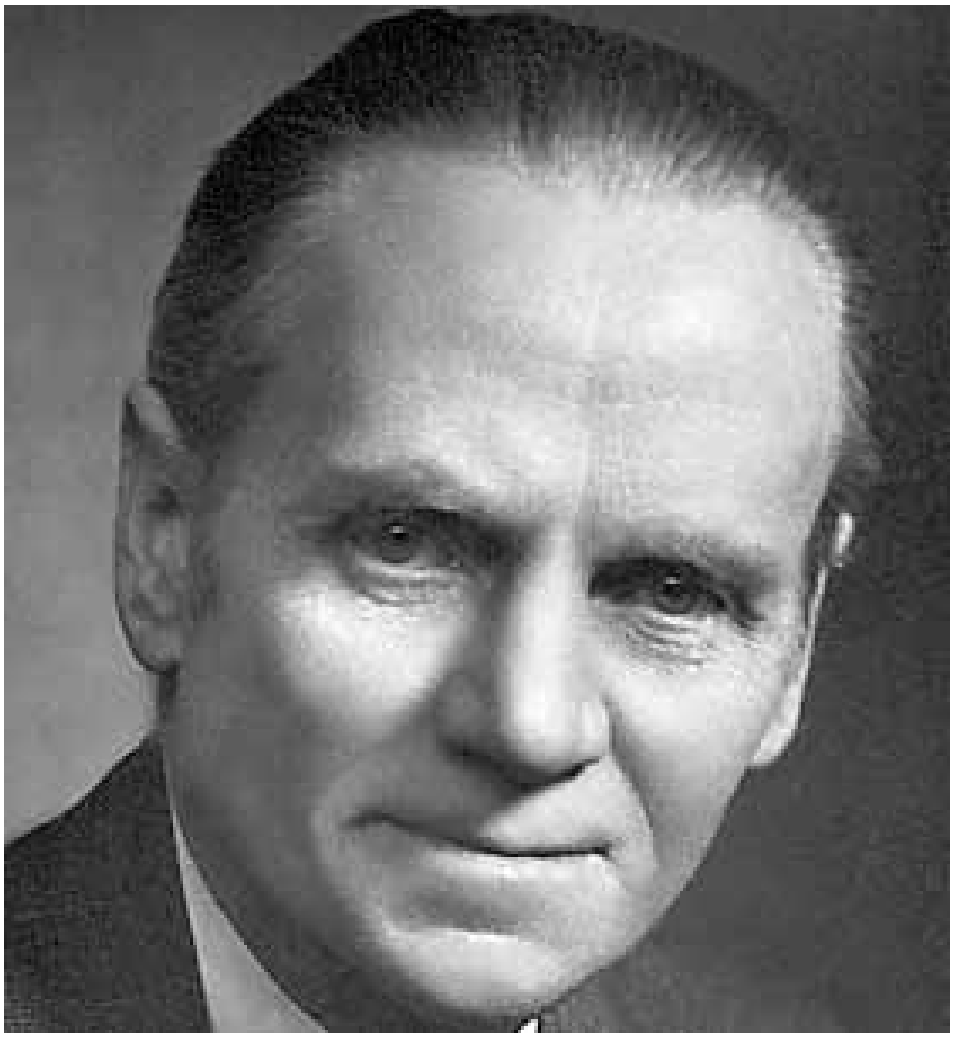
Further, Kellie Castle (about two miles west of Arbroath in Angus (aka Forfarshire) – which was at one time owned by Captain Archibald Ramsay, the crypto-fascist Tory MP imprisoned in 1940–44 under Defence Regulation 18B – was not in Charles Kerr's former constituency of Montrose Burghs (Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar and Inverbervie) but in the then county constituency of Forfarshire.

Thirdly, in her 'The Liberal election agent in the post-Reform Act era', Nancy LoPatin-Lummis completely ignored the fact that there were three Reform Acts in 1832: one for England and Wales, one for Scotland and one for Ireland. Indeed, in two respects the Scottish Act was the most significant of the three. Not only did the Scottish electorate increase from about 4,500 to about 65,000 (with the English and Welsh electorate increasing from about 435,000 to about 652,000) but the increase in the number of Scottish MPs from 45 to 53 went a little way to reducing Scotland's under-representation, on a population basis, in the House of Commons which had existed since 1707. However, such under-representation continued until about 1891 (with Welsh under-representation having continued until about 1861 and Irish under-representation until about 1881).

Dr. Sandy S. Waugh

NEW LIBERALISM AND THE E
NORMAN
AND ANGELLISM

'New Liberalism and the Edwardian Public Sphere: Norman Angell and Angellism Reconsidered' represents an attempt to reassess the publicity efforts of the Edwardian foreign policy dissenter, Norman Angell. Contrary to traditional interpretations, **Ryan Vieira** argues that Angell should be interpreted, not as a failed peace activist, but rather as an intellectual and, ultimately, as one aspect of the period's 'new liberalism' and liberal revival.



EDWARDIAN PUBLIC SPHERE

N ANGELL

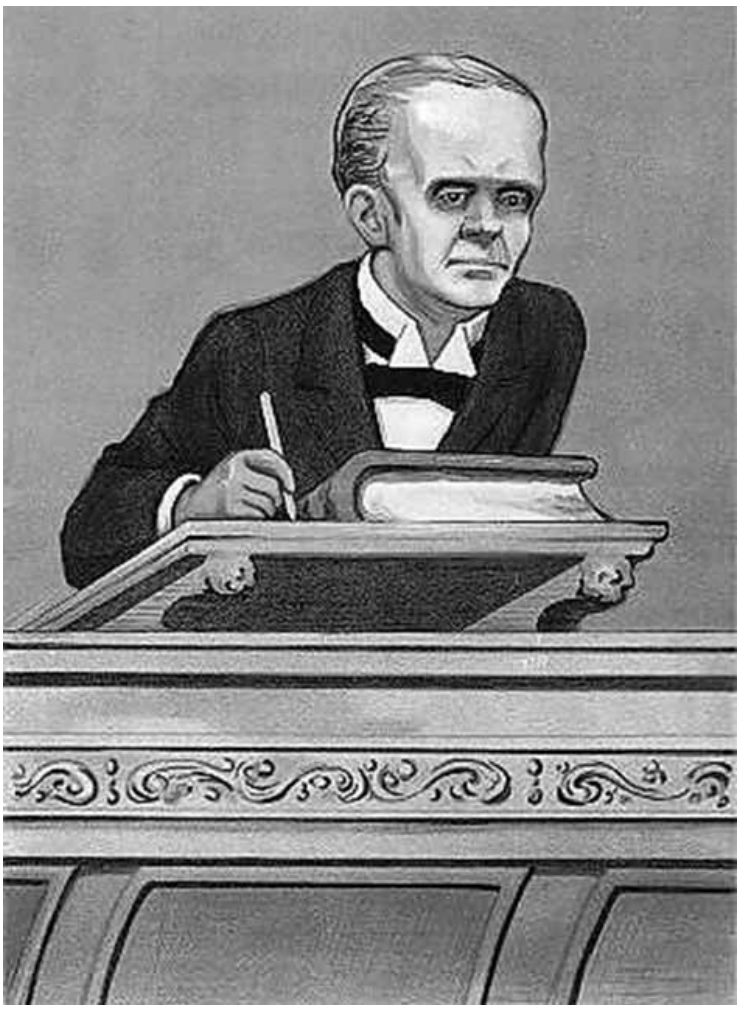
RECONSIDERED

In 1909, a journalist for the *Daily Mail* named Ralph Lane published, under the penname Norman Angell, a pamphlet entitled *Europe's Optical Illusion* which, a year later, was expanded into a book entitled *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to their Economic and Social Advantage*. In these writings, Angell argued that a war between Germany and Britain would be irrational because the rapid means of communication and the extension of credit had made these countries economically interdependent.[1] Between 1910 and 1913 Angell's book sold more than two million copies and was eventually translated into twenty-five languages.[2] Moreover, the book inspired the formation of clubs and societies on an international scale dedicated to interrogating its ideas.[3] In the four years before the First World War, Angell's work stimulated substantial public political discussion causing one author in the *Pall Mall Magazine* to claim that: '*The Great Illusion* has taken its place among the few books that have stirred the minds of men and the obscure author of the modest pamphlet has become the leader of a new school of thought.'[4]

To his contemporaries, Angell was judged in terms of his ability to stimulate public discussion. He was judged, in other words, as a 'public intellectual,' and, given the immense public currency that his work achieved, he was viewed overwhelmingly as a success. Despite this, however, most historians have represented him as a failed peace activist. This historiography has, for the most part, distinguished between the public currency of Angell's ideas (the extent and consistency of their presence in public political discussion) and their political effect (the extent to which they had an impact on political practice) and, on this basis, has concluded that Angell was politically ineffective.[5] In part this stems from Angell's own autobiography, where he noted that 'in drawing any lesson' from his *Great Illusion* experience 'one should distinguish sharply between the publishing success and the political failure … the book provoked discussion all over Europe and America … yet its argument failed to influence policies to any visible extent.'[6] Contrary to Angell's assertion, the present paper contends that it is misleading to think of Angell as a 'political failure'. By arguing that Angell was a new liberal and 'public intellectual', it suggests that the line between publicity and politics is not as sharp as Angell and his chroniclers would have us believe.

Norman Angell (1872–1967)

Angell's political identity was largely based on the ideals set out by John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty*. 'If there is any one book which explains a man's intellectual life', Angell noted, 'the fact that at twelve I read and was entranced and entered a new world as a result of reading Mill's *On Liberty* explains most of my subsequent intellectual life.'[7] As is well known, Mill upheld openness of debate and individual judgment as the foundation of rationality in politics, and thus it should not be surprising that Angell believed that the basis of liberal democracy was robust debate in an open public sphere: '[t]here can be no sound democracy without sound individual judgment …. That skill cannot possibly be developed save by the habit of free tolerant discussion.'[8] The issue for Angell was not simply the volume of public debate, but rather its tone. 'The question is not whether we discuss public policy' Angell wrote, 'we do it in any case endlessly, noisily, raucously, passionately. The question is whether we are to carry on



'An Angel of Peace', by the cartoonist Strickland (1912)

the discussion with some regard to evidence, some sense of responsibility to truth and sound judgment; or with disregard of those things in favor of indulgence in atavistic emotion.'[9] Angell believed that if political discussion always maintained 'the temper of reasonableness, toleration of contrary opinion, the attitude of enquiry and the open mind' political communities could avoid 'senseless panics which so often in politics lead us into disastrous courses.'[10] The problem for Angell, however, was that public political discussion in his contemporary period appeared to be anything but rational.

In his now largely forgotten 1903 book, *Patriotism Under Three Flags: A Plea for Rationalism in Politics*, Angell noted that the turn of the century had brought with it a general shift in the mood of the public:

> While it is true that the Victorian era, as much in England as in America, reflects on the whole a contrary spirit – the predominance of a reasoned effort towards well-being, rather than a satisfaction – the recent events analyzed here would show that these forces of rationalism have spent themselves, and that sentiment is once more coming to occupy the first place in public policy.[11]

According to Angell, this shift in the public temper was most obvious in the growing 'impatience of discussion' that characterised the discursive practices of Edwardian political debate. In Angell's view, it seemed as though his contemporaries were possessed of a general unwillingness to critically interrogate the axioms of political thought. In 1905, when Angell was hired by Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) to manage the operations of the Parisian English language newspaper the *Daily Mail*, this view was confirmed.

As one of Harmsworth's high-ranking employees, Angell became included in the newspaper baron's circle and was exposed to some of the most powerful and influential men in British political culture.[12] Through contact with these men, Angell quickly became aware of some of the ideas dominating British political discussion, particularly as it related to foreign affairs. Here he found a widespread, unquestioning attachment to an outdated political language in which war was conceived of as either inevitable or economically beneficial. Later, in his autobiography, he commented:

> I was quickly to find that these men, many of whom had great influence in politics and journalism, and public life generally, all accepted as truths so self-evident as not to be worthy of discussion certain axiomatic premises which were, I soon became convinced, either dangerous half-truths or complete and utter fallacies.[13]

Angell was terrified by the political dogmatism that characterised public debate in the Northcliffe crowd, and this became his primary motivation for writing what became *The Great Illusion*: '… the fears I felt were deep and real and *The Great Illusion* was born of them.'[14]

In 1909 Angell self-published *Europe's Optical Illusion* and, once published, he used his contacts in the press to secure favorable reviews.[15] Angell's most fruitful press contact was Percy Parker, then owner of *Public Opinion*, who believed that *Europe's Optical Illusion* would become 'the book which had the greatest effect on the thought of man and on his ultimate social well-being.'[16] Parker devoted a great deal of time and energy to helping Angell promote his ideas. Through reviews in *Public Opinion*, Angell's thesis was introduced to a large and politically important audience. One letter sent from Angell to Parker lists the distribution of 2,034 copies of *Public Opinion*, which contained a review of Angell's work. Of these 175 were sent to English newspapers, 94 to American newspapers, 667 to the House of Commons, 611 to the House of Lords, and 487 to American Congressmen.[17] Similarly, a separate letter indicates that Parker had distributed favorable reviews to 30,000 businessmen.[18] With the help of media contacts such as Parker, Angell's political pamphlet was becoming exceedingly popular.[19] Indeed, it was also not long before Angell was being approached by 'half the publishers in London' to expand his pamphlet

into a book.[20] He accepted the offer of the William Heinemann publishing firm, and late in 1910 *The Great Illusion* appeared.

With a deteriorating international situation Angell's arguments were deeply plugged in to the concerns and anxieties of the Edwardians. It is therefore not surprising that *The Great Illusion* attracted the attention, praise and scorn, of some of Europe and North America's most important public men. Among these was Angell's then boss Northcliffe, who had originally, 'poohpoohed the idea' that Angell's thesis 'could hold water or … affect politics practically', but by the end of 1910 had become convinced that 'in a cheap edition [*The Great Illusion*] could run into a million.'[21] Northcliffe threw himself into the *Great Illusion* campaign, providing Angell with funding and giving him space in the *Daily Mail* to engage the critics of his book and to 'push home its thesis'.[22] Late in 1911, the *Daily Mail* provided Angell with an important point of entry into the Edwardian public sphere.

Northcliffe's decision to give Angell space in the *Daily Mail* proved timely. Following the Franco-German dispute in Morocco, the question of the financial impact of international conflict became increasingly topical and the debate over Angell's thesis gained further momentum.[23] Using the columns of the *Daily Mail*, Angell engaged the panicked 'collective mind' in critically rational public debate. Here he expressed and elaborated on his ideas, while also listening and responding to his critics.[24] Angell's columns in the *Mail* seem to have impacted the tone and character of public political debate. One correspondent wrote to the *Mail*'s editor in December 1910, claiming that Angell's ideas were 'filtering down rather rapidly just now through the mass of (so-called) patriotic prejudice that is apt to blind nations to the real conditions that would be brought about by war.'[25] By the close of 1911 Norman Angell's public scrutiny of commonly held ideas regarding war and peace had brought him a large and sympathetic audience. Collectively, this audience represented the boundaries of an emerging political movement: Norman Angellism. In early 1912 Angell left the Northcliffe organisation to pursue his *Great Illusion* campaign full time.

By the close of 1911 Norman Angell's public scrutiny of commonly held ideas regarding war and peace had brought him a large and sympathetic audience.

After 1911, Angell concentrated his efforts on creating new discursive spaces (such as discussion groups, periodicals, etc.) through which he could further scrutinise the outdated political language that he believed formed the foundation for contemporary discussions of war and peace. In these efforts he received invaluable help from Reginald, Viscount Esher.[26] Esher was what Angell called the *eminence grise* behind the British throne: he was a good friend of the royal family, who had made it his business to get to know all the political leaders, public men, and writers so that he could advise the King of their qualities.[27] Moreover, Esher had close ties to Britain's military elite and therefore, like Northcliffe, he seemed an unlikely convert to the *Great Illusion* campaign.[28] Nevertheless, Esher had been one of the first public men to whom Angell mailed copies of *Europe's Optical Illusion*, and he was thoroughly impressed with the pamphlet.[29] Esher would become even more supportive of Angell's work when he witnessed discussions of Angell's thesis in Desart's sub-committee for the Committee of Imperial Defense.[30] In fact, Esher became so intrigued by Angell's work that he was able to convince the philosophically minded former Conservative Prime Minister Arthur Balfour and the wealthy industrialist Richard Garton to join Angell and himself in forming the Garton Foundation for Promoting the Study of International Polity.

The Garton Foundation was arguably the most important organisation in the growth of Norman Angellism. Its aim, according to the Memorandum of Association, was '[t]o promote and develop the science of International Polity and economics as indicated in the published writings of Mr. Norman Angell, and for the purpose aforesaid to organise and federate those who may become interested in the said science …'[31] 'It was for the discussion of this thesis, and for its examination by theoretical students, and by practical men of business, that the Garton Foundation was instituted,' wrote Esher in 1912.[32] In other words, the Garton Foundation hoped to 'bring before the mind of the European public the significance of a few simple, ascertainable, tangible facts … and to encourage their discussion.'[33] More important for our purposes, however, was the methodology through which this aim was pursued. The Foundation used existing spaces for debate and created new discursive spaces in order to publicise Angell's work.

Throughout 1912 Angell lectured at various, often prestigious institutions throughout Britain.[34] In addition to this the Garton Foundation also created new spaces for debate, such as the monthly periodical *War and Peace: A Norman Angell Monthly* and the many discussion groups that were formed throughout Britain. In both venues Norman Angell, the Garton Foundation, and those who participated in the discussion showed themselves to be welcoming of criticism and concerned primarily with the open-ended analysis of political questions. More doctrinaire attitudes were seen as problematic and contrary to the spirit of the movement. As B. N. Langdon-Davies, then an important Garton organiser, told an audience at the Leeds Norman Angell League on 17 April 1914:

> The dangers to avoid in the conduct of a movement such as ours are many. I propose to run briefly through a few which have occurred to me. Petulance, the attitude of impatience towards those who are obsessed with the old views, is most disadvantageous. So also is pedantry, the irritating way of seeming to regard ourselves as alone possessing the true doctrines and the dangerous habit of asserting dogmatically as facts many things which are really only tendencies.[35]

The Garton Foundation was strictly non-partisan and attached to Angell's principle that 'The Right of Free Speech is an empty thing unless it is accompanied with a sense of the obligation to listen to the other fellow.'[36] Thus by 1914, Angell could write: 'the educative policy of the Garton Foundation is one which can equally be supported and approved by the soldier, the Navy League man, the Universal Service man, or the naval economist and the Quaker.'[37]

The admission of fallibility on the part of Norman Angell and

his Garton colleagues became a cornerstone of the political identity that Angell and his followers constructed. As Angell wrote to a reader in 1911, 'so far from declining to listen to my opponents, they are just the people whom I listen to most carefully.'[38] Similarly, when another reader wrote to Angell claiming that he had found flaws in *The Great Illusion*, Angell responded: '[c]ertainly I shall be delighted to have you indicate the errors which have crept into my book. I am only too well aware that having but very incomplete leisure, many imperfections have been allowed to pass, and I shall be grateful to have some of them indicated.'[39] Again in his autobiography he reiterated the importance of accepting and considering criticism:

> In the case of any person whose judgment is really deserving of confidence, how has it become so? Because he has kept his mind open to criticism of his opinions and conduct …. The steady habit of correcting and completing his own opinion by collating it with those of others, so far from causing doubt and hesitation in carrying it into practice, is the only stable foundation for a just reliance on it.[40]

Though Angell vigorously promoted his work, he clearly did not see himself as propagandist but rather a creator of public discussion. As one reviewer in *Everybody's Magazine* noted: 'Mr. Angell has a mind like an edged blade, but he uses it like a scientist, and not like a crusader. He is not a propagandist, he is an elucidator.'[41]

Angell pushed for a reciprocal dialogue to become the dominant characteristic of the new discursive spaces that were founded in the wake of *The Great Illusion*. Upon the founding of the Manchester University War and Peace Society, Angell wrote in an open letter to its members: '[s]uch a club should include men of as diverse opinions as possible – quite as much those interested in the machinery of warfare, as those interested mainly in the bearing of these matters on social progress.'[42] Angell believed that such an ideologically diverse membership would only increase the quality of debate that occurred within the society:

> If the circle includes a certain number generally hostile to pacific conceptions, so much the better. They will, by their points of interrogation act as a stimulus to the investigation of the rest, while on their side they will certainly benefit by a better understanding of factors, which even from the purely military point of view can no longer be neglected.[43]

This attitude was also evident in the Garton Foundation's monthly periodical, *War and Peace*. As the lead writer put it in the inaugural number: 'That failure of understanding which we call war … is a natural and necessary outcome of certain beliefs and misconceptions which can only be corrected by those intellectual processes that have marked all advance in understanding – contact and discussion.' Therefore the purpose of the journal was '[t]o impress the significance of just those facts which are the most relevant and essential in this problem, to do what we can to keep them before public attention and to encourage their discussion.'[44] For this reason, *War and Peace* aimed to remain 'strictly non-partisan' and published pieces both by Angell's supporters and his critics.[45] The resulting effect was such that *War and Peace* became a sphere of critical discussion based on the mutual give and take of open-ended debate.

The tremendous growth of Norman Angellism was not limited by Britain's shores. By June 1913, *The Great Illusion* had sold 11,000 copies in Germany, 21,000 copies in France, and 15,000 copies in Italy.[46] Moreover, Angell had received supportive letters from the King of Italy, the Emperor of Germany, and the Prince Consort of Sweden. Angell's work also developed a tremendous public currency in Canada, where his book had gone through six editions by 1914.[47] The character of Norman Angellism in Canada can be seen through an examination of the University of Toronto International Polity Club, founded on 23 October 1913. Within one year this organisation had 250 formal members, it attracted several high profile speakers, it held meetings with attendance figures over 300, and it caused Angell to refer to Toronto as 'the intellectual centre of the Dominion.'[48] By 11 April 1914, Toronto's *Star* reported the club to be '… thoroughly alive.'[49] Despite its success, this organisation has received scholarly attention within neither the historiography surrounding Angellism nor that of the Canadian peace movement. This is problematic not simply because of the organisation's popularity, but because the University of Toronto Club was a model of the inclusiveness that characterised the discursive spaces which Angell had created.

Angell pushed for a reciprocal dialogue to become the dominant characteristic of the new discursive spaces that were founded in the wake of *The Great Illusion*.

In the way of the clubs and societies in Britain, the University of Toronto International Polity Club firmly adhered to a language of inclusion and a spirit of inquiry. Its formal objects were:

> To encourage the study of international relations; to discuss problems relating to armed aggression; to consider means of settling international disputes without war; to stimulate a sympathetic appreciation of the character, problems and intellectual currents of other nations; and to cooperate for the furthering of these aims with similar organisations in other universities.[50]

The Club was not a peace organisation per se, but rather was aimed at anyone interested in international issues.[51] According to its manifesto, the club was based 'first and foremost, on individual breadth of view' and was the product of no 'clique, nor of any single college.'[52] This point was reiterated by the organisation's second president, C. R. Young, who in 1915 defined the club as '… an association of eager enquirers, of searchers after truth …'[53] The hope of the club was that 'by its broad and open-minded interest in every phase of internationalism …' it could 'form student opinion and send forth from the University men and women trained to think clearly and without prejudice.'[54]

In membership, the Club was highly diverse. In terms of gender, fully half of the 300 who attended the inaugural meeting were female, nearly half of its 250 members in 1914 were female undergraduates, and from 1915 to 1916 women made up more than half of its executive. Additionally, membership in the club was not just limited to students, but open to the general public, and the club actively encouraged membership from people of different cultures and political points of

view.[55] According to its manifesto the single requirement for membership was, 'sincerity of conviction or honesty of doubt.'[56] As Gilbert Jackson, Vice President of the club, told a Toronto *Star* reporter, '[w]e exist for the purpose of thought and discussion …. We think that the subject of war and peace is one that interests most people, and we try to study it from all points of view, getting opinions of men of all types of mind …. We number among our members Imperialists, Liberals, and Conservatives, Socialists and Individualists.'[57] In light of this it is clear that as a discursive space the club was characterised by a language of inclusion and a spirit of inquiry.

Although Angell's *Great Illusion* campaign did not stop what became the First World War, it did undoubtedly raise both the quantity and quality of public political discussion, not only at home but abroad as well. As one author in *Canadian Magazine* wrote: 'Napoleon made the world tremble; Norman Angell has done even more, he has made the world think.'[58] It is here that Angell's political significance emerges. By opening up spaces for freewheeling and critical public debate Angell became implicated in the reinvigoration of British liberalism that had been called for by 'new liberal' thinkers and authors such as L. T. Hobhouse and J. A. Hobson. The recent work of historian Christopher Mauriello has demonstrated that much of new liberalism's political identity was built on the idea of a rational public sphere: that is, a public sphere defined by the free use of independent reason.[59] This idea, Mauriello has shown, led the new liberals to place a high degree of significance on the role of 'public intellectuals'; men of letters like Goethe or Mill who were equally committed to 'mixing with mankind … guiding their counsels, undertaking their service, and getting something accomplished for the obvious good of the world or the village.'[60]

Angell was the public intellectual in action and he was thus part of the revival of deliberative politics that the new liberal thinkers had envisioned. Indeed, as I have tried to show, this was primarily how he understood his work: not as peace activism but as the reassertion of rationalism in public political debate. If it is by the standard of the 'public intellectual', and not by that of the peace activist, that we are to assess Angell, then it ceases to be sensible for us to claim that there existed a division between his publishing success and political failure. In fact, it is Angell's immense public currency and the character of the debate which he created that make him politically significant. Moreover, given Angell's popularity both at home and abroad, it seems that he should be ranked among the most significant new liberals of the Edwardian period.

This was primarily how he understood his work: not as peace activism but as the reassertion of rationalism in public political debate.

Ryan Vieira is a doctoral candidate at McMaster University. His current research explores the role of time and temporality in British constitutional development between the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

1 This paper will not detail all of the arguments of *The Great Illusion* as these are available in a great deal of the existing literature. Here I will allude to Angell's arguments only when necessary and only insofar as they apply to the general argument of the present thesis. For a detailed summary of Angell's arguments see Paul David Hines, 'Norman Angell Peace Movement, 1911–1915' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, 1964), Chapter 1.

2 Howard Weinroth, 'Norman Angell and the Great Illusion: An Episode of Pre-1914 Pacifism', *The Historical Journal*, 17, No. 3 (1974), p. 551.

3 It is worth noting that such clubs and societies were not limited to the English-speaking world. Organisations such as Verband fur Internationale Verstandingung and Student Verein became closely associated with the Norman Angell peace movement. For a discussion of Angell's connection with German student organisations see: Hines, 'Norman Angell Peace Movement, 1911–1915', pp. 105–119; Philip Dale Supina, 'The Norman Angell Peace Campaign in Germany', *Journal of Peace Research*, 9, No. 2 (1972), pp. 161–164.

4 The William Ready Division of Archives and Special Collections, McMaster University (hereafter WRAC), Norman Angell Collection, Box 5 Clippings File, 'The Great Illusion', *Pall Mall Magazine*, January 1913.

5 See Albert Marrin, *Sir Norman Angell* (Twayne Publishers, 1979); Philip Dale Supina, 'Norman Angell and the Years of Illusion, 1908–1914' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1971); Martin Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: the British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854–1945* (Oxford University Press, 2000); Weinroth, 'Norman Angell and the Great Illusion'; Hines, 'Norman Angell Peace Movement'.

6 Norman Angell, *After All: The Autobiography of Sir Norman Angell* (Hamish Hamilton, 1951), pp. 149–150.

7 Norman Angell, *Reminiscences of Sir Norman Angell, Columbia University Oral History Collection, part 1, No. 8*, p. 11

8 Ball State University (hereafter BSU), Norman Angell Collection, Box 46, 'Power'

9 Angell, *After All*, p. 145.

10 Norman Angell, 'War as the Failure of Reason', in J. M. Robertson (ed.), *Essays Towards Peace* (Watts, 1913), p. 69; BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 47, Norman Angell, 'Democracy and the Main Street Mind'.

11 Angell, *Patriotism Under Three Flags: A Plea for Rationalism in Politics,* (Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp. 3, 14.

12 Included in this set were J. L. Garvin, Leo Maxse, Kennedy Jones, and Lord Roberts. Moreover, an interesting fact which McNeal's dissertation brings to light is that in the months when Angell was finishing 'Europe's Optical Illusion' he was working in close quarters with George Saunders and William Fullerton – two of the most anti-German of all of *The Times*' foreign correspondents. 'At the very least, both Saunders and Fullerton provided him with a constant reminder of the anti-German feeling that he attempted to counteract in the book.' Hugh Peter Gaitskell McNeal, 'Making War Expensive and Peace Cheap: The Emergence of New Liberal Internationalism in Anglo-American Thought, 1897–1914', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2000), p. 119.

13 Angell, *After All*, p. 138.

14 Ibid, p. 141.

15 For instance, Angell's association with H. W. Massingham led to H. N. Brailsford's enthusiastic review in the *Nation*: H. N. Brailsford, 'The Motive Force of War', *Nation*, 6, No. 12, 18 December 1909, pp. 490–492.

16 Percy Parker, 'An Unchallenged Book: The Book of the Day – A Worthy Candidate for the Nobel Literature and Peace Prizes', *Public Opinion*, 27 January 1911, (99): 2570.

17 WRAC, Norman Angell Collection, Box 1, Percy Parker to Norman Angell, 26 January 1911.

18 WRAC, Norman Angell Collection, Box 1, Percy Parker to Norman

Angell, 2 March 1911.

19 In May 1910 Angell wrote to Parker that he was receiving letters 'from every imaginable sort and condition of person: financiers, politicians, journalists, writers, soldiers, university professors, etc.'. BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 20, Norman Angell to Percy Parker, 18 May 1910.

20 Angell, *Reminiscences*, p. 105.

21 BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 27, Angell to F. W. Wile, 3 November 1910; BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, Norman Angell to Kennedy Jones, 1911.

22 Ibid. Supina's dissertation provides evidence that Northcliffe was also in some way funding Angell's peace work. Supina points to the fact that, when Angell left the *Daily Mail* in 1912, his propaganda expenses instantly increased to three times their previous size. Supina, 'Norman Angell and the Years of Illusion.' p. 103.

23 See 'The Kaiser's Answer: Effect in Germany, Severe Financial Depression, Comments of Berlin Press', *Daily Mail*, 9 September 1911, p. 5.

24 For an example of Angell 'pushing home' his thesis see Norman Angell, 'The Lesson of the Bourse Panics', *Daily Mail*, 15 September 1911, p. 4c–d. For an example of Angell engaging his critics see Norman Angell, 'The Great Illusion and the War: A Reply to my Critics', *Daily Mail*, 5 October 1911, p. 4d–e. For an example of Angell's ideas being discussed in editorial columns see 'The Risk to Germany', *Daily Mail*, 8 September 1911, p. 4b. For an example of Angell being criticised see 'War and the Money Markets: A Real Test for Norman Angell', *Daily Mail*, 4 October 1911, p. 4f.

25 Francis Haslam, 'The Lesson of Bourse Panics: Mr. Norman Angell on War', *Daily Mail*, 15 December 1910, p. 9f.

26 Lord Esher was a man of tremendous political influence during this period. Not only had he been a good friend of King Edward, but he was also the overseer of Queen Victoria's private papers. In 1902, he served on the Elgin Commission on the South African War. In 1903, he was invited by Arthur Balfour to become War Secretary. In 1905, he became a permanent member on the Committee of Imperial Defence. For a more detailed biography see Peter Fraser, *Lord Esher: A Political Biography* (Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1973).

27 Angell, *Reminiscences*, p. 106.

28 See McNeal, 'Making War Expensive and Peace Cheap', pp. 153–157.

29 In January 1910, he wrote a supportive and encouraging letter to Angell: 'I hate flattery, but I am not flattering when I urge you to push home your main thesis. Your book could be as epoch making as Seeley's Expansion of England, or Mahan's Sea Power. It is sent forth at the right psychological moment and wants to be followed up if you have time and drive.' BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 7, Reginald Esher to Norman Angell, 11 January 1910. This letter had a great impacted on Angell who later said it was largely Esher's support of 'Europe's Optical Illusion' which was responsible for the pamphlet's expansion into a book. As he wrote to Esher: 'I think, in a sense, you are responsible for the book, because if it had not been for your kind encouragement given to the pamphlet on which it is based I am not sure that it would have been written.' For his support Angell dedicated his 1914 book *The Foundations of International Polity* to Esher. BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 7, Norman Angell to Reginald Esher, 30 October 1910.

30 In a speech at Cambridge University Esher commented on witnessing these talks: 'I have had the opportunity of listening to very confidential inquiries into, and discussions of, the economic effects upon our trade, commerce and finance on the outbreak of a European war in which we ourselves might be engaged. This inquiry extended over many months, and many of the wealthiest and most influential men of business from the cities of the United Kingdom were called to give evidence before those whose duty it was to conclude the report. I am sure that very few, if any, of those eminent witnesses had read his book, but by some mysterious process the virus of Norman Angell was working in their minds, for one after the other, these magnates of commerce and of finance, corroborated by their fears and anticipations, the doctrine of *The Great Illusion*.' BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, 'Viscount Esher's Speech at Cambridge University'.

31 WRAC, Norman Angell Collection, Box 7, 'Memorandum of Association', *Garton Foundation Members Agreement*, clause 3, article 1.

32 BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, author unknown, 'A Note on the Organization of the Garton Foundation', 1912.

33 Norman Angell, 'The International Polity Movement', *The Foundations of International Polity* (W. Heinemann, 1914), p. 218.

34 A few British organisations that Angell spoke at under the auspices of the Garton Foundation included: the British Chamber of Commerce (Paris), the Chatham Club (London), the South Place Institute (London), the Pioneer Club (London), the Midland Institute (Birmingham), the National Liberal Club (London), the Glasgow Liberal Club, the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, the Liberal Colonial Club, and the United Service Institution. BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, John Hilton, 'Report for 1912'; 'Overseas Dominions: Mr. Norman Angell on their Impregnability', *The Times*, 1 November 1913, p. 5g; 'Mr. Norman Angell and the Use of Armies', *The Times*, 9 October 1913, p. 5g.

35 BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, B. Langdon Davies, 'Dangers to be Avoided', in 'Leeds Norman Angell League Conference'.

36 BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 45, 'Free Speech'.

37 Angell, 'The International Polity Movement', p. 211.

38 WRAC, Norman Angell Collection, Box 1, Norman Angell to R. Walton, 28 April 1911.

39 BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 4, Norman Angell to Thomas Carter, 1 November 1911.

40 Angell, *The Great Illusion*, p. 173.

41 *Everybody's Magazine*, May 1911, reproduced in, WRAC, Norman Angell Collection, Box 6, *The Work of Norman Angell by his Contemporaries: A Selection of Reviews and Articles Reproduced and Bound up, Issued Privately for Personal Friends and Some Students*, p. 8.

42 BSU, Norman Angell Collecton, JX1963A52, Norman Angell, 'An Open Letter to the Manchester University War and Peace Society'.

43 Ibid.

44 'About Ourselves', *War and Peace*, 1, No. 1, October 1913, p. 1.

45 Supporters: Bertrand Russell, 'Why Nations Love War', *War and Peace*, 2, no. 14, November 1914, pp. 20–21; H. N. Brailsford, 'On Preventing Wars', *War and Peace*, 2, no. 17, February 1914, pp. 71–72; J. A. Hobson, 'The Limitations of Nationalism', *War and Peace*, 1, no. 6, March 1914, p. 155; E. D. Morel, 'Foreign Policy and the People', *War and Peace*, 1, no. 3, February 1914, p. 129; Ramsay MacDonald, 'The War and After', *War and Peace*, 2, no. 13, October 1914, p. 5; For an additional list of contributors see Angell, *After All,* p. 169. Critics: Frederic Harrison, 'Mischievous and Immoral', *War and Peace*, 1, no. 3, December 1913, p. 65; A. Rifleman, 'The Fallacy of Norman Angellism', *War and Peace*, 1, no. 4, January 1914, p. 103. A. Rifleman, 'The Fallacy of Norman Angellism: Further Instances', *War and Peace*, 1, no. 5, February 1914, p. 167.

46 Supina 'Norman Angell and the Years of Illusion', p. 132.

47 Main Johnson, 'Norman Angell: Apostle of Peace', *Canadian Magazine*, (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., March 1914), p. 531.

48 For membership figures see 'Polity Club Serves Noteworthy Ends', *Star* (Toronto), 11 April 1914, p. 10c. Speakers to the club in its first year included John Lewis (editor of the Toronto *Star*), G. E. Jackson (Cambridge Lecturer in Economics), J. A. Macdonald (editor of the Toronto *Globe*), Sir John Willison (Canadian correspondent to the London *Times*), Alfred Noyes (English poet), and N. W. Rowell (leader of Ontario's provincial Liberal Party): BSU, Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, 'Memo for Norman Angell', 15 February 1914. The club's first meeting filled the newly built YMCA's auditorium achieving an attendance of 300: 'New

University Club Hears Able Addresses', *Globe* (Toronto), 5 December 1913. According to the *Star* extra tables had to be brought in to accommodate the inaugural meeting, 'Varsity People are Fond of Polity Club: Big Crowd, with Many Ladies, Hear Speakers at International Dinner', *Star* (Toronto), 5 December 1913. University of Toronto Archives and Records Management (hereafter UTARMS), Office of the Registrar, A1973-0051/239.

49 'Polity Club Serves Noteworthy Ends', *Star* (Toronto), 11 April 1914, p. 10c.

50 UTARMS, Office of the Registrar, A1973-0051/239, 'International Polity Club Report for 1915'.

51 'There is assuredly nothing in these objects that commits the Club, as a club, to the advocacy of either peace or war. On the contrary there is much that will appeal to all students of World problems.' 'International Polity Club Report for 1915'.

52 UTARMS, Office of the Registrar, A1973-0051/239, 'International Polity Club Report for 1914'.

53 'International Polity Club Report for 1915'.

54 Ibid.

55 A shining example of the cosmopolitan nature of the club is the fact that on 8 December 1914 it held a 'cosmopolitan night' where representatives of various cultures could express 'in speech or in music, the infinite variety of the peoples of the earth as well as something of their common possessions.' UTARMS, Office of the Registrar, A1973-0051/239, 'Cosmopolitan Night', *Star*, 8 December 1914.

56 'International Polity Club Report for 1914'

57 UTARMS, Office of the Registrar, A1973-0051/239, 'Polity Club Serves Noteworthy Ends', *Star* (Toronto).

58 Johnson, 'Norman Angell: Apostle of Peace', p. 534.

59 Christopher Mauriello, 'The Public Sphere and the Liberal Imagination: Public Intellectuals, New Liberalism, and the Transformation of Culture, 1880–1920' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Brown University, 1995).

60 Christopher Mauriello, 'The Strange Death of the Public Intellectual: Liberal Intellectual Identity and the Field of Cultural Production in England, 1880–1920', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 6, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1–26.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

If you can help any of the individuals listed below with sources, contacts, or any other information — or if you know anyone who can — please pass on details to them. Details of other research projects in progress should be sent to the Editor (see page 3) for inclusion here.

Letters of Richard Cobden (1804–65)

Knowledge of the whereabouts of any letters written by Cobden in private hands, autograph collections, and obscure locations in the UK and abroad for a complete edition of his letters. (For further details of the Cobden Letters Project, please see www.uea.ac.uk/his/research/projects/cobden). *Dr Anthony Howe, School of History, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ; a.c.howe@uea.ac.uk.*

The political career of Edward Strutt, 1st Baron Belper

Strutt was Whig/Liberal MP for Derby (1830-49), later Arundel and Nottingham; in 1856 he was created Lord Belper and built Kingston Hall (1842-46) in the village of Kingston-on-Soar, Notts. He was a friend of Jeremy Bentham and a supporter of free trade and reform, and held government office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Commissioner of Railways. Any information, location of papers or references welcome. *Brian Smith; brian63@inbox.com.*

Liberal Unionists

A study of the Liberal Unionist party as a discrete political entity. Help with identifying party records before 1903 particularly welcome. *Ian Cawood, Newman University Colllege, Birmingham; i.cawood@newman.ac.uk.*

Liberal policy towards Austria-Hungary, 1905–16

Andrew Gardner, 17 Upper Ramsey Walk, Canonbury, London N1 2RP; agardner@ssees.ac.uk.

Recruitment of Liberals into the Conservative Party, 1906–1935

Aims to suggest reasons for defections of individuals and develop an understanding of changes in electoral alignment. Sources include personal papers and newspapers; suggestions about how to get hold of the papers of more obscure Liberal defectors welcome. *Cllr Nick Cott, 1a Henry Street, Gosforth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE3 1DQ; N.M.Cott@ncl.ac.uk.*

Beyond Westminster: Grassroots Liberalism 1910–1929

A study of the Liberal Party at its grassroots during the period in which it went from being the party of government to the third party of politics. This research will use a wide range of sources, including surviving Liberal Party constituency minute books and local press to contextualise the national decline of the party with the reality of the situation on the ground. The thesis will focus on three geographic regions (Home Counties, Midlands and the North West) in order to explore the situation the Liberals found themselves in nationally. Research for University of Leicester. Supervisor: Dr Stuart Ball. *Gavin Freeman ; gjf6@le.ac.uk.*

Four nations history of the Irish Home Rule crisis

A four nations history of the Irish Home Rule crisis, attempting to rebalance the existing Anglo-centric focus. Considering Scottish and Welsh reactions and the development of parallel Home Rule movements, along with how the crisis impacted on political parties across the UK. Sources include newspapers, private papers, *Hansard*. *Naomi Lloyd-Jones; naomi.n.lloyd-jones@kcl.ac.uk.*

'Economic Liberalism' and the Liberal (Democrat) Party, 1937–2004

A study of the role of 'economic liberalism' in the Liberal Party and the Liberal Democrats. Of particular interest would be any private papers relating to 1937's *Ownership For All* report and the activities of the Unservile State Group. Oral history submissions also welcome. *Matthew Francis; matthew@the-domain.org.uk.*

The Liberal Party's political communication, 1945–2002

Research on the Liberal party and Lib Dems' political communication. Any information welcome (including testimonies) about electoral campaigns and strategies. *Cynthia Messeleka-Boyer, 12 bis chemin Vaysse, 81150 Terssac, France; +33 6 10 09 72 46; cynthia.boyer@univ-jfc.fr.*

The political career of David Steel, Lord Steel of Aikwood

David Steel was one of the longest-serving leaders of the Liberal Party and an important figure in the realignment debate of the 1970s and '80s that led to the formation of the Liberal Democrats. Author would like to hear from anyone with pertinent or entertaining anecdotes relating to Steel's life and times, particularly his leadership, or who can point me towards any relevant source material. *David Torrance; davidtorrance@hotmail.com .*

The Lib-Lab Pact

The period of political co-operation which took place in Britain between 1977 and 1978; PhD research project at Cardiff University. *Jonny Kirkup, 29 Mount Earl, Bridgend, Bridgend County CF31 3EY; jonnykirkup@yahoo.co.uk.*

DAVID AND

Dr J. Graham Jones uses A. J. Sylvester's detailed diaries in the custody of the National Library of Wales to examine the tortuous build-up to the marriage of Lloyd George and Frances Stevenson at Guildford Registry Office on 23 October 1943.

Dame Margaret Lloyd George died at her beloved north Wales home Brynawelon, Criccieth on the morning of 20 January 1941 after a mercifully brief illness. Although the couple had been semi-estranged for many years, spending only relatively brief intervals in each other's company, usually during the month of August, Lloyd George was still devastated. Part of his grief could be explained by his unfortunate, tragic failure, attributable to exceptionally heavy falls of snow across the country, to reach the deathbed scene in time. The old man had been forced to spend the previous night at a hotel at Cerrig-y-Druidion in Denbighshire (while in a mad rush en route from Bron-y-de, his home at Churt, in Surrey, to Brynawelon, Criccieth), and had to be informed of his wife's death by his friend Lord Dawson of Penn, the esteemed royal physician, over the telephone. Dawson had told him softly, 'Your wife died at twenty past ten this morning'. The situation was, in the words of Lloyd George's Principal Private Secretary A. J. Sylvester, 'most pathetic. LG was broken and he sobbed at the other end of the telephone: I heard him. I expressed my deep grief for him; he sobbed, "She was a great old pal". I said, "You are very brave", but he said: "No, I am not"'.[1]

O FRANCES

The following day the London train was able to get through to Criccieth bearing their elder son Richard, widely known as Dick, and his wife June, and their second son Gwilym and his wife Edna. Members of the family were thus reunited in their profound grief. The immensely tragic and moving events of these days made a very deep impression upon Sylvester, clearly an emotional man: 'I shall never forget LG's face when he drew up in the Rolls Royce driven by Dyer. I have never seen anybody looking so near death. His face was an awful colour. For the first time in my life I saw him wearing a woollen scarf'. Although there had long been an extremely deep rift between father and son, and Dick had long considered that Lloyd George had treated his mother shamefully for decades, now, 'LG fell into Dick's arms and sobbed. Supported on the arms of his family he boarded the train and went to sleep'. Only Sylvester and their son-in-law Sir Thomas Carey-Evans, himself a medical man too and married to their second daughter Olwen ever since 1917, felt sufficiently composed and in control to go to see the body of Dame Margaret lying in her coffin: 'She looked very peaceful. LG did not see her. I do not think he has ever seen death: I learn that he did not even see Mair. Neither did Dick or Gwilym see her'. A little later Sylvester met Megan Lloyd George in the hall at Brynawelon – 'She just fell into my arms. The scenes I witnessed between members of the family were most pathetic'.[2] Thelma Cazalet, the Conservative MP for the Islington East constituency since October 1931, and a close personal friend to Megan Lloyd George, had rushed to Brynawelon as soon as she had heard of Dame Margaret's death. The scenes she then saw had confirmed her view that the Lloyd Georges were 'a genuine circle, consisting of people who did not merely put up with each other, but were genuinely fond of each other however much they had to put up with'. Upon her arrival at Brynawelon, 'Lloyd George threw his arms about me, burst into tears and sobbed out that he would never forget me coming at that moment'.[3]

Generally A. J. Sylvester was extremely loyal to Lloyd George whom he served devotedly, sometimes at considerable personal cost and sacrifice to himself, for more than twenty-two years. He was also most fond of Dame Margaret who tended to take his side in family squabbles. He, in turn, was at pains for the rest of his life to try to ensure that she was given the attention and respect which, he felt convinced, she deserved. He also enjoyed a reasonable rapport with Megan. With Frances Stevenson, however, Sylvester's relationship was at best uneasy. In her view, he had displayed an enormous vanity when he had dictated to Lloyd George that he must be known as 'Principal Private Secretary' as part of the deal when he had rejoined Lloyd George's staff in 1923. Frances, recognising that he would undoubtedly be a useful asset as an addition to LG's personal staff, had magnanimously shrugged her shoulders and did not quibble. But a latent, simmering antagonism between the two persisted, although it was somewhat masked until after Lloyd George's death in March 1945. In her heart of hearts, Frances considered Sylvester vain, over-ambitious and touchy. Behind his back she would always laugh at him and his voice which had a strong nasal twang overlaying a marked Staffordshire accent and his tendency to rub his hands together rather subserviently which made him appear, in her view, a modern day Uriah Heep. Sylvester in turn accused Frances of being prim, stiff, and intent only on providing comfort for Lloyd George and personal self-seeking.

Left: Frances and David Lloyd George in 1943

Dame Margaret's funeral took place just three days after her death on Thursday, 23 January. A private funeral service at Brynawelon at 2 p.m. saw Lloyd George once more 'overcome with grief and in floods of tears'. Thereafter the coffin was borne the two miles from Brynawelon to the Criccieth public ceremony on a simple traditional farm wagon, pulled by sixty-five members of the Criccieth home guard, each of whom was carrying an individual wreath. All shops and private houses had their blinds tightly pulled down along the route taken by the funeral procession.[4] Lloyd George, still sobbing, rode behind the farm wagon with his two sons, his younger brother William George and 'little David', the elder son of Major Gwilym Lloyd George, still only ten years of age. At the cemetery there were to be no women mourners. The sheer poignancy of the scene was increased by the fact that Dame Margaret was to be buried in the same grave as their eldest (and favourite) daughter Mair Eluned, who had died at the family home at

Routh Road, London, at just seventeen years of age back in November 1907 after a failed operation to treat a burst appendix. At the time her father had been the President of the Board of Trade under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Subsequently Mair's simple grave had been turned into a Lloyd George family vault, crowned by a majestic sculpture of a teenage girl executed by Sir W. Goscombe John, monumental sculptor par excellence at the beginning of the twentieth century. This vault was now re-opened for the first time thirty-three years later as Dame Margaret was finally laid to rest. 'LG, standing between Dick and Gwilym, trembled and sobbed, but bore his grief bravely. Dame Margaret would have been delighted if she could have seen the whole setting. I have been to many important funerals, none was so impressive as this'.[5] On the mountainside nearby stood Mynydd Ednyfed Fawr, the farm where Maggie had been born on 4 November 1864 and where she had spent much of her childhood and youth.

The death of Dame Margaret Lloyd George potentially meant a wholly cataclysmic change for her husband. He had always assumed that he was likely to predecease his wife who had been almost two years his junior and in robust health. Now the unthinkable had actually happened, and LG's major link with his Welsh roots and with his constituency base had been suddenly removed. Also he was well aware that, decades earlier, he had given his word to his private secretary, mistress and confidante Frances Stevenson that, if he ever found himself a free man, he would, after a decent interval had elapsed, make an honest woman of her. Frances might well now be willing to bide her time, but she was certainly not prepared to give up the prize which was at long last within her grasp. For thirty years she had grudgingly played the role of the perpetual mistress, obliged to make herself scarce each time her love rival Dame Margaret came out of Wales. She had long craved respectability, a status – and a wedding ring. And she was certainly not now prepared to back down, regardless of the feelings of the Lloyd George family. Frances's apparent sympathy for them in their tragic loss in January 1941 would inevitably prove short-lived and largely cosmetic. For years on end she had deeply resented the fact that she had had to leave Bron-y-de, Churt each time Dame Margaret or Megan had decided to go there. Such a scenario she was just no longer prepared to tolerate. The battle lines were being drawn. As Sylvester put it in rather exaggerated language in early February, 'The fight is ON, not only with Germany, but between Frances and the family'.[6]

Within just two days of Dame Margaret's funeral, Lloyd George had told Megan (who had inherited Brynawelon absolutely under the terms of her mother's will) rather tactlessly that he could no longer afford to continue to pay her an allowance towards the upkeep of the property as he had previously done. In Sylvester's perceptive words, 'Yet he is spending a fortune in having all sorts of people around him who do not earn a fraction of their salaries'. Megan's intense annoyance was even exceeded by that of the family's Welsh housekeeper Sarah Jones who had constantly backed Lloyd George in family disagreements for more than four decades. Now she vowed that she would never condescend to speak to him again.[7] Megan's intense grief was further increased by her recent split from her long-term lover the Labour MP Philip Noel-Baker, a wrenching experience which she had certainly felt very deeply and of which her father knew nothing. The very same month their local GP at Criccieth Dr Rees Prytherch intimated to A. J. Sylvester that Lord Dawson had informed him of his conviction that Lloyd George was already suffering from a growth in the bowel, likely to prove malignant, as well as dangerously high blood pressure: 'He might go off at any time, or he might live a number of years. I said that I had made up my mind that he would never again take office and was not fit for it. Prytherch agreed'.[8]

At the beginning of February Lloyd George duly returned to Bron-y-de, Churt. He was pressurised by Frances Stevenson not to continue subsidising the bills for Brynawelon, but rather to use his resources on renovating and modernising Ty Newydd, the farmhouse situated on a hill behind his native village of Llanystumdwy which he had bought, together with some forty acres of agricultural land, shortly before the outbreak of the war in September 1939. The property had already been extensively reconstructed and modernised, and orchards had been planted on eight acres of the land containing no fewer than three thousand trees. Frances clearly subjected the ailing old man to considerable pressure. 'She either does not realise or does not care that this puts him in great difficulties. For him to go to stay at Ty Newydd would be just another damn fool thing amongst many which he has done lately. It would be the talk of the constituency, especially if she went with him which is what I think she is after'. Moreover, whenever Megan or Olwen now visited Churt, Frances stubbornly refused to budge from the house, and she also began to squander Lloyd George's money, for example on hiring a private car to take her daughter Jennifer to her school at Bakewell. As she herself put it neatly to Sylvester, 'Things are different now: I have had a lot to put up with for years'. The idea of marriage was already in the air. 'I can only suspect that that is what she is after, as when she and Evelyn [Sylvester's wife] were on their way home from America, she said that LG had promised to marry her if anything should happen to Dame M. Yes, but there seemed little chance of anything happening then! LG is always loudest in his criticisms and statements when the thing is not likely to happen'.[9]

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By March Sylvester could record that 'LG is insisting on Frances showing herself about the house at Bron-y-de when Megan is there. Looks as if LG and Frances are trying to drive her away'. About a month later Megan had personally telephoned Sylvester from Churt to inform him that she felt 'very fed up. She said that her Father was behaving very peculiarly'. Sylvester went on to record the same day that the old man was 'not on speaking terms at the moment with Olwen who is at Brynawelon'. Megan meanwhile had caught sight of Frances in the house at Churt so that 'as a result she did not speak to her Father the whole weekend and just snubbed him'. The timing of the quarrel was indeed most unfortunate, as Thelma Cazalet had only just suggested to

Lloyd George that he should give Megan an annual allowance of £2,000. Problems were mounting as Megan simply did not have a sufficient personal income to meet the running costs of Brynawelon. She also had a cottage at Chesham in the Chiltern Hills in Buckinghamshire for which her father still continued to pay the weekly rent of £5-5s-0d. Further problems were arising from Lloyd George's request to the distinguished Welsh architect Clough Williams-Ellis to assess Ty Newydd and then prepare a professional report on 'what is required to make it habitable during war time with a view to LG going to live there when he goes to Wales'. Commented Sylvester, 'That will start a row to be sure and some talk in the constituency. And all this at a time when LG has agreed to make a special garden at Brynawelon to the memory of Dame Margaret'.[10]

The relationship between Megan and her father was evidently rapidly deteriorating, a newfound tension born of Frances's remaining at Churt during the weekends. On 24 April Sylvester recorded 'a terrific row in progress between LG and Megan. … Megan saw [Frances] there the other day, and as a consequence just ignored her Father and refused to speak to him. She has had nothing to do with him since and stays at her cottage at Chesham'. There was further friction between father and daughter over Lloyd George's demands that payments for secretarial support now had to be reduced and over his insistence that furniture should not be removed from the family home at Victoria Road, London – 'She flew right off the handle and said that no one would prevent her taking things which had been given to her by her Mother which were her own property'. Megan's annoyance knew no bounds – 'He is fussing and bothering about little things which he ought not to bother his head about. To think of all that brilliance, all those talents, all those gifts, just going to seed, because that is what they will do, with a lot of women around him, fussing him, making an old man of him. It is the most pathetic thing I have seen'. The question of financial support to meet the running expenses of Brynawelon was an especially thorny issue. 'I think he will be up to his monkey tricks and perhaps go to live at Ty Newydd with Frances. Then we shall have some fun'.[11]

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By the beginning of the following year – 1942 – the relationship between father and daughter had become a little less frosty. In the spring the question of the marriage was back on the agenda. Frances had asked A. J. Sylvester, confidentially, to send her details of the procedure for marriage in a Baptist chapel – totally unknown to Lloyd George. The old man had been talking about resigning his seat in the House of Commons and possibly accepting a peerage and going to the House of Lords. Frances assured Sylvester that he personally would certainly not lose out materially in the event of such an eventuality. Lloyd George, still generally pessimistic and defeatist about the allied war effort, was talking about the desirability of making a negotiated peace settlement with Hitler and even thought that he himself might still be called on to form a new government to achieve this. No one really took this seriously.[12]

The old man had certainly aged ever more rapidly since the death of Dame Margaret, he almost always looked very pale, and his leonine like head and neck had shrunk considerably. Frances undoubtedly feared that he might well be trying to get out of marrying her, a course which members of the Lloyd George family would all certainly have applauded: 'We probably expected them to continue living as before'.[13] Did Lloyd George himself also hope, in his heart of hearts, that Frances would be happy to carry on as before? Did he also hope that her long, passionate affair with Colonel T. F. Tweed back in the late 1920s had somehow negated his pledge to her? Possibly he felt that his mistress, who had herself become a mother in October 1929, might in consequence be less concerned about getting married.

Before the end of March Lloyd George had taken lunch at the House of Commons with Megan, Gwilym and A. J. Sylvester. After lunch Megan had shown her father a telegram which she had recently received from a Mr Lambert, the organiser of Criccieth Warships Week, noting that the Criccieth area alone had raised some £70,000 for the cause. Lloyd George responded by noting that he expected that Llanystumdwy had contributed most of that sum, 'including Ty Newydd'. 'At this remark Megan's face set like a piece of chiselled marble. She said not a word. There was silence. LG understood'. Feelings ran especially high in the area at the time because it was known that William Jones, who was acting as the manager of the Ty Newydd farm, and his wife had recently visited Lloyd George at Bron-y-de, Churt and had returned home with '"instructions" to get the place ready for Easter as LG was going to stay there "with someone else"'. The news had then spread around Criccieth like wildfire as a wagon of furniture arrived at Ty Newydd. 'If LG takes Frances and Jennifer to Ty Newydd there will be an unholy row. Megan will regard it as an insult to the memory of her Mother, and Megan tells me that not even Gwilym would tolerate that. But happily the place is not ready, so he cannot go to Ty Newydd for Easter'.[14]

Frances had already told her daughter Jennifer that she and Lloyd George were to be married, and quite innocently the twelve year old girl had asked him when the wedding ceremony was likely to take place: 'Taid [Lloyd George] roared with what sounded like very embarrassed laughter at my question, and said something fairly noncommittal. … I suspect that LlG would have been not unwilling to continue with the status quo without my intervention. (I think I may have asked Frances first, and that she suggested I asked Taid.)'.[15] It is clear that by this time Lloyd George was becoming increasingly unstable psychologically and was certainly not in a position to assume governmental office. He was constantly accusing Frances of becoming intimately involved with other men. On the evening of 28 April Frances had telephoned A. J. Sylvester at his home – 'Don't you think he is awful? He is trying to get some grievance against me. He is in that mood just now. He is crazy. Does not seem to be satisfied unless quarrelling. He was better, but now he is bad again. It is so upsetting. You feel you are guilty all the time. People get the idea that he is unreliable. One day he is telling Hankey to turn Winston out; next day he is lunching with Winston. Cripps has no use for him. I think Cripps sized

LG up at those talks they had before he went to Russia. He is so selfish and jealous. It never occurs to him to ask himself: "What job of work can I do?". But he won't do anything except develop quarrels with any one'.[16]

Megan's totally intransigent attitude clearly remained the primary stumbling block to the proposed marriage. Nervous, Frances asked Sylvester to act as a go-between and test the waters: 'I would like to jog it on a bit. I think I am perfectly justified in taking things into my own hands. Everybody is expecting it in the neighbourhood'. Sylvester, also afraid of upsetting Megan, demurred and decided first to approach Olwen to see how the land now lay within the Lloyd George family.[17] Another rather underhand tack adopted by Frances was to invite Megan's old friend Thelma Cazalet to lunch at the Savoy Hotel, London, and request her to inform Megan of the impending marriage: 'No ambassador can ever have been charged with a more uncongenial mission'. Thelma, too, was hesitant, but eventually agreed to approach Megan if Olwen was also in attendance, but, predictably, 'The interview was as unpleasant as I feared. Megan's relations with her father had been specially close – almost telepathic'.[18] In Megan's obsessive, almost paranoid mind, the question of the marriage had become inexorably entwined with the proposed move to Ty Newydd, where she had recently seen the furniture arrive. Clough Williams-Ellis had rather tactlessly showed Megan a plan of the reconditioned property and the rooms which it contained. She had arranged to see Lord Dawson on 8 May. Three days later Frances reported to Sylvester that Lloyd George had become 'very worried about Megan. He wants to buck her up and get her out of this mood. He is afraid that if she becomes worse, it may become chronic. … He does not mind quarrelling with her, but he does not like her being ill'. Lloyd George had tried to diffuse the situation by assuring Megan that 'he would not do anything without first talking to she and Gwilym'. The whole issue was becoming bogged down in some confusion and uncertainty. In order to play for time and to save his own skin, Lloyd George was constantly trying to reassure both Frances and Megan. 'I have seen LG in many a wangle', wrote Sylvester at the beginning June, 'but never one like this. He is playing a very deep game between Megan and Frances. One of them must be disappointed one day'.[19]

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Before the end of the month he was recording in his diary the opinions of George Dyer, Lloyd George's chauffeur, who now believed that Frances had 'completely changed. She is terribly mean and greedy and has turned absolutely against him [Dyer] for some reason which he cannot imagine'. Dyer had firm evidence that she was regularly diverting some of the coke supply intended for Bron-y-de to her own cottage Avalon. There was also considerable friction between Frances and Mrs Bennett, the housekeeper at Bron-y-de 'because Miss Stevenson interferes with the domestic staff and is so mean to them'. There were other bones of contention too – Frances was making regular use of Lloyd George's car to run personal errands and to ferry her family members from place to place, including her elderly parents. Her younger sister Muriel Stevenson had been quietly added to the Bron-y-de estate pay roll 'as a land worker to prevent her being called up, but she does precious little work'. The surplus money from the sale of eggs on the estate was also being pocketed by Muriel, while Dyer was chauffeuring Frances willy-nilly from place to place although petrol was in woefully short supply during war-time. Sylvester summed up, 'All this talk has left a very bad impression upon my mind. If she marries LG, how long will it be before she interferes in the wider sphere and perhaps works against me? I have never trusted her TOO MUCH. She has a very sweet smile, and a very engaging manner, but my Heavens she's HARD! Look at her face. (And I have a memory: that in 1932 my revelation of she and Tweed to LG at his blunt request)'.[20]

By the high summer of 1942 Frances had begun wearing a ring sporting a large single diamond on her engagement finger. There seemed, however, to be something of a rapprochement between Lloyd George and Megan, although the former still stubbornly refused to give any kind of lead to the nation in wartime. The question of the marriage again resurfaced in the autumn. At the end of October Frances told Sylvester, 'It's as I thought, he wants to wait for two years for the sake of appearances. After that I do not think LG will bother about Megan. I suggested to him that he should get Dawson to see her [Megan] and talk to her when it is settled. LG thought it was a very excellent idea. It would save LG a lot of unpleasantness and Dawson could put it on medical grounds'. Three weeks later Sylvester took tea with Lord Dawson at the House of Lords and warned him of Carey-Evans's conjecture about Lloyd George's irregular bowel movements. Dawson, fearing the existence of a growth, felt that LG should be pressed to have an x-ray – 'He felt that if LG's health were in doubt that would strengthen the case for the marriage. He thought Frances had a case and that she would marry him even on LG's deathbed'. But Dawson also pointed out 'the likely unfavourable reactions round Criccieth' to news of the marriage, while Megan 'might just break off entirely with her Father'. Days later Lloyd George discussed the proposed marriage with his second son Major Gwilym Lloyd-George, the Minister of Fuel and Power in the wartime coalition government, subsequently reporting dejectedly to Frances that his son 'was not very favourable. Gwilym had said that it would not be popular with the people of Criccieth. Megan would not accept it either'.

Lloyd George tried valiantly to renege on his pledge to marry Frances, now arguing that 'the present circumstances were all right: it suited him all right, so why alter it?'. Enraged by LG's backtracking, Frances took pains to remind him 'of the chances she had had to be married which she had given up' for his sake. Lloyd George had just retorted sharply, 'That is all done with', and Frances had insisted, 'Honourable people think you should do it'. LG had simply said, 'There are no honourable people'. He had been much swayed by warnings from Gwilym that 'the people' would be 'critical' of the marriage. Sylvester had warned Frances 'that it looked to me as if LG was trying to get out of it: at any rate, he had a game on'. Frances was not, however, to be put off, instructing the ubiquitous Sylvester to establish the

difference between a church wedding by special licence and a registry office wedding by civil law. The matter dragged on, Frances telling Sylvester on 26 November, 'I told him [Lloyd George] the other day that if it was not soon settled I should go mad'. On the last day of the month, while Megan was staying at Bron-y-de for the weekend, Frances had said to Lloyd George, 'I cannot go on like this. It is very humiliating to me to go out the moment Megan comes'. Lloyd George, sympathetic, replied, 'I must do something about it'.

Frances was encouraged by Lloyd George's solicitor John Morris to leave him to reflect for a while and then to come to a decision. Morris had informed her that Gwilym was generally 'friendly disposed' to the idea of the marriage, but, 'LG was afraid of Megan. The actual snag was Criccieth. As LG did not often go to Criccieth, he recommended her not to press going to live there. The question of her social position would be greatly jeopardised by William George's position. William George's name stinks in Criccieth'. Frances had replied, 'I cannot take action. LG is an old man; I do not like to bring pressure on him'.[21]

On 3 December Megan had a private meeting with Lord Dawson to discuss her father's marriage plans. Within days, apparently, Lloyd George had put his foot down that, in the event of Megan visiting Bron-y-de at any point in the future, Frances was always to remain at the house. Never again would she make herself scarce.[22] The following day Frances telephoned Sylvester: 'Frances said LG wondered what Megan's attitude would be. She might say to her Father: As long as you do not marry I will speak to you; but, on the other hand, the moment it is done I shall have nothing to do with you. "On the other hand, if she would agree not to break off relations with him, that is as much as he wants". I am very glad she is not coming this weekend. I am not going to clear out again for her. LG said to me last time, "When Megan comes again, you must avoid going away". They hate it with her here. There is nothing natural about it and everybody says it is so quiet'.[23]

On 11 December she rang him again:

> Frances telephoned me tonight after 10 p.m. She had had an interview with Lord Dawson this afternoon at 3 p.m. She said he was very nice and very kind. He has seen Megan again and he says she is irreconcilable. I think she must have gone there yesterday evening. He said he had thought after his first interview he might be able to do something, but he realises now that nothing he says makes any impression. She just goes round and round and just comes back to this one thing – HER MOTHER.
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> She said repeatedly that if this thing happened [the marriage of her father to Frances Stevenson] that her relations with him were FINISHED, and her life would be finished. Apart from that, of course, he says there is absolutely no reason why it should not go forward. There would be some criticism, including the re-opening of the criticism about the treatment of 'the old girl'. He said that to me. Some people, he said, think LG did wrong; but Dawson said that would not matter very much. For the people who would criticise him another lot would say he was doing the right thing. He did not set much store upon that.
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> Gwilym would not stand in the way. Dawson knows LG wants it. He said there is no doubt that it would be a worry to him for Megan to behave like that. In that case, I shall just sit back and allow him to decide. I shall not bring any more pressure to bear, but I shall feel very bitter about it. I gave Dawson my views. He agreed with my point of view. I told LG all this, and of course he is going to turn against her. Oh, yes, I can see that has happened already. He does not like to be crabbed. The first thing he said was: 'Well, she will not come down here again'. Once they start that they will soon get at loggerheads. I think he will leave her severely alone. You cannot talk to her like a normal being: she does not understand. She is not a normal woman. She has this mixture of sex and religion which creates the most extraordinary obsession in her. Dawson tried to explain to her her Father's difficulties – what he calls 'divided and conflicting loyalties'. But she does not understand. There is only one person who matters, and that is loyalty to herself.[24]

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What was still generally unknown to everyone in the family circle (except possibly to her sister Olwen) was that Megan was at an emotional crisis point because of the break-up of her relationship with her married lover Philip Noel-Baker the year before. In so doing, she had adhered faithfully to her mother's wishes. Philip for his part had resolutely refused to leave his wife Irene – the only scenario which would have enabled Megan to have had a happy ending with him. Now her father, it seemed, was going to achieve that happiness in his last days by marrying his long-term mistress who had made Dame Margaret unhappy literally for decades. In the words of Ffion Hague, 'Megan's grief, disappointment and hatred of Frances made her unpredictable and volatile'.[25]

Lloyd George was to celebrate his eightieth birthday on 17 January 1943, potentially a high-profile occasion when journalists and photographers were to be invited to Bron-y-de to interview and take pictures of the octogenarian former prime minister and survey his expansive estate and its produce. A private family luncheon was also to be held at the house to mark the auspicious and symbolic milestone. The press indeed displayed great interest in reporting the occasion. On 15 January Lady Olwen Carey-Evans telephoned A. J. Sylvester for advice about attending the birthday party at Bron-y-de, now only two days away – 'I said that nothing and no one ought to stop she and Megan going to Churt on Sunday and greeting their Father on his 80th birthday, whether Frances Stevenson was there or not. If neither of LG's daughters were present, he would be able to point to the fact that they had both neglected him upon a most important occasion. If he should die in his sleep on Sunday night, and they had not been to see him, how great would be their remorse. I said I had never behaved generously in a case of doubt when I had had occasion to regret my action. Olwen later spoke to Lord Dawson, who gave her similar advice'. Sylvester then

discussed matters with Frances Stevenson, and 'an instruction' came to hand from Lloyd George that 'he would be pleased to see Olwen and her family and Megan, but it was understood that Frances would be there too'. Following this, Sir Thomas and Lady Olwen Carey-Evans decided to travel to Churt.[26]

On the day of the birthday, a large number of newspapers carried long features on Lloyd George's political career, most notably the *Sunday Express* which, in an article entitled 'He saved us last time; today he is 80' by Beverley Baxter, published an extensive interview with him.[27] The family indeed duly assembled for lunch at Bron-y-de as previously arranged 'on the strict understanding that Frances would also be present', and it must have been a considerable strain on her to fulfil for the first time the role of hostess of the house and to receive many members of the Lloyd George family there en masse. Recorded A. J. Sylvester, 'This is the first time the family as a whole have been there with Frances'. The elder grandchildren were serving in the armed forces and thus unable to get leave to attend the celebrations. On their arrival, Lady Olwen, Sir Thomas and their son known as Bengy within the family circle had greeted Frances cordially and politely shaken hands with her. Megan had 'simply ignored her'. They had all taken lunch together, but Frances had tactfully taken her leave for certain periods, and the family photographs and the toast had pointedly not included her. At tea Olwen had sat next to Frances, with Megan seated 'some distance away'. Later on, a telegram in the Welsh language had arrived from Criccieth. Frances asked Megan if the sender was known to her, but Megan had responded by 'turning her back on Frances and powdering her nose!'. There was general relief, however, on all sides that the celebrations had taken place 'without any open breach', but, when Megan Lloyd George had returned to Du Cane Road, the house owned by Sir Thomas and Olwen Carey-Evans in London, 'She just cried her eyes out, saying that she could never forgive her Father'.[28]

Not wishing to annoy his younger daughter more than was necessary, Lloyd George gave the distinct impression that the marriage plans had been dropped, in the hope that Megan would then more readily attend the birthday lunch. Megan had still vacillated, but had been won around, it would seem, by a long letter from Lord Dawson on 15 January:

> The birthday would seem to offer an opportunity for a gesture because other members of the family will be going down [and] there will be the occasion to carry off any difficulties. And if the gesture were made it cannot be doubted it would make a great difference to your father's comfort and happiness. If you make the gesture, as I hope you will, it must be warm and really friendly in its quality. It need not last long, but you could make the short time Miss S. was there an occasion and then as it would be a family party she would probably go from the room on her own.
>
> Now I want you to listen to me. I both understand and sympathise with your feelings and especially those which surround your mother's memory, but I am sure she would wish nothing but that the evening of your father's life should be made as smooth as possible. He is in need today of physical care and is likely in this respect to become more dependent in the future. Miss S. fills this role and there is no one else at once fitted available and acceptable for this duty.
>
> If it be a fact that what you feared is off, as it appears to be, it must in justice be said she has now made a great sacrifice and from what she has said to me I think she has made things easy and put aside the bitterness of her disappointment. … You are not called upon to be a friend but only to be kindly, in the way you understand so well, when you meet her in the capacity as a necessary helpmate for your father today.
>
> Knowing that you were brought up as a Christian there can be no question that you should make this gesture. … For it is a matter of Christian charity for your father's sake. He has changed his intention mainly for you. From my deep attachment to you I do urge you on the next suitable occasion to make that gesture and make it generously and you will never regret it.[29]

Megan had attended the birthday lunch believing that Frances had by now renounced the idea of marriage, but this was soon to be proved totally erroneous.

Megan had attended the birthday lunch believing that Frances had by now renounced the idea of marriage, but this was soon to be proved totally erroneous. Frances was still determined to press ahead.

The family feuds inevitably persisted. The evening following the luncheon on 19 January, Lady Olwen Carey-Evans telephoned Sylvester to say that she had experienced 'a terribly difficult time with Megan on Sunday night when they got back. She cried incessantly. "Megan could not get over the fact that she had been disloyal to Mummy. She said she would not go down [to Bron-y-de, Churt] ever again"'. When Sylvester interjected that Megan 'was very friendly with her Father today', Lady Olwen replied, 'Yes, but Megan is not the same when Miss Stevenson is about. I do not know what we can do about it now. I suppose we shall have to put up with it. Megan has won hands down with the other thing, and we have to consider that'. Pressed by Sylvester to explain this cryptic reference, Lady Olwen continued, 'Father has told Megan again definitely that he won't marry her (Miss Stevenson)'. Rather taken aback by what he knew full well to be wholly untrue, Sylvester asked her again, 'Are you sure he has told her that again and recently?', Lady Olwen still insisted, 'Yes. If I can do anything to help him now that he has promised not to do the big thing, I want to help him as much as I can. I am sorry for Megan because she is in a difficult position. I have got a husband and children, but she has nobody. She must, of course, make her own life, and stand on her own. Megan said she would never forgive Father for having Miss Stevenson there'.[30]

A week after the eightieth birthday celebrations Frances Stevenson contacted A. J. Sylvester yet again:

> Frances phoned me tonight to see if there were any news. I at once tackled her on the question whether she was quite satisfied that LG had not made any new and definite promise to Megan, that he would not marry. Frances answered that she was quite certain he had not done so. (I am not at all convinced of this: Olwen

told me definitely he had so promised Megan, but I am not going to be repeated as having made that statement).

Frances said, 'He is willing to delay it for a bit if she would consider being friends with me. Once on speaking terms with me, he has an idea that the whole thing would break down. But she has not consented to that. No, I am quite sure that he has not sold the pass. I think he has got in mind to put it off, not because of Megan at all, but until he resigns from the constituency. I have come to the conclusion that the whole thing is governed by that and the political situation. Once he has no feeling that he has no longer to fight another election, in plain words he does not care for Megan at all. Until he can be sure of that he has to take some notice of her, and especially if he thinks she is going to cut up rough. He is thinking it over very carefully. I am sure he does not intend to stand again. I think that is the reason why he is delaying it for a little while I am quite sure, and I have no doubt at all, that he does intend to do it. He is thoroughly honest about that. Delay may be dangerous. It is taking a risk, but one has got to take it. There is no alternative. I feel that Megan is a little fool. She has got it into her head that because it is not done, it won't be done at all. That is where she is wrong. I am sure she has no guarantee. He is playing a game with her'. (I am sure he is playing a game with both of them!). [31]

The following day, Sylvester spoke to Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, 'She told me privately that it made it very difficult for her because of Megan's attitude. "Anything we can do to make him happier I think it is up to us to meet him. I am not certain if Mother knew that it would upset her. It is not being disloyal; and I do not want to be horrid to anybody, because it works on him. The main thing is to stop him marrying and that we have done"'. Concluded Sylvester, 'In the light of Frances's conversation last night and now Olwen, I am convinced he is double crossing one of them, and I wonder which it is. Evelyn [Sylvester's wife] has always said that LG will never marry Frances. I wonder if she is not right?'.[32]

It is ridiculous'. Sylvester reflected, 'Megan said that her Father said that he would never do it. LG had a different interpretation. He knew he promised Frances that he would do it. And there we are. This conversation, and his reaction, convinced me of one thing: that he was he himself who wanted to marry Frances'.

There were genuine fears within the family that Lloyd George might well not survive for very much longer. Having visited Bron-y-de in May, Sir Thomas Carey-Evans saw Lloyd George 'change colour completely, he looked so ghastly'. There was precious little love lost between Lloyd George and his only son-in-law: 'I cannot get on with that old Bugger. … The more I see of him, the more I loathe him. He is not a man's man, you know'. He found Lloyd George conjecturing about resigning his seat in the House of Commons and possibly accepting a peerage and going to the House of Lords: 'I think the Almighty will decide for him: that is my opinion, and that not very long ahead. He has got some heart trouble. When he gets very excited he gets very pale with strain'.[33]

But Lloyd George did not expire, although he was growing steadily ever weaker and more frail, and the plans for an October wedding went ahead largely in secret. There was very little contact between Lloyd George and Megan throughout the summer of 1943. They very rarely even spoke on the telephone during the long summer recess. Then they met at Westminster largely by accident on 8 September, the occasion of a farewell lunch given to Ivan Maisky, who was then retiring as the Soviet envoy to the United Kingdom, and his wife. The lunch was given by Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary, and his second wife Beatrice. The meeting between Lloyd George and Megan was shrouded in an intense 'air of artificiality. … He [Lloyd George] is still leading Miss Stevenson to believe that he will marry her, and the fact that Megan has suddenly come into the picture again has thoroughly upset his plans. Megan still thinks LG will never marry again. He told Frances that he had had a row with Megan!'.[34] That very same day Sylvester was able to record, 'I think he has made his mind up. I think he now intends to do it (marry). He never intended to do it before the end of this year, but he did not want to say so. The only thing is will Megan do anything violent? She will do anything she can to stop it. I think he will be one too many for her when it comes to the point'.[35]

Six weeks later the marriage took place – a civil ceremony at Guildford Registry Office on the morning of Friday, 23 October 1943. The previous day the ever-dependable Sylvester had transported 'masses' of flowers to Bron-y-de in readiness for the ceremony the following day. The evening before the wedding, a highly distraught Megan Lloyd George telephoned her father at Bron-y-de. A heated exchange predictably followed. Lloyd George was away from the drawing room for so long that Frances felt obliged to go to find out what was happening. Soon, she returned convinced that 'Megan would make her Father ill', and asking the trusted Sylvester to intervene. He in turn found his aged employer 'somewhat upset and exhausted', protesting loudly to Megan, 'But Gwilym and Edna agree and Olwen agrees. … Well, my dear, that shows that you are thoroughly selfish'. At this point Sylvester volunteered to take over the telephone conversation with Megan in order to relieve Lloyd George of the obviously escalating 'pain and strain' of continuing to argue with his ever more enraged daughter. 'Did Father hear what I said?', demanded Megan. By now sobbing hysterically down the telephone, she went on, 'People will laugh at him: I could not bear people to laugh at him, because it would be terrible. … He must do this knowing what he is doing. … It is ridiculous'. Sylvester reflected, 'Megan said that her Father said that he would never do it. LG had a different interpretation. He knew he promised Frances that he would do it. And there we are. This conversation, and his reaction, convinced me of one thing: that he was he himself who wanted to marry Frances'.

Returning to the library at Bron-y-de, Sylvester found Lloyd George to be still 'a little upset', but soon he became 'quite composed'. By now LG's patience was running thin with his younger daughter. Indeed, he had become 'rather annoyed with Megan and her attitude'. Before retiring to bed, Frances telephoned Gwilym and his wife Edna who gladly confirmed that that they both still planned to attend the wedding ceremony the

following morning. LG was truly delighted. Upon hearing this happy news, the bride and bridegroom duly retired to spend the last night before their wedding in the underground 'dug out' at Bron-y-de. Here Lloyd George, still perpetually petrified of the Nazi bombers, at least felt safe and secure in his 'dug out', but it was by any standards a distinctly unromantic setting for a couple on the eve of their wedding day.[36]

After speaking to her father and then to Sylvester on the telephone in this frenzied, highly agitated state of mind, Megan had promptly telephoned her brother Gwilym and pleaded with him at least not to attend the wedding ceremony. Eventually he yielded, and rang Bron-y-de at 8.30 the next morning to tell his father that he would travel down there only in the afternoon. In spite of this intense disappointment and setback, Sylvester found Lloyd George to be 'fit and sparkling' on the morning of the wedding – 'Yes, I am going to do it, so now you know what you are down here for!'. Only Sylvester and Frances's younger sister Muriel Stevenson attended the wedding ceremony and acted as witnesses at Arlington House, the registry office at Guildford. The press was excluded. The little party then drove back to Bron-y-de via the Punch Bowl, Lloyd George looking 'immensely happy'. 'The autumn tints of brown and red of the trees in the great Bowl and beyond, and the rolling hills up to the Hogs Back looked wonderful. And the sun shone through a rather angry sky'.[37] When she came to pen her own memoirs more than twenty years later in the mid-1960s, Frances recalled vividly, 'L.G. was looking gay and handsome, and after the ceremony we drove up to Hindhead around the Punch Bowl. Then L.G. told the chauffeur to drive to the farm office and introduced me to the manager as "Mrs Lloyd George". The whole countryside was bathed in sunshine, as was my heart, and a deep contentment possessed me; contentment, but not the thrills of the usual bride. Our real marriage had taken place thirty years before'.[38]

On their return to Bron-y-de, Lloyd George stopped to inform Mr Withers, the estate manager, of the exciting event which had just occurred. The house was covered in the choicest flowers. Lloyd George was positively delighted to find Frances's daughter Jennifer (possibly his daughter too), who had been allowed home early from school, waiting for them at the house. They toasted the bride and bridegroom and lunched on home-grown pork. As agreed, Sylvester then issued a statement to the Press Association, and Bron-y-de was soon bombarded with incessant telephone calls from journalists and press editors. Most of these Sylvester fielded, often claiming to be 'the butler' with but little first-hand, detailed knowledge of the course of events. Jennifer also pretended to be a secretary while answering the telephone. She later recalled, 'When I arrived at Bron-y-de, a comment I made to one of the genuine secretaries, that Frances's bed had disappeared from her bedroom, was received with lascivious giggles. As Taid was 80 and my mother 55 (and I 13) I had not thought of the marriage in terms of sex'.[39] Frances rather excitedly practised her new signature as 'Frances Lloyd George'. Then Gwilym and Edna arrived at the house as expected, Gwilym asserting that Megan had been 'much upset and he had had a very bad time with her'. After taking tea, he shook hands with his father but pointedly did not congratulate him on his marriage, confirming Sylvester's by now deeply held view that here was indeed 'a funny family'.[40]

At Criccieth and throughout much of north Wales the news was received with intense astonishment and incredulity. It was recorded that some traditional Lloyd George supporters in the constituency and beyond had simply broken down and wept on hearing of the second marriage.

The marriage was noted widely in the daily and Sunday newspapers.[41] Megan told her sister Olwen and her husband that the marriage was now 'a closed door, and she was going to stand on her own feet'. Reflected Sylvester, 'I personally never thought she would do anything silly such as doing away with herself as she has sometimes indicated'. He went on, 'I feel that he [Lloyd George] is an exceedingly lucky man. The Gods are certainly with him to a most remarkable degree. In somewhat similar circumstances King Edward VIII was dethroned. LG is elevated. He has lived a life of duplicity. He has got clean away with it. When he went to Criccieth to stay with Dame Margaret, he was fretting to get back to Frances and Churt: nothing was too low or mean for him to do to carry out his object. He would quarrel with Dame Margaret like Hell, or with Megan, and prance away in the middle of his rage. When he went abroad with his family, he did nothing but calculate how long it would be before he returned'.[42] Three days after the wedding, Frances wrote to Jennifer, 'What a marvellous weekend it was, made all the more marvellous by having you here, & watching your joy. Since then, we have just been snowed under by letters & telegrams, including one from the P.M., & General Smuts, & many members of the Cabinet. … I've also had a magnificent 17th century Italian jewel from Lord Beaverbrook – rubies & diamonds – it takes your breath away. I feel quite overwhelmed by it all'.[43] But Frances's subsequent efforts to reconcile with Megan predictably fell on stony ground.

Indeed at Criccieth and throughout much of north Wales the news was received with intense astonishment and incredulity. It was recorded that some traditional Lloyd George supporters in the constituency and beyond had simply broken down and wept on hearing of the second marriage. After all Dame Margaret had been deeply revered in the area, and the very idea of a second marriage was viewed as sacrilege and a betrayal. But Lloyd George, based at Bron-y-de, Churt, and now aged almost eighty-one years, was not inclined to worry overmuch.

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1 National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), A. J. Sylvester Papers A50, diary entry for 20 January 1941.
2 Ibid., diary entry for 21 January 1941.
3 Thelma Cazalet-Keir, *From the Wings: an Autobiography* (Bodley Head, 1967), p. 47.
4 See the funeral reports in the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* and in the *North Wales Observer*, both dated 24 January 1941.
5 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A50, diary entry for 23 January 1941.
6 Ibid., diary entry for 9 February 1941.
7 Even after Lloyd George and Frances had returned to live at Ty Newydd, Llanystumdwy in September 1944,

Sarah Jones still had not forgiven him for stopping the allowance for Brynawelon in January 1941: 'I will not go [to meet Lloyd George]. He stopped my money'. Under considerable pressure from Sylvester, she eventually relented, and, 'There was a short talk in Welsh. She told me afterwards that he had looked so different that she could not be other than civil'. (NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A56, diary entry for 21 September 1944).

8 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A50, diary entry for 24 January 1941.
9 Ibid., diary entry for 9 February 1941.
10 Ibid., diary entries for 10 March and 7 April 1941.
11 Ibid., diary entries for 24 and 30 April 1941.
12 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A53, diary entry for 3 March 1942.
13 Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, *Lloyd George was my Father* (Gomer, 1985), p. 166.
14 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A53, diary entry for 26 March 1942.
15 NLW, Frances Stevenson Family Papers X3/1, reminiscences of Jennifer Longford, p. 26.
16 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A53, diary entry for 28 April 1942.
17 Ibid., diary entry for 6 May 1942.
18 Thelma Cazalet-Keir, *From the Wings*, p. 52.
19 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A53, diary entries for 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 21 May and 9 June 1942.
20 Ibid., diary entry for 28 June 1942.
21 Ibid., diary entries for 2 and 16 July, 4 August, 23 October, and 19, 21, 23, 26 and 30 November 1942.
22 Ibid., diary entries for 3 and 8 December 1942.
23 Ibid., diary entry for 9 December 1942.
24 Ibid., diary entry for 11 December 1942.
25 Ffion Hague, *The Pain and the Privilege: the Women in Lloyd George's Life* (Harper Press, 2008), p. 526.
26 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A55, diary entry for 15 January 1943.
27 *Sunday Express*, 17 January 1943.
28 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A55, diary entry for 17 January 1943.
29 NLW MS 20,475C, no. 3172, Lord Dawson to Megan Lloyd George, 15 January 1943.
30 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A55, diary entry for 19 January 1943.
31 Idid., diary entry for 24 January 1943.
32 Idid., diary entry for 25 January 1943.
33 Idid., diary entry for 23 May 1943.
34 Ibid., diary entry for 8 September 1943.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., diary entry for 22 October 1943.
37 Ibid., diary entry for 23 October 1943.
38 Frances Lloyd George, *The Years that are Past* (Hutchinson, 1967), p. 272.
39 NLW, Frances Stevenson Family Papers X3/1, reminiscences of Jennifer Longford, p. 26.
40 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A55, diary entry for 23 October 1943.
41 See, e.g., *The Times*, 25 October 1943.
42 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers A55, diary entry for 25 October 1943.
43 NLW, Frances Stevenson Family Papers FCF1/2, Frances Lloyd George to Jennifer Stevenson, 27 October 1943.

LIBERAL HISTORY QUIZ 2011

In the last issue, *Journal of Liberal History* 73, we published the questions in our annual history quiz at the Liberal Democrat conference in Birmingham in September last year. The winner was Stuart Bray, with an impressive 19 marks out of 20. Below we reprint the answers.

1. David Lloyd George
2. Shirley Williams, Crosby
3. Sir Archibald Sinclair
4. The Liberal Unionists
5. Colne Valley
6. The Tawney Society was named after RH Tawney who wrote Religion and the Rise of Capitalism
7. Lord John Russell
8. Elizabeth Shields
9. *The Orange Book: Reclaiming Liberalism*
10. Harry Willcock. He was the last person arrested for failing to produce an identity card in the UK in 1951.
11. 1959
12. Susan Kramer
13. Des Wilson
14. Name of pre-merger policy document; Thatcher's reference in conference speech October 1990.
15. Liberal Prime Minister W E Gladstone who in a memo on his retirement wrote 'What that Sicilian mule was to me, I have been to the Queen.'
16. Gladstone enjoyed rowing at Eton and Rosebery requested that the Eton Boating song be played on a gramophone as he lay dying.
17. Alistair Stewart
18. All babies of the House (youngest MPs) at the time of their election
19. New Orbits Group
20. Dame Margaret Corbett Ashby

REPORT

Whatever Happened to 'Orpington Man'?

Liberal Democrat History Group meeting at the National Liberal Club, 23 January 2012, with Dr Mark Egan and Professor Dennis Kavanagh. Chair: Duncan Brack
Report by **Dr Emily Robinson**

This year, 2012, is the fiftieth anniversary of Eric Lubbock's victory in the 1962 Orpington by-election. The History Group marked the occasion with a meeting at the National Liberal Club, which asked 'whatever happened to "Orpington man"?' – that much-discussed new kind of voter who was expected to change the party's electoral fortunes. The speakers were Dr Mark Egan and Professor Dennis Kavanagh.

Mark Egan, the author of *Coming into Focus: the transformation of the Liberal Party, 1945–64*, began by noting that although we are now familiar with enormous anti-government swings in by-elections, Orpington was perhaps the first example of this, with a swing to the Liberals of over 26 per cent. Yet, the expected breakthrough did not happen. The Liberals did not gain the thirty or forty seats which would have allowed them to hold the balance of power, and to bring about Grimond's desired 'realignment of the left.' So, he asked, what went wrong?

Egan set the Orpington result in context, with a brief examination of the Liberals' increasingly poor performance in both general and by-elections after 1945. This tale of decline was broken by their strong second place in the 1954 Inverness by-election, followed by similar results in Hereford in 1956, Rochdale in 1958 and eventually by a narrow victory in Torrington, also in 1958.

The Liberal revival was, then, 'in full swing' by the Orpington by-election in March 1962. In this solidly Conservative suburban constituency, the Liberals had been steadily improving their performance since losing their deposit at a 1955 by-election. In 1959 the party managed to win 21 per cent of the vote – a result that put them just behind Labour in third place. The candidate at the time, Jack Galloway, predicted that the Liberal vote would double at the next election. As Egan commented, 'this prediction sounded unrealistic at the time but turned out to be an under-statement.'

Egan credited this improvement to increased local activity, and particularly the efforts of the local party secretary, Mrs Muskett. Much of this activity focused on ward committees and local election contests. At the 1959 local elections the Liberals outpolled Labour for the first time, in 1962 they outpolled the Conservatives and took control of the council.

By the time of the by-election, the 'thoughtful, dogged and very likeable' Eric Lubbock had replaced Galloway as Liberal candidate. The party had also sent five professional agents to Orpington. Despite the party headquarters burning down on the eve of the election, Lubbock exceeded all expectations, turning a 14,000 Conservative majority into a majority of 7,855 for the Liberals. Orpington had become a safe Liberal seat. This was such a shock that the Liberal Party commissioned two internal reports on the reasons for the success!

While the leadership focused on national factors, such as the seemingly more 'modern' outlook of the Liberals in comparison with the Conservatives, the local party insisted on the importance of the seven years of organising and hard work which had preceded the victory. Egan quoted one local member who spoke of 'faith, hope and canvassing – and the greatest of these is canvassing.'

Meanwhile, Grimond – 'a visionary, an ideas man, bored by organisational detail and with no interest in local politics' – viewed the result as heralding a Liberal revival, based on the votes of a new class of young middle-class professionals. This was a sudden, seminal breakthrough, not the start of a long hard slog to win seats one-by-one.

'So was Grimond wrong?', Egan asked. 'Yes and no.' In 1963 the electoral tide turned against the Liberals, leaving them with double the number of MPs than in 1959 but fewer than during the Second World War. To compound this lack of electoral breakthrough, Grimond's hopes for realignment were 'shattered' by the size of Labour's majority in 1966.

That said, Egan noted the improved Liberal performances in the Home Counties and in suburbs of Manchester in 1964. This supported Grimond's intuition that the Liberals were beginning to gain the votes of opponents to the Conservatives in areas where Labour was weak. Grimond had also identified a new trend in British politics – the increasing number of voters who did not identify with either the Conservatives or Labour. This was the reality of 'Orpington Man'. However, his vote would not come to the Liberals as of right – it would have to be worked for, election by election. As Egan concluded:

> Fast forward fifty years and Orpington Man might vote for Clegg, Cameron or Blair. Or Green in local elections, or UKIP in European elections. Orpington Man might choose not to vote at all. Orpington signalled that British politics was changing, but not in a way which would sweep the Liberals back to power.

The result was such a shock that the Liberal Party commissioned two internal reports on the reasons for the success.

Dennis Kavanagh, now Emeritus Professor and a distinguished author on political science, was an undergraduate at the time of the Orpington by-election. He recalled how extraordinary the result seemed and reflected on the panic that it instilled in the Conservatives – as revealed by Harold Macmillan's *Diaries*. It was the fear that the Liberals were about to sweep the country, heightened by the Profumo affair, that inspired Macmillan's 'Night of the Long Knives'.

Kavanagh felt that the idea of 'Orpington Man' was a rather crude combination of PR and lazy

journalism, similar to the more recent 'Mondeo Man' and 'Worcester Woman'. Whereas parties now have recourse to sophisticated analytic tools which enable them to identify particular subsets of voters on a range of characteristics, back in 1962 the categorisation was more straightforwardly geographic. Yet, the coming together of the new, young, professional middle class and the Home Counties suburbs did lay the basis for later Liberal success.

Orpington was also, according to Kavanagh, the forerunner of two now-familiar electoral phenomena: by-elections as referenda on incumbent governments, and tactical voting. These have been the ingredients of Liberal and Liberal Democrat resurgence over the past fifteen years. And they have very little to do with Jo Grimond.

In many ways, Orpington could be seen as the prototype of what has become the classic pattern of a Liberal by-election victory. It was a forced election (i.e. not caused by death), which gave the electorate a reason to punish the incumbent party. Moreover, the Conservative government was itself unpopular. There was a third-party vote (in this case Labour), which could be squeezed. The Liberals had the momentum – following good showings in Lincoln, Middlesborough and Blackpool, they were making headlines. Finally, a positive opinion poll on the eve of the election allowed the Liberals to argue that the election should be seen as a referendum on the government. All of these factors combined to provide an excellent opportunity for tactical voting. In addition, Lubbock was a personable candidate and the local party was well organised.

Like Egan, Kavanagh pointed to the fact that, since the late 1950s, the Liberals had been building their strength in suburban seats in London and Manchester with no Liberal tradition. This was Betjeman's 'Metroland', detatched from any affiliation to the established political parties. Although the party wasn't yet winning seats in these areas, it was clearly breaking out of its Celtic fringe and finding a new form of 'Liberal Man' in the suburbs. This was, Kavanagh felt, 'the germ of the breakthrough that the party has made ever since.' The surges in 1974, '83 and '87 were also particularly evident in the suburbs

In many ways, Orpington could be seen as the prototype of what has become the classic pattern of a Liberal by-election victory.

and were similarly based on reactions against unpopular governments and a divided Labour Party.

He concluded in agreement with the 'ambiguous conclusion' of Mark Egan, reminding the audience that, although the core vote of the Conservative and Labour parties declines at every election, the Liberal Democrats are not well placed to capitalise on this. Their voters are less likely to 'stick' with them from election to election, their policy positions are not well known or understood, they continue to suffer from the electoral system, which penalises parties with an even geographical spread, and their growth in support among young people is offset by the fact that this section of the electorate is least likely to vote. He pointed to the 2010 general election as evidence of this.

A lively discussion followed, with the many contributions from the audience stressing, among other things, the importance of demonstrating successful administration in local government, the vital work that was done in local organisation, the personal appeal of Eric Lubbock and his strong roots in the local community, and the historic weakness of the party in Kent – against which the later decline of Liberal support could be seen as a reversion to type.

One audience member recalled how he had been recruited to lifelong Liberal membership by a wine and cheese evening during the Orpington by-election. He emphasised the social aspect of the election, the personal support for Lubbock and the feeling of change associated with the 'Swinging '60s'. There was a feeling of 'sheer enthusiasm' which drove the Liberals during this time. In particular, he remembered travelling by motorcade up the M6 to Derbyshire, where they were certain they were going to win.

Dr Emily Robinson is an Advance Research Fellow at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham.

In further search of 'Orpington Man'

The evidence re-examined

By **Michael Steed**

Both speakers at the History Group meeting's discussion of 'Orpington Man' referred to the wider pattern of Liberal voting in London and Manchester suburban constituencies before and after the 1962 by-election in Orpington itself. This note examines that wider pattern more precisely, and concludes that 'Orpington Man' should be seen as an earlier and more enduring component in the Liberal revival than has been generally recognised. The phrase captures an important element in the social changes which underpinned Liberal growth in the Grimond era and were to make a significant contribution to the party's capacity to win seats by the end of the twentieth century.

Orpington first appeared as a constituency in 1945 due to a limited localised redistribution. This added 25 seats to the Commons in areas whose population had grown most in the inter-war period. With just 12.3 per cent of the vote, Liberal support in the new Orpington itself was unexceptional for the 1945 general election; what was unusual was that this was quite a jump compared to the 9.3 per cent who had voted Liberal in the previous general election (1935) in Chislehurst, the nearest to a predecessor constituency.

This was an exception which illustrated a rule. Although Liberal support declined generally between 1935 and 1945, the party's performance was extraordinarily uneven. For instance Orpington's new neighbours also saw big jumps in the Liberal vote: +8.4 in Bromley and +3.9 in the reduced Chislehurst. Other newly drawn constituencies in the London suburbs also swung dramatically to the Liberals. In 1935, the party had polled a mere 7.5 per cent in the country's largest

constituency, the Hendon division of Middlesex, with 164,786 electors; its 1945 votes were 16.9 per cent and 18.5 per cent in the two new seats of Hendon North and South.

Historians have conspicuously failed to note this localised resurgence of Liberalism, simply seeing the 1945 election as part of a continuous pattern of Liberal decline; a contemporary history called it 'the Waterloo of the Liberal party'.[1] Overall, the Liberal Party did do badly in 1945, both losing seats and seeing its share of the vote drop in most of the seats it had fought in 1935. But most of these were in traditionally Liberal areas: the Celtic fringe, agricultural constituencies where Labour had yet to overtake it and a scatter of urban strongholds such as Birkenhead or Middlesbrough, often seaports where the party's commitment to free trade had still meant something in the 1930s. In 1945 such traditional support was still ebbing fast; yet as that tide ebbed, new support in newly built up areas emerged out of the political seabed. If we take the thirteen cases where rapid inter-war growth led to redistribution in 1945 which had had a Liberal candidate standing in 1935 (most did not), the average Liberal vote rose from 12.8 per cent to 16.2 per cent.

Such rapid-growth areas included some seaside towns, as well as new suburban areas around Birmingham and Manchester; but most stretched out of London – poetically, John Betjeman's Metroland. Most of these voters lived in recently built homes, developing new communities. Typically there was no local Liberal tradition. Such voters had generally spurned Liberal candidates in 1935 but responded better to the platform that the party promoted in 1945. This surely reflected the social Liberal appeal of 1945, the shift away from the party's traditional themes to its new Beveridgian message. The twelve Liberal MPs elected in 1945 were all from Wales or agricultural areas (often both); but popular Liberal support had shifted massively towards newer, urban Britain. That was most evident in the new-growth areas, but the party also gained ground dramatically in some urban constituencies where it had polled very badly in 1935, such as Reading (up from 5 per cent to 12.6 per cent) or Edinburgh Central (4.6 per cent to 11.2 per cent). The post-1945 party at Westminster was thoroughly unrepresentative of what was happening amongst Liberal voters.

However, for the moment it was a flash in the pan. A by-election in Bromley four months after the 1945 general election saw the Liberal vote cut in half, a foretaste of ten years of bad by-election results. During this decade, the only good by-election votes were in Inverness (1954) and Rotherhithe (1946). No sign of Orpington Man there, or in either of the two general elections (1950 and 1951); the only seats gained in three-cornered fights were in Scotland. In its continued decline, the parliamentary Liberal party became the more associated with the Celtic fringe. Its pockets of local government support were mostly in Pennine towns, where another type of Liberal tradition lingered on, expressed at Westminster in the form of Liberal MPs elected through local Tory-Liberal pacts.

That makes the pattern of change at the 1955 general election all the more intriguing. David Butler noted this as the first election since 1929 when Liberal support rose, if slightly; but stressed the unevenness of the pattern.[2] Generally, the slight rise failed to match the loss already sustained between 1950 and 1951. Whilst a handful of striking improvements in peripheral Britain (North Cornwall, North Devon, Hereford and Inverness) did bring the party above the 1950 level, in other traditional strongholds, from Anglesey to Dorset, the party's support was ebbing lower still.

However, Butler failed to notice an area of consistent, significant

Orpington by-election, March 1962 – the result is declared; the victor, Eric Lubbock, centre

improvement which was to prove a harbinger of the future. Most constituencies with an improved by Liberal vote in 1955 had still not recovered fully the losses of 1951. But among the two dozen exceptional constituencies where the 1955 Liberal vote exceeded the 1950 level, over half were in outer suburban London or Manchester. None of these had been areas of traditional Liberal strength. Leading this group of constituencies were Twickenham (+2.4) and Orpington (+1.9); there were also small increases in nearby Carshalton and Richmond.

It is worth reflecting that this occurred before Jo Grimond made the national impact he was about to. Clement Attlee was still leading a Labour Party totally in hock to the trade-union block vote, whilst Sir Anthony Eden was brooding over an imperialist nostalgia which was shortly to lead to the disaster of Suez. 'Orpington Man' was already stirring; or rather suburban men and women (so far as hard-working party activists were concerned, probably more often women), turning instead to what most apparently well-informed political pundits considered to be a moribund political party.

Grimond became leader in autumn 1956, but already the May 1956 local elections had shown further small advances in the suburban belt, to be continued in each of the next three years. Since the Liberal Party's historic base was so low in these areas, it took it several years to begin to win more than a trickle of seats. The first in the south-east London suburbs came in Bromley in May 1957,[3] next door to Orpington; the first gains in Orpington Urban District itself came in May 1959. There were more gains in north London suburbs, particularly Finchley.

By then, the Grimond-led party had secured striking parliamentary by-election advances, with Rochdale and Torrington in 1958 making the national headlines. These were both pockets of traditional Liberal strength, feeding an image of the party's dependence on such areas. Observations derived from parliamentary by-elections are of course always subject to the accidents of where they occur. A more careful study of the pattern of advance in local elections in the 1956–59 period suggests that the social basis of the first Grimond revival lay more in the appeal of Grimond's new Liberalism to the sort of people who lived in the newer suburbs.

This was put to the test of the October 1959 general election. The party only gained one, peripheral, constituency: North Devon. But it made striking advances in votes in the sort of areas where 'Orpington Man' resided. The rise in its share of the vote in Cheadle (+10.3) was only a shade less than that in North Devon (+10.5), whilst Orpington itself with +8.8 was not far behind. The average Liberal vote across Britain rose only +1.8, but where we can make 1955–59 comparisons in outer London the rise was +4.8 and in southern Greater Manchester +6.8.[4] The local elections of 1960 and 1961 confirmed further growth in local Liberal strength in Orpington, so when the Conservatives precipitated the by-election, the seat was ready to fall like a ripe plum.

Apart from Eric Lubbock's personal achievement in holding the seat until 1970, Orpington apparently made little impact on Liberal fortunes in the immediately ensuing years. A young psephological researcher, writing immediately after the 1964 general election, clearly erred in dismissing Orpington Man so soon.[5] Its Manchester equivalent, Cheadle, was won by the Liberals in 1966 – really a more considerable achievement as this was at a general election, not a by-election. Cheadle was the only urban seat to be gained without the help of a by-election between 1935 and 1983, and its main successor seat, Hazel Grove, was to be held again briefly in 1974.

The long-term parliamentary impact of 'Orpington Man' was only really apparent after another generation. From 1997 onwards Liberal Democrats have held several of the suburban constituencies where their advance was prefigured in 1955–59. This produced a higher level of voting strength, activism, presence in local government and so general credibility in these constituencies which in due course enabled tactical squeezing of Labour voters. Following the 2010 general election, Liberal Democrats hold constituencies that include traditional strongholds in Scotland, Wales and south-west England; some by-elections gained by the fluke of vacancies, and then held by the hard work of the lucky victor; and most recently some obviously university constituencies. But amongst the 57 are 8[6] lying in areas that qualified for that special 1945 redistribution because of the huge growth in housing in the 1920s and 1930s.

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'Orpington Man' deserves better too of political historians. Political change is not only measured through the numbers of seats won in the House of Commons. The unexpected response of women and men in Orpington-type areas in 1945 and again in 1955 showed that simple tales of Liberal decline and of the party's dependence on peripheral Britain were only part of the mid-twentieth century story. A new type of less class-bound and tradition-abiding voter had already demonstrated by their behaviour that some form of new politics was ready and waiting. From 1956 Jo Grimond was able to harness that something as the Liberal revival.

Michael Steed, retired psephologist, lives in Canterbury, where he served as a Lib Dem councillor until May 2011. He is a veteran of by-election campaigns starting with Southend West in January 1959 and including Orpington; he was President of the Liberal Party 1978–79.

1 R. B. McCallum & Alison Readman, *The British General Election of 1945* (London, 1947), p. 243.
2 D. E. Butler, *The British General Election of 1955* (London, 1955), p. 199–200.
3 Brian Taylor in Keston & Hayes ward, who is still attending Liberal Democrat conferences; his granddaughter Rebecca Taylor has just become the Liberal Democrat MEP for Yorkshire.
4 Calculations by the author based strictly on constituencies with three-cornered fights at both elections, thirteen in outer London and three south of Manchester.
5 Michael Steed, in D. E. Butler & Tony King *The British General Election of 1964* (London, 1965), p. 351.
6 These are four in south-west London, two on the southern side of Manchester and two on the eastern side of Birmingham; it is debatable how far the latter pair (Solihull and Yardley) belong in this group, as the growth here of Liberal electoral strength is much later – but they are similar in housing and social history.

REVIEWS

Portrait of a Liberal stalwart

Matt Cole, *Richard Wainwright, the Liberals and Liberal Democrats* (Manchester University Press, 2011)
Reviewed by **Michael Meadowcroft**

I was a close political colleague of Richard Wainwright for almost forty years, from when he recruited me to the party's local government department in January 1962. I also need to declare an interest, in that I was able to assist Matt Cole in the preparation of his biography of Richard. It is a mark of the thoroughness of his research that, though I worked with Richard in a number of roles with varying intensity, and was a frequent visitor to his Leeds home, there is a great deal in the book of which I was unaware.

Cole has divided his book into four parts, before parliament, outside parliament, in parliament and after parliament. While this division lends itself to a great deal of clarity in the narrative, it inhibits an analysis of Wainwright's permanent role across at least the first three sections both as a sound and efficient chair of difficult party committees and also as a party fixer who was always quick to perceive internal and external dangers to the party's political health and who regularly took action, usually behind the scenes, to minimise the damage. He was very surefooted in his judgement and this enabled him to retain the party's respect and support. It would be difficult to find an internal party election in which he did not top the poll.

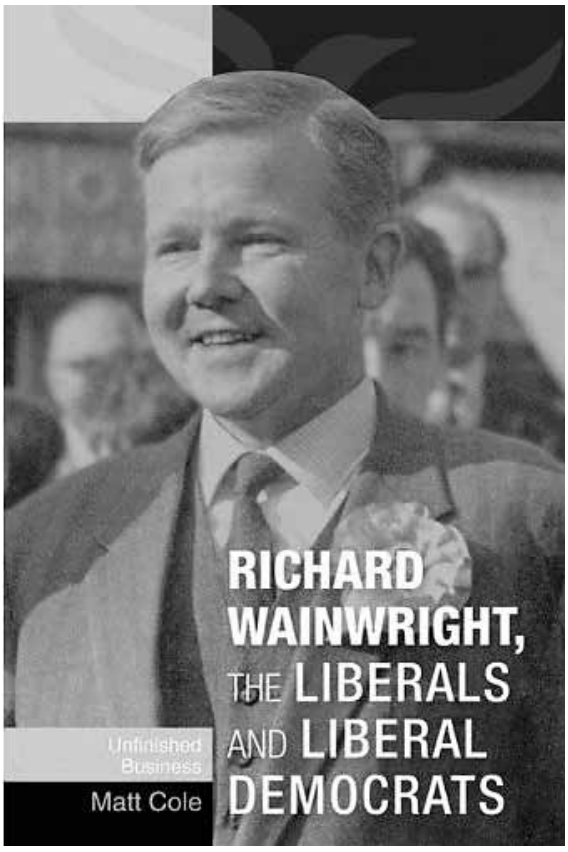
This role does not come out of the book as clearly as it might, maybe because it was deliberately exercised with considerable discretion. The one moment when he went over the parapet was when he decided that the Jeremy Thorpe farrago had to be ended and used a BBC Radio Leeds interview to demand that Thorpe should sue for libel, and should do so immediately. Thorpe was evidently unable to take such action and he resigned the leadership two days later. Wainwright's action was far from being popular with his parliamentary colleagues but was typical of his determination to protect the party. As Matt Cole emphasises, the decision did not come from any moralistic sensitivity – he had, after all, been privy to the accusations against Thorpe for the best part of a decade – but from a view that the intensity of the public exposure of them was dragging the Liberal Party down with its leader.

The identification of Wainwright as the prime cause of Thorpe's resignation had one tragic consequence with which I was associated. I was in my third year as chair of the Liberal Party Assembly Committee and present at the 1978 Assembly in Southport, at which the unplanned arrival of Jeremy Thorpe had effectively hijacked the proceedings. Clement Freud came to me at the lunch break to inform me that there had been a serious death threat against Wainwright and that, for his protection, I had to arrange for him to speak from the platform rather than from the rostrum. This was wholly impractical, not least because it would have been difficult to invent a reason why he was not following the established practice, and one could hardly give the real reason.

Richard was prepared to leave it to my decision and I got two burly stewards to walk with Richard to the rostrum and then to sit on each side of it, facing the audience. As expected, the speech passed without any untoward incident. However, the suspected author of the death threat, a gay young liberal from Guildford who had an obsessive affection for Thorpe, committed suicide some two months later.

Matt Cole relates another incident at that same assembly which sprang from the necessity of hiding internal party problems even from the party membership for fear of provoking a feeding frenzy on the part of the press. The consequence was that many ordinary party members, wholly unaware at that point of the serious problems with Thorpe over a number of years, felt that the party officers had treated him unfairly. One such, Dr James Walsh, the candidate in Hove, tabled a motion of censure to be debated at a closed session of the assembly. Cole tells how that Gruffydd Evans, as party president and Geoff Tordoff as party chair made formidable speeches telling delegates the facts of party life, but he doesn't relate that Gruff, Geoff and myself had privately agreed to resign forthwith if the motion were carried. Wainwright and other officers were fiercely attacked but we wanted to face down the proposers directly. As it happened, possibly for the first time ever playing the role of conciliators, Tony Greaves and John Smithson got the motion withdrawn and the session ended on a procedural fix.

Cole's biography is a very thoughtful work which deals sensitively with Wainwright's spiritual foundation and the inevitable political tensions it brought. He accepted that it was not always possible to take the moral high ground and that at times solidarity with colleagues was a greater necessity



than an individual's conscience. He did, for instance, some years later, state that he had had great misgivings about the Falklands war but had stifled them in the interest of party unity.

Cole's thorough researches give voice to Richard's practicality and to his frustration with Liberals who depended on sentimentality. I had forgotten, for instance, that he had sent me one of his typical typed notes – usually on wafer thin paper – objecting to my quoting of a Russell Johnston peroration phrase, 'As long as birds sing in unclouded skies, so long will endure the power of the compassionate spirit.' Richard chided me: 'real Liberals realise that they have to come to terms with clouded skies and Original Sin. There are too many Liberals, in my view, who share Russell's sentimentality.' Russell wasn't the only colleague that Richard believed to have insufficient depth – he certainly didn't cope with Clement Freud and he felt that David Penhaligon's disinclination to maintain a filing system diminished the usefulness of his undoubted political skills.

His practicality was shown also by the use of his skilfully amassed personal finances. Having failed to persuade the party to give a high priority to local government, in 1961 Richard personally financed a separate department at party headquarters staffed by Pratap Chitnis and, a year later, myself, plus secretarial support. Because it was separately financed it was able to keep out of the regular internal party spats and was much more acceptable with the Scottish Liberal Party than the rest of the London-based party. By 1965 he argued that the local government department had proved its value and that it should be increasingly financed by the party and its councillors. This led to the formation of the Association of Liberal Councillors under its first chair, Alderman David Evans.

Matt Cole attempts to discern Richard's views on the alliance with the SDP and on the eventual merger of the parties but finds it difficult. He has to rely on close colleagues for what they had managed to draw out from Richard. Some of us who were very sceptical about the alliance and who opposed the merger believed that Richard would be supportive of our position, but we were wrong. He was essentially loyal and pragmatic, whilst firmly believing that the negotiators could have extracted a better deal from the SDP, as well as believing that, within the foreseeable future, the innate philosophical and organisational depth of the Liberal Party would see off the more superficial SDP.

Matt Cole has produced a highly readable and rightly affectionate portrait of one of the Liberal Party's postwar stalwarts.

Matt Cole has produced a highly readable and rightly affectionate portrait of one of the Liberal Party's postwar stalwarts, which *en passant* provides a great deal of material on the nature and vicissitudes of the party to which Richard Wainwright was so long affiliated.

Michael Meadowcroft was a Leeds City Councillor, 1968–1983, and Liberal MP for Leeds West, 1983–87. He held numerous local and national offices in the Liberal Party.

Labour's right wing

Stephen Meredith, *Labours Old and New: The Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party 1970–79 and the Roots of New Labour* (Manchester University Press, 2008)
Reviewed by **Richard Toye**

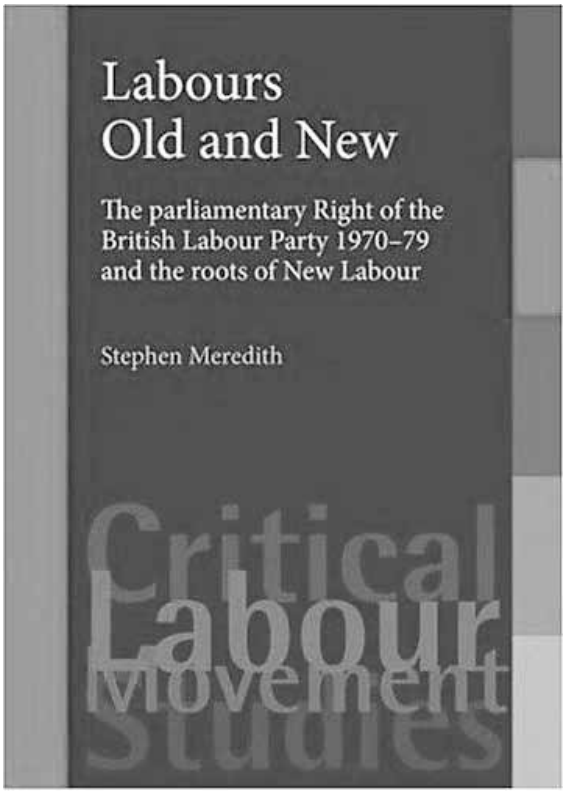
This book makes a useful contribution to the study of the politics of the 1970s, taking as its starting point the idea that the right wing of the Labour Party has not been sufficiently understood. Its key claim is that 'The parliamentary Labour right has been a more complex, heterogeneous and disputatious body than conventional accounts of a monolithic ruling Labour right or revisionist tendency would allow' (p. 18). The right's intellectual divisions and consequent weaknesses, moreover, were a significant cause in the party's shift leftwards after Thatcher came to power (which in turn triggered the SDP split of 1981). These arguments are persuasive. Although the personal tensions between the key right-wing figures Tony Crosland, Denis Healey and Roy Jenkins are well known, it would be wrong to put too much emphasis on the conflicting ambitions of individuals at the expense of ideological factors.

Of course, when one argues for the existence of complexity in Labour Party politics, one is unlikely to go far wrong. It is always possible to point to flaws in any suggested taxonomy, such as between trade unionist 'labourists' and middle-class intellectual 'revisionists'. As the former Jenkinsite MP David Marquand comments in an interview for the book, 'it's always more complicated than that' (p. 37). In particular it is not easy to trace a line between someone's apparent dispositions in the 1970s and whether or not they subsequently joined the SDP. However, even warring opponents had some things in common. One virtue of this study is its demonstration that factional behaviour was hardly unique to the left. After he became prime minister in 1976, James Callaghan deplored the attempts of small groups within the Parliamentary Labour Party to impose their views on the majority. In response, the centre-right manifesto group declared that it 'would be ready to disband the day after the [left-wing] Tribune Group did so' (p. 61), i.e. not at all. If the left was often destructive, the right was not always conspicuously loyal or helpful to the leadership either.

Meredith does a good job of dissecting the right's divisions on the issue of Europe. He writes: 'the Jenkinsite core of pro-Europeans found themselves increasingly alienated not just from the anti-Europeanism of the Labour left, but also from colleagues of the parliamentary centre-right who, anxious about party unity, refused to treat the issue as an article of faith and as one that transcended the (tribal) loyalties and adversarial character of party politics' (p. 94). The Jenkinsites were also divided from the

more traditional/pragmatic elements of the right by their greater concerns about trade union power, and this too formed part of the backdrop to the foundation of the SDP. In addition, Jenkins himself, increasingly detached from Labour, offered lurid warnings about the threat to freedom posed by high public spending; whereas Crosland, although prepared to rethink his own earlier hopes about the benefits of high spending, believed this position was extreme. The disunity, of course, was fundamentally a product of the difficult and confusing economic situation that Britain found itself in the 1970s. It is worth remembering, though, that Labour kept the show on the road for a long time in spite of it. It was Callaghan's remarkable achievement to keep his Cabinet together throughout the 1976 IMF crisis, laying the groundwork important steps to recovery over the next two years, although he eventually provoked the Winter of Discontent by pushing his anti-inflation stance too far.

The book is thoughtful, well researched and written in a clear style. I would have liked to learn a little more about the 'parliamentary' aspect of the 'parliamentary right'. After all, the management of the Commons formed one of the Labour government's major problems, especially after it lost its narrow majority. Overall, though, this is a sensible and interesting book that refines our comprehension of an important period.



Richard Toye is Professor of Modern History at the University of Exeter. His most recent book is Churchill's Empire: The World That Made Him and the World He Made *(2010).*

Political theory and political thought

Duncan Kelly, *The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions and Judgement in Modern Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2010)

Reviewed by **Eugenio F. Biagini**

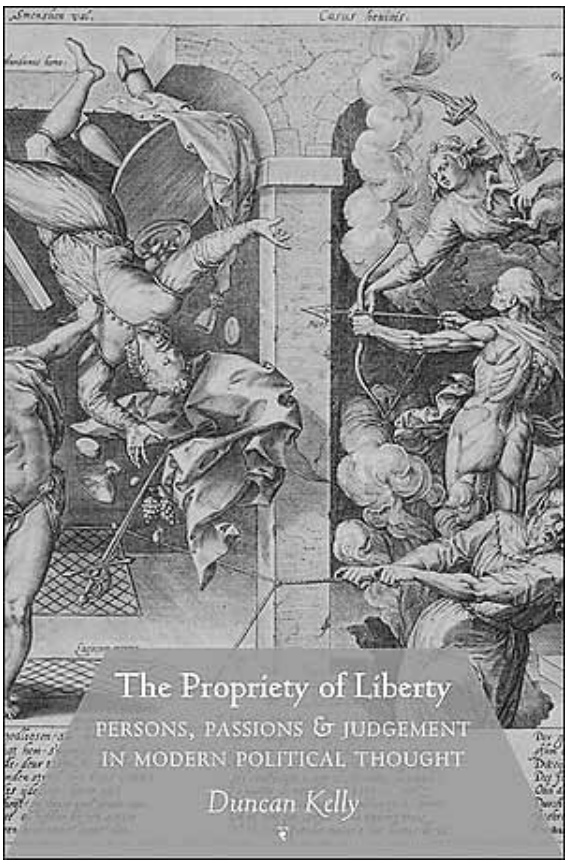
This is a challenging and thought-provoking book which spans two disciplines, political theory and the history of political thought, using the latter as a tool to advance the former. It argues that 'classical' liberalism conceived of freedom as the sphere of man's 'appropriate agency', or 'propriety', understood as 'the capacity of individuals to choose between alternative courses of actions … and then act on their choices both in private and in public' (p. 1). It involves choice, self-restraint and judgment, the three essential components of a 'progressive or developmental, not fixed or teleological' understanding of liberty (p. 5). It affects two dimensions: the 'quality of agency … [for which] one can be held responsible … as an autonomous agent'; and 'shared or intersubjective judgements about the propriety of particular actions, rooted in a common conception of justice' (p. 15). Using such framework, Kelly tries to identify a middle course between 'negative' freedom ('non-domination') and 'positive' liberty (civic entitlement and participation).

Using such framework the author revisits a number of well-known liberal philosophers and economists, including John Locke, Montesquieu, Adam Smith Tocqueville, J. S. Mill and T. H. Green. The section on Green is perhaps the most stimulating, partly because here the author engages with the question of religion (which the rest of the book curiously neglects). Green was not a believer, but he championed the civic virtue of the Nonconformist tradition. He thought that the latter was strengthened by nineteenth-century 'Higher Criticism', with its rigorous analysis of the texts and demolition of the 'mythical' parts of the Bible. Green elaborated '[the] idea of the religious character of rational, moral action … [a] metaphysical claim [which] can … be explored historically and contextually through Green's engagement with historical biblical criticism and modern German philosophy … through his assumption that rational societies progress historically towards a stage whereby the prerequisite of real freedom, legal freedom, can develop' (p. 255).

Both for its emphasis on Protestant Dissent and reliance on 'Higher Criticism', Green stood for what must inevitably be perceived as an 'anti-Catholic' definition of Christianity. It was a view which had parallels with Giuseppe Mazzini's idealisation of non-hierarchical, non-dogmatic, rational religion. Strangely, Kelly misses the Mazzini parallel, and instead presents Green's liberal religion in racial, rather than civic humanist or republican, terms: 'Catholic countries in general and the "Romance nations" in particular, Green argued, remained content with the unreconciled character of religion and morality', an attitude 'which stood in contradistinction to the spiritual completeness craved by the Teuton'. Green criticised the 'Jesuitry' which in Catholic countries '"derationalised" the state from its position as the "passionless expression of general right", rendering it instead the "engine of individual caprice under alternating fits of

appetite and fear"' (p. 230). This was largely a caricature of the situation in the late nineteenth century, when France, Italy and Spain saw vigorous struggles to establish the rule of law on liberal principles. However, Kelly's interpretation of Green is sadly more relevant to the situation in the early twenty-first century, when it seems to provide a fitting epitaph for *Berlusconismo* as a system of degenerate democracy. By the same token, it is unfortunate that the philosophers considered by Kelly are all British or French: Italians and Spanish liberals would have provided an interesting counterpoint here. Moreover, Green, despite his eulogy of Dissent, drew his main inspiration not from British and French philosophy, but from German idealism, and it is somewhat difficult to understand his thought – including his secularised Protestantism – without reference to his models and sources of inspiration. Finally, it is a pity that Kelly does not pay more attention to religion, not only because of its centrality to political cultures in general, but especially because the thinkers which he studies – most obviously Locke, Smith and Tocqueville – operated within an explicitly Christian definition of liberty and took the view that religious freedom was essential to liberalism.

Eugenio F. Biagini is Reader in Modern History at Cambridge and a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College. He has published extensively on the history of Liberalism in Britain, Ireland and Italy.



Judy's story

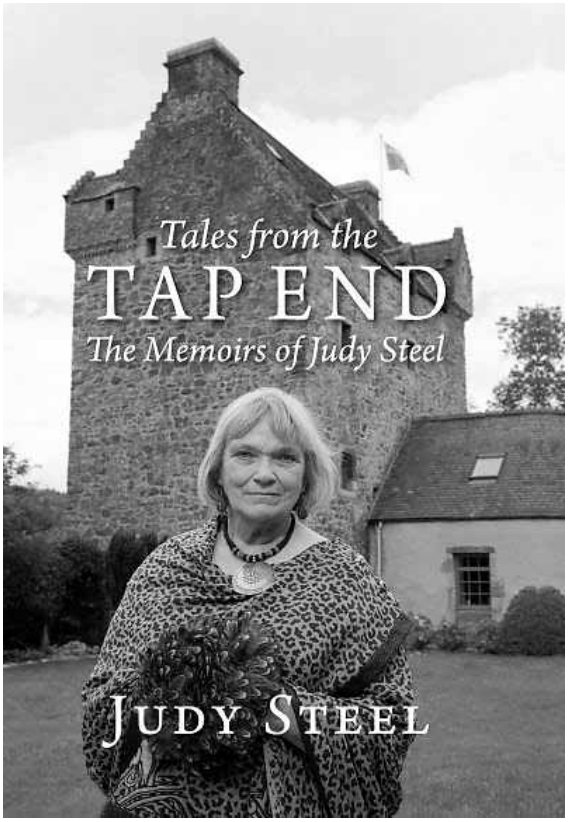
Judy Steel, *Tales from the Tap End* (Birlinn Ltd, 2010)
Reviewed by **Celia Thomas**

Anyone thinking *Tales from the Tap End* might be just a light, gossipy book of memoirs about David Steel and his fellow politicians by a sycophantic wife should think again. This is very much Judy's own story, proudly starting with her Orcadian great-great-grandparents who left for the mainland around 1867. Their granddaughter, 'Auntie G', is quite a presence throughout the book, starting with her crucial role in Judy's childhood when she and her three siblings were left by their parents who, for long spells, were working in West Africa. Although born in Scotland, Judy spent part of her childhood in Buckinghamshire, when her father took a job at a timber research laboratory in Princes Risborough. Coming back from school one day, she was handed a leaflet by a Liberal by-election candidate in which she discovered that the party was in favour of, among other things, a Scottish parliament. Thus at the age of ten she became a fervent Liberal, so passionate was she about all things Scottish, although she only joined the party formally towards the end of her time at university.

Judy met David when they were both students studying law at Edinburgh University; but while she practised briefly as a solicitor, working first as a Parliament House assistant, David chose politics – becoming assistant secretary with the Scottish Liberal Party. They married in 1962. From then on, we are reminded not only of the main political events since then, starting with the Profumo scandal, but also the early by-elections – particularly crucial to Liberal fortunes. Within six weeks of the 1964 general election, when David stood for the first time for Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles, the MP died suddenly, and at the subsequent by-election, vividly described by Judy, David won with a majority of 4,657. ('"It's Boy David!" screamed the headlines, and I found myself in bed with a Member of Parliament.') Soon they were both on the campaign trail again for the 1966 general election, during which time they met a constituent whose brother Sandy 'won the Border Burghs for Mr Gladstone in 1886', and Judy finds the perfect family house which they subsequently buy. The interweaving of political and family events, together with tales of the social and cultural history of the towns and villages of the Borders in Judy's lively style, characterises the whole book.

The first political milestone Judy chronicles from her own point of view is the Abortion Act of 1968, which David bravely pilots through the Commons, having come third in the ballot for private members' bills. 'At Cherrydene, I received some mail directed at me personally which either begged me to intervene or told me I was married to Herod.' She sets out the arguments clearly and succinctly concluding: 'Halting that traffic in women's misery was no mean achievement for a politician who was only thirty years old when the Bill was given its Royal Assent.'

Other milestones follow – the plight of Ugandan Asians, the indecisive February 1974 election, the referendum on Europe in 1975 – all interlaced with the life of the Borders – the Common Ridings and the rivalry between the towns, a potted history of many of their friends, their growing family, and Judy's involvement in the arts. In 1976 she recalls events



surrounding the resignation of Jeremy Thorpe from the party leadership, which ultimately resulted in David winning the leadership of the party in 1976. Judy writes her version of the whole matter in a clear-eyed way. Being the wife of a party leader pitched her into a new life, much of which she enjoyed – Wimbledon, overseas visits, royal banquets – and about which she is very funny.

However, the 'bumpy road' which David had predicted happened all too soon with the eighteen-month Lib–Lab Pact, which caused such heartache for the party. Then, three years later in 1981, the SDP was officially launched in the wake of the Labour Party's lurch to the left, and, a few months later, the Alliance with the Liberals was formed. The l983 election campaign, with its uneasy joint leadership of Roy Jenkins and David Steel, was a difficult one – not least because of the 'Ettrick Bridge Summit', convened to try to sort this relationship out. Judy is characteristically honest but doesn't shed much light: 'What went on around my dining table I do not know, for although Peter (Hellyer) and I kept our ears to the door, we were not able to make anything out.' Although the Alliance ended up with 25 per cent of the votes, they had only twenty-three seats, and David was keen to resign. Judy was appalled, and she and Archy Kirkwood talked David into continuing, although they agreed he should have a 'sabbatical'. However, after the 1987 election, which precipitated the formation of the Liberal Democrats, David did resign as leader, and he and Judy took on the enormous project of transforming a derelict Border tower into a family home with money from a successful libel action against the News of the World. Later still, Judy is able to tell the story of the first election to the Scottish Parliament, of which David became Presiding Officer, having become a peer in 1997. Young people new to the party could do no better than read Judy's potted version of this particular period of political history which is concise and well-judged.

Soon after the general election of 1979, Judy had her first encounters with the performing arts, which take up more and more of her life and lead to her membership of the drama committee of the Scottish Arts Council. Sometime in the 1980s she became immersed in the writings of the Ettrick Shepherd – James Hogg – a celebrated local eighteenth-century farmer, writer, novelist, poet and musician – eventually founding a Borders Festival of Ballads and Legends in his honour, and writing a play herself based on one of his stories. The festival became a fixture, for which Judy wrote a great deal, organising many of the events, and directing some of the performances herself. Some were great hits, and others failed – she is as honest about her artistic endeavours as she is about everything else – but what surely was successful was that she used her experience of small political meetings in village halls to inspire her determination to bring dramatic performances about local heroes such as James Hogg, to those same village halls all over the Borders.

The whole narrative of the book is interspersed with poems by Robert Burns, James Hogg, Sir Walter Scott and others – and by Judy herself. This is quite a strange thing to do, but it works here and gives the book a very distinctive character. Judy is an accomplished poet, and I'm glad she did not refrain from putting in her own work. She also uses the device of placing a piece of up-to date-prose – written like a diary entry – before recounting an event many years before, as though worried that readers will become quickly bored by the past. It does mean one has to remember quite hard which year we are in – and I could have done with more help here. Even more curiously, there are also a few recipes – both hers and those of her friends.

All in all, this is a book to treasure. It combines social history and geography, autobiography, biography, political history, storytelling and poetry – all told with flair, humour, honesty and verve. I didn't want it to end.

Celia Thomas worked in the Liberal, then Liberal Democrat, Whip's Office in the House of Lords from 1977 to 2005. In 2006 she was created Baroness Thomas of Winchester.

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