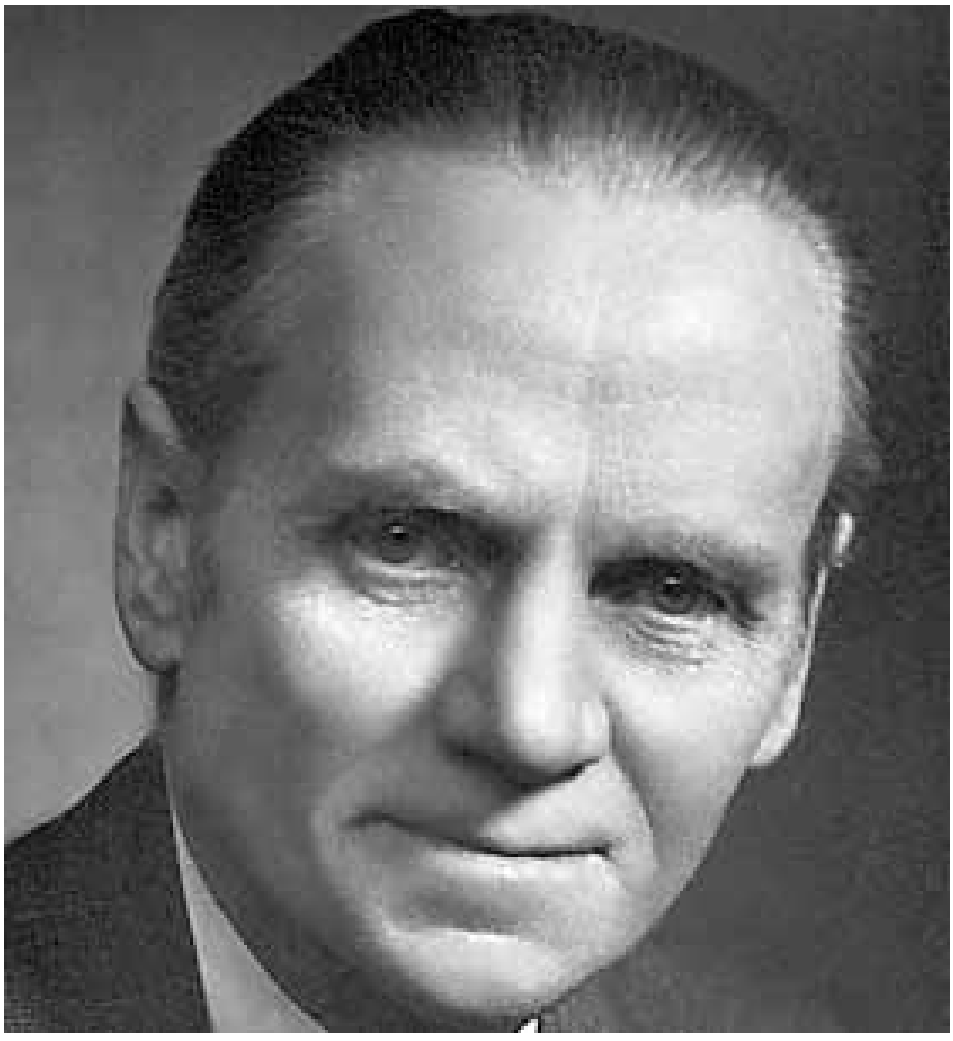
NEW LIBERALISM AND THE E
NORMAN
AND ANGELLISM

'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

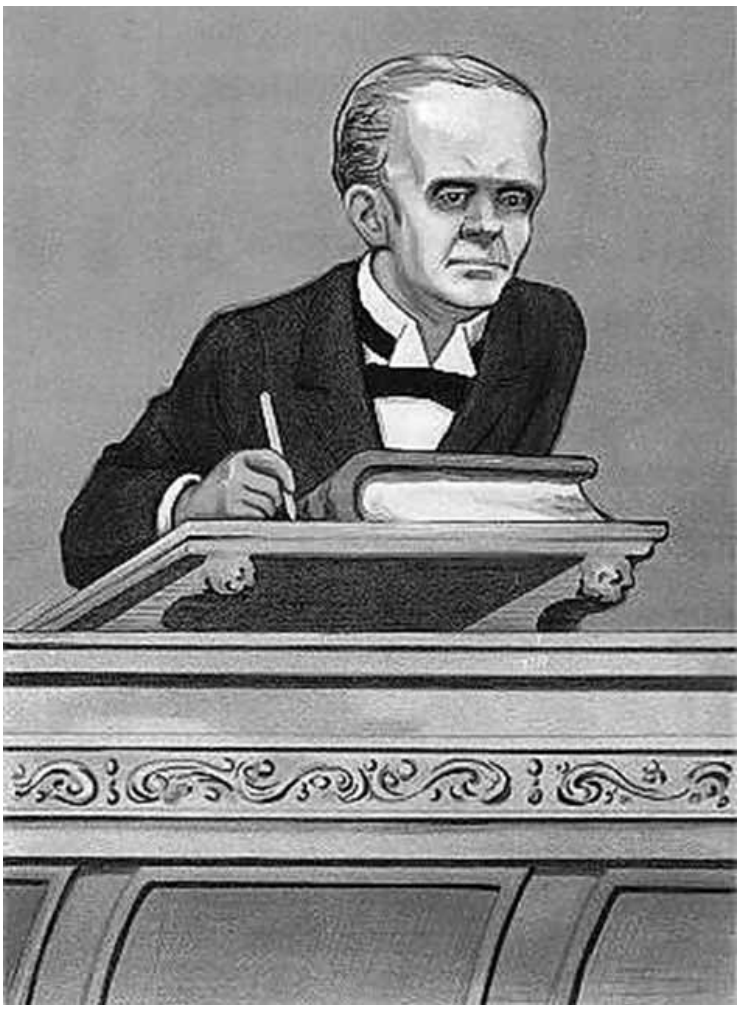
RECONSIDERED

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.*