

- 23 Feb. 1901, f. 78.
- 43 See Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales, *passim*.
- 44 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, f.48 National Library of Wales, entry for 13 Oct. 1897.
- 45 *Ibid.*, Cambridge University Liberal Club, list of members – Michaelmas 1900, pasted into f. 69.
- 46 See Paul Readman, ‘The Conservative Party, Patriotism, and British Politics: The Case of the General Election of 1900’, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan., 2001), pp. 107–145, particularly for instances of patriotic campaigning in Cambridgeshire in 1900.
- 47 *Cambridge Evening News* report of an ‘At Home’ meeting of the society with Augustine Birrell MP, 24 Nov. 1900 (report undated), pasted into Cambridge University Liberal Club, list of members – Michaelmas 1900, in turn pasted into f. 71 of Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, f. 91, National Library of Wales, entry for 5 Feb. 1902.
- 50 *Daily News*, 2 May 1895, p. 6.
- 51 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book 1886–97, Montagu MSS AS4/1/1, Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge – entry for 12 Mar. 1895
- 52 *Ibid.*, entries for 26 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1896.
- 53 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book 1886–97, Montagu MSS AS4/1/1 Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge – entry for 2 Feb. 1889.
- 54 Peter Clarke, *Keynes: The Rise, Fall, and Return of the 20th Century’s Most Important Economist* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009) p. 35.
- 55 Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes, Volume One – Hopes Betrayed, 1883–1920* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 114.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
- 57 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales – report for 1904–5. Please note that there are no folio numbers in the minute book after 1903.
- 58 *Ibid.*, minutes of 1905 AGM. Undated, but c. May/June 1905 from the minutes’ position in the book.
- 59 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1906–7, signed by A. L. Hobhouse, c. June 1907.
- 60 *Ibid.*, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 24 Oct. 1913.
- 61 *Cambridge Daily News*, 3 Feb. 1908, p. 2.
- 62 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales, Secretary’s report for 1909–10.
- 63 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1910–11.
- 64 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1911–12.
- 65 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1912–13 and 1913–4.
- 66 See George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London: Constable, 1936); Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914–1935* (London: Constable, 1966), especially pp. 15–134.
- 67 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales – minutes of the Annual General Meeting, Friday 23 Oct. 1908.
- 68 *Ibid.*, minutes of the Special General Meeting, Monday 7 Dec. 1908.
- 69 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1908–9.
- 70 *Ibid.*, minutes of Wednesday 10 Feb. 1909.
- 71 *Ibid.*, minutes of Wednesday 10 Feb. 1909.
- 72 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1908–9.
- 73 *Ibid.*, minutes of committee meeting on 4 Feb. 1910.
- 74 Cambridge University Pitt Club, founded in 1835. Although strictly speaking a social club, it has long had a conservative reputation, and in the Edwardian era was the closest thing to a social organisation for Conservative in Cambridge. Its political role, however, was nonexistent.
- 75 Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Memoirs of a Conservative: J. C. C. Davidson’s Memoirs and Papers, 1910–37* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969), p. 7.
- 76 Gordon Johnson (ed.), *University Politics: F. M. Cornford’s Cambridge and his Advice to the Young Academic Politician* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 [critical edition]), pp. 95, 97.
- 77 Gilbert E. Jackson and Philip Vos (eds.), *The Cambridge Union Society Debates, April 1910–March 1911, reprinted from the ‘Gownsmen’* (London: J.M. Dent, 1911), p. 5.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 80 Cradock, *Recollections of the Cambridge Union*, p. 83.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 82 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales, Secretary’s report for 1910–1.
- 83 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1911–2.
- 84 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1908–9.
- 85 ‘E.T.’ (ed.), *Keeling Letters and Recollections* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1918), pp. 8–15.
- 86 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales, Secretary’s report for 1913–4.
- 87 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1914–5.
- 88 *Ibid.*, Secretary’s report for 1914–5..
- 89 *Ibid.*, CULC letter to all members, 11 Nov. 1914.
- 90 This issue is best dealt with in R. J. Q. Adams, *The Conscriptio Controversy in Great Britain 1900–18* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1987).
- 91 Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell – Volume II, 1914–1944* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 47.
- 92 Cambridge University Liberal Club minute book, Oct. 1897–June 1915, Papers of J. Conway Davies, GB 0210 JAMIES, box 1, item 4, National Library of Wales – minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 4 Dec. 1915.
- 93 For the date of this last meeting, and the date of CULC’s suspension, I am grateful to Peter Calvert for the loan of his notebook for his own history of CULC, which he began working on in the late 1950s, but which was never completed.

Letters to the Editor

Targeting

I am grateful for Mark Pack’s elucidation of national decision-making on targeting (*Journal of Liberal History* 90, Spring 2016). The table accompanying my article in the previous issue of the *Journal* showed the increases in the party’s national vote and seats won at general elections subsequent to 1997 but my

point was that targeting brought diminishing returns, as was clearly shown.

My main argument is that targeting in effect hollows out the party and prevents it profiting from a national move to the party, such as followed the ‘I agree with Nick’ moment and, indeed, the increase in membership following the

last general election and, more recently, the referendum. The lack of organisation, and even activity, in many constituencies denies the possibility of capitalising on national events. I believe that the voting figures demonstrate that.

Mark's final point, that 'When there is only 8 per cent of the vote to go round, with or without targeting, the results are necessarily grim', presupposes that the base vote in May 2015 would have been no higher without twenty years of targeting. I would certainly challenge that. At the 1950 election, with the Liberal Party in desperate straits, and with 150 seats unfought, the party still polled 9.1 per cent. More vividly, in 1950 only 29 of the 475 candidates polled less than the current lost deposit level of 5 per cent, whereas there were 340 such in May 2015. Even accepting that the 150 unfought seats would probably have produced a high ratio of votes below 5 per cent, the comparison is stark, as is the lesson.

Michael Meadowcroft

Liberal clubs (1)

Your interesting piece on Liberal Clubs ('The Liberal Echo Chamber', *Journal of Liberal History* 90, Spring 2016) made no mention of the three working men's clubs in the Borders which were instrumental in my by-election in 1965.

The Jedburgh Club was the smallest, but as the late-night declaration was in that town hall, I was carried shoulder-high down the High Street to that Liberal Club for celebratory refreshments. There was an amusing sequel some years later when I was pressing the case for an A68 bypass for the town. The road planners originally proposed that demolitions would include the Club, but mistakenly were told to redraw the plans for fear of the wrath of the local MP. In fact it was in dire straits financially, and the MP would have been only too happy to see it demolished at a good price. It later had to close and is now a pub.

Galashiels had the largest club, where I used to call the bingo at packed Friday night sessions. Galashiels had in the 1959 housing report the highest proportion of unfit houses of any town in Scotland, and the top floor contained five bathrooms so that members had access to what was missing from their homes. The club in Hawick occupied the most prominent position in the High Street. Sadly, the days of these clubs have long since gone and they all had to close eventually.

David Steel (Lord Steel of Aikwood)

Liberal clubs (2)

Matt Cole's interesting article about Liberal Clubs barely touches upon Scotland (where their life cycle at local level paralleled that south of the border).

The Scottish Liberal Club, however, continues in existence, though not for some decades in the grand premises it once possessed in Edinburgh's Princes Street. The SLC holds meetings and an annual dinner, and has a clubroom in the premises of the Scottish Liberal Democrats at 4 Clifton Terrace. In fact the club is proprietor of the building.

A history of the SLC in its early years from 1879 to 1898 was the subject of a thesis by Noah Torn, a final-year undergraduate at Edinburgh University. It is available online at www.scottishliberalclub.org.uk/history.htm.

Willis Pickard

Liberal clubs (3)

Matt Cole's article, 'The Liberal Echo Chamber' in issue 90 provides an interesting look at the role of Liberal clubs in England and at their 'drift and decline' from 1918 onwards. Sadly, it makes no mention of the clubs in Scotland and, in particular, of those in the Scottish Borders, where they remained in existence, albeit declining, until a few years ago. At one time, there were at least six clubs, founded, in some cases, during the latter years of the nineteenth century, although those in Innerleithen, Kelso and Peebles had closed by the time I first became engaged in Borders elections.

The surviving clubs in the Roxburgh, Selkirk & Peebles constituency, in Galashiels, Hawick and Jedburgh, played an important role as a reservoir of support for Liberalism throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, leading up to David Steel's victory at the March 1965 by-election.

This continued into the 1970s and onwards. During the October 1974 election, for example, when I was David Steel's sub-agent in Hawick, we used rooms in the Club as our offices, while the Galashiels Club, conveniently located on the main street, Bank Street, was also used as an office. Steel popped in and out of the Galashiels Club whenever campaigning in the town – and financial contributions to campaigns were made, as well.

I was only in the RSP constituency and its successors, first Roxburgh & Berwickshire and Tweeddale, Ettrick & Lauderdale, and later Berwickshire,

Roxburgh & Selkirk, during general election campaigns, so cannot provide information on how they operated in a political context outside these elections. They were also centres of social activities, of course, not just in relation to their own members, but in engaging with the wider community.

In 1976, in a debate in Parliament on the powers of the police to enter such private clubs without permission, David Steel noted that 'the Galashiels Liberal Club has just won a prize as the Ace of Clubs for raising a record amount to help fight muscular dystrophy – £1,500 in three weeks. This real club atmosphere in a community is of value.'¹ Further scraps of information can be found on the internet, such as a press report that in 1978, the Jedforest Liberal Club, in Jedburgh, sponsored a 90 metres youth race in the town's Border Games that year.²

All three clubs have now closed, the premises in Galashiels and Hawick struggling on for a few years as, respectively, a nightclub and a sport and social club, though without any political connections. Both are listed as historic buildings, though for their architecture rather than because of their importance to the political history of the Borders.

What is perhaps a last echo of these formerly vibrant clubs is to be found in Michael Moore's Parliamentary Register of Interests, where it is recorded that the Trustees of Jedforest Liberal Club, an exempt trust created in 1985, made a donation of an unspecified amount to the constituency association in November 2005 and another, of £3,500 in June 2010, for that year's election campaign. No donation for the 2015 election was recorded.³

Papers about the Galashiels Club can be found in David Steel's papers at LSE,⁴ while there are notes on the 'Galashiels Hawick Liberal Club' 1901–1912 in the National Archives at Kew.⁵

Peter Hellyer

- 1 <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1976/jul/27/power-of-police-to-enter-clubs>
- 2 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=2507&dat=19680223&tid=bntAAAAAIBAJ&sjid=sKMMAAAIBAJ&pg=2764,4138445&hl=en>
- 3 <http://www.theyworkforyou.com/regmem/?p=10439>
- 4 <http://archives.lse.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=STEEL%2FB%2F8%2F2>
- 5 <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C2612819>