Social policy

Stuart Jones analyses the contribution of two leading Liberal thinkers to the development of post-war social policy.

William Beveridge and Ernest Simon: Liberalism and Social Policy in the Twentieth Century

WHAT DID LIBERALS, and Liberalism, contribute to the formation of the post-1945 consensus in Britain? On the one hand, the Liberal Party appeared to be permanently on the brink of extinction between the 1931 general election and its resurgence under the leadership of Jo Grimond almost three decades later. On the other hand, some of the most creative figures who defined the policy agenda for the postwar world were Liberals, not least because of the prominent role played by Liberal economists in wartime Whitehall: Henry Clay, Hubert Henderson, Walter Layton, and of course Keynes. Robert Skidelsky has made the point that, until 1931, the intellectual and academic establishment in Britain was 'overwhelmingly Liberal'.[1] There is an interesting story to be told tracing the trajectories of erstwhile Liberals, whether Sir Richard Acland (founder of the Common Wealth Party) or the ethical socialist theorist of social welfare, Richard Titmuss, or, indeed, Arthur Seldon of the Institute of Economic Affairs.[2] But the relationship between Liberalism and the postwar settlement remains largely unexplored.

Parallel lives, entangled lives

William Beveridge and Ernest Simon have never, to my knowledge, been compared, but the juxtaposition is far from quixotic. They were more or less exact contemporaries: born just seven months apart in 1879, both died in their early eighties, Simon in 1960, Beveridge in 1963. Both were knighted in the interwar period and raised to the peerage after the Second World War, Beveridge in 1946, Simon in 1947. Both served, quite briefly, as Liberal MPs: Simon for Manchester Withington in 1923–24 and 1929–31; Beveridge for Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1944–45. Both had come to political maturity in the era of the Edwardian New Liberalism – and owed something important (but not too much) to that body of ideas.[3] But both had inclinations towards technocracy, and tended to regard political parties, including the Liberal Party, as instrumentally useful rather than as fundamental to their identity. Simon was powerfully influenced by the Webbs, especially their minority report for the Royal Commission on the Poor Law in 1909; and Beveridge, who had given evidence on labour exchanges to that commission,

was also much taken by the minority report, which adopted many of his recommendations.[4] Beveridge ended his political career as Liberal leader in the Lords, whereas Simon took the Labour whip in the Lords; but paradoxically it was Simon rather than Beveridge who had been immersed in the activities of the Liberal Party in the 1920s. In their different spheres, both were major figures in social and institutional reform in twentieth century Britain. Both played important roles in university management: Beveridge as director of the London School of Economics and then master of University College, Oxford, and Simon as a senior lay officer at the University of Manchester for some decades. Both were consistently committed to social science as an intellectual project underpinning social policy, and indeed both were involved in crucial ways in the establishment of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in 1938

These were interlocking lives in a host of ways. Beveridge and Simon were never intimate, but they had many dealings over five decades. In the 1920s, Beveridge was, briefly, involved with the Liberal Summer School movement, which Simon had co-founded with his friends and fellow Manchester Liberals, Ramsay Muir and Ted Scott. In the 1930s, Simon founded and chaired the Association for Education in Citizenship – intended as 'non-political and non-denominational' – and he recruited Beveridge as a member of its council from the outset.[5] Their paths crossed again in the postwar period, when the Beveridge Committee on Broadcasting sat during the period of Simon's chairmanship of the BBC. This fended off, though only temporarily, calls for an end to the BBC's monopoly,

Equally, their personal lives were entangled at numerous points. Beveridge's brother-in-law and Balliol friend, R. H. Tawney, had been in the same house as Simon at Rugby, and later worked closely on educational reform with Simon's wife, Shena: she regarded herself as his disciple, and he nominated her to take his place on the consultative committee of the Board of Education. Ernest Simon's biographer and close friend, Mary Stocks, served in the 1930s on the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee under Beveridge, and thought Beveridge obviously found her sexually attractive.[6] Since she was amongst the first choice for the role of 'statutory woman' on committees of inquiry of various kinds, her paths crossed with Beveridge on a number of subsequent occasions, notably (after the war) when she served under his chairmanship on the committee on broadcasting, while Simon was chairman of the BBC.[7]

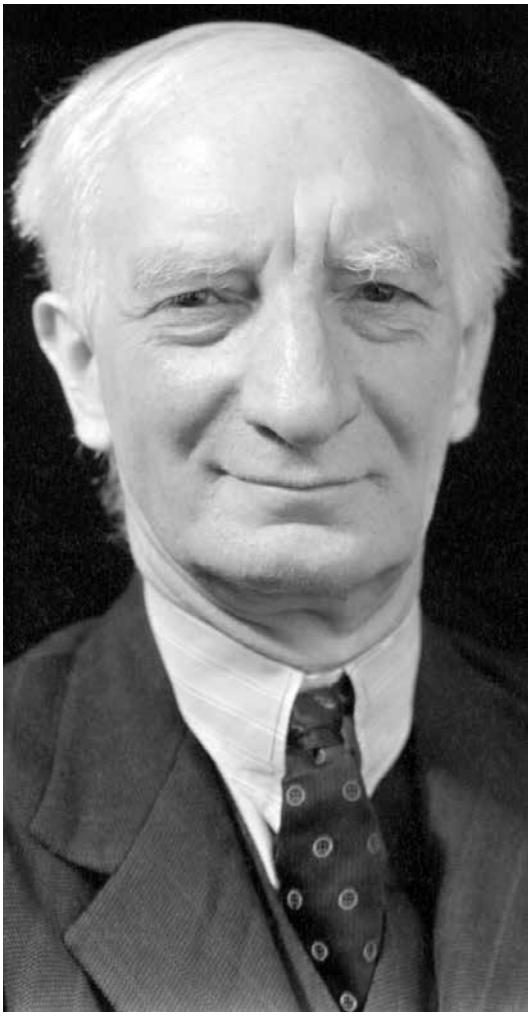
Beveridge and Simon were also strikingly similar in character. Both were inclined to be imperious in manner and impatient of inefficiency or obstruction. Both had a certain personal awkwardness that perhaps limited their political success; but both were notably efficient administrators. One major difference was that Simon had a supremely happy marriage, to Shena (née Potter), with whom he shared his interests in social reform and city politics in Manchester. The happiness was marred only by the death of their third child and only daughter at the age of 12. Beveridge, by contrast, was a man who sought in his work a means of escape from personal unhappiness, alleviated late in life by his marriage to his long-term secretary, Jessy Mair, in 1942.

Party politics and public policy

It was Beveridge who died a Liberal, whereas Simon joined Labour in 1947. This is something of a curiosity, for Simon's roots in Liberalism were much deeper. Simon was from a strongly Liberal family, his parents (Henry and Emily) both being of German secular Jewish heritage and well integrated into the Manchester mercantile community. Simon was a Liberal member of Manchester City

Council from 1912 to 1925, and lord mayor (the youngest ever) in 1921–22, before representing the party in the House of Commons. In the 1920s, he was pivotally involved in Liberal politics, as the originator of the Summer Schools and a lead author of the Yellow Book (*Britain's Industrial Future*) in 1928: he thought it 'a model of what political parties ought to do in an ideal democracy', and also recorded that 'I think it is fair to say it would never have been written but for me'.[8] Beveridge, by contrast, did not have a history of party affiliation. Although he has often been cited as an important player in the Edwardian New Liberalism, in fact he had no formal connection with any Liberal Party organisation in this period. Only once before 1914 did he refer to himself as a Liberal, and even this was in qualified terms in private correspondence.[9] He also called himself 'a bit of a Socialist in speculative politics', and worked for a Tory newspaper, the *Morning Post*.[10] He was briefly linked to the Summer School movement in 1922, but the following year he asked for his name to be removed from its literature.[11] In Michael Freeden's view, 'for most of the inter-war period [Beveridge] was estranged from liberalism even ideologically'.[12] As director of the London School of Economics (1919–37) he found it politic to refrain from open party identification, because it strengthened his hand in dealing with the tensions between businessmen on the LSE's board of governors and prominent left-wing academics such as Kingsley Martin, Harold Laski, and Hugh Dalton. It was really the 1942 report on Social Insurance that catapulted him into high politics and led to his selection to contest (unopposed) Berwick-upon-Tweed for the Liberals in the by-election of 1944. But even that selection followed a period in which he was cultivated by senior Labour figures. Lord Longford (as Frank Pakenham, Beveridge's personal assistant at the time, and a Labour cabinet minister only a few years later) thought that if they had given Beveridge a clearer guarantee of his freedom of conscience he would almost certainly have joined Labour.[13] The Liberals had mostly welcomed Beveridge's 1942 report, but from his point of view their main selling-point was their famously lax party discipline, which would allow him much greater freedom than Labour would give him. Crucially, a vacancy came up at the right time in a Liberal-held constituency: since a truce among the main parties was in place, and he had no wish to stand against a government-endorsed candidate, his prospects of entering the Commons before a general election were dependent on this kind of serendipitous opportunity. Had it not come up, he might well have stood as an independent for a university seat, as Simon did in a 1946 by-election.[14]

The notion that Beveridge was 'a lifelong Liberal' is essentially a fiction, though one that has been vigorously put to work in party propaganda, and, indeed, by those who criticised the Liberal Democrats for their endorsement of austerity in the years of the Cameron–Clegg coalition.[15] Beveridge contrived to identify himself with the party only at the moment it seemed close to extinction, and he was one of five Liberals unseated by Conservatives in the Labour landslide of 1945. He was, however, very much at the centre of the Liberals' campaign of that year, chairing the party's national campaign and delivering one of its four radio broadcasts.[16] Many thought there was something distinctively Liberal about the advocacy of the insurance principle as the foundation of welfare provision, insofar as it conceived of benefits as a contractual entitlement rather than as a badge of inferior status. Beveridge's exposition of this principle in his *Insurance for All and Everything* (a 1924 pamphlet published under the auspices of the Council of the Liberal Summer Schools) was broadly welcomed by advanced Liberals, who used it to distinguish their own vision for



Sir William Beveridge (1879–1963) in the 1940s; E. D. Simon (1879–1960) in 1926 (© National Portrait Gallery, London)

social welfare from that of the Labour Party.[17] Simon himself endorsed it on this ground.[18] But Beveridge himself showed minimal public or private allegiance to the Liberals prior to his 1942 report.

Beveridge's role in postwar reconstruction needs no explanation: his 1942 report was foundational, even though, as Jose Harris has demonstrated, the British welfare state (a term he disliked) drifted away from the insurance principle as the Treasury, and governments of both major parties, found the lower cost of means-tested benefits a compelling attraction.[19] He was notably successful as an advocate of the principles of social security in the wartime aftermath of the report's publication, but experienced some pushback from political leaders of both main parties who feared that they were in danger of losing control of the policy agenda; and his attempt to bolster his policy influence by sitting in the Commons was short-lived. After the war he was resentful of his exclusion from influence in Whitehall and was a vocal critic of the Labour government's implementation of his proposals.[20] He argued for much greater use

of voluntary agencies such as friendly societies in the provision of social welfare, and correspondingly less dependence on state bureaucracy.[21]

Simon's role in shaping public policy was not of the same order, and is much less well known, partly because he devoted himself principally to civic activity in Manchester. But it certainly embraced housing policy and town planning, on which he established himself as an acknowledged authority in the inter-war period. As chairman of Manchester City Council's new Housing Committee from 1919, and as mayor in 1921–22, he sought to drive forward a comprehensive conception of city planning, one that hinged crucially on the clearance of city centre slums and the extension of the city boundaries to encompass 'self-contained garden cities'. He and Shena were the prime movers and major benefactors behind the most ambitious such scheme, the creation of the Wythenshawe estate, on land bought from the Tatton family in several Cheshire parishes. The estate became the largest municipal housing estate in Europe, and was, Simon declared, 'the most important experiment in satellite garden town building which is going on in England – and perhaps anywhere else'.[22] He expounded his ideas in his characteristically impatient and forthright manner in a sequence of important books such as *The Smokeless City* (1922) and especially *The Rebuilding of Manchester* (1935). The most recent historian of the urban renewal of postwar Manchester suggests that the latter work set the agenda for the epoch-making City of Manchester 1945 Plan, while *The Smokeless City* anticipated the Clean Air Act by thirty-four years.[23]

Ernest Simon's significance in British politics and public policy is underestimated in the literature, partly because he operated from Manchester and had a London home only during his chairmanship of the BBC.

Having bolstered his authority by means of studies of urban planning in Moscow, Stockholm, and other European cities in the late 1930s, and of American cities during the war, Simon realised that the wholesale bombing of British cities created an opportunity to gain a national audience for his ideas. He became the foremost wartime advocate of visionary thinking about how to rebuild the cities: drawing heavily on his wartime work for the Ministry of Works, he tested his thinking at two of the Nuffield College Private Conferences on Social Reconstruction, and brought his ideas together in *Rebuilding Britain: A Twenty Year Plan*, published on the eve of peace in 1945.[24] It secured him a brief appointment as adviser to the energetic and creative Minister of Works, the Conservative Duncan Sandys.

There were three distinctive features of Simon's work as an advocate of postwar planning and reconstruction. First, it was plainly rooted in a combination of decades of experience of the problems of urban overcrowding and slum clearance in one of the world's most notoriously overcrowded cities, and ideas that he formed at the height of his involvement in the Liberal Summer School movement. The second is that, while his approach was ambitious and long-term, because he insisted that cities had to be planned comprehensively, rather than being developed piecemeal, it was absolutely not utopian. The third is that, while grounded in extensive technical expertise, Simon's vision for urban reconstruction also had a clear political purpose that was tied to his work as a proponent of democratic renewal in the 1930s: while providing 'a good house in pleasant surroundings for every family' and building

'lovely, convenient, and healthy cities' was, of course, worth doing in itself, it would also demonstrate the capacity of democracies to act decisively to realise a grand vision.[25] This was central to Simon's democratic faith: it was why he took issue with Beveridge when the latter unintentionally appeared to suggest some basic incompatibility between democracy and planning.[26] For Simon a successful reconstruction programme was not just a technical, top-down operation, dependent on architects and engineers. It also required 'an effective public opinion' that would face down sectional interests; and that would require an educated citizenry.[27]

Simon also came to acquire significant experience in higher education policy: next to housing and town planning, this was Simon's great public policy passion. After the war, he established the *Universities Quarterly* in an attempt to generate new thinking about the social, cultural and economic roles of universities, and it was Simon who drove its early intellectual agenda. A decade later, it was he more than anyone whose sustained pressure led to the establishment of the Robbins Committee, shortly after his death in 1960. In May 1960, he proposed a motion in the Lords asking the government to appoint a committee to investigate provision of higher education. A week beforehand, Beveridge dined at the Simons' London flat to discuss the question, although Simon (whose notes were often caustic) got little out of the meeting: 'alas, his memory is bad, and, although we had a pleasant evening, I am afraid that nothing whatever came out of it'.[28]

Ernest Simon's significance in British politics and public policy is underestimated in the literature, partly because he operated from Manchester and had a London home only during his chairmanship of the BBC. He has only a walk-on part in Peter Sloman's major study of Liberal economic policy.[29] But it was he who founded the Liberal Summer Schools, together with his fellow Manchester Liberal, the historian Ramsay Muir, and this was an expression not only of his commitment to the rational discussion of public policy, but also of his lifelong preoccupation with the shaping of public opinion. In a very revealing diary entry in June 1925, he wrote of his plan to leave the city council for national politics:

> The important thing is to influence opinion. I don't know whether there is much chance of the Liberal party surviving, but liberal opinion must survive whatever happens to the party; the future of the country & the world depends on the strength of instructed liberal opinion as against selfishness & class interest. The Nation, the Summer School, & personal speaking, uniting all the instruments – it is to those that I think I should devote the next few years – so far as I can keep free from business in these very difficult days for engineering.[30]

Like Keynes, who held that 'If I am going to pursue sectional interests at all, I shall pursue my own', Simon felt drawn to Labour by an instinctive adherence to the progressive cause, but was repelled by trade unionism and class interest.[31]

It was this same preoccupation with nurturing Liberal *opinion* that underpinned his remarkable stake in the progressive press of the period. He was a director of the Scott Trust (the owner of the *Manchester Guardian*), and later a trustee; he was one of four donors who provided the founding capital that launched the *New Statesman* in 1912–13, and invested more when the loans were converted into ordinary shares in 1920, so that he and Edward Whitley were the two largest shareholders.[32] When Keynes bought *The Nation* in 1923, Simon was a key financial backer, along with Laurence Cadbury and Arnold Rowntree: Simon invested £2,000 and became a director. As he noted, he and Keynes wanted to use the paper to advance 'their belief in the

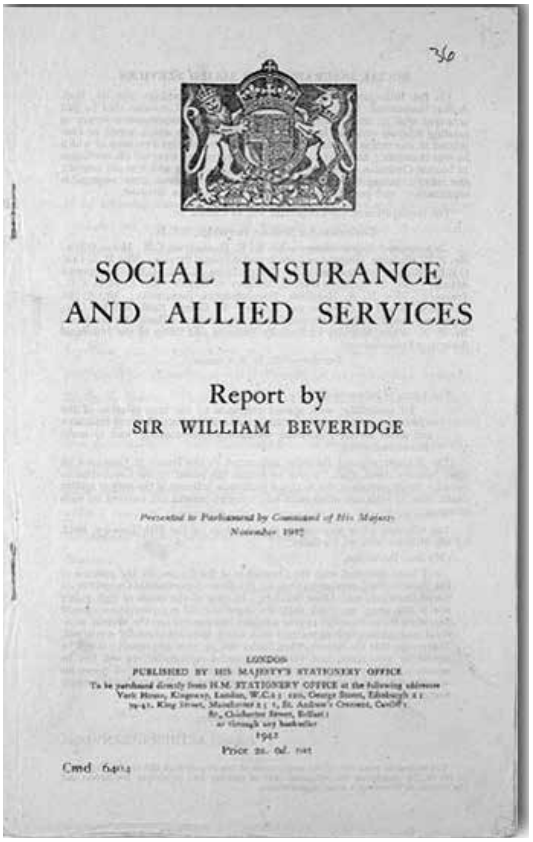
possibility of finding a progressive policy in National affairs not based upon a collectivist dogma'; a 'definite constructive policy of Liberalism', in other words.[33] Simon was also one of the financial backers who helped his friend, Walter Layton, to resist Brendan Bracken's attempt to take total control of *The Economist* in 1928, and acquired two thousand shares in the paper.[34] Finally, he sat on the board of the *Political Quarterly* for a quarter of a century, from 1935 until his death in 1960.[35]

Simon was very wealthy, thanks to the success of the two engineering firms founded by his father, which the son managed with notable acumen. So, he was in a position to fund the causes he most cared about. But even so, this record made him a central figure in sustaining the progressive press – along with Layton, Keynes, and Henderson, who were all in different ways connected with *The Economist*, the *New Statesman*, and *The Nation*.[36] But it was especially characteristic of Simon that he moved amphibiously between a Fabian initiative such as the *New Statesman* and a staunchly Liberal paper, *The Nation*.

Citizenship and social science

The examples of Beveridge and Simon should caution us against extravagant claims for the impact of 'Liberalism' on the post-war settlement. Though each sat for a time as a Liberal MP, and Beveridge as a Liberal peer, and though Simon was a prominent figure in the intellectual renewal of the party in the 1920s, the two men were united in their lack of deep commitment to or affection for the party. 'I care much about truth & little about party',

The Beveridge Report, 1941; plan for a satellite garden estate for Manchester at Wythenshawe, 1931.


SOCIAL INSURANCE
AND ALLIED SERVICES

Report by
SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty
November 1942

LONDON
PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

1942

Cmd. 6404

wrote Simon, adding that 'I belong to it simply because I think it the best means to my political ends'.[37]

This indifference to party reflected Simon's and Beveridge's technocratic dispositions, but neither can be reduced to technocracy. Intellectually, what they had in common was an intriguing mix of empirical social science and classical republican values. Jose Harris has put an articulate case for interpreting Beveridge in this way. She suggests that, on the one hand, his political thought was shaped by 'the long tradition of low-key classical republicanism that had informed liberal dissent and anti-plutocracy in Britain over several centuries'; a tradition that had been rejuvenated by the influence of a philosophical idealism oriented towards public service. His social thought, by contrast, owed much more to 'a remorselessly "positivist" conception of social science'.[38]

In fact, 'civic' political values and positivist social science were by no means as remote from each other as one might imagine.[39] We find a strikingly similar mix in Simon. His devotion to the cause of empirical social research is better known. He recalled that he was first drawn to 'the scientific method in public affairs' by the minority report on the Poor Law.[40] He had a long-standing commitment to policy-oriented social research. He and Muir envisaged the Liberal Summer School as 'an annual meeting on the lines of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to discuss all kinds of problems on scientific lines from the Liberal angle', rather as the Social Science Association had done in the mid-Victorian period.[41] In the late 1920s, he personally funded a chair in Social Economics at the University of Manchester, to enable Henry Clay (another Liberal economist) to devote himself to applied work, and, after the Second World War, he made a munificent gift to the university to establish fellowships in social science to enable established scholars to engage in a piece of research directed at real-world problems.[42] He told Beveridge that he found Beveridge's article on 'The London School of Economics as a School of Humanities' much the best plea for the Social Sciences at the Universities that I have seen'.[43] Beveridge depicted the educational work of the LSE as a liberal education in the 'living humanities', one better capable of engaging its students deeply because it was concerned with living societies, living languages, and with history as 'the past living into the present'.[44]

As a Cambridge-trained engineer rather than an Oxford Greats man, Simon was apparently untouched by philosophical idealism, but just as 'Beveridge's imagination was haunted by images of the Athenian and Spartan republics that he had imbibed at Balliol and Toynbee Hall', so Simon's political imagination was fired by a vision of the good city that he absorbed from reading Alfred Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*.[45] 'Every Athenian citizen', he told the people of Manchester on assuming the mayorality in 1921, 'profoundly believed in and loved his city, and was prepared to work and, if necessary, die for her. … That was the secret of the greatness of Athens.'[46] This vision was derived principally from Pericles's Funeral Oration, which Simon first encountered in Zimmern, and it became a favourite text, passed on not only to his own children, but also to all Manchester's schoolchildren in Christmas cards that he and Shena dispatched to schools the month after he became mayor. It was 'republican' values of this kind that underpinned his creation of the Association for Education in Citizenship in 1934; strikingly, however, Simon also regarded the creation of the Simon fellowships as a continuation of the work of that association.[47]

As we have seen, Beveridge was himself a prominent member of the Association for

Education in Citizenship: the most important (for him) of a number of cross-party initiatives that Simon was involved in in the 1930s. When he was first approached on the subject by Simon's collaborator and active Liberal Eva Hubback, Beveridge (who had a perverse tendency to react against intellectual propositions put to him) baulked at the idea of 'training in Civics', much preferring the term 'training in the Social Sciences'. The 'duties of citizenship' sounded too pragmatic: 'what we want to teach people is not their duty, but facts which will lead them to act better'.[48] Simon shared something of this conviction that knowledge of the society they lived in would make people better citizens.

Conclusion

Beveridge and Simon had much in common, but Liberalism with a capital 'L' was scarcely the most important of them. They did not overlap in the party; neither had a strong emotional attachment to the party; both tended to regard it instrumentally. They valued it for what it was not: *not* the mouthpiece of sectional or class interests, and not over-attached to party discipline. Both were primarily interested in policy outcomes, and both felt some frustration at their exclusion from executive power. Simon, in particular, was a natural executive politician, one who found the life of the backbencher, especially an Opposition backbencher, unfulfilling: hence his willingness to accept office (very briefly indeed) in the National Government in 1931. The Liberals' disarray after the general election of that year led him to devote his political energies to cross-party or non-party organisations. Both were primarily interested in causes – Beveridge in social insurance and the organisation of the labour market, Simon in many things, but above all housing, urban planning, and the good city. They looked, in particular, to social research as the route to change. Parties were, at best, vehicles for the realisation of their policy objectives. That said, they were by no means mere technocrats, but both were profoundly interested in the interplay between state action and civic virtue. ■

Stuart Jones is Professor of Intellectual History at the University of Manchester. He has worked mainly on French and British political thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the intellectual history of Victorian Britain. His book *Liberal Worlds: James Bryce and the Democratic Intellect* will be published later this year.

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2 On Titmuss's involvement in Liberalism in the 1930s, including the Summer Schools, see Margaret Gowing, 'Richard Morris Titmuss 1907–1973', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), pp.403–5; on Seldon, see John Meadowcroft and Jaime Reynolds, 'Liberals and the New Right', *Journal of Liberal History*, 47 (Summer 2005), pp. 45–51.

3 The classic study of the movement regards the Edwardian Beveridge as an authoritarian social reformer who had little in common with mainstream New Liberalism: see Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Clarendon, 1978), pp. 184–5, 210–11. For a different view, see Karel Williams and John Williams (eds.), *A Beveridge Reader* (Allen & Unwin, 1987), pp. 4–7.

4 Ernest Simon, 'Mrs Webb', *New Statesman and Nation*, 29 Jan. 1938, pp. 161–2; Jose Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (2nd edn, Clarendon, 1997), p. 162.

5 'Education in citizenship: a new association', *Manchester Guardian*, 17 May 1934, p. 20; also, Sir William Beveridge, 'Planning under democracy', in Sir Ernest Simon et al, *Constructive Democracy* (Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 125–43. This volume was based on addresses given to a conference of the Association in July 1937.

6 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 14.

7 Mary Stocks, *My Commonplace Book* (Davies, 1970), pp. 173–4. 'Statutory woman' is the title of Chapter 12.

8 Manchester Central Library M11/11/5 addnl., Simon Diary 1929–35, pp. 71–5.

9 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 118.

10 Ibid.

11 Michael Freeden, *Liberalism Divided*, p. 98.

12 Ibid., p. 366.

13 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 445.

14 For the Combined English Universities constituency, vacated by Eleanor Rathbone's death.

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16 Peter Sloman, 'Rethinking a progressive moment: the Liberal and Labour parties in the 1945 general election', *Historical Research*, 84/226 (Nov. 2011), 724

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18 E. D. Simon, 'Insurance for All. Sir William Beveridge's scheme', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 Mar. 1924, p. 7.

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20 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 452.

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28 'Note by Lord Simon. Beveridge', 5 May 1960, M11/13 f. 17.

29 Peter Sloman, *The Liberal Party and the Economy, 1929–1964* (Oxford University Press, 2015). Exceptions are Bryan Keith-Lucas, 'The Liberal Party and local government', in Bogdanor (ed.), *Liberal Party Politics* (Clarendon, 1983), p. 244, and Freeden, *Liberalism Divided*.

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31 J. M. Keynes, 'Am I a Liberal?', part 1, *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 8 Aug. 1925, p. 563.

32 Edward Hyams, *The New Statesman: The History of the First Fifty Years 1913–63* (Longmans, 1963), 16, 75, 78–9.

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34 Alexander Zevin, *Liberalism at Large: The World According to the Economist* (Verso, 2019), p. 140, and n. 102; Ruth Dudley Edwards, *The Pursuit of Reason: The Economist 1843–1993* (Hamilton, 1993), p. 620: Edwards says 2,000 shares; Zevin 1,500.

35 W. A. Robson, 'The founding of The Political Quarterly', *Political Quarterly* 41/1 (1970), S15.

36 David Hubback, *No Ordinary Press Baron: A Life of Walter Layton* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), p. 65.

37 Manchester Central Library .M11/11/5 addnl., Simon Diary 1929–35, pp. 71–5, date Oct. 1929.

38 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 488.

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40 Simon, 'Mrs Webb', pp. 161–2; on Simon and the Webbs, see David Dutton, 'E. D. Simon: intellectual in politics', *Journal of Liberal History*, 104 (Autumn 2019), pp. 17–18.

41 Freeden, *Liberalism Divided*, p. 82. The words are Simon's, summing up Muir's position; but they equally well capture Simon's own hopes for the Summer Schools.

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48 Harris, *William Beveridge*, p. 487.