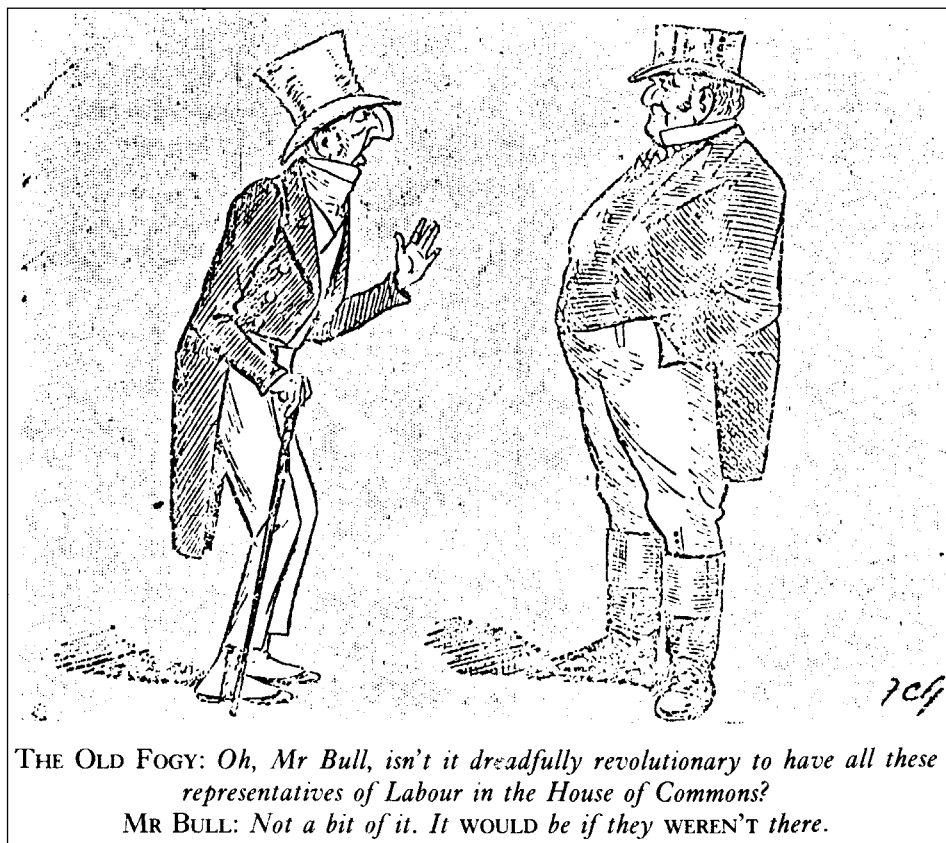


THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL REFORM LABOUR CANDIDATES AND THE

In November 1868 a leading article in *The Bee-Hive*, a weekly trade unionist journal, declared that 'there is a vast amount of rottenness in the ranks of the Liberal Party which must be rooted out before the working men can expect to be treated fair and honourably in their efforts to enter the House of Commons'.¹ The call for direct labour representation – understood here as the election of working-class men to parliament to represent the labour interest as Liberal MPs rather than independently – had enjoyed a broad range of support during the reform agitations that followed the establishment of the Reform League in February 1865. **James Owen** explores what happens between 1968 and 1885.



WILLIAM GLADSTONE, along with several prominent Liberal MPs, such as Henry Fawcett and Peter Alfred Taylor, had spoken in support of working-class parliamentary representation, while the working-class radicals in whom the management of the Reform League was vested were zealous advocates for the labour movement having its own voice inside the Commons.²

However, in the decade following the 1867 Reform Act – which enfranchised 'registered and residential' male householders, giving the vote to 30 per cent of working men – the labour movement struggled to secure the return of their own representatives. For many labour activists, at the heart of this struggle was the unwillingness of the managers of local Liberal Associations to select a

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working-class man as their parliamentary candidate.³ According to one frustrated working-class political campaigner, ‘if an angel from heaven came down ... unless he had the imprimatur of the Liberal Association, he was unfit for office’.⁴ This created a legacy of bitterness, which manifested itself in a number of working-class, self-styled ‘labour’ candidates opposing the official Liberal candidate at parliamentary elections. This article examines how both sides behaved in these elections and considers what these contests can tell us about the nature of the changing relationship between the labour movement and the Liberal Party in the third-quarter of the nineteenth century; a period which witnessed the rise of mass politics and the apex of popular Liberalism.

There is an important reason to look again at these contests. The current scholarly emphasis is that the progression from Gladstonian Liberalism and Victorian radicalism to the embryonic Labour Party of the early twentieth century was a straightforward, linear one.⁵ Yet, this interpretation, which has become something of an orthodoxy, overstates the confluence of the labour movement and Liberalism during this period. As discussed below, the relationship between the two could be tense and troubled, and it could change depending on the political context or the locality.

Labour candidates and the Liberal Party: the 1868 general election

Soon after the 1867 Reform Act was passed, the general council of the Reform League called for joint action with trade unions to secure the return of ‘a number of working men proportionate to the other interests and classes at present represented in Parliament’.⁶ This proved to be a highly problematic undertaking. Firstly, the Reform League’s London headquarters had little influence over local constituency branches, many of which had already lapsed due to inactivity following the passing of the Second Reform Act.⁷ Money was also a major obstacle: in 1868 the League’s finances were in a parlous state.⁸ In the summer of 1868 Howell had negotiated a secret financial agreement on behalf of the Reform League with the Liberal chief whip, George Glyn, whereby a sum of £1,000, supplied by the wealthy Liberal manufacturer Samuel Morley, could be used to promote the establishment of working-class political organisations that would support Liberal candidates. But this pact, and the money that underpinned it, existed only to advance Liberal candidates against vulnerable sitting Conservatives; not a penny would be used to oppose a Liberal.⁹

Ultimately, the decision to bring forward a working-class candidate in the Liberal interest rested with the managers of the local Liberal associations. Working-class

involvement in local Liberal organisation at this time was patchy and limited: there was evidence of it in Rochdale and Stockport in the 1850s and to a certain extent in Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester in the 1860s, but these were the exceptions.¹⁰ Popular Liberal organisation was woeful in the majority of English boroughs, and at the 1868 general election many Liberal associations were established simply on an ad hoc basis. Unsurprisingly, those who held the purse strings of the local associations were loath to back a working-class candidate who would not be able to sustain himself financially if elected, and the managers of the association, who zealously defended provincial independence, looked unkindly on not only Reform League agents who wished to intervene, but also the efforts of Glyn, who encouraged, largely in vain, local party managers to embrace the new electoral opportunities presented by the Second Reform Act.¹¹

Only two working-class candidates backed by the Reform League made it to the polls at the 1868 general election: George Howell at Aylesbury and William Randal Cremer at Warwick. Both seats were double-member boroughs where only one official Liberal had been brought forward, but neither man secured the endorsement of the local Liberal association. At Aylesbury, the Liberal candidate, Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, was a local landowner who effectively

Left: How *Punch* saw the entry of working-class MPs to Parliament

held the purse strings of local Liberalism. Rothschild had no wish to give either financial or vocal support to a trade unionist who was an outsider to the agricultural borough.¹² Glyn, in a letter to Gladstone, lamented Howell's decision to stand, writing that 'he has unfortunately chosen the wrong place. ... A stranger cannot win there'.¹³ At Warwick, the president of the local Reform Association wanted full control of the Liberal nomination, and effectively disabled Cremer's candidature by refusing to provide any financial assistance.¹⁴ Both Howell and Cremer finished bottom of their respective polls, comfortably defeated by a Liberal and Conservative candidate who outspent them by a ratio of three to one.¹⁵ Significantly, neither Howell nor Cremer, in their campaign speeches, attacked the national Liberal Party. Both promised unequivocal support to Gladstone.¹⁶ But their candidatures did represent an important protest against the neutralisation of their chosen borough's voice following the decision of the local party not to endorse a second Liberal.

The Labour Representation League

A series of electoral contests in the following five years witnessed a subtle but important shift in how the labour movement articulated its identity in relation to the Liberal Party. This change began in November 1869 with the formation of the Labour Representation League (LRL), established by the leaders of London trade unionism in order to promote the return of working-class men to parliament. The language of the LRL at its inaugural meeting stressed the need for independence from middle-class politicians. George Odger, a shoemaker and Reform League lecturer, described middle-class Liberal MPs as the 'sorry representatives of labour in Parliament', while George Potter, owner of *The Bee-Hive*, insisted that working-men should put themselves forward at parliamentary elections, irrespective of the wishes of local Liberal associations.¹⁷

Odger's candidacy at the Southwark by-election of February 1870 revealed the potential strength of a working-class candidate willing

to aggressively challenge organised Liberalism. After failing to secure the Liberal nomination, which went to Sir Sydney Waterlow, a city banker, Odger persisted, offering as an independent candidate in the labour interest.¹⁸ He stood on a solid, advanced Liberal platform, but he was implacably opposed to the moderates who ran the Southwark Liberal Association. The tension here was that the obstructionist leaders of local Liberalism did not reflect the direction in which Odger felt the Liberal Party should be heading, particularly in regards to direct labour representation. Under the guidance of his agent, the experienced political operator James Acland, Odger successfully courted the support of neighbouring Liberal and working-men's associations. Generous donations from Liberal sympathisers also helped him to avoid a nefarious attempt to derail his campaign when the returning officer demanded that Odger pay £200 to cover his share of expenses and refused to release tickets for Odger's supporters to the elections hustings until he did so. It was Sir Sydney Waterlow's intransigence, however, that proved fatal. Although Odger received 4,382 votes, Waterlow, who retired hours before polling closed, gained just under 2,951, allowing the Conservative candidate to be returned with 4,686 votes.

The inflexibility of organised Liberalism in dealing with a popular working-class candidate like Odger prompted the LRL to re-evaluate the labour movement's relationship with the Liberal Party. In 1873 the League issued an address to its supporters, which declared:

We urge you to organize in your several constituencies, not as mere consenting parties to the doings of local wirepullers, but as a great Labour party – a party which knows its strength, and is prepared to fight and win.¹⁹

This discussion of a 'great Labour party' is significant and should not be dismissed. Even though the LRL did not reject Liberal principles, it is an important example of the leaders of the labour movement articulating their identity in a way that separated them from organised Liberalism. Unfortunately, their

assertive rhetoric was not matched by organisational strength. The leaders of the LRL were unable to secure any pledge from the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in support of labour representation in parliament. This failure reflected cultural divisions within the trade union movement regarding the centralisation of its finances. The TUC frequently debated the merits of a national electoral fund for parliamentary candidates, to which all affiliated unions would contribute, but, while the London-based trade unionists behind the LRL championed this approach, there was consistent opposition from elsewhere, especially from delegates of the Durham and Northumbrian miners, who felt that a centralised fund would undermine their regional autonomy.²⁰ The League's finances were therefore constantly in a precarious state and in 1873, its secretary, Henry Broadhurst, began to solicit subscriptions from Liberal MPs favourable to their cause, which was hardly indicative of a serious plan to go their own way.²¹

The return of the country's first two working-class MPs at the 1874 general election underlined the importance of financial stability and securing special deals between organised labour and local official Liberalism.

Labour candidates and the Liberal Party: the 1874 general election

The return of the country's first two working-class MPs at the 1874 general election underlined the importance of financial stability and securing special deals between organised labour and local official Liberalism. At Stafford, Alexander Macdonald of the Miners' National Association was elected in second place. His candidature was a direct result of a deal brokered in 1869 between the Staffordshire miners and the local Liberal Party: following Odger's defeat in a test ballot at Stafford that year, it was agreed between the two bodies that a working-class candidate would be brought forward at the next general election. The traditional obstacle of finance was overcome when the Durham Miners' Association funded Macdonald's expenses.²² Importantly, Macdonald himself was reasonably wealthy from speculative investments in the mining industry, so he was clearly able to sustain himself in parliament if elected. There was also little doubt about the financial health of Thomas Burt, the agent of the Northumberland Miners'

Association who came in for Morpeth. The Miners' Association covered his election costs and provided him with an annual salary of £500.²³

The LRL brought forward ten other working-class candidates at the 1874 election: they were all defeated and their failures underlined the range of obstacles facing labour candidates in the 1870s.²⁴ In addition to lack of money, localism was a problem: sending the London-based George Howell, George Potter and Henry Broadhurst to contest, respectively, Aylesbury, Peterborough and Wycombe, was foolhardy given the level of suspicion of outside interference amongst local Liberals. Even when the candidates were local, such as the silkweaver Thomas Motterhead at Preston and the miners' agent William Pickard at Wigan, working-class support for the Conservative Party proved to be an insurmountable obstacle. There was also a wider problem that had been evident at the debates at the Trades Union Congress: working men were not necessarily anxious to be represented in parliament by their own class.²⁵

Local Liberal associations, moreover, displayed superior canvassing tactics that helped to neutralise the threat of a labour candidate. For example, at Middlesbrough, John Kane, founder of the National Association of Ironworkers in Gateshead, represented a potentially serious challenge to Henry Bolckow, the local iron master. But within forty-eight hours of Kane announcing his candidacy, the Middlesbrough Liberal Reform Association specifically targeted the division's unskilled and non-unionised Irish workforce, issuing four thousand circulars. When Kane attempted to reach out to the members of the local Home Rule Association, local Liberals swiftly arranged for members of the Middlesbrough Irish Literary Association to canvass on behalf of Bolckow.²⁶ This slick, well-oiled local Liberal machine helped deliver Bolckow a commanding majority. More broadly, the increasing control of urban space by party managers, through controlled and ticketed meetings, led many labour candidates to give open air speeches in derelict areas on the outskirts of urban

As *The Bee-Hive*, which had become the organ of the League, noted following the 1874 general election, 'labour candidates to a man were of Liberal principles, who would have given an intelligent support to a really Liberal government, and yet the managers of the Liberal Party ... regarded them with suspicion, and treated them in an unfriendly spirit'.

constituencies, underlining their separateness from Liberal and Conservative candidates.

Despite these range of obstacles, in the post-mortem that followed the 1874 general election, the LRL laid the blame squarely at the door of organised Liberalism. As *The Bee-Hive*, which had become the organ of the League, noted following the 1874 general election, 'labour candidates to a man were of Liberal principles, who would have given an intelligent support to a really Liberal government, and yet the managers of the Liberal Party ... regarded them with suspicion, and treated them in an unfriendly spirit'.²⁷ In this context, the League's response was prefiguring the later adoption of the 'caucus' as a political bogeyman.

Labour and the rise of the 'caucus'

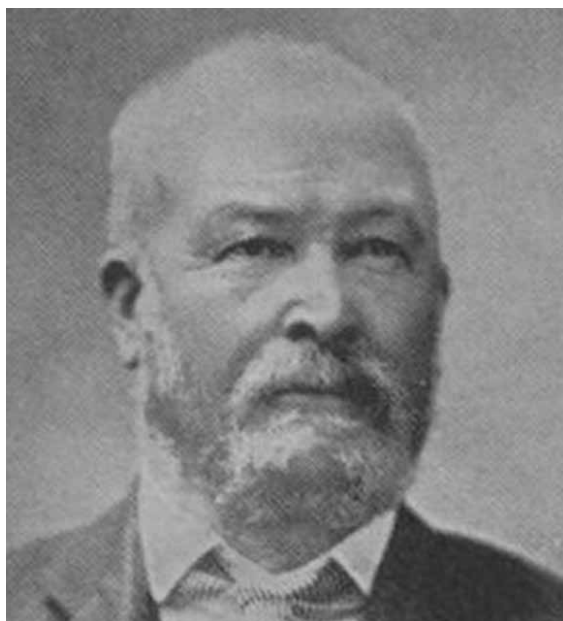
The formation of the National Liberal Federation (NLF) in May 1877 generated one of the most prominent public debates of the 1870s: how to organise a democracy in a new era of mass politics. Created by Joseph Chamberlain and the leaders of the Birmingham Liberal Association, the NLF was intended to be a forum for popularly elected constituency associations. Firstly, it would promote the establishment, across industrial England, of local Liberal associations mirrored on the Birmingham one, the basis of which were ward branches that elected members to a general committee, which would vote on matters such as parliamentary candidates, and an executive committee, which was responsible for the day-to-day running of the organisation. Secondly, the NLF would referee policy debate amongst activists and therefore act, in Chamberlain's words, as a 'Liberal Parliament'.²⁸

The concept of the NLF was attacked by Liberal and Conservative political thinkers, who believed that the introduction of what they felt was machine politics into England would corrupt ideals of representation; namely that an MP should be free to exercise his judgement without sacrificing it to his constituents and that extra-parliamentary movements undermined true parliamentary government. Prominent

Liberal intellectuals who expressed unease at what they felt was the emergence of mass, democratic politics included Henry Maine, Goldwin Smith and Albert Venn Dicey.²⁹ The Liberal MPs Leonard Courtney and John Lubbock, meanwhile, advocated the cause of proportional representation in a bid to limit what they felt was the nefarious influence of constituency organisations.³⁰

Some commentators, such as the Liberal journalist William Fraser Rae, suggested that the Birmingham model mirrored the American 'caucus', a pejorative term used to describe closed-door meetings where unscrupulous party wire-pullers chose a candidate for an election.³¹ This comparison was fiercely rejected by Chamberlain and the historian and Liberal MP James Bryce, who argued that as the American and English political systems were inherently different, any analogies were deeply flawed.³² Chamberlain, though, understood the rhetorical significance of the word, writing that the term 'caucus', because of its association with corruption in American politics, had 'the great merit of being inferentially offensive'.³³ Sure enough, the word was subsequently appropriated by would-be politicians during election campaigns, particularly, though not exclusively, self-styled 'labour' candidates who had been denied the Liberal nomination, in order to paint their opponent as the nominee of dictatorial wire-pullers.³⁴ Anti-caucus rhetoric in the late 1870s and 1880s was also a cultural expression of a candidate's 'manliness'. As recent research has shown, a candidate's refusal to bow to the dictation of the 'caucus' was proof that they behaved in a 'manly' fashion.³⁵

Labour's response to the formation of the NLF was both intellectual and practical. George Howell, in an article titled 'The Caucus System and the Liberal Party', raised the familiar purist objections regarding machine politics substituting discipline for popular force, but his analysis was also coloured by the fear that the rise of the caucus would irrevocably damage the cause of labour representation in parliament. For Howell, the caucus system meant entrenching the power of candidate selection in those who paid the association's



expenses.³⁶ His views were echoed by the radical journalist Lloyd Jones, who felt that those who ran the party machine would never select a workman who could not be elected free of expense.³⁷ However, neither Howell nor Lloyd Jones rejected the notion of greater party organisation. For them, party machinery should be used for propaganda purposes: to promote party unity around national concerns, and not accentuate, in Howell's words, 'petty local ambitions'.³⁸

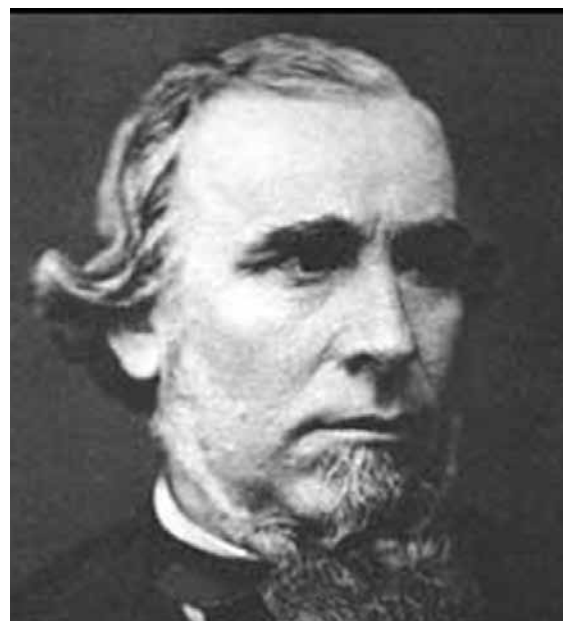
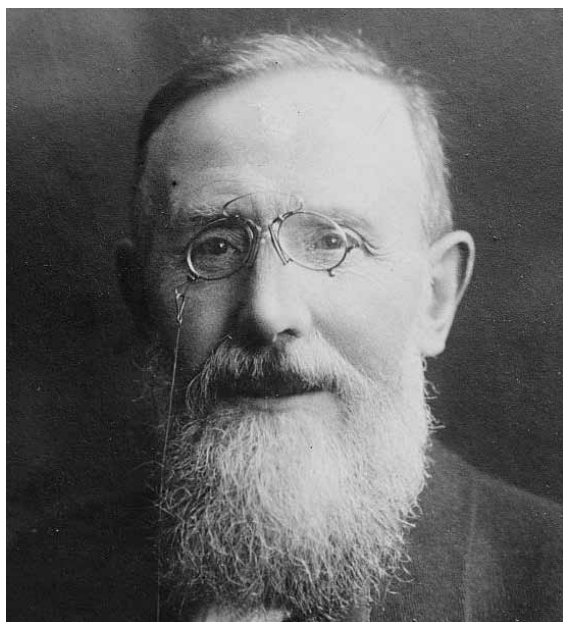
Chamberlain, and the NLF's secretary, the seasoned political organiser Francis Schnadhorst, insisted that the working classes could join their local Liberal association and have a voice in the choice of candidate.³⁹ Yet, it was one thing for workers to join an association and quite another for them to sit on its executive and influence its direction. The majority of workers had neither the time nor the money to do this. This was evident by the derisory number of working-class delegates that were sent to the NLF annual meetings in its early years.⁴⁰ The participation of working-class women in the NLF and its affiliated branches was certainly limited. By the early 1880s women's Liberal associations had been established in a number of towns, most notably Birmingham, Bristol, York and Darlington, and there were already forty in existence when the Women's Liberal Federation was formed in 1887.⁴¹ But working-class women, like their male counterparts, did not have the time or resources to take up leading positions, and the agenda of the women's Liberal associations tended to reflect middle-class preoccupations such as local government reform and education.⁴² Moreover, although figures like Chamberlain and Schnadhorst championed working-class involvement in these new model associations, the independence of local organisations remained. According to Robert Spence Watson, president of the NLF from 1890 to 1902, 'it was made abundantly clear that the independence of local organisations would not be interfered with'.⁴³ In 1892, the Liberal chief whip Herbert Gladstone echoed this interpretation, writing that 'constituencies and their local managers are infinitely sensitive over advice from headquarters'.⁴⁴

The formation of the NLF therefore did not materially alter the prospects for would-be working-class politicians, though it did precipitate the rise of a distinct anti-caucus rhetoric that helped thwarted working-class candidates express their dissatisfaction at those who ran the local party machine. Significantly, prominent labour activists, such as George Howell, did not reject the necessity for party organisation, reflecting a pragmatic approach that became evident at the 1885 general election.

Lib-Labs and the 1885 general election

What arguably had a greater impact than the NLF on how working-class 'labour' candidates and the managers of organised Liberalism shared and negotiated power was the 1885 Redistribution Act, which created new single-member constituencies. Existing Liberal organisations were split into divisional ones, strengthening the identification between the local party association and the chosen candidate. Labour activists were generally positive towards the Redistribution Act. They supported the theory that constituencies would be divided so as to enable particular industries to send a Member to the Commons and they welcomed the abolition of double-member seats, believing that they had given the caucus greater opportunity to manipulate and regiment votes.⁴⁵

With the LRL having effectively ceased to exist by the end of the 1870s due to chronic lack of finances, there had been little coordinated effort by labour activists at the 1880 general election. Burt and Macdonald held their seats, while Henry Broadhurst came in for Stoke-on-Trent. The only other two working-class candidates were the former cabinetmaker Benjamin Lucraft, who finished bottom of the poll at Tower Hamlets, and Joseph Arch, the leader of the 'agricultural labourers', who was defeated at Wilton.⁴⁶ The creation of new single-member constituencies, however, along with the 1884 Reform Act, which extended the male householder franchise to the countryside, created new opportunities for working-class candidates to broker deals with Liberal associations.



In Durham, for example, upon the county being split into eight-single member divisions, the powerful Durham Miners' Association not only selected three candidates with an agreed annual salary of £500, but also reserved three constituencies for them, a decision that was readily accepted by the Durham Liberal Association, who were left to choose candidates for the remaining five seats. In this context, the Durham Miners' Association effectively became the leadership of local organised Liberalism, and in 1885 William Crawford, the miners' leader, and John Wilson, secretary of the Miners' Political Reform Association, were returned for Mid-Durham and Houghton-le-Spring respectively.⁴⁷

A separate tactic that had been used with some degree of success at municipal and school board elections was that labour candidates would garner the support of local working-men's clubs and associations, and use it as leverage when dealing with the local Liberal association. In Birmingham, for example, in the 1870s, the brass workers' leader John William Davis had united the city's working-class radicals into a local Labour Party, and with this organisation behind him, he was able, in negotiations with Schnadhorst and Chamberlain, to secure a certain number of working-class candidates on the shortlists produced by the Birmingham Liberal Association.⁴⁸ At the 1885 general election George Howell, standing for the new constituency of Bethnal Green North East, used this strategy. First, he secured the backing of the popular Bethnal Green Radical Club. The club then informed the leaders of the Bethnal Green Liberal Association that they would instruct their members to support the middle-class Liberal candidate in the south-west division on the condition that the Liberal Association backed Howell in the north-east. A bargain was struck, and after Howell's expenses were covered by donations from Liberal sympathisers, he was elected.⁴⁹ It's important to note, though, that the local political environment facilitated Howell's electoral strategy. London had a vibrant network of radical clubs that traditionally operated outside of Liberal bodies, and Howell was able to tap into this resource.⁵⁰ This

was not the case, for example, in Hull, where the independent working-class candidate, Neiles Billany, had the backing of only a nascent radical club that had little leverage with the local Liberal association, which swiftly rejected him.⁵¹

In total, twelve labour candidates who had been endorsed by a Liberal association were returned at the 1885 general election. They later become known as Lib-Labs. The progress that organised labour made under the stewardship of these men has played a large part in establishing the current orthodoxy of a largely untroubled alliance between working-class radicalism and the Liberals.⁵² However, this unity inside the walls of the Commons was not reflected in certain constituencies in England, particularly when the broader Lib-Lab movement was in direct competition with official Liberalism. For example, at Chesterfield at the 1885 general election, James Haslam, the secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association and a member of the Clay Cross Polling District Liberal Association, was the very epitome of Lib-Labism, yet he was rejected by the Chesterfield Liberal Association in favour of Alfred Barnes, a local colliery owner.⁵³ Haslam, who was funded by his miners, continued his campaign, despite the best efforts of the Chesterfield Liberals, who persistently canvassed Barnes' employees and banned Haslam from addressing 'Liberal gatherings'.⁵⁴ Haslam ultimately lost, but he polled nearly 2,000 votes, meaning that the wider Lib-Lab movement had delivered a significant rebuke to organised Liberalism.

There could also be tensions between Lib-Labism and organised labour. In county Durham, the neat electoral compact between the Lib-Lab leadership of the miners' association and local Liberalism was challenged by the wider labour movement. At Chester-le-Street, Lloyd Jones ran as an independent labour candidate against the local colliery owner James Joicey, arguing that the selection of a mine owner was a blow against the 'labour interest in Parliament'.⁵⁵ At Jarrow, meanwhile, the engineer James Johnston opposed the local shipowner Sir Charles Palmer, on the basis that Palmer's views did not represent those of the division's

working-class electorate.⁵⁶ Both Lloyd Jones and Johnston were defeated, but the high number of votes they received underlined the fact that even where the links between trade unionism and organised Liberalism were strong, disputes over candidate selection could quickly expose the tensions between the Lib-Lab movement and organised labour.

Given such instances of localised tension, it is clear that there was a diversity of responses from the labour movement towards organised Liberalism. It is therefore inadvisable to give a one-size-fits-all picture of the relationship between labour candidates and the Liberal Party in this period. Moreover, it is also the case that there was more than one road to becoming a working-class politician. The example of William Rolley is particularly relevant here. Born in Sheffield and apprenticed as a steel maker, Rolley was initially the archetypal Lib-Lab activist. President of the TUC in 1874, he was elected as a Liberal to the Sheffield school board and helped establish the Sheffield Labour Electoral Association. After failing to gain the Liberal nomination for the Attercliffe division in 1885, however, he became disillusioned with the leaders of local organised Liberalism. Hurt that his efforts on behalf of local Liberalism had not been recognised and believing that, in his words, 'the working classes were likely to get as much from the Tories as from the Liberals', he became a Conservative in 1888 and thereafter championed their legislative efforts on behalf of the labour interest.⁵⁷ Rejection by organised Liberalism could therefore have the opposite effect to pushing candidates towards independent labour representation: there was not simply a binary choice between the Liberal Party and independent labour.

Left: Lib-Labs – Henry Broadhurst (1840–1911; MP 1885–92, 1894–1906); Thomas Burt (1837–1922; MP 1874–1918); Alexander Macdonald (1821–81; MP 1874–81)

Conclusion

The period between 1868 and 1885 was clearly a significant one for the relationship between the labour movement and the Liberal Party. The franchise revolution of 1867, which gave the vote to 30 per cent of working men, ushered in a new era of mass politics. The two main political parties responded by introducing new forms of local

party machinery in an attempt to control an expanded electorate, and it is within this context that the labour movement's relationship with the Liberals needs to be understood. The ability of working-class candidates to secure the Liberal nomination was contingent on the local political environment and it is therefore inadvisable to give a one-size-fits-all picture of the relationship between the labour movement and local Liberal associations. A conclusion that can be drawn from the contests discussed above, though, is that evidence of brokered deals between working-class candidates and Liberal associations at local and national elections demonstrates that labour had direct personal experience of the power that party organisation could yield for both good and evil. There was therefore a pragmatic, pro-organisational strand to labour's political culture in the third-quarter of the nineteenth century.

When working-class candidates were rejected by what became known as the Liberal 'caucus', they subsequently made a distinction between the middle-class managers running the local party machine, whom they vociferously attacked, and advanced Liberal MPs at Westminster, whose values they supported. Nonetheless, the continuing impotence of the national party leadership to intervene in constituency matters raised the question of whether the Liberals would ever fully support the cause of labour, even when Lib-Labs sat in parliament. This predicament caused the labour movement to continually re-evaluate its identity as a political group in relation to the Liberals. The stream of self-styled 'labour' candidates putting themselves forward against Liberals was symptomatic of this continual process of re-evaluation and therefore reflected fault lines in the relationship between working-class labour activists and the Liberal Party that the current scholarly orthodoxy overlooks.

Dr James Owen is a Research Fellow for the History of Parliament's House of Commons, 1832–1945, project. His book, Labour and the Caucus: working-class radicalism and organised Liberalism in England, 1868–1888 (Liverpool University Press, 2014) is now available – see advert on page 2.

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LIBERAL HISTORY QUIZ 2014

The 2014 Liberal history quiz was a feature of the History Group’s exhibition stand at the Liberal Democrat conference in Glasgow last October; the questions were (mostly) drawn from our new booklet *Liberal Thinkers*. The winner, with a rather impressive 20 marks out of 20, was Iain Sharpe. We also included anyone answering at least five questions correctly in a draw for a second prize: the winner was Alan Sherwell. Below we reprint the questions – the answers are on page 29.

- Which work by John Stuart Mill serves as the symbol of office of the President of the Liberal Democrats?
- Which liberal thinker was MP for Berwick-on-Tweed from 1944 to 1945?
- Which thinker and writer on the role of the state and capitalism had an SDP think-tank named after him?
- Which liberal thinker’s head is stored in a fridge?
- Which champion of civil liberties and religious toleration served as Foreign Secretary under three different prime ministers?
- Which liberal thinker is said to have gone straight from the declaration of the poll, when he was elected town councillor, to lecture on Kant’s *The Critique of Pure Reason*?
- Which great advocate of land reform and taxation ran as the United Labor Party candidate for mayor of New York in 1886 coming second but beating the Republican hopeful, Theodore Roosevelt, into third place?
- She was a radical, feminist thinker; her daughter wrote one of the most enduring horror stories in the English language. Who were they?
- Where is the ‘Rights of Man’ pub, and why is it there?
- John Stuart Mill, who wrote books, was defeated in the 1868 general election by his Tory opponent, who sold books. Who was his opponent?
- Who wrote after the 1929 election that he was ‘sorry that the Liberals did not get more seats, as I think (I know it’s blasphemy) they carry more brains to the square inch than Labour’?
- Which Liberal thinker held office under Oliver Cromwell’s government, having responsibility for dealing with all foreign correspondence?
- Which book is generally acknowledged as the only feminist classic written by a male author?
- The philosopher Bertrand Russell once said that: ‘Every time I argued with XX, I felt I was taking my life in my hands’. Who was XX?
- In what work did a liberal thinker call for ‘the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties’?
- Who, in the 1830s, argued that ‘women’s minds are degenerated by habits of dependence’ caused by marriage, and called for the education of women and also for the right of divorce ‘without any reason assigned’?
- Which liberal thinker wrote in 1776: ‘There is no art which one government sooner learns of another than that of draining money from the pockets of the people?’
- What was the name of the organisation founded in 1953, principally under the influence of Elliott Dodds, which aimed to produce the first full-scale publication on the attitudes and policies of British Liberalism since the ‘Yellow Book’?
- Which husband-and-wife team of liberal thinkers concentrated in their work upon the effects and costs of the decline of the traditional village and the rise of industry?
- Which much-loved Liberal Democrat, it is argued in his entry in the *Dictionary of Liberal Thought*, ‘helped to make the party feel good about itself’?