

the Liberal Party divided, so did the Land Taxers. In the 1918 election, of the fourteen pre-war MPs most closely associated with the movement, four received the 'coupon', eight stood as Asquithians, one as an independent Liberal, and one, Wedgwood, as an Independent.<sup>36</sup>

Although there were later attempts to tax land value, most notably in Philip Snowden's budget of 1931, never again was George's Single Tax taken as a serious political idea in Britain. The movement shrank to insignificance as differences over the war fractured its membership and as the costs of the war, both financial and in terms of personal liberty, undermined their arguments and marginalised their policies. Without big government and a wide tax base, Britain would not have won the war. There was to be no return to small government.

*Paul Mulvey is a Ph.D. student at the London School of Economics, researching the life and political career of Josiah Clement Wedgwood, 1872–1943.*

1 Avner Offer, *Property and Politics 1870–1914*, (Cambridge, 1981), p.161.

- 2 Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, (London, 1908), p.288.
- 3 Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing, 1957), p.122.
- 4 Offer, pp.317–18.
- 5 Josiah C. Wedgwood, *Memoirs of a Fighting Life*, (London, 1940), p.67.
- 6 Sadie Ward, *Land Reform in England 1880–1914*, unpublished PhD thesis (Reading University, 1976), pp.552–53.
- 7 Quoted in G.R. Geiger, *The Philosophy of Henry George* (Grand Forks, Dakota, 1931), p.174, according to Ursula Vogel, 'The Land Question: A Liberal Theory of Communal Property', *History Workshop*, (1989), vol.27, pp.106–35, 129.
- 8 Wedgwood, *Memoirs*, p.60.
- 9 See Francis Neilson, *My Life in Two Worlds, vol.1 1867–1915 & vol.2 1915–1952*, (Appleton, Wisconsin, 1952), p.241 & p.248 and Francis Neilson, 'What Progress and Poverty did for me', *American Journal of Economics & Sociology*, vol.14 [1], (1954), p.214 and J.C. and Ethel Wedgwood, *The Road to Freedom and what lies Beyond*, (London, 1913), p.35. First published in *The Open Road*, 1912.
- 10 Hanley Library, JCW Newscuttings, volume 1, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 11 February 1914.
- 11 *The Times*, 8 October 1912, p.8, col. D.
- 12 Ward, pp.491–92.
- 13 *Land Values*, May 1909, p.232.
- 14 Ward, p.497; though the sceptical *Daily Mail* estimated the numbers around the speakers' platforms at a more modest 36–39,000, Hanley Library, JCW Newscuttings, volume 1, *Daily Mail*, 26 July [1909].
- 15 *Land Values*, July 1910, p.26.
- 16 *ibid.*, p.37.
- 17 Ward, p.513.
- 18 *Land Values*, June 1911, p.1.
- 19 Wedgwood, *Memoirs*, pp.83–84.
- 20 *The Times*, 9 July 1912, p.8, col.B.
- 21 *ibid.*, 12 July 1912, p.11, col. D and 13 July 1912, p.10, col. D.
- 22 *Land Values*, August 1912, p.98.
- 23 *The Times*, 15 July 1912, p.7, col. B.
- 24 Parliamentary Debates, Fifth series, Vol.28, col.s 1549–50, 25 July 1911.
- 25 *Land Values*, August 1912, p.139.
- 26 Kinloch Papers 1/31, Wedgwood Correspondence, Ethel Wedgwood to J.L. Kinloch, 30 August 1912.
- 27 H.V. Emy, 'The Land Campaign: Lloyd George as a Social Reformer, 1909–14', in A.J.P. Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (London, 1971), pp.48.
- 28 Roy Douglas, *Land, People and Politics* (London, 1976), p.158.
- 29 *Land Values*, November 1912, p.262.
- 30 *ibid.*, November 1913, p.229.
- 31 Hanley Library, JCW Newscuttings, volume 1, *Manchester Guardian*, letter to the editor, 13 November 1913.
- 32 *Forward*, 27 December 1913, p.1, col. E. – To include the abolition of game laws, site value rating, State purchase of all land valued at less than ten pounds an acre, and free use of the poorest land
- 33 A minority report from the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation in March and the Urban Report of the Land Enquiry in April also supported the idea.
- 34 Bruce K. Murray, 'Battered and Shattered: Lloyd George and the 1914 Budget fiasco', *Albion*, vol. 23[3], (1991), p.495.
- 35 Bentley B. Gilbert, 'David Lloyd George: the reform of British land holding and the Budget of 1914', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 21[1], (1978), p.141.
- 36 Douglas, p.172.

# Archive Sources

## University of Bristol Library

By M. T. Richardson

The Liberal Party collections at the University of Bristol Library originate from the acquisition in 1976 of the Gladstone Library of the National Liberal Club.

The Club was founded in 1883 to focus political energies in an era of widening political involvement and, from the earliest days, it was intended to develop at the Club a political and historical library, a fitting tribute to the national services of one of the most

bookish of British statesmen. Surviving collections demonstrate that the founders' enthusiasm was channelled effectively and imaginatively into the creation of a library addressing not only matters of historical record but also current political issues, an aim shared by its custodians today. Thus the collection of the election addresses of candidates in London County Council and general elections began in 1889 and 1892 respectively. The series of

LCC addresses covers elections until 1913, with the exception of 1910, and records, *inter alia*, the early involvement of women in the political process.

General election coverage continues to the present day. Every declared candidate is requested to submit to the Library an address and any other supporting material thought suitable. In addition, the Library attempts to garner a full range of party manifestos. A similar tradition has developed in the

monitoring of the UK elections to the European Parliament and the recent Scottish and Welsh elections were covered as well. Some retrospective but piecemeal acquisition of election ephemera, chiefly posters and handbills, went on at the Gladstone Library and this tradition is also honoured in Bristol. The earliest material is a substantial collection of posters and bills from the Durham County election of 1820, in which the Whig interest was triumphant and small caches survive for Plymouth (1846–47); Bristol (1868); and Shaftesbury (1880). One group of papers charts the involvement of the Stanton family in the Stroud constituency and includes election materials dating from 1847 through to 1880.

An early start was made at the Gladstone Library in the accumulation of pamphlet literature. Much came from the library of Charles Bradlaugh (1833–91), the freethinker and ‘member for India’. To date well over 28,000 records have been added to the University of Bristol Library’s catalogue, thanks to grants from the Higher Education Funding Council for England and the Research Support Libraries Programme. These records include over 1,800 items issued by the Liberal Party Publication Department. The Department’s annual accumulation of publications, the *Pamphlets and Leaflets* series, has been catalogued item by item from 1888 until 1914. As yet the annual volumes for the period 1915–30 have not been so catalogued but some pamphlets from the period have survived separately and have been entered on the catalogue. Naturally, the Library holds other important serials issued by the Publication Department, including the *Liberal Magazine* (1893–1949); the *Liberal Yearbook* (1887–88, 1905–17, 1919–39); and the *Liberal Agent* (1896–1916, 1919–29). The online catalogue is freely available at: [www.lib.bris.ac.uk/ALEPH](http://www.lib.bris.ac.uk/ALEPH).

In 1991 a substantial part of the archive of the National Liberal Club itself was returned to the Club on permanent loan. The University Library has retained materials principally

relating to the proceedings of the Cobden Club, the Eighty Club and the Political and Economic Circle. Documents concerning Liberalism beyond the confines of the Club have remained in Bristol and have been augmented through the good offices of local and national associations and interested individuals.

Thanks to a magnanimous gesture on the part of the British Library of Political and Economic Science, in transferring Minute Book 1 of the Liberal Central Association to Bristol, there now exists a run of the minutes of this body from 1860, at the very beginning of the Liberal Party, through to 1914. Other national bodies for which minute books have survived in the collection include the Liberal Council (Executive Committee, 1927–39); the Liberal Social Council (Committee, 1926–30 and 1934–38, and Executive Committee, 1914–26 and 1947–63, in incomplete form); the National League of Young Liberals (Executive Committee, 1964–71, General Purposes Committee, 1965–68, and Joint Political Planning Committee with the Union of Liberal Students, 1957–68); and the Union of Liberal Students (Executive Committee, 1964–68).

The Women’s Liberal Federation has generously deposited its archive, a major collection, including Executive Committee minutes (1910–12 and 1949–88), agendas for Council, correspondence, and many of its publications. The National Liberal Federation is represented through the printed proceedings of its council, 1879–1939, and the correspondence of its galvanic secretary, Francis Schnadhorst (1840–1900), in the form of copies of letters apparently prepared for a publication which never saw the light of day. Resolutions, memoranda and other papers of the Liberal Party Organisation Executive it is thought have survived routine disposal in the case of a single decade, 1950–60, and have been sorted roughly under such headings as constituency and parliamentary strategy, trade unions, and Commonwealth and colonial affairs.

Looking to the provincial presence of Liberalism, the Association of

Liberal Councillors has given papers covering not only the operation of the association but also a formidable record of local party publications in the period 1974–88. These papers are complemented by a presentation from the Yorkshire Region of the Liberal Party of records from the 1980s. In the Bristol region the Bristol West Liberal Democrats papers, relating to the Liberals and the Social Democrats from the 1960s through to the ’90s were deposited as recently as July 2000 but under a rule of thirty years’ closure from the date of creation of each document. The focus of the collection is local government. They have joined the minute books and ledgers of the Western Counties Liberal Federation (1922–67). Among the remaining small collections originating in local associations mention should be made of an album of letters and postcards from the Accrington Liberal Association (1838–1925).

Caches of personal papers housed in the library include letters of Charles Geake, head of the Liberal Publication Department; Sir Geoffrey Le Mesurier Mander, MP for Wolverhampton East; James White, MP for Brighton; and Alfred Austin, the poet laureate. There are political papers (approximately 1949–62) belonging to Derick Mirfin, who was involved with the Union of University Liberal Societies and there is a substantial collection of letters to Jane Cobden Unwin, accompanied by pamphlets and ephemera, covering the period 1880 to 1939. The chief subjects are Irish independence, Eastern Europe, anti-slavery agitation and the Aborigines Protection Society.

An overview of the Liberal and other holdings of the Special Collections Department of the University Library may be consulted at [www.bris.ac.uk/is/services](http://www.bris.ac.uk/is/services). These holdings are made available to all, subject to appointment and the production of proof of identity. The hours of opening are 9.15–6.45 Monday to Wednesday; 9.45–6.45 on Thursdays and 9.15–4.45 on Fridays. The Department is located in the Arts and Social Sciences Library, Tyndall Avenue, Bristol, BS8 1TJ.