

## REVIEWS

celebrities, the press was more careful to wait for the incontrovertible evidence of court cases before indulging in the pleasures of prurience. Hartington's discretion allowed his public career to continue untarnished by scandal. Louise married her second duke in 1892, after the death of her first husband and Hartington's father. Once officially established as a couple, Louise was able to entertain on a grand scale at Devonshire House in London and at Chatsworth, most spectacularly during the celebrations for the Queen's silver jubilee in 1897. The age of the salon had passed but Louise was thought to have helped push Hartington in a conservative direction and to have kept him engaged in politics despite his distaste for the infighting.

So why is Hartington so neglected? Gruff, offhand, unpunctual, careless of his personal appearance, though with a nice line in self-deprecatory humour, his public persona was too austere to command adulation rather than just respect. Goschen once described Hartington as 'a moderate man, a violently moderate man' but it is the charismatic personalities like Gladstone or the men of exceptional ideas like Chamberlain who command attention from posterity rather than the safe pair of hands and the 'might-have-been' premiers.

In addition, Hartington has not been fortunate in his biographies. The two-volume tombstone by Bernard Holland was published too close to his death to allow a full approach to his private life. The only modern life, prior to Vane's, was, self-consciously, a political life only.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, Henry Vane has clearly concentrated on the social life. While we must be grateful that this redresses the balance, it has its own disadvantages. Judging from the way in which Vane drags in most of the social embarrassments that surrounded the Prince of Wales, there is insufficient material on the Devonshires for their lives to stand

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on their own, which is a disappointment as the Duchess in particular appears to be a character whose political influence should be further investigated.

More importantly, the significance of the Duke of Devonshire is essentially political. Outside politics, what did he accomplish? If he had been only a hunting, shooting and fishing duke who restored the family fortunes, we would no doubt be pleased that we can still enjoy the treasures of Chatsworth and the pleasures of Eastbourne but nothing more. Consequently Vane cannot stick to his intentions; politics keeps surfacing. But his concern to

return to the social means that the issues are over-simplified, particularly in the way that he feels obliged to take the Duke's side in all the quarrels which divided the statesmen of the Victorian and Edwardian periods. For readers of the *Journal* that must be frustrating, and a challenge for a historian to bring us a balanced life of one of the finest of the last generation of Whigs.

*Tony Little is Chair of the Liberal Democrat History Group.*

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Jackson, *Last of The Whigs: Political Biography of Lord Hartington, Later Eighth Duke of Devonshire (1833–1908)* (Fairleigh Dickinson, 1994).

# ARCHIVES

## The Beveridge archives at the LSE Library

by Sue Donnelly

William Henry Beveridge was born in 1879 and educated at Charterhouse and Balliol College, Oxford. He was Sub-warden of Toynbee Hall between 1903 and 1905, before becoming a leader writer for the *Morning Post* from 1905, where he wrote on social problems. He joined the civil service in 1908 and entered the Board of Trade. He was the Director of Labour Exchanges 1909–16, and he was a leading authority on unemployment and social security, authoring *Unemployment: a Problem of Industry* in 1909 (revised 1930), a pioneering study of the labour market's complexity. He helped draw up the 1909 Labour Exchanges Act and part ii of the 1911 National Insurance Act, the latter introducing unemployment insurance for two and a quarter million workers in the heavy industries.

In 1919, he became Director of the London School of Economics,

a period often described as a second foundation of the School. It was a period of tremendous growth, and Beveridge's directorship was responsible for the School's recognition during the 1930s as one of the world's leading social science centres. He was a central figure in the sheltering of the 'refugee scholars' displaced by Nazi oppression in the 1930s; the Academic Assistance Council was established as a result of his initiative. He resigned the directorship in 1937, taking up the Mastership of University College, Oxford before joining the government in 1940. In 1944 he became the Liberal MP for Berwick-upon-Tweed, and after the loss of his seat in 1945 he served as a Liberal peer in the House of Lords.

His most famous contribution to society is the Beveridge Report (officially, the *Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services*) of 1942, the basis of the 1945–51 Labour government's legislative

programme for social reform. Beveridge saw full employment as the pivot of the social welfare programme he expressed in the report, and *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1944) expressed how this goal might be gained. Alternative measures for achieving it included Keynesian-style fiscal regulation, direct control of manpower, and state control of the means of production.

The impetus behind Beveridge's thinking was social justice, and the creation of an ideal new society after the war. He believed that the discovery of objective socio-economic laws could solve the problems of society. He was critical of shortcomings in social legislation after 1945, and his *Voluntary Action* (1948) defended the role of the private sector in the provision of social welfare. In later years Beveridge devoted himself to a history of prices, the first volume of which, *Prices and Wages in England from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century*, had been published in 1939. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1937.

### Scope and content of the collection

Personal papers of William Henry Beveridge, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Beveridge of Tuggal, and his family, [1880]–1963, comprising the following.

- Family and personal papers, 1869–1963, including genealogical material; correspondence, books and royalty statements relating to the work of Beveridge's parents, Annette Susannah and Henry Beveridge, 1901–59; papers concerning Beveridge's education, 1891–1903; personal ephemera including birthday cards, programmes, academic notes, and invitations, [1884]–1961; personal

diaries, 1903–05, 1929–34, 1949–52, 1959 and 1961; engagement diaries, 1933–61; material relating to grants and degrees, 1916–61, notably honorary degrees, the KCB and his barony; papers concerning household affairs, 1906–63; personal financial papers, such as personal account ledger, 1907–20, income tax papers, 1907–61, correspondence, bills, receipts and insurance papers, 1903–62; photographs of family and friends, 1884–1958.

- Correspondence, 1883–1963, including Beveridge family letters and letters to and from friends and colleagues.
- Papers relating to unemployment and labour exchanges, 1902–60, notably material of the Mansion House Unemployed Fund, 1904–05, the London Unemployed Fund, 1904–05, and the Central (Unemployed) Body for London, 1905–08; correspondence, notes and statistics concerning unemployment insurance and labour exchanges in Germany, 1907, and Britain, 1908; notice and syllabus of lectures by Beveridge on 'The economics of unemployment', 1908; material relating to the publication of *Unemployment: a Problem of Industry* (Longmans and Co, London 1909), 1907–34, notably correspondence with Longmans, royalty payments, reviews, and notes and drafts relating to later editions; papers relating to his work at the Board of Trade, 1908–60, including correspondence and memoranda concerning juvenile employment, 1910–11, reports and speeches concerning labour exchanges in Ireland, 1910–19, and Ghent, Belgium, 1913–14, and various memoranda on the working of labour exchanges, 1915–16; material concerning the unemployment insurance scheme, 1907–44, including memoranda and drafts, reports, statistics, committee minutes, press cuttings and Beveridge's notes about unemployment insurance by industries and casual labour; working notes and correspondence for *Insurance for All and Everything* (*Daily News*, London, 1924); Ministry of Labour reports, notes and memoranda on unemployment insurance, 1910–29; Government Acts, reports and publications on unemployment, 1902–30.
- Papers relating to Beveridge's work during World War One, 1914–21, including material relating to the Ministry of Munitions, 1915–16, such as correspondence, memoranda and reports on manpower problems, and memoranda concerning the history and activities of the Ministry; papers of the Manpower Distribution Board, 1916; material relating to post-war reconstruction, including schemes for demobilisation, and papers relating to the post-war prospects of trades and industries; correspondence, minutes, memoranda and reports created by the Ministry of Food, 1916–21, on subjects including food rationing, family budgets, and the staffing of the Ministry.
- Material collated during Beveridge's time as Director of the London School of Economics, 1895–58, notably correspondence with Sir

Arthur Herbert Drummond Ramsay Steel-Maitland, Chairman of Governors, 1924–25; memoranda and correspondence mainly relating to LSE prizes and scholarships, 1924–52; Director's reports, 1924–37; lecture notes and texts of speeches, 1920–37; programmes, 1920–37; correspondence relating to his resignation from LSE, 1936–37; correspondence and papers concerning his role as a member of the Senate of the University of London, 1923–58, notably papers relating to the purchase of the Bloomsbury site, 1923–33.

- Papers relating to Beveridge's post as Master of University College, Oxford University, 1937–62, including correspondence and reports concerning the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, the Institute of Statistics, and Nuffield College.
- Material relating to politics, 1943–63, including correspondence, speeches, press cuttings, and reports created whilst MP for Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1944–45; papers concerning the general election of 1945, mainly comprising pamphlets, election addresses, press cuttings and correspondence from candidates, constituents, and the Berwick Division Liberal Association; Beveridge's speech notes and *Hansard* extracts from parliamentary debates in the House of Lords, 1946–63, on subjects mainly related to welfare, unemployment, and economics; papers concerning the Liberal Party Organisation, 1945–62, including correspondence with the LPO and

# LIBERALS AND ORGANISED LABOUR

The loss of the support of organised labour during the late Victorian and Edwardian period was a key factor in the decline of the Liberal Party as an electoral force. Once this confidence in the party was gone, the Liberals never got it back and trade union and labour issues have never since had the highest priority in Liberal politics. Our speakers will examine why and how organised labour broke away from supporting the Liberal Party, and its impact on the Liberal vote.

Speakers: **David Powell** (Head of the History Programme, York St John College; author of *British Politics and the Labour Question, 1868–1990*) and **Keith Laybourn** (Professor of History, Huddersfield University; author of *Liberalism and the Rise of Labour, 1890–1918*). Chair: **Alan Sherwell** (chair, Liberal Democrat policy working group on employment and trade unions).

**8.00pm Friday 4th March 2005**

Charter Suite, Moat House Hotel, Harrogate

Please note that due to increased conference security, only those with conference photo-badges will be able to attend. For those only wishing to attend fringe meetings, registration is free, but is limited to Liberal Democrat party members; and please allow time to register and pick up your badge at the Conference Centre in Harrogate.

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- other Liberal organisations.
  - Material concerning other interests and activities of Beveridge, 1920–62, notably papers relating to the health services, pensions, and old age; New Towns, including material on the Peterlee Development Corporation and the Newton Aycliffe Development Corporation; traffic and preservation problems in Oxford; population and fertility, including articles, pamphlets and correspondence; weather periodicity; world government and peace aims, 1944–62, including minutes and correspondence of the Crusade for World Government, Britain in Europe Ltd, the European–Atlantic Group, the Federal Educational and Research Trust, the Federal Union, One World Trust, the Parliamentary Group for World Government, the World Parliament Association, and the United Nations; correspondence and other papers relating to broadcasting and television.
  - Papers created during the writing of reports, 1925–50, including the report of the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, 1925–30; the report of the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee, 1934–44; the report of the Sub-Committee of Committee of Imperial Defence on Food Rationing, 1936–37; report of the Manpower Survey, 1940, and Committee on Skilled Men in the Services, 1941; report of the Fuel Rationing Enquiry, 1942; report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services (Beveridge Report), 1941–45; report on Social Insurance, 1924, 1941–51; report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1951.
  - Material relating to publications, 1901–63, including manuscripts of books, pamphlets and articles, correspondence with publishers, royalty statements, working notes, research papers and memoranda; reviews, letters to the press and obituaries, 1909–62; texts of lectures, speeches and broadcasts, 1901–63.
  - Papers concerning working visits abroad, 1918–61, to Austria (the Inter-Allied Commission on Relief of German Aus- tria), Canada, the USA, Germany, France, India, Spain, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, mainly comprising correspondence, diaries, lecture notes, press cuttings and photographs.
  - Press cuttings, 1870–63, including *Morning Post* leaders written by Beveridge, 1905–08, and cuttings concerning his death.
  - Miscellaneous material, including inventories of papers in the Beveridge collection.
- To gain access to the collection, please contact the Archives Division, 10 Portugal Street, London, WC2A 2HD, 020 7405 7223; [document@lse.ac.uk](mailto:document@lse.ac.uk).