

**Pressing for Reform:  
The New Liberalism, the New Journalism and Emotion in Edwardian  
Liberal Newspapers**

**Susanne Christina Stoddart**

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Department of History

Royal Holloway, University of London

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## **Declaration of Authorship**

I, Susanne Stoddart hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date:

## Abstract

This thesis explores the representation of the Edwardian new Liberalism and emotion in seven Liberal supporting newspapers. By utilising the burgeoning field of the history of emotion it makes a fresh contribution to our understanding of the new Liberalism, Edwardian political gender identities and the newspapers as historical sources. The main source base is the content of the seven newspapers, which reflect a good range in terms of readership, strength of partisanship and reputation.

Between 1906 and 1914 the new Liberal government paved the way for a more socially active state by passing welfare reforms and reducing the House of Lords' power to obstruct legislation. Acknowledging that emotions are culturally defined and can provide a lens for exploring political power and social status, this thesis uncovers details about new Liberal relationships negotiated between groups including: the House of Lords and the democracy; the Liberals and Conservatives, plus the emerging Labour Party; the state and the welfare recipient; and the welfare recipient, their family and the wider community. Considerable flexibility in these relationships is highlighted. The role and importance accorded to the liberal values of individualism, collectivism, liberty and morality depended upon factors including the newspaper and the relationship or reform in question. Evoking emotions such as anger, shame and gratitude, the communication of the new Liberalism was also both influenced by, and impacting upon, gender identities at all levels, from politicians to welfare recipients. Analysing the newspapers' use of emotion, at the centre of this thesis is a reassessment of the press polarisation argument that was taking shape by the Edwardian period, distinguishing between the rational debate and sensationalism presented in elite and popular publications respectively. The individual newspapers are investigated as complex 'emotional communities' that all utilised popular features of the new journalism, such as political cartoons and human-interest stories, to harness (often rational) emotions and communicate serious political messages.

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## *Chapter One*

### **Introduction**

In dealing ... with the psychology of the newspaper, it is clear that we must first look to the psychology of the people. Mill thought that one of the chief signs of the coming democracy was the growth of the “Collective Will”. Perhaps the force of which our later generation is more conscious is the working of the “Collective Impulse”. Great masses of men, herded in towns, have seen not only a rapid shrinkage of the physical earth, but an immense, though shallow, emotional surface laid bare to them mainly by means of the popular press. A huge, flat surface of humanity has suddenly been made sensitive and opened to a multitude of new impressions ... If the new journalism has not wrung the neck of the old, its sensationalism, its liveliness of tone, the far greater variety of its subjects, its untiring organisation of pleasurable and amusing facts ... have drawn a large public away from its rival.

**Henry W. Massingham, ‘The Modern Press and Its Public’, *Contemporary Review*, October 1910, p. 416.**

#### **I**

#### **Context**

In response to concerns about the prevalence of poverty during the 1880s, collectivism emerged as a major influence in British political thought. This ideology was championed by a range of middle-class intellectuals, future politicians and journalists, such as Henry W. Massingham, whose words are presented above. Loosely connected through forward-thinking discussion forums such as the Rainbow Circle (formed in 1893), the diverse group broadly supported a shift away from the *laissez-faire* self-help philosophy of the old or classical liberalism. They advocated greater state intervention to address the social conditions of the masses.<sup>1</sup> This theory of advanced liberalism – increasingly termed the ‘new liberalism’ by contemporaries – was put into

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Freedon, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford, 1978); Sandra den Otter, “Thinking in Communities”: Late Nineteenth-Century Liberals, Idealists and the Retrieval of Community’, *Parliamentary History* 16 (1997), pp. 67-84; Alison Holmes, ‘The Development of the New Liberalism as a Philosophy of transition’, *Journal of Liberal History*, 54 (2007), pp. 22-29. Collectivism did also influence Conservative Party thought. See Ewen Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914* (London, 1995), pp. 159-162.

practice to some extent by the Edwardian Liberal government in power between 1906 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.<sup>2</sup> Key advocates of the new Liberalism within the government, including Herbert Asquith (Prime Minister from 1908), David Lloyd George (Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1908) and Winston Churchill (President of the Board of Trade from 1908), paved the way for the development of a more socially active state in modern Britain. They passed a range of social reform measures including the Old Age Pensions Act (1908) and the National Insurance Act (1911). They also reduced the powers of the reactionary and largely Conservative House of Lords to veto reform legislation. They received a mandate to implement this change by retaining power during two general elections in January and December 1910.<sup>3</sup>

Prominent new liberal theorists, including sociologist L.T. Hobhouse and economist J.A. Hobson, sought to reconcile the shift towards collectivism with the individualism characteristic of the old liberalism, distinguishing it from socialism, by propounding the organic view of society. This organic conception was borrowed and adapted from the English school of Idealism, which developed from the 1870s by philosophers including T.H. Green. The organic view emphasised that the progress of individuals in society was only truly possible if it did not conflict with the wider harmony. Despite the status of John Stuart Mill as the pre-eminent exponent of the mid-Victorian classical liberalism, his work was also an important influence on the new liberals.<sup>4</sup> Hobhouse argued in the classic Edwardian tract on *Liberalism* that Mill bridged ‘the interval between the old and the new Liberalism’: his ‘method is to show that the permanent welfare of the public is bound up with the rights of the individual’. Hobhouse explained that community cooperation was ‘the persistent impulse of the rational being’.<sup>5</sup> The concern with establishing strong social bonds and a common commitment to mutual care was also reflected in the call by new liberal theorist and politician

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<sup>2</sup> The Edwardian period technically spans the reign of King Edward VII between January 1901 and his death in May 1910. However, historians frequently extend the Edwardian period to cover the four years prior to Britain’s entry into the First World War, in August 1914. The idea of the ‘long Edwardian period’ (1901-1914) is used in this thesis because it provides a more useful and convenient historical periodisation.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1971); H.V. Emy, *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics, 1892-1914* (Cambridge, 1973); Ian Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics, 1905-1915* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 77-86, 142-160.

<sup>4</sup> Freedman, *New Liberalism*, pp. 42-60; Avital Simhony and David Weinstein (eds.), *The New Liberalism: Reconciling Liberty and Community* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> L.T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (London, 1911), p. 130.

Herbert Samuel for, 'the unity of society – complex in its economic, cooperative, ethnic and emotional ties'.<sup>6</sup>

As Michael Freedon explains, new liberal theories at the turn of the twentieth century provide a pertinent example to challenge the assumption that emotion and sentiment cannot exist alongside reason in a rational liberal discourse. Rather, the new liberal concern with 'group dynamics' necessitated a 'mixture of rational and emotive ties, sustaining social groups and giving them a sense of purpose', establishing 'emotion as a rich and creative force in political life'. Yet as Freedon reminds us, the turn of the century 'approval of sociable sentiments' by this group of new liberal theorists was coupled with their condemnation of 'the pervasiveness of unruly fervour in group conduct'.<sup>7</sup> New liberals frequently acknowledged a considerable distance between their collective, rational emotional ideal and what they perceived to be the actual situation. As Hobhouse conceded, to 'move towards harmony' was a valid ideal, 'even if the goal lies always beyond the reach of accomplished effort'.<sup>8</sup> The above extract from Massingham's 1910 article for the *Contemporary Review* perfectly captures the coarse division that new liberals often put forward between their ideal 'Collective Will' and the reality of the irrational 'Collective Impulse'.

Massingham's critique of the rise of the commonly termed 'new journalism', heralding the decline of the mid-Victorian liberal, rational and educational press, was characteristic of the new liberal ascribing of blame to the commercialised popular press for the construction, or at least the encouragement, of the 'Collective Impulse'.<sup>9</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, the new journalistic formula was most commonly associated with the lively and sensationalist tone pioneered in the popular Conservative halfpenny daily press by Alfred Harmsworth (founder of the *Daily Mail* in 1896) and Arthur Pearson

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<sup>6</sup> Herbert Samuel, '6 November 1895', in Michael Freedon (ed.), *Minutes of the Rainbow Circle, 1894-1924* (London, 1989), p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Freedon, 'Liberal Passions: Reason and Emotion in Late- and Post-Victorian Liberal Thought', in Peter Ghosh and Lawrence Goldman (eds.), *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 144, 149.

<sup>8</sup> Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> This critique was intensified during the South African Boer War (1899-1902). J.A. Hobson explained that the jingoistic Conservative newspapers appealed to the 'sensational cravings' and 'general nervous strain' of the mass electorate to create support for the war. The newspapers' main motivation, Hobson argued, was that the war was being fought to protect the South African mining interests of wealthy press proprietors in Britain. See his *Psychology of Jingoism* (London, 1901), pp. 8, 14. For a recent reassessment of this critique, see Simon Potter, 'Jingoism, Public Opinion, and The New Imperialism', *Media History*, 20:1 (2014), pp. 34-50.

(founder of the *Daily Express* in 1900). Following the passage of the 1870 Education Act, this journalism was identified as appealing to the lower middle classes and to the increasingly literate working classes, many of whom could now also vote under the Third Reform Act of 1884.<sup>10</sup> There was a perceived dumbing-down of serious political content, with the newspapers instead providing entertainment, sensationalism and frivolity in order to secure large sales figures and to attract lucrative advertising deals.<sup>11</sup> Critics complained that the newspapers had become ‘mere ministers to the passions of the people’,<sup>12</sup> with journalists of the halfpenny press taking up the role of ‘trained psychologists’.<sup>13</sup>

As highlighted by Massingham’s 1910 critique, concerns about the nature of the press, appealing to the emotions and the sensations rather than to rationality, did not cease when the Liberal Party returned to power in 1906. Also, importantly, it is not the case that the criticism was limited to discussions about Conservative newspapers. In his key 1913 text on the *Influence of the Press*, journalist and literary critic R.A. Scott-James referred to the ‘extraordinary significance’ of the fact that the *Daily Mail* was now embracing a ‘comparatively sober tone ... on the immediate questions of the day’. The newspaper was rejecting ‘sheer sensationalism’ and ‘adopting a policy of decency from which some of its rivals are receding’. Indeed, Scott-James referred to the ‘conjuring tricks’ of many Liberal newspapers in a chapter entitled, ‘The Secretly Commercial Press’.<sup>14</sup> Even the *Daily News*, with the esteemed A.G. Gardiner as editor, developed an ambivalent reputation, having reduced its price to a halfpenny in 1904 to compete in the more populist market. As one critic noted, the *Daily News*’s ‘policy is highly sentimental’: ‘it somehow fails to exclude this tinge of feeling from its presentation of news ... and some people hold this to be a serious journalistic fault’.<sup>15</sup> Another critic noted the

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<sup>10</sup> The Third Reform Act of 1884 expanded the electorate to 5.6 million men out of a population of 36 million. Two-thirds of English and Welsh men, three-fifths of Scottish men, and half of Irish men now had a vote. See Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, 2012), p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> Adrian Bingham, ‘Ignoring the First Draft of History? Searching for the Popular Press in Studies of Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Media History*, 18:3-4 (2012), p. 313; Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana, 2004), pp. 36-37.

<sup>12</sup> W.E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom: Vol. 2* (London, 1903), p. 584.

<sup>13</sup> Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (London, 1908), p. 184.

<sup>14</sup> R.A. Scott-James, *The Influence of the Press* (London, 1913), pp. 237-253.

<sup>15</sup> G. Binney Dibblee, *The Newspaper* (London, 1913), p. 178.

popular *Star's* 'scare-heads' and 'tendency to "scream"'.<sup>16</sup> The *News of the World* was the so-called 'Bad Boy of Alsatia',<sup>17</sup> while the halfpenny *Daily Chronicle* had crossed over to 'the more meretricious side of journalism'.<sup>18</sup> Robert Spence Watson, the president of the National Liberal Federation (NLF), complained of the Liberal press in 1900 that, 'the papers are so bad, so many of whom [sic] I respect have gone wrong and grown unfair'.<sup>19</sup> As Prime Minister, Asquith was overheard at a cabinet meeting delivering the damning verdict that the Liberal press was 'written by boobies for boobies'.<sup>20</sup>

Massingham's own career path within Liberal publications – he moved from editor of the *Star* (1890-1891), to editor of the *Daily Chronicle* (1895-1899), to editor of the weekly *Nation* (the rechristened *Speaker*) in 1907 – reflected the reading and writing patterns of many new liberals at the turn of the twentieth century operating within the 'Massingham network'.<sup>21</sup> They considered that Liberal-supporting daily newspapers, trying to remain viable in competitive markets geared towards entertainment, could not be relied upon to promote the new liberalism while upholding the classical liberal educational purpose of journalism.<sup>22</sup> The critics may have acknowledged that the newspapers were 'Liberal', but they did not consider many of them to be 'liberal'.<sup>23</sup> They often urged the necessity of turning towards the serious weekly periodicals of informed opinion. In late-1906, John Brunner, the proprietor of the *Speaker*, assessed the potential suitability of Massingham as the *Speaker's* new editor (at this point Massingham was a contributor on the *Daily News*). Brunner acknowledged that, 'many of his friends say that a considerable change has come

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<sup>16</sup> J.D. Symon, *The Press and Its Story* (London, 1914), p. 153.

<sup>17</sup> R.D. Blumenfeld, *The Press in My Time* (London, 1933), p. 161.

<sup>18</sup> W.J. Fisher, 'The Liberal Press and The Liberal Party', *Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1904, p. 204.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Spence Watson to Lord Ripon, 30 March 1900, quoted in Alan Lee, 'The Radical Press', in A.J.A. Morris (ed.), *Edwardian Radicalism, 1900-1914: Some Aspects of British Radicalism* (London, 1974), p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Hobhouse, '17 July 1912', in Edward David (ed.), *Inside Asquith's Cabinet: From the Diaries of Charles Hobhouse* (New York, 1977), p. 118.

<sup>21</sup> Alfred Havighurst, *Radical Journalist: H.W. Massingham, 1860-1924* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 1-6; Jock Macleod, *Literature, Journalism, and the Vocabularies of Liberalism: Politics and Letters, 1886-1916* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 19-59.

<sup>22</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', p. 48; Mark Hampton, 'The Political Cartoon as Educationalist Journalism: David Low's Portrayal of Mass Unemployment in Interwar Britain', *Journalism Studies*, 14:5 (2013), pp. 682-683.

<sup>23</sup> This thesis uses the capitalised 'Liberalism' and 'Liberal' in connection with more direct discussions about the formal Liberal Party. The non-capitalised 'liberalism' and 'liberal' are used broadly to refer to liberal ideologies and attitudes.

over him lately, and there seems no doubt now that he wishes to leave the daily press, and the more personal aspects of journalism, and write in a weekly paper in a calmer and more reflective style'.<sup>24</sup> Identified by Edwardian Liberal politician Hilaire Belloc as the only genuinely 'Free Press',<sup>25</sup> the weekly periodicals sought to influence policy makers rather than to sway potential voters.<sup>26</sup> The press critics constructed a lasting perceived polarisation between commercialised popular publications and the declining elite educationalist publications, before the tabloidization of quality journalism in the 1990s.<sup>27</sup> To sway voters via the popular press, Massingham explained in his 1910 article, involved providing 'a sharp, shallow impression' – 'the kind of appeal that will just last out an election, or yield interesting material for half a dozen issues'.<sup>28</sup> In his recent exploration of Edwardian popular politics, Jon Lawrence largely supported Massingham's view, identifying the Liberal *Daily Chronicle* as an important site where the general election of January 1910 was fought in a particularly vulgar and sensationalist manner.<sup>29</sup>

## II Thesis Rationale

This thesis explores the representation of emotion and the new Liberalism, when it was implemented by the Edwardian Liberal government between 1906 and 1914, in seven Liberal supporting newspapers. The main source base for this thesis is the content of the seven Liberal newspapers, which were selected to reflect a good range in terms of factors including readership, strength of partisanship and reputation. The publications are: two national daily newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*; two national evening newspapers, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Star*; one Sunday newspaper, the *News of the World*; and two provincial newspapers, the *Manchester Guardian* and the

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<sup>24</sup> John Brunner to C.P Scott, 28 December 1906, Scott Papers, Reel 9, 127/65, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>25</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *The Free Press* (London, 1918), pp. 81-83.

<sup>26</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> Mark Hampton, 'Renewing the Liberal Tradition: The Press and Public Discussion in Twentieth-Century Britain', in Michael Bailey (ed.), *Narrating Media History* (Abingdon, 2009), p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> Massingham, 'Modern Press', p. 419.

<sup>29</sup> Jon Lawrence, *Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair* (Oxford, 2009), p. 80.

*Northern Echo*. The emotional representations in the more populist Liberal newspapers are compared with those provided in the Liberal newspapers aimed at the political and social elite (the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Westminster Gazette* and, arguably, the *Daily News*), which largely maintained a good reputation during the Edwardian period, to consider whether the emergence of polarisations are justifiable.

James Thompson observes that historians exploring popular politics at the turn of the twentieth century have adopted a dismissive ‘tendency to equate conceptions of public opinion with attitudes to the press’.<sup>30</sup> Adrian Bingham explains that, until recent years, there has been, ‘a widespread perception that popular newspapers are predictable, trivial, unsophisticated ... and prone to episodes of irrational sensationalism – and therefore rarely worthy of sustained scholarly attention’.<sup>31</sup> Blending together three fields of historical research – the ‘history of journalism’, the ‘history of emotion’ and the ‘new political history’ – this thesis shifts away from attitudes and perceptions about the rise of the new journalism promoting an increasingly sensationalist, even irrational popular press, which have heavily influenced the histories (or, indeed, the lack of histories) addressing popular politics and the popular press until more recently. This thesis instead illustrates how utilising the burgeoning field of the history of emotion, exploring the role and significance of emotion in the Liberal newspapers through a more analytical and a less dismissive and out-dated lens, can make an important contribution to our understanding of the Liberal newspapers as historical sources. This approach can also offer fresh insights into the nature of the Edwardian new Liberalism. Emotional standards are often closely related to gender,<sup>32</sup> and political rights and expectations were inextricably linked to gender during the Edwardian period.<sup>33</sup> The Liberal newspapers’ negotiation of ideas surrounding masculinity and femininity within the context of

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<sup>30</sup> James Thompson, *British Political Culture and the Idea of ‘Public Opinion’, 1867-1914* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Bingham, ‘First Draft’, pp. 311-312.

<sup>32</sup> Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns note that, the dominant emotional codes ‘of a society may set norms for men and women ... important in their effect on perceptions of proper behavior’. See their ‘Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards’, *American Historical Review*, 90:4 (1985), p. 827.

<sup>33</sup> Most notably, women were excluded from the vote until their partial enfranchisement in 1918. For an overview of Edwardian gender politics, see Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London, 1999), Chapters 10 and 11.

emotion and the new Liberalism is therefore the major sub-theme explored in this thesis. ‘Gender history’ has already developed as a fruitful avenue of enquiry in recent decades for historians working within the fields of the history of journalism, the history of emotion and the new political history.<sup>34</sup> The next three sections of this chapter provide relevant historiographical and methodological explorations, and the final three sections outline the sources, arguments and structure adopted in this thesis.

### III The History of Journalism

Press historians have conventionally argued that the newspaper industry entered a liberal ‘golden age’ c.1850-1880, free from state interference and financial restraints as the so-called ‘taxes on knowledge’ were removed.<sup>35</sup> The press was elevated as a ‘fourth estate’: an educational channel of communication through which critical, rational political debate could be freely articulated and democratic decision-making could be facilitated,<sup>36</sup> helping ‘to shape a public’.<sup>37</sup> Alan Lee has positioned this ‘liberal narrative’ of press history within the broader context of mid-century liberal discourse – focussed upon free trade and moral improvement.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> For discussions of the incorporation of gender within the three fields, see Adrian Bingham, ‘Reading Newspapers: Cultural Histories of the Popular Press in Modern Britain’, *History Compass*, 10:2 (2012), pp. 143-144; Susan Matt, ‘Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out’, *Emotion Review*, 3:1 (2011), pp. 117-123; Amanda Vickery, ‘Introduction’, in her *Women, Privilege, and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 1-55; Matthew McCormack, ‘Introduction’, in his *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 1-11.

<sup>35</sup> 1853, 1855 and 1861 saw the removal of advertising, stamp and paper duties, established from 1712 following the introduction of the first English daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant*, in 1702. The taxes had made newspapers an expensive commodity, severely restricting their content and growth. See Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Essex, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> D.G Boyce, ‘The Fourth Estate: A Reappraisal of a Concept’, in D. Boyce, J. Curran and G. Wingate (eds.), *Newspaper History: From the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present Day* (London, 1978), pp. 19-40; Hampton, *Visions*, Chapter 3.

<sup>37</sup> Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth Century England* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 202.

<sup>38</sup> Alan Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press, 1855-1914* (London, 1976), pp. 21-35. James Curran presented media history as a series of competing ‘narratives’ in: *Media and Power* (London, 2002), Chapter 1.

Broadly adhering to German social philosopher Jurgen Habermas's thesis on the structural transformation of the public sphere,<sup>39</sup> the 'radical narrative' of press history has seen the 1880s as a distinct watershed, as the golden age gave way to the processes of commercialisation and depoliticisation. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, popular newspapers were criticised for providing entertainment and sensationalism rather than serious news, and were deplored for their inaccuracy, excessiveness and frivolity. Influenced by innovations trialled in the American press, as well as having their roots in the mid-century Sunday press, (the first mass-market newspapers in Britain), the new journalism incorporated bold headlines, high levels of sport and crime reporting, human-interest stories, women's pages, celebrity gossip columns, cartoons and easily digested news snippets.<sup>40</sup> There was a perceived irreconcilable antagonism between commercialisation and popular newspapers that espoused liberal and leftist values, forcing them to dumb-down their political content to remain economically viable. Radical newspapers were perceived as unattractive to advertisers because their readers were not purchasers, and because they existed to oppose excessive consumerism, drawing attention to how the working classes were exploited by capitalism.<sup>41</sup>

Even in Stephen Koss's authoritative exploration of the political press in modern Britain, the resilient radical framework governing his study was suggested in the title: *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press: Vol. 1, The Nineteenth Century; Vol. 2, The Twentieth Century*. The focus of Koss's work was often upon exploring the ideological viewpoints espoused by editors and proprietors in private archives, as opposed to how they were (or were not) translated onto the pages of their newspapers on an everyday basis beyond the more formalised editorials. This institutional focus is also often reflected in

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<sup>39</sup> Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, 1989), esp. p. 203. Original work published 1962.

<sup>40</sup> Hampton, *Visions*, Chapter 4; John Goodbody, 'The *Star*: Its Role in the Rise of the New Journalism', in Joel Wiener (ed.), *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (London, 1988), pp. 143-60.

<sup>41</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (London, 1997), p. 5; Julian Petley, 'What Fourth Estate?', in Bailey (ed.), *Narrating Media*, pp. 186-188.

other older histories that explored the Edwardian Liberal newspapers,<sup>42</sup> which are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this thesis. They were often more preoccupied with interrogating the newspapers' close relationships with Liberal politicians, particularly David Lloyd George (potentially undermining the newspapers' liberal credentials as facilitators of critical debate).<sup>43</sup> This approach has led to simplified assessments of the newspapers: Ian Packer, for example, summarised that, 'in effect the Liberal Press was an extension of the party and far less trouble than its Unionist counterpart'.<sup>44</sup>

However, motivated by the 'cultural turn', and the acknowledgement that socio-political identities are often linguistic constructions, scholars have recently begun to reassess the value of newspaper language and content as a historical source, particularly within the context of the popular press.<sup>45</sup> Martin Conboy notes that newspaper discourses are 'vital and dynamic', rather than representing 'passive vessels for information'.<sup>46</sup> Rigorous examinations of newspaper content have helped to complicate the reductive radical narrative of press history.<sup>47</sup> Rather than mourning the decline of the radical press, James Curran has suggested that a "'reformist" narrative of media development', accounting for the 'media's involvement in progressive change' into the twentieth century, aiding the construction of the welfare state, should be interrogated.<sup>48</sup> Also, Mark Hampton has identified the continuation of an evolved liberal narrative of press history in the twentieth century. Hampton called for a flexible "'post-radical" liberal narrative of media history', which reconsiders the 'popular' and 'quality' newspaper polarisation thesis.<sup>49</sup> Newspapers should be assessed 'on a case-by-case basis through historical content analysis', which seeks to understand and account for aspects of populism, rather than quickly juxtaposing it with an

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<sup>42</sup> Martin Conboy notes the widespread focus on the institutional perspective until more recently in, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives* (London, 2010), p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> For discussions of the Edwardian Liberal newspapers, see Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: Vol. 2, The Twentieth Century* (London, 1984), Chapters 1-6; Neal Blewett, *The Peers, The Parties and The People: The General Elections of 1910* (London, 1972), pp. 301-312; Lee, 'Radical Press', pp. 47-61.

<sup>44</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 27.

<sup>45</sup> Bingham, 'Reading Newspapers', p. 142.

<sup>46</sup> Conboy, *Language*, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Mark Hampton, 'Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians', in Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier (eds.), *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 20-26.

<sup>48</sup> Curran, 'Narratives', pp. 11, 18-19; Curran and Seaton, *Power*, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Hampton, 'Renewing', p. 30. The polarisation was identified by Jean Chalaby in *The Invention of Journalism* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 167.

idealised liberal narrative. Hampton's discussion also drew attention to methodological issues, noting that 'how one makes sense of elite- and mass-market segmentation depends as much on a scholar's theoretical bend and temperament as it does on any sort of empirical evidence'.<sup>50</sup> Similarly to histories that explore the cultural representation of emotion, or explore political languages, methodological problems also include the measuring of *contemporary* audience response. This issue, and its impact upon this thesis, is discussed in more detail in the sixth section of this chapter addressing 'Thesis Sources'.<sup>51</sup>

Studies by Martin Pugh, Laura Beers and Adrian Bingham, exploring the interwar popular press, have provided practical examples to support Mark Hampton's theoretical discussion surrounding the development of a post-radical liberal narrative. They have convincingly demonstrated that mass-market newspapers with leftist sympathies were able to both survive and to convey their political messages, aiding the growth of the Labour Party to differing extents on the road to 1945. Labour's *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mirror's* left-of-the-centre journalism utilised populist techniques while also informing readers.<sup>52</sup> Hampton notes that the press was 'retreating from its educationalist approach ... in favour of one appealing to emotions as well as rationality'.<sup>53</sup>

Adrian Bingham's research has also helped to reassess the 'feminist narrative' of newspaper history, which, similarly to the radical narrative, considers underlying power structures, and again presents a stark challenge to the liberal idea that the press is an independent force. The feminist narrative argues that the press has remained largely under male control, contributing to the oppression of women.<sup>54</sup> Studying the wide-ranging representations of women in the interwar popular press – and acknowledging elsewhere that 'there has been relatively little substantial research on newspapers' construction of gender in

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<sup>50</sup> Hampton, 'Renewing', p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> See pp. 43-45.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Pugh, 'The Daily Mirror and the Revival of Labour, 1935-1945', *Twentieth Century British History*, 9:3 (1998), pp. 420-438; Laura Beers, 'Education or Manipulation? Labour, Democracy and the Popular Press in Interwar Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 48:1 (2009), pp. 129-152; Laura Beers, *Your Britain: Media and the Making of the Labour Party* (London, 2010), pp. 168-195; Adrian Bingham, 'Representing the People? The *Daily Mirror*, Class and Political Culture in Inter-War Britain', in Laura Beers and Geraint Thomas (eds.), *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain between the Wars* (London, 2012), pp. 109-128.

<sup>53</sup> Hampton, 'Political Cartoon', p. 692.

<sup>54</sup> James Curran, 'Narratives of Media History Revisited', in Bailey (ed.), *Narrating Media*, pp. 5-9.

earlier or later periods' –<sup>55</sup> Bingham revises the standard view that the newspapers were always socially conservative, presenting only images of domesticity, aimed at containing the advances that women made during the First World War.<sup>56</sup> Research drawing attention to women's active resistance to patriarchal domination through the creation of their own publications has also challenged the feminist narrative. Michelle Tusan identifies the women's advocacy press as pivotal to the advancement of women between 1856 and 1930. Tusan's work also challenges the radical narrative, acknowledging that the Edwardian suffragette newspaper, *Votes for Women*, utilised the human-interest story to make important political points surrounding social injustices that could be addressed through the enfranchisement of women.<sup>57</sup>

Other historians have also drawn attention to considerable fluidity between the old and the new journalism during the Edwardian period. James Startt argued that elite newspapers incorporated liveliness and readability while popular newspapers included serious news coverage and analysis.<sup>58</sup> Kate Jackson has explored how the wide range of publications owned by one of the pioneers of the new journalism, George Newnes, combined, to varying degrees, aspects of cultural seriousness and sensationalism. Newnes' publications included the esteemed Liberal *Westminster Gazette* (between 1893 and 1908), as well as the popular *Tit-Bits*.<sup>59</sup> Investigating depictions of war in the Edwardian press, Glenn Wilkinson found that the topic was sensationalised in 'a wide variety of newspapers representing a range of political hues and socio-economic positions in British society'.<sup>60</sup>

The Edwardian period is a pivotal time for tracing interactions between the old and the new journalism because the issue was closely linked to definitions of liberalism. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Edwardian period saw the mainstream definition of liberalism reconfigured and

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<sup>55</sup> Bingham, 'Reading Newspapers', p. 144

<sup>56</sup> Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 2004), p. 247.

<sup>57</sup> Michelle Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana, 2005), p. 159.

<sup>58</sup> James Startt, 'Good Journalism in the Era of the New Journalism: The British Press, 1902-1914', in Weiner (ed.), *Papers*, p. 284.

<sup>59</sup> Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910: Culture and Profit* (Aldershot, 2001).

<sup>60</sup> Glenn Wilkinson, *Depictions and Images of War in Edwardian Newspapers, 1899-1914* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 136-137.

coming to the fore of political debate. There was a shift from a focus upon franchise reform and an appeal to the nonconformist conscience through the regulation of personal conduct (moral reform), to the new liberalism, focussing upon social reform.<sup>61</sup> Mark Hampton's evolved liberal narrative of press history is so compelling because it can seem counterintuitive to analyse the place of liberalism in the twentieth-century newspapers from the rigid perspective of what liberalism meant in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The new liberalism acknowledged the need for greater sympathy and human interest – for the lives and struggles of ordinary people to be recorded, exposed and addressed. As noted by Edward Cohen in his literary study of the late-nineteenth-century *Daily Chronicle*, during this period when the two movements were emerging, 'there was considerable interaction between the "new" liberalism and the "new" journalism'.<sup>63</sup>

It is a curious fact, (interpreted in the following section within the context of contemporary thinking about emotion), that although by the turn of the twentieth century the term 'new journalism' was largely directed as an insult by radical critics at the dumbing-down of political content by the halfpenny press, it was originally associated with the reformist, investigative journalism of William Stead during the 1880s for the esteemed *Liberal Pall Mall Gazette*.<sup>64</sup> Stead utilised the human-interest story and interviews to draw attention to social injustices, including juvenile prostitution and the inadequate housing conditions of the urban poor, with the aim of influencing government policy. Historians such as Harry Schalck have been careful to differentiate the new journalism of Stead from that of Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe from 1905), maintaining

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<sup>61</sup> As Stefan Collini notes, 'the term "radical" itself came to denote ... support for a policy of social reform which was to a greater or lesser extent Collectivist. "Reform" came increasingly to mean "social reform". See Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 42. For an overview of Liberal nonconformity, see Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 97-120.

<sup>62</sup> Michael Freeden notes that flexibility and movement 'sets liberalism aside from most of its ideological rivals, whose declared aspiration is to finalise their control over the political imagination'. See his *Liberal Languages, Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought* (Oxford, 2005), p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Edward Cohen, 'Images of Englishness: The *Daily Chronicle* and 'Proposed Laureates' to Succeed Tennyson', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (ed.), *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 255.

<sup>64</sup> Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (London, 2011), pp. 12-16; Kevin Williams, *Read All About It: A History of the British Newspaper* (Abingdon, 2010), pp. 119-122. For a recent collection on Stead's life and work see, Laurel Brake, Ed King, Roger Luckhurst and James Mussell (eds.), *W.T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary* (Chicago, 2013).

that the 1880s represented a transitional period between the old journalism and the subsequent commercialisation of the press.<sup>65</sup> Rather than signalling the beginning of decline, Stead's work can be viewed as representing the peak of the 'golden age of journalistic professionalism'.<sup>66</sup>

#### IV The History of Emotion

In an article from 1886 William Stead highlighted the vital role of emotion in his crusading journalism, which sought to galvanise public opinion:

Every appeal to the public is a practical confession of a faith that shuts out despair. When there is prayer there is hope. To give utterance to the inarticulate moan of the voiceless is to let light into a dark place; it is almost equivalent to the enfranchisement of a class. A newspaper in this sense is a daily apostle of fraternity, a messenger who bringeth glad tidings of joy ... an engine of social reform and ... a means of government.<sup>67</sup>

Responding in 1887, cultural critic Matthew Arnold both coined the term and provided the classic meaning and denunciation of the 'new journalism'. Arnold's influential critique of Stead's work was centred on a patronising and flippant rejection of the emotion that it sought to evoke:

We have had opportunities of observing a new journalism which a clever and energetic man has lately invented. It has much to recommend it; it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; it's one great fault is that it is *feather-brained* ... Well, the democracy, with abundance of life, movement, sympathy, good instincts, is disposed to be, like this journalism, feather-brained.<sup>68</sup>

Stead and Arnold's public discussion on the use of emotion in journalism provides an important reflection of wider debates and tensions regarding what

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<sup>65</sup> Harry Schalck, 'Fleet Street in the 1880s: The New Journalism', in Wiener (ed.), *Papers*, pp. 73-85.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Bailey, 'The Liberal Narrative: Introduction', in his *Narrating Media*, p. 23; Kate Campbell, 'W.E. Gladstone, W.T. Stead, Matthew Arnold and a New Journalism: Cultural Politics in the 1880s', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 36:1 (2003), p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> W.T. Stead, 'The Future of Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, November 1886, pp. 670-671.

<sup>68</sup> Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, 21 (1887), pp. 638-639.

exactly emotions were, which also reached a crucial stage during the 1880s. Although the word ‘emotion’ had existed in the English language since the seventeenth century, Thomas Dixon notes that, ‘it did not become established as the name for a category of mental states that might be systematically studied until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century’.<sup>69</sup> Dixon argues that when the word took on this meaning it immediately became ‘a keyword in crisis’ because it was over-inclusive. It did not acknowledge the ‘semantic distinction’ developed in Christian theology between ‘affectations’ (intellectual and virtuous) and ‘passions’ (sensory appetites), which had previously broadly structured ideas about morality and the mind for many centuries.<sup>70</sup>

The identification of reason and the entire category of ‘emotion’ as operating in direct opposition was given substantial backing in a seminal 1884 essay by American psychologist William James, entitled ‘What is an Emotion?’ Influenced by the evolutionary work of Herbert Spencer on environmental stimuli and by Charles Darwin on the bodily expression of emotion, James reinforced the importance of bodily activity within the context of emotional experience. James argued that bodily activities, such as smiling or crying, were not voluntary responses nor involved any conscious, intellectual or psychic judgement. James boldly asserted that, ‘my thesis on the contrary is that *the bodily changes follow directly the PERCEPTION of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur IS the emotion*’. James explained that his externalised theory of emotion applied to all ‘moods, affectations and passions’, both ‘harsh and tender alike’, rather than just baser sensations, such as excitement, shock and fear.<sup>71</sup> Although James was not the first nineteenth-century thinker to adopt ‘a passive “sensational” or “feeling” theory of emotion’, he presented it with a ‘clarity and simplicity’, providing it with a ‘lasting fame’:<sup>72</sup> it is ‘the one every student of emotion knows’.<sup>73</sup> James’s emotion theory was

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<sup>69</sup> Thomas Dixon, ‘“Emotion”: The History of a Keyword in Crisis’, *Emotion Review*, 4:4 (2012), p. 338.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 339, 343; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological category* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 244-247.

<sup>71</sup> William James, ‘What is an Emotion?’, *Mind*, 9:34 (1884), pp. 189-190, 194.

<sup>72</sup> Dixon, *Passions*, pp. 204-212.

<sup>73</sup> Robert Solomon, ‘The Politics of Emotion’, in Rebecca Kingston and Leonard Ferry (eds.), *Bringing the Passions Back In: The Emotions in Political Philosophy* (Vancouver, 2008), p. 189. Also see, Claudia Wassmann, ‘“Picturesque Incisiveness”: Explaining the Celebrity of James’s Theory of Emotion’, *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences*, 50:2 (2014), pp. 166-188.

also heavily criticised in the leading psychological and philosophical journals of the period:<sup>74</sup> psychologist H.N. Gardiner, for example, described it as reading more like ‘a good joke than a serious scientific hypothesis’.<sup>75</sup> Thomas Dixon argues that James’s psychology only gained flagship status, as opposed to that of one of the many psychologists who prioritised cognitive factors, in order to elevate the nascent science of the emotions above philosophy and theology, establishing it firmly as a physical science.<sup>76</sup>

When William Stead highlighted the vital role of emotion in journalism in 1886, as outlined at the beginning of this section, he discussed emotions such as hope, which he clearly identified as moral and intellectual decisions, endowed with religious meaning. Stead had contemplated becoming a preacher, like his father, but believed the editorial chair to be the more powerful pulpit, considering the increase in newspaper readership and the decline of church going.<sup>77</sup> Stead explained in another article from 1886 that, ‘it is the fashion, among those who decry the power of the more advanced journalism of the day, to sneer at each fresh development of its power as mere sensationalism. This convenient phrase covers a wonderful lack of thinking’ on the part of the critics.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, in 1887, writing three years after the publication of William James’s influential article, Matthew Arnold responded to Stead by similarly hastily grouping together harsh and tender emotions – both sensations and sympathy – and denouncing them *all* as external impulses working without the aid of intellect: as ‘*feather-brained*’.<sup>79</sup> Spurred on by the rise of commercialisation, Arnold’s influential critique, which he situated within the context of the mass democracy and its newspapers, quickly provided the dominant, dismissive framework governing critics’ discussions surrounding the new journalism’s conjuring of the supposedly fickle realm of the emotions. It was inevitably working in opposition to reason.

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<sup>74</sup> Dixon, *Passions*, pp. 212-217.

<sup>75</sup> H.N. Gardiner, ‘Recent Discussion of Emotion’, *Philosophical Review*, 5 (1896), p. 102.

<sup>76</sup> Dixon, *Passions*, pp. 223, 229. This can be viewed within the wider context of attempts made to professionalise and secularise Victorian science.

<sup>77</sup> Edwin H. Stout, ‘W.T. Stead: A Character Sketch’, in his *A Journalist on Journalism: Being a Series of Articles by W.T. Stead, on Journals and Journalism* (London, 1892), p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> W.T. Stead, ‘Government by Journalism’, *Contemporary Review*, January 1886, p. 670.

<sup>79</sup> Arnold was a close friend of William James’s novelist brother Henry. Arnold and William James also corresponded and shared philosophical affinities. See Donald Stone, *Communications with the Future: Matthew Arnold in Dialogue* (Michigan, 1997), Chapter 5.

William James's understanding of emotion continued to assert more than a speculative influence upon critics of the press into the twentieth century. In his 1910 article discussed at the beginning of this chapter, (which condemned sensationalism in the popular press), Massingham acknowledged an important influence upon his thought. Massingham explained that, 'the modern journalist finds formidable opportunities for showing his skill in what Mr. Graham Wallas calls the "production of emotion and opinion"'.<sup>80</sup> The political views of Wallas were closely linked to those of the new liberals, and he was arguably the founding father of modern political psychology.<sup>81</sup> In the preface to his classic 1908 work on *Human Nature in Politics*, Wallas took the opportunity 'to record here my special obligation' to William James, whose research inspired the author's 'conscious desire to think psychologically about my work as a politician and teacher'.<sup>82</sup> Also influenced by crowd psychology, and its focus upon irrationality, which developed on the Continent during the 1890s, fundamental to Wallas' work was the idea that political decision-making in Britain's mass democracy was governed by transitory subconscious processes, the senses and instincts.<sup>83</sup> Wallas explained that the emotional impact of a newspaper's 'vague fog of journalistic phrases, the half-conscious impulses of old habit and new suspicion' were 'produced at once'; 'but when the paper has been read the emotional effect fades rapidly away'. Wallas continued, 'any candidate at an election feels for this reason the strangeness of the conditions under which, what Professor James calls the "pungent sense of effective reality", reaches or fails to reach mankind, in a civilisation based upon newspapers'.<sup>84</sup>

The crude division established between reason and emotion, consolidated during the 1880s, not only heavily influenced critics' approach to the popular press and popular politics at the turn of the twentieth century – it also broadly structured wider historiographical explorations of emotion throughout the first

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<sup>80</sup> Massingham, 'Modern Press', p. 418.

<sup>81</sup> Wallas's political beliefs were linked to moderate socialism and to the Fabians, although his biographer also wrote of his 'passionate commitment to Liberalism'. See Martin J. Weiner, *Between Two Worlds: The Political Thought of Graham Wallas* (Oxford, 1971), p. 49.

<sup>82</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, p. v.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, p. xi; Weiner, *Graham Wallas*, pp. 71-89. Crowd Psychology was popularised by French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (New York, 1896). In crowds, it was considered that individuals were transformed by the collective emotion and lost their reason and will. For a discussion of the 'Le Bon Phenomenon', see J.S. McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob: From Plato to Canetti* (London, 1989), Chapter 7.

<sup>84</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, p. 42.

half of the twentieth century. In 1938 French scholar Lucien Febvre questioned, ‘how can we as historians make use of psychology ... in order to interpret the actions of the men of the past?’,<sup>85</sup> while other European academics, including Johan Huizinga and Norbert Elias, provided major works on this theme.<sup>86</sup> In his classic 1939 work on the *Civilising Process*, Elias tracked how manners and emotional restraint had developed and changed since the late medieval period. Placing intellect, the will and rationality in direct opposition to irrationality and emotion, Elias argued in favour of the rise of an emotional modernity and self-control that progressively curbed emotional spontaneity and crude impulses.<sup>87</sup>

However, within the disciplines of history and philosophy (and reflecting trends in sociology, anthropology, psychology and neuroscience), from the 1970s the work of two American philosophers, Robert Solomon and Martha Nussbaum, has been pivotal for rallying against the idea of a natural antagonism between rationality and emotion. Their cognitive approach, which now represents the dominant understanding of emotion, revived the views in the writings of Aristotle (384-322 BC), Seneca (c. 4 BC-AD 65), Benedict de Spinoza (1632-1677) and David Hume (1711-1776). They used these texts and their authors’ attitudes towards emotion to argue that emotions are active judgements and forms of rational belief rather than mere physiological feelings working against the will. As such, there are limits to how much neurophysiology alone can teach us about human emotion.<sup>88</sup>

As illustrated by Michael Freeden’s study on rational emotion in new liberal thought, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, some scholars have continued to convincingly place histories of political ideas within the context of

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<sup>85</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘History and Psychology’, in Peter Burke (ed.) and trans. K. Folca, *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre* (New York, 1973), p. 5. Original work published 1938.

<sup>86</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996). Original work published 1919; Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 2000). Original work published 1939.

<sup>87</sup> Thomas Scheff, ‘Rationality and Emotion: Homage to Norbert Elias’, in James Coleman and Thomas Fararo (eds.) *Rational Choice Theory: Advocacy and Critique* (London, 1992), pp. 101-117; Thomas Dixon, ‘History in British Tears: Some Reflections on the Anatomy of Modern Emotions’. Lecture Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Netherlands Historical Association, 4 November 2011. Unpublished.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Solomon traces this theory of emotion, developed over almost three decades, in *Not Passion’s Slave: Emotions and Choice* (Oxford, 2007). Also see Martha Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge, 2013).

the vital role that theorists accorded to passion and emotion.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, emotions in history can still be classified as irrational if, for example, when correcting the belief presupposed by an emotion, a person or group failed to change them accordingly, or if they resisted considerations that would normally lead them to correct the belief. Further, an emotion can be classified as inappropriate if, for instance, it was too strong or too weak, or out of balance with other emotions that would be appropriate in that context.<sup>90</sup>

As noted by Susan Matt and Peter Stearns in their 2014 edited collection on *Doing Emotions History*, over the previous two decades the field has become ‘suddenly quite popular’.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, one scholar even suggests that historical research has taken an ‘emotional turn’.<sup>92</sup> Although in 2005 Peter Burke argued that the field lacks coherence in its aims and approaches,<sup>93</sup> some important work on methodology has helped to direct research. In an article from 1985, American psychologists and historians Peter and Carol Stearns coined a new term – ‘emotionology’ – meaning the study of ‘the collective emotional standards of a society’. ‘Emotionologists’ were concerned with how a culture represented particular emotions, paying attention to the ways in which they were valued, dismissed, scientifically defined, and religiously encoded.<sup>94</sup> This research strategy was reflected in Peter Stearns’ work on emotional expression in American history, providing an early illustration of the strong interaction between the history of emotion and gender history. For example, an essay by Stearns was published in 1987 in a seminal edited collection within the then emerging field of the history of masculinity.<sup>95</sup>

However, in an important article from 2002, medieval historian Barbara Rosenwein addressed the limitations of ‘emotionology’. Rosenwein alluded to

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<sup>89</sup> Also, see an edited collection by Rebecca Kingston and Leonard Ferry: *Bringing the Passions Back In: The Emotions in Political Philosophy* (Vancouver, 2008).

<sup>90</sup> Rebecca Kingston and Leonard Ferry, ‘Notes to “Introduction: The Emotions and the History of Political Thought”’, in their *Bringing the Passions*, p. 212.

<sup>91</sup> Susan Matt and Peter Stearns, ‘Introduction’, in their *Doing Emotions History* (Chicago, 2014), p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> Jan Plamper, ‘The History of Emotion: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns’, *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), p. 237.

<sup>93</sup> Peter Burke, ‘Is There a Cultural History of the Emotions?’, in Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills (eds.), *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 35-47.

<sup>94</sup> Stearns and Stearns, ‘Emotionology’, pp. 813-836.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Stearns, ‘Men, Boys and Anger in American Society, 1860-1940’, in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 75-91.

the multiplicity of emotional codes and styles that often existed simultaneously in historical societies. Rather than attempting to uncover a single standard that governed emotional life, Rosenwein argued that historians should instead explore the numerous ‘emotional communities’, each with their own guidelines. Individuals often interacted with different emotional communities or systems of acceptable feeling every day, for example as they moved between their working, social, family, religious and imagined lives and relationships.<sup>96</sup>

Barbara Rosenwein’s concept of multiple emotional communities is reflected in the discussion about the new liberals presented at the beginning of this chapter. On the one hand, new liberals identified in their theoretical work an ideal emotional standard in a progressive collectivist society. Jonathan Rose has considered that the new liberal emotional ideal reflected the wider Edwardian ‘cult of human relations’ as a reaction against the decline of formal religion. Reconciliation was sought between the class-divided people, as captured, for example, in the literary world through E.M. Forster’s famous epigraph, ‘Only connect’, originating from his 1910 masterpiece, *Howards End*.<sup>97</sup> Emerging at the beginning of the twentieth century, dedicated clubs and journals operating within the sphere of self-help ‘practical psychology’ also highlighted the importance of consciousness and the will for personal development.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, (with regard to the multiplicity of emotional communities), new liberals also identified what they perceived to be the deplorable emotional standards of discourse within the popular press. The idea that print publications can be interpreted as constructing emotional communities, (whether perceived as useful or harmful), is suggested in Benedict Anderson’s influential thesis. Anderson argued that the rise of print culture helped to build *Imagined Communities* during the late-eighteenth century.<sup>99</sup> He considered that, through their facilitating of emotional exchanges, allowing people to envision the

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<sup>96</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, ‘Worrying About Emotions in History’, *American Historical Review*, 107:3 (2002), pp. 821-845.

<sup>97</sup> Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament, 1895-1919* (London, 1986), pp. 40-73.

<sup>98</sup> Mathew Thomson, ‘The Popular, the Practical and the Professional: Psychological Identities in Britain, 1901-1950’, in G.C Bunn, A.D. Lovie and G.D Richards (eds.), *Psychology in Britain: Historical Essays and Personal Reflections* (Leicester, 2001), pp. 115-116.

<sup>99</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

invisible bonds of nationhood, print publications aided the development of nationalism.<sup>100</sup>

The increasing importance of the history of emotion to media historians was strongly suggested by David Hendy in his recent discussion of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) inter-war identity and 'emotional community'. Hendy identified 'Biography and the Emotions as a Missing "Narrative" in Media History'.<sup>101</sup> Although scholars have explored the psychological impact of the media, acknowledging that it affects 'how we feel in and about our society',<sup>102</sup> the overwhelming focus has been upon the later-twentieth-century mass entertainment media, particularly upon television and film.<sup>103</sup> Friedrich Ungerer argued that, compared to sources such as private letters, 'newspaper texts are not normally listed among emotional genres'.<sup>104</sup> As noted by Mervi Pantti in 2011, 'the social and cultural study of emotion in news discourse has only recently begun', with the newspapers receiving little sustained attention from this perspective. Pantti discussed the reportage of man-made disasters in the *Times* and the *Daily Mail* between 1930 and 1999 and identified the reported anger of ordinary people as a site for political empowerment. She argued that the standard view that 'more emotion means less journalistic quality in terms of factuality and rational discussion' should be exchanged for a focus 'on the different purposes and political consequences of engaging and generating emotions'.<sup>105</sup>

Indeed, following William Reddy's work on the role of emotion in Revolutionary France,<sup>106</sup> scholars exploring other protest movements have

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<sup>100</sup> Nicole Eustace, 'Emotion and Political Change', in Matt and Stearns (eds.), *Emotions History*, pp. 174-182.

<sup>101</sup> David Hendy, 'Biography and the Emotions as a Missing "Narrative" in Media History: A Case Study of Lance Sieveking and the Early BBC', *Media History*, 18 (2012), pp. 361-378.

<sup>102</sup> Katrin Dovelung, Christian von Scheve and Elly A. Konijn, 'Emotions and the Mass Media: An Interdisciplinary Approach', in their *Routledge Handbook of Emotions and Mass Media* (Abingdon, 2010), p. 2.

<sup>103</sup> Brenton J. Malin, 'Media, Messages, and Emotions', in Matt and Stearns (eds.), *Emotions History*, pp. 184-200; Kristyn Gorton, *Media Audiences: Television, Meaning and Emotion* (Edinburgh, 2009).

<sup>104</sup> Friedrich Ungerer, 'Emotions and Emotional Language in English and German News Stories', in Susanne Niemeier and Rene Dirven (eds.), *The Language of Emotions* (Amsterdam, 1997), p. 307.

<sup>105</sup> Mervi Pantti, 'Disaster News and Public Emotion', in Dovelung, von Scheve and Konijn (eds.), *Mass Media*, pp. 221-222, 234.

<sup>106</sup> William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 1997).

utilised the history of emotion to enhance their understanding of socio-political dynamics over time, opening a window ‘onto changes in the relations *between* people, as well as onto changes *in* people’.<sup>107</sup> While avoiding ‘the overreaction ... that emotions help (and never hurt) protest mobilization and goals’,<sup>108</sup> the field has enhanced historians’ understanding of the construction of collective identities and loyalties, and their relationship to individual motivations. Studying emotion can shed new light on questions of resistance, agency, status and power,<sup>109</sup> because emotions and their expressions are ‘dynamic and mobile, both enacting and reacting to cultural, social, economic and political challenges’.<sup>110</sup> The need for a more nuanced appreciation of newspapers’ use of emotion, as identified by Mervi Pantti, seems particularly pertinent within the context of the Edwardian new Liberalism because rational emotion was viewed as playing a vital role in the ideology.

## V

### The New Liberalism and Edwardian Political Culture

Writing in 1889, L.A. Atherley-Jones – the son of the Chartist leader Ernest Jones – both coined the term ‘The New Liberalism’ and called for the Liberal Party to ‘kindle the enthusiasm of English artisans and labourers’, by securing ‘for our people a wider diffusion of physical comfort’.<sup>111</sup> The 1880s saw a proliferation of publications such as *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), highlighting the need to address urban Britain’s social problems.<sup>112</sup> This was coupled with empirical studies by social investigators such as Charles Booth,

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<sup>107</sup> Cas Wouters, ‘The Slippery Slope and the Emancipation of Emotions’, in Paul Hoggett and Simon Thompson (eds.), *Politics and the Emotions: The Affective Turn in Contemporary Political Studies* (London, 2012), p. 200. Also see Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London, 1989), pp. 1-11.

<sup>108</sup> James Jasper, ‘Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37 (2001), p. 285.

<sup>109</sup> Deborah B. Gould, ‘Passionate Political Processes: Bringing Emotions Back into the Study of Social Movements’, in Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotion* (Lanham, 2004), pp. 157, 173-174.

<sup>110</sup> Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History – Lost and Found* (New York, 2011), p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> L.A. Atherley-Jones, ‘The New Liberalism’, *Nineteenth Century*, 26 (1889), p. 192.

<sup>112</sup> Gareth Steadman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1971), Chapters 11 and 16; Samuel A. Barnett, ‘Sensationalism in Social Reform’, *Nineteenth Century*, February 1886, pp. 280-290.

who found that 30.7% of those surveyed in London were living in poverty.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, the Minority and Majority Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws were published in 1909. While both reports acknowledged that poverty was linked to bad moral character, the Minority Report viewed it as a consequence as opposed to a cause of poverty.<sup>114</sup> However, in an age of mass politics, Atherley-Jones's call for the Liberals to kindle enthusiasm was also a practical suggestion for how the party could refocus following William Gladstone's divisive 1886 conversion to Irish Home Rule. Disgruntled Whigs merged with a small group of radicals (including Joseph Chamberlain) to form the Liberal Unionists, who in turn joined forces with the Conservative Party. The years between 1886 and 1906 saw a Tory monopoly on power, interrupted only once by a brief period of Liberal rule in a minority administration, 1892 to 1895.<sup>115</sup>

Certainly, the factors contributing to the Edwardian Liberal government's introduction of a range of reform measures were numerous, and should be viewed as a mixture of philanthropy and sympathy in addition to pragmatism and strategy. The Liberals needed to accommodate the concerns of the working classes to contain the advances of Labour, following the establishment of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) in 1900. The increasing change of allegiance away from the Liberals by trade unions contributed to Labour's electoral breakthrough of 1906 and the establishment of the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP). Social reform also provided an alternative to the Conservative tariff reform proposal. Tariff reform was packaged from 1903 as a means to reduce unemployment through the use of protective duties, preventing foreign imports from outside of Britain's Empire undermining home industries.<sup>116</sup> Finally, social reform provided an agenda to unite the radical and 'Liberal Imperialist' factions within the Liberal Party, which had been in opposition during the South African Boer War (1899-1902). As debates surrounding the

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<sup>113</sup> Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London: Final Volume* (London, 1902), p. 9. Seebohm Rowntree's study of York found that poverty was also prevalent in Britain's towns: *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1901).

<sup>114</sup> Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 240-241.

<sup>115</sup> For an overview of nineteenth-century Liberalism, see Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (London, 1993). For an overview covering the Liberal rise and fall during the early twentieth century, see G.R. Searle, *The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration, 1886-1929* (Basingstoke, 1992).

<sup>116</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 122, 156-160.

physical deterioration and degeneration of the masses raged in the aftermath of the Boer War, Imperialists broadly supported ‘a constructive policy of social reform’ as ‘a patriotic duty, necessary for the strengthening of the empire’.<sup>117</sup>

The Edwardian new Liberalism has received an enormous amount of attention from historians.<sup>118</sup> The new Liberalism laid the foundations of the welfare state in Britain,<sup>119</sup> and it is also closely linked to one of the most perplexing questions that the political historian of twentieth-century Britain has grappled with. That is, how can the demise of the Liberal Party as a vital force in politics, and its replacement by the Labour Party, consolidated during the inter-war period, be accounted for? J.A. Thompson asserted in 1990 that this area of research was proving so compelling partly because of the ‘ideal battlefield’ that it provided ‘for testing a range of “approaches”, “styles of argument”, and “techniques” ... in the writing of political history’.<sup>120</sup>

The origin of the long-running debates surrounding the Liberal demise can be traced back to George Dangerfield’s lively account of a turbulent Edwardian society, published in 1935. Dangerfield indicated that the pre-First World War years were characterised by major assaults upon the liberal values of peace and progress, including the challenge that the Conservatives and the House of Lords presented to Liberal policy making, and the significant rise in industrial strike action. Heavily influenced by the interwar psychology of Carl Jung, Dangerfield observed that liberal England – violent, frenzied and frivolous – had resembled a man ‘approaching a nervous breakdown’ on the eve of war.<sup>121</sup> Similarly to the directly opposing view, that the Edwardian period was a time of quintessential Englishness – a ‘golden afternoon’ or ‘long garden party’ –<sup>122</sup> the

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<sup>117</sup> H.C.G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Elite* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 69, 293. For an overview of the British Empire during the Edwardian period, and domestic debates surrounding its relative strengths and weaknesses, see Ronald Hyam, ‘The British Empire in the Edwardian Era’, in Judith M. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. IV, The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 47-63.

<sup>118</sup> As noted by Paul Readman: ‘The State of Twentieth-Century British Political History’, *Journal of Policy History* 21:3 (2009), pp. 225-226.

<sup>119</sup> J.R. Hay, *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms, 1906-1914* (London, 1975), pp. 21, 26.

<sup>120</sup> J.A. Thompson, ‘The Historian and the Decline of the Liberal Party’, *Albion*, 22:1 (1990), p. 81.

<sup>121</sup> George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, foreword Peter Stansky (London, 1997), p. 323. Original work published 1935. For a discussion on the impact of Carl Jung’s ‘collective unconscious’ on Dangerfield’s work, see Carolyn White, ‘“The Strange Death of Liberal England” In Its Time’, *Albion*, 17:4 (1985), pp. 439-440.

<sup>122</sup> Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (London, 1968), pp. 2-3.

modern historian views Dangerfield's thesis as an overstatement.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, Dangerfield's provocative comments introduced the theme that would feature prominently in the modern historiography on Liberal decline: a consideration of whether, and the extent to which, the Edwardian period witnessed the inevitable onset of the Liberal demise. Or, conversely, whether the decline should be attributed to the First World War, for the irrevocable divisions constructed between Asquith and Lloyd George, and for the war's undermining of liberal values.<sup>124</sup>

From the 1970s, historians focussing upon the Edwardian period to address Liberal decline engaged in a decades-long historiographical debate. The key point of contention was whether the Edwardian new Liberalism was successful in forging a popular working-class appeal to contain Labour. Two broad schools of thought emerged. The first school, led by Peter Clarke, highlighted the positive impact of the new Liberalism, both in terms of its commitment to social reform and its successful appeal to voters.<sup>125</sup> The opposing sociological view argued that the Edwardian rise of the Labour Party, naturally catering for the interests of the working classes, signalled the inevitable decline of the Liberal Party. The short-term Edwardian revival was thus a final bow.<sup>126</sup>

More recent developments in the field of the 'new political history' have helped to make important revisions to these debates, encouraging a more nuanced understanding of Edwardian Liberalism and the emergence of Labour. Influenced by post-modernism and post-structuralism, developing from the 1970s, the new political history owes much to the life work of Gareth Stedman Jones. Stedman Jones moved away from the identification of class as an ontological reality, to the acknowledgement that social and political identities are unstable.<sup>127</sup> Scholars began to critically question the merits of reductive class-based metanarratives as adequate explanations for party allegiances. They

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<sup>123</sup> David Powell, *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain, 1901-1914* (Hampshire, 1996), pp. 8-9.

<sup>124</sup> Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914-1935* (London, 1966), pp. 18-19.

<sup>125</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*; Peter Clarke, 'The Electoral Position of the Liberal and Labour Parties, 1910-1914', *English Historical Review*, 90:357 (1975); Martin Pugh, 'Liberals in 1906: Flourishing or Doomed? The Optimistic View', *Journal of Liberal History*, 54 (2007), pp. 56-59.

<sup>126</sup> Ross McKibbin, *The Evolution of the British Liberal Party, 1910-1924* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 244-247; David Dutton, 'Flourishing or Doomed? The Pessimistic View', *Journal of Liberal History*, 54 (2007), pp. 54-56.

<sup>127</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 7-8.

instead explored how political identities were consciously constructed and provided with meaning through location specific culture and discourse.<sup>128</sup> This linguistic approach is largely acknowledged as a welcome development; however there is some concern that scholars are tempted to sidestep questions of agency and causation altogether. Although the recurring theme of measuring the contemporary impact of political discourse is undoubtedly an issue, Paul Readman emphasises that, ‘the social and material context of politics should not be lost sight of completely’.<sup>129</sup>

Within the field of the new political history, Duncan Tanner’s influential work illustrated that the growth of the Labour Party was not a natural social progression, but was instead achieved through Labour’s steady but uneven, localised expansion, and through the party’s own construction of a mass electoral appeal.<sup>130</sup> With regard to the Edwardian new Liberalism, some historians have acknowledged that it ‘took the state into areas of its citizens’ lives hitherto avoided’,<sup>131</sup> which ‘renewed many of the conventional boundaries between society and the state’.<sup>132</sup> Contributing to respectable domestic patriarchy, vital importance had long been placed upon independence from the state, not least within the context of campaigning for, and validating, the working-man’s claim to a vote.<sup>133</sup> Despite this, or perhaps because of this, leading new Liberals did not outline the practical boundaries of redefined relationships in ‘an agreed formal statement of its [the party’s] beliefs’.<sup>134</sup> The foundations of the welfare state were laid haphazardly, experimentally and certainly with no blueprint.<sup>135</sup> The new political history, with its focus upon public discourse analysis, has therefore

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<sup>128</sup> Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, ‘Introduction’, in their *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 1-26.

<sup>129</sup> Readman, ‘State’, p. 233. Also see Paul Readman, ‘Speeches’, in Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History* (London, 2009), p. 216; Adrian Jones, ‘Word and Deed: Why a Post-Poststructural History is Needed, and How it Might Look’, *Historical Journal*, 43:2 (2000), pp. 517-541.

<sup>130</sup> Duncan Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>131</sup> Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain, 1870-1997* (London, 1994), p. 125.

<sup>132</sup> Harris, *Private Lives*, p. 205.

<sup>133</sup> Anna Clark, ‘Gender, Class and the Nation: Franchise Reform in England, 1832-1928’, in James Vernon (ed.), *Re-Reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England’s Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 239-240.

<sup>134</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 1.

<sup>135</sup> Martin Pugh, *Lloyd George* (London, 1988), pp. 41-42; David Vincent, *Poor Citizens: The State and the Poor in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London, 1991), pp. 41, 44.

provided an important methodological approach for exploring the subtleties of the new Liberal policies, considering ‘their relationship to definitions of Liberalism’, rather than focussing upon limiting debates surrounding Liberal revival or decline.<sup>136</sup> Reassessing George Bernstein’s earlier view, which questioned the existence of the Edwardian new Liberalism at local levels,<sup>137</sup> Pat Thane, Patricia Lynch and James Moore have considered how the new Liberalism often subtly combined radical issues new and old (such as the campaign against the House of Lords), generating working- and traditional middle-class support.<sup>138</sup>

Similarly to the press historians who have argued against the disappearance of the liberal narrative of newspaper history into the twentieth century, new political histories more widely have stressed the survival of liberalism as a political and economic creed, despite the formal decline of the Liberal Party.<sup>139</sup> A collection by Eugenio Biagini and Alistair Reid traced ‘a substantial continuity in popular radicalism throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century’: a Chartist heritage marking ‘both the popular elements of Gladstonian Liberalism and the radical liberal elements in the early Labour party’.<sup>140</sup> Biagini has questioned how significant the political theory of *laissez-faire* ever was to Victorian Liberalism.<sup>141</sup>

Paul Readman has provided an important assessment of Edwardian Liberal discourse, also contributing to the questioning of how new the new Liberalism really was. Challenging the traditional historiographical consensus, which suggested that the language of patriotism – that is, the love of, or

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<sup>136</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 1.

<sup>137</sup> George Bernstein, ‘Liberalism and the Progressive Alliance in the Constituencies, 1900-1914: Three Case Studies’, *Historical Journal*, 26:3 (1983), pp. 617-640.

<sup>138</sup> Pat Thane, ‘Labour and Local Politics: Radicalism, Democracy, and Social Reform, 1880-1914’, in Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid (eds.), *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour, and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 244-270; Patricia Lynch, *The Liberal Party in Rural England, 1885-1910: Radicalism and Community* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 220-223; James Moore, *The Transformation of Urban Liberalism: Party Politics and Urban Governance in Late-Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 270-271.

<sup>139</sup> Ewen Green and Duncan Tanner, *The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values and the Reception of Economic Debate* (Cambridge, 2011).

<sup>140</sup> Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid, ‘Currents of Radicalism, 1850-1914’, in their *Radicalism*, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Eugenio Biagini, ‘Introduction: Citizenship, Liberty and Community’, in his *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 1996).

attachment to, one's country – was monopolised by the Conservatives from the 1870s,<sup>142</sup> Readman highlighted that 'our understanding of politics is incomplete if we fail to take into account the part played by patriotism' in the forging of Liberal allegiances. The Edwardian Liberals called upon patriotic appeals to attract support for their own policies, such as land reform, and to denounce those of the Tories, such as tariff reform.<sup>143</sup> Readman noted that Liberal discourse surrounding land reform was little influenced by the language of the new liberal collectivist shift to the left, put forward by theorists such as Hobson and Hobhouse. It instead focussed upon traditional patriotic ideas about English liberty and national integration, restoring the freeborn English labourer's right to the land.<sup>144</sup> Miles Taylor, Paul Ward and Alex Windscheffel have also explored the 'politics of patriotism', often presented as a rational discourse, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>145</sup> In line with sociologists' insistence that, with the decline of class as a fixed organising framework, emotion must be considered when investigating political allegiances,<sup>146</sup> this trend suggests the gradual integration of emotion as an important explanatory category in British political history.

As well as highlighting the importance of the 'politics of patriotism' when accounting for the construction of support for parties and policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians have also considered the place of emotion when exploring the wider nature of popular political culture. James Vernon argued that the establishment of the secret ballot, the development of nationwide parties, and the rise of a politicised print press from the 1860s and 1870s meant that popular political participation increasingly occurred 'within the private realm of the home, a setting conducive to rational political debate and

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<sup>142</sup> Hugh Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), pp. 8-33.

<sup>143</sup> Paul Readman, 'The Liberal Party and Patriotism in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 12:3 (2001), p. 272.

<sup>144</sup> Paul Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 210; Paul Readman, 'The Edwardian Land Question', in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds.), *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 190-197.

<sup>145</sup> Miles Taylor, 'John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England, c. 1712-1929', *Past and Present*, 134 (1992), pp. 93-128; Paul Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881-1924* (London, 1998); Alex Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London, 1868-1906* (Woodbridge, 2007).

<sup>146</sup> Nathan Manning and Mary Holmes, 'Political Emotion: A Role for Feelings of Affinity in Citizens' (Dis)Engagement with Electoral Politics', *Sociology* (2013), p. 2; Hoggett and Thompson, 'Introduction', in their *Politics and the Emotions*, pp. 1-19.

thought, unlike the often passionate and emotive public arena of the streets'.<sup>147</sup> Vernon placed rationality and emotion in direct opposition here and subjected the latter to no further discussion about, for example, which emotions specifically were evoked.

Jon Lawrence has vehemently challenged James Vernon's thesis, especially arguing against the perceived 'growing civility and rationalism' of Edwardian popular politics. Lawrence acknowledged that, from the eighteenth century until the invention of the television after the Second World War, 'British elections demanded that politicians, however mighty, should humble themselves before open and often decidedly irreverent meetings of their constituents'. Lawrence did acknowledge that, during the Edwardian period, 'those, such as Lloyd George, whose platform style echoed the sensationalism and populist excesses of the [Liberal] pressure groups', faced increasing criticism from respectable opinion. Texts such as Wallas's hugely influential *Human Nature in Politics* were designed as criticisms of 'present tendencies'. But Lawrence suggests that Wallas's work was often misread as a kind of electoral help-guide on how to go about winning the popular vote, signalling 'a decisive shift towards a more consciously manipulative style of electioneering'. This was exemplified by the *Daily Chronicle's* sensationalist headline during the general election campaign of January 1910, 'Tariff Reform Means Dog Meat', inciting fear about the increased price of food under protectionism.<sup>148</sup>

James Thompson has recently challenged the simple line of descent often drawn in histories of popular politics, 'by joining the dots between the enlightenment, John Stuart Mill and Graham Wallas'. Adopting a position between James Vernon and Jon Lawrence, identifying neither the rational privatisation nor the vulgar sensationalism of popular politics, Thompson acknowledged, 'a complex political culture that remained strongly attached to the virtues of public spirit and civic activism' at the start of the twentieth century.<sup>149</sup> Thompson's language suggests the importance of rational emotions within this political culture, although he did not elaborate on their significance. Thompson's work is reflective of the fact that if the history of emotion is an emerging field

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<sup>147</sup> James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815-1867* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 107, 160.

<sup>148</sup> Lawrence, *Electing*, pp. 5, 71, 80, 89-90.

<sup>149</sup> Thompson, 'Public Opinion', pp. 136, 251.

then the history of British political emotions remains in its infancy, although it has been ‘opened up’ as a site for serious consideration.<sup>150</sup>

## VI Thesis Sources

Exploring the representation of emotion and the new Liberalism in seven Liberal newspapers between 1906 and 1914, the main source base for this thesis is the content of the newspapers, diverse in terms of their readership, reputation and strength of partisanship. The Liberal newspapers provide a vital source base for exploring how debates about any aspect of Edwardian Liberalism were constructed, shaped and circulated because they were the main method of communication with the mass electorate,<sup>151</sup> certainly outside of election campaign periods. During the Edwardian election campaign periods, propaganda was distributed on a large scale by the Liberal Publication Department (LPD) headed by Charles Geake. Yet the influence of Liberal newspaper content upon this material is indicated by the fact that Geake was also the assistant leader-writer on the *Westminster Gazette*, and Francis Carruthers Gould’s cartoons for the newspaper were redistributed on a large scale by the LPD.<sup>152</sup>

This thesis explores emotional representations of the new Liberalism in all sections of the Liberal newspapers, including: editorials, headlines, political reports, fiction stories, human-interest stories, advertisements, women’s columns, correspondences, cartoons and other images. The thesis provides both broader discussions of the seven newspapers as well as more detailed case studies of a smaller number of titles. Although a study integrating some Conservative titles more centrally would potentially be worthwhile in terms of highlighting important comparisons and contrasts with the Liberal titles, this thesis limits its central focus to the seven Liberal newspapers because of space constraints. It is also limited to the Liberal newspapers in order to focus upon providing insights into the relationships and affinities between the Liberal newspapers, and between

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<sup>150</sup> As noted by Matthew McCormack in: ‘Men, “the Public” and Political History’, in his *Public Men*, p. 27. Illustrating the opening up of British political emotions history, see, for example, Travis Crosby, *The Two Mr. Gladstones: A Study in Psychology and History* (London, 1997); Martin Francis, ‘Tears, Tantrums, and Bared Teeth: The Emotional Economy of Three Conservative Prime Ministers, 1951-1963’, *Journal of British Studies*, 41:3 (2002), pp. 354-387.

<sup>151</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 26.

<sup>152</sup> J.A. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics: Vol. 1* (London, 1927), p. 233.

the newspapers and Liberal politicians such as Lloyd George, which, as discussed in the literature review, previous historians of the Edwardian press have identified as extremely important.

Despite the current digitisation process, increasing the accessibility of newspapers to subscribers,<sup>153</sup> only one of the seven newspapers utilised in this thesis – the *Manchester Guardian* – is currently available online, which can be scanned through or searched using a keyword function.<sup>154</sup> The process of scanning the newspaper rather than utilising the keyword search function, where articles are ‘plucked out of their context’, was the favoured approach because it leaves the researcher with a more authentic sense of familiarity with a newspaper, of how it was put together as a whole.<sup>155</sup> Five of the remaining un-indexed newspapers were researched at the former Colindale Newspaper Library from reels of microfilm, while original hard copies of the *Northern Echo* were provided for dates where microfilm versions have not been produced. The speculative nature of the newspaper research was reduced because much of the research for this thesis is focussed upon exploring specific dates or date ranges, such as the two general election campaigns of 1910, as opposed to exploring a single theme over many decades, which was not connected to significant events or key dates.

The seven Liberal newspapers are introduced in detail in Chapter Two. However, it is important to acknowledge here that the majority of the newspapers selected were *national* publications printed in London and distributed around the country via liner trains established during the 1890s: the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Star* and the *News of the World*. The *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle* were the two national Liberal daily newspapers in circulation throughout the entire period between 1906 and 1914 (although the *Daily News* became, officially at least, the *Daily News and Leader* in 1912 when it absorbed the Liberal *Morning Leader*). The *Westminster Gazette* and the *Star* were the two national evening Liberal newspapers in circulation throughout the entire period. The *Sunday News of the World* has been

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<sup>153</sup> For a discussion of this process, see Adrian Bingham, ‘The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 21:2 (2010), pp. 225-231.

<sup>154</sup> The *Daily News* and the *Northern Echo* have both currently only been digitised up to 1900, accessible through the British Library’s online *British Newspaper Archive*.

<sup>155</sup> Bingham, ‘Digitization’, p. 230.

selected partly because of its important status as the largest selling Edwardian newspaper, and also because of the close friendship that the newspaper's chairman, George Riddell, shared with Lloyd George.<sup>156</sup> The provincial newspapers utilised – the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Northern Echo* – were two of the most significant and renowned Edwardian provincial newspapers and were also of relevance to a national readership. The *Manchester Guardian* was in such demand in Edwardian London that there was serious discussion about the production of a London edition, as copies frequently did not reach the Capital until midday.<sup>157</sup> Formed in Darlington in 1870 – at the centre of the national rail network – the *Northern Echo* prided itself on being the first halfpenny morning newspaper and also Britain's first truly national newspaper, promptly delivered in Britain's two great Capitals – London and Edinburgh – by ten o'clock in the morning.<sup>158</sup> It was the largest selling Edwardian Liberal newspaper in the North East.<sup>159</sup> When prominent social reformer Joseph Rowntree took over ownership of the *Northern Echo* in 1904 the newspaper was remodelled on the national Liberal *Morning Leader*, and 'began to give to matters of national importance some of the attention which had previously been concentrated on parish politics'.<sup>160</sup> Andrew Walker suggests that this situation was reflective of the wider decline in the influence of provincial journalism from the late nineteenth century. Commercialisation encouraged the consolidation of ownership of provincial newspapers and 'the tendency for titles to be owned from a distance ... [weakening] local titles' abilities to represent their home patch'.<sup>161</sup>

It might seem counterintuitive to provide such a focus upon national newspapers when an important aspect of the new political history has been an emphasis upon localised, grass-roots studies to provide more nuanced understandings of specific political cultures.<sup>162</sup> Although a study investigating the representation of the new Liberalism and emotion in local press titles across

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<sup>156</sup> Matthew Engel, *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press* (London, 1996), p. 221.

<sup>157</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*, p. 157.

<sup>158</sup> Chris Lloyd, *Attacking the Devil: 130 Years of the Northern Echo* (Durham, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>159</sup> Tanner, *Political Change*, p. 232.

<sup>160</sup> Anne Vernon, *A Quaker Businessman: The Life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925* (London, 1958), p. 162.

<sup>161</sup> Andrew Walker, 'The Development of the Provincial Press in England, c. 1780-1914', *Journalism Studies*, 7:3 (2006), p. 384.

<sup>162</sup> Tanner, *Political Change*; Jon Lawrence, *Speaking for the People: Party, Language, and Popular Politics in England, 1867-1914* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 165-177, 229-236.

Edwardian Britain would potentially be worthwhile and fruitful, it is important not to overstate the significance of the ‘politics of place’ within the context of the Edwardian new Liberalism, or to undervalue studies that provide a more national outlook. As leading Liberal politicians at Westminster took up the ‘politics of poverty’, Jon Lawrence has identified the Edwardian period as signalling the beginning of a shift whereby British elections became ‘more about the largesse of governments than candidates’. Lawrence notes that during the general election campaign of January 1910 rival candidates were not focussing upon local issues. They instead ‘vied with each other to take credit for the new universal pensions ... [alleging] that their opponents were less committed to helping the elderly poor’.<sup>163</sup> Following the formation of the central LPD in 1887, Ian Packer notes that the ‘river of pamphlets, leaflets and posters ... tended to give the Liberal election campaigns an increasingly homogenous look across the country’.<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, in their recent exploration of Edwardian by-elections, Paul Readman and Luke Blaxill discovered that they ‘tended to be fought and won on the issues dominating national political discourse, a finding which shows the limitations of the “politics of place”’.<sup>165</sup>

In addition to the Liberal newspapers, this thesis also engages with other contemporary public sources, including Conservative newspapers, politicians’ speeches, and propaganda material produced by Charles Geake’s LPD. It uses contemporary books and journal articles that discussed individual Liberal newspapers or the newspaper industry as a whole, aspects of popular politics, the new Liberalism, gender issues or emotion. Considering the debates that raged surrounding what exactly emotions were, it is particularly vital to engage with contemporary discussions about specific emotions to appropriately contextualise the emotional discourses presented in the newspapers. Jean Starobinski has cautioned against interpreting emotional words within the context of their present-day definitions and connotations, when the historical culture being studied had their own vocabularies.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Jon Lawrence, ‘The Culture of Elections in Modern Britain’, *History*, 96:324 (2011), p. 469.

<sup>164</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 20.

<sup>165</sup> Paul Readman and Luke Blaxill, ‘Edwardian By-elections’, in T.G. Otte and Paul Readman (eds.), *By-elections in British Politics, 1832-1914*, (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 228.

<sup>166</sup> Jean Starobinski, ‘The Idea of Nostalgia’, *Diogenes*, 54 (1966), pp. 81-83.

Where available, this thesis makes some use of the letters, diaries, memoirs and (auto) biographies (published and unpublished) of newspaper proprietors, editors and contributors, which have largely already been extensively utilised by the earlier historians of the Edwardian press. More material of this nature is available for the elite newspapers, or for the newspapers that attempted to secure their historical importance during a period of status insecurity, particularly the *Daily News*. This suggested consciousness and agenda highlights the limited transparency of the sources and the selection process that would have gone hand in hand with preservation or publication processes.<sup>167</sup> This material is used in conjunction with discussions about the seven newspapers, both supportive and hostile, in contemporary books and journal articles.

The literature review provided in this chapter has drawn attention to a key methodological problem when exploring cultural representations of emotion, newspaper discourses or political languages: the question of impact. Even if the historian is able to successfully decipher a newspaper's preferred meaning, how can they measure if the intended audience actually responded to a particular newspaper text 'correctly'? David Vincent and Jonathan Rose have sought to put reader response, gained through autobiographical accounts, at the centre of cultural history, identifying working-class audiences as made-up of diverse individuals who actively engaged with cultural texts within the context of their lived experiences.<sup>168</sup> Yet as Adrian Bingham highlights, these autobiographical sources are 'far more likely to discuss memorable works of literature, read at length and perhaps reread many times, than newspapers which were bought and discarded each day and which had a more subtle, cumulative influence'.<sup>169</sup>

Reader response can, to some extent, be accessed through the correspondences published in the newspapers. Correspondences are utilised in this thesis, particularly in Chapter Three, where a more detailed discussion of their validity as sources is also provided. But it is fair to note that letters must be

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<sup>167</sup> For discussion on private letters as historical sources, see Regina Schulte and Xenia von Tippelskirch (eds.), *Reading, Interpreting and Historicizing: Letters as Historical Sources* (Florence, 2004). On diaries, see Christa Hämmerle, 'Diaries', trans. Andrew Evans, in Dobson and Ziemann (eds.), *Primary Sources*, pp. 141-155. On autobiographies, see Mark Freeman, *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative* (New York, 1993).

<sup>168</sup> David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, 1989); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, 2002).

<sup>169</sup> Adrian Bingham, *Family Newspapers? Sex, Private Life, and the British Popular Press, 1918-1978* (Oxford, 2009), p. 8.

treated with considerable caution, not least because they were included or excluded for publication at the discretion of the newspaper.<sup>170</sup> Circulation figures can also provide an indication of newspaper reception, suggesting how appealing a publication was to its targeted audience in comparison to other newspapers operating within the same market. Some circulation figures are available for the Liberal newspapers and will be discussed in Chapter Two. However, the accuracy of newspaper circulation figures are highly contested during the so-called ‘period of secrecy’ between the 1850s and the early 1930s, when newspapers jealously guarded their figures from competitors, or else inflated them to secure lucrative advertising deals.<sup>171</sup>

The difficulties in measuring response to individual newspapers, or indeed to an individual article or cartoon, are intensified in a study that specifically explores constructions of emotional political discourses, often seeking to impact first and fundamentally not upon readers’ words or actions – potentially more accurately traceable responses – but upon how they *felt*. Attempting to ‘recover the invisible’, historians of emotion encounter a complex relationship between language and emotion: they do bear a relation, but it is not direct or transparent. Even if discussions about individual emotional experiences of responding to a newspaper’s cultural representation of emotion were available in diaries, autobiographies or oral testimonies, they would not capture the raw and unfiltered inner lives of readers.<sup>172</sup> Influenced by the work of philosopher J.L. Austin on performative ‘speech-acts’, William Reddy coined the term ‘emotives’ to refer to the role language and cultural representation play in shaping, defining, expressing or hiding an individual’s emotional experience. Reddy argued that emotives were both descriptive and performative, concurrently reflecting the experience of a non-verbal emotion as well as actively constructing and performing it when a feeling is named in one way rather than another. The moment emotional experiences are detected, processed and

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<sup>170</sup> Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, ‘Letters/Correspondence’, in their *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (London, 2009), pp. 358-360.

<sup>171</sup> A.P. Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations, 1800-1954* (Manchester, 1955), pp. 1-2.

<sup>172</sup> Susan Matt, ‘Recovering the Invisible: Methods for the Historical Study of the Emotions’, in Matt and Stearns (eds.), *Emotions History*, pp. 41-51.

discussed they become both personally and socio-politically defined,<sup>173</sup> always presented ‘with an eye to prevailing conventions or rules about feelings’.<sup>174</sup>

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that there exists a complex link between the cultural representation of emotion and the manifestations of individual emotional experience. This suggests that cultural representations of emotion must be taken seriously as having a significant impact upon how individuals, consciously or unconsciously, made sense of, and gave expression to, their own emotional frameworks and lived experiences. As Susan Matt notes, returning home at the end of the First World War, weary soldiers often adopted the words and clichés used by journalists who had not witnessed war first hand to communicate their own emotional experiences of combat.<sup>175</sup> Individuals made the decision to purchase and read specific newspapers with fundamental political allegiances, engaging with their emotional content, during the Edwardian period. However, it is likely that readers interacted with other cultural representations of emotion, suggesting that the newspapers did not have a monopolising influence.

## VII Thesis Arguments and Defining the ‘New Liberalism’

This thesis applies Helen Rosenwein’s concept of ‘emotional communities’ to the seven individual Liberal newspapers, enabling us to appreciate and to critically analyse the newspapers’ use of emotion in their communication of the new Liberalism. Rosenwein’s concept invites the historian to ‘uncover systems of feeling’ by exploring the behaviours and emotional expressions that the communities – and the individuals within them – evaluated as valuable, tolerable or harmful, and by considering the nature of their affective bonds with other individuals and communities.<sup>176</sup> Therefore, this approach is still alert to episodes of sensationalism in the newspapers, and to the importance of the relationships,

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<sup>173</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, Chapter 3; William Reddy, ‘Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotion’, *Current Anthropology*, 38:3 (1997), pp. 327-351. J.L. Austin discussed the role of words as ‘speech-acts’ in his seminal *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford, 1962). Paul Readman also incorporates Austin’s theory in his discussion on the impact of political speeches, noting that ‘utterances can be seen to convey particular intentions and have particular impacts, depending on the context, form and mode of their delivery’. See Readman, ‘Speeches’, p. 211.

<sup>174</sup> Matt, ‘Recovering’, p. 44.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>176</sup> Rosenwein, ‘Worrying’, p. 842.

similarities and affinities between the Liberal newspapers, and between the newspapers and Liberal politicians such as Lloyd George. But the overall significance of these factors must be viewed within a wider emotional framework to provide a more meaningful assessment of the newspapers' work, and to provide a fair assessment of the place of emotion in Edwardian political culture. Taking into account factors such as readership, strength of partisanship, institutional histories, and the motivations and temperaments of individual proprietors, editors and contributors can aid our understanding of why, and with what impact, specific emotions were employed by the newspapers at specific times.

At the same time, the central argument of this study challenges the newspaper polarisation thesis that was taking shape by the Edwardian period, which presented crude dichotomies between the old and the new journalism. As noted in the literature review provided in this chapter, press historians have recently explored how mainstream interwar newspapers, such as Labour's *Daily Herald* and the left-of-the-centre *Daily Mirror*, defied radical critics and combined readability with important political discussion that challenged or reconsidered the status quo. This thesis shows that the Edwardian Liberal newspapers provide an important starting-point for tracing how twentieth-century newspapers, positioned to varying degrees on the left, often successfully combined the dual aims of commercialisation (or accessibility) with the communication of serious political content, utilising human-interest stories, political cartoons and the language of rational emotion. For example, through the promotion of the progressive emotions sympathy and compassion by human-interest stories, (an important feature of the new journalism), the newspapers could communicate the emotional ideals identified in the work of new liberal theorists, which journalists such as Massingham did not believe could be rationally championed through the popular press.

As highlighted in the literature review, scholars have identified emotions as a lens through which changes in political power relationships and social status can be explored. The history of emotion therefore provides an important methodological approach to re-examine the long-debated and complex new Liberalism, uncovering details about its redefining, and communication, of relationships between various groups. The relationships and balances of power

affected included those between the House of Lords and the mass democracy; the Liberal Party and the emerging Labour Party in addition to the Conservative Party; the state and the welfare recipient; and the welfare recipient, their family and the wider community. This thesis shows that there existed considerable fluidity surrounding the newspapers' communication of these relationships. The different Liberal newspapers were flexible in their representation of the place and importance of individualism, liberty, morality and collectivism – these representations depended upon factors including audience, timing and the specific relationship or reform in question.

The new Liberalism also provides an important site for analysing gender relations in pre-war Britain. The newspapers were highly gender-conscious throughout the processes of constructing, testing and contesting the new relationships. Indeed, the new Liberalism addressed such issues as male unemployment, quickly evoking discourses on emotions such as fear, shame, hope and gratitude. This thesis highlights that the representation of the new Liberalism was both influenced by, and had an impact upon, ideas about gender status and gender roles in Edwardian Britain, within the context of new Liberal politicians, their opponents, their welfare subjects, their welfare subjects' families, and their voters and supporters. The newspapers represented gender with fluidity – they did not present a limited focus upon domestic identities, even though the new Liberalism focussed upon domestic concerns. Portrayals of masculinity varied between representations of a domestic and a more Imperial or militaristic identity. They could also vary between a focus upon older liberal ideas about manly independence and newer liberal collectivist ideals. Representations of femininity could be negative, patronising and simplistic but they could also vary between a traditional focus upon domesticity and promoting a more public, political identity. New Liberal social reform blurred these boundaries, illuminating a complex interplay between the two.

It is important to provide here a clarification of why this thesis adopts a flexible definition of the 'new Liberalism', investigating issues that were not only concerned directly with the introduction of welfare reforms during the Edwardian period. This thesis also explores the Edwardian Liberal Party's efforts to reduce the vetoing powers of the House of Lords, in addition to the Party's opposition to the Conservatives' tariff reform proposal and their defence

of free trade. These issues were particularly prominent during the two general elections of 1910 (explored in Chapters Three and Four), and might understandably be construed as traditional Liberal concerns. Yet it is the contention of this thesis that the Liberal concerns with reducing the House of Lords' legislation blocking powers and fending off tariff reform must be viewed within the wider context of Edwardian new Liberal progressive efforts to modernise the state through the introduction of social reform, and are therefore of importance to this study. Significantly, the general election of January 1910 was called following the House of Lords' rejection of Lloyd George's 1909 'People's Budget', which aimed to tax land and excessive wealth in order to raise money for the Liberals' social reform agenda.<sup>177</sup> Discussing the 1910 elections Peter Clarke powerfully argued that, 'it was the practical issues contingent on the Lords' action which were at stake. The Liberals were by 1910 the party of social reform', and, certainly in the North West, 'the whole controversy revolved around the means of financing it'.<sup>178</sup> The important relationship between debates surrounding the reform of the unchecked power of the Lords and welfare reform during the Edwardian period is reflective of the new liberal identification of society as an organism, whereby the actions 'of every man are no doubt in the end bound up with the welfare of the whole community', even when 'the relation is infinitely subtle and indirect'.<sup>179</sup> Michael Freedon explained that, 'with a growing comprehension of the organic nature of reform, advanced liberals saw agreement on the essentials of national well-being converging along a number of paths ... the underlying trend to regard them as parts of a comprehensive social reconstruction cannot be ignored'.<sup>180</sup>

The interconnectedness of debates surrounding tariff reform and social reform (rather than free trade more narrowly) was indicted by Ewen Green's acknowledgement that, "'Tariff Reform means work for all'" was one of the most widely-used Conservative slogans of the Edwardian period, expressing the party's claim to a positive outlook on "the social question".<sup>181</sup> In his discussion of the free trade versus tariff reform controversy, Frank Trentmann considered

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<sup>177</sup> Bentley Gilbert, 'David Lloyd George: Land, The Budget, and Social Reform', *American Historical Review*, 81:5 (1976), p. 1063; Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 68-84.

<sup>178</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*, pp. 398-399.

<sup>179</sup> Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 74.

<sup>180</sup> Freedon, *New Liberalism*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>181</sup> Green, *Conservatism*, pp. 225-231.

that, ‘older radical and liberal visions continued to be dominant’ in the Edwardian Liberal defence of free trade, but nevertheless conceded that, ‘in the battle over the people’s budget in 1910, social reform was grafted onto Free Trade. Colourful posters showed Asquith holding out cheap sugar for children with one hand, and pensions to an elderly couple with the other’.<sup>182</sup>

## VIII Thesis Structure

The remaining seven chapters of this thesis are structured as follows. Chapter Two provides a detailed introduction to the seven Liberal newspapers utilised in this thesis. The chapter builds a picture of the individual newspapers’ readerships, editorial attitudes, production values and the emotional communities that they sought to construct. This information will help to contextualise findings throughout the rest of the thesis.

Chapters Three and Four focus upon the election campaigns for the two general elections of January and December 1910. The Liberals fought the elections on two issues: first and foremost, the power of the largely Conservative House of Lords to block the path of social reform legislation and, secondly, the Conservative Party’s tariff reform proposal as a means to address the social problem by reducing unemployment. Engaging with textual discourse printed in the Liberal newspapers throughout the two election campaign periods, Chapter Three explores the wide range of emotional representations of, and emotional appeals to, diverse groups of political participants, (for example, the ‘keen Liberal’ and the ‘non-party men’, voters and non-voters, men and women), utilised at different times during the campaigns. While sensationalism and appeals to irrational fears were not absent from the newspapers, such appeals were not limited to the more populist newspapers. Also, the newspapers’ discussion of emotions including anger, shame, disgust, and bonds of cross-class and Imperial loyalty, highlights the important role of rational emotion in Edwardian Liberal electoral culture, (within the context of the newspapers at least), and the different functions that the Liberal newspapers performed during the elections.

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<sup>182</sup> Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption, and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2008), p. 51.

Chapter Four explores the representation of the Liberal Party's opponents in political cartoons that were printed in *all* of the Liberal newspapers during the two election campaign periods. This chapter challenges the view that, as a defining feature of the illustrated new journalism, cartoons should be dismissed as crude and lacking serious political content, manipulatively seeking to shock or amuse ignorant or passive sections of the mass electorate.<sup>183</sup> This chapter instead illustrates how the unique pictorial medium actually conveyed multi-layered, complex political messages about the nature of the relationships between the electorate, the Liberal Party, Labour, the Conservatives and the House of Lords, and the Liberal desire to alter the relationships in various ways. It considers the cartoons' ability to use humour to rapidly forge a negative masculine identity for the House of Lords and an oppositional, positive, cross-class masculine identity for voters – seeking to construct a sense of solidarity that would outlast the short-term comic amusement provided by the cartoons. These messages would have been conveyed with much greater difficulty in a textual format.

Chapter Five shifts away from the election periods by exploring the Liberal newspapers' representation of four of Asquith's public speeches and four of Lloyd George's public speeches, across the period between 1908 and 1913 when they accelerated the pace of reform. The serious and extensive reportage of political speeches has been identified as a casualty of the new journalism. Brief summaries that captured the emotional and the dramatic were favoured.<sup>184</sup> However, this chapter highlights that the individual newspapers conveyed, prioritised or toned-down different emotions evoked by the speeches, or by the atmosphere surrounding the speeches, in order to communicate important political messages, rather than simply seeking to sensationalise or entertain. At the heart of this chapter is also a reconsideration of the common, overly-simplistic categorisation of Lloyd George and Asquith's pre-war political partnership: namely that Lloyd George appealed to the emotions to sway the masses, while the prosaic Asquith provided the argument and reason.<sup>185</sup> A more nuanced understanding of their masculine personas and emotional styles is provided by acknowledging that Asquith was often discussed within the context

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<sup>183</sup> Mark Hampton discusses, and challenges, this view in his 'Political Cartoon', pp. 681-684.

<sup>184</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 112.

<sup>185</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. 2*, p. 232.

of the nineteenth-century language of character and Lloyd George within the context of the emerging language of personality. This chapter additionally illustrates that the newspapers' representations of their masculine identities did not remain fixed over time, but were instead influenced by, as well as impacting upon, the progress of the new Liberalism.

Chapter Six investigates the Liberal newspapers' extensive reportage of elderly people's collection of pension application forms and their first pensions from post offices across Britain in September 1908 and January 1909. The human-interest story has commonly been identified as another defining feature of the frivolous and personalised new journalism.<sup>186</sup> However, this chapter highlights that the human-interest stories, utilised by *all* of the Liberal newspapers, could be humorous, entertaining and closely linked to commercialisation, but they also promoted the modern, rational and progressive emotions of sympathy and compassion. The reported stories placed the elderly men and women at the centre of the political stage, relating complex political ideas to everyday life for readers, helping to define the relationship between the state, the welfare recipient and the wider community, and providing vital justification for a key new Liberal social reform financed by the public through taxes.

Chapter Seven considers the Liberal newspapers' representation of adult men and women (and their children) within the context of the new Liberal social reforms that concerned them directly. It acknowledges the complexities and ambiguities surrounding how, and how far, the newspapers sought to reduce any sense of shame, or loss of independence, for adult men through their receipt of, or campaigns for, social reform. It also assesses the role and status of women as either welfare recipients, the wives of welfare recipients, or members of the wider community. This chapter again draws attention to the serious political messages conveyed by the newspapers' political cartoons and human-interest stories. Finally, this thesis concludes in Chapter Eight with an assessment of the insights offered by the history of emotion as a methodological approach for exploring the Edwardian new Liberalism and the Liberal newspapers as sources.

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<sup>186</sup> Hampton, 'Political Cartoon', p. 682.

## *Chapter Two*

### **'A reader is married to his newspaper': The Liberal Newspapers and their Emotional Communities**

Like many other radicals I take in the *Times* ... for its news & its letters. Is it not possible to get up a Liberal paper which will attract the best letter-writers? (Yes, your letters are good, but there are other kinds of letters.) Have you any idea the number of people who there are, like me, who take in the *Times* because of the news & the letters? The country is overwhelmingly Liberal. We need the halfpenny *Daily News*, but we also need the other kind of paper. No! I am not a snob. I ask for a Liberal paper which will command the attention of the well-to-do Liberals.

**John Perry to A.G. Gardiner, 9 January 1908, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/27,  
British Library of Social and Political Science.**

#### **I**

#### **Introduction**

When the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* reduced their price to a halfpenny in 1904, London no longer offered a one-penny Liberal national morning newspaper. A London edition of the *Manchester Guardian* never materialised, with the proposal proving unacceptable to the editor C.P. Scott. Despite the newspaper's significant readership in London, Scott later romantically asserted that, 'the paper which has grown up in a great community, nourished by its resources, reflecting in a thousand ways its spirit and its interests, in a real sense belongs to it'.<sup>1</sup> In response to the perceived gap in the market, a new one-penny Liberal daily, the *Tribune*, was launched in London in 1906. Despite boasting vast financial resources and editorial talent including leading new Liberal theorist L.T. Hobhouse, the *Tribune* collapsed within two years. The collapse confirmed the concerns of many critics about the commercialisation of the press and its incompatibility with liberal values. Liberal commentators assessed that the newspaper had in fact been *too* good, and had been defeated by the more attractive halfpenny market.<sup>2</sup> However, this self-satisfying assessment is

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<sup>1</sup> J.L. Hammond, *C.P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian* (London, 1934), p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 213.

challenged by the ‘well-to-do’ Liberal, who wrote the above letter in 1908 to A.G. Gardiner, the editor of the *Daily News*, noting that he and many others were in fact actively seeking ‘the other kind of paper’. This view is also challenged by R.A. Scott-James’s verdict that the *Tribune* had sought ‘to revive an old-fashioned type of newspaper, which had most of the defects and few of the merits of the middle-Victorian press’.<sup>3</sup>

In an article from 1901, politician Leonard Courtney observed that, ‘an ever-increasing army of men and women’ seemed to be ‘always reading [newspapers] or talking of what they have just read’. Courtney asserted that ‘the life of the 20<sup>th</sup> century’ was already irrecoverably ‘newspaperised’,<sup>4</sup> with social investigator Florence Bell estimating in 1905 that two-thirds of working men regularly read a newspaper of some description.<sup>5</sup> However, the above situation illuminates the complex, often contradictory, mix of factors and appeals that helped to determine whether an Edwardian newspaper was able to build and sustain a loyal readership and survive. As highlighted by the letter to Gardiner, readers did not simply remain loyal to certain newspapers, and reject others, depending on whether or not they reflected their political allegiances, or because of past attachments. Although referring to Gardiner’s newspaper as ‘my dear old *Daily News* ... the friend of my youth’, and despite owner George Cadbury’s bold prediction that the newspaper would ‘lose practically none of our old subscribers’ by reducing the price to a halfpenny,<sup>6</sup> the newspaper and the community it established through its letters pages no longer satisfied the correspondent intellectually or emotionally. As R.D. Blumenfeld, the editor of the *Daily Express* (1909 to 1929), bluntly reflected in 1933, ‘a reader is married to his newspaper and he quickly divorces it if it is not ahead of others’.<sup>7</sup>

Following an introduction to the Edwardian Liberal press in the next section of this chapter, the remaining four sections introduce the seven newspapers used in this thesis in more detail, and seek to build a picture of their emotional communities. As explained in the Introduction to this thesis, the application of Helen Rosenwein’s concept of ‘emotional communities’ provides

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<sup>3</sup> Scott-James, *Influence*, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Leonard Courtney, ‘The Making and Reading of Newspapers’, *Contemporary Review*, March 1901, pp. 365-366.

<sup>5</sup> Florence Bell, ‘What People Read’, *Independent Review*, December 1905, p. 428.

<sup>6</sup> George Cadbury to A.G. Gardiner, 11 February 1904, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/8.

<sup>7</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 85.

a framework enabling us to appreciate and to critically analyse the newspapers' use of emotion in their communication of the new Liberalism.<sup>8</sup> Section three of this chapter explores the two national daily newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*; section four considers the two evening newspapers, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Star*; section five discusses the one Sunday newspaper, the *News of the World*; and section six explores the two provincially based newspapers, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Northern Echo*.

## II The Edwardian Liberal Press

Liberals and radicals illustrated their concerns about the hardships faced by newspapers seeking to uphold rational political debate in an era of commercialisation by comparing the number of Liberal and Conservative affiliated newspapers at the turn of the century, and their respective circulations.<sup>9</sup> In 1906 the new Liberal Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman complained that, 'the great thing we suffer from is that we have no organ in the press and the public never hears the truth'.<sup>10</sup> Only three halfpenny national morning daily newspapers supported the Liberals at the turn of the twentieth century: the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Morning Leader*. The *Daily News* absorbed the *Morning Leader* in 1912, establishing the *Daily News and Leader*. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were supported by seven morning daily newspapers, including titles such as the *Daily Telegraph* as well as the popular *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. It can be reasonably estimated that during the politically significant year 1910, when two general elections were held, the Conservative morning daily press had roughly a 2.5 million circulation compared to the Liberals' 0.8 million.<sup>11</sup>

Within the evening newspaper market, the turn-of-the-century Liberals were again supported by three publications – the prestigious one-penny *Westminster Gazette*, in addition to the halfpenny *Star* and *Echo*, although the

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 45-46.

<sup>9</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', pp. 47-48.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Campbell-Bannerman to Herbert Gladstone, 10 June 1905, Campbell-Bannerman Papers, MS 41,217, ff. 223-225, British Library Manuscripts Collection.

<sup>11</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, pp. 178-179. Circulation figures from 1910 (used throughout this chapter), when two general elections were held, were likely to have been higher than other years during the Edwardian period, on account of increased public interest in politics.

latter ceased in 1905 under financial pressures. The *Westminster Gazette* and the *Star* were left to defend Liberalism in the London evening press against the force of the *Evening News*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Globe* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In 1910, the Conservative evening press had an estimated 0.6 million circulation against a Liberal 0.3 million.<sup>12</sup> It was only in the less politicised Sunday newspaper market that the Liberals had a clear lead against their Conservative rivals, with roughly a 4.75 million circulation in comparison to the Conservatives' 0.6 million.<sup>13</sup> The Liberals benefitted from the support of *Reynolds News*, *Lloyds Weekly News*, and the *News of the World*.

The situation with regard to the provincial press was rather mixed. Although commercialisation took place at a slower rate there, Liberal newspapers were becoming weaker in the face of competition, with the increasing appearance of commercial chains in major Northern cities. The Liberal Party suffered significant losses between 1901 and 1906, including the radical *Newcastle Daily Leader* and the *Liverpool Mercury*, which merged with the *Liverpool Daily Post*. The Edwardian Liberals nevertheless had the support of the nationally respected *Manchester Guardian*. It remained the leading Manchester newspaper throughout the Edwardian period, despite the fact that Lord Northcliffe subsidised the Conservative *Manchester Courier*. Radical Liberalism in the North East benefitted from a supportive popular halfpenny morning newspaper based in Darlington, the *Northern Echo*.<sup>14</sup>

Considering the comparative numerical inferiority of the national daily Liberal press, the Liberal return to power in 1906 with a landslide electoral victory was a source of retrospective bemusement for J.A. Spender, the editor of the *Westminster Gazette*. Spender explained that, 'from the journalist's point of view' the Liberal revival was 'altogether too much': 'Liberal politicians seemed to be in a position in which they were beyond the good or evil that newspapers could do, or the need of their assistance'.<sup>15</sup> Spender's assessment of the impact of the press was overly simplistic, failing to take into account the extent of public hostility towards Conservative Imperialism following British conduct during, and

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', pp. 52-53; Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 173.

<sup>15</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. 1*, p. 134.

in the aftermath of, the long and expensive South African Boer War.<sup>16</sup> Spender's assessment also downplayed the perceived positive attributes of the Liberal press. The Edwardian Liberal press was relatively united, while the Conservative press was deeply divided over the issue of tariff reform. Stephen Koss and A.K. Russell note that this divisive Conservative issue was used as a focus point by the Liberal newspapers during the January 1906 election campaign.<sup>17</sup> As Gardiner of the *Daily News* confirmed at the time, 'the Liberal Press of London will have no rivalry except that noble one of seeking how best to serve the people's cause'.<sup>18</sup> Again, during the general election of January 1910, the peers' historic rejection of Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' provided Liberal newspapers from the outspoken *Daily News* to the more moderate and cautious *Westminster Gazette* with an easily identifiable, and not too radical, rallying point. The comparative numerical inferiority of the Liberal press perhaps provided the newspapers with the impetus to unite.<sup>19</sup>

This common picture of unity within the Edwardian Liberal newspapers is linked to a wider historiographical debate surrounding the extent of integration between press and government during different periods. Studying the period between c.1780 and 1850, Arthur Aspinall argued that the press and government were closely entwined through the 'taxes on knowledge', which made newspapers an expensive commodity. Governments could repress popular radical newspapers and exert pressure on editors through the provision of subsidies or exclusive news stories.<sup>20</sup> Concluding in the mid-nineteenth century, Aspinall speculated that changing conditions, including the repeal of the taxes and the increasing prosperity of the press as a result of commercialisation, would have loosened the links between the press and parliament.<sup>21</sup> However, there undoubtedly did exist close links between press and parliament during the early

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<sup>16</sup> Green, *Conservatism*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>17</sup> A.K. Russell, *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 142; Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> "'Daily News' Men in Parliament Celebrating the Victory', *Daily News*, 29 January 1906, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 304, 311.

<sup>20</sup> However, an illegal radical 'pauper press' flourished between 1831 and 1836, when it was estimated that 560 newspapers were established. The 'pauper press' refused to submit to press taxation, operated clandestinely, appealed to the working classes and associated itself with the growth of political agitation and trade unionism. See J.H. Weiner, *The War of the Unstamped: The Movement to Repeal the Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836* (New York, 1969); P. Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study of Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford, 1970).

<sup>21</sup> Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press, c.1780-1850* (London, 1949).

twentieth century. Key Liberal politicians, particularly David Lloyd George, nurtured close friendships with Liberal editors and proprietors.<sup>22</sup> The *News of the World's* George Riddell noted in 1908 that, 'it is curious how much attention the members of this Government pay to the Press. I doubt whether such frequent and intimate relations have ever existed before between so many Ministers and so many newspaper editors'.<sup>23</sup>

While acknowledging the importance of similarities and affinities, the introductions to the seven Liberal newspapers that follow consider the individual publications as complex emotional communities, influenced by audience, strength of partisanship, reputation, and the motivations of editors and proprietors. It discusses the communities' attitudes not only to the question of the new Liberalism, but also to other important and connected political issues of the day, such as female suffrage, the rise of Labour and foreign policy. As Ian Packer has emphasised, our understanding of the new Liberalism must be contextualised within 'a wider complex of ideas and debates' that surrounded the Edwardian Liberal government.<sup>24</sup>

### III

#### **The Daily News and The Daily Chronicle**

Of the three national morning daily newspapers that supported the Liberal Party, this thesis explores the *Daily News* (or from 1912, when it became, officially at least, the *Daily News and Leader*) and the *Daily Chronicle*. The London rather than the Manchester edition of the *Daily News* is investigated in this thesis. The latter was established in January 1909, aiming 'to reach the masses in the North',<sup>25</sup> and was, in a large part, a replica of its London-based parent.<sup>26</sup> Formed in 1846 by Charles Dickens, the *Daily News* remained until 1895 an unwaveringly Gladstonian newspaper with a strong nonconformist readership, advocating throughout its pages 'liberty in all human relations'. The newspaper was identified as having 'been in the front of every good fight made for reform in

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<sup>22</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', pp. 52-53.

<sup>23</sup> George Riddell, '2 November 1908', in John McEwen (ed.), *The Riddell Diaries, 1908-1923* (London, 1986), pp. 21-22.

<sup>24</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Henry Cadbury and George Armstrong to C.P. Scott, 19 January 1909, Scott Papers, Reel 9, 128/1.

<sup>26</sup> Stephen Koss, *Fleet Street Radical: A.G. Gardiner and the Daily News* (London, 1973), p. 110.

English social, political, and economic legislation', for example, emerging as the 'earliest advocate' of the Second Reform Act of 1867.<sup>27</sup> Similarly to the other Liberal newspapers, in principle, the *Daily News* ardently supported the campaign for votes for women, although deplored suffragette militancy.<sup>28</sup>

When, under the editorship of E.T. Cook, the turn-of-the-century *Daily News* appeared sympathetic to the cause of the Boer War, J.A. Hobson scathingly opined that the newspaper had become a 'sham Liberal' newspaper, 'seduced to jingoism'.<sup>29</sup> This situation was reversed when Cook was dismissed as editor following the purchase of the *Daily News* in 1901 by an anti-Imperialist group led by Quaker George Cadbury. In 1902 Lloyd George instigated the appointment of radical A.G. Gardiner, who had previously edited the *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph*, to the editorship of the newspaper. The *Daily News* was quickly established as an outspoken supporter of advanced liberalism in the London press. It frequently gave voice to the views of the emerging Labour Party, without a daily organ of its own until 1912 when the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Citizen* were established.<sup>30</sup> Gardiner's relationship with Lloyd George became that of a 'candid friend'. Gardiner identified Lloyd George as a shining knight attacking privilege in the towns and country.<sup>31</sup> Lloyd George gratefully acknowledged the 'warm and loyal friendship' Gardiner provided, and was confident that he could 'always rely on the powerful influence of the *Daily News*'.<sup>32</sup>

Gardiner welcomed emotional expression in the *Daily News* in the tradition of William Stead's politicised, crusading journalism. Gardiner reflected that the *Daily News* was, 'the vehicle in the press of the new spirit which was soon to change the current of politics ... a vehicle not merely of opinion but of action'.<sup>33</sup> He was convinced that 'great thoughts' and 'great passions' provided the sustenance of progress. Consequently, Gardiner had a more detached relationship with the moderate and reflective Herbert Asquith, who had been

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<sup>27</sup> J.R. Fox-Bourne and Edward Porritt, *Progress of British Newspapers in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Illustrated* (London, 1901), p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Koss, *Fleet Street*, p. 118.

<sup>29</sup> Hobson, *Psychology*, p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> Lee, 'Radical Press', p. 49; Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 62.

<sup>31</sup> Koss, *Fleet Street*, p. 118.

<sup>32</sup> David Lloyd George to A.G. Gardiner, 26 March 1913 and 29 March 1911, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/19.

<sup>33</sup> A.G. Gardiner, *The Life of George Cadbury* (London, 1923), p. 217.

connected to the ‘Liberal Imperialist’ faction of the party during the Boer War. Believing that he suffered from an ‘exhaustion of the emotions’, Gardiner did not think that Asquith was capable of galvanising and sustaining a social reform movement.<sup>34</sup> Similarly to the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily News* supported disarmament, (army and navy expenditure threatened welfare programmes), and Irish Home Rule.<sup>35</sup> Gardiner could adopt a critical attitude towards the Liberal Party when he believed that it was not pushing the reform agenda forward with enough force, or believed that it was straying from the path of international peace.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Liberal politician John Burns even identified Gardiner as the greatest enemy of the Liberal Party. Burns contended that Gardiner urged the government to pass Bills – but when they were passed, he would ‘reveal to our enemies not what it had done, but what it did not do’.<sup>37</sup>

In 1904 the *Daily News*’s sister newspaper, the *Daily Chronicle*, reduced its cover price to a halfpenny, entering the more populist market and forcing the *Daily News* to follow. Gardiner can be identified throughout the Edwardian period seeking to distance the rational emotional community that he believed he constructed in the *Daily News* from Northcliffe’s halfpenny jingoistic sensationalism. In a pen-portrait of the newspaper proprietor, Gardiner deplored Northcliffe’s ‘appeals to the emotions of the irresponsible’. Gardiner also noted his own good fortune at having ‘never been through his mill, never written a line for him, nor met him’.<sup>38</sup> In an open letter from Gardiner to Northcliffe, published in the Liberal press on the outbreak of the First World War, Gardiner commented that, ‘the student of your career will find it difficult to point to anything that you have done and to say, “Here Lord Northcliffe sacrificed his journalistic interests for the common good”’.<sup>39</sup> Stephen Koss was convinced that Gardiner did construct considerable distance between the *Daily News* and the more populist

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<sup>34</sup> A.G. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests and Kings* (London, 1908), pp. 29-31; Koss, *Fleet Street*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>35</sup> Koss, *Fleet Street*, p. 139.

<sup>36</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 139.

<sup>37</sup> John Burns to A.G. Gardiner, 5 November 1907, 22 June and 7 July 1908, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/5.

<sup>38</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 267.

<sup>39</sup> A.G. Gardiner, *The “Daily Mail” and the Liberal Press. A Letter to Lord Northcliffe* (London, 1914).

titles operating in the halfpenny market, noting that Gardiner was increasingly an anomaly in the age of Northcliffe.<sup>40</sup>

However, some contemporaries did acknowledge with concern that, under Cadbury's ownership, the *Daily News's* policy had become 'highly sentimental' and had 'lost the distinction of its golden days', bringing in 'the characteristics of the halfpenny press ... hardly for the better'.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in a letter from Cadbury to Gardiner outlining the 'great risk' involved in the lowering of the newspaper's price, Cadbury suggested some key alterations: the reduction of political reportage and the increased use of summaries; the reduction of the religious column, which would require 'more care in the editing'; and the omitting of 'a very large proportion of the correspondences'. Cadbury assessed that, 'rather more life will have to be put into it', before concluding, with certainly a hint of admiration, that, 'the *Daily Mail* are now getting £280 a page for adverts & claim a circulation of 900,000'.<sup>42</sup> Historian James Startt noted the livelier, bolder typographies introduced by the Edwardian *Daily News*,<sup>43</sup> while Glenn Wilkinson highlighted the newspaper's sensationalist depictions of the entertaining spectacle of war throughout the period.<sup>44</sup>

Gardiner's lively pen-portraits of prominent public figures, also published in two volumes, *Prophets, Priests and Kings* (1908) and *Pillars of Society* (1913), became a particularly popular feature of his *Daily News*. So scathing and audacious were his personal character assessments that one reviewer was left 'wondering what happened when next A.G.G happened to meet his subjects face to face'.<sup>45</sup> With his input restricted to a single article per week, Edwardian readers of the *Daily News* were either entertained or offended by the wit, human interest, and eccentricities provided by Gardiner's close friend G.K. Chesterton. Offered a 'free hand' by Gardiner to air his 'positive delight in paradox', Chesterton 'for a long time rumbled and gurgled with laughter' in the public houses of Fleet Street, before putting such a strain on the Cadbury taste and nonconformist conscience that he was dropped from the newspaper's staff

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<sup>40</sup> Koss, *Fleet Street*, pp. 111, 134.

<sup>41</sup> Dibblee, *Newspaper*, p. 178; Symon, *Press*, p. 191.

<sup>42</sup> George Cadbury to A.G. Gardiner, 11 February 1904, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/8.

<sup>43</sup> Startt, 'Good Journalism', p. 284.

<sup>44</sup> Wilkinson, *Depictions*, pp. 99-100, 113-114.

<sup>45</sup> "'Pillars of Society'", *Christian Commonwealth*, 5 November 1913, p. 4. Press Cuttings from Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/5/48.

altogether.<sup>46</sup> Different standards and relationships between proprietors, editors and contributors here illustrates how the same behaviour and emotional expressions could be both tolerated and deplored within an individual newspaper's emotional community.

On reducing its price to a halfpenny, the *Daily News* was successful at constructing affective – even familial – bonds with a working-class and lower-middle-class readership. The newspaper toned down its closed-off identity, of representing ‘a drab sad type of Nonconformity and a nebulous but flighty form of Radical-Socialism ... [with] an over-ready disposition to ban all who cannot “bolt the bran” of its peculiar type of Liberalism’.<sup>47</sup> When Gardiner announced his retirement as editor of the *Daily News* in 1919, ‘a working man admirer’ sent him a letter explaining that, ‘I have often said to my wife, “what a man to have for a father”’.<sup>48</sup> Another letter explained that, ‘we feel as though we have lost a friend’. ‘When my little girl (14)’ read the retirement news, the correspondent noted, ‘she said, “Oh Mother, what a shame about A.G.G”’.<sup>49</sup> Estimated circulation figures from 1910 for the national daily newspapers show that the *Daily News* achieved a circulation of 320,000, 400,000 for the *Daily Chronicle* (and 250,000 for the *Morning Leader*). To put these figures into perspective, the most popular halfpenny morning newspapers, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*, achieved circulations of 900,000 and 425,000 respectively.<sup>50</sup>

Founded in 1877, the *Daily Chronicle* quickly became a vigorous exponent of Liberal opinion while also possessing high-quality literary pages.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper's editorial stance on the Boer War followed the opposite course to that of the *Daily News*. With Henry Massingham as editor, the newspaper began the war as a pro-Boer organ. However, Massingham resigned when told by proprietors that criticism of government policy must cease during hostilities. The sense of demoralisation surrounding the newspaper was reversed in 1903 when proprietor Frank Lloyd offered editorship to Robert Donald, the prospective Liberal candidate for West Ham. Choosing journalism over a

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<sup>46</sup> Hamilton Fyfe, *Sixty Years of Fleet Street* (London, 1949), pp. 137-138.

<sup>47</sup> Fisher, ‘Liberal Press’, 204.

<sup>48</sup> ‘A Working Man Admirer’ to A.G. Gardiner, 11 September 1919, Gardiner Papers, 1/48.

<sup>49</sup> A. Stewart to A.G. Gardiner, 12 September 1919, Gardiner Papers, 1/48.

<sup>50</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 301. Figures taken from: T.B. Browne, *The Advertiser's A.B.C.: The Standard Advertisement Directory* (London, 1910); Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations*.

<sup>51</sup> Fox-Bourne and Porritt, *British Newspapers*, p. 18; Macleod, *Literature*, p. 87.

parliamentary career, Donald invigorated the newspaper, increasing its circulation and influence.<sup>52</sup> He became a close confidant of Lloyd George, who hailed the *Daily Chronicle* as ‘simply first-rate’, ‘rendering enormous help’ to the Liberal cause.<sup>53</sup> Donald’s early journalistic endeavours were commended by William Stead in 1898,<sup>54</sup> and his journalistic skill was again recognised when he was elected to President of the Institute of Journalists in 1913.<sup>55</sup>

In 1904 Stead divided London daily newspapers into four tiers according to quality. He placed the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*, alongside titles including the Conservative *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Morning Post*, into the second tier, identifying them as distinguished by such factors as editorial excellence or parliamentary connections.<sup>56</sup> Historian Neal Blewett also placed the political influence of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle* on the same level, arguing that ‘the proprietors concerned regarded their papers as party instruments in a fairly narrow sense’.<sup>57</sup> However, it was often acknowledged by other contemporaries, and then by historian Stephen Koss, that the ‘eminently well-tempered’ *Daily Chronicle* was the less outspoken and influential advocate of Edwardian progressivism,<sup>58</sup> embracing ‘popular features, shortening its articles and increasing its headlines’ to a greater extent than the *Daily News*.<sup>59</sup> W.J. Fisher, a former editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, argued in 1904 that, having reduced its price to a halfpenny, the newspaper had also ‘relegated the serious consideration of political and social questions to a very secondary place’, crossing over to ‘the more meretricious side of journalism’.<sup>60</sup> Another contemporary considered that the *Daily Chronicle* had been ‘foremost among the morning papers in accepting the novelties that were coming into vogue’.<sup>61</sup>

Keenly aware of the expectations of the commercialised press having previously written for the *Daily Mail*, Donald never made the ‘mistake of putting

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<sup>52</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> David Lloyd George to Robert Donald, 20 September 1912, Lloyd George Papers, LG/C/4/8/2, Parliamentary Archives.

<sup>54</sup> W.T. Stead to Robert Donald, 4 March 1898, Donald Papers, D/3/49, Parliamentary Archives.

<sup>55</sup> A.J.A. Morris, ‘Sir Robert Donald (1860-1933)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008).

<sup>56</sup> *Review of Reviews*, December 1904, pp. 604-605.

<sup>57</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 311.

<sup>58</sup> Koss, *Fleet Street*, p. 107.

<sup>59</sup> Dibblee, *Newspaper*, p. 177.

<sup>60</sup> Fisher, ‘Liberal Press’, p. 204.

<sup>61</sup> Fox-Bourne and Porritt, *British Newspapers*, p. 18.

views before news'.<sup>62</sup> He was sympathetic to Liberalism but was in fact no party zealot. As Donald's biographer noted, he was carefree in his assessment, however exaggerated, that most of his staff seemed to be Tories or Socialists. Nevertheless, 'men of diverse temperaments worked harmoniously under his editorship' because of his ability to evoke loyalty,<sup>63</sup> promoting an atmosphere of a 'happy family'.<sup>64</sup>

#### IV

#### The Westminster Gazette and The Star

In contrast to the two Liberal morning newspapers discussed above, which were aimed at largely the same market, the Liberal evening newspapers in publication after 1906 – the halfpenny *Star* and the one-penny *Westminster Gazette* – were very different in this regard. While the *Star* was the first national daily newspaper to aim at a mass readership in Britain,<sup>65</sup> the *Westminster Gazette* catered for the educated middle classes and the political elite.<sup>66</sup> Liberal businessman George Newnes established the *Westminster Gazette* in 1892 when the *Pall Mall Gazette* was bought out by American millionaire W.W. Astor and announced that its politics would be converted to Conservatism. Newnes provided jobs for the old staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, making a personal loss of £10,000 per annum in a one-penny evening newspaper market saturated by Conservative competitors. Growing weary of the financial burden, in 1908 Newnes sold the *Westminster Gazette* to a Liberal syndicate headed by Sir Alfred Mond, the Liberal MP for Chester.<sup>67</sup> In 1910 the *Westminster Gazette* secured a circulation of only 20,000, and never made a profit. The most popular one-penny Conservative evening newspaper, the *Evening Standard*, enjoyed a circulation of 160,000.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> H.A. Taylor, *Robert Donald: Being the Authorized Biography of Sir Robert Donald, Journalist, Editor and Friend of Statesmen* (London, 1934), pp. 46-48.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *Robert Donald*, pp. 49, 256.

<sup>64</sup> Robert Donald, 'The Passing of the Daily Chronicle: The Human Side of the Tragedy', *Newspaper World*, 7 June 1930 pp. 10-11.

<sup>65</sup> Goodbody, 'Star', p. 143.

<sup>66</sup> Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 124.

<sup>67</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 41.

<sup>68</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 301. Figures taken from: T.B. Browne, *Advertiser's A.B.C.*; Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations*.

However, placed by Stead, along with the *Times*, in the top tier of quality newspapers, what the *Westminster Gazette* lost in terms of circulation and profit it made up for in respect and influence.<sup>69</sup> The newspaper was identified by Liberal politician Alexander Murray as ‘the most powerful organ in England’, and was widely acknowledged as being read in Conservative as well as Liberal circles.<sup>70</sup> As the newspaper’s esteemed editor from 1896, J.A. Spender noted that it ‘gave the serious reader something to think about in his leisure hours – in the clubs when his working day was over, and at home in the evenings’.<sup>71</sup> The *Westminster Gazette* was, according to one contemporary, ‘a journal written by gentlemen for gentlemen ... sane, thorough, and well-informed’.<sup>72</sup> Kate Jackson assessed that the *Westminster Gazette* in many ways held more in common with the Liberal weekly periodical press, expressing views in the hope of influencing policy makers rather than addressing the masses directly.<sup>73</sup>

However, it is important not to overstate this view. The political cartoons provided by Francis Carruthers Gould, the assistant editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, were a hugely popular feature of the newspaper. Gould’s cartoons were frequently redistributed on a large scale by the Liberal Publication Department (LPD) headed by Charles Geake, who was also Spender’s assistant leader-writer. Spender noted that the *Westminster Gazette* and the LPD were ‘all but amalgamated in those times of stress’ during election periods, when the newspaper’s material reaching a far wider and more socially varied community than those who actually purchased the newspaper.<sup>74</sup> In addition to cartoons, the *Westminster Gazette* adopted other livelier techniques associated with the new journalism, including the provision of sports news, smaller ‘snippet’ news stories, and competitions.<sup>75</sup> The acknowledgement that the *Westminster Gazette*’s readers would appreciate these features is perhaps not surprising considering that George Newnes was also the founder of the popular journal *Tit Bits*, and one of the pioneering figures within the new journalism movement.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *Review of Reviews*, December 1904, pp. 604-5.

<sup>70</sup> Memorandum by the Master of Elibank, 25 June 1906, quoted in Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 76.

<sup>71</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. 2* (London, 1927), p. 134.

<sup>72</sup> Symon, *Press*, p. 151.

<sup>73</sup> Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. 1*, p. 233.

<sup>75</sup> Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 135.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

Despite the fact that Spender's three-paragraph front-page leader remained a characteristic feature of the *Westminster Gazette* throughout the Edwardian period, the newspaper did not provide, as 'the well-to-do Liberal' requested in his letter to A.G. Gardiner, a high quality one-penny counterpart to the halfpenny *Daily News*. The *Westminster Gazette* was moderate, rather than self-righteously radical. The newspaper's chief aim was always to keep the Liberal Party in power and to build a bridge between potential factions.<sup>77</sup> For example, conscious of Gardiner's potential hostility towards Asquith, Spender wrote to the editor of the *Daily News* during the general election period of January 1910, emphasising that, 'we journalists should not make it too difficult for Asquith to hold on'.<sup>78</sup> It was noted by one contemporary that the *Westminster Gazette* was 'occasionally suspected by the other side for being out of sympathy with the advanced programme'.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, Spender was critical of Lloyd George's inflammatory introduction of land taxes in his 1909 'People's Budget'. Lloyd George reacted to this rebuke by noting that, 'this kind of running away at the first menace of danger ... has weakened us so much' in the attempt to 'rouse the fighting spirit of our own forces' and to put 'new heart into the party'.<sup>80</sup>

Maintaining an Imperial identity, the *Westminster Gazette* identified most strongly with figures in the Liberal Party such as Asquith and Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.<sup>81</sup> With regard to the Irish Question, while the rest of the Liberal press supported Home Rule (only disagreeing over the timetable), the *Westminster Gazette* argued only for a revision of the relationship between Britain and Ireland.<sup>82</sup> However, the *Westminster Gazette's* Imperialist stance was undoubtedly allied with support for moderate social reform, in order to address the question of national efficiency.<sup>83</sup> Spender, modelling his journalistic style, 'more sedately',<sup>84</sup> on that of his close friend Stead, identified the *Westminster Gazette* as bringing 'a steady flow of criticism to bear on

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<sup>77</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 139.

<sup>78</sup> J.A. Spender to A.G. Gardiner, 24 January 1910, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/34.

<sup>79</sup> Fisher, 'Liberal Press', p. 205.

<sup>80</sup> David Lloyd George to J.A. Spender, 16 July 1909, Spender Papers, MS 46,388, ff. 201-204, British Library Manuscripts Collection.

<sup>81</sup> James Startt, *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903-1913* (London, 1991), pp. 20-24, 53-60; Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 79; Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 154.

<sup>82</sup> Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 123.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>84</sup> Fox-Bourne and Porritt, *British Newspapers*, p. 18.

existing conditions, accompanied by proposals for their amendment'.<sup>85</sup> Despite being identified by R.A. Scott-James as 'an unofficial member of the Liberal Cabinet',<sup>86</sup> Spender did seek to maintain a clear sense of independence from the government, so as not to undermine his journalistic integrity. Following his purchase of the *Westminster Gazette* in 1908, Spender greatly resented the fact that Liberal MP Alfred Mond was 'interfering considerably' with editorial policy.<sup>87</sup> Spender also expressed reluctance at the prospect of being offered a knighthood during the Edwardian period – a recognition, he felt, which would establish an uncomfortable closeness to the government of the day. Spender explained that he 'did not wish criticism, if it became necessary, to have the appearance of ingratitude, or approval that of servility'.<sup>88</sup>

In contrast to the *Westminster Gazette*, which boasted huge political influence but a low circulation, figures indicate that the *Star* held a healthy position against its only competitor, the *Evening News*, in the evening halfpenny newspaper market, although any claim to holding political influence is challenged. Considered to be the first daily newspaper in Britain to fully identify itself with the new journalism,<sup>89</sup> the *Star* was founded in 1888 by Irish nationalist T.P. O'Connor. In 1910 the newspaper secured a circulation of 330,000 in comparison to 300,000 for the *Evening News*.<sup>90</sup> Ernest Parke edited the *Star* (alongside the *Morning Leader*) from 1891 to 1908. The editorship of the *Star* was taken over by James Douglas from 1908. Also from 1908, along with the *Morning Leader*, the *Star* was jointly controlled by the Rowntree Trust and Cadbury's *Daily News* Company. In 1912 Cadbury acquired exclusive custody over the *Star*, making the concession to allow betting news to continue in the newspaper.<sup>91</sup>

O'Connor argued in a seminal 1889 essay on the issue of the new journalism that, in order to attract an audience made up of 'whirling brains', it was necessary to 'strike the reader right between the eyes'.<sup>92</sup> 'Far removed from

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<sup>85</sup> J.A. Spender, *Men and Things* (London, 1937), p. 63.

<sup>86</sup> Scott-James, *Influence*, p. 211.

<sup>87</sup> George Riddell, '12 December 1908', in McEwen (ed.), *Riddell Diaries*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>88</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. I*, p. 136.

<sup>89</sup> Goodbody, 'Star', pp. 143-144.

<sup>90</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 301. Figures taken from: Browne, *Advertiser's A.B.C.*; Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations*.

<sup>91</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 215.

<sup>92</sup> T.P. O'Connor, 'The New Journalism', *New Review*, 1 (1889), pp. 423-434.

the customary stolid, unemotional handling of social problems by the press',<sup>93</sup> at birth the *Star* followed an editorial line of Radical Socialism. Although, according to George Bernard Shaw, this represented little more than the "sentimental Utopianism" of 'amiable anarchists',<sup>94</sup> the newspaper went formally Liberal in 1892.<sup>95</sup> Impressing 'upon his staff the value of "the human side" and the personal note',<sup>96</sup> O'Connor's *Star* 'followed American methods to an extent hitherto unknown in the British press', incorporating bold headlines, interviews and easily digested news snippets.<sup>97</sup> The *Star* also provided sports reportage and graphic coverage of crime, most notoriously in its depictions of the Jack the Ripper murders in 1888.<sup>98</sup> The *Star* became 'at once the London worker's paper': 'what made the workers buy the *Star* was the liveliness of its news columns', presenting 'the events of the moment with an eye for the usual and picturesque'.<sup>99</sup> The newspaper also consciously sought to extend its emotional community to women. It was O'Connor's aspiration to provide such titillating reading material that it metaphorically 'put into the charwoman's tea-cup two lumps of sugar instead of one'.<sup>100</sup> As well as a popular gossip column, 'Mainly about People', the *Star* also provided columns dedicated to female readers, discussing traditional issues such as fashion and cookery recipes.<sup>101</sup>

The question of the *Star's* political influence is debatable. O'Connor insisted when the *Star* was established that, 'nothing could – to my mind – be greater folly than to introduce political controversy in all and every department of the newspaper'.<sup>102</sup> By the end of the Edwardian period, one commentator assessed that, 'of late the *Evening News* and the *Star* have placed themselves in the front rank of successful commercial exploitation. But they can hardly be said to exercise any serious influence on opinion'.<sup>103</sup> Hamilton Fyfe noted that the Edwardian *Star* was a newspaper 'few could be persuaded to take seriously ... for

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<sup>93</sup> Fyfe, *Sixty Years* (London, 1949), p. 44.

<sup>94</sup> Hamilton Fyfe, *T.P. O'Connor* (London, 1934), p. 146.

<sup>95</sup> Goodbody, 'Star', pp. 156-157.

<sup>96</sup> Hamilton, *O'Connor*, p. 140.

<sup>97</sup> Symon, *Press*, p. 153.

<sup>98</sup> T.P. O'Connor, *Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian: Vol. II* (London, 1929), p. 257.

<sup>99</sup> Fyfe, *Sixty Years*, p. 45.

<sup>100</sup> Hamilton, *O'Connor*, p. 138.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>102</sup> O'Connor, 'New Journalism', p. 430.

<sup>103</sup> Dibblee, *Newspaper*, p. 182.

it did not take itself seriously'.<sup>104</sup> This assessment is perhaps a little too extreme. Others identified Ernest Parke as an important and trusted advisor to the Liberal Party, conducting crusades in favours of social reform through the *Star*.<sup>105</sup> While acknowledging the *Star's* 'scare-heads' and 'tendency to "scream"' in 1914, J.D. Symon conceded that this was 'palliated by the admirable critical and special articles' provided by the newspaper.<sup>106</sup>

## V

### The News of the World

The *News of the World* was founded in 1843 with the aim to provide 'the fearless advocacy of truth'.<sup>107</sup> Following a period of stunted growth on account of insufficient working capital and indecision, the newspaper began to prosper in 1891. Henry Lascelles Carr, a Welsh newspaper proprietor, took over the publication and placed his young nephew, Emsley Carr, in the editorial chair, where he remained for fifty years. The new owner's solicitor, George Riddell, received shares in the newspaper instead of monetary payment for his legal aid provided during the take-over period. However, finding the newspaper more compelling than law, Riddell abandoned the latter and became heavily involved in the management of the *News of the World*, firstly as a secretary and then as the newspaper's chairman. Riddell and Carr were a formidable profit-making team. The one-penny *News of the World* was the largest selling Edwardian newspaper, establishing a circulation of two million by 1912.<sup>108</sup>

Compared to the daily newspapers, a lower status was generally attached to Sunday newspapers as conveyors of political news and opinions, instead focussing upon sensation and sport as staples.<sup>109</sup> Florence Bell suggested the leisurely and unchallenging nature of their content in 1905, noting that they were popular with working men for their provision of 'a good deal of miscellaneous information'. This allowed 'Sunday to pass quite harmlessly ... for many among

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<sup>104</sup> Fyfe, *Sixty Years*, p. 68.

<sup>105</sup> A.J.A. Morris, 'Ernest Parke (1860-1944)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008).

<sup>106</sup> Symon, *Press*, p. 153.

<sup>107</sup> Cyril Bainbridge and Roy Stockdill, *The News of the World Story: 150 Years of the World's Bestselling Newspaper* (London, 1993), p. 17.

<sup>108</sup> Engel, *Tickle*, p. 221.

<sup>109</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 125.

the workmen who spend the day in bed, reading and smoking'.<sup>110</sup> The early-twentieth-century *News of the World* seemed no exception, providing, as a priority, sensationalist 'police court reports of rape, seduction, violence and marital infidelity'.<sup>111</sup> According to Frances Lloyd George, Lloyd George's mistress and second wife, Riddell had 'an insatiable curiosity ... to get at one's private life ... It was human nature that interested him'.<sup>112</sup>

Of the three Edwardian Liberal Sunday newspapers – *Reynolds News*, *Lloyds Weekly News* (also edited by Robert Donald of the *Daily Chronicle*) and the *News of the World* – the latter was in fact the least historically partisan. The *News of the World* provides an example of a newspaper where the leaning towards Liberalism was not largely based upon the moral convictions of those in charge of the newspaper. In his study of the general elections of 1910, Neal Blewett even went as far as to identify the *News of the World* as non-partisan or independent.<sup>113</sup> However, this is not the complete picture. The newspaper carried the tag-line, 'Contains More News Than Any Other Paper', but its views were also acknowledged. The *News of the World's* support for the Edwardian Liberal Party was based upon the close friendship that Riddell shared with Lloyd George, in addition to Riddell's quest for a knighthood.<sup>114</sup> This situation presents a stark contrast to the *Westminster Gazette's* Spender, who actively resisted such honours during the Edwardian period. Frances Lloyd George identified Riddell as amongst Lloyd George's three chief companions during the pre-First World War years, whom he 'saw and talked to practically everyday'.<sup>115</sup> Riddell was Lloyd George's golfing partner and bought him a house on the edge of Walton Heath golf course, as well as providing constant, shrewd support in his newspaper.<sup>116</sup> Acknowledging the mutual advantage of working together, Lloyd George recommended that Asquith provide Riddell with a knighthood. Asquith reluctantly granted it in 1909 on the grounds that, 'the "News of the World" had

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<sup>110</sup> Bell, 'People Read', pp. 428-9.

<sup>111</sup> Francis Williams, *Dangerous Estate: The Anatomy of Newspapers* (London, 1957), p. 235.

<sup>112</sup> Frances Lloyd George, *The Years That Are Past* (London, 1967), pp. 58-59.

<sup>113</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 302, 309.

<sup>114</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 208; Lee 'Radical Press', p. 58; Bainbridge and Stockdill, *News*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>115</sup> Lloyd George, *Years*, p. 43.

<sup>116</sup> A.J.A. Morris, 'George Allardice Riddell, (1865-1934)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011).

become definitely Liberal, and was a valuable party asset'.<sup>117</sup> When considering the usual close link between press commercialisation and political conservatism, it is interesting that the largest selling Edwardian newspaper, whose 'envious record of journalistic scoops' included the 1900 relief of Mafeking during the Boer War,<sup>118</sup> was acknowledged by the Prime Minister as having become in some way, and to some extent, allied with the progressive Liberal Party.

However, the newspaper's political consciousness should not simply be dismissed as a smokescreen: the Edwardian publication was, according to R.D. Blumenfeld, 'an uncommonly good newspaper'.<sup>119</sup> Matthew Engel moderates this statement, assessing that while 'someone who only read the *News of the World* might end up with a rather strange sense of priorities ... they would not miss anything important': 'all the news of the week, indeed the news of the world, was in it somewhere'.<sup>120</sup> Although, according to Frances Lloyd George, Riddell 'never gave anyone credit for high ideals or altruistic motives',<sup>121</sup> Cyril Bainbridge and Roy Stockdill argue that the *News of the World* developed an image of 'the family friend in times of need as well as a provider of entertainment to brighten what might otherwise be dull times'.<sup>122</sup> During the London dock strikes of 1911, the newspaper dispatched vans containing loaves of bread for the strikers and their families. On the other hand, some questioned the 'genuine humanitarian' nature of the venture: the long-line of horse-drawn '*News of the World*' emblazoned vans gave a distinct 'advertising flavour' to proceedings.<sup>123</sup> This situation reflects the mix of commercialism and humanitarianism, entertainment and political seriousness, which is often highlighted throughout this thesis, not only when referring to the *News of the World*. Discussing the 'Psychology of the Journalist' in 1929, Riddell reflected upon his experiences, and the emotional communities that newspapers constructed, explaining that, 'journalists *are* sentimental concerning their own

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<sup>117</sup> Herbert Asquith to J.A. Spender, 11 November 1909, quoted in Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 207.

<sup>118</sup> Bainbridge and Stockdill, *News*, p. 14.

<sup>119</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 162.

<sup>120</sup> Engel, *Tickle*, p. 216.

<sup>121</sup> Bainbridge and Stockdill, *News*, p. 58.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

environment ... They also take a deep interest in their calling and all connected with it. In fact, journalism and all that it implies are a world within a world'.<sup>124</sup>

## VI

### The Manchester Guardian and The Northern Echo

'A family newspaper in the sense of continuous ownership by members of one clan',<sup>125</sup> the *Manchester Guardian* was founded in 1821 by C.P. Scott's uncle. The newspaper was edited by C.P. Scott from 1872 and owned by him from 1905. Scott was a Liberal MP from 1894 to 1906 and was the president of the Manchester Liberal Federation from 1909. Previously a traditional Whig newspaper, under the leadership of Scott and editorial staff including L.T. Hobhouse the *Manchester Guardian* achieved national prestige. The *Manchester Guardian* operated at the vanguard of radicalism following the Boer War, which the newspaper had vigorously campaigned against.<sup>126</sup> Scott aimed 'to make readable righteousness remunerative'.<sup>127</sup> With an estimated circulation of 37,000 by 1906, the *Manchester Guardian* was one of the few profitable provincial morning newspapers.<sup>128</sup> Peter Clarke placed central importance on Scott and his newspaper when accounting for the Liberal revival in the Edwardian North West.<sup>129</sup>

With regard to readership, it was noted by A. Yates, an employee at the *Manchester Guardian*, that 'among cultured and earnest people, on the one hand, and mere commercial men, on the other, the *Manchester Guardian* is undoubtedly a great force'. 'But' he continued, 'the majority of the electors belong to the working class, and the working men do not read the *Manchester Guardian*'.<sup>130</sup> Lloyd George also shared this opinion when he emphasised to Scott how important it was that the Liberals 'have the support of a paper like the *Manchester Guardian*'. 'It is not enough to carry "the crowd" with you', Lloyd

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<sup>124</sup> Lord Riddell, 'The Psychology of the Journalist', in Michael Bromley and Tom O'Malley (eds.), *A Journalism Reader* (London, 1997), p. 112. Original work published 1929. Own italics added here for emphasis.

<sup>125</sup> Ivor Brown, *The Post Victorians* (London, 1933), p. 552.

<sup>126</sup> Mark Hampton, 'The Press, Patriotism, and Public Discussion: C.P. Scott, The *Manchester Guardian* and The Boer War, 1899-1902', *Historical Journal*, 44:1 (2001), pp. 177-197.

<sup>127</sup> Lee, *Popular Press*, p. 173.

<sup>128</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 76.

<sup>129</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*, p. 153.

<sup>130</sup> A. Yates to C.P. Scott, 10 August 1912, quoted in Clarke, *Lancashire*, p. 155.

George continued, 'you must convince the thoughtful men in the Party. No paper carried such weight with this class as yours'.<sup>131</sup> The *Manchester Guardian's* role was to mould and influence men who were themselves the opinion formers, and, similarly to the *Westminster Gazette*, the newspaper was read and admired by Conservative opponents.<sup>132</sup> Hence there was considered to be no 'spirit of rivalry' when the halfpenny mass-market *Daily News* established a Manchester edition in 1909.<sup>133</sup>

Described by one contemporary as 'probably the most influential Liberal in the country outside the cabinet',<sup>134</sup> Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* held close connections with local Liberals MPs, many of which were established during his own period as a politician.<sup>135</sup> However, Scott also sought new allegiances during the Edwardian period. He increasingly closely allied himself with Lloyd George, even at the expense of his allegiance to Winston Churchill, who had strong links to Lancashire Liberalism having represented Manchester North West. Scott considered Lloyd George to be the more dependable and weightier political figure. Noting Churchill's impatience and egoism, Scott explained that 'every question with him becomes a personal question', before privately dismissing him as a 'queer emotional creature'.<sup>136</sup>

Similarly to Gardiner of the *Daily News*, Scott supported disarmament (considering that expenditure would be better invested in social reform) and was highly supportive of female suffrage, although he deplored the methods of the suffragettes.<sup>137</sup> However, despite many similarities, it can be suggested that the manifestation of Gardiner and Scott's radicalism on the pages of the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian* differed according to the significance that they placed upon emotion in galvanising reform. As discussed, Gardiner was convinced that both thoughts and great passions provided the sustenance of progress. On the other hand, *Manchester Guardian* journalist J.L. Hammond

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<sup>131</sup> David Lloyd George to C.P. Scott, 4 September 1913, Lloyd George Papers, LG/C/8/1/9.

<sup>132</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>133</sup> Henry Cadbury and George Armstrong to C.P. Scott, 19 January 1908, Scott Papers, Reel 9, 128/1.

<sup>134</sup> R.C.K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1936), p. 489.

<sup>135</sup> David Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (London, 1971), pp. 235-246.

<sup>136</sup> C.P. Scott Interview Notes, 22 July 1911 and 24 January 1912, quoted in Clarke, *Lancashire*, p. 196.

<sup>137</sup> J.L. Hammond, 'C.P. Scott, 1846-1932', in A.P. Wadsworth (ed.), *C.P. Scott, 1846-1932: The Making of the Manchester Guardian* (London, 1946), p. 54; Clarke, *Lancashire*, p. 196.

assessed in 1934 that, even in his youth, ‘Scott had a patient and deliberative mind; he was interested in a problem through his intellect before he was interested in it through his emotions; his natural treatment of any question was the dispassionate analysis of fact and argument’.<sup>138</sup> Unlike staff under Donald at the more popular *Daily Chronicle*, Scott’s employees, ‘if they were wise’, ‘conformed to the temper of the paper, knowing that the presence of an initial at the bottom of the article does not entitle the writer to express views definitely offensive to its readers or to indulge in a style of attack alien to the paper’s tradition’.<sup>139</sup> However, Scott did appoint more overtly passionate journalists: he successfully ‘drew enthusiasm into his paper and then guided it. He used the impulses of original minds without creating an impulsive paper’.<sup>140</sup> The appointment of C.E. Montague in 1890 (who subsequently married Scott’s daughter), brought to the newspaper’s ‘austere workshop of the Radical faith some new and challenging wind’, incorporating ‘all the moods and humours of [the North West’s] rough democracy’.<sup>141</sup>

Meanwhile the *Northern Echo*, a halfpenny Liberal morning newspaper, successfully reached the North East’s democracy. Formed in 1870 and based in Darlington – at the centre of the national rail network – John Bright noted in 1882 that the newspaper was available to be brought ‘into the house of every pitman in that country who chooses to take it’.<sup>142</sup> Nonconformist and wholly Gladstonian in character, the newspaper advocated universal suffrage, Home Rule for Ireland, and compulsory education.<sup>143</sup> The *Northern Echo* became a ‘powerful voice’ of Northern radicalism,<sup>144</sup> where the free trade political culture remained particularly strong throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>145</sup> Placed under the editorial leadership of William Stead in 1871, until be moved onto the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Northern Echo* was an important testing ground for the campaigning journalism that came to be identified as the

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<sup>138</sup> J.L. Hammond, *C.P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian* (London, 1934), p. 329.

<sup>139</sup> Brown, *Post Victorians*, p. 555.

<sup>140</sup> Hammond, *Scott*, p. 331.

<sup>141</sup> Brown, *Post Victorians*, p. 556.

<sup>142</sup> John Bright, quoted in Brake and Demoor, ‘Northern Echo’, in their *Dictionary*, pp. 457-458.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> Tanner, *Political Change*, p. 232-233.

<sup>145</sup> David Thackeray, ‘Building a Peaceable Party: Masculine Identities in British Conservative Politics, c.1903-1924’, *Historical Research*, 85:230 (2012), p. 654.

new journalism.<sup>146</sup> Stead crusaded against such moral laxities as female impurity, drinking and promiscuous dancing.<sup>147</sup>

However, by the turn of the twentieth century, the *Northern Echo* had encountered financial difficulties and was saved by Joseph Rowntree. Similarly to Cadbury, Rowntree claimed to want to use the press to campaign for social reform.<sup>148</sup> In 1904, through the Rowntree Trust, the North of England Newspaper Company was formed to run the *Northern Echo*, advised by Ernest Parke of the *Star* and the *Morning Leader*. The *Northern Echo* was not only profitable – it was the largest selling Edwardian Liberal newspaper in the region,<sup>149</sup> securing a circulation that exceeded 30,000 throughout the period.<sup>150</sup> However, Cadbury and Rowntree’s increasing ownership and control of Liberal newspapers – dubbed the ‘cocoa press’ – frequently roused the accusation from political opponents that they were more concerned with their business interests than politics.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, the *Northern Echo*’s status as a great Liberal organ subtly declined after 1910 as the newspaper embraced a more neutral standpoint ‘largely due to business reasons’.<sup>152</sup> The Conservative *Northern Star* was floundering and the *Northern Echo* took the opportunity to attract Conservative readers, allowing the political to ‘claim only its fair share of attention’. This decision was justified by Luther Worstenholm, the editor, on the understanding that, ‘the newspaper can best sell the Liberal cause by ... finding and retaining an audience to whom, when elections come, the Liberal candidates and party leaders can speak through carefully condensed reports of their speeches’.<sup>153</sup>

## VII Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the seven Edwardian Liberal newspapers utilised in this thesis. It has highlighted similarities and differences between the often

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<sup>146</sup> Simon Goldsworthy, ‘English Nonconformity and the Pioneering of the Modern Newspaper Campaign’, *Journalism Studies*, 7:3 (2006), pp. 387-402.

<sup>147</sup> Lloyd, *Attacking*, p. 41.

<sup>148</sup> Paul Gliddon, ‘The Political Importance of Provincial Newspapers, 1903-1945: The Rowntrees and the Liberal Press’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 14:1 (2003), pp. 26-28.

<sup>149</sup> Tanner, *Political Change*, p. 232.

<sup>150</sup> Lloyd, *Attacking*, p. 72.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>153</sup> Luther Worstenholm, quoted in Lloyd, *Attacking*, p. 70.

complex emotional communities established in the newspapers, influenced by their institutional histories, links with the Liberal Party and the attitudes and temperaments of individual proprietors, editors and contributors. Rather than simply being discussed as an ‘extension of the party’,<sup>154</sup> it was noted that as an outspoken advocate of social reform the *Daily News* could express resentment and anger if it was believed that the government was not pressing the issue with enough urgency. Conversely, the moderate *Westminster Gazette* could be identified by opponents as appearing out of sympathy with the Liberal social reform agenda, while Spender avoided honours during the Edwardian period to retain a respectable degree of detachment from the party. Furthermore, rarely interested in self-promotion or intrigue, Prime Minister Asquith shared an awkward and strained relationship with much of the Liberal press, often gaining greater respect and recognition from the *Times*.<sup>155</sup>

It is important to note that histories stressing affinities within the Liberal press have not only often paid limited attention to analysing the actual language and content of the newspapers, but they have also tended to focus upon the 1906 and 1910 election periods: occasions when the press was perhaps most likely to unite behind the common goal. This thesis explores non-election periods as well, although it is to the two general elections of 1910 that it first turns.

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<sup>154</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 27.

<sup>155</sup> Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 99. Asquith told Churchill in August 1912 that, ‘no party was ever worse served than ours by its Press’. Quoted in Koss, *Political Press: Vol. 2*, p. 100.

## *Chapter Three*

### **‘Stirred with a real and serious emotion’: The Representation of ‘The People’ During the Two 1910 General Elections**

She had tried every subject, but nothing appeared to interest him. At last, reduced to despair by his monosyllabic replies and utter apathy, she had given up all attempt to rouse his interest in politics, and, her canvassing-card in her hand, stood on the muddy road and watched him work ... All the tags and catchwords of current politics, which in the course of her canvassing she had used as so much current coin, shrivelled like dead leaves ... What were his feelings, she wondered? Dumb feelings naturally, since such an inarticulate being could probably scarcely formulate, even to himself, the things he felt. But he must feel something. How did he, from the depths of his own misery, and poverty, and discomfort, view the prosperity of his employer? Did he regard him with all the force of envy he was capable of feeling, or did he merely mutely and passively accept him as part of the existing order of things? Surely, however atrophied a life of misery had made him, the sense of contrast must strike him.

**Eva Anstruther, ‘The Elector’, *Westminster Gazette*, 8 January 1910, p. 2.**

#### **I**

#### **Introduction**

1910 was a very significant year politically. In addition to seeing the death of King Edward VII, the year was framed by two general elections – in January and December. Reporting in January 1910 upon an evening of election results in London, the *Daily Chronicle* constructed a discourse about changes in emotion, human character and relationships coming to the surface of political life. The newspaper explained that, the ‘great crowds thronging the streets of London and waiting for the election results have not been as other crowds. The psychology of them has been essentially different’. The gathering, which included ‘well-dressed women – not afraid to be in the crowd’, had ‘learnt that if a man nearby happened to express an opinion diametrically opposed to their own it is not strictly necessary, or part of the divine law of manhood, to bash him on the head or to hit him hard on the nose’. The *Daily Chronicle* concluded that the election crowd had been ‘stirred with a real and serious emotion, above the squabbles and petty insolences of private feuds’. They were aware that, ‘upon those figures on

the screen the future of England was in the balance, and that they were watching the conflict of forces greater than themselves'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in addition to the Conservative tariff reform proposal, a key issue over which the Liberals had fought the January election – and went on to fight the December election – addressed fundamental balances of power within the British constitution. The Liberals sought to reduce the power of the overwhelmingly Conservative House of Lords to block reform legislation put forward by the democratically elected House of Commons.<sup>2</sup>

The *Daily Chronicle's* article provided a representation of an essentially rational, respectable, intellectually engaged and well-behaved election crowd – having learnt to master emotional excess, but stirred with emotion nevertheless. This depiction of individuals being driven by a collective common good or higher aim, rather than irrationality or selfish interests, is suggestive of the new liberal emotional community ideal put forward by theorists such as L.T. Hobhouse.<sup>3</sup> However, the *Daily Chronicle's* portrayal also challenges the influential argument that irrationality, sensationalism and populist excesses were the defining features of Edwardian electoral politics and formed the foundations of party appeal to the mass electorate. In 1908, Graham Wallas observed that, 'many of the half-conscious processes by which men form their political opinions are non-rational', rather than being formed through 'reasoning tested by experience'.<sup>4</sup> Although acknowledging that physical violence was infrequent compared with earlier periods, Jon Lawrence recently argued against the 'growing civility and rationalism' of Edwardian popular political culture, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. Lawrence noted the important role that unofficial propaganda, such as the newspapers, played in promoting a consciously manipulative and sensationalist style of popular political communication and mobilisation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Gibbs, 'Good Humour of "The Mob"', *Daily Chronicle*, 20 January 1910, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Packer, 'The 1910 General Elections: Turning Points in British Politics?', *Journal of Liberal History*, 68 (2010), pp. 8-9; Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 317, 326; George Bernstein, *Liberalism and Liberal Politics in Edwardian England* (Boston, 1986), pp. 106-116; Bruce Murray, *The People's Budget, 1909/10: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics* (Oxford, 1980), p. 252; Corinne Comstock Weston, 'The Liberal Leadership and the Lords' Veto, 1907-1910', *Historical Journal*, 11:3 (1968), pp. 508-537.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, p. xi.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 38.

However, largely adopting a ‘rational versus irrational’ approach, these commentaries can be limiting because, as sociologist Thomas Scheff notes, important emotional behaviours are often simply dismissed as irrational.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, challenging James Vernon’s thesis and seeking to prove the very public nature of popular politics (as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis), Jon Lawrence’s work has tended to focus upon appeals to, and representations of, more actively engaged political participants, for example, those who formed election crowds or attended political meetings.<sup>7</sup> Less attention is paid to the emotional mobilisation of the less politically engaged non-party man, who was labelled in such terms as the ‘quiet man’ or the ‘silent voter’. Addressing an audience at Bath in August 1909, Liberal politician Richard Haldane acknowledged how important the ‘silent voter’ would be, in addition to ‘the keen Liberal’, if the issue of the House of Lords was to be resolved by a general election. Haldane explained that the ‘silent voter’ was one ‘who gave little indication of what they thought and perhaps did not take an active interest in politics until the time came for recording their votes, but who held the balance at the elections. That class of people spoke strongly in 1906, and would do so again’.<sup>8</sup> The extract from the *Westminster Gazette* presented at the beginning of this chapter, a passage from a short story by creative writer Eva Anstruther, provides an important illustration of the difficulties a canvasser potentially faced in January 1910 when attempting to rouse the political emotions of the quiet man, who was seemingly uninterested in discussing political questions, or being courted by well-rehearsed party propaganda. Yet the canvasser was also adamant that the seemingly hopeless workman could not be completely apathetic and immune to political emotion if the correct emotions were roused and articulated for him on a more fundamental, personal level, instead of through the repetitive and universal ‘tags and catchwords of current politics’.

Providing ‘the watchword of the coming fight’,<sup>9</sup> Herbert Asquith spoke at London’s Albert Hall at the beginning of the first election campaign on 10 December 1909 with a banner erected above his head that read, ‘Shall the People

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<sup>6</sup> Scheff, ‘Rationality’, pp. 101-119.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 37-38.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Mr. Haldane at Bath’, *Manchester Guardian*, 16 August 1909, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Mr. Asquith’s Meeting’, *Daily Chronicle*, 10 December 1909, p. 1.

be Ruled by the Peers?'.<sup>10</sup> The language of 'the people' came to be adopted as an inclusive and patriotic reference to all those who allied themselves with the Liberal Party, against the peers and the Conservative Party, during the two elections. In November 1910 the *Daily Chronicle* discussed the rhetoric of 'the people'. The newspaper warned that the Conservatives also adopted this term, although for them it was only an electoral strategy and was not genuine: the term did not even have a fixed character or meaning for the party. For example, 'that sovereign tribunal, The People' quickly became 'the hoarse mob' in the Conservative press when they pledged themselves passionate about social reform.<sup>11</sup>

However, exploring the emotional representations of, and emotional appeals to, the Liberal supporting electorate, in addition to male and female non-voting, unofficial Liberal political participants, in the seven Liberal newspapers during the two election campaigns of 1910, this chapter highlights that the notion of 'the people' was also a fluid term within the Liberal press, taking on 'the hue of circumstance'.<sup>12</sup> Different groups, at specific moments in the campaigns, were sometimes portrayed differently within the newspapers' emotional communities – distinctions that cannot simply be crudely categorised as sensationalist or serious depending upon the reputation and readership of the newspaper in question. Jon Lawrence notes that electoral politics provides an important lens through which the wider culture of any society can be analysed, particularly when exploring themes such as gender.<sup>13</sup> While considering the important role accorded to rational emotions in Edwardian Liberal electoral culture (within the context of their newspapers, at least), this chapter also highlights that by utilising the history of emotion, the analysis of wider culture – particularly gender, and sometime its connection to Imperial identities – becomes richer, drawing attention to the multiplicity and fluidity of Edwardian political gender roles and ideals.

Following the introduction, the remainder of this chapter is split into four main sections. The first section will provide a more detailed introduction to the general elections of 1910, in addition to the debates surrounding the nature of

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<sup>10</sup> Packer, 'General Elections', p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Harold Owen, "'The People'", *Daily Chronicle*, 25 November 1910, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Lawrence, 'Culture', pp. 459-476.

popular politics at the time. The second section will explore the Liberal newspapers' emotional representations of, and emotional appeals to, those who can be identified as 'keen Liberals', within the context of the issue surrounding the House of Lords. The third section explores how the newspapers sought to mobilise the 'quiet man' or the 'silent voter'. The fourth section then focuses upon the emotional representations and appeals offered within the context of the tariff reform issue.

The main source material utilised in this chapter is the textual discourse printed in the seven Liberal newspapers throughout the two election campaigns. The wide range of textual discourse in the newspapers addressing the elections included: headlines, news stories, editorials, short fictional stories and correspondences. With regard to the first election of 1910, the long campaign (the longest in history to that date) began on 3 December 1909, with a short period of suspension over Christmas. Final polling did not take place until ten weeks later on 10 February 1910, although active campaigning had ceased two weeks before. The campaign for the second election of 1910 began on 19 November 1910 and continued for one month. As Neal Blewett notes, the election material available in the newspapers over these periods is vast. The newspapers were 'extraordinarily preoccupied with things electoral', which almost invariably provided the main news item of any day. During the first election campaign, no London newspaper reserved less than one-fifth of its total editorial space to election material. The penny newspapers, in addition to the halfpenny *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle*, generally gave more space.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, while we cannot accurately measure the impact of the Liberal newspapers' extensive coverage of the elections, or their ability to galvanise readers through the emotions discussed, they undoubtedly played a key role in shaping and framing the national debates and the emotions associated with them. Also coverage of the elections during the official campaign periods should not be identified as completely isolated events, suddenly introducing issues and content that was alien to the newspapers' readers, which might encourage us to be even more sceptical about impact. Rather, the first election campaign, for example, represented the climax to eight months of widely publicised verbal conflict

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<sup>14</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 309-11.

surrounding the power of the House of Lords and its potential rejection of Lloyd George's social reform orientated Budget, which he had revealed in April 1909.

It is appropriate here to provide a brief assessment of printed correspondences as historical sources, because they are to some extent different to other newspaper content, and are utilised extensively in this chapter. Educated under the 1870 Education Act, the Edwardian masses were not only able to purchase and read newspapers alongside those higher up the social scale – they could also write letters to the newspapers. The writing of letters regarding the 1910 election campaigns, with the knowledge that they might be published in what was (in theory, at least) a public forum for debate, was undoubtedly a form of political participation. Indeed, advocating 'political work for all', a letter published in the *Daily Chronicle* in January 1910 insisted that writing to the press was a very significant form of political participation, alongside more obvious forms such as voting and voicing an opinion at political meetings.<sup>15</sup> Letters to the newspapers show that readers (both voters and non-voters) were not passive consumers of election news but were active respondents who wanted to engage in a dialogue about the unfolding events with the publication that they read and with other readers, providing an explicit celebration of the newspapers' assumed communities.<sup>16</sup> The presence of letters from the general public, addressing the election campaigns, therefore challenge the view put forward by James Vernon – that the rise of the politicised print press from the 1860s and 1870s signalled the emergence of a very private and individual mode of political participation.<sup>17</sup>

However, the published letters should not be identified as transparent sources, in terms of providing a direct insight into the emotions of the group of political participants that each correspondent represented or discussed. In his 1902 guidebook on journalism, John Pendleton alluded to the 'peculiar people who have reached the psychological stage of mental aberration at which they are impelled to write to the newspapers'.<sup>18</sup> This is obviously a harsh assessment. Nevertheless, it serves as a useful check against overstating the

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<sup>15</sup> 'Political Work for All', *Daily Chronicle*, 1 January 1910, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Martin Conboy, *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community Through Language* (Abingdon, 2006), pp. 20, 172.

<sup>17</sup> Vernon, *Politics*, pp. 107, 160.

<sup>18</sup> John Pendleton, *How to Succeed as a Journalist* (London, 1902), p. 221.

representativeness of the emotions discussed in the individual letters from the relatively small group of people who would have written letters to newspapers, particularly within the working classes where leisure time was extremely limited.

Former *Daily Express* editor R. D. Blumenfeld reflected in 1933 that, ‘by every post scores of letters reach a newspaper; all kinds of composition are represented: opinionative and informative, crucial and complimentary, scurrilous and scandalous’.<sup>19</sup> It should be remembered that the daily mass of letters were of course included and excluded for publication at the discretion of the newspapers. Letters that reflected badly on the newspaper or its editorial policy could easily be dismissed or curtailed. Letters received on a busy news day, (which would have been particularly numerous during the election periods), could have gone unread or unpublished simply as a result of space limitations. Finally, the allegation that letters could be ‘made-up’ by some nineteenth-century publications was not uncommon. The letters discussed in this chapter therefore provide, to some extent, a representation of how the publication chose to portray the political participants.<sup>20</sup>

## II

### **The 1910 Elections and Electoral Culture**

The main issues that the Liberal Party focussed upon at the 1910 general elections were the power of the overwhelmingly Conservative House of Lords,<sup>21</sup> and, as a secondary issue, the Conservative tariff reform proposal. Both concerns were closely linked to the wider issue of Liberal social reform. Advised by the Conservative leader Arthur Balfour, the Liberal Party’s introduction of an ambitious programme of social reform from 1906 had been met with sharp opposition from the Lords, who used their powers to obstruct the legislation. For example in 1908, the Second Chamber rejected the reintroduced

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<sup>19</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 88.

<sup>20</sup> Brake and Demoor, ‘Letters/Correspondence’, pp. 358-360. Also see John Richardson, ‘Readers’ Letters’, in Bob Franklin (ed.), *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analysing Print Journalism* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 56-66.

<sup>21</sup> At the beginning of 1906 there were 602 peers entitled to participate in the House of Lords’ proceedings. Of these, 355 were Conservatives, 124 were Liberal Unionists, only 88 were Liberals, and 35 gave themselves no political label. The Liberals lost substantial backing in the House of Lords when many Liberal peers converted to Conservatism after Gladstone announced the Liberal Party’s support for Irish Home Rule in 1886. See Roy Jenkins, *Mr. Balfour’s Poodle* (London, 1968), p. 24.

Scottish Smallholders Bill, blocked the Licensing Bill on its second reading, and was hostile to the non-contributory nature of the Old Age Pensions Bill.<sup>22</sup> With regard to the secondary issue, the Conservatives' tariff reform proposal sought to address the social problem alternatively by preventing imports from outside of Britain's Empire undermining home industries and, therefore, reducing unemployment and securing higher wages for British workers.<sup>23</sup> The issue of Liberal social reform was never more directly far from the newspapers' concerns during the election periods either. Indeed, the January election campaign was reported by the Liberal newspapers amidst well-timed celebrations of the first anniversary of the Old Age Pensions Act, which had come into effect on 1 January 1909. The *Daily Chronicle* enthused in December 1909 that, 'all Liberals throughout the country should celebrate the anniversary of the inauguration of old-age pensions on 1 January by making special reference to it at all demonstrations held on that day'.<sup>24</sup>

The first general election was called for January 1910 following the House of Lords' rejection of Lloyd George's 1909 'People's Budget'. The Budget aimed to tax land and excessive wealth in order to raise money for the Liberals' social reform agenda and to finance the building of a stronger navy, particularly as the threat from Imperialist Germany allegedly intensified.<sup>25</sup> The voter turnout – 86.7 per cent – was the highest ever seen in a British general election, and resulted in the Liberals losing their majority obtained in 1906. Although the Conservatives and their Unionist allies received the largest number of votes, the Liberals won the greatest number of seats and were able to form a government with the support of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Labour allies. Taking this as a mandate the Liberals passed their Budget. The Irish

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<sup>22</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 47-48; Andrew Adonis, *Making Aristocracy Work: The Peerage and the Political System in Britain, 1884-1914* (Oxford, 1993), Chapter 6; John Ramsden, *The Age of Balfour and Baldwin, 1902-1940* (London, 1978), pp. 31-32. Ramsden notes here that following his electoral defeat in 1906, Balfour unguardedly outlined his plan to use the House of Lords to retain influence, explaining that: 'the great Unionist party shall still control, whether in power or whether in opposition, the destinies of this great Empire'. The Conservatives had also used this tactic when the Liberals were in power between 1892 and 1895, blocking much of the party's radical Newcastle Programme. See Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> Green, *Conservatism*, pp. 225-231. Also see, Philip Williamson, 'The Conservative Party, 1900-1939: From Crisis to Ascendancy', in Chris Wrigley (ed.), *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2003), p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Pension Anniversary', *Daily Chronicle*, 21 December 1909, p. 1. Jon Lawrence also notes the importance of discussions surrounding the pensions' provision at the elections. See Lawrence, 'Culture', p. 469.

<sup>25</sup> Gilbert, 'Lloyd George', p. 1063; Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 68-84.

Nationalists, led by John Redmond, understandably pressed for Home Rule in exchange for their vital allegiance in enabling the Budget to pass. Since the 1880s, the House of Lords had no longer been unquestioningly accepted in its role ‘as the great bastion of aristocratic power’, and by the January 1910 election Liberal candidates were in agreement that the composition of the second chamber, at least, had to be addressed.<sup>26</sup> However, following this first election of the year, to ensure that Home Rule would be passed, and Irish Nationalist support could be guaranteed, it was now necessary for the Liberals to advocate the more extreme measure of abolishing the vetoing powers of the House of Lords, whatever its composition. Following failed negotiations with the Conservatives over this proposal, a second election was called for December 1910 to resolve the issue. The outcome of the December election was very similar to the first – the result being the formation of a Liberal government backed-up by the Irish Nationalists. The Parliament Act was subsequently passed in 1911, which replaced the Lords’ veto with a reduced power to only delay legislation for two years.<sup>27</sup>

When the House of Lords rejected Lloyd George’s Budget in late-November 1909 by 350 votes to 75, they broke a long-established, unwritten constitutional rule forbidding the Lords from obstructing financial bills prepared by the House of Commons.<sup>28</sup> Identified by Duncan Tanner as ‘a superb tactical device’, some historians considered that Lloyd George prepared his Budget to promote class warfare and, ultimately, to be rejected by the landowning peers, so that the issue of the power of the House of Lords could at last be addressed.<sup>29</sup> Liberal contemporaries highlighted the significance of the 1910 elections, identifying them as a choice between government by the progressive people’s representatives (the Liberals) or the reactionary peers’ representatives (the Conservatives). Writing for the *Daily News* during the January election, G.K. Chesterton commented that this was ‘the one historical election’ that he had ever

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<sup>26</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven, 1990), p. 459; Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 77-83.

<sup>27</sup> Packer, ‘General Elections’, pp. 7-12; Murray, *People’s Budget*, Chapter 9 and 10; Ramsden, *Balfour*, pp. 34-42. For a discussion of the impact of the Parliament Act on the Lords’ powers, and how it was still used to obstruct Home Rule, see Adonis, *Aristocracy Work*, pp.157-160.

<sup>28</sup> Packer, ‘General Elections’, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> Tanner, ‘Political Change’, p. 49; Philip Cambray, *The Game of Politics* (London, 1932), pp. 42-44; John Charmley, *A History of Conservative Politics, 1900-1996* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 39.

witnessed. Make the correct choice, the eccentric Chesterton urged, because he could hear ‘the voice of the future historian’ in his ears discussing the outcome.<sup>30</sup>

Historians have proved Chesterton correct in terms of identifying the 1910 general elections as an important area of study – they produced, according to Phillips Payson O’Brien, ‘one of the most exciting, intense, and ultimately enervating years in British political history’.<sup>31</sup> Neal Blewett’s authoritative study on the two elections and their results has provided a vital reference point for all future research, and illuminated the growing divide between the Liberal North, Scotland and Wales and the Conservative South.<sup>32</sup> As Ian Packer notes in a more recent review article, the elections’ significance were wide ranging. For example, they were the last elections called by a Liberal government, the last in which women could not vote, and, of course, they fundamentally changed the balance of power in the relationship between the electorate, the House of Commons and the House of Lords.<sup>33</sup> Scholars have scrutinised the elections from a range of other angles, including the free trade and tariff reform debate, land reform, naval expenditure and the languages of democracy.<sup>34</sup>

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, new political historians have expanded the debate surrounding the decline of the Liberals and the rise of Labour, tracing continuities in popular radicalism throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Anthony Taylor provided an important illustration of these findings within the context of the 1910 elections. Taylor noted that the campaigns for the reform of the Lords provided the opportunity for unity between contending radical factions. Drawing upon themes of public service, civic reform, and popular accountability, the project of modernising the state was as much a concern of early Labourism and older middle-class radicalism as it

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<sup>30</sup> G.K. Chesterton, ‘The Instant’, *Daily News*, 15 January 1910, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Phillips Payson O’Brien, ‘The 1910 Elections and the Primacy of Foreign Policy’, in William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (eds.), *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 249.

<sup>32</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 381, 384.

<sup>33</sup> Packer, ‘General Elections’, pp. 6-12.

<sup>34</sup> Trentmann, *Free Trade*, Chapter 2; D. Dutton, ‘His Majesty’s Loyal Opposition’: *The Unionist Party in Opposition, 1905-1915* (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 76-77; Ian Packer, *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land: The Land Issue in Party Politics, 1906-1914* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 49; O’Brien, ‘1910 Elections’, pp. 249-258; Robert Saunders, ‘Democracy’, in David Craig and James Thompson (eds.), *Languages of Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 160-161.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter 1, pp. 34-36.

was of the present new Liberalism.<sup>36</sup> This desired unity was perfectly captured in the closing statement made by Asquith during his speech at Albert Hall in December 1909: ‘we have to support us the memories of the past, the needs of the present, the hopes of the future’.<sup>37</sup> Taylor notes that the campaigns were represented as ‘a patriotic movement cleansing the remnants of Norman feudalism from the legislature’. The Liberals portrayed the elections as part of an ongoing narrative of battle for the rights and liberties of the Englishman, drawing explicit connections to the Magna Carta. Memories were also evoked of the 1832 and 1884 Reform Bills, which were both subject to blocking tactics by the House of Lords, overcome by a popular campaign of political agitation throughout British towns and cities.<sup>38</sup>

Historians studying Edwardian general elections have also explored the question of whether popular politics entered a more rational and demure life stage from the late nineteenth century (the view propounded by James Vernon),<sup>39</sup> or whether they remained irreverent, populist and reliant upon sensationalism to excite and sway the mass electorate. In agreement with Vernon (and, indeed, before Vernon) Cornelius O’Leary argued that, by the late-Victorian period, elections had lost ‘much of their colour and festive character. The exercise of the franchise was at last regarded as a solemn duty, a right of citizenship, but also a responsibility’.<sup>40</sup> In his account of the general election of 1906, A.K. Russell considered that Edwardian elections were showing signs of political sophistication through reduced violence and corruption, widely distributed propaganda and a more educated electorate.<sup>41</sup>

One the other hand, broadly supporting Jon Lawrence’s assessment that the 1910 elections represented ‘the most disorderly contests in living memory’,<sup>42</sup> Frank Trentmann has drawn attention to the irrationality of Liberal electoral campaigning. In an incident in High Wycombe in January 1910, free trade Liberals tore down the boards and knocked in the windows of ‘Dump Shops’ set

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<sup>36</sup> Anthony Taylor, *Lords of Misrule: Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2004), Chapter 4, esp. p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> ‘The Premier’s Speech’, *Daily Chronicle*, 11 December 1901, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, *Lords*, chapter 4, esp. pp. 113, 128.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 37-38.

<sup>40</sup> Cornelius O’Leary, *The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections, 1868-1911* (Oxford, 1962), p. 233.

<sup>41</sup> A.K. Russell, *Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906* (Connecticut, 1973), pp. 144.

<sup>42</sup> Lawrence, *Electing*, p. 88.

up by Conservative tariff reformers to display cheap goods that were undercutting British labour. Trentmann noted that Liberal campaigning, often characterised by ‘emotion and energy’, undermined their claim to be promoting a ‘culture of reasoned argument’ surrounding the scientifically superior case for free trade against tariff reform.<sup>43</sup> Also, Peter Clarke argued in his authoritative account of the new Liberalism in Lancashire that vulgarity was the price paid for making elections an interesting and important event not only ‘in the life of the nation but in the people’s lives too’.<sup>44</sup>

Histories highlighting the irrationality of turn-of-the-century popular politics during election periods have been influenced by the attitudes and perceptions of contemporary critics of the mass democracy and its popular press.<sup>45</sup> Graham Wallas’s views about the lack of sound judgement displayed by the mass electorate, noted in the Introduction to this chapter, were shared by new liberals including politician and social observer Charles Masterman and theorist J.A. Hobson. Referring to scenes during a Peckham bye-election campaign in spring 1908, Masterman detailed the unique personality and psychology of ‘the Crowd’. Masterman noted that, ‘he was out for fun: to hear a little politics, though not too much; speakers who attempted argument or quotation were speedily deserted; what he liked was noisy rhetoric and denunciation’.<sup>46</sup> In a scathing character review from 1909, Hobson alluded to, ‘an ignorant, dull, capricious people, more interested in drink, sport, and gambling than in anything else, easily diverted from pressing their “rights” by some artful appeal to military or commercial jingoism ... [and] incapable of a sustained, energetic, and well-directed effort to realise democracy’.<sup>47</sup>

However, this is not the only image that emerges from these commentators’ work, although it is the one that is most commonly highlighted in the historiography on popular politics around the turn of the twentieth century. In Wallas’s 1908 text on *Human Nature in Politics* he did note that, even in an ideal world, ‘the preaching of reason as opposed to feeling is peculiarly ineffective, because the feelings of mankind ... provide a motive for political

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<sup>43</sup> Trentmann, *Free Trade*, pp. 81-85.

<sup>44</sup> Clarke, *Lancashire*, pp. 130, 150.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson, ‘*Public Opinion*’, pp. 7-8. See Chapter 1, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Charles Masterman, *The Condition of England* (London, 1909), p. 127.

<sup>47</sup> J.A. Hobson, *The Crisis of Liberalism: New Issues of Democracy* (London, 1909), p. 112.

thought'.<sup>48</sup> Even Hobson, a particularly fierce critic of the behaviour of the mass electorate during the Edwardian period, in fact took a different approach in an article for the *Sociological Review* in 1910, where he commented upon the January election. In contrast to Lawrence's observations on the heightened vulgarity and sensationalism of the 1910 elections, Hobson concluded that, 'there has never been an election in which reasoned discussion has been so widespread and played so large a part in determining results'. 'Elections are coming gradually to depend less, not more, upon mere skill of electioneering', Hobson continued. He did not place emotions in direct opposition to rationality, noting that emotions 'contain some element of rational appeal', stimulating and provoking men to 'reasoned controversy'.<sup>49</sup>

### **III** **Mobilising the 'Keen Liberal': The Peers Against The People**

A common emotional representation of 'the people', provided by the Liberal newspapers when reporting upon Asquith's campaign-opening speech at the Albert Hall on 10 December 1909, was justifiable anger at the peers' 'revolutionary' rejection of the 'People's Budget'. The *Daily News* commented upon 'the note of a mighty anger' emanating from the audience,<sup>50</sup> while the *Daily Chronicle* referred to the 'fires of indignation which will not easily be put out'.<sup>51</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* acknowledged the 'furious outcries' from the audience when Asquith addressed the actions of the Lords, which reflected the wider 'anger of the country'.<sup>52</sup> A *Daily Chronicle* cartoon from 2 December 1909 indicates that the idea of 'The People's Anger' towards the peers, represented in the cartoon by a bolt of lightning, was a concept, and an emotion, in circulation before the official start of the election campaign period (see *Figure 1*). References to the people's anger, indignation and wrath did also continue to be provided by the newspapers as the election campaigns progressed. The *Star* encouraged Liberal voters in December 1910 to, 'let there be white anger in your

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<sup>48</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, p. 189.

<sup>49</sup> J.A. Hobson, 'The General Election: A Sociological Interpretation', *Sociological Review*, 3 (1910), pp. 105-177.

<sup>50</sup> "'Never Again'", *Daily News*, 11 December 1909, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> 'The Premier's Speech', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 December 1909, p. 1

<sup>52</sup> 'Mr. Asquith', *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1909, p. 9; 'The Indictment', *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1909, p. 8.

hearts as you fight; and let the whitest anger be steadily hurled against' the Lords and Conservatives.<sup>53</sup>

**Figure 1: David Wilson, 'When Shall We Three Meet Again?', *Daily Chronicle*, 2 December 1909, p. 5.**

The representation of anger provided by the Liberal newspapers, particularly at the opening stage of the first election campaign, is understandable because scholars have widely identified anger as an 'indispensable political emotion',<sup>54</sup> which fuels and motivates the mobilisation of social and political protest movements. Movements engaged in identity politics, striving for social or political recognition, encourage its members to see anger directed at the opponent as a valued commodity because it communicates that a moral injustice has been committed. When anger is expressed collectively it often has the power to replace self-destructive, immobilising feelings of fear, vulnerability or shame, and, in turn, helps to construct new collective identities, and emotional affinities between hitherto disparate groups, based around emotions such as solidarity and

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<sup>53</sup> 'What We Think: To The Men of London', *Star*, 3 December 1910, p. 2. For other discussions of electoral anger also see, for example, 'Hear All Sides: Peers v. People', *Northern Echo*, 3 January 1910, p. 4; 'The One Vote', *Daily News*, 22 January 1910, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Lyman, 'The Domestication of Anger: The Use and Abuse of Anger in Politics', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7:133 (2004), p. 133.

pride.<sup>55</sup> In their reports of Asquith's Albert Hall speech, the newspapers did highlight the emergence of these emotions amongst the working- and middle-class men in attendance. The *Westminster Gazette* noted that the audience had come 'to demonstrate their unity in the spirit of Liberalism, to declare their loyalty to the Great Leader of the Party'.<sup>56</sup> The audience was 'speaking in one voice' – and, indeed, singing 'a number of stirring Liberal battle songs' with 'tremendous vigour' – according to the *Daily News*.<sup>57</sup>

However, scholars exploring the role of anger in political or social protest have also acknowledged that it can be a dangerous emotion for movements to rely upon. While the display of anger might be a rational response at first, unless managed effectively it can quickly become unruly or take on violent expression, ultimately splitting a movement and contributing to the emergence of extremist ideologies or self-centred individualism.<sup>58</sup> As a cultural construct, there is a general consensus that when assessing anger's strengths, weaknesses and consequences it must be analysed within the specific context that it emerged: 'socio-political life is fundamentally shaped by, and shapes, anger'.<sup>59</sup>

Ambivalence towards the role of anger in current research is reflected in the ambivalent attitudes towards the emotion at the turn of the twentieth century. As well as highlighting the importance of physical strength and the active pursuit of Christian ideals, the discourse of 'muscular Christianity' – central to nineteenth-century codes of 'manliness' – stressed the importance of self-control, reasoned judgement and resolute action over personal temper.<sup>60</sup> In 1903 George

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<sup>55</sup> Helena Flam, 'Emotions' Map: A Research Agenda', in Helena Flam and Debra King (eds.), *Emotions and Social Movements* (London, 2005), pp 26-8; David Ost, 'Politics as the Mobilization of Anger: Emotions in Movements and in Power', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7:2 (2004), pp. 229-244.

<sup>56</sup> "'Lords' Veto Must Go'", *Westminster Gazette*, 11 December 1909, p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> "'Never Again!'", *Daily News*, 11 December 1909, p. 7. Music and group singing can encourage the mobilisation of social or political movements and help to maintain solidarity. See Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (eds.), *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>58</sup> Flam, 'Emotions' Map', p. 28; Lyman, 'Domestication', pp. 133-147; Mary Holmes, 'The Importance of Being Angry: Anger in Political Life', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7:2 (2004), pp. 123-132.

<sup>59</sup> Holmes, 'Being Angry', p. 130; Flam, 'Emotions' Map', p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Susan Roberson, "'Degenerate Effeminacy" and the Making of a Masculine Spirituality in the Sermons of Ralph Waldo Emerson', in Donald E. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 154-156; John Tosh, 'Manliness, Masculinities and the New Imperialism, 1880-1900', in his *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2005), p. 197. The nineteenth-century 'muscular Christian' manly ideal was advocated

Cadbury told A.G. Gardiner that political opponents should be dealt with ‘as far as possible never angrily’ in the *Daily News*: ‘if you show anger you simply set your opponent’s back up & do not convince them’.<sup>61</sup> However, channelled correctly, anger was also perceived as providing a useful spur, instrumental to competitiveness, advancement and achievement.<sup>62</sup> This near-contradiction was reflected in ‘A Study of Anger’ provided by the pioneering American psychologist G. Stanley Hall in 1899. Hall highlighted the ‘increased manifestation of temper’ as ‘one of the signs of weak wills and decaying intellectual powers’. However, ‘to have and to control’ anger, Hall explained, ‘in some cases seems to give the tension with which the best work of the world is done’.<sup>63</sup> Hall’s theory was reflected by the British popular weekly journal, the *Modern Man*, which warned its readers in 1909 that to ‘repress legitimate anger is to choke and poison your whole body’. The ideal man was one ‘whose anger is like a summer storm, who gives free but not immoderate expression to his feelings’.<sup>64</sup>

However, there was a common rhetoric deployed by the Liberal newspapers in their reportage of Asquith’s Albert Hall speech surrounding how the injustice causing the people’s anger should be expressed. Rather than identifying rational, liberal measures such as disputation in speeches or writing, or registering a vote, all of the newspapers did, at this early stage, present the conflict in militaristic terms. On the eve of the speech, the *Westminster Gazette* took-up a commanding language of sensationalist militarism, noting that, ‘the gage of battle must be thrown down, the progressive forces must be marshalled, the marching orders must be given’.<sup>65</sup> The *Star* similarly explained that, tonight, ‘our Commander-in-Chief will meet his field marshals, his generals, his brigadiers, his colonels, his captains, and his soldiers’.<sup>66</sup> Following the speech, the *News of the World* adopted ‘People Called To Arms!’ as its headline.<sup>67</sup> The

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by Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. See, Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge, 1985).

<sup>61</sup> George Cadbury to A.G. Gardiner, 13 November 1903, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/8.

<sup>62</sup> Stearns, ‘Anger’, p. 81.

<sup>63</sup> G. Stanley Hall, ‘A Study of Anger’, *American Journal of Psychology*, 10:4 (1899), pp. 516-591.

<sup>64</sup> Oliver Stokes, ‘Emotion: Why Should You Hide It?’, *Modern Man*, 3 April 1909, p. 5.

<sup>65</sup> ‘Liberalism Roused’, *Westminster Gazette*, 9 December 1909, p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> ‘The Great Commoner’, *Star*, 10 December 1909, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> ‘People Called To Arms!’, *News of the World*, 12 December 1909, p. 9.

*Daily Chronicle* elaborated, ‘a great call to arms of the Liberal army for the coming battle with the Peers and the Food Taxers was uttered last night’, when Asquith’s tone was ‘at once warlike and statesmanlike’.<sup>68</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* acknowledged the presence of the ‘chief fighting men’ alongside Asquith at Albert Hall, which ‘rang with the note of battle’.<sup>69</sup> The *Daily News* referred to ‘the sweat of the battle’ and the start of a ‘memorable fight’.<sup>70</sup> The *Northern Echo* explained that Asquith’s rousing speech had shown that the Liberals were ‘undiminished by four years’ fighting and armed for a still heavier conflict’.<sup>71</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* had already set the militaristic tone on 3 December 1909, with a cartoon depicting Asquith carrying a fiery cross labelled ‘Liberties of the People’ and a sword labelled ‘Liberalism’ (see *Figure 2*).

**Figure 2: David Wilson, 'The Fiery Cross', *Daily Chronicle*, 3 December 1909, p. 1.**

The militaristic rhetoric surrounding the reportage of the people’s anger towards the House of Lords, used in all of the Liberal newspapers, can at least partially be placed within the context of the Conservatives’ electoral claim that the Liberal

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<sup>68</sup> ‘The Premier’s Speech’, *Daily Chronicle*, 11 December 1909, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Mr. Asquith’, *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1909, p. 9.

<sup>70</sup> ‘The Meeting’, *Daily News*, 10 December 1909, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Never Again to Submit’, *Northern Echo*, 11 December 1909, p. 1.

government had not built enough new ships to guard Britain's naval supremacy.<sup>72</sup> The Liberal newspapers' militaristic, demonstrably masculine language aimed to neutralise support for, and provided an alternative to, the Conservatives' patriotic discourse surrounding national defence. Exemplifying Paul Readman's identification of 'the important role played by patriotism in the relationship between the foreign and the domestic' at the turn of the twentieth century,<sup>73</sup> the *Westminster Gazette* reported Lloyd George's utterance in a speech at Reading in January 1910: 'we must not merely make our shores secure', but also 'make our homes secure' from internal threats to national freedom.<sup>74</sup>

Although the Liberal newspapers were generally in support of female suffrage, focussing the election campaign upon the masculine rhetoric of a moral and just militarism served to ideologically distance women from the Liberal debate surrounding the House of Lords, just as they were also physically excluded from political meetings under the Public Meetings Act of 1908, as a result of concerns about suffragette militancy.<sup>75</sup> Short reports noting the activities of cunning suffragettes who attempted to gain entry to the Albert Hall were placed amongst the newspapers' reports about Asquith's speech, seeking to justify the exclusion of all women. The article titles all seemed to promote a sense of shame amongst these women by highlighting how they attempted to hide or conceal themselves. The *Daily News* reported on the 'Outside Scene: Suffragette Disguised as a Telegraph Boy', and on 'Suffragettes in Hiding'.<sup>76</sup> The *Star* announced, 'Suffragists: Found Concealed in the Hall and Ejected',<sup>77</sup> while the *Daily Chronicle* also alluded to a 'Suffragette as "Telegraph Boy"'.<sup>78</sup> Reference to the telegraph *boy* served to highlight the inappropriateness of the women's behaviour, not adhering to conventional ideas surrounding femininity. Indeed, other material on the pages reporting Asquith's speech included a letter to the *Daily News* titled, 'For Ladies in Distress', advertising a charity aiming to

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<sup>72</sup> O'Brien, '1910 Elections', pp. 251-252.

<sup>73</sup> Paul Readman, 'Patriotism and the Politics of Foreign Policy, c. 1870-c. 1914', in Mulligan and Simms (eds.), *Foreign Policy*, p. 272.

<sup>74</sup> 'Secure Homes', *Westminster Gazette*, 3 January 1910, p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Jon Lawrence, 'The Transformation of British Public Politics after the First World War', *Past and Present*, 190:1 (2006), pp. 191-192; Jon Lawrence, 'Contesting the Male Polity: The Suffragettes and the Politics of Disruption in Edwardian Britain', in Vickery (ed.), *Women*, pp. 201-226.

<sup>76</sup> 'Scenes Outside'; 'Suffragettes in Hiding', *Daily News*, 11 December 1909, p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> 'Suffragists', *Star*, 10 December 1909, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> 'Suffragette as "Telegraph Boy"', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 December 1909, p. 7.

provide for the widows and daughters of military officers,<sup>79</sup> while the *Westminster Gazette* also reported on a marriage.<sup>80</sup> However, before Asquith's speech, on 8 December 1909, the *Westminster Gazette* did publish a letter from Eleanor Acland, a member of the People's Suffrage Federation. Acland sought to distance the image of female militarism from the angry and passionate emotional community surrounding the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and instead to ally it with the current Liberal cause. Showing loyalty and seeking to evoke sympathy for women on account of their lack of a vote, Acland explained that, 'the democracy is now entering upon the first battle in a great campaign against privilege with more than half its army weaponless ... Many of these weaponless soldiers are keen to fight their hardest in this first battle; but they deplore their inefficiency with all their hearts'.<sup>81</sup>

Sensationalised electoral depictions of militarism provided in December 1909 can be interpreted as calling into question the Liberal newspapers' commitment to the presentation of rational argument on the issues of politics and war. However, it is undoubtedly true that the newspapers were not trying to promote actual militarism or violence (the ideological enemies of liberal progress) as an appropriate expression of the people's anger. Referring to the presence of Lloyd George at Asquith's Albert Hall meeting, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that, 'like many a man of peace the Chancellor loves the imagery of war'.<sup>82</sup> In his study of the prevalent depictions of war in a wide range of Edwardian newspapers, Glenn Wilkinson highlights that actual military encounters were similarly portrayed to readers as spectacles, or theatrical productions, which served to separate the world of the audience from the actualities of battle. 'The *mentalité* was one which subsumed the "real" into the "unreal"', Wilkinson writes.<sup>83</sup> Wilkinson's work, highlighting readers' skewed understanding of, and detachment from, war supports the idea that the Liberal newspapers' sensationalist military rhetoric was provided without any expectation or concern that the people would take the call to arms literally.

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<sup>79</sup> 'For Ladies in Distress', *Daily News*, 11 December 1909, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup> 'Lady Anglesey Marriage to Mr. John Gilliat This Afternoon', *Westminster Gazette*, 11 December 1909, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> Eleanor Acland, 'The Prime Minister and Woman Suffrage', *Westminster Gazette*, 8 December 1909, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> 'The Premier's Speech', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 December 1909, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Wilkinson, *Depictions*, pp. 108-109.

The image of militaristic combat was perhaps designed to disarm Liberal supporters, providing safe emotional communities for the potentially unsafe emotion of anger to be roused, expressed, controlled and expelled in a satisfying masculine language that evoked notions of patriotism and honour. A letter to the *Daily Chronicle* in January 1910, from a correspondent adopting the pen-name 'Liberal', discussed the election in terms of a 'trained army', 'well drilled and well armed', aiming to gain their 'Waterloo'.<sup>84</sup> As the *Daily News* explained at the end of December 1909, 'the historian may find food for thought, and the foreigner for astonishment, in the fact that a revolution so momentous as that which the Lords have started has so far hardly a broken head to its account'.<sup>85</sup> Commenting upon the election crowds of January 1910, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that foreign journalists in Britain were 'astonished by the attitude of the mob'. Having read of 'a revolution, a war of class upon class, a fierce conflict between the aristocracy and democracy', 'they had come with expectations of riots, of head breaking, of some bloodshed'.<sup>86</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* commented on the 'noble and manly spirit' of an election that, having divided the nation so sharply, was bound to showcase 'the morality, the temper, and the culture of our people'. The newspaper explained that, 'we had gone through these days without personal violence and without any of those outbreaks of passion and malice which unfortunately were found in every other country in the world'.<sup>87</sup>

Liberal newspapers effectively communicated on a world stage, on the one hand, the extreme and vocal anger of the men due to the offence caused to their principle of liberty, but, on the other hand, the civilised and moral way that they harnessed this emotion and conducted themselves when face to face in election crowds or at political meetings with those who were ideologically different. 'The whole world is following with keen and flattering interest the course of the General Election', noted the *News of the World* in January 1910, because of the outcome's potential impact upon foreign trade, and because of the more general intrigue surrounding the fundamental issue of democracy at stake.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> 'Political Work for All', *Daily Chronicle*, 1 January 1910, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup> 'The Truce', *Daily News*, 24 December 1909, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Philip Gibbs, 'Good Humour of "The Mob"', *Daily Chronicle*, 20 January 1910, p. 3.

<sup>87</sup> 'Modern Election Manners', *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January 1910, p. 4.

<sup>88</sup> 'Foreign Critics and the Election Results', *News of the World*, 23 January 1910, p. 8.

Within the context of G. Stanley Hall's assessment that this complex controlled expression of anger provided the tension 'with which the best work of the world is done', it can be suggested that the world focus on Britain provided an important opportunity to legitimize the Edwardian Liberal Party's promotion of a responsible Imperialism, justifying Britain's continuing grasp on the world's largest Empire that they now sought to maintain rather than expand.<sup>89</sup> Simon Potter has drawn attention to the 'embryonic imperial press system' that emerged by the late nineteenth century, as 'supplies of international news all flowed back and forth ... to connect newspapers around the empire together'.<sup>90</sup> The *Daily News* sought to distance the considered emotions of the 1910 election crowds from the feverish and brief 'behaviour of a Jingo mob ten years ago' during the Boer War.<sup>91</sup> Distance was also sought between the British masses and their more revolutionary (and increasingly Imperialist) counterparts in Europe. Charles Masterman insisted that, 'England seen through the medium of its Sunday Press – the Press which to seven out of ten of its present inhabitants represents the sole picture they possess of the world outside their local lives – takes upon itself an appearance of violence and madness'.<sup>92</sup> However, the *News of the World* celebrated a 'Triumph of Common Sense' at the elections, noting that 'never in the annals of Europe' was a political conflict 'so orderly, so good-tempered'.<sup>93</sup>

#### IV Mobilising the 'Quiet Man'

Neal Blewett referred to 'the staleness of the [electoral] campaign in the New Year' of 1910, which 'robbed the Liberals of their early dynamism'. The

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<sup>89</sup> Despite criticising aggressive Imperialism, even the radical strand of the Edwardian Liberal Party was not inherently hostile to the idea of Empire, 'if it is inspired by an enthusiasm not indiscriminating and a pride not deaf to criticism or blind to the needs of reform'. See, Herbert Samuel, *Liberalism: An Attempt to State the Principles and Proposals of Contemporary Liberalism in England* (London, 1902), p. 344. Also see Miles Taylor, 'Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the Radical Critique of Imperialism during the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 19 (1991), pp. 14-16; Readman, 'Liberal Party', p. 282.

<sup>90</sup> Simon Potter, *News and the British World* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 15-16. For a similar observation, also see Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880-1922* (Manchester, 2003), p. 61.

<sup>91</sup> "'Radical Rowdyism'", *Daily News*, 8 January 1910, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Masterman, *Condition*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>93</sup> 'The Triumph of Common Sense', *News of the World*, 16 January 1910, p. 8. As Ross McKibbin explains, the British working man was considered an anomaly in Europe – often conservative in temperament and lacking an 'overwhelming grievance' to unite him with other working men against civil society. See, Ross McKibbin, 'Why Was There No Marxism in Britain?' in his *Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (Oxford, 1990), p. 40.

problem, Blewett argues, was that the major electoral questions had already been ‘well thrashed out’ since April 1909 when Lloyd George first revealed his Budget. The ‘verbal conflict’ and the ‘catalogue of its charms had been exhausted’.<sup>94</sup> Evidence from the newspapers does indicate that the language of militarism that started the first election campaign, mobilising the Liberals’ keenest supporters, failed to be fully reignited following the Christmas truce or during the second election campaign of 1910. However, this should not be quickly dismissed as representative of staleness, at least within the context of the newspapers and their appeals to, and emotional portrayals of, the people.

A vital and diverse group, consisting of individuals labelled in such terms as ‘the non-party man’, ‘the quiet man’, ‘the apathetic man’, or ‘the silent voter’,<sup>95</sup> had yet to be provided with an emotional appeal that would spur them to vote Liberal. This group required a different electoral language because anger can be off-putting to voters less immersed in the popular political culture or less interested in the political debate. As political sociologists consider, anger can cause a voter backlash against those who aim to promote it.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the Conservative press happily acknowledged during the second election campaign of 1910 that, ‘the Limehouse spirit of Mr. Lloyd George’ was exactly ‘what the quiet man hates’.<sup>97</sup> Lloyd George had launched a ferocious attack upon the lifestyle and unearned wealth of the peers in a speech at Limehouse in July 1909.<sup>98</sup>

In January 1910, the *Daily News* printed a short article to advertise a Liberal electioneering pamphlet, which the newspaper identified as having a specific ‘appeal to the “silent voter”’. ‘Written dispassionately from a purely business standpoint ... it will, we believe, have its influence upon the “quiet man”’, the *Daily News* explained.<sup>99</sup> However, the following case study, focussing upon the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Star*, highlights that a campaign

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<sup>94</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 118.

<sup>95</sup> These were all terms of identification commonly used by the Liberal newspapers and their correspondents. See, for example, R.S., ‘Shall We Be Free?’, *Star*, 6 January 1910, p. 2; ‘An Appeal To The Average Man’, *Daily Chronicle*, 12 January 1910, p. 1; W.H. Walker, ‘A Quiet Man’s Votes’, *Westminster Gazette*, 13 January 1910, p. 5; ‘For the “Silent Voter”’, *Daily News*, 13 January 1910, p. 5; ‘To The Moderate Man’, *Star*, 30 November 1910, p. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Travis Ridout and Kathleen Searles, ‘It’s My Campaign I’ll Cry If I Want To: How and When Campaigns Use Emotional Appeals’, *Political Psychology*, 32:3 (2011), pp. 445-446.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Now to the Nation’, *Observer*, 27 November 1910, p. 10.

<sup>98</sup> ‘The Budget: Mr. Lloyd George at Limehouse’, *Times*, 31 July 1909, p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> ‘For the “Silent Voter”’, *Daily News*, 13 January 1910, p. 5.

devoid of emotion oversimplifies the newspapers' attempts to mobilise the quiet man or the silent voter – a key group that, as acknowledged by Richard Haldane, often swayed results at elections.<sup>100</sup>

The difficulties incurred when attempting to appeal to, and provide an emotional representation of, the quiet man, seemingly uninterested in discussing, or being influenced by, the political debate, were highlighted in the extract from the January 1910 short story by creative writer Eva Anstruther, published in the *Westminster Gazette* and presented at the beginning of this chapter. The canvasser had resigned herself to simply watch the elderly farm labourer, 'The Elector', work wearily on the cold and wet winter's afternoon, and to ponder what exactly his feelings and emotions were, not believing that he could be completely apathetic. However, Anstruther's story went on to finish on a lighter note. As the elderly man worked, a farmer's gig passed by, driven by his employer – 'John Bull to the life, rubicund, jovial and hearty, but John Bull getting on in years and showing, even beneath his stout, box-cloth coat, the Falstaffian proportions and aldermanic outlines of his figure'. It was this sight that caused 'an expression, sly, and yet furtive' and 'the laughter of a man who had forgotten how to laugh'. Spurred by 'some sudden impulse',<sup>101</sup> the aged worker proclaimed to the canvasser:

“Hard work, and then he might ha' kept his figure, same as me. 'E's lost his figure, but I've kept mine. Aye, that I have. Just you look 'ere.” With a great effort he straightened out his poor bent old back and strutted a few steps along the road, pitifully simulating the jauntiness of youth. Then he paused, and stood before her with a look half appealing, half defiant, but wholly proud in his watery eyes ... He was the better man of the two, and it was agreeable to him that others should recognise that fact!

The workman was eventually roused here by his opportunity, in front of the female canvasser, to parade his physical fitness, and, as a result, his ability to continue his hard work as a manual labourer into old age. Once he believed that his fundamental manliness and self-respect had been asserted and recognised by the woman, (even though the display was communicated by the author as pitiful),

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<sup>100</sup> 'Mr. Haldane at Bath', *Manchester Guardian*, 16 August 1909, p. 18.

<sup>101</sup> Eva Anstruther, 'An Elector', *Westminster Gazette*, 8 January 1910, pp. 2-3.

emotional displays were less restricted. This was indicated by the reference to the workman's 'watery eyes', which, he might have feared, would have previously been identified as a signifier of weakness or shame rather than defiance and pride.<sup>102</sup>

The workman's actions were not a jovial triviality but were actually politicised. New social histories emerging since the 1960s have drawn attention to everyday non-confrontational struggles for power performed by the suppressed and supposedly apathetic classes, noting 'the immense political terrain that lies between quiescence and revolt'.<sup>103</sup> As Joanna Bourke acknowledges, 'small acts of resistance should not be dismissed as somehow less "political" than mass movements of resistance'.<sup>104</sup> The workman's sly laughter and reference to the appearance of his employer certainly belongs on the political terrain. The publication of this short story by the *Westminster Gazette* – the newspaper that influenced the policies and strategies of other Liberal newspapers and propaganda – provided important pointers for how Liberal appeals could be made to the seemingly politically apathetic man or the silent voter. The moral appears to be that he could be moved to popular political participation and emotion when issues of a very personal interest were put before him. This is, as opposed to when sensationalised and universalised 'tags and catchwords' were utilised, for example 'The Peers Versus The People', suggestive of a revolutionary social struggle, and raising issues perhaps beyond his immediate comprehension.

The *Star* especially put these principles into practice. As the largest circulation halfpenny evening newspaper during the Edwardian period, T.P. O'Connor had originally established and developed the *Star* in the spirit that, 'nothing could – to my mind – be greater folly than to introduce political controversy in all and every department of the newspaper'. 'Every journal, which is a true journal', O'Connor continued, 'supplies news ... that can be read

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<sup>102</sup> Thomas Dixon draws attention to the multiple meanings of Victorian tears in: 'The Tears of Mr. Justice Willes', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 17 (2012), pp. 1-23.

<sup>103</sup> James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990), p. 199; James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985), p. xvi.

<sup>104</sup> Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity* (London, 1994), p. 81.

with equal interest and amusement by men of all parties'.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that the *Star* developed a significant readership comprised of silent voters or the 'non-party portion of the electorate'.<sup>106</sup>

The emotional community nurtured by the *Star* reached out to these political participants particularly through letters published in the newspaper from January 1910. The issue at stake surrounding liberty was presented within a family context rather than an imagined collective military context, highlighting the individual male voter's role as protector and provider for his wife and children. The *Star* appealed to the pride of the family man, explaining in December 1910 that, 'in the days to come you will be able to tell your children how in 1910 you destroyed the tyranny of the Lords'.<sup>107</sup> However, the newspaper also sought to evoke anxiety about the future shame of his entire family if he failed to live up to expectations by not voting for liberty. One correspondent addressed the *Star* explaining that, 'a few days ago you wrote that this election calls for the serious consideration of the silent voter'. Agreeing with the statement, the author urged 'the silent voter [to] do his duty to himself, his kin ...', or else 'the finger of scorn [shall] be pointed to them as the offspring of those who sold their birthright of liberty'.<sup>108</sup> The letter proclaimed:

We are to prove ourselves men or weaklings. We are to prove whether we are to be regarded by the world as free men who elect our own rulers to govern us, or cringe in our skins and sacrifice our representatives ... Do they still consider us children that we should recognise such a ridiculous proposal? Let us be men and reject their unwarranted interference in our affairs! We who have children, have we no rights?

A similar tone was adopted in another letter that urged readers to vote Liberal against the peers, questioning if the Englishman was 'really growing so feeble in body and mind as to submit?'. This letter was signed-off with the phrase, 'A Victim of Landlordism'. Acknowledging that 'every Englishman's home is his castle', the letter presented itself as a very personal warning from one who had lost his independence to a member of the landed elite through the loss of his

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<sup>105</sup> O'Connor, 'New Journalism', p. 430. For earlier discussion of the *Star's* emotional community, see Chapter 2, pp. 66-68.

<sup>106</sup> This term was used in a published letter to the *Star*: H.S. Perris, 'Political Firebrands', *Star*, 8 January 1910, p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> 'To the Men of London', *Star*, 3 December 1910, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup> R.S., 'Shall We Be Free?', *Star*, 6 January 1910, p. 2.

home. The fact that the letter was published anonymously further illustrated the sense of shame felt by the man, who now identified and defined himself by his victimhood and lack of independence.<sup>109</sup>

A letter from Maltus Questell Holyoake, the son of the late George Jacob Holyoake, was also published in the *Star* in January 1910. The author explained that his prominent secularist father, two weeks before his death, had addressed the working-class electorate in a letter to the *Star* during the January 1906 election campaign, encouraging them to use their day of liberty and independence wisely. Highlighting his pride at his father's commitment to the cause, the author explained that he now felt compelled to continue his legacy and to offer the same advice at this election. This sense of pride directed at a father who had done the right thing is sharply contrasted in the letter through a discussion of a nineteenth-century Corn Law poem.<sup>110</sup> Holyoake included the first verse from Ebenezer Elliott's 'Child, is thy father dead?', arguing that it would have resonance at the current time, and in future, if the peers and the Conservative tariff reformers were allowed to triumph:

Child, is thy father dead?  
Father is gone!  
Why did they tax his bread?  
God's will be done!  
Mother has sold her bed;  
Better to die than wed!  
Where shall she lay her head?  
Home we have none.

This letter, and its use of the poem, again sought to evoke anxiety about shame if a voter was identified through the eyes of his wife or children, or indeed through the eyes of other men, as having not protected his family with his vote. This is similar in principle to the way that the 'The Elector' in the *Westminster Gazette's* short story sought validation of his masculinity through the eyes of the female canvasser. Providing an early identification and understanding of shame as a premier social emotion, American sociologist Charles Cooley explained in 1902 that, 'the thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this

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<sup>109</sup> A Victim of Landlordism, 'Are Englishmen Growing Feeble?', *Star*, 2 December 1909, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Maltus Questell Holyoake, "'Working Men, Vote Liberal!'", *Star*, 14 January 1910, p. 2.

reflection upon another's mind'. Cooley continued, 'we are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on. We always imagine, and in imagining share, the judgements of the other mind'.<sup>111</sup>

Influenced by sociologist R.W. Connell's assessment that, rather than constituting an essentialist, static entity, masculine identities are culturally defined,<sup>112</sup> historians have sometimes identified the period from the 1870s to 1914 as a time when the ethos of the reformed public schools inspired men to reject or delay the attachments of domesticated manliness, leading to a so-called 'flight from domesticity'. Men embraced alternative forms of masculinity offered by heroic Imperial careers, military adventure stories and slumming.<sup>113</sup> Men were re-domesticated in inter-war Britain, as the soldier hero lost his appeal following the bloodshed of the First World War, and efforts were made to contain the hyper-masculinity that had flourished.<sup>114</sup> However, cultural histories have challenged, or sought to refine, this overly simplistic narrative.<sup>115</sup> Martin Francis assessed that, 'it was possible simultaneously to both embrace and reject the attributes of domestic manliness ... attracted by the responsibilities of marriage or fatherhood, but also enchanted by fantasies of the energetic life and homosocial camaraderie of the adventure hero'.<sup>116</sup> This chapter's illustration of the Liberal newspapers' appeals to both an imagined heroic militarism and domesticity, at different times during the 1910 election campaigns, in order to

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<sup>111</sup> Charles Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York, 1902), pp. 152-153. Thomas Scheff discusses the history of shame as a premier social emotion in, 'Shame and the Social Bond: A Sociological Theory', *Sociological Theory*, 18:1 (2000), pp. 84-99.

<sup>112</sup> R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>113</sup> John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London, 1999), Chapter 8; Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994); Seth Koven, *Sexual Politics and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton, 2004), Chapters 1, 2 and 5.

<sup>114</sup> Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London, 1991); Jon Lawrence, 'Forging a Peaceable Kingdom: War, Violence, and Fear in Brutalization in Post-First World War Britain', *Journal of Modern History*, 75:3 (2003), pp. 557-589.

<sup>115</sup> Amy Milne-Smith, 'A Flight from Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 45:4 (2006), pp. 796-818; Michael Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), pp. 343-362; Bingham, *Gender*, Chapter 6, esp. p. 215.

<sup>116</sup> Martin Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *Historical Journal*, 45:3 (2002), p. 643.

mobilise different groups of voters, serves as an illustration of the multiplicity and fluidity of Edwardian masculine identities and ideals.

Another electoral emotion employed, most notably by the *Daily Chronicle*, in an attempt to represent and mobilise the quiet, unsure, respectable working man was disgust. This emotion was particularly important with regard to the quiet man who ordinarily was inclined to vote Conservative, but who the newspaper identified as a group that could be swayed and incorporated into ‘the people’. Letters printed in the *Daily Chronicle* from working men publicly identifying themselves as former Conservative supporters, or Conservatives who would not be voting for them at the 1910 elections, as discussed below, suggest that the newspaper aimed to present itself as an emotional community where thoughtful and unsure voters could reassess their political allegiances without feeling ashamed or disloyal, because they could see that other men were engaged in this re-evaluation process as well.

It can be suggested that the Conservative voter would, on swapping or potentially swapping allegiance, have been more comfortable initially engaging with the *Daily Chronicle* rather than its Liberal competitor within the morning halfpenny press, the *Daily News*. As noted above, the *Daily News* was rather dismissive of the emotions of the less actively engaged or politically motivated quiet man, identifying him simply as requiring ‘dispassionate’ election material. As discussed in Chapter Two, Gardiner’s *Daily News* has been acknowledged as carrying greater political weight and authority, compared to Donald’s more unashamedly populist *Daily Chronicle*, which apparently employed Tories and Socialists.<sup>117</sup> Writing to the *Daily News* in December 1909, one Liberal registered the common complaint that the only way he could get Conservative friends to read the newspaper was if he marked certain important paragraphs and posted the newspaper to them.<sup>118</sup>

In December 1909, the *Daily Chronicle* published a letter titled ‘Another Disgusted Tory’ in its daily letters column, ‘From Our Readers’.<sup>119</sup> The correspondent explained that:

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<sup>117</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 62-63.

<sup>118</sup> ‘Helpful to the Cause’, *Daily News*, 16 December 1909, p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> T.R., ‘Another Disgusted Tory’, *Daily Chronicle*, 21 December 1909, p. 4.

I have voted Conservative in previous elections, but I am not going to allow the House of Lords to stop the supplies voted by the House of Commons. It is giving a power to the Lords which the blood of my forefathers purchased, and I will not act traitor to them.

The reference to treachery suggests that the author of this letter had grappled with feelings of guilt about not voting Conservative, but had reasoned that to vote Conservative would be the more disloyal and unpatriotic act. It would be a betrayal to his forefathers who fought during the English Civil War and during nineteenth-century campaigns for the vote. Importantly, the *Daily Chronicle* shaped and defined the emotions of the correspondent towards the Conservative Party and towards the House of Lords in a small title above the letter, by using a single word that was not actually mentioned by name in the published letter itself: *disgusted*. The reference to ‘another’ in the title announced that this individual’s emotion towards the Conservative Party were by no means unique.

The emotion disgust was again referred to continually in the actual content of letters from former Conservative supporters, published in the *Daily Chronicle* in January 1910. These letters were written in response to a sensationalist election poster issued by pro-tariff reformer Claude Hay, the Conservative M.P. for the Hoxton division of Shoreditch in the East End of London and the son of the eleventh Earl of Kinnoull. Hay was defending his seat against opposition from the recently appointed Liberal candidate for Hoxton, Dr. Christopher Addison, in the January 1910 election. The future Minister of Health had previously, in his illustrious medical career, forged a highly respected reputation as one of the most esteemed anatomists of the day. Hay’s poster (see *Figure 3*) was reproduced on the front page of the *Daily Chronicle* on 6 January 1910, enabling the newspaper to present sensationalist material, while (without having actually created the material) claiming it was its moral duty to do so.

**Figure 3: Claude Hay's January 1910 Election Poster. Reprinted by the *Daily Chronicle*, 6 January 1910, p. 1.**

Hay's poster was quickly condemned by the medical community, via letters to the *Daily Chronicle*, for its attack upon the entire profession. Sir Victor Horsley – a renowned surgeon and a future Liberal candidate – deplored Hay's 'weapon of cheap abuse', which appealed to 'brutal ignorance' and 'savage superstition' about the important work of the anatomist, implying that it was carried out 'for the gratification of some idle curiosity'.<sup>120</sup> Medical men sent letters to the *Daily Chronicle* acknowledging that they were filled 'with the most profound disgust'. The *Daily Chronicle* reported a wider 'wave of national indignation and disgust',<sup>121</sup> and questioned the character of those whose vote Hay would 'secure by these disgusting methods'.<sup>122</sup>

The *Daily Chronicle* noted that the newspaper also received a 'mass of correspondence ... from Hoxton voters' as a result of its intense coverage of the incident. Many of the letters selected for publication by the newspaper expressed working-class disgust at the poster as their chief emotion, and detailed a change

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<sup>120</sup> 'Sir Victor Horsley', *Daily Chronicle*, 7 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup> 'Slandered Profession'; *Daily Chronicle*, 7 January 1910, p. 1;

<sup>122</sup> 'Son of a Belted Earl', *Daily Chronicle*, 6 January 1910, p. 1.

of political allegiance as a result. Mr. A.W. Briggs, a tradesman of Hoxton market wrote:

I feel I must express my disgust and indignation at the recollection that I was one of the misguided tradesmen of Hoxton who originally secured Mr. Claude Hay's return ... When I reflect that I owe my life and present good health, after twenty serious surgical operations, to the skill and kindness of a member of the medical profession which Mr. Claude Hay has so grossly insulted, I am determined to show my resentment by doing everything in my power to secure Dr. Addison's return.<sup>123</sup>

Another Hoxton resident, a working man and a former supporter of the Conservative Party, addressed Addison directly in his letter, asking if he may 'express my disgust at the disgraceful attack made on you and your profession, without which so many (myself included) would now be going about limbless. It has done more for your success than all your speakers'. A third individual wrote that, 'in common with many other persons of all political opinions, I am disgusted at this indecent poster'.<sup>124</sup> Addison himself also wrote to the *Daily Chronicle* expressing gratitude 'for your exposure of the scandalous attack',<sup>125</sup> and on claiming victory at the election assessed that, 'the exposure of his disgraceful tactics helped me immensely'.<sup>126</sup> The fact that disgust at Hay's poster was registered in the *Daily Chronicle* by both the working-class men of Hoxton and middle-class medical professionals provides an example of how emotion was utilised by the newspapers in a successful attempt to illustrate and encourage vital cross-class Liberal allegiances during the 1910 elections.

It is important to consider why the specific emotion disgust – rather than just indignation, for example – was highlighted and directed at the Conservatives and the House of Lords by the *Daily Chronicle*. Disgust is a complex and powerful emotion that crosses the divide between the physical and the moral like no other emotion: a disagreeable physical 'thing' can be labeled disgusting when seen, smelt, touched or tasted, just as the decisions and conduct of others can also

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<sup>123</sup> 'A Patient's Tribute', *Daily Chronicle*, 7 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>124</sup> 'No Apology', *Daily Chronicle*, 8 January 1910, p. 7.

<sup>125</sup> 'Dr. Addison's Reply', *Daily Chronicle*, 7 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>126</sup> 'The Shoreditch Elections: The New Member', *Hackney and Kingsland Gazette*, 19 January 1910, p. 5.

be identified as disgusting.<sup>127</sup> Exploring George Orwell's infamous claim that the bourgeois think 'the lower classes smell', Daniel Kelly explains that Orwell was implying that despite all reasoning and political theory, one of the most difficult obstacles to achieving real social equality is that the middle and upper classes are 'slightly disgusted by the working classes'. They are disgusted both physically and morally because of the conditions of the world the working classes inhabit and because of their value systems and lifestyle choices.<sup>128</sup>

Social observers did highlight the physical and moral disgust felt by the wealthy towards the poverty of the labouring classes at the turn of the twentieth century. Charles Masterman explained that the 'immense dreary shelters of the manual labourers' caused the wealthy to 'turn away in disgust from a people so intractable'.<sup>129</sup> Helen Bosanquet argued that the 'West End has its pity or disgust aroused by descriptions of the poor as living in scenes of hopeless and sordid poverty varied only by drunkenness and vice'.<sup>130</sup> Within the context of the Hoxton case study, the *Daily Chronicle* highlighted Hay's desire for physical separation from his poverty-stricken constituency. The newspaper drew attention to the fact that while Dr. Addison served the people of Hoxton at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Hay kept his distance and resided in the West End.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, if disgust was commonly seen as a divisive emotion and the prerogative of the rich and powerful, the *Daily Chronicle's* highlighting of the working-man's moral disgust at the House of Lords and the aristocratic Claude Hay illustrated an attempt to gain power by taking control of the language of disgust and redirecting it at the Conservative elite. Indeed, in the *Daily Chronicle's* reportage, much emphasis was placed on Hay's social status as an explanation for his disgusting morality. Hay displayed a typical 'aristocratic coarseness' as a 'blue-blooded legislator, who is "fond of outdoor sports"'.<sup>132</sup> Hay's coarseness was apparently reflected throughout the country in the

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<sup>127</sup> Robert Rawdon Wilson, *The Hydra's Tale: Imagining Disgust* (Edmonton, 2002), p. 93; William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, 1997), Chapter 8.

<sup>128</sup> Daniel Kelly, *Yuck: The Nature and Moral Significance of Disgust*, (Cambridge, 2011) pp. 1-2.

<sup>129</sup> Charles Masterman, 'Realities at Home', in his *The Heart of the Empire: Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England* (London, 1901), p. 6.

<sup>130</sup> Helen Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor* (London, 1896), p. 5.

<sup>131</sup> 'No Apology', *Daily Chronicle*, 8 January 1910, p. 7.

<sup>132</sup> 'Son of a Belted Earl', *Daily Chronicle*, 6 January 1910, p. 1.

‘vulgarity of the speeches’ made by the peers during the election campaign.<sup>133</sup> Not insignificantly, exposing their own disgusting morality also helped to undermine the validity of the Conservative elites’ own claim to a moral disgust narrative – that is, that the physical living conditions of the working classes were self-imposed through their own weak character. The undermining of this contention was closely linked to the wider issue of Liberal social reform. The emerging understanding of poverty as often beyond the control of individual effort or morality formed an important aspect of the argument in favour of social intervention.<sup>134</sup>

## V

### The Tariff Reform Question

There existed a general consensus within the Liberal newspapers during the election campaign periods that the focus of the Liberal appeal should be on the comparatively straightforward issue of the power of the House of Lords. The question of the Conservative Party’s proposed tariff reform policy, on the other hand, was relegated to a secondary concern – ‘all else is subordinate’ to the issue of the House of Lords, noted the *Daily Chronicle*.<sup>135</sup> A letter printed in the *Westminster Gazette* in January 1910 explained that the issue of free trade versus tariff reform was ‘a question so difficult and intricate that none but a knave or fool would call another a knave or fool merely for differing from him on it’.<sup>136</sup> The Conservative *Observer* queried, ‘how many of the voters know anything of the economics that govern the question?’ It was therefore no surprise that ‘some candidates abandoned educational tactics in despair’.<sup>137</sup>

As Jon Lawrence notes, it was when addressing the issue of tariff reform that Liberal electioneering was at its most irrational, sensationalist and vulgar. In January 1910 the *Daily Chronicle* evoked fears about the increased price of food under tariff reform, alleging that workers would be forced to eat horse and dog meat, as was the case in protectionist Germany.<sup>138</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* also

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<sup>133</sup> ‘Sir Victor Horsley’, *Daily Chronicle*, 7 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Harris, *Public Lives*, pp. 237-241.

<sup>135</sup> ‘The Peers Or The People?’, *Daily Chronicle*, 28 November 1910, p. 6.

<sup>136</sup> ‘A Non-Party Appeal’, *Westminster Gazette*, 14 January 1910, p. 3.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Maudlin Electioneering’, *Observer*, 3 February 1910, p. 6.

<sup>138</sup> Lawrence, *Electing*, p. 80.

sought to incite panic that even these undesirable foods would not be in endless supply, adopting the electoral headline: ‘Dogs & Horses as Human Food – Workers in Germany who Consume Them – Dog Getting Scarce’.<sup>139</sup> R.D. Blumenfeld reflected on the Edwardian Liberal newspapers’ ‘unaccountable’ taking up of the issue of tariff reform, noting that, ‘they almost hypnotised a large section of the public into the belief that if tariffs were imposed on any kind of foreign goods, the British working man would starve ... [or] that tariffs would bankrupt England’.<sup>140</sup> Importantly, the more populist *Daily Chronicle* was not the only Liberal newspaper to sensationalise the electoral issue. Although relegating vulgarity to page eleven, the highly respected *Westminster Gazette* sought to evoke concern in an article titled, ‘Best Horse-Steak!! – 20,000 Tons Annually Eaten in Germany – 60 Tons of Dog-Chops’.<sup>141</sup> The impact of the Liberal newspapers’ sensationalism upon electoral intelligence was suggested at political meetings and in election crowds. For example, the *Daily Chronicle* proudly reported that, at a meeting in Hoxton, ardent protectionist Claude Hay was heckled when ‘someone held up some cat’s meat on the end of a skewer’, and announced, “‘Here’s Daddy’s dinner’”.<sup>142</sup>

It is significant to note that vulgarity, sensationalism and fear defined the Liberal newspapers’ emotional appeals and approaches towards the electoral issue that, with its direct impact upon the running of the household and its economy, most naturally brought women into the political debate. Indeed, arguing that the principle of the female vote was chiefly won by the turn of the twentieth century, Martin Pugh considers that Edwardian debates surrounding tariff reform, free trade and welfare provided an arena where its practical justification could be advanced without posing a fundamental threat to conventional thinking about gender.<sup>143</sup> As discussed below, the Liberal

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<sup>139</sup> ‘Dogs & Horses as Human Food’, *Daily Chronicle*, 14 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 47.

<sup>141</sup> ‘Best Horse-Steak!!’, *Westminster Gazette*, 18 January 1910, p. 11.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Hoxton’s Dinner-Hour fun’, *Daily Chronicle*, 12 January 1910, p. 4. For another example of election crowd irrationality, see ‘How We Took It: By One Of The Crowd’, *Westminster Gazette*, 17 January 1910, p. 3.

<sup>143</sup> Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women’s Suffrage, 1866-1914* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 48-59. For an exploration of the collapse of anti-suffragism at the turn of the twentieth century, also see Ben Griffin, ‘Women’s Suffrage’, in Craig and Thompson (eds.), *Languages*, pp. 182-187. Discussing the issue of tariff reform, the *Daily News* published a letter promoting female suffrage during the first 1910 election, arguing

newspapers did seek to link women directly to the horse and dog meat scare. While hysteria was considered by turn-of-the-century observers such as J.A. Hobson and Charles Masterman as a non-gender specific outcome of aspects of modern life, such as the rise of the popular press, aggressive Imperialism, and city living,<sup>144</sup> for others the disease and its related characteristics were manifested most evidently in women. In his 1898 study of *Ignorance*, Marcus Dorman noted that it was a phenomenon that acted ‘upon the minds of women with greater intensity than on these of men, leading to well-marked mental conditions’. These conditions included, ‘a firm conviction that some serious disease or trouble is present or impending, acute exaltation or depression, irrational love or hatred for persons or things, any of which may exclude all other ideas and prevent calm observation and reasoning’.<sup>145</sup>

Having sent a journalist to investigate the consumption of horse and dog meat in Germany, the *Daily Chronicle* reported on vile scenes in a German butchers, where a woman was left to carry out the work. The newspaper depicted the owner’s wife working in the cramped shop, with a doorway ‘large enough to let a living horse pass into its doomed cell beyond’, and where the prepared ‘carcass of a horse is visible, its fat yellow, its meat of a dullish violet-red’.<sup>146</sup> On the day that German horse and dog meat sensationalism first occupied the front pages of the Liberal press, the regular women’s section of the evening *Star* ran a feature in response to a query supposedly sent in from a female reader asking, ‘what simple dish could I prepare which German visitors are sure to like?’.<sup>147</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* simultaneously reacted strongly in January 1910 to attempts made by Conservative propaganda to specifically rouse female paranoia about the German menace and its threat to British freedom, which unashamedly played ‘upon the fears of the timid and ignorant’.<sup>148</sup>

In their gendered surveys of Edwardian Conservatism, Jon Lawrence and David Thackeray have highlighted the party’s attempts to feminise their

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that, ‘women have a special claim to vote on matters which especially concern women’. See, ‘The People’s Suffrage’, *Daily News*, 12 January 1910, p. 8

<sup>144</sup> Hobson, *Psychology*, pp. 1-14; Masterman, ‘Realities’, p. 7.

<sup>145</sup> Marcus Dorman, *Ignorance: A Study of the Causes and Effects of Popular Thought* (London, 1898), p. 233. For a mid-nineteenth-century discussion of this theme, see Walter Johnson, *The Morbid Emotions of Women: Their Origins, Tendencies, and Treatment* (London, 1850).

<sup>146</sup> ‘Dogs & Horses as Human Food’, *Daily Chronicle*, 14 January 1910, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup> ‘Women: Queries’, *Star*, 12 January 1910, p. 4.

<sup>148</sup> “‘Dear Mothers’”, *Daily Chronicle*, 11 January 1910, p. 4.

culture.<sup>149</sup> This was part of a broader phenomenon that witnessed the increased visibility of women in many aspects of turn-of-the-century public life, contributing to what John Tosh has identified as a ‘crisis of masculinity’. Women had previously played a prominent role in charity work, but the so-called ‘New Woman’ was now also active in local government and education, playing an increasing prominent role in party politics as canvassers, as well as entering previously all-male occupations, and campaigning for the right to vote.<sup>150</sup> However, rather than basing their appeals to women upon sensationalism and fear, Thackeray argues that Edwardian tariff reform campaigns often focussed upon educating the housewife, the family’s principal consumer. They encouraged an ideologically committed, activist mentality amongst Conservative women, challenging the idea that there was a sudden feminisation of inter-war politics when women were partially granted the vote.<sup>151</sup>

The Liberal newspapers did provide some positive portrayals of Liberal women taking up active, rational and ideologically aware roles in the 1910 electoral debate. In January 1910 the *Westminster Gazette* printed a cartoon showing a housewife engaged in an in depth conversation with the shopkeeper in a tariff reform store, discussing the pros and cons of the complex free trade versus protection issue (see *Figure 4*). The tariff reformer was depicted here as the mad Hatter from Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*. The housewife meanwhile reasoned that the consumer did not benefit under the tariff reform system, and decided to leave the shop and spend her money in a free trade store instead. The extract from Eva Anstruther’s short story for the *Westminster Gazette*, presented at the beginning of the chapter, provides an illustration of a thoughtful female Liberal canvasser, taking her role seriously, reluctant to concede defeat and give-up on the seemingly apathetic working man. However, the *Daily News* provided a very different fictional portrayal of a female Liberal canvasser in January 1910. The canvasser ‘confessed that she felt nervous’ about

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<sup>149</sup> Jon Lawrence, ‘Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism, 1880-1914’, *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), pp. 629-652; David Thackeray, ‘Building a Peaceable Party: Masculine Identities in British Conservative Politics, c. 1903-1924’, *Historical Research*, 85:230 (2012), pp. 651-673.

<sup>150</sup> Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London, 1991), pp. 9-15; John Tosh, ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), pp. 179-202.

<sup>151</sup> Thackeray, ‘Peaceable Party’, pp. 653-654.

her role. She proclaimed, “Fancy me talking to people by myself about politics!”, and, at the last minute, pleaded with a friend to quickly “coach me up in the principles of Free Trade and all those things”.<sup>152</sup> Placed beneath the story was an advertisement for Sanatogen – ‘a valuable nerve tonic’, vital ‘in these days of strenuous living and exceptional activity [when] a nervous breakdown is perhaps most to be dreaded’.<sup>153</sup> Other products advertised in close proximity to the article were conventionally feminine, including soap and other toiletries.<sup>154</sup>

**Figure 4: F.C. Gould, 'A Little Parable', *Westminster Gazette*, 3 January 1910, p. 3.**

One final emotional representation of, and appeal to, the people within the context of the tariff reform debate did focus upon conjuring more rational emotions and emotional bonds. The Conservatives proposed that their policy of tariff reform outside of the Empire, and Imperial preference within, would consolidate affinities and bonds of unity between Britain and her Empire. However, Paul Readman illustrates that the Edwardian Liberals challenged this Tory patriotic rhetoric, arguing that any protectionist policies would increase the

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<sup>152</sup> ‘The Feminine Influence: An Electioneering Incident’, *Daily News*, 17 January 1910, p. 11.

<sup>153</sup> ‘A Valuable Nerve Tonic’, *Daily News*, 17 January 1910, p. 11.

<sup>154</sup> ‘A Trial Toilet Outfit’; ‘A Toilet Soap Offer’, *Daily News*, 17 January 1910, p. 11.

price of food in Britain, naturally reducing Imperial sentiment. Further, the Liberals argued that loyalty within the Empire could not be founded upon material bribes: Imperial union had to be based upon spiritual bonds of sentiment, underpinned by respect and freedom.<sup>155</sup> This view was supported by correspondences printed in the Liberal newspapers during the election periods from British emigrants to the Empire's settler colonies, such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia, where protectionist barriers had already been put in place. The letters invariably conveyed negative experiences of the fiscal system. The fact that the colonial settlers eagerly contributed to the British electoral debate served to illustrate the loyalty and bond of sentiment that they still felt to the mother country, showing that coarser economic links were not necessary or wanted. The colonial settlers became informal political participants at the British elections, extending the geographical boundaries of 'the people'. Indeed, a letter to the *Daily News* in December 1910 was sent from a man whose brother had lived in protectionist Canada since 1906, and had candidly conveyed his negative experience of the system to his sibling back in England. The man not only had his brother's letter published in the *Daily News* but also 'had it published and distributed as an election leaflet'.<sup>156</sup>

Understandably, the *Northern Echo* also printed a number of these correspondences – it was often in the industrial North that support for free trade was at its strongest. The mining, shipping and docking industries relied upon exports and international trade for their prosperity.<sup>157</sup> In January 1910, the *Northern Echo* published a letter originally sent from W.A. Gordon of Toronto, Canada, 'writing to a friend in Newcastle', which was then passed on to the newspaper. The colonial settler, formerly of Aberdeen, explained that he was 'looking forward to a big Liberal victory in Great Britain'. He noted that, 'they say that Canada will no longer remain loyal if they do not get preference in the British market'. 'This is all nonsense', the letter continued, 'Canada is perfectly satisfied with the present conditions ... and would be sorry indeed, to find that the working classes of Britain pay a much higher price for their bread and fruit to save the pockets of the wealthy, under the impression that they were helping

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<sup>155</sup> Readman, 'Liberal Party', pp. 281-284.

<sup>156</sup> George Lewis, 'An Englishman in Canada', *Daily News*, 7 January 1910, p. 4.

<sup>157</sup> Tanner, *Political Change*, p. 227.

Canada'.<sup>158</sup> In a letter to the *Northern Echo* in December 1910, another emigrant, who had 'lived 16 years in the colonies under Protection' pleaded to the 'workmen of Darlington, take the advice of one of yourselves, and go Free Trade and democratic government on Saturday'.<sup>159</sup>

## VI Conclusion

This chapter has drawn attention to a wide range of emotional representations of, and emotional appeals to, diverse groups of political participants provided by the seven Liberal newspapers at different times during the two election campaigns of 1910, when issues surrounding the power of the House of Lords and tariff reform versus free trade were debated. While vulgarism, sensationalism and irrationality were not absent from the newspapers, such appeals were not limited to the more populist newspapers; therefore suggesting that crude dichotomies between rational elite and sensationalist popular publications are overly simplistic. For example, all of the Liberal newspapers adopted military metaphors to express the anger of the people, while the *Westminster Gazette* also engaged with rhetoric surrounding the horse and dog meat sensation within the context of the tariff reform debate. The newspapers' evoking of anger, shame, disgust, and bonds of cross-class and Imperial unity, highlights the roles also played by rational emotions in Edwardian electoral culture, within the context of the Liberal newspapers at least. The fact that these emotions were often evoked by the correspondences printed in the newspapers from working-class voters (such as the men of Hoxton, denouncing Claude Hay's electoral tactics) does question notions of passivity, lack of understanding, and ultimately the impact of electoral sensationalism and irrationality.

Rather than simply discussing the Liberal newspapers as a collective entity, or an extension of the party, an understanding of their individual emotional communities and audiences, particularly with regard to more populist *Star* and *Daily Chronicle*, has aided an appreciation of why specific emotions were employed by the newspapers at specific times, and the impact that they sought to have upon readers. These discussions, in turn, provided a valuable lens

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<sup>158</sup> W.A. Gordon, 'Truth about Tariff "Reform"', *Northern Echo*, 17 January 1910, p. 7.

<sup>159</sup> G.S., 'No Good for Workers', *Northern Echo*, 2 December 1910, p. 4.

through which Edwardian gender ideals and roles, and wider issues relating to Edwardian Imperial identities, could be explored. The contrasting portrayals of the campaign-opening anger of the 'keen Liberal' and the pride and shame of the 'quiet man' or 'silent voter' highlighted the multiplicity and fluidity of Edwardian masculine identities, shifting between notions of heroic militarism and domesticity. Despite the Liberal newspapers' claim that they were in support of female suffrage, their attitude towards female political participation during the 1910 election campaigns could be sceptical and patronising. They drew attention to female fear, nervousness, irrationality or ignorance, even within the context of debates surrounding tariff reform and free trade, which had an important impact upon conventionally female concerns surrounding household budgets. The *Westminster Gazette* did offer a more positive, opposing interpretation, however. Eva Anstruther's story portrayed a thoughtful and engaged female canvasser, while a *Westminster Gazette* cartoon depicted a rationally and politically engaged housewife, discussing fiscal policy with a shopkeeper. The discussion now moves in Chapter Four to focus upon the cartoons printed in all of the Liberal newspapers during the two general election campaign periods, assessing the messages they conveyed about the Liberal opposition and evaluating their value as historical sources.

## *Chapter Four*

### **‘Careless and greedy plutocrats in coronets and scarlet and ermine’: The Cartoon Representation of the Liberal Opposition During the Two 1910 General Elections**

It is easier for a political cartoonist to attack than to defend, for in defence one can only, as a rule, make flank movements and counter-attacks on the enemy when he moves, whereas when in opposition one can be constantly taking the aggressive.

**F.G. Gould, ‘Political Caricature: A Retrospect of Twenty-One Years’, *Westminster Gazette*, 31 January 1914, p. 5.**

**Figure 5: F.C. Gould, ‘Still Running’, *Westminster Gazette*, 8 December 1910, p. 3.**

#### **I Introduction**

In a speech made on the retirement of veteran *Punch* cartoonist Sir John Tenniel in 1901, Arthur Balfour highlighted the importance of the political cartoon ‘for the historian of the future’: it was ‘one of the great sources from which to judge of the trend and character of English thought and life’.<sup>1</sup> Less than a decade later, on 8 December 1910, during the second election campaign of the year, the *Westminster Gazette* printed the above cartoon drawn by Francis Carruthers Gould, the newspaper’s and the Liberal Party’s pre-eminent cartoonist. The

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Banquet to Sir John Tenniel’, *Times*, 13 June 1901, p. 6.

cartoon depicted a frightened Balfour, now the Conservative Party leader, being chased by a bear labelled 'Liberal Party', which, the caption explained, Balfour was supposed to have been hunting down. The caption humorously noted that when friends saw him being pursued by the bear, Balfour responded with the assurance that he was merely 'bringing him back alive'. Four days later the *Westminster Gazette* printed the second and concluding part of the cartoon, illustrating a trapped and vulnerable Balfour on the defensive, pleading on behalf of 'the other party' with the Liberal bear ready to attack him (see *Figure 6*). The caption highlighted Balfour's confusion about the extent of his predicament, and about the best strategy to adopt for survival. Indeed, on 29 November 1910, during a major speech at the Albert Hall, Balfour had made an unexpected, last minute pledge to submit the complex and controversial issue of tariff reform to a future referendum, in the hope that he could win a popular vote on other issues such as the Conservatives' objection to Irish Home Rule.<sup>2</sup>

***Figure 6: F.C. Gould, 'Specious Pleading', Westminster Gazette, 12 December 1910, p. 3.***

As suggested by this two-part cartoon, the two general elections of 1910 provided an ideal battlefield for Liberal cartoonists. They could adopt an

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<sup>2</sup> Alan Sykes, *Tariff Reform in British Politics, 1903-1913* (Oxford, 1979), p. 236; Ramsden, *Balfour*, pp. 31-32; Ian Packer, 'General Elections', p. 11.

attacking position on account of the Conservative Party's disarray and highly controversial policies. As Gould noted in the extract from the *Westminster Gazette* presented at the beginning of this chapter, this was the preferred position for the political cartoonist. It was the preferred position for other Liberal propagandists and politicians also. Despite the fact that the Liberals were seeking to retain power at the elections, Charles Masterman asserted in January 1910 that, 'the enemy have given us the advantage of attack. Take that advantage'. Outlining what he perceived to be the most effective electoral strategy, Masterman elaborated, 'don't defend the Commons or the Government. Attack the House of Lords. Don't defend Free Trade. Attack the food taxes. Don't defend the Budget. Explain it; attack the selfish forces which have destroyed it'.<sup>3</sup> Liberal cartoonists certainly took advantage of the favourable attacking rather than defending position and rallied to the party's cause. The main source base for this chapter – an exploration of the emotional representation of the Liberal opposition – is 506 cartoons published in the seven Liberal newspapers during the two election periods, which depict, refer to and attack the opposition: the Conservative Party, their issues, and those of the Tory-supporting interest groups.

Although Jon Lawrence did not explore the political cartoons printed in the Liberal newspapers, he briefly identified the proliferation of visual political propaganda during the Edwardian era as an important component in his discussion about the crude and vulgarly populist political culture during the two 1910 general election periods.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, despite Balfour's identification of contemporary cartoons as 'great sources' for historians, many Edwardian commentators did not hold them in the same high regard. Political cartoons were an aspect of the growth of the nineteenth-century illustrated new journalism and were also influenced by developments in commercial advertising.<sup>5</sup> They were often perceived by critics as evoking "emotional" rather than intellectual perception', appealing to passive, less-educated observers.<sup>6</sup> In his handbook on electoral success, J. Seymour Lloyd explained that visual propaganda served to

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<sup>3</sup> C.F.G. Masterman, 'How to Win', *Daily News*, 10 January 1910, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence, *Electing*, pp. 71-72, 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 78; James Thompson, "'Pictorial Lies?'" – Posters and Politics in Britain, c. 1880-1914', *Past and Present*, 197 (2007), pp. 182-186.

<sup>6</sup> Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, 'Introduction: The Lure of Illustration', in their *Illustration*, p. 5.

‘strike the eye, and thus had a better chance of reaching the brains of passing voters’.<sup>7</sup> Graham Wallas claimed that the cartoons made ‘rapid and unconscious inferences’.<sup>8</sup> A.L. Lowell assessed that they provided, ‘short appeals to prejudice, selfishness or humour’.<sup>9</sup> The Conservative *Spectator* condemned Liberal cartoons as ridiculous in December 1909. They unfairly, crudely and invariably portrayed the peers as ‘wicked, ignorant, selfish’ – as ‘careless and greedy plutocrats in coronets and scarlet and ermine’.<sup>10</sup> Addressing the visual propaganda, a *Pall Mall Magazine* journalist wrote that, ‘I have looked at so many pictures of the Budget, with its pinafore costume, that I have begun to think it is human. It has been an amusing guest’.<sup>11</sup>

These dismissals of the cartoons as lacking serious political content, manipulatively appealing to the ‘shock value of raw emotional impact’,<sup>12</sup> particularly humour or fear, have often been echoed in historians’ treatment of cartoons in all historical contexts. E.H. Gombrich wrote in the 1960s that historians usually identify state papers and political speeches as the more important and relevant documents to study, leaving the ‘crude and often enigmatic scrawls’ of the cartoonist ‘to the compilers of popular illustrated histories’.<sup>13</sup> It has been noted more recently that while academics have increasingly used cartoons, it is often ‘as a kind of decoration’, giving an ‘impression of historicity’, rather than being used to actually develop arguments.<sup>14</sup> This neglect also reflects contemporary trends in journalism practice. In 2010 political cartoonist Martin Rowson complained of the ‘systematic failure within newspapers to appreciate that cartoons are serious journalism’, making ‘deadly serious moral, political and social points’. Based

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<sup>7</sup> J. Seymour Lloyd, *Elections and How to Fight Them*, (London, 1905), p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, p. 109.

<sup>9</sup> A.L. Lowell, *The Government of England, Vol. 1* (New York, 1908), p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> ‘The Peers on the Platform’, *Spectator*, 18 December 1909, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> T. Martin Wood, ‘The Battle of the Pictures’, *Pall Mall Magazine*, February 1910, p. 216.

<sup>12</sup> Roger A. Fischer, *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art* (North Haven, 1996), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> E.H. Gombrich, ‘The Cartoonist’s Armoury’, in his *Mediations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (Oxford, 1963), p. 127.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Scully and Marian Quartly, ‘Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence’, in their *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence* (Clayton, 2009), p. 1.

upon ‘non-verbal communication and humour’, Rowson noted that cartoons are still considered to be an ‘unquantifiable, almost irrational medium’.<sup>15</sup>

Pre-eminent Edwardian Liberal cartoonist Gould also sought to defend the work of the cartoonist as a serious political discourse against the sea of contemporary scepticism. Highlighting the centrality of the liberal values of argumentation and education in his approach to drawing cartoons, Gould explained that the artist should ‘convey some definite teaching ... [which] gives point to his cartoon’.<sup>16</sup> As the assistant editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, Gould often created his cartoons as illustrative counterparts to the newspaper’s editorials, acknowledging that, ‘an argument in lines must be as carefully thought out and constructed as if it were written in a leading article’.<sup>17</sup> Gould was, according to one contemporary, ‘a born politician, in whose equipment art occupies but a secondary place’.<sup>18</sup>

The attention paid to, and the perceived impact and influence of, Gould’s cartoons is suggested by the fact that the Conservative *Pall Mall Gazette* felt the need to produce a quick retort to the first part of his electoral ‘Bear’ cartoon in December 1910, just as a persuasive argument in words or speech would be rapidly countered by the opposition. Titled ‘Bringing Him Back Alive’, the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s oppositional reading on the progress of the election campaign depicted an injured and smaller bear, labelled the ‘Radical Party’, being led with a rope around his neck by a weapon-holding John Bull (see *Figure 7*). Reclaiming Balfour’s dignity and highlighting his control of the situation, Balfour’s head was presented on the body of John Bull’s dog, ready to pounce upon the vulnerable and beaten bear.

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<sup>15</sup> Martin Rowson, ‘We, the Cartoonists, are the True Outsiders of Journalism’ (2010). Online at: <http://www.original-political-cartoon.com/history/we-the-cartoonists.html> [accessed 12 November, 2013]. Also cited by Mark Hampton, ‘Political Cartoon’, p. 681.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Carruthers Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 83, Parliamentary Archives.

<sup>17</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 193

<sup>18</sup> Fisher, ‘Liberal Press’, p. 205.

**Figure 7: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'Bringing Him Back Alive', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 December 1910, p. 5.**

Gould, whose cartoons often combined his 'two absorbing interests' of 'pets and politics',<sup>19</sup> undoubtedly decided to depict the Liberal Party as a bear to represent its power and strength. However, other political cartoonists generally used animal images more sparingly, because of their fixed cultural meanings and role as instantly recognisable national symbols. Common national symbols included the British Lion or Bulldog, the American Eagle and the Russian Bear.<sup>20</sup> The latter association was increasingly used in nineteenth-century British cartoons to represent Russia negatively as a brutal wild animal with uncontrolled emotions.<sup>21</sup> Particularly within the context of the Russian Revolution of 1905, it is not surprising that the *Pall Mall Gazette* decided to re-presented the 'Liberal Party' bear as a 'Radical Party' bear, portraying it as something fearsome, dangerous and against the British national character, which had to be tamed by the patriotic John Bull and his dog.

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<sup>19</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 9. Gould was a prolific drawer of wildlife from childhood. See H.C.G. Matthew, 'Sir Francis Carruthers Gould (1844-1925)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 39, 57; Gombrich, 'The Cartoonist's Armoury', p. 136.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Koschmal, 'The Myth of a Dialogue of Myths: Russia and Europe', in Alexander Woll and Harald Wydra (eds.), *Democracy and Myth in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Oxon, 2008), p. 129. The reference to Russia as a bear first emerged in Britain as early as the seventeenth century through an allusion in a Shakespeare play. The title figure in *Macbeth* (1606) referred to his own bravery in Act 3, Scene 4: 'What man dare, I dare. / Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear'.

In line with this commentary on the perceived importance and value of cartoons for contributing to political debate during the Edwardian period, historians have begun to look beyond the immediate emotional impact of cartoons to appreciate what they can offer as historical sources, critically analysing their constructed arguments. Ruth Clayton Windscheffel identified visual imagery, including cartoons, as important sources for exploring how popular perceptions of William Gladstone's masculinity altered throughout his nineteenth-century career.<sup>22</sup> Matthew Roberts has recently explored the election cartoons that thrived in large provincial towns from the 1860s to the 1880s as the electorate expanded greatly. Roberts identified the cartoons as a 'distinctive, dynamic form of political communication', which helped to 'bridge the gap between leaders and the led'.<sup>23</sup> In his exploration of political propaganda posters, which sometimes contained cartoons, placed on public billboards in pre-First World War Britain, James Thompson highlighted the 'complex interplay between argument, narrative and spectacle in visual propaganda'.<sup>24</sup> Acknowledging their 'light-hearted, but revealing' qualities, Adrian Bingham has utilised cartoons printed in the interwar popular press to explore attitudes towards gender and to wider political debates.<sup>25</sup> Providing practical examples to support his theoretical discussion surrounding the development of a post-radical liberal narrative of newspaper history into the twentieth century,<sup>26</sup> Mark Hampton has focussed upon the inter-war cartoons of David Low for the *Star* and the *Evening Standard*, often addressing the issue of unemployment, to highlight the serious and informative messages conveyed within the entertaining medium.<sup>27</sup>

Political cartoons commonly depict significant or complex events, theories or policies through the use of metaphors and comparisons that are perceived as being familiar and comprehensible to their audience. As the above discussion of the 'Bear' cartoons illustrates, the symbols and analogies used

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<sup>22</sup> Ruth Clayton Windscheffel, 'Politics, Portraiture, and Power: Reassessing the Public Image of William Ewart Gladstone', in McCormack (ed.), *Public Men*, pp. 109-10.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Roberts, 'Election Cartoons and Political Communication in Victorian England', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:3 (2013), p. 389.

<sup>24</sup> Thompson, "'Pictorial Lies?'"', pp. 208, 210.

<sup>25</sup> Bingham, *Gender*, pp. 129-130, 213-214, 222-223.

<sup>26</sup> Hampton, 'Renewing', p. 30. Hampton's narrative was discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 19-20.

<sup>27</sup> Hampton, 'Political Cartoon', pp. 681-697; Mark Hampton, 'Inventing David Low: Self-Presentation, Caricature and the Culture of Journalism in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20:4 (2009), pp. 482-512.

often explore, on a deeper level, ‘the power relations and deployment of authority within and between groups’, including nations, political groups and families.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the imaginary world presented by cartoonists should not be dismissed as irrational, and neither should audiences’ interactions with them. The recent work of Michael Saler explored the late-nineteenth-century turn towards ‘fantastic yet rational imaginary worlds’, as exemplified by the popularity of literary genres such as science fiction and fantasy.<sup>29</sup> Political cartoons can convincingly be placed within the context of Saler’s discussion also.<sup>30</sup> Saler asserted that the literature provided ‘safe and playful arenas for their inhabitants to reflect on the status of the real and to discuss prospects for effecting concrete personal and social change. They challenge their inhabitants to see the real world as being, to some degree, an imaginary construct amenable to revision’.<sup>31</sup>

These discussions highlight the importance of studying political cartoons particularly within a context such as the two 1910 elections where an issue central to both Liberal campaigns was the balance of political power and the relationship between the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the people, and the Liberal desire to alter it. The fact that cartoons can offer a unique and important insight into political relationships and balances of power also highlights their significance for the study of emotion in politics, and the construction of emotional communities in the newspapers, beyond the immediate emotional reaction provoked by the cartoons (although this is also important). As Peter Mandler notes, political cartoons often approach complex topics ‘with a humour and visual flair that are attractive’, but which are also sometimes ‘revealing of psychological layers to a subject that textual evidence yields only with difficulty’.<sup>32</sup> In her case study on political cartoons and the construction of the Anglo-American ‘special relationship’ during the late nineteenth century,

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas De Vere Wolsey, ‘That’s Funny: Political Cartoons in the Classroom’, in Nancy Frey and Douglas Fisher (eds.), *Teaching Visual Literacy* (London, 2008), p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Saler, *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Prehistory of Virtual Reality* (Oxford, 2012), p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Hampton places political cartoons within the context of Saler’s discussion in, ‘Political Cartoon’, p. 683.

<sup>31</sup> Saler, *As If*, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Mandler, ‘Reviews in History – CartoonHub: The Website of the Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature’ (2009). Online at: <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/543> [accessed 12 November 2013]

Stefanie Schneider explicitly used emotion as her analytical framework, highlighting the new insights that this approach can contribute to the traditional historiography on the subject.<sup>33</sup>

Exploring the emotional representation of the opposition in Liberal cartoons, this chapter reinforces the idea that analysing the use and purpose of emotion, rather than focussing upon ideas about irrationality and vulgarity, should be central to our understanding of political communication during the two general election campaigns of 1910, within the context of the Liberal newspapers at least. In line with recent detailed studies of political cartoons in other historical contexts, this chapter argues that cartoons should predominately be considered as an informative medium for conveying important political messages to the electorate. This chapter illustrates how the unique pictorial medium conveyed multi-layered, complex political messages about the nature of relationships between the electorate, the Liberal Party, Labour, the Conservatives and the House of Lords, which sometimes differed according to the newspaper in question. Analysis of the emotions conveyed in the cartoons also provides insights into political gender identities during the Edwardian period. The following section of this chapter provides a more detailed introduction to the Liberal newspaper cartoons, their nature, and the oppositions that they presented. The remaining two sections then focus upon the cartoons' emotional representations of, firstly, the peers, and secondly, Conservative politicians.

## II

### The Liberal Cartoons

Following the decline of the caricature, cartoons emerged as the dominant mode of comic image making in Britain, led by the success of *Punch* (established in 1841). The Georgian caricature, most commonly associated with artists such as James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson, was characteristically bawdy and grotesque in its depictions of public gossip and current affairs. As Vic Gatrell notes, 'laughter flowed around wit, jest and sex, other people's appearances,

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<sup>33</sup> Stefanie Schneider, "'Stop Them Damned Pictures': Political Cartoons, the Study of Emotions, and the Construction of the Anglo-American Relationship', in Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (ed.), *Emotions in American History: An International Assessment* (New York, 2011), pp. 115-138.

mishaps and affections'.<sup>34</sup> However, the 1820s and 1830s saw a change in British manners within the context of economic prosperity, parliamentary reform and the decline of political radicalism. The bourgeoisie refashioned the acceptable boundaries of public manners and spectacle, advocating self-improvement and moral discipline. These sensibilities were reflected in the work of John Doyle – considered a founder of the British cartoon – which portrayed a more genteel humour, a restrained temper and a general shift to politeness.<sup>35</sup> John Tenniel's extensive period as the principal political cartoonist on *Punch* (1864 to 1900) cemented the 'high standard' of the political cartoon, according to Francis Gould. Tenniel freed cartoons forever from that 'coarseness and brutality which once characterised them' in 'the age of bitter personalities and the use of the bludgeon in caricature'.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, always seeking to 'etch with vinegar, not vitriol',<sup>37</sup> in the *Westminster Gazette's* June 1911 report on the annual exhibition of Gould's cartoons at Walker's Gallery, London, the newspaper singled out his two-part 'Bear' cartoon, discussed in the Introduction to this chapter, as one of the most memorable, effective and illustrative of his talents. The *Westminster Gazette* asserted that, 'there is an undercurrent of good humour and kindness in this satire which leaves even the victims happy': it is 'banter administered with a smile'. 'Not that F.C.G's arrows lack sharpness', the newspaper emphasised: 'they are piercing enough, many of them'.<sup>38</sup>

The perceived impact and influence of political cartoons – the so-called 'people's picture galleries' or the 'poor-man's picture gallery' –<sup>39</sup> came to the forefront of political debate following the 1906 general election. Disgruntled Tories alleged that Liberal cartoons, wrongly depicting Conservative policy in South Africa in the aftermath of the Boer War, largely accounted for their defeat. The government's alleged sanctioning of cheap Chinese labour, or 'Chinese Slavery', in the new crown colonies, was represented in cartoons that showed

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<sup>34</sup> Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006) p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pp. 530-46; David Low, *British Cartoonists, Caricaturists and Comic Artists* (London, 1942), p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Gould, 'Political Caricature', p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Mark Bryant, 'Sir Francis Carruthers Gould', in his *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> 'The "Westminster" Cartoons', *Westminster Gazette*, 13 June 1911, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> 'The Battle of the Pictures', *Pall Mall Magazine*, February 1910, p. 211; 'The Posters: By The Passer-By', *Daily Mail*, 10 January 1910, p. 6.

Chinese men as ghostly figures in chains.<sup>40</sup> Conservatives hypocritically lamented the ‘disgraceful pictorial weapons that were now so well known’.<sup>41</sup> Ironically, it was Sir Alfred Mond – the head of the Liberal syndicate that went on in 1908 to purchase the *Westminster Gazette*, the institutional home of prolific cartoonist Gould – who expressed the minority view to the House of Commons in 1906. Mond explained that he did ‘not believe that anyone ever looked at’ the images, and concluded that, in producing them, ‘they all wasted their money’.<sup>42</sup>

Identified by the *Pall Mall Magazine* as ‘a poster election’, the publication explained that the January 1910 campaign was being fought with visual propaganda ‘as never an election has been fought before’.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, during the two election periods of 1910, all of the seven Liberal newspapers acknowledged the medium’s importance and appeal and carried large quantities of political cartoons. Multiple cartoons were frequently used in single issues. All of the newspapers also carried political cartoons regularly outside of the election periods, except for the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian*. However, when the *Morning Leader* was absorbed by the *Daily News* in 1912, the former’s ‘Cartoon of the Day’ was one feature of the newspaper that remained. More renowned for his pen portraits, A.G Gardiner not only sanctioned the use of political cartoons in the *Daily News* during the election periods of 1910, he also drew some himself. For example, in a cartoon from November 1910 Gardiner sought to emasculate and dehumanise the peers by presenting them, and referring to them, simply as a coronet, in opposition to man (see *Figure 8*). The prominence given to Gardiner’s cartoon on a page dedicated to election campaign news – the cartoon was centred and occupied almost half of the length of the page – is illustrated in *Figure 9*. The extent to which visual culture had been fully accepted by the *Daily News* as a vital tool in its electoral armoury was confirmed by an article beneath Gardiner’s cartoon announcing that, ‘an exhibition of Liberal election posters, comprising a number of the most

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<sup>40</sup> James Thompson discusses these images in, “‘Pictorial Lies?’”, pp. 117-118.

<sup>41</sup> *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., clii, col. 223, 20 February 1906.

<sup>42</sup> *Hansard*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., clii, cols. 655-656, 23 February 1906.

<sup>43</sup> ‘The Battle of the Pictures’, *Pall Mall Magazine*, February 1910, p. 211.

telling political pictures that will soon be filling the hoardings, opens to-day at “The Daily News” offices’.<sup>44</sup>

**Figure 8: A.G. Gardiner, 'Man or Coronet', *Daily News*, 26 November 1910, p. 5.**

**Figure 9: Image Showing the Prominent Positioning of A.G. Gardiner’s Electoral Cartoon (*Daily News*, 26 November 1910, p. 5).**

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<sup>44</sup> ‘Liberal Posters on View’, *Daily News*, 26 November 1910, p. 5.

During the two election periods the seven Liberal newspapers printed a total of 506 cartoons, depicting, referring to, or attacking the opposition towards the Liberal Party from the Conservative Party, their issues, and those of the Tory-supporting interest groups. Cartoons published between 1 December 1909 and 15 February 1910 (first election period) and 15 November and 31 December 1910 (second election period) have been included here. The images consist of: original cartoons that were produced by the newspaper in question; cartoons that were reproduced from other sources (such as Liberal propaganda organisations or a different newspaper to the one in question); and cartoons that appeared in advertisements placed in the newspapers. The six oppositions to the Liberal Party raised by the cartoons were: the House of Lords, their rejection of the 1909 Budget, and the wider issue of liberty; tariff reform; the war scare; brewery interests; opposition to pensions and welfare reform; opposition to Home Rule for Ireland.

Statistics relating to the number of original, reproduced and advertisement cartoons, and the number of times that they raised each issue, during each election campaign, and in each of the seven Liberal newspapers, are presented in Appendix 1.<sup>45</sup> The statistics indicate that the overall total number of times any issue was raised (564) is greater than the overall total number of cartoons presented in all of the newspapers (506). This is because some of the individual cartoons presented more than one of the oppositional issues. This highlights one of the key strengths of the cartoon medium. The cartoons could simplify and link together different oppositional issues to illustrate the various issues' interactions and contributions to the overall picture or argument. This would have been a much more complex task in written form.

Importantly, the statistics suggest that the cartoon form had much to offer the Liberal Party in terms of simplifying, presenting, and indeed attacking, the issue of tariff reform. Chapter Three of this thesis highlighted that Liberal commentators emphasised that the party should always place the House of Lords at the centre of their campaign and should always relegate the more complex economic issue of tariff reform.<sup>46</sup> The statistics indicate that these were the two most common issues raised by the cartoons, with the issue of the House of Lords

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<sup>45</sup> See p. 289.

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 108.

being presented 279 times (in 55% of the cartoons) and tariff reform 209 times (in 41% of the cartoons). However, during the second campaign, the two issues were both raised 80 times in the total 167 cartoons. During the second campaign, the issue of tariff reform was actually raised more times than the issue of the House of Lords in the cartoons in the *Daily Chronicle* (15:12), the *Westminster Gazette* (20:14), and the *Northern Echo* (27:21), and an equal number of times (6) by the *Manchester Guardian's* cartoons.

In his statistical analysis of the issues raised in some Liberal candidates' electoral addresses of January and December 1910, Neal Blewett found that 99% raised the issue of the House of Lords in January and 100% raised this issue in December. With regard to tariff reform, 88% raised the issue in January while fewer, 71%, raised it in December.<sup>47</sup> However, as noted above, this does not reflect the trend in the cartoons, where the issue of tariff reform was raised in a higher percentage of the cartoons during the second election campaign (48%, compared to 33% during the first election campaign), and the same number of times as the issue of the House of Lords. These comparisons suggest the usefulness of analysing visual material, in combination with election sources such as addresses and speeches, in order to provide the fullest possible picture of the relative significance, or exposure, of the issues. As the *Daily Mail* asserted in January 1910, 'voters are capable of being influenced quite as much by a brilliant series of posters as by eloquent speeches'.<sup>48</sup> Comparing cartoons with political speeches printed in newspapers, Gould noted that, 'there is a large portion of the public which is more susceptible to impressions conveyed in pictorial form than to the more subtle appeals ... involved in reading'.<sup>49</sup>

In 1914 Gould emphasised the attractiveness of the tariff reform issue to the Liberal political cartoonist throughout the Edwardian period, particularly because it divided the Conservative Party so deeply.<sup>50</sup> Tariff Reform produced considerable factions within the party – between the strident tariff reformers or 'whole hoggers' led by Joseph Chamberlain (and then by his son Austin), the

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<sup>47</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, pp. 317, 326.

<sup>48</sup> 'The Posters: By The Passer-By', *Daily Mail*, 10 January 1910, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, pp. 386-387.

<sup>50</sup> Gould, 'Political Caricature', p. 5.

moderate Balfourites, and the ardent ‘free fooders’.<sup>51</sup> What presented a ‘maze for puzzled politicians’ was ideal material for the cartoonist.<sup>52</sup> This was particularly the case during the December 1910 election campaign, when, as already noted in the Introduction to this chapter, Balfour unexpectedly pledged to submit the policy to a referendum. Gould reflected that, ‘tariff reform manoeuvres ... gave me nearly every day obvious subjects for my pen’.<sup>53</sup> As James Startt explains, Gould was gifted in his ability to ‘reduce tangled arguments to simple, humorous portrayals’.<sup>54</sup> The appeal of tariff reform for the cartoonist was increased by the prominence and physical appearance of its leading advocate. The monocled Joseph Chamberlain was ‘a leading figure in every fight’ and an ‘invaluable asset’ to the political cartoonist,<sup>55</sup> whose success often relied upon the effective use of ‘tabs of identity’ – the distinguishing prop or physical feature that made a caricatured figure instantly recognisable to audiences.<sup>56</sup> Lacking any malice, however, Chamberlain relished Gould’s portrayals of him and was known to collect the originals.<sup>57</sup>

The *Westminster Gazette*’s Gould was undoubtedly the most acclaimed Liberal political cartoonist of the Edwardian period. Lord Rosebery, the former Liberal Prime Minister (1894-1895), praised Gould as one of the Edwardian Liberal Party’s ‘few remaining political assets’.<sup>58</sup> Gould helped to familiarise the public with various actors on the political stage.<sup>59</sup> The *Westminster Gazette* printed the largest number of political cartoons during the two elections (106), of which 98 were originals. Gould’s election cartoons commonly took-up approximately one-third of the length of a page. They were usually prominently placed near the front of the newspaper and positioned in the top corner of a page (as illustrated in *Figure 10*). As noted by Clarence Moran in his 1905 text on print advertising,

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<sup>51</sup> Neal Blewett, ‘Free Fooders, Balfourites, Whole Hoggers: Factionalism within the Unionist Party, 1906-1910’, *Historical Journal*, 11:1 (1968), pp. 95-124; Richard Rempel, *Unionists Divided: Arthur Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain and the Unionist Free Traders* (Newton Abbot, 1972).

<sup>52</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 286.

<sup>53</sup> Gould, ‘Political Caricature’, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Startt, *Journalists*, p. 53.

<sup>55</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 383.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Tabs of identity’ were used extensively in the inter-war cartoons of David Low, who coined the phrase. For a discussion on the use of the technique see, Samuel Stephen Hyde, ‘“Highly Coloured Fiction”: Political Newspaper Cartooning and Socialist and Labour Politics in Britain, c. 1881-1926’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2009, p. 58.

<sup>57</sup> Bryant, ‘Gould’, p. 95.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Obituary: Sir F.C. Gould’, *Times*, 2 January 1925, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Jackson, *George Newnes*, p. 139.

this was the position that was believed to be most likely to catch a reader's eye, and was therefore the 'one which an agent will try to secure for his client if he can'.<sup>60</sup> Gould's cartoons were frequently reproduced by all of the other Liberal newspapers, most commonly on the front page of the *Northern Echo*. Gould's cartoons were also frequently used for official Liberal propaganda – on posters, in pamphlets, on leaflets, and for publications such as the *Liberal Monthly*. As discussed in Chapter Two, the cartoons were distributed on a large scale, receiving a far wider and more socially varied audience than the readers of the *Westminster Gazette*.<sup>61</sup> For example, it was calculated that during the election campaign of January 1910, the number of pamphlets, leaflets and copies of the *Liberal Monthly* issued amounted to 41,135,000.<sup>62</sup>

**Figure 10: Image Showing the Typical Positioning of an Electoral Cartoon in the *Westminster Gazette* (18 November 1909, p. 5).**

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<sup>60</sup> Clarence Moran, *The Business of Advertising* (London, 1905), p. 78.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 64.

<sup>62</sup> 'Charles Geake [By a Colleague]', *Liberal Agent*, April 1910, p. 165.

Mark Bryant notes that at the turn of the twentieth century, before television, cinema and radio, cartoonists were held in high regard – ‘as social commentators and witty graphic journalists they were seen as important members of the media’.<sup>63</sup> Prominent cartoonists who worked on popular publications such as *Punch* affirmed their historical significance by publishing autobiographies.<sup>64</sup> On account of his pre-eminence as a Liberal political cartoonist, in addition to the fact that he wrote as well as drew for the *Westminster Gazette*, we undoubtedly know more about Gould than any of the other Liberal cartoonists of the period, although his autobiography remains unpublished. For many other cartoons published in the Liberal newspapers during the two campaign periods for the general elections of 1910 it is sometimes difficult to even identify the names of their creators. Cartoonists sometimes did not sign their work, they often just initialised their work, and they were often not regular contributors to the newspapers. This is problematic because as Peter Mandler notes, it hinders our ability to understand fully the individual cartoonists’ relationship with the editorial policy of the newspaper in which their work appeared,<sup>65</sup> or indeed their relationship with the Liberal cause.

Significantly, it is possible to build, when appropriate in this chapter, a useful picture of Irishman David Wilson, the ‘all but forgotten’ leading cartoonist for the *Daily Chronicle*.<sup>66</sup> As indicated by the statistics, the *Daily Chronicle* was the second most prolific provider of original cartoons (71) after the *Westminster Gazette* (98) during the elections. An individual identified as H.R. Lock – who, the newspaper noted in January 1910, was a woman – drew a small number of the *Daily Chronicle*’s cartoons.<sup>67</sup> Similarly to Gould’s cartoons, which were collected, exhibited, responded to in cartoon-format by the opposition, serialised, and reused by the Liberal Publication Department (LPD), Wilson’s electoral cartoons should also not be dismissed as too ephemeral. The *Daily Chronicle* frequently noted that reprints of Wilson’s cartoons could be purchased, per

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<sup>63</sup> Mark Bryant, ‘Preface’, in his *Dictionary*, p. ix.

<sup>64</sup> For example, for the autobiography of a *Punch* cartoonist, see Harry Furniss, *The Confessions of a Caricaturist* (London, 1901). For the autobiography of a *Vanity Fair* cartoonist, see Leslie Ward, *Forty Years of ‘Spy’* (London, 1915).

<sup>65</sup> Mandler, ‘CartoonHub’.

<sup>66</sup> Martyn Anglesea, ‘David Wilson (1873-1935)’, *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 1990-1991, p. 57. The majority of this article, ‘a monograph in miniature’, was informed by the letters and memories provided by Wilson’s daughter, Peggy Hoppin.

<sup>67</sup> ‘The Peers’ Nightmare’, *Daily Chronicle*, 12 January 1910, p. 7.

thousand, from the newspaper's publishers, suggesting that they were reused more widely as electoral propaganda material.<sup>68</sup>

### **III** **Representing the Peers**

The use of humour in the Liberal newspapers' 1910 electoral cartoons was restrained by the conventions of good taste discussed above, which separated the pictorial form from the caricature. However, it is important not to overlook the cartoons' use of humour, dismissing it as provoking a primary emotional reaction, used as only an entertaining and eye-catching strategy. Humour can be extremely subjective and it is often only understood and appreciated by certain groups in specific cultural contexts. Historians of social and political protest movements have, therefore, drawn attention to how the use of humour, evoking short-term comic amusement in those who experience it, can, like singing together for example, construct long-term social bonds and a strong sense of solidarity within a group. Humour can become a weapon of the weak or repressed because it ridicules and criticises political opponents making the unimaginable imaginable. It can help to significantly reduce fear and a sense of power and authority surrounding the opponent. For sceptical audiences, humour can weaken their defences, rendering them more susceptible to persuasion and the possibility of change.<sup>69</sup> In a case study on cartoons and the making of American popular radicalism in the early twentieth century, Michael Cohen notes that the humorous images helped to propagandise for, and forge unity within, the mass culture of popular radicalism. Presenting a recognisable series of icons and enemies, the cartoons sought 'to generate a class politics of laughter that was at once entertaining and didactic'.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For example, David Wilson, 'After Tariff Reform', *Daily Chronicle*, 30 December 1909, p. 6; David Wilson, 'The Double Event', *Daily Chronicle*, 31 December 1909, p. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Marjolein 't Hart, 'Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction', in her *Humour and Social Protest* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 1-20; Colin Barker, 'Fear, Laughter, and Collective Power: The Making of Solidarity at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, August 1980', in Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper and Francesca Polleta (eds.), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago, 2001), pp. 175-194; Alexander Rose, 'When Politics is a Laughing Matter', *Policy Review*, 59 (2001/2002), pp. 59-71.

<sup>70</sup> Michael Cohen, "'Cartooning Capitalism': Radical Cartooning and the Making of American Popular Radicalism in the Early Twentieth Century", in 't Hart (ed.), *Humour*, pp. 35-58.

However, the potential limitations of humour as an aid to protest should also be highlighted. Reflecting upon the nature of English humour in 1916, Irish landowner Shane Leslie argued that the truest form of Anglo-Saxon humour was the practical joke and ‘clumsy horse-play’, which ‘spells rowdiness rather than riot and raillery’.<sup>71</sup> Further, Alison Dagnes considers that, ‘the point of political humor is to amuse and question – its purpose is not to solve anything’.<sup>72</sup> Rather than being an emotion itself, humorologist John Morreall argues that humour actually serves to weaken and replace genuine emotion.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, many ideologists of the political left consider the use of humour to be a substitute for proper, meaningful action, acting as a safety valve. While humour ridicules the political opponent, helping to reduce their power and authority, these factors can be weakened to such an extent that oppressed groups question if their previous, genuine, negative feelings towards the group were justified.<sup>74</sup> In contrast to Gardiner’s cartoon for the *Daily News* discussed above (see *Figure 8*), which sought to dehumanise the peers by presenting them as a coronet, other cartoons depicted them as human and emotional beings, capable of feelings of sadness and loneliness, however satirical the cartoonists’ intentions. For example, the *Daily Chronicle*’s female cartoonist H.R. Lock presented a cartoon interpretation of V.C Anderson’s 1905 postcard, ‘Nobody Loves Me’, which featured a sad young boy sitting on a step. Lock’s cartoon of January 1910 depicted a peer adopting the exact same posture and facial expression as the boy (see *Figure 11*).

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<sup>71</sup> Shane Leslie, *The End of a Chapter* (New York, 1916), p. 183. For a discussion of British political humour at the turn of the twentieth century, see P.J. Waller, ‘Laughter in the House: A Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Parliamentary Survey’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 5:1 (1994), pp. 4-37.

<sup>72</sup> Alison Dagnes, *A Conservative Walks into a Bar: The Politics of Political Humor* (New York, 2012), p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> John Morreall, ‘Humor and Emotion’, *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 20:3 (1983), pp. 297-304.

<sup>74</sup> t Hart, ‘Humour’, pp. 6-7.

**Figure 11: H.R. Lock, 'Nobody Loves Me!', *Daily Chronicle*, 18 January 1910, p. 5.**

Despite potential limitations, however, it is evident that humour was used in the Liberal cartoons in an attempt to forge a collective identity against the peers during the 1910 elections. Cartoons commonly sought to unite the working and middle classes against the peers, constructing an ‘us versus them’ mentality by drawing attention to the different and diminished masculinity of the peers. The cartoonists commonly represented the peers dressed in their distinctive, iconic and instantly recognisable ‘tabs of identity’ – their ‘coronets and scarlet and ermine’. These ‘tabs’ served to perfectly capture a sense of difference and privilege. The costume connoted the vanity and pretentiousness, which, as discussed below, were characteristics often associated with the aristocracy, fitting into the Liberal depiction of the peers as selfish and greedy within the context of the 1910 electoral debates. There was largely no need, therefore, for the cartoonists to depict the peers in other costumes or roles in order to import these negative characteristics from elsewhere. In a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* in January 1910, a ‘Voter’ explained that, ‘it would be easy to call these men by hard names; it would be best, however, to call them simply the Peers’.<sup>75</sup>

During the nineteenth century, organs of radicalism such as *Reynolds’s News* were influential in their construction of anti-aristocratic sentiment –

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<sup>75</sup> ‘A Non-Party Appeal’, *Westminster Gazette*, 14 January 1910, p. 3.

heightening awareness of unaccountable landed privilege and campaigning for greater scrutiny of the public and private morality of the aristocracy. The aristocracy were commonly depicted as unable to obtain self-mastery of their emotions and urges, often exemplified through reports of their excessive drinking or their sordid sex lives. Aristocratic men were often associated in the public imagination with indolence, consumerism, leisure, degeneration, luxury and extravagance – commonly captured in the term ‘effeminate’.<sup>76</sup> These characteristics were defined against the straightforward, common sense, moral ‘manliness’ of the hardworking, productive, vigorous and motivated middle classes, ideally emulated by the working classes.<sup>77</sup> In 1851 Charles Kingsley – a key advocate of ‘muscular Christianity’ – referred to, ‘a fastidious, maundering die-away effeminacy, which is mistaken for purity and refinement; and I confess myself unable to cope with it, so alluring it is to the minds of an effeminate and luxurious aristocracy’.<sup>78</sup> Gregory Phillips notes that the Edwardian era represented ‘the high-water mark of creature comforts’ for the aristocracy, despite some conscious efforts to contain their ‘earthly exuberance’. Some sought ‘a fundamentally serious approach (not always adhered to in practice) which emphasized the dangers of idleness ... [and] stressed the necessity of fulfilling one’s duty’.<sup>79</sup>

However, during the 1910 elections the Liberal cartoons frequently depicted the peers in situations that humorously drew attention to their stereotypically effeminate and idle characters, attempting to highlight that they were foolish, ridiculous and different. The humorous images encouraged working- and middle-class men to unite against this and behind an opposing model of masculinity. This contrast was perfectly captured in a cartoon printed in the *Daily News* in December 1909. The cartoon showed a well-known Conservative election poster in the right-hand corner, depicting a working man beneath the caption, ‘It’s Work We Want’. By contrast, the rest of the cartoon

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<sup>76</sup> Taylor, *Lords*, pp. 17-37; Holly Crumpton, ‘Effeminacy’, in their *Men & Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, 2004), pp. 247-248.

<sup>77</sup> Tosh, *Man’s Place*, p. 112; Francis, ‘Domestication’, p. 648; Oliver Buckton, *Secret Selves: Confession and Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Autobiography*, (London, 1998), p. 43.

<sup>78</sup> Charles Kingsley, quoted in Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London, 1959), pp. 239-240.

<sup>79</sup> Gregory Phillips, *The Diehards: Aristocratic Society and Politics in Edwardian England* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 13-14.

was taken up by an image of a frantic peer surrounded by, and clutching, his unearned incomes – from rents and royalties – above the caption, ‘It’s Work We Don’t Want’ (see *Figure 12*).

***Figure 12: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'It's Work We Don't Want', Daily News, 28 December 1909, p. 7.***

At the end of December 1909, the *Star* printed a front-page cartoon, (the newspaper’s cartoons were always presented on the front page), entitled ‘Unaccustomed Toil’. Providing an illustrative counterpart to an article placed above the cartoon discussing how Lord Rothschild endured heckling at a political meeting,<sup>80</sup> the cartoon depicted a peer on his way to make a speech carrying a megaphone and a box of throat pastilles (see, *Figure 13*). The implication here was that the feeble peer, unaccustomed to such exertions, was fearful and anxious that he would not have the necessary strength to deliver his speech. Indeed, public speech making was identified in 1906 as ‘an intellectual exercise which required so great a reserve of physical energy’.<sup>81</sup> A politician’s ability to

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<sup>80</sup> ‘Blunders: Lord Rothschild Meets with a Very Unsympathetic Audience’, *Star*, 20 December 1909, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Joseph O’Connor Power, *The Making of an Orator: With Examples from Great Masterpieces of Ancient and Modern Eloquence* (London, 1906), p. 102.

‘humble themselves before open and often decidedly irreverent meetings’, and to deliver a speech, was considered to be a cornerstone of their political masculinity during the Edwardian period, illustrating a physical and mental robustness, and representing an ability to govern.<sup>82</sup>

**Figure 13:** [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'Unaccustomed Toil', *Star*, 29 December 1909, p. 1.

In January 1910, Francis Gould also produced a cartoon interpretation of the peers’ speech-making endeavours for the *Westminster Gazette*, inspired by a comment made by Lloyd George in a speech at Llanelly in Wales the previous month. Lloyd George described Lord Milner, Lord Midleton, Lord Cawdor and Lord Curzon as ‘a pretty quartette’, singing Christmas carols around Britain. Gould’s cartoon subsequently presented the heads of the singing ‘pretty quartette’ on the bodies of four cats (see below, *Figure 14*). While dogs commonly represent male figures in cartoons, cats usually portray females,

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<sup>82</sup> Lawrence, *Electing*, p. 5.

connoting beauty and sexual allure but also deviousness. ‘Puss’ and ‘puss-gentleman’ were terms used derisively in reference to weak or effeminate men from the eighteenth century.<sup>83</sup>

**Figure 14: F.C. Gould, 'A Pretty Quartette', *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1910, p. 5.**

In another cartoon by Gould, from December 1909, ‘a young Fop’ was depicted presenting himself before John Bull, who required a physician for ‘a matter affecting his Constitution’ (see *Figure 15*). The cartoon’s caption explained that the fop was not a trained physician but was attending because his father had previously been a physician and the hereditary principle dictated that his eldest son should succeed him. The term ‘fop’ was used increasingly during the eighteenth century in reference to aristocratic men who were considered effeminate because of their over concern with clothes and appearance, and because of their exaggerated manners and gestures. They were perceived as dangerously eroding boundaries between the masculine and the feminine.<sup>84</sup> Titled ‘The Hereditary Principle’, Gould’s cartoon mocked the hereditary peerage system, which produced a second chamber unfit for the job. Similarly to

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<sup>83</sup> Katherine M. Rogers, *The Cat and the Human Imagination: Feline Images from Bast to Garfield*, (Michigan, 1998), p. 165.

<sup>84</sup> Sally O’Driscoll, ‘The Molly and The Fop: Untangling Effeminacy in the Eighteenth Century’, in Chris Mounsey (ed.), *Developments in the Histories of Sexualities: In Search of the Normal, 1600-1800* (Plymouth, 2013), pp. 146-147.

the other cartoons discussed above, drawing attention to the diminished morality or masculinity of the peers, Gould's cartoon highlighted the need to reform the House of Lords.

***Figure 15: F.C. Gould, 'The Hereditary Principle', Westminster Gazette, 16 December 1909, p. 3.***

Cartoon depictions of the peers in advertisements placed in the Liberal newspapers could also ally with the Liberal cause during the election campaigns, humorously drawing attention to the peers' vanity and effeminacy. At the end of December 1909, Lockyer's Hair Restorer was advertised in the *Daily News*, which promised to darken grey hair to its natural colour (see *Figure 16*). The advertisement featured a cartoon and an accompanying caption. 'Lord Whitehead' was depicted staring into a mirror in the cartoon image, complaining, in the caption, of his greying hair, on account of the stress of the Budget. 'Lord Blacklock' recommended that he tried the advertised hair-restorer, having used it himself.

**Figure 16: Advertisement for Lockyer's Hair Restorer [Unidentified Cartoonist].  
Printed by the *Daily News*, 31 December 1909, p. 3.**

Significantly, some of the Liberal cartoons, discussed below, did not simply focus upon the different and comically diminished masculinity of the peers – a technique commonly used in Gould's more light-hearted cartoons. Others cartoons framed the political opponents in a more serious and complex narrative. They explicitly drew attention to the idea that the peers' lifestyles, characters and abuses of excessive power not only isolated them from working, family men but, at the same time, also brought them into a direct relationship and direct conflict with these men, highlighting the need for the peers' veto to be removed. Cartoons highlighted the peers' economic self-interest and their lack of social bonds, which had a destructive and oppressive impact upon working, family men, undermining their ability to achieve their masculine role as providers. The

peers were indifferent to this impact and had no empathy because they did not have to work to provide for their families. They were just angry that a proposed Budget dared to impact upon their lifestyles.

While these cartoons, explored below, are humorous because they used techniques such as exaggerating the size of the peers or presenting them in spaces that they would not usually enter, such as the inside of the working-class home, the humour was much darker and the cartoons aimed to also incite fear as a primary emotional response. As E.H. Gombrich argues, explicit ‘humour is not a necessary weapon in the cartoonist’s armoury’. Humour should not be mistaken for the immediate satisfaction gained from a cartoon because of its ‘neat summing up’ of events, for example.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, these Liberal cartoons sought to simplify and combine oppositions, linking the issue of the peers and the undermining of the people’s liberty with the separate and more complex issue of tariff reform. In other Liberal political discourses, such as political speeches and newspaper articles, tariff reform was a policy usually more closely associated with Conservative politicians than the peers. However, the link was that the peers rejected the Budget because it imposed taxes on their land in order to fund social reform – the peers favoured the introduction of Conservative tariff reform, which would tax the people’s food instead.

David Wilson’s cartoons for the *Daily Chronicle* drew upon this link most frequently, highlighting the devastating impact of the peers’ greed and lack of family values. Wilson came to London from Ireland and drew political and joke cartoons for the *Daily Chronicle* from 1895, also contributing to publications including *Punch* and *Fun*. Believing himself to be in possession of ‘strong psychic faculties’, ideas for cartoons often came ‘subconsciously in dreams’. A ‘seriously political animal’, nevertheless, Wilson had championed socialism in his youth and found material for his *Daily Chronicle* cartoons by reading seven newspapers daily.<sup>86</sup> These early socialist sympathies perhaps provide an explanation for Wilson’s desire to further develop arguments against the peers in his cartoons, providing the working-class home as a focus point, reinforcing the need for their power to be addressed. Wilson had satirised the entire British political system in a 1908 illustrated storybook, *Through a Peer*

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<sup>85</sup> Gombrich, ‘Armoury’, p. 131.

<sup>86</sup> Anglesea, ‘David Wilson’, p. 65.

*Glass*, which depicted Winnie Churchill and Uncle George's adventures in Wastemonster (Westminster) and the House of Horrors (House of Lords).<sup>87</sup> As noted in Chapter Three, the *Daily Chronicle's* written discourses surrounding the 1910 elections could provide an unthreatening emotional community appealing to those who usually voted Conservative but who were now unsure.<sup>88</sup> However, it can be suggested that the newspaper's cartoons were actually more assertively radical, as opposed to representing a dumbed-down form of the newspaper's political arguments and communication. In contrast, the moderate Liberalism ideally advocated by the *Westminster Gazette's* J.A. Spender was reflected in Gould's cartoons. Indeed, proprietor Alfred Mond regularly had to press Spender 'to take up a very strong line concerning the House of Lords' in his editorials.<sup>89</sup> Even in January 1910, a *Westminster Gazette* editorial referred to 'the good faith' and 'disinterestedness of the vast majority of the peers and their advocates'.<sup>90</sup>

In December 1909 a cartoon by Wilson illustrated the link between the House of Lords and tariff reform by depicting an over-sized peer standing over a cottage and its inhabitants (men, women and children) ready to drop a large rock labelled 'Taxes on Food and Necessities' (see *Figure 17*). The caption explained that, 'under the Peers' Budget the decent economy of the cottage home will receive a crushing blow'. Another cartoon drawn by Wilson from December 1909, titled 'Death in the Pot', showed a family sat down for supper in their home (see *Figure 18*). However, when the husband and father lifted the lid on the food pot, an evil spirit labelled 'Hunger', holding a 'Food Taxes' coupon, was released. The caption explained that this was 'poverty's outlook under the Peers' Budget'. Some of Wilson's cartoons also presented the peers in direct confrontation with women over the issue of tariff reform, to highlight that they could not show any lenience or compassion on account of their greed even towards a widow, for example (see *Figure 19*).

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<sup>87</sup> Arthur Waghorne and David Wilson, *Through a Peer Glass: Winnie's Adventures in Wastemonster* (London 1908).

<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 103-104.

<sup>89</sup> George Riddell, '12 December 1908', in McEwen (ed.), *Riddell Diaries*, pp. 22-23. For an earlier discussion of the relationship between Spender and Mond, see Chapter 2, p. 66.

<sup>90</sup> 'Exaggerators and Minimisers', *Westminster Gazette*, 3 January 1910, p. 1.

***Figure 17: David Wilson, 'The Menace', *Daily Chronicle*, 16 December 1909, p. 5.***

***Figure 18: David Wilson, 'Death in the Pot', *Daily Chronicle*, 14 December 1909, p. 6.***

**Figure 19: David Wilson, 'Taxing the Widow's Mite', *Daily Chronicle*, 13 January 1910, p. 5.**

The oppressive nature of the long-term relationship between working men and the peers was reinforced by cartoons that presented peers physically attached to working men, illustrating the sense of burden and the peers' prevention of progress. The social bond was not mutually beneficial or in the interest of the common good. A cartoon in the *Daily News* from January 1910 showed an oversized peer holding on to John Bull's wrists, having climbed onto his back (see *Figure 20*). This prevented John Bull from fending off the peer and caused him to drop one of his social reform coupons. The disharmony and subservience suggested by the image is contrasted to the Liberal cartoon's stark yet personalised and familiar warning to, 'Throw Him Off John – Now!'.

**Figure 20: Ernest Hasseldine, 'Let Go My Hands!', *Daily News*, 8 January 1910, p. 10.**

In December 1910 the *Manchester Guardian* highlighted the oppressive relationship between the working man and the peers by producing a cartoon adaptation of Frederic Leighton's 1877 sculpture, 'An Athlete Wrestling with a Python'. The original sculpture depicted a snake wrapping itself around the body of a naked man who was struggling to free himself and fend off the snake. In the *Manchester Guardian's* cartoon a coronet was added to the snake's head and the label of 'Protection' added to its body (see *Figure 21*). This cartoon again illustrated the crushing burden of the peers and their support for tariff reform, restricting the man's liberty. The *Manchester Guardian's* political cartoons on numerous occasions took inspiration from higher art forms, such as sculptures and paintings.<sup>91</sup> This served to distance the pictorial form from negative associations surrounding the passive mass electorate, and to appeal to an intellectually and culturally elite audience.

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<sup>91</sup> Another *Manchester Guardian* electoral cartoon took inspiration from George Frederic Watt's painting, 'Mammon' (1884-1885). See 'Mammon', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 January 1910, p. 12.

**Figure 21: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'Protection', *Manchester Guardian*, 3 December 1910, p. 13.**

The policy of tariff reform was not the only oppositional issue that Liberal cartoons sought to connect to the issue of the peers and their undermining of the people's liberty. The peers were also presented as closely connected to the third most frequently depicted oppositional issue in the Liberal cartoons: the German war scare. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Conservatives claimed that the Liberal government had not built enough new ships to guard Britain's naval supremacy, particularly as the threat from Imperialist Germany allegedly intensified.<sup>92</sup> In December 1909 Robert Blatchford, editor of the Socialist *Clarion*, was commissioned by the Conservative *Daily Mail* to write a series of scaremongering articles prophesying war.<sup>93</sup> Blatchford insisted that his concern 'does not come from a Socialist, nor from a Liberal, nor from a Tory: it comes from an Englishman'.<sup>94</sup> However, Blatchford quickly became the face of the Conservatives' war scare strategy in Liberal cartoons, serving also as a response to the Conservatives' own 'socialism cry' within the context of new Liberal social reform.<sup>95</sup> In the cartoons, the image of Blatchford was invariably starkly juxtaposed with an image of a peer. They were often presented in awkward

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<sup>92</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 92-93.

<sup>93</sup> For a recent discussion of Blatchford's articles for the *Daily Mail*, see Matthew Johnson, *Militarism and the British Left, 1902-1914* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 101-102.

<sup>94</sup> Robert Blatchford for the *Clarion*, 20 December 1909, quoted in Johnson, *Militarism*, p. 101.

<sup>95</sup> Lawrence, 'Urban Toryism', pp. 646-647.

conversation or exchanging nervous looks, alluding to ideological confusion and disunity, and to the political extremes (on both the left and the right) that had rallied to the Conservative cause. Indeed, highlighting the Conservatives' panic and desperation in recruiting such disparate allies, a cartoon by Gould in December 1909 presented Lord Lansdowne and Blatchford preparing to get into a 'Unionist Party' bed together, under the title, 'Crises Make Strange Bedfellows' (see *Figure 22*). As he pulls back the bed sheets, Lansdowne's shock is captured in his pithy response to this situation: 'Good Heavens!'. Blatchford meanwhile studies Lansdowne cautiously.

***Figure 22: F.C. Gould, 'Crises Make Strange Bedfellows', Westminster Gazette, 18 December 1909, p. 5.***

Gould's cartoon for the moderate *Westminster Gazette* presented the power relationship between the socialist and the peer as relatively balanced. However, cartoons for the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* presented Blatchford as the dominant figure in the alliance. Wilson's cartoon for the *Daily Chronicle*, titled 'Sanctuary', showed a kneeling peer looking up longingly and hopefully at Blatchford, who stood resolute and powerful (see *Figure 23*). The caption noted that the peer has 'secured the services of a man who is the implacable enemy of all they [the Conservatives] pretend to hold dear'. The *Daily News's* cartoon depiction of the alliance showed frightened Conservative politicians and a peer

attempting to protect themselves and hide from John Bull behind an oversized Blatchford, who held up a banner in the hope of distracting the elector (see below, *Figure 24*). The sensationalist banner read, ‘Hi! Hi! Shock Discovery! The Germans Are Coming’. The *Daily News’s* cartoon also provides an important reflection on how the newspaper perceived the intelligence of John Bull, the voter. John Bull did not respond instinctively with fear to Blatchford’s scaremongering banner. Instead he provided a rational emotional response to the situation, expressing his anger at the attempt made to fool him, and explaining how he would express this anger through the ballot box.

***Figure 23: David Wilson, 'Sanctuary', Daily Chronicle, 29 December 1909, p. 5.***

**Figure 24: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'the Gamblers' Last Throw', *Daily News*, 23 December 1909, p. 9.**

#### **IV** **Representing Conservative Politicians**

The Edwardian Conservative Party has been identified as experiencing a ‘crisis of Conservatism’, beset by internal disputes and consolidated by three successive general election defeats (January 1906, January 1910 and December 1910). The Conservative identity crisis was caused by deep divisions within the party over the issue of tariff reform. Additionally, popular Imperialism – a defining feature of the late-nineteenth-century party – had been revealed as ‘immoral as well as ramshackle and expensive’ in the aftermath of the Boer War.<sup>96</sup> Traditionally, the historiography of the Conservative Party has focused upon the roles of individual politicians, with biography far outweighing general studies of the party.<sup>97</sup> Within this tradition it is unsurprising that the individual figure of Arthur Balfour, the Conservative leader from 1902, has been identified as central to the party’s Edwardian decline. The announcement of his resignation in 1911 was met with

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<sup>96</sup> Williamson, ‘Conservative Party’, p. 7; Green, *Conservatism*. The extent of the Edwardian Conservative crisis has been reconsidered more recently. For example, see David Thackeray, ‘Rethinking the Edwardian Crisis of Conservatism’, *Historical Journal*, 54:1 (2001), pp. 191-213.

<sup>97</sup> Green, *Conservatism*, p. 307; Alex Windscheffel, ‘Men or Measures? Conservative Party Politics, 1815-1951’, *Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), pp. 937-951.

little mourning from the Tories. The aristocratic and intellectual Balfour was a figure to whom ‘the platform and the cheering crowd were foreign territory’.<sup>98</sup> he was, according to Ewen Green, ‘too remote to combat effectively the popular “demagoguery” of Lloyd George, Churchill and their Labour allies’.<sup>99</sup> As well as alienating the democracy, Balfour also commonly stands accused of failing to provide clear and decisive leadership within the party. Balfour’s attempts at party unity through the advocating of moderate tariff reform only served to exasperate the ‘whole hog’ tariff reformers and free traders.<sup>100</sup> In a 1908 pen-portrait, A.G. Gardiner captured the criticism of Balfour ‘in a word, Drift. That is the political philosophy of Mr. Balfour’. ‘If Toryism is to rise from its ashes’, Gardiner continued, ‘it must make some appeal to the hearts and imaginations of men ... He [Balfour] is a creature of negations and doubts ... He is without a policy, without a following, without a purpose’.<sup>101</sup>

The Liberal electoral cartoon representations of the peers, discussed above, commonly depicted them in their own formal costume of robes and coronets. In contrast, the cartoons frequently represented Conservative politicians in various guises. The various guises used to represent the politicians – most notably Balfour – not only sought to import the cultural associations connected to the analogy, but also to allude to the party’s current identity crisis and lack of stability or strong leadership. A cartoon by Francis Gould at the beginning of December 1910 sought to capture Balfour’s poor leadership by representing him as the White Knight from Lewis Carroll’s 1871 novel *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* (see *Figure 25*). Gould frequently alluded to the fantastical world of ‘Alice’ in his cartoons, parodying John Tenniel’s original illustrations of the ‘Alice’ characters.<sup>102</sup> In Carroll’s story the White Knight repeatedly slid off his horse, laden with his numerous ridiculous inventions, and landed on his head. In Gould’s cartoon Balfour is illustrated having loaded up his horse with various policies, such as the peers’ veto and the tariff reform referendum, which weighted the animal down. The so-

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<sup>98</sup> R.J.Q. Adams, *Balfour: the Last Grandee* (London, 2007), p. 838.

<sup>99</sup> Green, *Conservatism*, p. 307.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, p. 308; Ramsden, *Balfour*, p. 42; Williamson, ‘Conservative Party’, p. 5; Blewett, ‘Free Fooders’, pp. 95-124.

<sup>101</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, pp. 36-43.

<sup>102</sup> Matthew, ‘Gould’. The illustrations were also parodied by David Wilson of the *Daily Chronicle* in his 1908 *Through a Peer Glass* political storybook discussed above.

called ‘pictorial turn’ has encouraged historians to explore the complex relationship between word and image – how the interplay between the two produces identity, and how one can reinforce or subvert the meaning of the other.<sup>103</sup> Gould utilised the title and caption in this cartoon to alter its expected meaning, highlighting that Balfour was in fact distinct from, and even more ridiculous than, Tenniel’s White Knight. Balfour was depicted in the caption as noting discontentedly that not only was he going ““into battle loaded with all these things””, but ““most of them are *not* my own invention””.<sup>104</sup>

**Figure 25: F.C. Gould, 'Not His Own Invention', *Westminster Gazette*, 14 November 1910, p. 3.**

At the beginning of December 1910, Gould also presented Balfour’s head on the body of a dog, with a tag labelled ‘Referendum’ around his neck (see *Figure 26*). The caption noted that the confused dog was previously ‘labelled “Tariff Reform”’. Now it is labelled “Referendum”’. Gould commonly used canine

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<sup>103</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 11-34; Gerard Curtis, *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot, 2002); Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens, 2004).

<sup>104</sup> Own italics added here for emphasis.

images in his cartoons, observing from the gallery of the House of Commons that the scene below was ‘a sort of political dog show’. ‘With the barking, the howling, the yapping, and the yelping of two thousand dogs of every kind, from a Great Dane to a Toy Terrier, ringing in my ears’, Gould explained, it ‘was quite enough to take a doggy view of things’ and to separate the politicians ‘into canine types’.<sup>105</sup> In another cartoon from December 1910, Gould provided an adaptation of the nursery rhyme ‘Mary had a Little Lamb’. The cartoon represented Balfour as Mary, who has dressed up her tariff reform wolf as a shy and timid lamb and called it ‘Referendum’ (see *Figure 27*). This cartoon emasculates Balfour for his indecisiveness and lack of conviction; his embarrassment is suggested by his adoption of an oversized hat. In December 1910 a cartoon by David Wilson for the *Daily Chronicle* depicted Balfour as a wailing child who had his noisy ‘Referen-drum’ confiscated by his mother. His mother was depicted as ardent tariff reformer Austen Chamberlain, who took up the cause following his father’s stroke in 1906. Tantrum-throwing Balfour is presented here as unable to channel emotion effectively or to assert authority over his own party (see *Figure 28*).

***Figure 26: F.C. Gould, 'The Lost Label', Westminster Gazette, 1 December 1910, p. 2.***

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<sup>105</sup> Gould, Unpublished Autobiography, HC/LB/1/37/1, p. 183.

***Figure 27: F.C. Gould, 'Mary's Little Lamb', Westminster Gazette, 7 December 1910, p. 3.***

***Figure 28: David Wilson, 'The Referen-Drum!', Daily Chronicle, 17 December 1910, p. 5.***

The depiction of Balfour and other Conservative politicians in various guises in the Liberal cartoons not only served to highlight the party's identity crisis, but also, to a certain extent, served to distance the politicians' actual selves from their policies and actions. Unlike the peers, who were commonly depicted in their own formal dress, the Conservative politicians' behaviours and strategies, satirised in the cartoons, were not inextricably linked to who they fundamentally were. As E.H. Gombrich notes, 'the twin resources of the cartoonist's armoury' are the ability to draw attention to 'the topical and the permanent, the passing allusion and the lasting characterization'.<sup>106</sup> Unlike the peers, the costume characterisations of the Conservative politicians, which sometimes served even to alter their gender, were in no way reflective of reality, and were not permanent – the cartoonists changed the characterisations sometimes on a daily basis. Through the various striking guises adopted in the cartoons, the politicians' policies and actions were depicted as easily recognisable misguided electoral strategies, allegiances and identities adopted in the short term, rather than forming an essential aspect of their character. The Conservatives, the cartoons suggest, were clearly not in a stable or united position to take up power, but they could reinvent themselves in a different costume in the future.

Historians and psychologists have increasingly studied and drawn attention to distinctions between the closely related emotions guilt and shame.<sup>107</sup> It can be suggested that the Liberal cartoons encouraged audiences to identify these emotions as the ones that should be felt by the peers (shame) and the Conservative politicians (guilt). As S.P. Garvie argues, to feel guilty for one's behaviour 'preserves some distance between the self and its wrongful act', enabling 'the self to become active and engaged in an effort to repair the damage the offence has caused'. Shame, on the other hand, is often seen as the more primitive, destructive emotion, offering less possibility to repair wrongdoing. The wrongful behaviour is more closely linked to who one is rather than what they have done.<sup>108</sup> Martha Nussbaum reiterates, 'whereas shame focuses on defect or imperfection, and thus on some aspect of the very being of the person

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<sup>106</sup> Gombrich, 'Armoury', pp. 137-8.

<sup>107</sup> Scheff, 'Shame', p. 92; June Price Tangney and Ronda L. Dearing, *Guilt and Shame* (London, 2002); S.P. Garvie, 'Can Shame Punishments Educate?', *University of Chicago Law Review*, 65:4 (1988), pp. 765-767; Martha Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 207-208.

<sup>108</sup> Garvie, 'Shame Punishments', p. 766.

who feels it, guilt focuses on an action (or a wish to act), but need not extend to the entirety of the agent, seeing the agent as utterly inadequate'. Shame is a premier social emotion, as discussed in Chapter Three, and is, therefore, seen as 'a threat to all possibility of morality and community, and indeed to a creative inner life'.<sup>109</sup> As noted in a Labour electoral leaflet, the peers were 'a menace to the community – to civilisation in fact'.<sup>110</sup> The previous section of this chapter illustrated that some cartoonists portrayed the peers' greedy actions – inextricably linked to who they were, as connoted through the cartoonists' use of the peers' own formal costume – as destructive of mutual and benevolent social bonds and affinities.

Unlike these representations of the oppressive peers, the Liberal cartoonists did not want to portray the long-term destruction of the legitimacy of the Conservatives' political power, as the party of opposition. Indeed, many cartoons, discussed below, sought to reinforce the centrality of the long-term relationship or balance of power between the Liberals and Conservatives, which was of course important in terms of upholding liberal democracy by supporting individual voter choice, providing debate, and a reasonable check on power. The Liberals sought to challenge and reduce the power of the House of Lords, which was closely linked to the Edwardian Conservative Party as a close ally that had sought to destroy reform measures introduced by the Liberal Party on the advice of Balfour.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, during the election campaigns, Liberals sometimes referred to the Conservative Party as the 'Peers' Party'.<sup>112</sup> Additionally, highlighting their closeness and providing Gould with much ammunition, the House of Lords was identified by Lloyd George in 1908 as not acting in its proper role as the watchdog of the constitution but rather as 'Mr. Balfour's poodle'.<sup>113</sup> As Ian Packer notes, amidst the constitutional controversy, the Liberal Party was aware that it 'must not seem to be "extreme" in its policies ... to convince moderate voters that a Liberal government would not indulge in controversial

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<sup>109</sup> Nussbaum, *Humanity*, pp. 207-208. For earlier discussion of shame as a social emotion, see Chapter 3, pp. 101-102.

<sup>110</sup> H.R. Stockman, *Labour and the Lords: An Indictment* (Salford, 1909), p. 7.

<sup>111</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 82-83.

<sup>112</sup> For example, see 'The Anti-Britons', *Daily News*, 20 December 1909, p. 6.

<sup>113</sup> Jenkins, *Balfour's Poodle*, n. pag. The *Westminster Gazette* noted that Gould was able to made even 'Lord Lansdowne a poodle without apparent unkindness to Lord Lansdowne!'. See 'The "Westminster" Cartoons', 13 June 1911, p. 3.

adventures'.<sup>114</sup> The Liberal cartoons served an important purpose in disentangling the peers and the Conservative Party again and highlighting that the Liberals were not revolutionary and were not attempting to overturn the fundamentally important role of the party of opposition within the House of Commons. Indeed, commenting on the fragmented nature of the Conservatives towards the end of the second election of 1910, the *Manchester Guardian* explained that the party 'should try to pull themselves together'. 'Even a thrice-beaten Opposition has a public function to perform', the newspaper continued, 'and if they are to be of any use to their country they must come to some agreement among themselves as to what they can jointly believe and ask others to believe'.<sup>115</sup> Even Gardiner, in his piercing 1908 pen-portrait of Balfour, acknowledged the Conservative leader's role in fending off Joseph Chamberlain's 'whole hog' tariff reform policy. He noted that Balfour 'has probably done the greatest service to his country of any man of his time. He has saved it from Protection'.<sup>116</sup>

The idea that the Liberals and Conservatives were, paradoxically, united and bound together in a long-term relationship of opposition and competition was frequently depicted in cartoons through the representation of the two party leaders, Asquith and Balfour, on a seesaw – a simple, playful relational device that required the participation of two opposing people or groups of people. A cartoon by Gould was printed in the *Westminster Gazette* at the end of the first election in January 1910. The cartoon, titled 'The Balance', showed Asquith and Balfour (no longer adopting a guise) on either end of a plank of wood, which was balanced on a tree trunk labelled 'General Election' (see *Figure 29*). Asquith was winning because his weight (a metaphor for the strength of his policies and support) was able to raise Balfour off the ground. A coronet and beer barrel were drawn behind Balfour, symbolising the current support the Conservative Party were receiving from the House of Lords and the brewery interests (the 'People's Budget' sought to steeply increase taxes on licenses).<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 83.

<sup>115</sup> 'The Opposition's Bewilderment', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 December 1910, p. 6.

<sup>116</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 34.

<sup>117</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 136.

**Figure 29: F.C. Gould, 'The Balance', *Westminster Gazette*, 24 January 1910, p. 3.**

Presenting the progress of the election in very simplistic terms, the seesaw was also utilised by the *Daily News* in December 1910 in a cartoon strip, titled 'The Cause Of The Election – And A Forecast' (see *Figure 30*). The first cartoon again showed Asquith and Balfour on either end of the plank of wood. By the third cartoon, a peer has positioned himself on Balfour's side of the plank, lifting Asquith off the ground. However, in the fourth and final cartoon, John Bull had gone to sit behind Asquith – the force of which not only raised Balfour into the air but also threw the peer off the constitutional seesaw in the process. The one fixed continuity in all four cartoons, providing a framework for the ongoing narrative, was the presentation of the Liberal and Conservative on either end of the seesaw, as support for both came and went.

**Figure 30: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'The Cause of the Election - and a Forecast', *Daily News*, 7 December 1910, p. 2.**

The idea of the Liberals and Conservatives representing a relational balance was also alluded to in some of the electoral cartoons provided by the *News of the World's* James Morewood Staniforth. Welshman Staniforth was not conventionally liberal in his outlook. 'An occasionally xenophobic patriot who identified with Wales, the British Empire, and a variety of right-wing causes', Chris Williams nevertheless concedes that 'Staniforth could also express great sympathy for the underdog, the poor, and the working classes'.<sup>118</sup> Some of Staniforth's electoral cartoons for the popular *News of the World* seem to adhere to the radical critique of the new journalism in terms of its depiction of politics in simplistic terms and as an entertaining spectacle.<sup>119</sup> For example, in the newspaper's first edition of the year in January 1910, Staniforth's cartoon announced, 'The Commencement of a New Act'. As a pantomime character labelled '1910' pushed out another character labelled '1909', in the background there was a placard announcing, 'Great Britain Theatre – Grand Pantomime – Free Trade v Tariff Reform' (see *Figure 31*).

***Figure 31: J.M. Staniforth, 'The Commencement of a New Act', News of the World, 2 January 1910, p. 1.***

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<sup>118</sup> Chris Williams, 'Joseph Morewood Staniforth (1863-1921)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2011; online edn).

<sup>119</sup> Curran, *Media*, p. 34.

However, some of Staniforth's other cartoons gently alluded to the newspaper's electoral stance. In a cartoon from December 1909, Staniforth represented the balance of power between the Liberals and Conservatives through the image of a pair of scales (see *Figure 32*). Asquith and Balfour were depicted loading their policies into either pan on the scales, and the accompanying caption was seemingly non-partisan: 'The Great Question – Which Will Outweigh The Other?' However, it is noticeable that Asquith was depicted as stouter than in real life, while Balfour appeared very slender, providing an implicit indication of the relative weight and strength of their policies and of the newspaper's loyalties. The *News of the World's* cartoons were prominently placed throughout the Edwardian period, always presented beneath the masthead on the front page and taking-up approximately one-third of the length of the page (as illustrated in *Figure 33*).

***Figure 32: J.M. Staniforth, 'The Great Question - Which Will Outweigh The Other?', News of the World, 12 December 1909, p. 1.***

**Figure 33: Image Showing the Typical Positioning of a Political Cartoon in the *News of the World* (12 December 1909, p. 1).**

The idea that the Liberals and Conservatives were united in a long-term relationship of opposition was also frequently alluded to in cartoons within advertisements placed in the Liberal newspapers during the election campaigns. For example, an Oxo advertisement placed in the *Daily Chronicle* in January 1910 explained that, ‘however much they may disagree about Free Trade and Protection, they are both united in praise of Oxo’.<sup>120</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* also featured a series of advertisements for the beef beverage Ivelcon during the second election campaign of 1910. For example, one cartoon depicted a tug-of-war between four key Liberal and Conservative politicians (see *Figure 34*). The advertisement emphasised that electoral campaigning demanded great physical strength from the politicians, which was provided by the advertised beverage. The important relationship and balance between the two parties in terms of

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<sup>120</sup> [Unidentified Cartoonist], ‘They are Both United in Praise of OXO’, *Daily Chronicle*, 17 January 1910, p. 10.

upholding democracy was suggested here by the piece of rope that physically connected the opposing politicians. The advertisement proclaimed, ‘support the beverage that gives you a good Constitution’. Another advertisement for Ivelcon also appeared at the end of the second election, which depicted united politicians from both parties dancing, intermingling, raising their cups of Ivelcon and singing together.<sup>121</sup>

**Figure 34: Advertisement for Ivelcon [Unidentified Cartoonist]. Printed by the *Daily Chronicle*, 10 December 1910, p. 10.**

Importantly, it is evident that all of the cartoons stressing the long-term relationship between the Liberal and Conservative Party dismissed the impact of the rise of Labour as either a future competitor to both parties or as an essential ally to the Liberal Party at present. The idea of the Labour Party as a future competitor was dismissed because the devices used to represent the balance of power – the seesaw, the scales, or the rope in the tug-of-war – only has two sides, pans, or ends and the balance would have been destroyed if that was not the case. Although the extent of the growth of the Edwardian Labour Party is a much-debated topic,<sup>122</sup> the party was closely linked to the Liberals, working with them

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<sup>121</sup> [Unidentified Cartoonist], ‘After the Election’, *Daily Chronicle*, 22 December 1910, p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> This debate is part of the wider historiographical controversy surrounding whether the Edwardian period witness the inevitably onset of the Liberal demise, with the rising Labour Party naturally catered for the working classes. For an outline of the debate, see Chapter 1, pp. 33-36. In an authoritative assessment of the place and significance of the Edwardian Labour Party, Duncan Tanner explained that, ‘Labour consolidated its strength in particular areas, most notably those inhabited by miners and railwaymen. In such places, and in parts of the country where the Liberals had traditionally been weak (like the West Midlands and Merseyside), Labour was often becoming the main anti-Tory party. Elsewhere, limited Liberal enthusiasm for their party’s national programme could create opportunities for Labour. Where the opportunities were grasped, Labour sometimes developed a substantial political base, although generally without replacing the Liberals as the main anti-Tory force’. See Duncan Tanner, ‘Class Voting and Radical Politics: The Liberal and Labour Parties, 1910-1931’, in Lawrence and Taylor (eds.), *Party*, pp. 112-113.

during elections. The secret 1903 Lib-Lab pact acknowledged that in certain constituencies the two parties would not stand against each other and risk dividing the progressive vote.<sup>123</sup> The Liberals retained power at the two elections of 1910 only by relying upon the support of the Irish Nationalist and Labour seats secured.<sup>124</sup> However, the idea of the Labour Party as essential allies at the elections was also not alluded to in the cartoons. In the moderate *Westminster Gazette's* seesaw cartoon discussed above, Gould depicted the allies of the Conservative Party (the peers and brewery interests) behind Balfour on the plank of wood. However, the full length of the Liberal side of the plank was obscured and only Asquith was visible (see *Figure 29*). In the *Daily News's* December 1910 seesaw cartoon – ‘A Forecast’ – Asquith was positioned on the ‘left’ and his only ally was John Bull, the voter (see *Figure 30*). The omission of Labour is revealing, particularly in the *Daily News's* cartoon, because the newspaper is usually depicted as having given voice and support to Labour, which lacked its own daily organ until 1912. As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, Stephen Koss argues that Gardiner’s essential aim was not to keep the Liberal Party in power but rather to ensure that the party did not stray from a path of social reform.<sup>125</sup>

## V Conclusion

This chapter has explored the representation of the Liberal opposition in cartoons printed in all of the seven Liberal newspapers during the two general election campaigns of 1910. It has reinforced the idea that emotion rather than debates surrounding rationality and irrationality or vulgarity and sensationalism should be central to our understanding of how Liberalism and its oppositions were

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<sup>123</sup> Frank Bealey, ‘The electoral Arrangement between the Labour Representation Committee and the Liberal Party’, *Journal of Modern History*, 28:4 (1956), pp. 353-373; Tanner, *Political Change*, pp 21-23.

<sup>124</sup> Packer, ‘General Elections’, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>125</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 58-59, 65.

communicated during the elections. This chapter has also illuminated the central place of political gender identities in this communication. For example, considering the humorous representation of the peers in the cartoons, it was highlighted that they were constantly portrayed in their instantly recognisable ‘tabs of identity’ – their robes and coronets, which alluded to a sense of privilege and to their vain, idle and greedy characters. This aimed to unite working- and middle-class audiences against this diminished and effeminate masculinity. It was David Wilson’s cartoons for the *Daily Chronicle*, rather than Francis Gould’s celebrated and widely distributed cartoons for the moderate *Westminster Gazette*, which sought to frame opposition to the peers in the most serious, complex and fear-evoking narrative. These cartoons illustrated that the peers’ character and support for tariff reform not only isolated them from working, family men but also brought them into direct conflict.

The Liberal cartoon representations of Conservative politicians emphasised the party’s current identity crisis and the lack of strong leadership offered by the emasculated Arthur Balfour. Yet it was noted that the various fantastical guises adopted by the Liberal cartoonists to portray the Conservative politicians also served to preserve some distance between the politicians’ electoral policies and their actual fundamental selves. This was important because, in communicating the complex constitutional issue, the cartoons needed to separate the Liberal desire to reduce the political powers of the peers from their attack upon the Conservatives at the elections, to show that they acknowledged that the party of opposition had a key long-term role to play in a liberal democracy. This argument is supported by the fact that some Liberal cartoons sought to illustrate that the two parties were united in a long-term relationship of opposition and confrontation. Yet these cartoons, even those in the more left-wing *Daily News*, were conservative in their dismissal of the rise of Labour as either a future competitor to both parties or as an essential ally to the Liberal Party at present, questioning the Liberal commitment to the ‘progressive alliance’.

In line with current historiographical trends, this chapter has offered an appreciation of political cartoons as an informative pictorial medium, conveying important and complex messages to the mass electorate, *and* to more intellectually- and culturally-elite audiences also. The cartoons often sought to

combine oppositional issues, which would have been more difficult to communicate in words or speeches. Statistically analysing groups of cartoons in an attempt to quantify the images and the important issues that they raised – and to identify strong trends to support or challenge other primary evidence – might be an approach that will help to ensure that cartoons continue to be taken seriously as historical sources, and indeed are taken seriously in contemporary journalism also. The discussion now moves in Chapter Five to explore another feature of Edwardian political journalism – the reportage of politicians’ speeches. Similarly to political cartoons, it was often dismissed by Edwardian critics, within the context of the rise of the new journalism, as focusing upon the emotional, the dramatic and the shocking rather than the serious political message.

## Chapter Five

### **‘None of that joy of battle which is characteristic of his brilliant lieutenant’: The Representation of the Public Speeches of Asquith and Lloyd George**

No man strips his speech so bare of appeals to emotionalism, ignorance, or passion. He [Asquith] will have no falsities. He will talk neither to the gallery nor to the side boxes, but to the general intelligence. If you cannot be reached by a plain tale and a clear argument then you must go elsewhere. He has no lollipops for you. He brings you no jokes.

A.G. Gardiner, *Pillars of Society* (London, 1913), p. 80.

He [Lloyd George] cannot resist the stimulus of the occasion. It works in him like wine. It floods him with the riot of high spirits and swift fancy, until he seems to be almost the voice of the collective emotion ... He fascinates you, plays with you, holds you with the mesmerism of the unresolved riddle. You would give anything to know the thought behind that gay, debonair raillery.

A.G. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests and Kings*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1914), pp. 133-134.

#### I

#### **Introduction**

It is ‘difficult to keep his name out of the paper ... He is always “doing things” – and always big things’, noted A.G. Gardiner in his 1908 pen-portrait of David Lloyd George.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, reporting on a speech made by Lloyd George at Newcastle in October 1909, a *Daily News* editorial commented that the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s recent speeches marked ‘instances of a notable revival’. The *Daily News* explained that, ‘since Gladstone died it has become the rather cynical fashion to maintain that political speeches were dead as well ... we were told the thing was done, the game was played out. Few papers found space to report speeches; no one, except the speakers, took the trouble to read them’. However, addressing issues ‘coming home to people’s lives and understandings’, the *Daily News* noted that Lloyd George’s speeches were again commanding the ‘wider audience’ – they were often ‘published *ad verbatim*’ in the newspapers,

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<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 158.

including in the typically less-politicised Sunday newspapers, and were being ‘read by millions’. ‘What a power the political speech has again become!’, the newspaper concluded.<sup>2</sup>

The perceived decline in the reportage of politicians’ speeches during the early twentieth century was often identified by contemporaries, such as R.D. Blumenfeld, as a defining feature of the halfpenny new journalism.<sup>3</sup> When the *Daily News* was making the decision to reduce its price to a halfpenny in 1904, an alteration in the reportage of political speeches was acknowledged in a letter from proprietor George Cadbury to Gardiner as a fundamentally necessary change. ‘A very small number of people for example have time to read the speeches’, Cadbury noted: ‘probably 49 out of 50 of our readers are content’ with an overview.<sup>4</sup> As Joseph Meisel concurs, ‘things like full reports of political speeches’ were ‘antithetical to the new formula’.<sup>5</sup> H.C.G. Matthew notes that the *Daily Mail* was the first daily newspaper to produce political content in this altered package, with *verbatim* speech reporting replaced by brief descriptive summaries.<sup>6</sup> In charge of the *Daily Mail*’s early style and content, Kennedy Jones considered that one of the newspaper’s biggest successes was its decision ‘to reduce parliamentary proceedings and the speeches of politicians to their right proportions in the daily prints’.<sup>7</sup> Lord Rosebery, one of the great orators of the 1890s, gave a frank acceptance of this trend in a speech made to the Press Club in 1913. On his own speeches printed in the newspapers, Rosebery explained that except among those whose “‘painful duty’” it was to read them for professional reasons, he could never find anybody who admitted to reading them.<sup>8</sup>

In line with trends within the new journalism generally, it was perceived that a newspaper’s exploitation of the human-interest aspect of a political speech was the route to commercial success: as Richard Salmon argues, ‘a notion of

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<sup>2</sup> ‘Newcastle’, *Daily News*, 11 October 1909, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> George Cadbury to A.G. Gardiner, 11 February 1904, Gardiner Papers, Gardiner/1/28.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Meisel, *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, 2001), p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> H.C.G. Matthew, ‘Rhetoric and Politics in Great Britain, 1860-1950’, in Philip Waller (ed.), *Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain: Essays Presented to A.F. Thompson* (Brighton, 1987), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Kennedy Jones, *Fleet Street and Downing Street* (London, 1920), p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, p. 120.

“personality” was central to the attempt to define the project of the “new” journalism’.<sup>9</sup> Blumenfeld noted that journalists sought to focus upon the ‘great human drama’ rather than ‘the substance of the speeches’. They were interested in conveying ‘the clash of personalities ... the interplay of conflicting temperaments and psychological forces’. Journalists were encouraged to pay attention to the politician’s ‘mannerisms which mark his oratory’, ‘his facial expression’, ‘the lively incidents, the witty backchat, the idiosyncrasies of speakers’.<sup>10</sup> Supporting Gardiner’s view that all newspapers ‘felt the [new journalism] revolution in some measure’,<sup>11</sup> the role of the political sketch writer on the *Manchester Guardian* during the Edwardian period was also to express ‘the feel of the meeting’: ‘to give those who were not there the sense of being present, of sharing in the excitement, of catching the human touches which remain in the memory, of responding as the audience responded’.<sup>12</sup> New Liberal politician Winston Churchill consciously sought to adapt his speeches to ensure newspaper coverage, turning to his friendly acquaintance Northcliffe for advice on such matters in 1909. Northcliffe provided guarded and practical suggestions, for example: ‘Saturday is obviously the best day [to deliver a speech], because you get reported in the Sunday papers as well as in the Monday papers’.<sup>13</sup> Northcliffe came under attack from Conservative politician F.E. Smith in 1909 for providing such advice and friendship, and for the complaint that ‘we give too much Churchill and Lloyd George’ in the *Daily Mail*. Northcliffe responded in defence by noting that their speeches were ‘obviously very *carefully* prepared, and in my opinion ... apart from their politics, are the best that we have. I wish you could stir up some of the others, and make my task easier’.<sup>14</sup>

The contrast between Lloyd George’s emotional approach and Prime Minister Asquith’s intellectual approach to speech-making, as outlined in the contemporary pen-portraits provided by Gardiner and presented at the beginning

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Salmon, “‘A Simulacrum of Power’: Intimacy and Abstraction in the Rhetoric of the New Journalism”, in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Blumenfeld, *My Time*, pp. 121-122.

<sup>11</sup> A.G. Gardiner, ‘Two Journalists: C.P. Scott and Northcliffe – A Contrast’, *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1932, p. 251.

<sup>12</sup> Ayerst, *Guardian*, pp. 326-327.

<sup>13</sup> Lord Northcliffe to Winston Churchill, 11 August 1909, Northcliffe Papers, MS 62,156, f. 98, No. 27, British Library Manuscripts Collection.

<sup>14</sup> Lord Northcliffe to F.E. Smith, 1 November 1909, Northcliffe Papers, MS 62,156, f. 806, No. 165. Own italics added here for emphasis.

of this chapter, suggests that Asquith's speeches would have been less appealing to the Edwardian halfpenny popular press than Lloyd George's speeches, marking no such 'notable revival' in the full reportage of political speeches outlined by the *Daily News*. As Gardiner summarised, Asquith 'has none of that joy of battle which is characteristic of his brilliant lieutenant. His eye does not light up with any fine frenzy, and no tide of hot compassion engulfs him'.<sup>15</sup> Lloyd George himself said of Asquith in 1908 that he 'had a remarkably clear and forcible mind, and that his only defects were due to his legal training, which had curbed his imagination and vivacity'.<sup>16</sup>

The simplistic contrast between Lloyd George's impulsiveness and Asquith's reason during the Edwardian period received substantial backing during the inter-war period and subsequently has had an enormous influence upon how modern historians view the pairing. In his memoir published in 1927, J.A. Spender explained that Asquith and Lloyd George 'began to seem like a perfect combination, each supplying the deficiencies of the other, and providing between them the requisite compound of zeal and gravity'. Spender continued, 'Lloyd George could never have presented the Constitutional argument in the incomparable way that Asquith did, and Asquith, with his cold temperament, could not have kindled emotions as Lloyd George did'.<sup>17</sup> In his 1935 account of Edwardian England, George Dangerfield highlighted the 'sentimental drama' performed by Lloyd George during his public speeches. 'Less a Liberal than a Welshman on the loose', Lloyd George hypnotised crowds, who were invariably 'howling with alternate rage and laughter', and who 'splattered him generously with roses and eggs, both of which he seemed to enjoy'. Asquith, on the other hand, was 'essentially a prosaic character': 'so tired, so passive, and above all, so gentlemanly'.<sup>18</sup> In his modern biography of Lloyd George, Kenneth Morgan noted 'Asquith's judicious leadership, backed up by stern partisanship, and Lloyd George's radical passion'.<sup>19</sup> Neal Blewett also highlighted the contrast in the two politicians' treatment of the peers in public speeches during the 1910 election periods. 'Asquith confined himself to the strictly political misdeeds of the

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<sup>15</sup> Gardiner, *Pillars*, p. 79.

<sup>16</sup> George Riddell, '27 November 1908', in McEwen (ed.), *Riddell Diaries*, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Spender, *Life: Vol. 2*, p. 232.

<sup>18</sup> Dangerfield, *Strange Death*, pp. 18, 29, 32, 113.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth O. Morgan, *Lloyd George* (London, 1974), p. 64.

peers’, while ‘Lloyd George had no such scruples’: ‘the easy humour, the colloquial intimacy, the homely yet memorable imagery, the imprint of passion; but also the slipshod form, the disregard for facts, the undisciplined vituperation lapsing often into sheer bad taste’ all characterised Lloyd George’s speeches.<sup>20</sup>

However, in his authoritative biography of Lloyd George, John Grigg questioned the validity of Gardiner’s Edwardian pen-portrait of Lloyd George presented above, which established a coarse polarisation between the two figures. Although Gardiner provided some ‘shrewd observations’, he also provided ‘an anthology of half-truths’ about Lloyd George and a ‘tiresomely over-written’, light-hearted caricature obviously designed to entertain. Grigg particularly called into question Gardiner’s use of ‘the word “mesmerism”, which suggests that he ensnared his audiences by paranormal methods ... if he convinces, it is by magic rather than by logic’. Grigg instead maintained that Lloyd George ‘won them over because he combined exceptional intelligence with a sense of purpose and a rare capacity to persuade people by argument’. It is Grigg’s contention that an irresponsible, almost irrational, representation of the Edwardian Lloyd George ‘passed into folk lore’ during the interwar period more as a response to his war-time, rather than his pre-war, actions. Unhappy with Asquith’s conduct as Prime Minister during the First World War, the ambitious Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions and Secretary for War, plotted with the Conservatives to remove him from the premiership. When Asquith did resign as Prime Minister in December 1916, Lloyd George succeeded him and was backed up by Conservative allies in a coalition government. Dismissing Lloyd George’s bold and capable wartime leadership or the actual extent of his involvement in Asquith’s fall, many inter-war Liberals condemned Lloyd George as a morally bankrupt unprincipled adventurer, who constructed irreconcilable divisions within the party.<sup>21</sup> Asquith, on the other hand, gained cult status. As noted by Stephen Koss, Asquith was ‘celebrated as a martyr to the forsaken cause of principle in politics’ and ‘commanded sympathy and respect as the repository of pre-war virtue’.<sup>22</sup>

This chapter explores the Liberal newspapers’ representations of four of Lloyd George and four of Asquith’s public speeches made between 1908 and

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<sup>20</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 176.

<sup>21</sup> John Grigg, *Lloyd George: Vol. 2, The People’s Champion, 1902-1911* (London, 1978), pp. 356-358.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Koss, *Asquith* (London, 1976), pp. viii-ix.

1913, outside of the electioneering periods of late 1909 and 1910 discussed in detail in Chapter Three and Four. The seven newspapers have been researched by investigating all textual and pictorial references to the eight speeches over an 11-day period: for the three days before the speech, the day of the speech, and the seven days after the speech. One key point that emerges is that the full texts of Asquith's speeches were presented on 11 out of a possible 28 occasions (7 newspapers x 4 speeches). Meanwhile, Lloyd George's speeches are presented in full on 16 out of a possible 28 occasions. It is not the case that Asquith's speeches were largely presented in full in the less populist *Manchester Guardian* and *Westminster Gazette* only. Excluding these two titles, the full texts of Asquith speeches were presented on 8 out of 20 occasions and Lloyd George's speeches presented on 13 out of 20 occasions. The day before a public speech by Asquith in 1909, the *Daily News* explained that, 'no fewer than 140 seats have been allocated to the Press – as many, if not more, than were reserved for the journalists who followed Mr. Gladstone in his first and most memorable tour in Midlothian in 1879'.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Chapter Three of this thesis highlighted Asquith's ability to harness anger when he spoke at the Albert Hall at the beginning of the first election campaign of 1910, and the militaristic language that all of the newspapers employed to report upon the speech.<sup>24</sup> Although the statistics do show that Lloyd George's speeches were more frequently reported in full, the statistics, in addition to these facts, nevertheless suggest less of a simplistic and polar contrast between the perceived appeal of Asquith and Lloyd George's speeches, and their public presentation, than has often been assumed.

Exploring the Liberal newspapers' representations of the two politicians' speeches, this chapter shows that individual newspapers conveyed, prioritised or toned-down different emotions evoked by the speeches, or by the atmosphere surrounding the speeches, in order to communicate important political messages, rather than simply using emotion to sensationalise or entertain. This chapter considers how the newspapers interpreted and communicated Lloyd George's emotion, and whether they did present stark divisions between Lloyd George and Asquith in this respect; therefore, helping to put forward a more nuanced understanding of the role of emotion in the portrayals of Lloyd George and

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<sup>23</sup> 'Bingley Hall', *Daily News*, 16 September 1909, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 88-93.

Asquith's masculine public identities during the Edwardian period. It also considers how the newspapers' reportage of emotion changed over time as the new Liberal reform campaign developed, influenced by, and well as impacting upon, the politicians' masculine personas. The chapter is structured into three main sections. The first section provides a more detailed introduction to Lloyd George and Asquith, and discusses a more useful categorisation of the figures, as opposed to 'emotional versus rational', during the Edwardian period. The next two sections of this chapter will then discuss and compare the representation of, firstly, Asquith's speeches and, secondly, Lloyd George's speeches.

A collection of speeches were selected for this chapter that covered a range of important issues relating to the new Liberalism across the period between 1908 and 1913. Asquith and Lloyd George's more significant public speeches exploring aspects of the new Liberalism were made from 1908 (rather than from 1906) following the retirement of Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when Asquith was appointed Prime Minister and Lloyd George became the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In addition to addressing the constitutional crisis, they accelerated the pace of social reform from 1908.<sup>25</sup> Two speeches have been selected for each politician from the pre-1910 elections period and two speeches from the post-1910 elections period to help track any change in the politicians' representations. The speeches for this chapter were also selected in pairs, (selecting pairs of speeches delivered by Asquith and Lloyd George at similar times), in order to provide a comparative element. Asquith and Lloyd George's first speeches were made at Birmingham and Swansea respectively in 1908,

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<sup>25</sup> The Edwardian new Liberal social reforms are categorised by Ian Packer into three waves. The first wave, between 1906 and 1908, saw the introduction of Old Age Pensions, in 1908, in addition to other smaller-scale legislation. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 extended existing legislation to more groups and allowed workers to be compensated for some industrial diseases as well as injuries. Reforms were also directed at children. In 1906 the provision of free school meals was extended, while medical inspections of children were established in 1907. The 1908 Children's Act, amongst other changes, prevented children working in dangerous trades and imposed punishments for their neglect. The second wave of reform saw a focus upon relieving distress, and preventing destitution, for the willing worker and his family. The Labour Exchanges Act of 1909 established a nationwide network of exchanges to help connect those seeking workers and those seeking work. In 1911 a compulsory system of National Insurance was introduced to prevent poverty arising from illness, while a limited policy of Unemployment Insurance was added in 1912. The third wave of reform saw the establishment of the miners' minimum wage in response to strike action. In 1912 and 1913 Lloyd George turned his focus to the radical rallying cry, campaigning for rural (and urban) land reform, although this issue had also been addressed earlier during the Edwardian period, for example through the passing of the 1907 Smallholdings Act. See Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 145-156.

following the passage of the Old Age Pensions Act. In addition to being delivered in the same year, they are also comparable because they discussed similar themes, focussing upon the issue of social reform: they explored what the Party had so far achieved and how it would proceed. Their second speeches were made at Birmingham (Asquith) and Newcastle (Lloyd George) in 1909, and they represent two of the politicians' major public speeches (outside of the election periods) addressing the issue of the Lords and their potential rejection of Lloyd George's 'People's Budget'. Asquith and Lloyd George's third speeches were made at Manchester and Birmingham respectively in 1911 and have been selected because they focussed upon discussing the major welfare reform to be introduced during the pre-war years: the National Insurance Act. The fourth speeches were made at Ladybank (Asquith) and Bedford (Lloyd George) in 1912 and 1913 respectively: the former provided an overview of the government's record for the Prime Minister's East Fife constituents and the latter introduced the land reform scheme, which dominated Lloyd George's social reform agenda from 1912. These final two speeches provide less comparability in terms of their central subject matter. The ability to select comparable speeches in the immediate pre-war years is hindered by the fact that Asquith made few public speeches during this period addressing the issue of domestic reform following the resolution of the constitutional crisis.

## II

### **Asquith and Lloyd George: Character and Personality**

During the years of Liberal electoral collapse between 1886 and 1906, Herbert Henry Asquith and David Lloyd George both embarked upon their own rise within the party ranks. Following a modest middle-class upbringing, Asquith was educated on a scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford before training as a lawyer. Asquith secured a seat in Parliament – East Fife – in 1885, which he held until 1918. In 1892 Asquith was appointed Home Secretary in William Gladstone's government (1892-1895), placing him in line for the future leadership of the party. But in 1898 Asquith declined the opportunity to lead the Liberals in opposition, largely on account of financial difficulties (members of parliament were unpaid before 1911). Asquith was further marginalised from the

party mainstream on account of his association with the Liberal Imperialists during the Boer War. However, between 1903 and 1905 Asquith worked his way back into favour by championing free trade against Joseph Chamberlain's tariff reform. When Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed his government in 1906, Asquith was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Asquith devised the non-contributory Old Age Pensions scheme and when Campbell-Bannerman retired in 1908 Asquith seemed to be the natural successor.<sup>26</sup>

A Welsh solicitor distinguished neither by birth nor by education, Lloyd George begun political life as a radical nonconformist outsider, representing the people of the Carnarvon Boroughs from the 1890s. However, he soared to prominence within the party through his championing of Welsh Disestablishment, through his criticism of the Conservatives' 1902 Education Bill, and – most significantly – through his outspoken condemnation of the Boer War as morally unjust. The Liberal Party's rising star secured the position of President of the Board of Trade in Campbell-Bannerman's 1906 government, where his main achievement was the prevention of a national rail strike by facilitating an agreement between the unions and the railway companies. Lloyd George took over as Chancellor of the Exchequer under Herbert Asquith's leadership from 1908 and they joined forces, along with Winston Churchill as the President of the Board of Trade, to accelerate the pace of the social reform agenda.<sup>27</sup>

The ostracism and physical attacks endured by Lloyd George and his family on account of his political stance during the Boer War were seminal in influencing the type of politician that he would become. Rather than nurturing a steadfast commitment to pacifism and opposition to aggressive Imperialism, Lloyd George learnt that the road followed by a politician vehemently opposing popular opinion was 'a very hard road indeed'.<sup>28</sup> In a candid letter to his future wife Margaret Owen (c. 1885), Lloyd George bluntly remarked that, 'my supreme idea is to get on. To this idea I shall sacrifice everything'.<sup>29</sup> Lloyd

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<sup>26</sup> The major biographies of Asquith have been provided by Roy Jenkins and Stephen Koss. See Roy Jenkins, *Asquith: Portrait of a Man and an Era* (New York, 1964); Koss, *Asquith*.

<sup>27</sup> Authoritative biographies of Lloyd George have been provided by John Grigg in four volumes and by Peter Rowland in a single volume. See Grigg, *Lloyd George: Vol. 1-4*; Peter Rowland, *Lloyd George* (London, 1975).

<sup>28</sup> Chris Wrigley, *Lloyd George* (Oxford, 1992), p. 63.

<sup>29</sup> David Lloyd George, 'Courtship, Marriage, and into Parliament (1885-1890): Undated Letter – Probably 1885, From Crickieth', in Kenneth Morgan (ed.), *Lloyd George: Family Letters, 1885-1936* (London, 1973), p. 14.

George sought to ‘get on’ politically after the Boer War by presenting himself not only as unashamedly on the side of the mass electorate, but also, effectively, as one of them. Identified by Colin Clifford as a politician ‘whose public relations skills have arguably never been surpassed in any British Prime Minister’,<sup>30</sup> Lloyd George commonly played up the extent of hardship endured during his essentially lower-middle-class childhood.<sup>31</sup> In the *Manchester Guardian’s* 1945 obituary to Lloyd George, the newspaper noted that his ‘dazzling’ speechmaking ‘was reinforced by such an expressive use of gesture as any actor might envy’. He was ‘the greatest artist in public speech ... rather than a great orator. Great oratory is impossible without moral passion, and Lloyd George could not command that’.<sup>32</sup> Speaking to an audience of 4,000 in 1909 at the Edinburgh Castle in Limehouse – one of the poorest areas of London’s East End – Lloyd George adopted familial imagery and questioned, ‘why should I put [financial] burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials’.<sup>33</sup>

Asquith, on the other hand, increasingly abandoned his humble Yorkshire roots, particularly following his second marriage to Margot Tennant in 1894, the daughter of a wealthy Scottish chemicals magnate and a popular figure in London society. She refused to call her husband Herbert, opting for his middle name Henry instead.<sup>34</sup> Asquith developed a reputation as a formidable parliamentarian for his reliable command of facts and his ability to dominate verbal exchanges – contemporaries dubbed him ‘the sledgehammer’ before he acquired a more eloquent nickname during the interwar period, ‘the last of the Romans’.<sup>35</sup> Asquith’s pre-war role was very much restricted to retaining ‘calm control of the central operation’.<sup>36</sup> His ‘unwillingness to engage in flashy self-advertisement’, or to resort to the personal abuse of the opposition, was often

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<sup>30</sup> Colin Clifford, *The Asquiths* (London, 2002), p. 477.

<sup>31</sup> A 1917 obituary for Richard Lloyd – Lloyd George’s shoemaker uncle and chief provider in childhood – reported, ‘no suggestion of want or poverty about Mr. Lloyd George’s early days’. See ‘The Premier’s Uncle: Death of Mr. Richard Lloyd’, *South Wales News*, 1 March 1917, p. 5. Also see Grigg, *Lloyd George: Vol. 2*, p. 360.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Fifty-Four Years in Politics: Lloyd George’s Great Career’, *Manchester Guardian*, 27 March 1945, p. 3. Own italics added here for emphasis.

<sup>33</sup> ‘The Budget: Mr. Lloyd George at Limehouse’, *Times*, 31 July 1909, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Koss, *Asquith*, p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 27; Koss, *Asquith*, p. viii.

<sup>36</sup> Lord Roy Jenkins, *The British Liberal Tradition: From Gladstone to Young Churchill, Asquith, and Lloyd George – Is Blair Their Heir?* (Toronto, 2001), p. 29.

interpreted as signifying arrogance, indolence or a lack of energy, and was perceived as keeping him aloof from the press and the public.<sup>37</sup>

However, a noteworthy exception to Asquith's perceived phlegmatic political persona came in the House of Commons during a speech in March 1912. The anxious and stressed Prime Minister sought to discuss his failed attempts to negotiate legislation that guaranteed a minimum wage for miners, to end the miners' national strike action. Having 'come face to face with a side of national life which was altogether beyond his comprehension', the usually composed Prime Minister 'stood there, struggling for words; and they would not come' – the scene culminated with 'the spectacle of Mr. Asquith in tears'.<sup>38</sup> A.G. Gardiner assessed that he had only ever seen 'one man unmanned in the House of Commons': it was surprising that it was 'the man who is supposed to be the hardest metal of all'.<sup>39</sup> This incident, as depicted by a parliamentary drawing in the *News of the World* (see *Figure 35*), provides a clear example of how the new Liberalism could substantially impact upon the public masculinity and emotional economy of its exponents. However, despite these tears – identified by Dangerfield as signalling 'about the greatest miracle since Moses struck the rock' –<sup>40</sup> Asquith was usually able to separate the world of public duty and the realm of private feelings with astonishing ability. 'He would consider the arguments on both sides of a question, come to a decision with which he was satisfied and then turn his mind to the pleasures of the day', which included bridge, books and drinking heavily.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, Gardiner emphasised in his pen-portrait of Asquith that he was never simply 'hard and unsympathetic': 'the manner is hard, it is true, but it is a manner that is worn as a shield', beneath which was a 'man of sensitiveness and humanity'. Gardiner referred to Asquith's 'meticulous sense of honour [which] governs all his public conduct', his 'rare probity of character', 'his perfect honesty', his 'appeal for fair play', his 'disciplined restraint', and his ability to 'keep his bond'.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> John Plowright, 'Asquith, Herbert Henry, first Earl of Oxford and Asquith (12 September 1852 – 15 February 1928)', in his *Routledge Dictionary of Modern British History* (Abingdon, 2006), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Dangerfield, *Strange Death*, pp. 239, 242.

<sup>39</sup> Gardiner, *Pillars*, p. 86.

<sup>40</sup> Dangerfield, *Strange Death*, p. 239.

<sup>41</sup> Plowright, 'Asquith', p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> Gardiner, *Pillars*, pp. 79-87.

**Figure 35: Sketch of Asquith in Parliament [Unidentified Artist]. Printed by the *News of the World*, 31 March 1912, p. 8.**

In seeking to provide an overview of chronologies and long-term shifts in the history of political masculinities between 1700 and 2000, Matthew McCormack and Matthew Roberts identified the late nineteenth century as a key period when ‘the Victorian cult of “character” met the emerging science of psychology’.<sup>43</sup> McCormack and Roberts highlighted the so-called ‘feminisation’ of twentieth-century politics as a factor influencing the rise of personality, in addition to the development of the mass media during the inter-war period.<sup>44</sup> The ‘personable’ figure of Stanley Baldwin was ‘the first modern British politician whose persona was mediated through and by the media’. Baldwin exploited film and radio as a means of developing a closer relationship with the electorate, establishing ‘a relaxed, intimate “fireside” tone’.<sup>45</sup> Gardiner’s pen-portraits of Asquith and Lloyd George, discussed above and presented at the beginning of this chapter, provide an important reflection of the Edwardian period as a transitional phrase – Lloyd George was explored with a focus upon the emerging psychological

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<sup>43</sup> Matthew McCormack and Matthew Roberts, ‘Conclusion: Chronologies in the History of British Political Masculinities, c. 1700-2000’, in McCormack (ed.), *Public Men*, p. 195. Martin Francis has noted the need for more research to address the shift from ‘character’ to ‘personality’ during the twentieth century. See Francis, ‘Domestication’, p. 652.

<sup>44</sup> McCormack and Roberts, ‘Conclusion’, pp. 196-197.

<sup>45</sup> Siân Nicholas, ‘The Construction of a National Identity: Stanley Baldwin, “Englishness” and the Mass Media in Inter-War Britain’, in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880-1990* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 127, 136.

language of ‘personality’, and Asquith with a focus upon the older language of ‘character’.

The discourse of character had dominated nineteenth-century liberal theorists’ ideas surrounding self-development – particularly the self-development of men within the public political sphere either as politicians, voters, or as ‘civilisers’ of the indigenous people within Britain’s Empire.<sup>46</sup> The nineteenth-century language of character was strongly shaped by tensions between the older traditions of moral psychology, informed by religious concerns, which largely privileged the exercise of free will, and the emerging scientific study of the mind, which often emphasised the burdens of heredity factors and instinct.<sup>47</sup> Aware of the influence of the latter, the reform of public boys’ schools during the 1870s laid a great focus on the need to, and the ability to, cultivate character through sports such as cricket in order to nurture the future managers of Britain’s Empire.<sup>48</sup> As Stefan Collini explains, the core qualities of character included: self-reliance, self-restraint, perseverance, fair play, strenuous effort, and courage in the face of adversity.<sup>49</sup> Linking this Victorian cult of character with Asquith’s public image, John Plowright notes that, rather than the ‘last of the Romans’, ‘it might be more fitting to view him at the last of the high Victorians, combining their intellectual mastery, high moral seriousness and sense of public service with a rather disreputable private life’.<sup>50</sup> For example, in January 1910 Asquith outlined in a memorandum the need to resolve the issue of the power of the House of Lords, explaining that, ‘we shall be judged ... by our manner of handling the great issue which has been forced upon us ... If we shrink from that, we shall disgust and alienate our own party’.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991), p. 94; Clarke, ‘Gender’, pp. 239-240.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, *Public Opinion*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>48</sup> James Mangan, “‘Muscular, Militaristic and Manly’”: The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger’, in Mangan and Richard Holt (eds.), *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (London, 1996), pp. 28-45.

<sup>49</sup> Stefan Collini, ‘The Idea of “Character” in Victorian Political Thought’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 35 (1985), p. 36.

<sup>50</sup> Plowright, ‘Asquith’, p. 13. Asquith’s ‘disreputable private life’ noted here largely refers to his affair with socialite Venetia Stanley between 1912 and 1915. See Michael Brock and Eleanor Brock (eds.), *H.H. Asquith: Letters to Venetia Stanley* (Oxford, 1982).

<sup>51</sup> H.H. Asquith, Memorandum on 1910 Election Results, 31 January 1910, Asquith Papers, MSS Asquith 23, ff. 64-66, Bodleian Library, Oxford. For a discussion of disgust as a powerful moral emotion, see Chapter 3, pp. 106-108.

However, unlike character, emerging personality (the public face of psychology) was considered to be less of a moral measure and was more difficult to cultivate, instead alluding to an individual's unique characteristics.<sup>52</sup> Warren Susman notes that the growing interest in personality in Britain and America from the first decade of the twentieth century was associated with very different adjectives compared to those connected with character: fascinating, stunning, magnetic, mesmerising and forceful, for example.<sup>53</sup> Henry Laurent explored the distinction in a 1915 text, explaining that character was either good or bad while personality was either famous or infamous.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly to the emergence of the new journalism, the rise of personality and a more intimate political culture during the twentieth century was not necessarily identified as a positive development. In defence of the new journalism, the personal approach to political reporting was justified by T.P. O'Connor in 1889 on the grounds that, 'behind every speech and every act there is a man – a weak man or a strong man, high or low, generous in purpose or base in intrigue. You cannot get rid of this background if you want to describe the event accurately'. O'Connor explained that a line was only crossed when 'personal journalism goes further than the public man', when 'a journal lends itself to slander, to scandal, to personal attack'.<sup>55</sup> However, Graham Wallas more generally deplored the trend towards the personalisation of politics during the Edwardian period, as politicians sought to construct superficial affinities and intimacies with the electorate. 'The tactics of an election consist largely of contrivance by which this immediate emotion of personal affection may be set up', Wallas explained. 'The candidate is advised to "show himself" continually, to give away prizes, to "say a few words" at the end of other people's speeches'.<sup>56</sup> Remembering conversations between his father and his father's drinking companion regarding the cause of Winston Churchill's supposed 'cleft palate', Robert Roberts' famous accounts of his Edwardian childhood in Salford recalled that, 'exchanges like these, hinting at secrets in the lives of public

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<sup>52</sup> McCormack and Roberts, 'Conclusion', p. 195.

<sup>53</sup> Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), p. 277.

<sup>54</sup> Henry Laurent, *Personality: How to Build It* (New York, 1915), p. iv.

<sup>55</sup> O'Connor, 'New Journalism', pp. 428-430.

<sup>56</sup> Wallas, *Human Nature*, pp. 30-31.

figures, were repeated *ad nauseam*'.<sup>57</sup> Richard Sennett, writing during the 1970s, also deplored the demise of the Age of Enlightenment and the subsequent *Fall of Public Man*. While political men could previously separate their public and private selves, and could therefore devote themselves to the common good, in an 'intimate society' the self cannot be separated in this way. Meaningful political action becomes impossible when we are obsessed with the personality of public figures, seeking to find out what politicians are *really* like instead of asking what they can do for us.<sup>58</sup>

On the other hand, Matthew McCormack and Matthew Roberts note that the emergence of personality should not be quickly dismissed as 'a failing or a bar to political action': 'we need to appreciate that political men and their audiences worked within an interpersonal culture that was structured by shifting expectations of psychology, emotion and gender identity'.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, this chapter suggests that, rather than constructing sharp divisions between the emotional and reasoned appeal of Lloyd George and Asquith respectively, considering the dominance of notions of character in Asquith's representations and the dominance of personality in Lloyd George's representations allows for greater fluidity, and a more nuanced assessment of the emotional portrayal of their speeches in the Liberal newspapers. The Edwardian Liberal and Conservative newspapers were undoubtedly at times fascinated by Lloyd George as a public figure, for example engaging in digressive discussions about the impact of the size of his head upon his personality and political style,<sup>60</sup> and printing photographs of him on holiday.<sup>61</sup> However, to dismiss Lloyd George's emotional portrayals as purely entertainment designed to sway the unsophisticated masses, immediately supported by the popular press, and lacking in intellectual argument and reason, is an inappropriate assessment. Discourses surrounding personality were not simply dominated by ideas about impulses; the ethics of character discourses were not quickly replaced. For example, as Mathew Thomson highlights, in popular psychological movements at the turn of the twentieth

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<sup>57</sup> Robert Roberts, *A Ragged Schooling: Growing Up in the Class Slum* (Manchester, 1976), p. 52.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 219, 259.

<sup>59</sup> McCormack and Roberts, 'Conclusion', p. 195.

<sup>60</sup> 'Mr. Lloyd-George's Head: "Large Language" Indicated by his Bumps', *Daily Mail*, 13 November 1909, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> 'The Chancellor on Holiday', *Daily News*, 27 August 1912, p. 12.

century, public ‘service’ (a reconfigured notion of ‘duty’, inextricably linked to character) was invariably regarded as integral to the healthy personality.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, although a central aspect of nineteenth-century character was the development of self-restraint, it also emphasised the importance of cultivating emotional bonds of trust and honour, and showing a devotion to duty.<sup>63</sup> As Ben Griffin notes in his study of politics and gender in the nineteenth century, ‘men were not expected to be unfeeling or unemotional but they should not be at the mercy of their emotions’.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, to ignore less overt emotional representations of Asquith’s character would be to potentially dismiss an important component in his portrayal by the Edwardian Liberal newspapers.

### III Asquith’s Speeches

As noted in the Introduction to this chapter, J.A. Spender argued in his 1927 memoir that Asquith’s key function was to present the gravity of the constitutional argument during the Edwardian period. This assessment is supported by a statistical analysis of the newspaper reportage surrounding Asquith’s four speeches explored in this chapter. Asquith’s speech delivered at Birmingham in September 1909, where he focussed upon the issue of the power of the House of Lords and their treatment of the 1909 People’s Budget, was reported to a significantly greater extent in the newspapers than his other three speeches, which had a much greater direct focus upon the issue of social reform. References to the September 1909 speech appeared in all seven Liberal newspapers in various formats (as full speeches, editorials, cartoons and so forth) over the 11-day period a total of 54 times, compared to 13, 14 and 18 times for the other three speeches. This fact helps to preface the greater focus upon reportage surrounding Asquith’s September 1909 speech in the analysis that follows, as more material for this speech is available. Discussions relating to Asquith’s two post-1910 speeches researched for this chapter are more at home in the next section of this chapter, providing a comparative element to

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<sup>62</sup> Mathew Thomson, ‘Psychology and the “Consciousness of Modernity” in Early Twentieth-Century Britain’, in Daunt and Rieger (eds.), *Modernity*, p. 107.

<sup>63</sup> Collini, ‘Character’, p. 36; Samuel Smiles, *Character* (London, 1871), p. vi.

<sup>64</sup> Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women’s Rights* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 173.

discussions surrounding Lloyd George's post-1910 speeches. Particularly with regard to his 1913 speech at Bedford, these speeches were reported much more extensively than Asquith's post-1910 speeches. However, the fact that Asquith's speech focussing upon the constitutional issue was reported to a significantly greater extent than his other speeches does not necessarily endorse the coarse view that intelligence and argument were provided at the expense of emotion – the view that, as discussed, has often been attached to Asquith's Edwardian political persona. Following Asquith's September 1909 Birmingham speech, Spender's *Westminster Gazette* explained that, 'to speak of his oratory nowadays as lacking' emotion would be 'to ignore certain of its most conspicuous and engaging characteristics ... despite the gravity of the occasion'.<sup>65</sup>

Similarly to William Gladstone during his nineteenth-century political career, the relationship between Asquith's powerful intellect and his political persona was complex and open to negotiation.<sup>66</sup> As Stephen Bates explains, 'the last of the Romans' is a description 'that would have appealed to a man whose Victorian classical education and erudition led him to pepper his speeches and writings with classical allusions'.<sup>67</sup> However, in his 1908 pen-portrait of Asquith, Gardiner did not identify the Prime Minister's educational background as exerting a positive influence on galvanising the Edwardian campaign for social reform, which, as discussed in Chapter Two, Gardiner believed required both passion and great thought. Gardiner explained that, 'Balliol, in fact, is an atrophy of the heart. It is exhaustion of the emotions. It has produced the finest mental machines of this generation, but they are sometimes cold and cheerless'. Gardiner continued, 'we admire them, we respect them; we do not love them, for we feel that they would be insulted by the offer of so irrational a thing as love. Mr. Asquith is handicapped by this chill of the spirit.'<sup>68</sup>

From 1915 Gardiner turned against the more impassioned Lloyd George, his former 'candid friend', blaming him for the Liberals' wartime coalition with the Conservatives and for the divisions within the Liberal party. In 1919 Gardiner resigned as editor of the *Daily News* when his opposition to Lloyd

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<sup>65</sup> 'Our London Letter', *Westminster Gazette*, 18 September 1909, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Gladstone and 'his sense of intellectual vocation', see Windscheffel, 'Politics', pp. 93-118.

<sup>67</sup> Stephen Bates, *Asquith* (London, 2006), p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 30. For an earlier discussion on Gardiner and his attitude towards Asquith, see Chapter 2, pp. 58-59.

George led to disagreements with George Cadbury.<sup>69</sup> Following these incidences, Gardiner provided a much more positive reflection on Asquith's scholarly pursuits and its practical impact upon his public role during the Edwardian period. Writing in 1932, four years after Asquith's death, Gardiner explained that, 'he loved scholarship, and applied to it a powerful and masculine intelligence ... Scholarship was not a cloistered and fugitive virtue. It was an enrichment of life, a discipline of taste and judgement, and an instrument for service in the dust and heat of the daily battle'.<sup>70</sup>

However, it would be incorrect to suggest that Gardiner only came to value Asquith's placement of intellect and reason above emotional excess in his vigorous approach to Edwardian public life following his falling out with Lloyd George. Prior to the peers' formal rejection of the 1909 People's Budget in November 1909, the *Daily News* placed much value upon Asquith's thoughtful treatment of the topic, which contrasted to Lloyd George's inflammatory style. As a left-leaning, social-reform driven editor, Gardiner was aware that antagonism resulting in a prolonged electoral battle with the largely Conservative House of Lords over the Budget would serve to delay, and reduce to a secondary importance, a programme of social reform.<sup>71</sup> The day before Asquith made his September 1909 speech at Bingley Hall in Birmingham, addressing the issue of the House of Lords and the Budget, the *Daily News* noted that the Prime Minister must 'refrain from language which would make it more difficult for the Peers to pass the Budget ... It is his duty to warn the Peers against breaking the Constitution; in other words, his mission is not to provoke'.<sup>72</sup>

The *Daily News* accompanied its reportage of the speech with a formal, framed image of Asquith in a jacket and tie, appearing smart, authoritative and pensive (see *Figure 36*). The image was captioned simply with the words, 'The Prime Minister'. Contrastingly, in the *Daily Chronicle's* reportage of the same speech, the newspaper presented a drawing of Asquith in the course of his speech, portraying him much more as a man of action (see *Figure 37*). The side profile drawing of Asquith's face captures his sharp, masculine features.

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<sup>69</sup> Grigg, *Lloyd George: Vol. 2*, p. 354.

<sup>70</sup> A.G. Gardiner, 'Asquith', *Nineteenth Century and After*, November 1932, p. 609.

<sup>71</sup> For an earlier discussion of the primary importance that Gardiner placed upon ensuring that the Liberal government remained on a path of social reform, see Chapter 2, p. 59.

<sup>72</sup> 'The Premiere & The Crisis', *Daily News*, 17 September 1909, p. 5.

Asquith's arms are raised and he leans forward. The caption consists of words taken from his speech, which used emotional, inclusive language, explaining that, "we are anxious and eager to take up the challenge". In contrast to the *Daily News's* suggestion that Asquith's calm persona would be ideal for securing a positive outcome (that Asquith's masculine persona would shape the situation), it was the *Daily Chronicle's* view that the political situation would reveal new emotional depths to Asquith (that, similarly to his tears in the House of Commons in 1912, the new Liberalism would shape Asquith's masculine persona). On the day of Asquith's Birmingham speech the *Daily Chronicle* explained that, 'he is sometimes charged with lacking the emotional and imaginative attributes – "sympathy" and "human warmth" ... Well, no man could have entered on such a fight as this who was not touched by the humanities ... inspired by the breadth of human justice'.<sup>73</sup>

**Figure 36: Formal Photograph of Asquith [Unidentified Photographer]. Printed by the *Daily News*, 18 September 1909, p. 7.**

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<sup>73</sup> 'Gladstone and Asquith: A Bingley Hall Memory', *Daily Chronicle*, 17 September 1909, p. 4.

**Figure 37: Drawing of Asquith at Birmingham [Unidentified Artist]. Printed by the *Daily Chronicle*, 18 September 1909, p. 1.**

In the *Daily News's* reportage the day after Asquith's speech, a page-length feature on 'Birmingham and Its Idols' was provided – at the centre was placed a large image of the University of Birmingham (see *Figure 38*). This image was linked to the article's discussion of Joseph Chamberlain. In 1867 the former unofficial leader of the radical Liberals had helped to found the Birmingham Education League, which then evolved into the National Education League. In 1877 Chamberlain's radicals also formed the Birmingham-led National Liberal Federation.<sup>74</sup> The discussion of Birmingham's Liberal past within the context of education served to suggest the newspaper's support for intellectual argument over excessive emotion, and also to lay a Liberal claim to the Chamberlainite popular radical tradition in Birmingham.<sup>75</sup> However, acknowledging that 'in Imperial Brum Jingoism is still enthroned' and the now Conservative 'Mr.

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<sup>74</sup> The Birmingham 'caucus', led by Chamberlain, was also established. The caucus was a large circle of Liberal Party activists, pressing for radical reforms at local and national levels. When Chamberlain left the Liberal Party over the issue of Home Rule, to form the Liberal Unionists, most of his radical Birmingham supporters followed him. See Chris Upton, *A History of Birmingham* (Sussex, 1993), pp. 190-191.

<sup>75</sup> The *Daily News* noted that, 'there are those who believe that when Birmingham breaks away from the hypnotism of Highbury [Chamberlain's Birmingham home] it will be found to be a stronghold not only of orthodox Liberalism, but of Labour'. See 'Birmingham and Its Idols', *Daily News*, 18 September 1909, p. 5.

Chamberlain is still an idol',<sup>76</sup> the *Daily News's* article was also drawing attention to Asquith's bravery for speaking in Birmingham – the Edwardian 'symbolic capital of Unionism',<sup>77</sup> 'Chamberlain's citadel' and 'the lion's den'.<sup>78</sup> The *Daily News* additionally drew attention to an incident that highlighted the negative impact of Chamberlain's emotion-evoking approach to speech making, which, rather than galvanising audiences, produced the opposite result, acting as a bar to political communication in an extreme sense. In a speech made by Chamberlain at Bingley Hall in 1877, it was noted that thousands of men were barricaded into huge pens. The newspaper explained that, 'under the emotion aroused in the hearts of this vast concourse of people the barriers swayed to and fro, and many men were hauled out over the sides of the pens in a fainting condition and laid along the gangway to recover'.<sup>79</sup>

**Figure 38: Image of the University of Birmingham. Printed in the *Daily News*, 18 September 1909, p. 5.**

However, the *Daily News's* reportage of Asquith's speech indicates that the newspaper did not view his performance as one that should evoke no emotion at all. Rather, Asquith had the vital role of reaching out to the opposition and attempting to evoke fear about the consequences of the rejection of the Budget.

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 385.

<sup>78</sup> Upton, *Birmingham*, p. 191.

<sup>79</sup> 'Birmingham and Its Idols', *Daily News*, 18 September 1909, p. 5.

The *Daily News* explained in the opening paragraph of its editorial addressing the speech the following day that, ‘his object was to emphasise the danger of the revolutionary action to which the Lords are being urged by the more violent supporters of the privileged classes’. The newspaper drew attention to Lord Rosebery as one of the key figures within the House of Lords who was contesting the Budget.<sup>80</sup> This focus on Rosebery is important because Asquith and Rosebery had previously been close allies within the Liberal ranks, representing the ‘Liberal Imperialist’ faction of the party along with Haldane and Grey; therefore, suggesting that Asquith and his previous bonds and affinities could provide a bridge between the opposing forces surrounding the Budget issue.

Meanwhile, the *Daily Chronicle’s* reportage of Asquith’s Birmingham speech discussed emotion by drawing comparisons with Gladstone – Liberalism’s ‘High Priest’ and a key advocate of the nineteenth-century extension of the franchise to working-class men in possession of character.<sup>81</sup> In an article titled ‘Gladstone and Asquith: A Bingley Hall Memory’, published on the day of Asquith’s speech, the *Daily Chronicle’s* journalist explained that, ‘my thoughts go back to another meeting held in the same vast and dingy building twenty-one years ago’, when Gladstone, nearing his eightieth year, courageously spoke for two hours in November 1888, following Chamberlain’s split from the Liberal Party over the issue of Irish Home Rule.<sup>82</sup> Gladstone’s speech making was commonly characterised by its production of emotion. As political scientist Moisey Ostrogorsky reflected in 1902, ‘the tone of profound emotion and the fiery passion which ran through all Mr. Gladstone’s speeches, supplied the masses with the strong sensations which they thirst for’.<sup>83</sup> Joseph Meisel notes that audiences were frequently “‘Gladstonised’” by his emotional speech making and by his ‘bursts of transformative, age-defying energy’.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> ‘At Birmingham’, *Daily News*, 18 September 1909, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> Clarke, ‘Gender’, pp. 239-240.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Gladstone and Asquith: A Bingley Hall Memory’, *Daily Chronicle*, 17 September 1909, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup> M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties: Vol. 1* (London, 1902), p. 180

<sup>84</sup> Meisel, *Public Speech*, pp. 264, 272; Joseph Meisel, ‘Gladstone’s Visage: Problem and Performance’, in Roland Quinault, Roger Swift and Ruth Clayton Windscheffel (eds.), *William Gladstone: New Perspectives* (Farnham, 2012), 83.

Importantly, however, the *Daily Chronicle's* discussion of Gladstone, within the context of his comparison to Asquith on the day of Asquith's Birmingham speech, highlighted Gladstone's weariness when he spoke in 1888: he stood 'with a face of the tint of old ivory that makes him seem pathetically and almost incredibly old'. The newspaper then focussed upon the crowd's emotional reaction to him and highlighted how they, rather than Gladstone, actually set the emotional tone for his speech. There was at first the 'incredulous shock of seeing him there', which quickly gave way to a 'shout that goes up ... like the thunder of some sudden wave on a rocky headland'. The *Daily Chronicle* explained that, 'the great wave of emotion which meets and greets him stirs his emotions, too, startles him, as his coming has startled them'. The newspaper claimed that, following this reception, Gladstone's 'bright eyes gleam more brightly, and from his lips the lines that the years have pencilled are chased away in the curves of a proud smile that shows how that welcome has enheartened him for his great task'. It was noted that, 'when Mr. Asquith to-night stands where Mr. Gladstone then stood, the memory of that scene can hardly fail to inspire and enhearten him'.<sup>85</sup>

The *Daily Chronicle's* highlighting of the important role that could be played by crowds, and the memory of crowds, not simply in reacting to emotion but also in constructing the correct emotion and galvanising the speaker, on the day of Asquith's Birmingham speech, served to identify the production of emotion as a democratic endeavour, signifying a genuine mutual bond between the speaker and their audiences rather than audience passivity. The speaker's role was to represent and respond to the democracy, and emotional expression provided an important, visible illustration of this. Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* reported the following day that as Asquith entered onto the platform at Bingley Hall the mood was set as 'the vast audience rose, and the hall was a waving mass of hats and papers – ten thousand male voices roared out lustily a welcome ... to declare that the truly chosen representatives of the people shall have the determining voice'.<sup>86</sup> The Conservative *Morning Post* noted that, 'the face which

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<sup>85</sup> 'Gladstone and Asquith: A Bingley Hall Memory', *Daily Chronicle*, 17 September 1909, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> 'The Lords Dare Not!', *Daily Chronicle*, 18 September 1909, p. 1.

admirers like to call sphinx-like was corrugated by a smile' as a result of these scenes.<sup>87</sup>

In his discussion of Asquith and the September 1909 Birmingham Budget speech, Cameron Hazlehurst argued that, 'only once in his premiership was he caught up in the colour, gaiety, and manufactured enthusiasm of a staged political event'.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, when Asquith made his first public speech as Prime Minister at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in Birmingham on 19 June 1908, discussing the issue of new Liberal social reform, the *Daily News* emphasised Asquith's 'studied economy of words' and his 'condensed reasoning' throughout the main body of his speech: there was 'the avoidance of all rhetorical embroidery, the strong grip of the essential points, and the plain, unemotional proclamation'.<sup>89</sup> Yet contrary to the common idea that Asquith's approach provided a counterbalance to Lloyd George's evoking of emotion, the *Daily News* emphasised at the beginning of its report that Asquith had nevertheless been able to command 'the entire sympathy of the audience' from the start of his speech. Asquith used the introduction to his speech as an opportunity to pay a 'warm tribute to the memory of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman' – his popular predecessor who had led the Liberal Party between 1899 and 1908.<sup>90</sup> Asquith began his speech by acknowledging Campbell-Bannerman's 'years of strenuous and disinterested labour, by which he won for himself not only the attachment of his own party, but the respect and the confidence of the whole nation'. Asquith added, 'as the man who has been chosen to be his immediate successor, I should be failing in my duty if I did not take this opportunity of acknowledging ... the unselfish loyalty of my colleagues'.<sup>91</sup>

When Campbell-Bannerman died just two months prior to Asquith's Birmingham speech, nineteen days after he retired from ill health, Asquith delivered a speech to the House of Commons 'that sounded unsuspected depths

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<sup>87</sup> *Morning Post*, 18 September 1909, quoted in Cameron Hazlehurst, 'Henry Herbert Asquith', in John P. Mackintosh (ed.), *British Prime Ministers in the Twentieth Century: Vol. 1, Balfour to Chamberlain* (London, 1977), p. 101.

<sup>88</sup> Hazlehurst, 'Asquith', p. 101.

<sup>89</sup> 'The Premier at Birmingham', *Daily News*, 20 June 1908, p. 7; 'Premier and Party', *Daily News*, 22 June 1908, p. 8.

<sup>90</sup> 'The Premier at Birmingham', *Daily News*, 20 June 1908, p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> H.H. Asquith, *The Government and Its Work: A Speech Delivered by H.H. Asquith at Birmingham on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1908* (London, 1908), p. 3.

of emotion, and seemed for once to lift the fire-proof curtain of his reserve'.<sup>92</sup> However, despite Asquith's pronouncements in the House of Commons and then at Birmingham, he had not always shared a harmonious relationship with Campbell-Bannerman. Asquith had publicly objected to Campbell-Bannerman's description of Britain's military action in South Africa during the Boer War as 'methods of barbarism'. When it became likely towards the end of 1905 that Campbell-Bannerman would soon be Prime Minister, Asquith was among those 'Liberal Imperialists' who expressed some reluctance and concern about serving under him.<sup>93</sup>

In his exploration of the relationship between Lloyd George and Churchill throughout their political careers, Richard Toye assesses that the common idea that the politicians were close friends whose affection was never interrupted by political vicissitudes is certainly a myth. But as arguments and emotions were reinterpreted and denied their true intensity, it provided a self-serving myth for both men, which also had a clear political function. Influenced by the work of philosopher Avishai Margalit and his assessment that 'forgetfulness may in the last analysis be the most effective method of overcoming anger and vengefulness',<sup>94</sup> Toye notes that the construction of myths and the selection of memories allowed for emotional repair, enabling the two men to achieve political greatness at different moments during the twentieth century.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Asquith's glazing over of the past and his uncharacteristic personal display of warmth and gratitude towards Campbell-Bannerman, for example during his 1908 Birmingham speech, emphasised by the Liberal newspapers such as the *Daily News*, had a clear political function. As the new *unelected* Prime Minister, Asquith sought to reassure and to establish trust and credibility, identifying himself firmly within the mainstream Liberal tradition. He highlighted the seamlessness with which he had assumed the premiership as Campbell-Bannerman's 'immediate successor', aided in his 'duty' by the loyalty and support of his colleagues.

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<sup>92</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 33.

<sup>93</sup> Maxwell Schoenfeld, 'H.H. Asquith', in Frank N. Magill (ed.), *Dictionary of World Biography: Vol. 7, The 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Abingdon, 1999), p. 121.

<sup>94</sup> Avishai Margalit, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 140, 193.

<sup>95</sup> Richard Toye, *Lloyd George and Churchill: Rivals for Greatness* (London, 2007), p. 408.

However, as Ruth Wodak and her colleagues have assessed, political speech making that seeks to commemorate does not ‘exclusively serve as vehicle for the linguistic self-presentation and self-promotion of the speakers, as has been assumed by many rhetoricians’. Commemoration also serves to ‘convey certain political values and beliefs, to construct common characteristics and identities and to create consensus and a spirit of community, which in turn is intended to serve as a model for the future political actions of the addressees’. Commemoration can be used to ‘retrieve the past for the present’, useful for justifying present decisions and interests.<sup>96</sup> In his 1908 Birmingham speech, Asquith sought to legitimise the party’s programme of new Liberal reform by again drawing upon the past work of Campbell-Bannerman and emphasising that, ‘the aims for which the last three years we have followed and the spirit in which we have followed them continue to be the purpose and the inspiration of our policy’.<sup>97</sup> The *Daily News* drew attention to Asquith’s approach, printing his speech in full under the title of ‘No New Programme’.<sup>98</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* opened its commentary on Asquith’s speech by also noting the backward-looking nature of his address, explaining that he spoke at length about the contrast between ‘the Liberal and the Conservative treatment of social reform in recent years’.<sup>99</sup>

Reportage of Asquith’s speech also sought to create trust and links with the Liberal past by focussing upon his discussion of the 1908 Licensing Bill, rather than other social reform measures. The licensing issue was strongly linked to nineteenth-century Liberal moral reform, seeking to improve the character of the working classes and the poor. The abortive Licensing Bill aimed to bring licensing under greater government control and to decrease the number granted as an aid to reducing working-class temptation and drunkenness.<sup>100</sup> As Asquith noted, it was a political issue that had preoccupied the Liberal Party ‘generation after generation’.<sup>101</sup> Under a title of ‘Free trade and the Licensing Bill – “We

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<sup>96</sup> Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 70-71.

<sup>97</sup> Asquith, ‘Government’, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> ‘No New Programme’, *Daily News*, 19 June 1908, p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> ‘The Premier at Birmingham’, *Manchester Guardian*, 20 June 1909, p. 8.

<sup>100</sup> John Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics since 1830: A Study in Policy-Making* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 81-90; Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 109-113.

<sup>101</sup> Asquith, ‘Government’, p. 10.

Will Persevere””, the *Daily News* explained that, ‘the supreme moment in the speech was not reached till the Licensing Bill was mentioned. Then the cheering was vociferous and sustained’.<sup>102</sup>

#### IV Lloyd George’s Speeches

Lloyd George’s discussion of new Liberal reform in his speech delivered to the Welsh Liberal Convention in Swansea in October 1908 provides an important contrast to Asquith’s Birmingham speech in June 1908. As the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and having just steered the Old Age Pensions Bill through parliament, Lloyd George’s emotional approach did not focus upon looking backwards to establish trust and a sense of Liberal continuity. The *Star* assessed Lloyd George’s forward-looking, progressive rhetoric as representing ‘The First Charge’,<sup>103</sup> while the *Westminster Gazette* discussed Lloyd George’s movement ‘Towards a Practical Policy’.<sup>104</sup> Lloyd George sought to merge patriotism and collectivism, explaining that, ‘no country can lay any real claim to civilisation that allows them [the poor] to starve ... Is it just, is it fair, is it humane, to let them suffer privation?’ Lloyd George identified the workman as an individual who had done ‘his duty as faithfully to his country as the soldier who falls on the stricken field’. The workman and his family had the right to receive relief because ‘he had contributed the whole of his strength and skill towards building up its [his country’s] might and riches’.<sup>105</sup> Despite Lloyd George’s focus upon directly evoking sympathy for the poor, it is not the case that he was advocating what has been termed a ‘politics of pity’ as opposed to a ‘politics of justice’. The former has been identified as at work during the French Revolution, when it was not questioned whether the suffering and misery of the unfortunate was justified – sympathy, compassion and pity were inspired regardless.<sup>106</sup> Lloyd George

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<sup>102</sup> ‘The Premier at Birmingham’, *Daily News*, 19 June 1908, p. 7.

<sup>103</sup> ‘What We Think: The First Charge’, *Star*, 2 October 1908, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Towards a Practical Policy’, *Westminster Gazette*, 2 October 1908, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup> David Lloyd George, ‘Liberalism and Social Reform’, in A.G. Gardiner (ed.), *The New Liberalism: Speeches by David Lloyd George, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer* (London, 1910), pp. 31-32. Paul Readman notes the growth of “‘Little England” welfare patriotism’ during the Edwardian period, which ‘presented collectivism in patriotic terms’. See Readman, ‘Foreign Policy’, p. 264.

<sup>106</sup> Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, trans. Graham Burchell (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 3-5.

clearly emphasised that his chief sympathy lay with those who sought to work hard and contribute to the national wealth, but ‘through no fault of their own are unable to earn their daily bread’.<sup>107</sup>

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, the promotion of sympathy and awareness of the plight of the suppressed, in order to galvanise public opinion, had been a defining feature of the new journalism when it was introduced to the daily press by W.T. Stead in his 1885 investigations into juvenile prostitution and the trafficking of young girls.<sup>108</sup> In his classic 1887 denunciation of the new journalism, Matthew Arnold had assessed that, although the new journalism was ‘fully of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instinct’, it was all essentially ‘*feature-brained*’, producing a democracy that was also ‘feather-brained’.<sup>109</sup> Yet eighteenth-century moral philosophers, including David Hume, argued that sympathy and compassion were central and vital human sentiments and feelings. This moral philosophy, developed by the Scottish Enlightenment, laid the foundations for social communication and cohesion, and promoted a common morality among members of any given society.<sup>110</sup> The moral psychology of Scottish philosopher Alexander Bain continued to emphasise the importance of cognitive factors for the development of sympathy throughout the nineteenth century. In his work on *Emotions and the Will*, first published in 1859 and into its fourth edition in 1899, Bain explained that, ‘if a passion of our own is fired by the display of the same passion in others, we may call this the suggestion of likeness, or we may term it sympathy; in either case the force is an intellectual one’.<sup>111</sup>

In the newspaper reportage of Lloyd George’s Swansea speech, the evening *Star* gave the most unreserved support for the Chancellor’s sympathetic, personalised approach to the new Liberalism in its next-day front-page editorial. In the opening paragraph, the *Star* gave Lloyd George the persona of a concerned friend when summarising his speech and justifying his emotional approach: he ‘tells us that he has had excruciating letters from honest workmen who are going

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<sup>107</sup> Lloyd George, ‘Liberalism’, p.31.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 22-23.

<sup>109</sup> Arnold, ‘Easter’, pp. 638-639. Arnold’s criticism is discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 23, 25.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Frazer, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today* (Oxford, 2010); Jonathan Lamb, *The Evolution of Sympathy in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London, 2009), pp. 1-11; Frevert, *Emotions*, pp. 150-156.

<sup>111</sup> Alexander Bain, *Emotions and the Will*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London, 1899), p. 239.

from one town to another, begging for work ... It has moved him to sympathy and indignation. He cannot bear the agony of the people'.<sup>112</sup> With regard to the *Daily News*, despite Gardiner's appreciation of Lloyd George's galvanising, emotional approach to social reform, the newspaper's reportage of his Swansea speech, although supportive, was not straightforward. Rather than Lloyd George's personal approach to politics bringing him closer to the people, constructing social bonds and affinities, the *Daily News* was cautious. The newspaper highlighted the facts that Lloyd George was Welsh, had delivered his speech in Wales, and also spoke of a separate Welsh identity through his discussion of Welsh Disestablishment from the Church of England (a controversial measure that was finally passed under the terms of the 1911 Parliament Act), to present him as an outsider in the political system. The newspaper explained that Lloyd George's speech 'had that combination of quick wit and deep feeling which is the peculiar gift of the Celtic mind – a combination which enables it to indulge with impunity in a display of emotions from which the Saxon temperament shrinks'.<sup>113</sup> The *Westminster Gazette* similarly sought to emphasise Lloyd George's Welsh identity in a cartoon titled, 'The Celtic Spirit'. The cartoon depicted Lloyd George and fellow Welsh Liberal politician Sir Samuel Evans in tribal dress, emphasising their distinctive ancestry and their differentiation from the English (see *Figure 39*).

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<sup>112</sup> 'What We Think: The First Charge', *Star*, 2 October 1908, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> 'The Task of Liberalism', *Daily News*, 2 October 1908, p. 6. Particularly driven by the overwhelming pro-Boer spirit in Wales, there existed considerable hostility to the Welsh in the English establishment at the turn of the twentieth century, especially amongst 'Liberal Imperialists'. Despite the country's national renaissance and modernisation between 1880 and 1914, Asquith allegedly claimed in 1905 that, 'I would sooner go to hell than to Wales'. See Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation, 1880-1980* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 124-125; Henry Pelling, 'Wales and the Boer War', *Welsh Historical Review*, 4 (1969), pp. 363-365.

**Figure 39: F.C. Gould, 'The Celtic Spirit', *Westminster Gazette*, 28 September 1908, p. 3.**

When Lloyd George was scheduled to speak at Newcastle in October 1909, to promote the 'People's Budget', an inflammatory and emotionally charged speech was expected as the next instalment of his anti-Peers rhetoric following his pronouncements at Limehouse in July 1909. In contrast to the Swansea speech, the Liberal newspapers seemed to take a more carefully planned approach to their representation of this speech during this period of heightened political tension, accommodating and accounting for its predicted provocative nature. When researching the representation of political speeches in newspapers, the importance of exploring discussions about the speeches published in the days leading up to the speeches as well as in the numerous days following the speeches (rather than just focussing upon the following day's reportage) is illustrated by the Newcastle speech. A clear pattern emerges in some of the Liberal newspapers, drawing attention to the newspapers' key role in shaping the meaning and interpretation of the public speech, rather than simply reporting on the speech as an isolated one-day event. The newspapers sought to frame Lloyd George's speech between, firstly, fear-evoking reports prior to, and on the day of, his speech about suffrage militancy threatening to break-up the meeting, and, secondly, reports on the furious reaction to the speech by the Conservative press and politicians, which, the newspapers argued, did not actually answer Lloyd

George's questions or present a convincing counter-argument.<sup>114</sup> This approach was used in an attempt to present Lloyd George as a safe harbour of emotional reasonableness amidst a sea of irrationality and lack of self-restraint. This idea was also captured in a cartoon depiction of the Newcastle speech provided by the *Northern Echo*. Although it was usually Asquith's public persona that was depicted as reminiscent 'of the judge, for the temper of his mind is wholly judicial',<sup>115</sup> the cartoon portrayed Lloyd George in a court room as a rational, sober judge addressing the defendant Peer, serving as a reminder of Lloyd George's own respectable background in law.<sup>116</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* emphasised that the emotion driving, and generated by, Lloyd George's speech was not only legitimate anger directed at the Lords but also, similarly to his 1908 Swansea speech, genuine and rational sympathy for the poor. The newspaper explained that, 'in a magnificent peroration, every word of which trilled and vibrated with emotion, he spoke of the toiling millions who worked to pile up wealth for others, and asked, shall they be left in sickness and old age without a modest dole from the purses they have been filling?' The *Daily Chronicle* noted that, following this utterance, 'a great gasp of emotion passed down the rows of white faces, like the southing of an autumn wind amid the trees; and then we were all on our feet, cheering ... the master hand who wrought this wonder'.<sup>117</sup>

In an editorial titled 'Fury', printed three days after Lloyd George's speech, the *Daily News* explained that, 'seldom has any single utterance aroused such a storm. The Unionist and Tory papers are hardly coherent with fury ... "Demagogue" and "Communist" are perhaps the most frequent' names directed at Lloyd George.<sup>118</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* explained that, 'critics abuse him, because they cannot answer him'.<sup>119</sup> Also distinguishing Lloyd George's emotion from that of the suffragettes, the end of the *News of the World's* multi-tiered headline on the Newcastle speech read, 'Chancellor Throws Down Glove

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<sup>114</sup> For example, for pre-speech reports of suffragette disorder, see 'At Newcastle: Midnight Arrest of Four Suffragettes', *Daily News*, 9 October 1909, p. 7; 'Chancellor's Speech', *Northern Echo*, 9 October 1909, p. 1. For post-speech reports of Conservative reaction, see 'Fury', *Daily News*, 12 October 1909, p. 4; 'Tory Indignation', *Northern Echo*, 12 October 1909, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Gardiner, *Pillars*, p. 80.

<sup>116</sup> [Unidentified Cartoonist], *Northern Echo*, 13 October 1909, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> 'Chancellor's Challenge', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 October 1909, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup> 'Fury', *Daily News*, 12 October 1909, p. 4.

<sup>119</sup> 'Mr. George's Critics', *Daily Chronicle*, 12 October 1909, p. 4.

To Lords – Suffragist Disorders'.<sup>120</sup> Lloyd George's emotion was presented as purposeful and directed, while that of the suffragettes was nonsensical and disordered. Liberal newspaper reports sought to juxtapose the emotion of the suffragettes with the legitimate emotion of Lloyd George because the opposition sometimes sought to feminise the Chancellor of the Exchequer on account of his emotional displays.<sup>121</sup> The Conservative *Morning Post* noted in 1910 in reference to Lloyd George's speech-making that, 'there is an indescribable note of the gutter about it, of women screaming at each other across the street, never yet heard in the whole long volume of English political oratory'.<sup>122</sup>

An illustration of Lloyd George's personalisation of his speeches came at Newcastle during his discussion of the Budget and land taxation, as he sought to establish an affinity with the masses. Monopolising the land and then establishing clauses in leases that forbade the letting of cottages to men who had previously been found guilty of an offence against the Game Laws, Lloyd George referred to the landlords themselves as poachers of land. While on the subject of poaching, Lloyd George could not resist adding, 'Why, I have done it myself, years ago'.<sup>123</sup> Reporting on the speech, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that Lloyd George 'is the symbol of a new age; the herald of a new time; the outward and visible sign that the common people are coming into their own ... he is outside the great governing cast'. Drawing attention to Lloyd George's poaching admission, the newspaper added, 'for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to confess to a bit of poaching in his youth sent all the "Geordies" present into a perfect frenzy'. The newspaper explained, 'how they roared out their laughter and their approving cheers. For had they not themselves on a shiny night, in the season of the year, been after the merry brown hares on the bare hillside?'.<sup>124</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* published two disgruntled letters in response to Lloyd George's personalisation of his speech and his carefree admission. One correspondent noted that, while some may 'smile at the Chancellor's frank and breezy confession of guilt ... it is surely a strange thing to see a Minister of the Crown

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<sup>120</sup> 'All the Budget or None', *News of the World*, 10 October 1909, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup> As R.W. Connell notes, 'a familiar theme in patriarchal ideology is that men are rational while women are emotional'. See Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 164. For a gendered discussion of irrationality in this thesis, see Chapter 3, pp. 109-110.

<sup>122</sup> 'The Unionists Fight Against Revolution', *Morning Post*, 23 November 1910, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> 'Mr. Lloyd George at Newcastle', *Times*, 11 October 1909, p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> 'The People's Cause', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 October 1909, p. 1.

justifying a felony, and one, moreover, which frequently leads to serious loss of life ... This has gone too far'. The *Daily Chronicle* responded by backing Lloyd George and defending the 'more or less jocular vein' of Lloyd George's discussion.<sup>125</sup> However, these correspondences in the *Daily Chronicle* do draw attention to the limitations of the personalisation of political speech making and its reportage. Douglas Walton explains that, if a critical discussion 'becomes too heavily or obtrusively personal, the quality of the dialogue can deteriorate. The real issue may not get discussed'.<sup>126</sup>

Emphasising the emotional excesses of an oppositional group in an attempt to highlight Lloyd George's rationality was a technique not only used by the Liberal newspapers in their reportage of his 1909 Newcastle speech, but also in their reportage of his speech at Birmingham Town Hall in June 1911. Here Lloyd George addressed the current opposition from the British Medical Association (BMA) to his National Insurance Bill.<sup>127</sup> 1911 represented the height of Lloyd George's popularity, and the popularity of his social reform schemes, as he sought to pass National Insurance through parliament.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, when Asquith spoke in the Free Trade Hall, at Manchester in May 1911, reports of the speech were completely overshadowed by reports about Lloyd George's new scheme. The *Daily News* explained in the opening paragraph of its report on Asquith's address that, 'of the incidents which marked the speech, not the least notable was the cheering which followed the Prime Minister's appreciative reference to Mr. Lloyd George'.<sup>129</sup> When Lloyd George spoke at Birmingham Town Hall, the Liberal newspapers incorporated into their discussions how he had also tried to speak there in December 1901, when attending an anti-Boer War meeting. Hostile jingo rioters throw stones and had tried to attack him. Lloyd George had only managed to escape Birmingham uninjured disguised in the

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<sup>125</sup> 'The Newcastle Speech', *Daily Chronicle*, 13 October 1909, p. 6. A second letter, critical of Lloyd George's confession, was published by the *Daily Chronicle* on 15 October 1909, p. 4.

<sup>126</sup> Douglas Walton, *The Place of Emotion in Argument* (Pennsylvania, 1992), p. 220.

<sup>127</sup> National Insurance signaled the beginning of the twentieth-century transformation of the medical profession from a private market to a centralized, state-controlled market. The BMA initially formed strong opposition to the 1911 Bill, resenting the power that the state would command over doctors, who could make more money working privately and tending to the ailments of the wealthy. See Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, 'Introduction', in their *Doctors, Politics and Society: Historical Essays* (Amsterdam, 1993), p. 6.

<sup>128</sup> Roy Hattersley, *David Lloyd George: The Great Outsider* (London, 2010), p. 340; Jenkins, *Balfour's Poodle*, p. 269.

<sup>129</sup> 'Mr. Asquith', *Daily News*, 6 May 1911, p. 1.

uniform of a police-sergeant.<sup>130</sup> The newspapers drew attention to the contrast between the crowd's hostility in 1901 and the popularity that he now secured in Birmingham, and also sought to provide a contrast between a negative portrayal of excessive anger that threatened violence and Lloyd George's rational emotion. A correspondent for the *Westminster Gazette* who had witnessed the so-called 'Lloyd George Riot' in 1901 noted that, 'such rage and hatred I can only recall with something approaching horror. And the din, the shouts, the cat-calls, and the toy-trumpet blasts! It was pandemonium let loose'. He remembered that, 'in the midst stood the slight, handsome figure, with open countenance and fresh complexion, of Mr. Lloyd George: the one and only cool, calm, collected mortal in a seething mass of over two thousand excited beings'.<sup>131</sup> The reference to his 1901 pro-Boer campaign also served to remind readers that Lloyd George was not simply a crowd pleaser too concerned with his own popularity, but was in fact capable of holding strong moral values.

This is significant because a number of factors altered the political landscape during the period after 1910, both brought about by, and potentially impacting upon, the progress of the new Liberalism and the emotional representation of its key exponents during the pre-First World War years. Firstly, following the Liberal Party's retention of power at the two general elections of 1910, and their subsequent passage of the 1911 Parliament Act, the Liberals had succeeded in reducing the power of the House of Lords, enabling them to press forward with a more defined social reform programme. However, as Colin Cross explains, the Liberals had not 'planned the Parliament Bill in connexion with some major social reform, capable of gripping the minds of the people, and ... represented the Lords as the obstacle standing in the way of that reform'.<sup>132</sup> The constitutional issue as the Liberal Party's chief rallying cry allowed the finer details of social reform to be the indirect concern – the idealised goal. According to Peter Rowland, the House of Lords conveniently gave the Liberals, and their cross-class supporters, 'something to swear at and

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<sup>130</sup> 'After Ten Years: Welcome Instead of Hatred', *Westminster Gazette*, 10 June 1911, p. 9; 'Mr. Lloyd George', *Daily News*, 12 June 1911, p. 1; 'Mr. Lloyd George', *Daily Chronicle*, 12 June 1911, p. 1.

<sup>131</sup> 'After Ten Years: Welcome Instead of Hatred', *Westminster Gazette*, 10 June 1911, p. 9.

<sup>132</sup> Colin Cross, *The Liberals in Power, 1905-1914* (London, 1963), p. 133.

swear by'.<sup>133</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, anger is often identified as an 'indispensable political emotion' that fuels and motivates protest and struggles for social or political change.<sup>134</sup> When Lloyd George introduced his National Insurance scheme and was met with considerable opposition from some sections of the medical community he could not demonise respected doctors, in order to galvanise popular support, in the way that he had berated the House of Lords. The *Daily News* explained in its reportage of Lloyd George's 1911 Birmingham speech addressing the BMA's opposition to the National Insurance Bill that, 'though he spoke well and with animation for an hour and forty minutes, it was under restraint'.<sup>135</sup> Once in operation, the novel National Insurance scheme was also met with opposition from many workmen and small employers, who resented the bureaucracy and compulsory nature of insurance contributions.<sup>136</sup>

Another factor with the potential to impact upon the progress of social reform and its emotional representation during the pre-war years was the Marconi scandal of 1912. It was alleged that Lloyd George and other highly placed Liberal politicians had used their ministerial positions and knowledge for personal financial gain by purchasing shares in a telecommunications company, which the government was about to issue with a lucrative contract to construct a chain of wireless stations throughout the Empire. The Select Committee's report on the matter enabled the opposition to do little more than accuse those involved of a lack of frankness, openness and cooperation. However, there was a valid feeling even amongst Lloyd George's most ardent supporters that a Chancellor of the Exchequer should be above any suspicion on matters of a financial nature. As Martin Pugh notes, Liberals such as C.P Scott and George Cadbury believed that the scandal would work 'to the detriment of the radical cause they all sought to promote'.<sup>137</sup> Assessing the impact of the scandal, G.K. Chesterton explained in his 1936 autobiography that, 'it was during the agitations upon that affair that

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<sup>133</sup> Peter Rowland, *The Last Liberal Governments: The Promised Land, 1905-1910* (London, 1968), p. 344.

<sup>134</sup> Lyman, 'Domestication', p. 133. For discussion of anger, see Chapter 3, pp. 89-91.

<sup>135</sup> 'Mr. Lloyd George', *Daily News*, 12 June 1911, p. 1.

<sup>136</sup> As Ian Packer notes, 'once it was clear that social reform could be unpopular, the political imperative that drove the process of reform suddenly became less compelling'. See Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 151; Jenkins, *Balfour's Poodle*, p. 269.

<sup>137</sup> Pugh, *Lloyd George*, p. 60.

the ordinary English citizen lost his invincible ignorance; or, in ordinary language, his innocence'.<sup>138</sup> Lloyd George's reputation and career was possibly only saved as a result of Asquith's firm leadership and loyalty to him, although the Prime Minister happily observed that, 'I think the Idol's wings are a bit clipped'.<sup>139</sup> Indeed, in March 1914 Lloyd George privately acknowledged his 'great and growing distaste for public meetings' on account of 'the nervous strain of addressing those huge demonstrations'.<sup>140</sup> Roy Hattersley assesses that, 'Marconi – and the risk of disgrace – must have made him [Lloyd George] wonder ... if the time had come to act with greater circumspection'.<sup>141</sup>

In October 1913 Lloyd George spoke at Bedford to introduce, and set out the objectives of, the Land Campaign: the culmination of his various attempts to address the land question throughout the Edwardian period, for example through the introduction of Land Clauses in the 1909 'People's Budget'.<sup>142</sup> Exploring the land issue between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Paul Readman has drawn attention to its close link to questions of national identity. Readman has considered how the Liberals emphasised that, 'the countryman's life lacked any real independence', which had a demoralising impact upon individual moral values and a deteriorating impact upon national character at a time of growing social tension.<sup>143</sup> As discussed below, the extensive newspaper reportage of Lloyd George's speech at Bedford in October 1913, where he advocated a range of reforms including an agricultural minimum wage and housing development, similarly provides an important insight into the tensions surrounding the individual politician's public persona and identity at this time. Ian Packer notes that because Lloyd George's Land Campaign retained the idea of a traditional Liberal 'crusade against "privilege"' (attacking the system of excessive landlordism), combined with 'major social reform', the land issue was used to 'construct a bridge between the old and the new liberalism'.<sup>144</sup> The reportage of Lloyd George's 1913 Bedford speech also helped to bridge the gap between the public personas of Lloyd George and Asquith.

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<sup>138</sup> G.K. Chesterton, *The Autobiography of G.K. Chesterton* (London, 1936), pp. 205-206.

<sup>139</sup> Herbert Asquith, quoted in Pugh, *Lloyd George*, p. 60.

<sup>140</sup> David Lloyd George to Mr. Sykes, 24 March 1914, Lloyd George Papers, LG/11/1/17.

<sup>141</sup> Hattersley, *Lloyd George*, p. 329.

<sup>142</sup> Readman, 'Land Question', p. 192.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 193; Readman, *Land*, pp. 61-85.

<sup>144</sup> Packer, *Lloyd George*, p. 194.

In contrast to reports of Lloyd George's 1908 Swansea speech, in reports of his Bedford speech his reform agenda was no longer represented as forward-looking or explicitly evoking a sympathetic patriotic collectivism. The *Westminster Gazette* captured the sense of continuity with nineteenth-century radicalism in a front-page editorial discussing the Bedford speech, entitled 'Back to the Land'.<sup>145</sup> Reporting on his Bedford speech, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that 'the peroration touched the deepest chords of feeling', and focussed upon evoking traditional patriotic sentiments about the freeborn Englishman and his right to the land. The newspaper summarised that Lloyd George drew 'attention to the alluring posters which invite men to a life on the land in Canada and Australia'. Lloyd George then concluded that, 'the land question will be solved in this country when ... the British peasantry need not flee across oceans in quest of a career and a home, but when they will be able to find freedom, contentment and plenty in the old homeland that they love'.<sup>146</sup> Presenting Lloyd George's 'Argument in Brief', the *Daily News and Leader's* second key point from the speech noted that, 'England has the best soil and fewest workers on it of any country in Europe ... [and] labourers emigrate in thousands for lack of prospects'.<sup>147</sup>

Although, when reporting on Lloyd George's Bedford speech, the *Star* did refer to 'the magic of his fascinating personality',<sup>148</sup> Lloyd George was predominately no longer represented by the newspapers as a personable, self-proclaimed man of the people or a symbol of a new age in politics. Instead, the language of personality was replaced with a representation of Lloyd George as a reflective figure of moral seriousness, duty and principle. An important feature in the image of Lloyd George's magnetic personality had been his lack of scholarship or interest in planning or reading official documents. As A.G Gardiner explained, 'he picks up a subject as he runs, through the living voices, never through books. He does not learn: he absorbs'.<sup>149</sup> However, a photograph

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<sup>145</sup> 'Back to the Land', *Westminster Gazette*, 11 October 1913, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> 'Land Campaign Opened', *Daily Chronicle*, 13 October 1913, p. 5. This rhetoric supports Paul Readman's assessment that the Edwardian Liberal land campaign aimed to enable 'the ordinary labourer ... to make a career on the land as an independent, upright and truly freeborn Englishman'. See Readman, 'Land Question', p. 193.

<sup>147</sup> 'Country-Side Charter: Argument in Brief', *Daily News and Leader*, 13 October 1913, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup> 'What We Think: Thirty Years After', *Star*, 11 October 1913, p. 4.

<sup>149</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, p. 158.

of Lloyd George printed by the *Manchester Guardian* on the day of his Bedford speech depicted a calm and pensive figure sitting with an open book in his hands. It was noted that this photograph was ‘the most recent of him’.<sup>150</sup> Suggesting a desire to reduce his demagogic persona, Lloyd George told C.P. Scott that the Land Campaign ‘was not a case for speeches alone; the country must be flooded with pamphlets and relevant facts’.<sup>151</sup> The *Northern Echo* commented that Lloyd George’s speech, ‘lacked the wild enthusiasm of public demonstrations, but it foretold a sturdy, persistent and determined effort to spread the gospel of land reform throughout towns and villages’.<sup>152</sup> The newspaper noted that the speaker was ‘not the Lloyd George made familiar to us’ in the past.<sup>153</sup> The Liberal newspapers provided extensive commentary of the criticism of Lloyd George’s speech in the Conservative press as dull and boring.<sup>154</sup> The *Westminster Gazette* explained that this was ‘a compliment which, in view of other epithets which have been applied to him in past times, he will accept with becoming modesty’.<sup>155</sup> The *Northern Echo* accused the opposition press of being ‘more concerned to discuss the style of Mr. Lloyd George’s oratory than to examine the message’.<sup>156</sup>

## V Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted that the Liberal newspapers’ reportage and representations of Asquith and Lloyd George’s Edwardian public speeches utilised emotion in various different ways and at different times between 1908 and 1913 in order to convey important political messages. The use of emotion in speech reporting cannot simply be dismissed as a sensationalist feature of the new journalism or simply seeking to entertain by focussing upon personalities. Secondly, this chapter has shown that Lloyd George and Asquith’s public personas should not simply be categorised as unemotional and emotional

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<sup>150</sup> ‘Mr. Lloyd George Opens the Land Campaign’, *Manchester Guardian*, 11 October 1913, p. 7.  
<sup>151</sup> C.P. Scott, ‘Diary, 13 January 1913 (Extract)’, in Trevor Wilson (ed.), *The Political Diaries of C.P. Scott, 1911-1928* (London, 1970), pp. 68-69.  
<sup>152</sup> ‘Campaign on the Land Question’, *Northern Echo*, 13 October 1913, p. 2.  
<sup>153</sup> ‘The Outlook: The Restoration’, *Northern Echo*, 13 October 1913, p. 6.  
<sup>154</sup> For example, ‘A Basis for Action’, *Westminster Gazette*, 13 October 1913, p. 1; ‘The Outlook: The Power of Ownership’, *Northern Echo*, 14 October 1913, p. 4; ‘What We Think: The Chancellor’s Crusade’, *Star*, 13 October 1913, p. 4.  
<sup>155</sup> ‘A Basis for Action’, *Westminster Gazette*, 13 October 1913, p. 1.  
<sup>156</sup> ‘The Outlook: The Power of Ownership’, *Northern Echo*, 14 October 1913, p. 4.

respectively. It was suggested that a more effective way of categorising the two figures and their representations, aiding the development of a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between their masculine personas and emotion, was within the context of the nineteenth-century language of character for Asquith and the emerging language of personality for Lloyd George.

Newspaper reports portrayed Asquith as galvanising the rational emotion sympathy when commemorating Campbell-Bannerman in 1908, conveying a sense of legitimacy, duty, trust and community. Emotion was also evoked by comparing Asquith to Gladstone, highlighting that, in old age, Gladstone had relied upon audiences to construct the emotion rather than simply responding to it. Within the context of Asquith's 1909 speech, addressing the issue of liberty, this representation of emotion was fitting. The production of emotion was identified as a democratic endeavour, signifying a mutual bond between the speaker and the audience rather than audience passivity. Also, newspaper reports showed that rather than using emotion to antagonise, Asquith's role was sometimes to create a bridge between the Liberals and the opposition. He needed to evoke emotions – either fear or bonds of previous loyalty – in the opposition, encouraging them to reconsider their attitude and approaches.

This chapter has illustrated that the Liberal newspapers did not simply report Lloyd George's personalised, emotional speech making for entertainment purposes, but instead could consciously plan and shape its meaning and interpretation. In 1909 the newspapers prepared for Lloyd George's predicted inflammatory rhetoric by framing his speech between fear evoking reports of suffrage militancy and the furious reaction to his speech by political opponents. Lloyd George could therefore be presented as emotionally charged but reasonable, and, in contrast to the other two groups, with legitimate political points to convey through his emotion. However, although Lloyd George's newspaper representation can largely be associated with a personable approach for much of the Edwardian era, by the end of the period his portrayal was shifting in line with Asquith's more reserved persona, emphasising the older, nineteenth-century liberal ideal of character and toning down his personality. This was reflected in the reportage surrounding his land reform speech in 1913. Factors influencing this shift included the resolution of the constitutional issue, the limited popularity of the Lloyd George-driven National Insurance scheme

(introduced in 1911), and the Marconi scandal of 1912. There no longer existed a cause popular enough to justify Lloyd George's anger, or an implicit sense of trust and truthfulness surrounding Lloyd George as a self-styled man of the people, allowing his personality to dominate. Trust, moral purpose and credibility instead became qualities that had to be cultivated first and foremost through the newspapers' reportage of Lloyd George's public speeches. The discussion now moves in Chapter Six to explore another feature of Edwardian journalism – the human interest story (within the context of the introduction of Old Age Pensions) – which, similarly to political speech reporting, was often dismissed as focussing upon the personal, the emotional, and the frivolous.

## *Chapter Six*

### **“Life has been hardly worth living”, he said to me, as a tear trickled down his cheek’: The Representation of Old Age Pensioners**

In the lives of more than half-a-million aged men and women yesterday was probably the most memorable of all the seventy New Years’ Days which they have seen. The little scenes and dialogues which fill the newspapers must have brought home to any who still doubted the immense importance of the pension. We hardly know whether to be more ashamed that a civilised state should have hesitated so long to adopt a humane measure which seems today so natural and so inevitable, or glad that the thing has been done at last.

**‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 6.**

### **I** **Introduction**

The Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 was undoubtedly one of the most substantial and historically important reforms passed by the Edwardian Liberal government, representing ‘a remarkable breakthrough in English social policy’.<sup>1</sup> Martin Pugh identifies the introduction of pensions as a ‘crucial stage’ in the British state’s development of a ‘benevolent image among its citizens’ as welfare provider.<sup>2</sup> Under the scheme, 490,000 people over the age of 70, whose yearly income did not exceed £31, received a state pension. The pension was designed to encourage thrift and complement the incomes of elderly people rather than to provide for subsistence. Depending upon their specific incomes, the men and women received between 1 and 5 shillings per week – the lower their income, the higher their pension. Pensions could only be applied for and collected at post offices: an important and respectable meeting place in most working-class neighbourhoods, utilised extensively by the community.<sup>3</sup> Once the legislation was passed, elderly people were invited to apply for a pension by filling out a form at their local post offices from 24 September 1908. From 1 January 1909,

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<sup>1</sup> Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 180; Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State* (London, 1996), p. 77; Harris, *Public Lives*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Pugh, ‘Working-Class Experience and State Social Welfare, 1908-1914: Old Age Pensions Reconsidered’, *Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), p. 776.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 780.

those who qualified were entitled to collect their pension every Friday.<sup>4</sup> The significance of the introduction of long-awaited pensions ensured that representatives from the provincial and national press, as well as curious members of the general public, crowded post offices across the country on 24 September 1908 and 1 January 1909 to report on and witness the historic events unfolding.

On 1 January 1909, the *Daily Chronicle* discussed the pension provision in a similar tone to the editorial extract from the *Daily News*, presented at the beginning of this chapter, explaining that, ‘the humanity and civilisation of a people, or a nation, may be gauged by the respect and attention paid to children, women, and old people’. As a result, the newspaper continued, ‘the United Kingdom may congratulate itself on inaugurating the New Year with a marked advance ... What the government have justly claimed is to have laid basis for the more humane provision for old age’.<sup>5</sup> The introduction of pensions was identified by its supporters as such a humane, modernising and civilising measure because the primitive and debilitating emotion shame,<sup>6</sup> which often defined recipients’ interactions with the Poor Law, was considered to be absent from the system. Under the provisions of the Poor Law, those who had the vote were subsequently disqualified on receiving support, and recipients were sometimes forced into the degrading workhouse. Exploring late-nineteenth-century autobiographical accounts of poverty and pauperism, Megan Doolittle highlights that if individuals were able to leave the workhouse before death, many cut themselves off from their communities and social networks, aware that the stigma of the institution could remain with their family for generations. The workhouse was purposely publicly portrayed as humiliating to ensure that respectable people would not be tempted by it.<sup>7</sup> The pension system, in contrast, consciously aimed to eliminate the feeling of shame for the recipients – that is, in this context, the feeling that they had transgressed the community norms and

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<sup>4</sup> Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 226-227.

<sup>5</sup> ‘The New Year’s Gift’, *Daily Chronicle*, 1 January 1909, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> For earlier discussions of shame as a debilitating social emotion, see Chapter 4, pp. 155-156.

<sup>7</sup> Megan Doolittle, ‘Fatherhood and Family Shame: Masculinity, Welfare and the Workhouse in Late Nineteenth Century England’, in Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin, and Abigail Wills (eds.), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Hampshire, 2009), pp. 84-108; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984), pp. 186-7.

values by failing to maintain themselves independently.<sup>8</sup> The pensions were only allocated to people who had previously worked hard for the state and paid their taxes, and thus now deserved a share in the national wealth. The pensions were made non-contributory on the basis that the recipients had already contributed to the fund through the taxes they had paid throughout their lives. The elderly people who had a vote did not lose it on receiving a pension.<sup>9</sup> As the *Westminster Gazette* summarised in 1908, the scheme was based on ‘an honourable claim, not a petition for relief carrying disqualification or humiliation’.<sup>10</sup> The above editorial extract from the *Daily News* sought to completely release the elderly poor from any sense of shame by turning the argument around and suggesting that shame should perhaps be felt by the state for waiting so long to help them.

Sympathy towards the elderly poor, rather than the promotion of shame amongst this group, was the progressive emotion driving those in favour of the introduction of pensions. In the late 1880s, while on the move to the Conservative Party, radical Joseph Chamberlain became the first major politician to take up the issue of pensions. Chamberlain noted that, ‘a political leader with genuine sympathy with the working class’ was needed to introduce such a scheme.<sup>11</sup> Asquith subsequently championed the cause in his Budget speech of 1908. He explained that ‘the figure of old age’ made ‘an especially strong and, indeed, an irresistible appeal, not only to our sympathy, but to something more practical, a sympathy translated into a concrete and constructive policy of social and financial effort’.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, when the scheme was introduced in 1908, there was not enough sympathy for the plight of the elderly poor to enable a non-contributory system of state pensions to be universally supported. For example, maintaining a sense of balance, the *Westminster Gazette* aired the ‘individualist view’, publishing a letter sent to the newspaper two days after application forms became available at post offices in September 1908. The correspondent

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<sup>8</sup> David Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, ‘The History and Theory of Shame – Then and Now’, in their *Cultures of Shame: Exploring Crime and Morality in Britain, 1600-1900* (New York, 2010), pp. 1-25.

<sup>9</sup> Thane, *Old Age*, pp. 216-235; Doreen Collins, ‘The Introduction of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain’, *Historical Journal*, 8:2 (1965), p. 259.

<sup>10</sup> ‘A Red Letter Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 24 September 1908, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Chamberlain, quoted in Thane, *Old Age*, p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> H.H. Asquith, *The Budget of 1908: A Speech Delivered in The House of Commons, on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1908* (London, 1908), p. 18.

maintained that ‘the natural functions of Government are limited’. He assessed that, ‘the grant has been conceded without conviction and without enthusiasm; and that it has been received without thanks’.<sup>13</sup>

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, and in Chapter Five, the promotion of sympathy and the awareness of the plight of the suppressed had been a defining feature of the new journalism when it was introduced to the daily press by W.T. Stead. His investigations into juvenile prostitution and the trafficking of young girls appeared as a series of articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette* in July 1885. Stead identified the press as an ‘engine of social reform’, which should be used to galvanise public opinion and to pressurise the government to introduce legislation. However, following Matthew Arnold’s influential denunciation of the new journalism in 1887, the human-interest story increasingly became associated with frivolous sensationalism and trivialisation as a means of achieving commercial success.<sup>14</sup> As Helen MacGill Hughes wrote in 1964, human-interest stories are popular and appealing because they ‘explore the personal side of the news’: ‘not of programs and institutions and the formal areas of life, but of the inner, the emotional, aspect’. Essentially, ‘the facts lie in the inner experience, private, of course, to the person who feels it, but shared by the readers because they, too, are human’. Importantly, however, Hughes conceded that a distinction must be made between sensationalism and human interest. Only ‘when a story is told starkly, by pictures or in language that appeals to the senses rather than to the sentiments and is not fully understood it is sensational’.<sup>15</sup>

As discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, eighteenth-century moral philosophers argued that sympathy and compassion were central and rational human sentiments, laying the foundations for social cohesion, and promoting a common morality among members of a given society.<sup>16</sup> It was possible for one human being to sympathise with another human based solely on their similarities in mind and body, as members of the same species. However, David Hume considered that increasing resemblance, similarity, and association also increased sympathy. Hume noted that, ‘the sentiments of others have little influence, when

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<sup>13</sup> Geo. A. MacDonald, ‘The Individualist View’, *Westminster Gazette*, 26 September 1908, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the emergence of the new journalism and its criticism, see Chapter 1, pp. 22-25.

<sup>15</sup> Helen MacGill Hughes, ‘News and the Human Interest Story’, in Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue (eds.), *Contributions to Urban Sociology* (London, 1964), pp. 282.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 5, p. 193.

far removed from us'.<sup>17</sup> In his 1912 discussion on the *Meaning of Liberalism*, J.M. Robertson argued that without having the suffering of others brought into close proximity and association, 'intellectual sympathy' is instead relied upon. This unaided 'mental exercise' was completely dependent upon an individual's 'power of imagination'. Particularly amongst Conservatives, although also amongst 'men of normal good feeling' and 'everyday kindly feeling', Robertson argued that there existed a distinct lack of intellectual sympathy and a great deal of apathy towards 'the class-aspirations of the outsiders'.<sup>18</sup> Writing in 1910, popular psychologist T. Sharper Knowlson similarly acknowledged that, 'to sympathize with *persons* is one thing; with *ideas* is quite different'. 'In estimating the value of a thought, a policy ...' he continued, 'we have a much harder task, speaking generally, than we have in effecting a personal appreciation'.<sup>19</sup> To be explored in greater detail in the first section following this Introduction, this chapter is based on the premise that the marginalising treatment and lack of visibility of many of the elderly poor during the nineteenth century can to a certain extent account for the lack of sympathy and support for the pension scheme expressed by critics.

Investigating the seven Liberal newspapers' extensive coverage of the elderly people's collection of pension application forms and their first pensions from post offices across Britain in September 1908 and January 1909, this chapter goes on to explore what the coverage can reveal about the relationship between the state, the welfare recipient and the wider community, the role of the male and female pensioners in helping to define the relationship, and the role of the human-interest story within the Liberal newspapers. As Martin Pugh notes, and briefly explores within the context of the provincial press, these reports offer 'fascinating insights into Edwardian attitudes'.<sup>20</sup> The second main section of this chapter highlights that the very public act of pension collection, and its extensive, human-interest based reportage in all of the Liberal newspapers, provided an important arena for the new pensioners to be made visible, and for the process of resemblance to take place. As suggested by the *Daily News's* editorial comment

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<sup>17</sup> David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature, Book II: "Of the Passions"*, Part 1, Sections 11-12 (London, 1738). Also quoted in David Fate Norton, *The Cambridge Companion to Hume* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> J.M. Robertson, *The Meaning of Liberalism* (London, 1912), p. 19.

<sup>19</sup> T. Sharper Knowlson, *The Art of Sympathy* (London, 1910), p. 36-37.

<sup>20</sup> Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience', p. 788.

presented at the beginning of this chapter, the ‘little scenes and dialogues which fill the newspapers’, and indeed the elderly men and women who provided them, had an important function to perform in helping to promote sympathy and compassion. They aided the vital legitimisation of the new Liberal pension system, which was being financed by taxpayers.<sup>21</sup> As Mervi Pantti notes, ‘the news media play an important role in the mobilization of compassion: firstly, by making the suffering known and, second, by reconstructing the conditions of the suffering of others in such a way that it holds the public’s attention and generates compassion’.<sup>22</sup>

However, the third section of this chapter highlights that the commercial interests of the Liberal newspapers cannot be overlooked in their human-interest portrayals of the elderly. The newspapers sought both to entertain current audiences and to forge benevolent relationships with the new pensioners (with more money to spend) in the hope of encouraging them into the newspapers’ emotional communities. Indeed, advertisements aimed directly at the new pensioners began to appear in the newspapers as the scheme came into operation. However, a study of the advertisements emphasises that although the Liberal press, particularly the halfpenny newspapers, did have a dual aim of both promoting the new Liberal pension provision and securing advertising revenue to remain economically viable in a competitive market, these two aims were not in opposition here: rather, the latter could aid the former objective. Nevertheless, the fourth section of this chapter highlights that Liberal newspaper journalists’ efforts at observing and interacting with pensioners at the post offices were not always characterised by positivity, in terms of promoting sympathy for pensioners and promoting sales or advertising revenue for the newspapers. The newspapers sometimes reported that the attention received was perceived as intrusive and not welcomed by the welfare recipients. This reportage of awkward social emotions highlights the limitations of discussing collective

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<sup>21</sup> James Curran and his colleagues provided an early account of the political significance of the human-interest story. It is ‘a form that powerfully reinforces and complements the dominant political consensus articulated in its [the newspaper’s] current-affairs coverage. Indeed, much of the persuasive power of this human-interest content derives from its apparent neutrality, its abstract from the world of politics and, not least, its genuine entertainment value’. See James Curran, Angus Douglas and Garry Whannel, ‘The Political Economy of the Human-Interest Story’, in Anthony Smith (ed.), *Newspapers and Democracy: International Essays on a Changing Medium* (London, 1980), p. 316.

<sup>22</sup> Pantti, ‘Disaster News’, p. 228.

emotions, and collective emotional shifts (from shame to sympathy), in the relationship between the state, the welfare recipient and the wider community, because it does not account for the situations and sensitivities of individuals, particularly when the supposed shift was acted out so publically through the print press.

## II The Marginalisation of the Elderly Poor and Opposition to Old Age Pensions

A non-contributory system of state pensions for the elderly poor was not a universally supported policy. Henry Pelling and Pat Thane have discussed how working-class critics of the pensions scheme expressed resentment rather than thanks at the regulation and the loss of control that the policy would impose. There is evidence to suggest that working people would have preferred to obtain regular work and sufficient wages, providing them with a decent standard of living and the possibility of saving for hard times and old age, without interference from the state.<sup>23</sup> At the turn of the century, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the second largest friendly society in Britain, protested that, ‘the aim of the working class ought to be to bring about economic conditions in which there should be no need for distribution of state alms. The establishment of a great scheme of state pensions would legalize and stamp as a permanent feature of our social life the chronic poverty of the age’.<sup>24</sup>

However, as Martin Pugh highlights, these contemporary views were largely publicised by leaders of working-class associations (such as trade unions, friendly societies, and co-operatives), which catered overwhelmingly for male, skilled labourers with some degree of bargaining power.<sup>25</sup> Pat Thane acknowledged that the unskilled and the very poor were more likely to be grateful for any help offered by the state during their hard lives.<sup>26</sup> Concerned with developing their own interests, organised labourers perhaps gave little

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Pelling, ‘The Working Class and the Origins of the Welfare State’, in his *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain: Essays* (London, 1968), pp. 1-18; Pat Thane, ‘The Working Class and State ‘Welfare’ in Britain, 1880-1914’, *Historical Journal*, 27:4 (1984), pp. 887-900.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Thane, ‘Working Class’, p. 880.

<sup>25</sup> Pugh, ‘Working-Class Experience’, p. 775.

<sup>26</sup> Thane, ‘Working Class’, p. 899.

thought or sympathy to those in an even worse economic and political position to themselves, whose sole focus was upon survival. Indeed, writing to the *Daily News*, one pension supporter noted in early 1909 that the poorest of the elderly poor, ‘had few occasions for rejoicing during their hard lives, and have experienced scant sympathy in their humble but vital concerns’.<sup>27</sup>

This lack of sympathy even seeped into working-class popular culture. Popular music was not only a form of entertainment but also a form of political expression at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> In 1909 a ‘Sixpenny Musical Marvel’ was published, containing 26 popular songs including ‘Wait for your Old Age Pension’, written and composed by Will Fieldhouse. The price of the pamphlet suggests that it was unlikely to have been aimed at the poorer sections of the working class. Written in the first person, Fieldhouse’s song satirised the pension system. He explained in the first verse that, ‘I’ve had a job a very decent job / And I worked at it for nearly twenty years’. However, the chorus and third verse explained that, since the introduction of pensions, this situation had changed:

Why any fellow wants to bother with a job,  
Is beyond my comprehension,  
Throw down your work, and do the same as me,  
Wait for your old age pension!

When I draw my pension I wonder what I’ll buy,  
Up to now I’ve not made up my mind,  
I’ve thought about a motor and I’ve thought about a yacht,  
Or maybe buy an airship of some kind.<sup>29</sup>

The character in this song could boast of having been in regular work – in fact, in a very decent job – for nearly twenty years and envisaged purchasing such luxuries as motor cars, yachts and aircrafts with his pension. This would have appeared to be a cruel joke indeed to many amongst the hardworking elderly poor who were refused a pension in 1909, having failed to meet the strict criteria, for example if they had previously been in receipt of Poor Law provisions.

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<sup>27</sup> ‘Pensions Day – To the Editor of “The Daily News”’, *Daily News*, 1 January 1909, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 129; Barry J Faulk, *Music and Modernity: The Late-Victorian Discovery of Popular Culture* (Ohio, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> William Fieldhouse, ‘Wait for your Old Age Pension’, *Reeder & Walsh’s Sixpenny Musical Marvels* (London, 1909).

Those who had previously received these provisions were temporarily disqualified from the pension scheme until 31 December 1910.<sup>30</sup>

Hostility and a lack of sympathy for the non-contributory pensions system was also expressed by individualist-minded intellectuals, politicians and peers when the Bill was under discussion. Their criticisms of the scheme were largely based upon the same arguments outlined above, put forward by organised labour associations and disseminated through popular culture. During one Parliamentary outburst, Lord Rosebery protested that, ‘it is, of course, Socialism, pure and simple’. Rosebery attacked the plans ‘to transfer every responsibility ... from the individual to the state’.<sup>31</sup> Even William Beveridge disapproved of the non-contributory element, arguing that it ‘sets up the state in the eyes of the individual as a source of free gifts’. He rejected the notion that even the poorest could not afford to contribute, commenting that, ‘surely they waste more than twopence a week on drink, let them contribute that’.<sup>32</sup> In line with the message in the 1909 popular song discussed above, Asquith noted in a speech in 1908 that a central argument utilised against a system of non-contributory pensions was that it would ‘discourage the practice of thrift among the working classes of this country’.<sup>33</sup> Although the Conservative Party attacked the haphazard and experimental nature of the Pensions Bill, they chose not to oppose it in the House of Commons, having promised, and failed, to establish provisions for old age while in power.<sup>34</sup> However, Conservative peers in the House of Lords expressed strong opposition. Lord Lansdowne asserted that the measure would, ‘weaken the moral fibre of the nation and diminish the self-respect of our people’. Lord Wemyss added that, ‘if from sentimental motives Parliament passed this Bill ... families would cease to regard it as an obligation to maintain those of their members whose working days were passed’.<sup>35</sup>

It is extremely revealing that Lord Wemyss chose to place his argument against the proposed pensions system within the context of its implications on the character of younger, working members of a family, rather than focusing his

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<sup>30</sup> Pugh, ‘Working-Class Experience’, p. 777.

<sup>31</sup> *Hansard*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., cxcii, 20 July 1908.

<sup>32</sup> William Beveridge, quoted in Thane, *Old Age*, p. 222.

<sup>33</sup> Asquith, ‘Government’, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> Thane, *Old Age*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>35</sup> *100 Points in Liberal Policy and of the Liberal Record: Facts, Figures, and Proposals – Clearly, Shortly, and Interestingly Explained* (London, 1914), p. 21.

argument on whether the scheme was appropriate and just for the previously industrious elderly poor themselves. This view was also reiterated in a letter to *Westminster Gazette* in 1908. The correspondent denounced Liberal social reform in general and paralleled the dependency and passivity of the elderly with that of children. It was noted that the working classes ‘have found the burden of their old folk intolerable at just the same moment when they have discovered that they ought to be relieved of the duty of educating and feeding their children’.<sup>36</sup> These critics did not deem it necessary to place the elderly people at the centre of a discussion surrounding their own welfare.

The line of argument that focuses upon placing the pensions provision within the context of the implications and impact, rights and responsibilities, of other family members, is reflective of the way that the elderly poor, throughout the nineteenth century, for reasons discussed below, often found themselves marginalised, denied an identity as political and social beings in their own right, and sometimes even dehumanised. This situation helps not only to contextualise the argument of Wemyss and the *Westminster Gazette*’s correspondent, but also the wider arguments proposed against the pensions system outlined above, which appear unsympathetic to the rights of the previously hardworking elderly poor. It can be suggested that opposition towards the pensions system, and a lack of sympathy towards the elderly poor, were heightened because previous opportunities to experience a process of resemblance with the (sometimes invisible) elderly poor had been severely restricted.

An early-twentieth-century pamphlet published by the Labour Party employed emotive language to explore the sad fate of socially marginalised aged workers. It explained that:

They are left to starve to death, or they are punished and cursed for living too long by being branded and degraded with the name of pauper. They are incarcerated like criminals; their liberties and privileges as citizens are taken away; and eventually they fill a nameless pauper’s grave ... He was in the way, and, according to the morality of modern civilisation, it was a pity he was alive!<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Geo. A. MacDonald, ‘The Individualist View’, *Westminster Gazette*, 26 September 1908, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> C. A. Glyde, *Britain’s Disgrace: An Urgent Plea for Old Age Pensions* (Bradford, 1909), p. 5.

The New Poor Law of 1834 contributed significantly to the elderly poor's marginalisation and denial of a social identity during the nineteenth century. Pat Thane provides evidence to illustrate how some elderly people could manipulate the New Poor Law in order to hold onto their independence rather than becoming passive victims of the system.<sup>38</sup> However, the overall picture that emerges is that it treated the poor more punitively than before. K.D.M. Snell argues that it generally reduced regular weekly payments to the elderly poor, who represented the largest single group of paupers. The elderly poor, therefore, entered the workhouse in increasing numbers during the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> As discussed in the Introduction to this chapter, the workhouse imposed humiliating gender segregation rules and a social stain that remained even if an individual or family were able to leave the workhouse.

In 1866 a series of articles entitled 'A Night in a Workhouse' were published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, written by James Greenwood. An important precursor to Stead's pioneering and investigative new journalist, Greenwood masqueraded as a one of the poor and headed to Lambeth in order to gain first-hand experience of what it meant to be an inmate in a casual ward for wayfarers, tramps, and other homeless people.<sup>40</sup> Observing one man preparing for sleep, surrounded by the bodies of other inmates, Greenwood provided a vivid depiction of the dehumanising existence within the confines of the workhouse:

He rolled himself in his rug, tucking himself in, head and feet, so that he is completely enveloped; and lying quite still on his pallet he looks precisely like a corpse covered because of its hideousness ... It was like the result of a railway accident; these ghastly figures were awaiting the coroner.<sup>41</sup>

For the elderly poor who managed to avoid the workhouse, the language of death was still commonly associated with them. Charles Masterman referred to the elderly poor as the 'dead futility of premature old age'.<sup>42</sup> A.C. Pigou considered

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<sup>38</sup> Thane, *Old Age*, p. 168.

<sup>39</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1600-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 131-135. Also see D. Thomson, 'The Decline of Social Welfare: Falling State Support for the Elderly since Early Victorian Times', *Ageing and Society*, 4 (1984), pp. 451-482.

<sup>40</sup> Koven, *Slumming*, p. 25.

<sup>41</sup> James Greenwood, *A Night in a Workhouse – Reprinted from "Pall Mall Gazette"* (London, 1866).

<sup>42</sup> Masterman, 'Realities', p. 17.

that they were ‘thrown on the industrial scrap-heap’ and ‘expected to get dead and buried as soon as possible’ when they were ‘no longer strong enough to be exploited’.<sup>43</sup> Outdoor relief payments to elderly people were made grudgingly, forcing them to seek out the help of charity or to burden often-reluctant relatives.<sup>44</sup>

The social isolation and marginalisation suffered by the elderly poor, due to a restricted spending power and to a fragility that could make modern society a dangerous and unwelcoming prospect, was suggested by the newspapers when they collected their first pensions on 1 January 1909. The *Northern Echo* explained that the elderly women particularly seemed strange and dazed in public ‘having, evidently, not been out of their homes for some years’.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that one explanation provided by a postmaster for the unexpectedly low number of elderly people collecting their first pensions from post offices in the East End of London was that they were afraid to venture onto the busy street following a recent spate of motorcar accidents.<sup>46</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* summarised that many of the pensioners who presented themselves at the post offices were ‘infirm, deaf, nearly blind, and otherwise inflicted in body as well as estate’.<sup>47</sup>

### **III** **Promoting Sympathy For the Old Age Pensioners**

Despite – or perhaps because of – the fragility of the elderly poor, Asquith outlined that the pensions could only be applied for and collected in public at post offices, as noted in the Introduction to this chapter. Pensioners were allowed to nominate someone to collect their pensions for them by proxy, if they had family living nearby or access to wider support networks. The idea that

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<sup>43</sup> A.C. Pigou, ‘Some Aspects of the Problem of Charity’, in Masterman (ed.), *Heart*, p. 247.

<sup>44</sup> D. Thomson, “‘I am not my father’s keeper’: Families and the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century England”, *Law and History Review*, 2 (1984), pp. 265-286; Rachel G. Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 235. Fuchs explains that, ‘after a lifetime of hard work, the social death of the aged often preceded their physical death’. Paul Johnson highlighted the general trend in histories of old age to argue that there never existed ‘some former “golden age” of old age – in which older people were venerated in their community and cared for by their family’. See Paul Johnson, ‘Historical Readings of Old Age and Ageing’, in Johnson and Pat Thane (eds.), *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity* (London, 1998), p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Pension Day Incidents’, *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 25 September 1908, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

pension collection would become an important process for legitimising the pensions system, rather than simply being the final act following its legitimisation, was suggested by Lloyd George during the second reading of the Pensions Bill in the House of Commons. Lloyd George explained that, if pensions were introduced, ‘a number of persons who can claim a pension will be anxious to see how it works, what the effect of it will be, what the *status* of the pensioner is, how the drawing of a pension is regarded by the public opinion of the class they belong to’.<sup>48</sup> The *Westminster Gazette* reiterated, ‘the success of the Act depends in no small measure on the opinion about it. A grudging or hostile opinion might make it degrading, a cheerful and generous opinion will make it helpful and stimulating’.<sup>49</sup> As Lloyd George noted in parliament, and Asquith repeated in a public speech in 1908, the pension scheme was ‘purely an experiment ... a great experiment’.<sup>50</sup>

On 2 January 1909 the *Daily Chronicle* carried a front-page article reporting the observations of the newspaper’s journalist who has made a tour of some of the post offices in the East End of London in order to witness the first collection of pensions. The article strongly suggested that the *Daily Chronicle* placed much importance on the new pensioners being made visible. This allowed the process of resemblance to take place, and for the new pensioners to be considered sympathetically as human beings rather than as a statistic or a problem to either be ignored or else solved with limited input from the state. On the ‘intensely interesting’ gathering of the elderly, the article explained:

It was a wonderful sight ... Let us look a little more closely at them as they troop in one by one ... The sharp faces of the city-dwellers, born and bred, perhaps, close by, and living the whole of their lives in the grim fight which goes on without ceasing, in court, and alley and street, for the bare necessities of life ... Is there one who, seeing them, would grudge them the national gift which will add ease and contentment to their declining years?<sup>51</sup>

Questioning ‘is there *one*’, the article aimed to suggest that such an individual would surely be in a minority, against the force of public opinion. Indeed,

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<sup>48</sup> *Hansard*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., cxc, 15 June 1908.

<sup>49</sup> ‘A Red Letter Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 24 September 1908, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> *Hansard*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., cxc, 15 June 1908; Asquith, ‘Government’, pp. 11-12.

<sup>51</sup> ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1.

newspaper reports paid attention not only to the ‘great procession of the poor’ (in Asquith’s terms),<sup>52</sup> but also to those who had gathered at the post offices to watch. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that, at a Blackpool post office, ‘many of the ordinary customers lingered to watch the old people made glad’.<sup>53</sup> The *Northern Echo* explained that crowds gathered at Newcastle post offices, ‘attracted by the promise of the spectacle’.<sup>54</sup> The *Star* simply reported that, ‘it was good to watch their faces as their first pension was handed to them’.<sup>55</sup> In a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* in January 1909, a correspondent noted that the public was ‘anxious to see as many decent people as possible in receipt of pensions in the early stages of its administration, knowing that this, more than anything else, would give the new Act its right place in the social life of the community’.<sup>56</sup>

Deborah Sugg Ryan notes that, ‘spectacle, deriving from both high and popular culture, was a major part of leisure activities in Edwardian Britain’, with a strong interaction often existing ‘between performers and audience’.<sup>57</sup> Paul Readman has also discussed how the spectacular public displays in the form of historical pageants that suffused Edwardian culture were conceived as ‘community events’, drawing upon ‘high levels of popular participation’.<sup>58</sup> In line with these discussions, in January 1909 it was reported that some observers did not simply stand back and passively watch the pension scenes but wanted to take up an active and constructive role in the proceedings. In many locations throughout the country local officials treated the new pensioners to tea, lunch or entertainment.<sup>59</sup> In Halstead, Essex the day was dramatically ushered in with the firing of a cannon and an announcement by the town crier. A bonfire was lit in Wiltshire. Some pensioners took the opportunity to sell their newly acquired coins at a profit to eager souvenir hunters. The oldest pensioner of Aldeburgh,

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<sup>52</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 25 September 1908, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Pension Day Incidents’, *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Old Age Pension Day’, *Star*, 1 January 1909, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> David C. Lamb, ‘Old Age Pensions’, *Westminster Gazette*, 4 January 1909, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Deborah Sugg Ryan, ‘Spectacle, the Public, and the Crowd: Exhibitions and Pageants in 1908’, in Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (eds.), *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910* (London, 2010), p. 44.

<sup>58</sup> Paul Readman, ‘The Place of the Past in English Culture, c. 1890-1914’, *Past and Present*, 186:1 (2005), pp. 168-175.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1909, p. 7.

Suffolk, aged 98, was offered his neighbour's donkey to ride to the post office.<sup>60</sup> A crowd of nearly 2,000 people assembled in front of the post office in Hazel Grove, Stockport, and sung 'Hail, Smiling Morn'.<sup>61</sup> These encounters served to highlight a collectivist spirit – the proud community felt a sympathetic and emotional attachment to the pensioners as human beings who were a part of their community and who had previously worked hard for the state. The elderly were therefore entitled to a share of the community's wealth. The newspapers also placed much emphasis on the 'genuine sympathy' and 'infinite patience and kindness' provided by post office clerks, for example by helping the elderly in and out of the building, putting their money into their purses, and aiding them in signing their pension cheques.<sup>62</sup>

Examining and revealing the lives of the elderly poor in order to raise awareness of their plight was a technique that had its roots in the nineteenth-century fashion for social investigation.<sup>63</sup> These investigations helped to identify the elderly as a distinct social group, which actually gave rise to the campaign for pensions.<sup>64</sup> In an 1892 study by Charles Booth, the experiences of the elderly poor of Stepney were presented. The case studies detailed, 'pathetic recurrence well calculated to crush hope out of the hearts of those who ... act those dramas of life'.<sup>65</sup> In 1893, a Royal Commission on the Aged Poor was established to explore the effectiveness of the Poor Law. One contributor, Cambridge economist Alfred Marshall, emphasised that, rather than simply collecting the thoughts of middle-class experts, it was necessary to seek, 'direct expression of opinion' from the elderly themselves.<sup>66</sup> This rationale was clearly adopted by the Liberal newspapers' special correspondents in September 1908 and January 1909 when they sought out the elderly people at post offices in order to gain a direct insight into their hard lives, in order to promote sympathy for them amongst readers, and to promote legitimacy for the pension scheme. As the *Daily*

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<sup>60</sup> 'Pension Day: How The Old Folk Drew Their Money', *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> 'Pensions Day', *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> 'Old Folk's Day', *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1. As Martin Pugh notes in his summary of the provincial press, post-office clerks were presented as 'the pensioner's friend'. See his 'Working-Class Experience', p. 781.

<sup>63</sup> David Englander and Rosemary O'Day, *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain, 1840-1914* (Aldershot, 1995); Koven, *Slumming*.

<sup>64</sup> Thane, *Old Age*, p. 193.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Booth, *Pauperism – a Picture and Endowment of Old Age: An Argument* (London, 1892).

<sup>66</sup> Alfred Marshall, quoted in Thane, *Old Age*, p. 182.

*Chronicle* explained, ‘the novelty of the occasion gave an excuse for many inquiries and interviews’.<sup>67</sup>

All of the Liberal newspapers printed different human-interest stories in large quantities, provided by their own special correspondents at post offices around the country. In his 1903 discussion on the role of ‘Our Special Correspondent’, *Times* journalist Michael MacDonagh explained that they, ‘as a rule, rise to the occasion’, often surpassing ‘in vivid and dramatic presentation of scenes and events, the enduring work of our leading novelists’. MacDonagh argued that ‘simplicity and truth’ were preferable, but nevertheless concluded that, ‘it is better to be dithyrambic than dull’.<sup>68</sup> Although the Liberal newspapers acknowledged that some of the pension day incidences were humorous, it is significant to highlight that none of them referred to the scenes and stories as sensational or melodramatic, attempting to evoke the readers’ short-term senses or instincts. Rather, the articles depicted the pensioners as appealing to the readers’ sentiments. One key word was used by all of the newspapers to depict the pensioners, the scenes and the stories: *pathetic*.<sup>69</sup> The newspapers were alluding to the pensioners’ pathos – their ability to affect or move the passions, particularly the tender emotions of pity, sympathy, sorrow, and grief. Aristotle argued that the art of developing a persuasive argument required pathos as an essential element, in addition to character and logic.<sup>70</sup> By constantly referring to this key word, the Liberal newspapers sought to highlight that their human-interest stories and sentiments were seeped in sound, rational argument surrounding the provision of pensions. This was perhaps perceived as the key to the longevity of sympathetic public feeling towards the pensioners. The *Daily News* consciously sought to separate the term and the scenes from associations with sensationalism, noting that there was a ‘lack of fussiness’: ‘pathos there was a plenty, but it was mostly of that quiet and unobtrusive kind which has to be

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<sup>67</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Michael MacDonagh, ‘Our Special Correspondent’, *Newspaper Press Directory* (1903), pp. 90-91.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7; ‘Pensions At Last’, *News of the World*, 3 January 1909, p. 6; ‘Pension Day’, *Star*, 24 September 1908, p. 2; ‘Pension Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1909, p. 7; ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1; ‘Pension Day Incidents’, *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Georgios Anagnostopoulos, *A Companion to Aristotle* (West Sussex, 2009), p. 633; Arash Abizadeh, ‘The Passions of the Wise: *Phronesis*, Rhetoric, and Aristotle’s Passionate Practical Deliberation’, in Kingston and Ferry (eds.), *Bringing the Passions*, pp. 63-65.

sought out – the pathos which characterises the ideal recipient of an old age pension'.<sup>71</sup> The *Northern Echo* also highlighted distinctions between sensation and sentiment in its New Year's Day 1909 editorial. Their Pension Day task – to 'touch the sentiment of a nation' – was not a simple one, the newspaper explained. These were 'feverish days, when sensation treads hot foot upon sensation', and genuine sentiment often 'fails to touch the feeling so readily as the consciousness of cold feet'.<sup>72</sup>

The gender of the pensioners clearly influenced how they presented their life stories, or how the Liberal newspapers selectively portrayed their lives, in order to maximise sympathetic responses. Pat Thane notes that when the introduction of a pensions system was being debated, evoking sympathy for women was often a much easier and more effective task. Counter-arguments identifying the elderly poor as feckless wasters who had not saved for old age were even less convincingly applied to women. It was recognised that greater longevity left many women in widowed poverty and that the limited work and low pay available to women made it almost impossible for them to earn a living and save for old age. Over 60% of the first pensioners were women, and this number increases to 70% within the context of London.<sup>73</sup> The newspapers approvingly highlighted the dominance of women at the post offices on New Year's Day 1909.<sup>74</sup> A photograph printed by the *News of the World*, labelled 'typical pensioners', presents a close-up image of one man and two women (see *Figure 40*).

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<sup>71</sup> 'Pension Day', *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> 'Looking Back and Forward', *Northern Echo*, 1 January 1909, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Thane, *Old Age*, p. 226.

<sup>74</sup> See, for example, 'Old Age Pension Day', *Star*, 1 January 1909, p. 1; 'Pension Day Incidents', *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

**Figure 40: Photograph of Typical Pensioners [Unidentified Photographer]. Printed by the *News of the World*, 3 January 1909, p. 6.**

The newspapers sought to evoke sympathy for the female pensioners most consistently by documenting their stories of emotional distress at the passing of spouses, plunging them into hopeless poverty, and then their subsequent gratitude at receiving a pension. The *Westminster Gazette* reported on a woman of nearly ninety who explained to ‘sympathetic bystanders’, as ‘tears broke out’, that she had only been able to ‘keep body and soul together with the aid of some very kind neighbours’ following the death of her husband four years ago.<sup>75</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* discussed the story of a woman who had ‘struggled bravely on’ when ‘left alone to face the world’ following the death of her husband and all her children. On collecting her pension, “‘thank the Lord for all His mercies on me,” was all she could say, as a tear coursed down the worn and furrowed cheek””.<sup>76</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* also reported on a ‘tiny old dame of 73’, who spent five minutes communicating her ‘humble story of real life’ to the newspaper correspondent. She revealed that before her husband’s death the previous year he had worked for a small but sufficient wage to ‘keep the little house together’. The reference here to the fact that the pension was needed to supply the elderly woman with necessities rather than luxuries was a technique used to highlight the urgency of the measure. The woman was humanised as she was presented as not

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<sup>75</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1.

only able to express her own emotions, but also able to empathise with the final emotions of her husband. She explained that, “if he could only have known of this, he would have died happy”. As she studied her silver coins, the newspaper noted that, ‘her only thoughts were of him who had died fearing for her’.<sup>77</sup> The physical description of the pensioner as ‘tiny’ added to her vulnerability, weakness, and the sense of hopelessness surrounding her situation before the provision of pensions.

Reconsidering the traditional argument put forward by Henry Pelling (who suggested the controlling and marginalising impact of Edwardian welfare reform upon its passive recipients),<sup>78</sup> Martin Pugh more recently considered that the elderly found the introduction of pensions empowering, propelling them to the centre of political debate.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, when the above narratives of vulnerability, hopelessness and powerlessness were directly quoted in newspapers the next day, they undoubtedly empowered the female speakers, as they helped to sway public opinion on the pensions issue. The newspapers commented that the pension day narratives provided ‘poignant justification’ for the scheme.<sup>80</sup> A letter to the *Daily Chronicle* explained that the correspondent could not read the accounts ‘without being greatly moved’.<sup>81</sup>

The emotional scenes provided by the elderly women not only helped to portray those receiving a pension as deserving, but also to highlight the cruelty of the system for those disqualified from receiving a pension at this point, having previously been in receipt of Poor Law relief. The sense of injustice and unfairness was heightened in the *Daily News*’s portrayal of the situation. The newspaper paralleled the women receiving their pensions and the women disqualified because they were all shedding tears, but as an expression of different emotions. The *Daily News* explained that, ‘while women were weeping with joy inside the post offices, there were groups of the disappointed ones standing mutely outside with tear-stained cheeks’.<sup>82</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* noted that such cases raised sympathy and ‘made it plain the urgency of some amendments to the Act’ – that is, most notably, the removal of the Poor Law

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Pelling, ‘Working Class’, pp. 1-18.

<sup>79</sup> Pugh, ‘Working-Class Experience’, p. 796.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 25 September 1908, p. 5.

<sup>81</sup> ‘The Old Folks’ Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 4 January 1909, p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

disqualification clause, which ceased to be on 31 December 1910.<sup>83</sup> Although this disqualification was only ever designed to be temporary on account of limited funds, the elderly people in public acted as an important unofficial pressure group for ensuring that the need for change was not forgotten or delayed. The press depiction of these cases, providing practical examples of the cruelty of the clause, can be viewed in line with Stead's avocation of the press as 'an engine of social reform'.

The task of creating sympathy for the elderly men on pension collection day was often approached differently to the task of promoting sympathy for the women. As discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, contemporaries often contrasted the favourable restraint of British men with the emotional excesses of their European counterparts, particularly with regard to the expression of anger.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, on crying, Charles Darwin explained in 1872 that, 'Englishmen rarely cry ... whereas in some parts of the Continent men shed tears much more readily and freely'.<sup>85</sup> However, in 1909 the *Modern Man* conceded that a man was most likely to feel pity for another man, 'if he suffers physical deformity, such as blindness, loss of limb, or if he is attacked by a slow but deadly disease'.<sup>86</sup> In line with these cultural observations, rather than focussing on the death of spouses and emotional loss, the newspapers often sought to evoke sympathy for male pensioners by focussing upon their suffering of physical illness, injury, and disability, sometimes sustained during their working lives when providing for their families, and hindering their ability to continue working with the same efficiency in old age. A drawing in the *Star* depicting a pension day scene highlighted the physical fragility of the male pensioner, bent over and aided by a walking-stick, as he left the post office (see *Figure 41*). Physical fragility was also highlighted through reports of men such as Emanuel Hawthorne of Spalding who, on returning home from collecting his first pension, sadly collapsed and died.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> 'Pensions Day', *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 95-96.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London, 1872), p. 80.

<sup>86</sup> C. Wolff, 'Male Emotion: VI Pity', *Modern Man*, 4 September 1909, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> 'Pension Day', *Daily Mail*, 2 January 1909, p. 6.

**Figure 41: Sketch of Pensioners [Unidentified Artist]. Printed by the *Star*, 1 January 1909, p. 3.**

The first male pensioner at a post office in Northallerton told the *Northern Echo* correspondent that, ‘for 30 years ... he was employed on the railway as a loader, when he met with an accident’. After that, the pensioner explained, “‘I kept away from the ‘house’ by doing a bit of grooming””.<sup>88</sup> Brave military careers were also alluded to, and the pensioners’ patriotism was emphasised. The *News of the World* discussed a pension applicant at Stratford – ‘an old Indian Mutiny veteran named Thomas Humphrey’, who had been aboard a transport ship partially destroyed by a fire at sea in 1857. “‘Now I cannot do anything if I wanted to, as I suffer from rheumatism ... I have”’, concluded Mr. Humphreys ... “‘travelled about and served my Queen, and shall be very glad of the pension””.<sup>89</sup> The *Daily News* noted the arrival of ‘a blind old soldier, who wore his medals in honour of the occasion’ on pension collection day.<sup>90</sup> However, elderly men’s physical distress was combined with discussions about their emotional loss in some reports. For example, the *Westminster Gazette* discussed a pensioner who

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<sup>88</sup> ‘Pension Day Incidents’, *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *News of the World*, 27 September 1908, p. 9.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

had ‘worked steadily at his trade as an ornamental carver until severe illness struck him down’. The correspondent explained, ‘fourteen years ago his wife died, and since then, in his solitary room, he has dragged out his existence. “Life has been hardly worth living,” he said to me, as a tear trickled down his cheek. “But now!” And he looked at the two shining half-crowns, as though he doubted even then their reality’.<sup>91</sup>

#### IV The Old Age Pensioners as Consumers

On the eve of the first pension collection day, the *Westminster Gazette* was self-congratulatory in its assessment that the doubtful ‘attitude of “I shall believe it when I get it”’ had been reduced significantly over the previous months thanks to ‘the wide publicity given to the Act in the press’.<sup>92</sup> In their reports of the post office scenes, the Liberal press sought to highlight the trust and gratitude felt by the pensioners towards the newspapers. The *Manchester Guardian* noted that new pensioners were approaching journalists and thanking them.<sup>93</sup> A *Daily Chronicle* correspondent recounted his exchange with a new pensioner and referred to him as ‘my friend’.<sup>94</sup> As discussed above, pensioners were happy to reveal their intimate life stories to the journalists. Mark Hampton notes that in the early decades of the twentieth century, the dominant image of the journalist was often that of the ‘mental laborer’ rather than the professional,<sup>95</sup> thus perhaps helping the special correspondents to forge an affinity and a sense of trust with the pensioners.

During the second half of 1908, both the *News of the World* and the *Daily News* helped to publicise pensions and to reduce any anxieties by communicating with the potential and soon-to-be pensioners. Usually the *News of the World* did not publish letters from readers in the same way that all of the other Edwardian Liberal newspapers did. The Sunday newspaper maintained weekly

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<sup>91</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> ‘To-Morrow’s Pensions’, *Westminster Gazette*, 31 December 1908, p. 1. Martin Pugh notes the attention given to the Pensions Act in the provincial press towards the end of 1908. See his ‘Working-Class Experience’, p. 780.

<sup>93</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1.

<sup>95</sup> Mark Hampton, ‘Defining Journalists in Late-Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22:2 (2005), p. 152.

correspondence columns, but presented only the answers to medical and legal queries rather than the correspondents' actual questions. However, between August and November 1908, 'in order to assist those of our readers who require advice as to the rights of themselves or their friends under the [Pensions] Act',<sup>96</sup> the *News of the World* invited, and published every week, actual reader queries and the replies from the newspaper's lawyer. By printing the actual queries rather than just the newspaper's replies, a greater sense of a dialogue and relationship was established with the elderly people. The pen names provided by the authors of the published letters included 'anxious', 'doubtful' and 'albatross',<sup>97</sup> highlighting that the nervous, worried and burdened people had turned to the trusty and approachable *News of the World* for help and advice. Other pen names used included 'a constant reader', 'an old reader', 'eight years a reader' and 'ten years' reader'.<sup>98</sup> Although the *Daily News* published letters from readers daily, during the period between the end of September 1908 and the end of October 1908, the newspaper also dedicated a daily column specifically to inquiries on pensions. Similarly to the *News of the World's* correspondents, 'a constant reader', in addition to 'a subscriber', were pen names commonly adopted.<sup>99</sup>

The Liberal newspapers' attempts to establish and publicise intimate and trusting relationships with the elderly people in the process of becoming pensioners, and the newspapers' sympathetic treatment of them as they collected their pensions, cannot simply be identified as an altruistic attempt to create sympathy for the elderly poor, to relieve their anxieties, and to promote a community rich in emotional bonds. On receiving their pensions, the elderly obviously became consumers to a greater extent than before. Martin Pugh convincingly argues against the common conception that state pensions originally only catered for the very poorest, and were therefore spend only on the

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<sup>96</sup> This assistance was first offered by the *News of the World* on 23 August 1908, p. 6 ('Old Age Pensions Act: Many Questions Answered by Legal Expert').

<sup>97</sup> 'Old Age Pensions', *News of the World*, 6 September 1908, p. 6; 'Old Age Pensions', *News of the World*, 13 September 1908, p. 6.

<sup>98</sup> 'Old Age Pensions', *News of the World*, 30 August 1908, p. 6; 'Old Age Pensions', *News of the World*, 6 September 1908, p. 6; 'Old Age Pensions', *News of the World*, 1 November 1908, p. 6.

<sup>99</sup> 'About Pensions', *Daily News*, 29 September 1908, p. 9; 'More About Pensions', *Daily News*, 24 October 1908, p. 5.

most basic of necessities.<sup>100</sup> Flora Thompson reflected in her autobiography that the new pensioners in 1909 ‘were suddenly rich’.<sup>101</sup> Even the *Manchester Guardian* acknowledged a man who had managed to secure a pension despite being in possession of large quantities of livestock and a small market garden.<sup>102</sup> This is certainly an extreme example of a pensioners’ spending power. Nevertheless, the newspapers undoubtedly had much to gain in terms of advertising and sales revenue by highlighting that they already possessed an elderly readership, and by welcoming the new pensioners into their emotional communities in the hope of attracting more elderly readers. During the election campaign of January 1910 (one year after pensions had come into being), the *Liberal Monthly* printed a cartoon depicting a Conservative canvasser standing at the open front door of an elderly couple’s home (see *Figure 42*). The caption explained that the unwelcome canvasser asked if he could enter to discuss why the Tories did not (more forcefully) support the Liberal Old Age Pensions Bill. The home in the cartoon presented the little luxuries and small comforts that the introduction of pensions had allowed the couple: ornaments, a clock, a picture of Asquith – ‘our friend’ – and, significantly, Darby’s newspaper, which he was disturbed from reading by the canvasser.

**Figure 42: Ernest Wells, 'Not At Home', *Liberal Monthly*, January 1910, p. 8.**

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<sup>100</sup> Pugh, ‘Working-Class Experience’, pp. 790-791. The idea that the initial pension provision catered only for ‘the very old, the very poor, and the very respectable’ was put forward by Pat Thane in *Old Age*, p. 225. This assumption was not questioned by David Vincent in *Poor Citizens*, p. 41.

<sup>101</sup> Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (London, 1945), p. 96.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

The idea that the new pensioners were now not only making the news but were also potentially purchasing the news, amongst other things, was keenly acknowledged by advertisers. As pensions became a reality, the Liberal newspapers carried advertisements directly aimed at the pensioners, whose increased purchasing power meant that they were now aspiring to a more comfortable lifestyle and better health rather than just survival. As the *Northern Echo* explained, for the new pensioners, ‘there will be time to dream again of bygone days ... They may see themselves as hopeful young men or maidens looking forward to the battle of life, glorying in their sense of strength and ambitions’.<sup>103</sup> Meanwhile, the *Daily Chronicle* noted that some of the elderly men had ‘rather a despondent tone’ on collecting their first pensions, intimating the fear that would ‘not live long to enjoy it’.<sup>104</sup> Beecham’s and Zam-Buk particularly played upon these hopes and fears of the new pensioners, and marketed their patent medicines as aids to enabling them to enjoy rather than to endure their pension years. As Thomas Richards argues, ‘by hook or by crook’ the unscrupulously competitive patent medicines market ‘managed to infiltrate every layer of social life, and their products were in large use amongst every class of consumer’ by the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>105</sup>

An advertisement for Beecham’s appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* at the end of September 1909 as pension application forms became available. The advertisement was positioned at the bottom of the page dedicated to sports news. It presented a cartoon image of an elderly but sprightly and smiling man striding across a golf course with his club swung over his shoulder, accompanied by the words, ‘I’m not too old at seventy thanks to Beecham’s Pills’.<sup>106</sup> The *Daily Chronicle*, *Star* and *Northern Echo* again carried an advertisement for Beecham’s in January 1909 as pensions came into operation. The advertisement presented a cartoon of a laughing and dancing elderly man in the street, holding up his pension coupon. The advertisement proclaimed, ‘Happy Old Age: Able to Enjoy his Pension, Thanks to Beecham’s Pills’ (see *Figure 43*).

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<sup>103</sup> ‘Looking Back and Forward’, *Northern Echo*, 1 January 1909, p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Pension Day: How The Old Folk Drew Their Money’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California, 1990), p. 170.

<sup>106</sup> [Unidentified Cartoonist], ‘Beecham’s Pills’, 28 September 1908, p. 6.

**Figure 43: Advertisement for Beecham's Pills [Unidentified Cartoonist]. Printed by the *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 2.**

All of the Liberal newspapers, except for the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Manchester Guardian*, also featured an advertisement for the cure-all skin cream Zam-Buk in early January 1909 (see *Figure 44*). The advertisement presented a close-up photograph of a new old age pensioner, Mr. George Smith, 75, of Salford, surrounded by his pension application form and his pension coupon. The advertisement's title announced, 'An "Old-Age" Pensioner's Rescue. Ulcers Marvellously Cured after 60 Years' Pain'. The advertisement then provided an over 400-word, small print, graphic account of George Smith's heroic life struggle. The advertisement explained that when working on an excavation as a railway worker over sixty years ago a fall of earth hurt his leg badly. "When I left hospital", George Smith explained, "the wound was still open, but instead of healing, it became ulcerated, and remained so for 60 years". Over the decades, the best doctors and specialists in the country were unable to cure his painful condition as his foot and ankle swelled and ulcerated, his skin turned black, burning eczema spread over his leg and then broke out over the rest of his body. "*The flesh was eaten away to the bone*", the advertisement emphasised with italics. George Smith was eventually completely healed following a recommendation to try Zam-Bak. The advertisement noted that the pensioner could not express his gratitude enough in the 'spontaneous and heartfelt'

telegraph he sent to the company, explaining that he ‘shall enjoy Old-Age Pension, thanks to Zam-Buk’.

***Figure 44: Advertisement for Zam-Buk. Printed by the Daily Chronicle, 8 January 1909, p. 6.***

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, the radical narrative of press history commonly identified the process of commercialisation as hostile to the left and to liberal values. It was perceived that the readers of newspapers promoting these values were not purchasers, and the newspapers existed to

challenge the merits of excessive consumerism and capitalism.<sup>107</sup> However, it can be argued that although the Liberal press, particularly the halfpenny newspapers, did have a dual aim of both promoting the new Liberal pension provision and securing advertisement funding to remain economically viable in a competitive market, these two aims were largely not in opposition here. Although the chief purpose of the advertisements was to sell products, the representation of the pensioners in the advertisements nevertheless served to make them visible. Particularly with regard to the Zam-Buk advertisement, and albeit in a more sensationalist style, the sympathetic messages propagated by the Liberal newspapers in their human-interest stories were reinforced: the pensioners were emotional and social beings who had faced hard life struggles, they deserved to be able to enjoy their pensions, and they were grateful. However, while the advertisements played a complementary role in promoting sympathy for a new Liberal reform within the context of pensions, this was not necessarily reflective of a wider pattern. Pensions were after all a unique social reform because they involved the direct and immediate provision of money to the welfare recipients, which naturally attracted advertisers. Welfare reforms aimed at employable adults were usually more indirect, and their impact less immediate, as the state sought to establish the conditions for the recipients to provide for themselves in the longer term.<sup>108</sup>

## V

### **Shame and the Pension Collection Process**

The public pension collection process, and the journalists' efforts at interacting with the new pensioners at the post offices, did not necessarily only have a positive impact, in terms of promoting sympathy for the pensioners and helping to secure sales or advertising revenue for the newspapers. The Liberal newspapers indicated that in localities throughout the country, the new pensioners did not appear in such large numbers at the post offices as were

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<sup>107</sup> For a discussion on the relationship between the new journalism and the radical press, see Chapter 1, p. 18.

<sup>108</sup> As L.T. Hobhouse explained, 'it is not for the State to feed, house, or clothe them [men]. It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house, and clothe himself and his family'. See Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 159.

anticipated. The newspapers cited, at least in part, the age of the recipients, and the damp and foggy weather conditions, as explanations for the absences.<sup>109</sup> However, it can be argued that the large presence of press correspondents at post offices, in combination with the huge general intrigue surrounding the very public nature of the pension payment process, also impacted upon their decision. The work of sociologist Erving Goffman on social encounters testifies to the idea that while public performance provides opportunities for developing good public image, potential power struggles between groups and individuals means that public performance is also fraught with potential dangers to one's esteem.<sup>110</sup>

Martin Pugh argues that the greatest concern amongst pension supporters was that the elderly poor would resent the bureaucracy surrounding the pension application questionnaire.<sup>111</sup> Labour politician Philip Snowden questioned whether the workingman 'would submit to the inquisition prescribed by this Bill for the paltry sum of one shilling a week'.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, writing to the *Daily News* in October 1908, an elderly woman complained of the 'humiliating' and 'inquisitorial and offensive questioning, which greatly upset us both – chiefly my husband, who is 76, and with a weak heart'. She concluded that, 'the officialism ... is so offensive to those non-blatant individuals like ourselves'.<sup>113</sup> However, the questionnaire, which could at least be collected from the post office and filled-out privately at home, was not the only concern of a significant minority of the pensioners, who were put-off by the unofficial questioning at the post offices and the publicity surrounding pension collection. On the rise of the human-interest newspaper interview, W.B. Northrop wrote in 1904 that, 'seeing one's name in "cold print" – that is, if not connected with legal proceedings – is a pleasure most people enjoy. Those who pretend not to like it may be deceiving themselves; but nobody else'.<sup>114</sup> However, Northrop was discussing the interview mostly within the context of the rise of celebrity culture, not within the context of previously marginalised, vulnerable groups such as the elderly poor.

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<sup>109</sup> For example, see 'Pension Day', *Westminster Gazette*, 1 January 1909, p. 7; 'Pension Day Incidents', *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

<sup>110</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1959); Erving Goffman, *Behaviour in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organisation of Gathering* (New York, 1963).

<sup>111</sup> Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience', p. 778.

<sup>112</sup> Philip Snowden, quoted in Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience', p. 778.

<sup>113</sup> E.H. 'The Sting of Poverty', *Daily News*, 22 October 1908, p. 3.

<sup>114</sup> W.B. Northrop, *With Pen and Camera: Interviews with Celebrities* (London, 1904), p. ix.

On speaking with Sister Seddon, a mission worker in the East End of London, who has been helping the new pensioners at the post offices, the *Daily Chronicle* confirmed that, ‘the old people are most delighted at the way in which the money is paid to them. They walk down the street, looking all the world in the face – and fetch their own money from the post office.’ Sister Seddon emphasised that this was ‘amazingly different from having an allowance paid you by somebody else’.<sup>115</sup> However, the fact that the method of pension collection was raised by the Liberal newspaper and justified as acceptable to the elderly poor does suggest that the issue was a contentious one. Indeed, the desire felt by some of the new pensioners not to be identified as such by their neighbours and acquaintances was indicated by the *Manchester Guardian*. The newspaper explained that some elderly people decided against collecting their pensions from their local post offices, situated at the heart of the communities within which they lived, instead opting to travel further afield. The *Manchester Guardian* explained that, ‘a little shyness, the shyness that so often conceals respectable poverty, had led pensioners to name a post-office at some distance from their homes. Their obvious concern was that neighbours should not know that they were pensioners ... The post-office people have experienced this generally all over the city’.<sup>116</sup>

Accounts provided by the Liberal newspapers highlighted the evident unease of some of the pensioners at the attention they received from journalists and from the wider public as they collected their money. The *Northern Echo* explained that, at Newcastle, anyone over the age of forty was ‘closely scrutinised’ and the pensioners sought to keep their coupon-books ‘out of sight of inquisitive spectators’. Some were reported as whispering ‘very shyly’ to the postmaster. The first female pensioner was seen ‘glancing around her in evident nervousness as though not quite certain of her bearings and conscious that she was the cynosure of all eyes’.<sup>117</sup> When the *Manchester Guardian’s* journalist caught the eye of an elderly man standing outside the post office waiting for it to open, the journalist noted that ‘he looked at me sharply’ and conversation was

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<sup>115</sup> ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Pension Day Incidents’, *Northern Echo*, 2 January 1909, p. 5.

not initiated.<sup>118</sup> There seemed to be ‘no desire for the distinction of being the first paid’; it was not considered “‘the thing’ to show eagerness’ in some areas.<sup>119</sup> Collecting their pension application forms, the *Daily News* explained that a couple stood on the pavement next to the post office studying the form: ‘Joan reading aloud ... a formidable document, in which Darby appeared to take an almost painful interest’. ‘But in spite of all their indifference to the publicity’ of the street, the newspaper explained, ‘they withdrew hastily into their shells when a “Daily News” representative ventured to congratulate them upon the good time coming, and toddled off home’.<sup>120</sup> Despite the fact that Asquith had enforced the public collection of pensions, and unofficial pension celebrations were held, ‘many Liberals organisations throughout the country had intended to celebrate Pension Day in some public manner, but these arrangements were abandoned in deference to the wishes of the Prime Minister’.<sup>121</sup>

The reasons for the evident shyness expressed by some of the pensioners are likely to be diverse. As already highlighted the elderly poor were not used to such keen interest being taken in their lives. Therefore, it is understandable that this unique and intense situation, where the pensioners were expected to behave in certain ways under close public scrutiny, could quickly become overwhelming. Their shyness also suggests that perceived associations between the pensions and the humiliating Poor Law were not wholly resolved. Highlighting the strong link between shyness and shame, Charles Darwin explained that shyness was ‘this odd state of mind, often called shamefacedness ... chiefly recognized by the face reddening, by the eyes being averted or cast down, and by awkward, nervous movements of the body ... Shyness seems to depend on sensitiveness to the opinion, whether good or bad, of others’.<sup>122</sup> Some of the new pensioners’ comparatively healthy financial situations also contributed to a sense of shyness. The *News of the World* noted that a woman with a ‘polished air’, known as having ‘a little capital in the bank’, seemed ‘apologetic’ when requesting an application form.<sup>123</sup> Moralising comments directed at the elderly were reported as uncommon but not absent. For example,

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<sup>118</sup> ‘Pensions Day’, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Claiming Their Pensions’, *Daily News*, 25 September 1908, p. 5.

<sup>121</sup> ‘The Old Folk’s Day’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 1.

<sup>122</sup> Darwin, *Expression*, p. 330.

<sup>123</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *News of the World*, 27 September 1908, p. 9.

the *Daily News* noted that a Crimean veteran of 76 ‘was exhorted by the lady clerk to “spend it wisely and well”’ on collecting his pension.<sup>124</sup> Journalists were also eager to observe whether elderly people made the public house their first stop after collecting their pensions.<sup>125</sup> The presence of the journalists therefore could have been viewed as acting as a controlling and policing influence, in terms of encouraging the new pensioners not to be seen spending their money frivolously. This evidence lends support to David Nash and Anne Marie Kilday’s assessment that despite supposedly modernising influences, such as reform legislation and the rise of the print press, shame cultures are still able to adapt and thrive in modern societies.<sup>126</sup> The evidence also highlights the limitations of speaking of a collective emotional shift (from shame to sympathy) within the context of pensions, because it does not account for the situations and sensitivities of individuals, particularly when the shift was acted out so publically.<sup>127</sup>

Even the pensioners who approached the first pension collection day with pride and provoked sympathetic responses were not exempt from uncomfortable social feelings. During the 1880s, when the scheme of National Insurance was being introduced in Germany, Nietzsche launched a major attack upon the development of, what he identified as, a secular ‘religion of compassion’. Nietzsche argued that compassion (the supposedly modern and humane emotion) actually shamed the person who received it, by violating their pride. Inflicting the emotions of pity and sympathy on another human imposed a clear hierarchical relationship, with the power largely resting with the sympathiser.<sup>128</sup> This idea is closely linked to the arguments adopted by British working-class organisations already discussed – they sought higher wages and regular work rather than supposedly benevolent state handouts.

Despite the fact that the pensions were officially portrayed as a right conferred to those who had worked hard for the state all their lives, the introduction of pensions on 1 January 1909 encouraged the Liberal press to

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<sup>124</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Nash and Kilday, ‘Shame’, pp. 1-25.

<sup>127</sup> Steven Connor, ‘Collective Emotions: Reasons to Feel Doubtful’. The History of Emotions Annual Lecture given at Queen Mary, University of London, 9<sup>th</sup> October 2013. Unpublished.

<sup>128</sup> As discussed by Ute Frevert, *Emotions*, p. 180. Also see Thomas Dixon, *The Invention of Altruism: Making Moral Meanings in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 343-346.

identify the reform as a ‘New Year’s Gift’.<sup>129</sup> The more personal language of gift giving perhaps aimed to suggest a more intimate relationship between the elderly people and society, rather than continuously referring to it in a detached way as their money or their pensions.<sup>130</sup> However, it has already been noted that the language of gift giving was also employed to help construct arguments against the introduction of non-contributory pensions – William Beveridge considered that they were essentially ‘free gifts’. The gift giver, like the sympathiser, held the power if the gift was not reciprocated, except emotionally through the display of gratitude.<sup>131</sup> Post office clerks noted that when collecting their pensions, many elderly people refused to accept that it was the product of a state intervention, instead identifying the money as a gift from God.<sup>132</sup>

Some attempts were also made, subtlety and in good humour, invariably by female pensioners (according to the newspapers), to reclaim an active role in the gift relationship on New Year’s morning of 1909. Some women gave small presents to the post office clerks in exchange for their pensions. The *Daily Chronicle* noted that a postmaster in Walworth was presented with a couple of rashers of bacon from a new pensioner, and remarked that ‘she was grateful to him for helping her to fill up her application form’. ‘Another’ it was noted, ‘presented him with the wing of a goose, and at the same time impressed upon him the value of the quills for pens’. The *Daily Chronicle’s* discussion of the pensioners’ exchange of gifts and knowledge with the postmaster was presented under the title, ‘How The Old Folk Drew Their Money’, suggesting that they were proactive rather than passive.<sup>133</sup> One new pensioner sent the wife of the M.P. for North Bedfordshire a lace collar along with a photograph of herself by means of thanking them for the pension.<sup>134</sup> These resourceful elderly women came prepared to ensure that they avoided feeling like they were being portrayed too sympathetically and hopelessly as passive dependents on the state. Indeed, in their survey of women in England, 1880-1940, Janet Roebuck and Jane Slaughter

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<sup>129</sup> ‘The New Year’s Gift’, *Daily Chronicle*, 1 January 1909, p.6.

<sup>130</sup> Carole Burgoyne and David Routh note that gifts carry meaningful information about intimacy and status between donor and recipient. See ‘Constraints on the Use of Money as a Gift at Christmas: The Role of Status and Intimacy’, *Journal of Economic Psychology* 12 (1991), p. 47.

<sup>131</sup> Tosh, *Man’s Place*, pp. 147-9.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily Graphic*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>133</sup> ‘Pension Day: How The Old Folk Drew Their Money’, *Daily Chronicle*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>134</sup> ‘The Pension Boon’, *Daily News*, 7 January 1909, p. 9.

pointed to a ‘general picture of active independent elderly women’, often contrasted with an image of ‘passive dependent elderly men’.<sup>135</sup>

The *Daily News* argued that many of the new pensioners regarded the post office clerks as ‘the personification of the Liberal Government’.<sup>136</sup> The scenes discussed above, where some pensioners were anxious not to be perceived as receiving something for nothing, can perhaps help to contextualise the views of W.J. Braithwaite, the civil servant who helped Lloyd George draft the 1911 National Insurance Bill: ‘people ought to pay something! It gives them a feeling of self-respect’.<sup>137</sup> As one of the major Liberal welfare reforms introduced during the Edwardian period, the public pension collection process provided an important arena for exploring how successful and supportive relationships could be established between the state, the welfare recipient, and the wider public. The pension context (where elderly women took centre stage) also provided a relatively safe testing ground, compared to a measure that targeted working, adult men, for example, who were not a previously marginalised group, and whose public image formed a vital component in their identity and the wider national identity.<sup>138</sup>

## VI Conclusion

This chapter has provided a case study investigating the Liberal newspapers’ extensive reportage of elderly people’s collection of application forms and their first pensions at post offices in September 1908 and January 1909 respectively. The chapter has explored what the coverage can reveal about the relationship between the state, the welfare recipient and the wider community, the role of the male and female pensioners in helping to define the relationship, and the role of the human-interest story within the Liberal newspapers. The human-interest story has commonly been identified as a defining feature of the frivolous and

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<sup>135</sup> Janet Roebuck and Jane Slaughter, ‘Ladies and Pensioners: Stereotypes and Public Policy Affecting Old Women in England, 1880-1940’, *Journal of Social History*, 13:1 (1979), p. 105.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Pension Day’, *Daily News*, 2 January 1909, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> W.J. Braithwaite, *Lloyd George’s Ambulance Wagon: Being the Memoirs of William J. Braithwaite, 1911-1912*, (London, 1957), p. 121.

<sup>138</sup> As John Tosh explains, ‘men’s privileged ability to pass freely between the public and the private was integral to the social order ... That key nineteenth-century indicator of masculinity achieved, ‘independence’, ... [combined] dignified work, sole maintenance of the family, and free association on terms of equality with other men’. See Tosh, ‘Masculinity’, pp. 187-188.

personalised new journalism. This chapter highlighted that the human-interest stories, utilised by *all* of the newspapers, could be humorous, entertaining and closely linked to commercialisation. However, they could also promote the modern, rational and progressive emotions sympathy and compassion for a social group what was otherwise often marginalised and invisible to the public gaze, and therefore potentially having less of an impact upon the public conscience. The newspapers' support for the new Liberal reform actually attracted rather than repelled advertisers, and the advertisements also helped to construct sympathy and make the pensioners visible. Commercialisation was not antithetical to the aims of the left here.

The reported human-interest stories placed the elderly men and women at the centre of the political stage, empowering them as they related complex ideas surrounding collectivism to everyday life for readers, and providing vital justification for a key new Liberal social reform financed by the public through taxes. Women typically more openly discussed the emotional side of their life struggles, establishing their vital place within the public welfare process, in terms of encouraging sympathy and compassion. The new pensioners were not the passive recipients of a reform that they did not want – many physically and emotionally fragile elderly people went to great efforts to present themselves at the post office to collect their pensions. Nevertheless, this chapter also suggested that some new pensioners did not find the public nature of the pension system empowering, but rather an unwelcome intrusion into their hard lives by their neighbours, the press, and the wider public, which they did their best to avoid. However, some elderly women did employ forethought to prevent feelings of shame, shyness or embarrassment casting a shadow over their own pension collection process – for example, they presented post office clerks with small gifts in an attempt to influence the perceived balance of power between the state and the welfare recipient. The discussion now moves in Chapter Seven to investigate the Liberal newspapers' representation of adult men and women (and their children) within the context of the new Liberal social reforms that concerned them directly, assessing how, and how far, the press sought to reduce any sense of shame, or loss of independence, for adult men through their receipt of, or campaigns for, social reform.

## Chapter Seven

### **‘A matter of indifference whether an Englishman’s house is to remain his castle or not’: The Representation of Adult Men and Women and Social Reform**

The unemployed gentleman ... does not exhibit his poverty, but hides it – hides it with shame, with a terror lest it should be too openly revealed, with a haunting fear that it may be seen by people who pass him in the street ... He knows that if he loses his “respectability” all is lost.

Philip Gibbs, ‘The Out-Of-Work Gentleman’, *Daily Chronicle*, 7 February 1910, p. 4.

#### I **Introduction**

In celebration of the social reforms implemented by the Liberal Party from 1906, the *Liberal Monthly* boldly asserted in January 1912 that, ‘we say Liberalism has gone to the cottage door; nay! It has done more than that. It has lifted the latch and entered’.<sup>1</sup> Considering the importance that had long been placed upon the masculine status of the self-reliant and independent husband, father, and head of household (not least in terms of validating a man’s claim to a vote),<sup>2</sup> this might be interpreted as a brave statement to be conveyed from the pages of a populist journal designed to convert working men to the Liberal cause. Indeed, the extract from the *Daily Chronicle* presented above, written within the context of the opening of a national network of Labour Exchanges for unemployed men and women in February 1910, acknowledged the negative emotions of shame, terror and fear that were likely to be felt by a man who was identified as unable to work to retain his respectability and to keep his family out of poverty independently. As Jon Lawrence highlights, Edwardian Conservative propaganda sought to raise

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Around the Village Pump: A (Politically) Happy New Year’, *Liberal Monthly*, January 1912, p. 2. For an outline of the key new Liberal social reforms planned and implemented between 1906 and 1914, see Chapter 5, p. 172, fn. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Keith McClelland, “‘England’s Greatness, the Working Man’”, in Keith McClelland, Catherine Hall and Jane Randall (eds.), *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, and Gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 71-118; Clark, ‘Gender’, pp. 239-240; Colin Creighton, ‘The Rise of the Male Breadwinner Family: A Reappraisal’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 38:2 (1996), p. 310; Tosh, ‘Masculinity’, pp. 187-188; Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, 2006), p. 103.

fears about the negative impact that the new Liberal shift towards social reform had upon the Victorian ideal of manly independence and domestic patriarchy. Propaganda stressed the working-man's right to status as head of his household, protected from the unwanted intrusions of an increasingly socialistic interventionist state.<sup>3</sup> The Conservative *Spectator* warned in November 1912 that, 'Englishmen to-day are in serious danger of selling their individual liberty – the birthright of every Briton – for a mess of Radical legislation ... Is it really becoming a matter of indifference whether an Englishman's house is to remain his castle or not?'.<sup>4</sup>

Some historians have considered that the Edwardian new Liberal social reforms represented a watershed in the political history of modern Britain – a time when individual family economies became the important business of leading politicians to an extent that was never before conceived of.<sup>5</sup> There was an insistence from new liberal theorist L.T. Hobhouse that reform could be reconciled with classical liberal notions of liberty; therefore separating new Liberal provisions from shaming Poor Law provisions. Hobhouse explained in his classic 1911 text on *Liberalism* that, 'the man who without further aid than the universal available share in the social inheritance which is to fall to him as a citizen pays his way through life is to be justly regarded as self-supporting'.<sup>6</sup> However, leading new Liberal politicians lacked a programme and seemed unable, or at least publicly unwilling, to outline the practical boundaries of the redefined relationship between the state, the individual and the wider community in 'an agreed formal statement of its [the party's] beliefs'.<sup>7</sup> Physician and social reformer Havelock Ellis reflected in 1912 that, 'every scheme of social reform ... raises anew a problem that is never out of date': 'the controversy between Individualism and Socialism'.<sup>8</sup> As exemplified in Chapter Six of this thesis,

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<sup>3</sup> Lawrence, 'Urban Toryism', pp. 848-647.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Page, 'What is Social Reform?', *Spectator*, November 1912, p. 589.

<sup>5</sup> Pugh, *State*, p. 125; Harris, *Private Lives*, p. 205. Also see Jose Harris, 'Political Thought and the Welfare State, 1870-1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy', *Past & Present*, 135 (1992), p. 117; Mary Daly and Katherine Rake, *Gender and the Welfare State: Care, Work and Welfare in Europe and the USA* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 15-20. Jurgen Habermas partially accounted for the decay of the public sphere by highlighting the thoroughness with which welfare provisions merged the state with individuals in society. See Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 146-148.

<sup>6</sup> Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Havelock Ellis, 'Individualism and Socialism', *Contemporary Review*, January 1912, p. 519.

within the context of old age pensions, reforms were often established experimentally,<sup>9</sup> and they often lacked extensive planning. A.G. Gardiner noted in his 1908 pen-portrait of Lloyd George that, ‘he is the improviser of politics. He spins his web as he goes along. He thinks best on his feet ... He is no Socialist, for, as I have said, he has no theories, and Socialism is all theory’.<sup>10</sup> An individual writing under the pen name of ‘A Radical of ‘85’ explained in 1908 that the Liberals were, ‘in danger of being left without a catch word (or catch phrase) which would express their attitude towards the [social] problem of the hour’. They elaborated: ‘politicians of weight, who in the Commons support the collectivist schemes of the Liberal Cabinet, if they are addressing meetings in the country, leave it to be inferred that they endorse the individualistic and self-assertive notions which were the stock-in-trade of official Liberalism twenty years ago’.<sup>11</sup>

As this chapter considers, and as suggested by the 1910 extract from the *Daily Chronicle* presented at the beginning of this chapter, the Liberal Party’s social reform policies, highlighting and addressing such issues as male unemployment, were undoubtedly influenced by, and had an impact upon, ideas about gender status and gender roles. Although Paul Readman has stressed the resilience of the rhetoric of independence within the context of Edwardian land reform,<sup>12</sup> historiographical explorations of political masculinities and the way that party policies sought to reflect or construct gender identities – an important direction within the new political history – have tended to focus upon the Conservative Party.<sup>13</sup> Matthew McCormack and Matthew Roberts suggest the revisionist political gender historian’s ‘delight in provoking the left-leaning

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<sup>9</sup> See especially Chapter 6, p. 218. Also see, Vincent, *Poor Citizens*, pp. 41, 44.

<sup>10</sup> Gardiner, *Prophets*, pp. 155, 158. Also see Pugh, *Lloyd George*, pp. 41, 45. Pugh explained that Lloyd George ‘showed no *intellectual* interest in economic ideas or in Liberalism ... It was his unsystematic habit of jumping from one subject to another that first led his officials to dub him “The Goat”’. Also see Travis Crosby, *The Unknown Lloyd George: A Statesman in Conflict* (London, 2014), p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> A Radical of ‘85, ‘Liberalism Without Ideas: A Few Notes’, *Westminster Review*, February 1908, pp. 137, 140.

<sup>12</sup> Readman, *Land*, pp. 68-69; Readman, ‘Land Question’, pp. 192-193.

<sup>13</sup> Lawrence, ‘Urban Toryism’; Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism*; Francis, ‘Emotional Economy’; Thackeray, ‘Peaceable Party’; Matthew Roberts, ‘W.L. Jackson, Exemplary Manliness and Late Victorian Popular Conservatism’, in McCormack (ed.), *Public Men*, pp. 123-137; David Jarvis, ‘The Conservative Party and the Politics of Gender, 1900-1939’, in Francis and Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *Conservatives*, pp. 172-193.

academy' as a possible explanation for this overall focus (and neglect).<sup>14</sup> When the political left in specific contexts has been analysed from this newer methodological perspective, the working-class machismo of the Labour Party has often been emphasised, which was partly, at least, employed as a defence mechanism to protect the male breadwinner against cheap female labour.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, as noted in Chapter Three, gendered histories of the early-twentieth-century Conservative Party have tended to highlight the Conservatives' willingness to feminising their political culture as part of a broader phenomenon that witnessed increased female presence in many aspects of turn-of-century public life.<sup>16</sup> Jon Lawrence noted that the Edwardian Conservative Party's domesticity-centred propaganda, promoted by the increasingly significant Primrose League – the Conservative equivalent to the Women's Liberal Federation (WLF) – represented a shift away from the party's late-nineteenth-century focus upon the freeborn Englishman's right to enjoy his leisure time and a quiet beer. While the Edwardian Primrose League frequently acknowledged in propaganda that the home was very much *his* castle, the League often promoted marriage as a union based on sentiment rather than property rights or obligations. Even when the League appealed directly to the pride of the male provider, it did not treat his wife as a passive dependent.<sup>17</sup>

Although studies of political masculinities and political gender identities have not systematically explored the various Edwardian new Liberal reforms, broader histories addressing the foundation of the welfare state are relevant here. However, as Alice Kessler-Harris noted in her investigation into masculinity and the origins of the American welfare state, historians exploring gender and welfare have often either implicitly or explicitly paid greater attention to issues

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<sup>14</sup> McCormack and Roberts, 'Conclusion', p. 193.

<sup>15</sup> For example, see Sonya O. Rose, 'Gender Antagonism and Class Conflict: Exclusionary Strategies of Male Trade Unionists in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Social History*, 13:2, (1988), pp. 191-208. Also see Lucy Robinson, 'The Bermondsey By-Election and Leftist Attitudes to Homosexuality', in McCormack (ed.), *Public men*, pp. 165-186.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 110-111.

<sup>17</sup> Lawrence, 'Urban Toryism', pp. 645-648. Linda Walker highlights the greater harmony between the Conservative Party and the Primrose League (founded in 1883) than between the Liberal Party and the Women's Liberal Federation (founded in 1887), which adopted a more forthright approach to the question of female suffrage. The Primrose League 'was always careful to dissociate itself from the militant feminism which characterized the Women's Liberal Federation and delighted in comparing its "masculine" women with their more womanly Dame'. See Linda Walker, 'Party Political Women: A Comparative Study of Liberal Woman and the Primrose League, 1890-1914', in Jane Randall (ed.), *Equal or Different? Women's Politics, 1800-1914* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 172, 178.

surrounding women and maternal claims, as opposed to the connection between, and the negotiation of, welfare reform and manly ideals.<sup>18</sup> Exploring Edwardian Liberal welfare aimed at women and children, Jane Lewis argued that, in order perhaps to respond to the Conservative (and wider) critique discussed above – that state-provided social welfare was shaming and undermined manly independence – social policies treated adult women as passive dependents of men and sought to further their primary role as wives and mothers. As Lewis and Pat Thane highlighted, despite the outcry about high levels of infant mortality, the wives and children of insured men were not included and provided for under the National Insurance health legislation passed in 1911. The cost of covering dependents would have been enormous, Lewis conceded, but as the debate over the provision of school meals for children in 1906 had illustrated, there was also a serious concern about the state assuming the father's duty to maintain. In direct contrast to Jon Lawrence's observations on the Edwardian Conservatives' greater emphasis on domestic partnership, promoting marriage as a union based on sentiment rather than property rights or obligations, Lewis argued that Edwardian Liberal social reform presented marriage as a 'system of reciprocal obligation'. Lewis considered that romantic love was not viewed as central to working-class husbands and wives. Rather men and women each fulfilled financial obligations and performed services and activities that were sex-specific.<sup>19</sup>

In a more recent exploration of welfare provisions during the late nineteenth century, Megan Doolittle analysed the meanings of welfare encounters through the lens of fatherhood, masculinity and shame. In agreement with Lewis and Thane's assessments of state welfare, Doolittle emphasised that charitable institutions and localised institutions for the poor also placed much emphasis on separating themselves from the Poor Law by not evoking masculine shame or undermining manly independence. However, Doolittle argues that this

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<sup>18</sup> Alice Kessler-Harris, 'Measures for Masculinity: The American Labor Movement and Welfare State Policy during the Great Depression', in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004), p. 220.

<sup>19</sup> Jane Lewis, 'Models of Equality for Women: The Case of State Support for Children in Twentieth-Century Britain', in Gisela Block and Pat Thane (eds.), *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s* (London, 1991), pp. 77-78; Pat Thane, 'Visions of Gender in the Making of the British Welfare State: The Case of Women in the British Labour Party and Social Policy, 1906-1945', in Block and Thane (eds.), *Maternity*, p. 100.

was achieved through different means to those suggested by Lewis and Thane. Rather than seeking to exclude women from policies and directing the benefits at men, to ensure that wives remained dependent upon husbands, Doolittle argued that institutions often specifically targeted women, children or the elderly, constructing the identities of welfare subjects around images of female helplessness. This approach deliberately by-passed questions of masculine responsibility or the possibility that men had failed in their duty to provide for their dependents.<sup>20</sup>

These discussions about gender and welfare around the turn of the twentieth century are linked through their identification of a general concern amongst policy makers to distinguish their provisions from Poor Law provisions, in order to protect the independence of men and to reduce any sense of masculine shame. This chapter investigates the Liberal newspapers' emotional representation of adult men and women (and their children) within the context of the new Liberal social reforms that concerned them directly. It explores how, and how far, the newspapers sought to reduce any sense of shame, or loss of independence, for adult men through their receipt of, or campaigns for, state social reform. It also assesses the place of women within the relationship as either welfare recipients, the wives of welfare recipients, or as members of the wider community. This chapter considers whether sympathy was the dominant emotion evoked and directed at male and female adult welfare recipients, as was overwhelmingly the case within the context of the old age pensioners discussed in Chapter Six. Overall, this chapter illuminates the complexities, ambiguities and considerable fluidity surrounding the newspapers' communication of these relationships, and the role and status accorded to collectivism, independence, and morality, depending upon factors including the specific newspaper in question and the specific relationship or welfare reform in question.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section explores the relationship between the new Liberal welfare recipient and the state, and the welfare recipient and their family, as depicted in political cartoons printed in the newspapers between 1906 and 1914. Chapter Four of this thesis drew attention to the value of political cartoons as historical sources when

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<sup>20</sup> Doolittle, 'Fatherhood', pp. 84-108.

exploring political emotions and relationships within the context of the 1910 general elections. This chapter highlights that the political cartoons in the Liberal newspapers are also ‘revealing of psychological layers to a subject’ within the context of the welfare relationships and, again, should not simply be dismissed as lacking in serious political content.<sup>21</sup> The cartoons could suspend reality and challenge the boundaries of conventional thinking, providing insights into how newspapers, or cartoonists, perceived the reconfigured relationships between the state and the individual, for example. The cartoons used in this section of the chapter were gathered as follows. All copies of the *News of World* between 1906 and 1914 were scanned for Liberal welfare cartoons. The other six newspapers were researched for relevant cartoons through a sampling process that scanned four months of newspaper material for each year between and including 1906 and 1914 – the months researched for each year in each newspaper were January, February, July and August. January and February were particularly important months to include in the sample because numerous reforms or benefits came into effect at the beginning of the year (including Old Age Pensions and the Children’s Act in January 1909, the Labour Exchanges Act in February 1910, and National Insurance benefits in January 1913). The newspapers and their cartoons were therefore more frequently addressing the reforms, and the welfare relationships being established, during these months. However, political cartoons were published regularly (usually daily) throughout the year by all of the daily newspapers, except for the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian*, and the mid-year months of July and August were researched to help generate a sizable sample of welfare cartoons. On top of this sample, welfare cartoons for the six newspapers were also gathered when they were uncovered while researching other material for this thesis. Finally all copies of the Liberal Publication Department’s *Liberal Monthly*, from 1906 to 1914, were scanned for cartoons drawn by Francis Carruthers Gould, which were first published in the *Westminster Gazette*.

The second section of this chapter explores the newspapers’ representations of adults’ experiences of receiving welfare aid. Firstly, reportage surrounding the opening of a national network of Labour Exchanges in February

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<sup>21</sup> Mandler, ‘CartoonHub’. For the discussion of political cartoons as historical sources, see Chapter 4, pp. 119-124.

1910 is discussed and, secondly, the reportage surrounding the first allocations of National Insurance maternity benefits in January 1913 is considered. This section draws largely upon the human-interest based coverage of the introduction of the two schemes. In line with the discussion of the introduction of old age pensions provided in Chapter Six, the important political points conveyed within the entertaining format of the human-interest story are highlighted.

The third section of this chapter explores the Liberal newspapers' reportage of the national miners' strike of March 1912 in support of the establishment of a national minimum wage, which threatened to deprive the wider community of fuel and to throw millions out of work. The strike ceased only when the government introduced emergency legislation to set up boards in each mining district to determine local minimum wages. The strikes and the subsequent legislation, invariably identified as an example of an Edwardian new Liberal social reform, was in no way part of a programmatic or planned agenda of welfare intervention, but rather a response and a conciliatory measure at an unforeseen time of crisis.<sup>22</sup> It provides an example of a new Liberal reform that came about as a result of the recipients' rather than the government's assertiveness.

## II Social Reform in Cartoons

Exploring the representations of new Liberal social reform and new Liberal politicians in welfare cartoons can provide an important insight into the emotions that the Liberal newspapers sought to evoke (or suppress), and the relationships that they aimed to construct, between both the welfare recipient and the state, and the recipient and the rest of their family. In a cartoon for the *Daily Chronicle* from September 1909, David Wilson represented the new Liberalism through the fairy tale figure of Little Red Riding Hood (see *Figure 45*). The cartoon portrayed an innocent and oblivious Little Red Riding Hood, labelled 'Liberalism', walking through the woods carrying a basket labelled 'The People's Budget', as well as a 'Social Reform Programme'. A peer was depicted

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<sup>22</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 151-152; Roy Church and Quentin Outram, *Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain, 1889-1966* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 113-131.

as a wolf ready to pounce upon the vulnerable and ‘dainty morsel’ as she walked by. However, he was only prevented from doing so because John Bull walked behind her with an axe labelled ‘Public Opinion’. In her exploration of *Punch* cartoons from the 1870s, Anne Helmreich convincingly argues that when state policy is represented through the image of a female, historians are offered an important site for scrutinising how national, political and gender roles and identities were constructed.<sup>23</sup> Wilson’s cartoon for the *Daily Chronicle* served to help feminise the new Liberal welfare system, bringing women to the forefront of the political debate. But it also reduced any sense of masculine shame by reinforcing the conventional view of men as defenders and providers, even within the state welfare system. The fragile female representative of the new Liberalism engendered sentiment through her need for protection. The new Liberalism could not act as the heroic protector of men (at least, not first and foremost): rather, men protected the vulnerable new Liberalism as a result of their reasoned judgement, practical support, emotional attachment, and duty by voting accordingly.

**Figure 45: David Wilson, 'Willing to Wound and Yet Afraid to Strike', *Daily Chronicle*, 20 September 1909, p. 5.**

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<sup>23</sup> Anne Helmreich, ‘Domesticating Britannia: Representations of the Nation in *Punch*, 1870-1880’, in T. Cusack and S. Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother Figures* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 16-18.

A cartoon by Gould for the *Westminster Gazette* also, more explicitly, played upon the idea of the male vote, in comparison to the female lack of vote, to construct a power hierarchy within the context of new Liberal social reform, presenting male voters as the overall protectors and holding the overall power (see *Figure 46*). Printed in December 1909 (at the start of the campaign for the January 1910 general election), Gould's cartoon sought to place the working man, as opposed to the Liberal government, at the centre of the domestic economy, upholding his active role as the benevolent provider within his family through the exercise of his vote. The cartoon was set outside a public house and depicted a Liberal-supporting working man in conversation with a Tory-supporting man, identified as the 'Beery One'. The Liberal working man was presented with his wife and two children while the Tory-supporter was alone. In response to the 'Beery One's' pledge to 'vote Tory' for the 'cheap beer and cheap baccy', the working man proclaimed, 'I'm going to look after the Missus and the Kids and vote Liberal!'. The central importance of the working man within the welfare process was heightened by the presence of, and the contrast to, his wife, who was out of focus in the cartoon and was reduced to a very apparent silent engagement with the debate. She, like the children, made no comment because she had no vote; a fact also hinted at through the apt labelling of the public house in the cartoon as a 'Public Bar'.

**Figure 46: F.C. Gould, 'Different Points of View', *Westminster Gazette*, 7 December 1909, p. 3.**

Gould's cartoon, however, did challenge the view that the new Liberalism presented marriage simply as a 'system of reciprocal obligation', with the female taking full responsibility for the household and children, as argued by Jane Lewis. Instead, the cartoon appears more in line with the Edwardian Conservative Primrose League's promotion of marriage as a union based upon sentiment combined with rights and duties.<sup>24</sup> The Liberal working man in the cartoon was presented holding one of his children as he engaged in the debate: he was both at the head and the heart of the family. He referred to his family informally as 'the Missus and the Kids'. A similar cartoon was produced by Wilson for the *Daily Chronicle* in October 1909, where the working man affectionately referred to his wife as 'Dear', and explained that he would 'take jolly good care' that she was protected, by supporting the Liberal Party.<sup>25</sup>

As suggested by the temptation of the public house presented to the Liberal working man in Gould's cartoon discussed above, concerns with encouraging moral habits and lifestyles amongst working men were presented in the new Liberal cartoons, combining with the focus upon social reform from 1906.<sup>26</sup> As discussed below, the cartoons could suggest that a lack of morality would make the social reforms appear publically shaming. In November 1908, a cartoon by Gould presented Herbert Asquith in the guise of a policeman, guiding an elderly man carrying an 'Old Age Pension' coupon and a young girl carrying a 'Children's Bill' coupon (see *Figure 47*). The cartoon, entitled 'Taking Good Care of Them', explained that, 'Mr. Asquith looks after the old folk ... and after the little ones'. This cartoon appears to support the view put forward by Megan Doolittle and discussed in the Introduction to this chapter – that late-nineteenth-century welfare provisions often sought to explicitly target children and the elderly as the recipients, to ensure that masculine independence was not overtly challenged, even though they could benefit indirectly from the provisions.

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<sup>24</sup> These ideas about marriage were not only emerging within the realm of popular politics but also in political theory. New Liberal J.A. Hobson noted that home life was increasingly resting 'upon a more even and equitable balance of the rights and duties of the man and woman ... The old autocracy of the husband and father in the home is doomed: the position of the wife and mother is everywhere advancing'. See J.A. Hobson, 'Character and Society', in Percy Parker (ed.), *Character and Life* (London, 1912), pp. 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> David Wilson, 'The People's Support', *Daily Chronicle*, 8 October 1909, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> The new Liberals remained concerned with moral issues, as already discussed within the context of the Edwardian Liberal temperance reform campaign in Chapter 5, pp. 191-192.

**Figure 47: F.G. Gould, 'Taking Good Care of Them', *Liberal Monthly*, November 1908, p. 1.**

However, this is not the complete picture. Stock heroic representations of political figures were commonly selected by sympathetic cartoonists in the British context and in others, for example pictorial portrayals of politicians as gallant sportsmen or courageous military men.<sup>27</sup> However, the policeman in early-twentieth-century Britain occupied a more precarious place in the popular imagination. As the *Modern Man* assessed in its 1909 pen-portrait of the policeman, he was 'often caricatured and ridiculed, sometimes held up to obloquy, not infrequently misrepresented and traduced.'<sup>28</sup> The frequent representation of the figure of a policeman in the Liberal welfare cartoons is significant for reinforcing the Edwardian Liberal balance between social and moral reform, and for exploring ideas about shame, particularly when the cartoons addressed measures aimed at children. In a recent discussion of English police memoirs at the turn of the twentieth century, Francis Dodsworth highlights that their memoirs were similar in tone to the vast number of social investigations and urban explorations that emerged at that time. They drew

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<sup>27</sup> Janis Edwards, 'Drawing Politics in Pink and Blue', *Political Science and Politics*, 40:2 (2007), pp. 249-50.

<sup>28</sup> Leonard Fitzroy, 'The Policeman: An Appreciation', *Modern Man*, 1 May 1909, p. 14. Also see, 'Ask a Policeman!', *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1909, pp. 265-9.

attention to the dire conditions of the urban poor of ‘unknown England’, pushing for social reform and identifying poverty as inextricably linked to crime. Yet Dodsworth also noted the policemen’s concern with the regulation of working-class morality – an aspect of their work that has more frequently been highlighted in the historiography.<sup>29</sup> The combined moral and social reformer role of the Edwardian policeman was acknowledged in the *Modern Man*: ‘he has often to deal with the vilest of mankind ... He will go to the wretched home, arrest the man of the house, and take him to the station. Then he will return quickly, and out of his scanty money succour and feed the helpless wife and children’.<sup>30</sup>

The Edwardian Liberal social reforms aiming to improve the welfare of children were often the most contentious in terms of promoting concern that the ‘nanny state’ was assuming the male provider role. The reforms sometimes promoted fear amongst working-class parents that they would be shamed for the physical and moral condition of their children, even if they were doing their best with limited resources.<sup>31</sup> Through Gould’s above representation of Asquith assuming the role of the benevolent, paternalistic policeman – the upholder of morality – holding the hand of the ‘Children’s Bill’ child, pledging to take care of her, the cartoon did little to reduce these concerns. In a 1909 police officer’s guide to the Children’s Act, it was explained that the act, ‘gives the police that power they have so long felt the want of in dealing with children’, which would

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<sup>29</sup> Francis Dodsworth, ‘Men on a Mission: Masculinity, Violence and the Self-Presentation of Policemen in England, c. 1870-1914’, in David G. Barrie and Susan Broomhall (eds.), *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700-2010* (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 123-139. For discussions of the police as shapers of working-class morality, see: R.D. Storch, ‘The Policeman as Domestic Missionary, 1850-1880’, *Journal of Social History*, 9:4 (1976), p. 496; Stefan Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 179-180.

<sup>30</sup> Fitzroy, ‘The Policeman’, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> The new Liberal concern with improving the welfare of children began in 1906 with the extension of the provision of free school meals for the children of poor families, transferring the responsibility from the Poor Law to local education authorities. Medical inspections of children were then established in 1907. The 1908 Children’s Act (or Children’s Charter) was made up of six parts: Infant Life Protection; the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Young Persons; Juvenile Smoking; Reformatory and Industrial Schools; Juvenile Offenders (the foundation of the juvenile courts); and Miscellaneous and General (relating to the sale of alcohol to children and their exclusion from public houses). As Harry Hendrick notes, the new Liberal legislation established that the young should ‘be reared through a delicate and complex balance of responsibility between agencies of the State and their natural parents’: a balance that increasingly became ‘the subject of much debate and controversy’. Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England, 1872-1989* (London, 1994), pp. 108-126. Pat Thane explains that, ‘measures which entailed “intrusion” into working-class lives and homes and seemed to imply that poor people needed the guidance of their “betters”, were less popular than those that did not’. Thane, ‘Working Class’, p. 893. Also see Derek Fraser, *Evolution*, p. 179.

be ‘taken full advantage of by the police’ to ensure their safety.<sup>32</sup> The link between working-class shame and the police, with regard to the social reforms aimed at children, was further suggested within the context of the 1906 supply of free meals to school children. Outrage was caused in 1907 when the Manchester Education Committee decided to use police stations, rather than schools, as the depots for the supply of the meals. It was believed that the ‘action is pernicious, and calculating to limit the usefulness of the measure by preventing self-respecting citizens, though poor, from permitting their children to take meals under such conditions’.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that when cartoonists utilised the figure of the policeman, they, at least partially, were signifying the powers of the state to shame parents who had not fulfilled their moral obligations towards their children. The cartoonists were less concerned here with drawing attention away from any connection between shame and social reform in order to protect the manly independence of husbands and fathers. Within the context of the 1910 formation of a committee to push towards the prohibition of child street trading, a cartoon by Wilson for the *Daily Chronicle* presented ‘P.C. Bull’ grabbing hold of two young street traders, pledging that, ‘It’s high time I took you two young people in charge – for your own good’ (see *Figure 48*). In the background were two adult figures – also street traders – perhaps representing the children’s parents. In January 1913, the first maternity benefits were distributed under the 1911 National Insurance Act. The *News of the World* commemorated this occasion in a cartoon showing a long line of babies, queued up outside the treasury waiting to receive the benefit, explaining that, “‘mummy wants her thirty bob’” (see *Figure 49*). A policeman was presented at the front of the queue, warning, “‘keep in line gentlemen, please!’”. The cartoon served to illustrate that young people, from their birth, were now more visible, that they were directly connected to the state, and that they were being monitored.

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<sup>32</sup> W.B. Gentle and C.A. Rawlings, *The Police Officer’s Guide to the Children’s Act, 1908* (London, 1909), p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Meals for School Children’, *Manchester Guardian*, 13 February 1907, p. 3. As Harry Hendrick notes, authorities’ provision of ‘the plainest food given under disagreeable conditions ... to reduce the number of applicants’ was relatively common. See Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, p. 109.

**Figure 48: David Wilson, 'To the Rescue', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 July 1910, p. 7.**

**Figure 49: [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'Babies' Day', *News of the World*, 12 January 1913, p. 1.**

It was not only within the context of social reforms aimed at children that some of the Liberal cartoons could suggest the powerful role of the state, which could rest uncomfortably with notions of manly independence. In July 1912, the *Daily*

*News and Leader's* 'Cartoon of the Day' depicted National Insurance as 'The Good Samaritan' carrying a seemingly unconscious workman on his horse (see *Figure 50*). The workman's arm was draped around the Good Samaritan, or the state, and his head rested upon the head of the Samaritan. The cartoon suggested that the workman was bound to the state and completely dependent upon it for his survival. This interpretation of National Insurance is sharply contrasted to that provide by the *Northern Echo* in May 1911. Titled 'Unshackled', an elated workman victoriously lifted his arms in the air as the shackles labelled 'Disability', 'Sickness', 'Destitution', and 'Unemployment' lay on the floor (see *Figure 51*). It was noted at the bottom of the cartoon that Lloyd George had referred to National Insurance as 'the workers' Magna Charta'. This cartoon focussed upon the freedom from fear and shame about a loss of independence should the workman become sick or unemployed. Conversely, the *Daily News's* cartoon drew attention to the new relationship of dependency (albeit benevolent dependency) that the reform established between the workman and the state.

***Figure 50: J.A. Cross, 'The Good Samaritan', Daily News and Leader, 15 July 1912, p. 12.***

**Figure 51:** [Unidentified Cartoonist], 'Unshackled', *Northern Echo*, 12 May 1911, p. 1.

Finally, new Liberal social reforms were frequently depicted in Liberal cartoons produced at the end of December and at the beginning of January through images associated with Christmas. Cartoons commonly portrayed Liberal politicians taking up the role of Father Christmas, delivering their social reform gifts to the homes of recipients. It could be interpreted that the cartoonists used the mythical figure – a short-term and infrequent, although welcome, visitor to the home – to suggest the fluidity and transience of the benevolent relationship between the state and the individual. However, a more detailed discussion of this guise is important for exploring the potential limits of the promotion of manly independence, and the avoidance of shame amongst husbands and fathers as welfare recipients, offered by the cartoons. John Tosh and Neil Armstrong have both drawn attention to the cultural significance attached to the importation of the Santa Claus myth from America during the 1870s, and the subsequent inextricable association forged between Christmas and the giving of gifts to children. For Tosh, the association served to reinforce the authority of the family patriarch as the authoritative source of material provision for his dependents, once children were aware that the gifts were not actually delivered by Santa Claus.<sup>34</sup> Armstrong adds that the use of the term 'Father Christmas' (interchangeable with Santa Claus) contributed to this notion, as did the fact that

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<sup>34</sup> Tosh, *Man's Place*, pp. 147-149.

gifts were unlikely to be reciprocated by children, except emotionally through the display of joy, gratitude, obedience and respect. The power in the relationship rested very much with the gift giver.<sup>35</sup>

Santa Claus also became the public face of civic, philanthropic causes during the Victorian and Edwardian festive season. Charities would employ a Father Christmas to visit and distribute presents to children in institutions such as the workhouse.<sup>36</sup> Within this context, a child's realisation that the provider of the gifts was not their own father would have had no impact upon their father's masculine status if he was still alive. The child's institutionalisation would have already deemed the father's position as independent patriarch largely irrecoverable. However, this was not the case within the context of the Liberal social reforms, which allegedly aimed to leave the independence of the working man untarnished, simply ensuring that social conditions allowed fathers to provide for their families.

Despite the fact that the father-child (provider-dependent) relationship was often personified through the figure and actions of Father Christmas, Liberal cartoons frequently represented the state as the benevolent Father Christmas figure, suggesting the potential limitations of fathers of families as material providers. The idea of gift giving indicated that he was in a relationship of dependency rather than co-operation with the state. In December 1908, a cartoon by Gould, reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian*, depicted Herbert Asquith arriving at the door of John Bull dressed as Father Christmas (see *Figure 52*). Asquith was carrying a large collection of parcels, labelled with the names of Liberal social reforms, including 'Old Age Pensions' and the 'Children's Act'. Asquith explained that, "I've brought you some presents for the old folk and the young folk". In January 1914 Gould again produced a cartoon depicting Father Christmas arriving at the front door of a young boy and his father. The working man appeared happy and grateful for the visit. But in the eyes of the young child, the presence of both his empty-handed father and the sack-holding Father Christmas confirmed their separate identities.<sup>37</sup> In a cartoon for the *News of the*

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<sup>35</sup> Neil Armstrong, 'Father(ing) Christmas: Fatherhood, Gender, and Modernity in Victorian and Edwardian England', in Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2007), pp. 96-110.

<sup>36</sup> Neil Armstrong, *Christmas in Nineteenth-Century England* (Manchester, 2010), p. 106.

<sup>37</sup> F.C. Gould, 'The Best Present', *Liberal Monthly*, January 1914, p. 1.

*World* from December 1908, Joseph Staniforth depicted Asquith as Father Christmas, at the door of a bedroom having delivered social reform presents for 'Johnny Bull' (see *Figure 53*). The cartoon reduced John Bull to the status of a child, suggesting a patronising dependency.

***Figure 52: F.C. Gould, 'Santa Klaus', Manchester Guardian, 26 December 1908, p. 3.***

***Figure 53: J.M. Staniforth, 'Presents for Johnny Bull', News of the World, 27 December 1908, p. 1.***

### III

#### Adult Welfare Experience and the Human Interest Story

1908 saw a severe downturn in trade and employment. Unemployment figures were higher than for any other year since the depression of the mid-1880s, and stood at 9.5% by October 1908. The Conservatives promoted their slogan of ‘tariff reform means work for all’ as the cure for these embarrassing statistics.<sup>38</sup> On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, which convened between 1905 and 1909, the Liberals responded with the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, organised by Winston Churchill as the president of the Board of Trade. The commission urged the formation of ‘a Labour Exchange, established and maintained by the Board of Trade, to provide efficient machinery for putting those requiring work and those requiring workers into prompt communication’.<sup>39</sup> Both the Majority and Minority Poor Law Commissioners’ reports acknowledged that employers and workers did not have a satisfactory means of distributing and finding information about available jobs.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to seeking to improve labour market efficiency, the setting-up of a national network of Labour Exchanges was designed as the necessary preliminary step before Unemployment Insurance legislation was introduced (into some trades in 1912). Labour Exchanges provided the mechanism for testing willingness to work, therefore distinguishing between applications for assistance put forward by the deserving, able-bodied unemployed and the undeserving loafer. If an individual was registered at a Labour Exchange and the Exchange could not find them a job then they were to be considered unemployed against his will and entitled to unemployment benefit.<sup>41</sup> Introducing the Labour Exchanges Bill into the House of Commons in 1909, Churchill sympathetically explained that, ‘I am quite sure that those who know the sort of humiliation to which the genuine working man is subject, by being very often indistinguishable for one of the class of mere loafers and vagrants, will recognise as of great

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<sup>38</sup> Blewett, *Peers*, p. 50; Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 126.

<sup>39</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* [online], 1909, p. 267. Paper Number: cd.4499.

<sup>40</sup> Desmond King, *Actively Seeking Work? The Politics of Unemployment and Welfare Policy in the United States and Great Britain* (London, 1995), pp. 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23; Jose Harris, *Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy, 1886-1914* (Oxford, 1972), p. 285.

importance the steps which can sharply and irretrievably divide the two classes in our society'.<sup>42</sup>

The Employment Exchanges Committee of the Central (Unemployed) Body of London had already established some Labour Exchanges in the capital, following the passage of the Conservatives' 1905 Unemployed Workmen Act. However, the Poor Law reports singled out the Exchanges' common association with relief and charity as one of the major factors accounting for their overall failure to attract those seeking work. The commissioners reported that there was a tendency to confuse the Exchanges with the Distress Committees, repelling those who objected to 'a system of "State-created work"'.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, one of the main aims of the Board of Trade was to improve the perception of, and remove prejudices surrounding, the new nationwide network of Labour Exchanges, providing them with a more positive, rather than shaming, image for respectable workers.<sup>44</sup> As the leading authority on the issue of Unemployment Insurance, civil servant William Beveridge was strongly in favour of the formation of Labour Exchanges, and emphasised their separation from relief as a necessity if they were to succeed. Beveridge noted that the system had to be 'industrial and is in no way connected with the question of relief or of charity ... The only thing to be obtained at a Labour Exchange is ordinary employment and there is no inducement for those to come who seek relief and are not capable of employment'.<sup>45</sup> Churchill reinforced this message, noting that the Labour Exchange 'will be there purely for business purposes ... it is not intended that it shall be a sort of permanent club for the unemployed'.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Hansard*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., v, col. 503, 19 May 1909.

<sup>43</sup> Since 1886 local authorities had accelerated the establishment of public works schemes. In addition to setting-up some Labour Exchanges in London, the Conservatives' 1905 Unemployed Workmen's Act had founded local Distress Committees, which sought to make use of charitable funds and government loans to administer relief and provide jobs for the unemployed. See Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 127. Also see, Emy, *Liberals*, pp. 152-153; King, *Seeking Work?*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>44</sup> King, *Seeking Work?*, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> William Beveridge, Paper read at the International Conference on Unemployment at Ghent, September 1913, quoted in King, *Seeking Work?*, p. 22. Despite Beveridge's seeming concern with reducing any sense of shame surrounding the Labour Exchanges, Jose Harris notes that, 'his concern for reform was inspired less by philanthropic emotion than by a passion for efficiency and by an almost obsessive dislike of social and individual waste'. See Harris, *Unemployment*, p. 285.

<sup>46</sup> Winston Churchill, Confidential minutes of the Board of Trade Conference with the Engineering Employers' Association and the Ship-Building Employers' Federation, 18 August 1908, quoted in King, *Seeking Work?*, p. 38.

New Labour Exchanges were opened across Britain under the Act in February 1910. Newspaper journalists were present as crowds of unemployed people waiting for the Exchanges to open. The setting caused the *Daily Chronicle* to draw immediate comparisons between the ‘new industrial era’ marked by the opening of the Exchanges and ‘the first day of January last year [which] saw the dawn of a new period ... for the veterans of labour by the payment of the first old age pensions’.<sup>47</sup> However, the human-interest based reportage surrounding the opening of the Exchanges, provided by the Liberal newspapers, was of a very different nature to the reportage of the collection of the first pensions. The *Manchester Guardian* noted that the opening of the Exchanges was ‘accompanied by no ceremony and marked by no outstanding incidents’.<sup>48</sup> The newspapers did not report extensively on the past physical or emotional suffering of individual unemployed men and women in order to help to explicitly construct public sympathy for them, justifying the state’s intervention. However, emotion was not absent from the reports and the justification for the state intervention. The *Daily News* acknowledged the importance of emotion, and its efficient usage, as a vital resource in the worker’s armoury. The newspaper’s editorial from 1 February 1910 explained that the lack of coordination between worker supply and demand meant ‘waste: waste of time, of energy and of human emotion’ for the unemployed as they independently sought out work.<sup>49</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* highlighted that under the Exchange scheme, ‘it will not be necessary for them to seek [work] elsewhere, single handed, at the expense of much shoe leather and [at the expense of] what once lost is far more costly to recover: hope, confidence, respectability, and independence’.<sup>50</sup>

In the Liberal newspaper reports, *hope* emerged as the chief emotion associated with, and symbolising, the Exchanges. Discussing the establishment of the Exchanges in January 1910, during the first election period of the year, the *Daily News* commented that, ‘green – the colour of hope – is the distinctive hue of the fronts of the new exchanges, both in London and the country’.<sup>51</sup> Churchill

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<sup>47</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Daily Chronicle*, 31 January 1910, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 February 1910, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> ‘A Memorable Day’, *Daily News*, 1 February 1910, p. 6.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Daily Chronicle*, 31 January 1910, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Daily News*, 1 January 1910, p. 5.

reiterated this sentiment in speeches that he made outside the newly opened Exchanges as he toured London: ‘they are painted in green – the colour of hope’, he explained.<sup>52</sup> Rather than speaking to the unemployed people, a *Daily News* reporter simply identified hope in their facial expressions. The reporter noted being ‘struck by the sound, business-like demeanour of the men as compared with an ordinary shiftless crowd of unemployables. There was a look of untold suffering on many faces, and the gleam of hope in many tearful eyes’.<sup>53</sup>

The *Daily News* sought to differentiate the men and women who arrived at the exchanges, emphasising that, ‘first of all, the men and women will enter the exchange through different doors’ and will be directed to different waiting rooms.<sup>54</sup> The newspaper later noted that the separate room for women also accommodated ‘young persons of both sexes’.<sup>55</sup> Reinforcing the adult male breadwinner model, this description created a sense that the room provided an overflow space for all non-adult male workers. The *Daily News* seemed to justify this allocation of space in a separate article discussing a Labour Exchange in Leeds, explaining that ‘one of the most noticeable features to-day was the absence of women applicants’. The newspaper’s depiction of this Labour Exchange as a very boisterous and masculine space was reinforced by the acknowledgement that at ‘about midday the crush outside the building became so great that one of the windows gave way under the pressure, and the police were sent for’.<sup>56</sup> However, the *News of the World’s* reportage of the Labour Exchanges did not seek to emphasise the separation of men and women, but rather acknowledged women as displaying the same emotion – hope – as their male counterparts. The newspaper’s reporter saw a young woman being handed a registration card, ‘and that hard, determined look which is the index to an untiring spirit relaxed into a pleasant, hopeful smile’.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> ‘The Labour Exchanges’, *Daily News*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> ‘The Labour Exchange’, *Daily News*, 14 October 1909, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Daily News*, 1 February 1910, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Scenes at Leeds’, *Daily News*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> ‘To Fight Unemployment’, *News of the World*, 6 February 1910, p. 8. Laundry work, domestic service and manufacturing were important employers of working-class women during the period before the First World War. Increasingly educated working- and lower-middle-class women were taking up clerical positions in growing numbers, while respectable professions such as teaching and nursing also employed women in large numbers. See Gerry Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840* (London, 2005), p. 96.

It is important to explore why the reports focussed upon depicting the unemployed people and the general situation as hopeful rather than pathetic (evoking sympathy), in line with the reportage surrounding the introduction of Old Age Pensions. The hope that was identified on the faces of the unemployed people cannot be interpreted simply as an irrational, involuntary bodily sensation – a feeling. For seventeenth-century political philosopher Thomas Hobbes, hope was an ‘appetite with an opinion of attaining’. Hobbes elaborated, ‘we consider whether there is much or little prospect that we shall obtain what we desire, that which represents to us that there is much possibility of this excites us to hope, and that which represents to us that there is little, excites fear’.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, in this definition, hope involved a consideration and an opinion – an estimation of probability and the belief in the likelihood of attaining the object. As Alan Mittleman considers, ‘to hope requires not only the possibility of change but the possibility of action to effectuate change’.<sup>59</sup> Writing on character in 1871, Samuel Smiles identified hope as the ‘chiefest of blessings’ and ‘the parent of all effort and endeavour ... It may be said to be the moral engine that moves the world and keeps it in action’.<sup>60</sup> In a 1913 discussion, patience and hope were discussed as ‘the chief requisites in the slow but sure process of Self-development’.<sup>61</sup> Focusing upon the emotion hope in their reportage, the Labour Exchanges were therefore largely not represented by the Liberal newspapers as the apparatus of collectivism. For unemployed people to present themselves at the Labour Exchanges was a vital test of their individual character and virtue, signifying their ability to hope and to independently remain hopeful in the face of adversity.<sup>62</sup> The hope-focussed reportage provided a challenge to traditional narratives of (particularly male) unemployment, which are normally presented in terms of weakness, sadness and helplessness.<sup>63</sup> Newspaper reports continually alluded to fortunate individuals who had attended the right Labour Exchange at the right time, in the correct frame of mind, and had been supplied with work.

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<sup>58</sup> Thomas Hobbes, quoted in Alan Mittleman, *Hope in a Democratic Age: Philosophy, Religion and Political Theory* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 27-28.

<sup>59</sup> Mittleman, *Hope*, pp. 2-3, 27-28.

<sup>60</sup> Smiles, *Character*, p. 257.

<sup>61</sup> J. Herman Randall, *The Culture of Personality* (New York, 1912), p. 205.

<sup>62</sup> Jaklin Elliott explains that, ‘hope is an individual response to circumstances that may be determined by others’. See Jaklin Elliott, ‘What Have We Done with Hope? A Brief History’, in Jaklin Elliott (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Hope* (New York, 2005), p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> Darius Galasinski, *Men and the Language of Emotions* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 119-143.

For example, the *Daily News* reported on an eager compositor who, having risen early to arrive first at the Hammersmith Labour Exchange, was providing his details when the postman delivered a letter ‘from a printer requiring a compositor’ and was ‘dispatched to the place’ immediately.<sup>64</sup>

The Liberal newspapers also continually drew attention to the positive characters of the hopeful by contrasting them with the hopeless or despairing, who were not able to patiently and constructively apply themselves to the job seeking process. The *Manchester Guardian’s* correspondent explained that, ‘applicants at the Exchanges were hopeful, and in most cases appreciative’, although ‘here and there’ a despondent man was met ‘who had been robbed of his delusion that Labour Exchanges were going to perform the much-craved miracle of the twentieth century and find work for all’.<sup>65</sup> The newspaper also explained that some hopeless unemployed men had been ‘relieving their feelings by scrawling grim legends on the window [of London Labour Exchanges]. “Foreigners wanted”, one ran, and again (it was Whitechapel way), “Only Jews need apply”’.<sup>66</sup> In October 1912, the *Daily News and Leader* reported on a despairing man from Walthamstow, sentenced to a month hard labour, having sworn at, and then struck, an Exchange manager when he was provided with no immediate work.<sup>67</sup> Conversely, in February 1910 the *Star* reported on a man who committed suicide having been promised work by his Labour Exchange. ‘He appeared depressed and nervous about undertaking the work after he had been idle so long’, the newspaper explained.<sup>68</sup>

The opening of the Labour Exchanges in 1910 was the first instalment of the new Liberal three-part programme to relieve distress, and prevent destitution, for the willing worker and his family. As noted above, the final stage saw the passing of legislation to introduce Unemployment Insurance into some trades in

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<sup>64</sup> ‘The Labour Exchanges’, *Daily News*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> ‘Labour Exchanges’, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 February 1910, p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion on the tensions between Englishmen and the Jewish population in the East End of London during the Edwardian period, see David Feldman, ‘The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England’, in David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.), *Metropolis – London: Histories and Representations since 1800* (London, 1989), pp. 56-84.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Scene in a Labour Exchange’, *Daily News and Leader*, 9 October 1912, p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Hanging from a Ceiling’, *Star*, 3 February 1910, p. 1.

1912.<sup>69</sup> The second stage, the National Insurance Act of 1911, established compulsory insurance for workers over 16, earning under £160 per year. This was financed by weekly contributions of 4 pence by a male worker, or 3 pence by a female worker, 3 pence by the employer and 2 pence by the state. This scheme provided sick pay, and entitled workers to free treatment by a doctor and treatment in a sanatorium for tuberculosis. The wife of an insured man was also entitled to a 30 shilling maternity benefit. The contributions began in July 1912 and the first benefits were paid in January 1913.<sup>70</sup>

One might assume that the contributory scheme of National Insurance, which sought to secure the nation's working population against illness, adversity, and sudden increased pressures on their family budgets, through their own public responsibility, would provide a key piece of legislation where collectivist rhetoric would dominate.<sup>71</sup> As the *Liberal Monthly* explained in July 1911, 'in a great national scheme like this, there must be a bit of brotherhood shown, and the contribution of the man who doesn't need to draw any [sick pay] out goes to help strengthen the fund and relieve his sick neighbour'.<sup>72</sup> In an article for the Conservative *Morning Post*, Beveridge referred to contributory insurance 'as a comprehensive organism to which the individual belongs and in which he, under compulsion if need be, plays his part'.<sup>73</sup> However, as discussed below, the Liberal newspapers' human-interest based coverage of the payment of the first National Insurance Maternity Benefits, provided for the babies of insured men born from 13 January 1913, again shows that the rhetoric of individual good fortune, bad luck, chance and insecurity dominated the reportage, suggesting a degree of resistance to collectivism.

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<sup>69</sup> The experimental unemployment insurance system made provisions for 2.5 million workers in trades where cyclical and seasonal unemployment was common. At 7 shillings per week for 15 weeks of the year, benefits were modest; but the initiative was capable of future expansion. Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 151.

<sup>70</sup> Sick pay benefits consisted of 10 shillings per week for men and 7 shillings 6 pence per week for women for a total of 13 weeks. This was followed by a 5 shilling allowance for a further 13 weeks, and finally a 5 shilling disability benefit. See Pugh, *Lloyd George*, pp. 56-57; B.B. Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London, 1966).

<sup>71</sup> Timothy Alborn discusses how the National Insurance policy sought 'to provide state-insured workers with a sense of belonging'. See Timothy Alborn, 'Senses of Belonging: The Politics of Working-Class Insurance in Britain, 1880-1914', *Journal of Modern History*, 73: 3 (2001), p. 564. Jose Harris notes the emerging 'interdependence of physical health with national and civic well-being' during the Edwardian period. See Harris, *Public Lives*, p. 60; Vincent, *Poor Citizens*, p. 43.

<sup>72</sup> 'Around the Village Pump: "Well Done, Lloyd George!"', *Liberal Monthly*, July 1911, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> William Beveridge, quoted in Fraser, *Evolution*, pp. 192-193.

The *Star* explained on 13 January 1913 that today's new born babies were 'not, at present, old enough to realise the importance of having been born this morning instead of a few ticks of the clock on the Sunday side of mid-night'.<sup>74</sup> A *Star* cartoon reinforced the unpredictable nature of the reform, whereby a baby born at 11.59 p.m. on 12 January would not receive the benefit and one born two minutes later at 12.01 a.m. on 13 January would receive the benefit. The cartoon depicted the 11.59 p.m. baby screaming and crying with anger and the 12.01 a.m. baby smiling with joy (see *Figure 54*). This highlighting of the randomness surrounding the Liberal reform, at least initially, and the conveying and juxtaposing of the emotions that came with either success or failure, served to reinforce the idea that state welfare was not designed to construct a lazy, passive nation, but rather to act as an aid to competitiveness, independence and self-development in the 'fierce industrial arena'.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the *Daily News and Leader* also highlighted the sense of good fortune rather than community conscious collectivism surrounding the maternity benefit. One new father told a reporter that, "it seems to me that it's luck, this money".<sup>76</sup> A woman discussing the benefits with a *Star* journalist commented 'enviously' that she "wished my last [child] had come eight months later".<sup>77</sup>

**Figure 54: [Unidentified Cartoon], 'The Day Before - The Fair', *Star*, 13 January 1913, p. 3.**

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<sup>74</sup> 'The Baby and the Bounty', *Star*, 13 January 1913, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> 'The Bounty Babies', *Daily News and Leader*, 14 January 1913, p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> 'Babies' Day', *Star*, 13 January 1913, p. 1.

This spirit of competition was further emphasised through the *Daily News and Leader's* pledge to 'send a further message of joy and goodwill' to the first maternity babies. The newspaper devoted a total of 200 guineas to be paid in sums of £3 each to the parents of the first 'benefit baby' born on 13 January 1913 in 70 towns and districts across Britain.<sup>78</sup> Critics identified newspaper competitions and the 'artful schemes of stimulating circulation by the distribution of money gifts' as a 'journalistic hooliganism' marking one of the worst features of the new journalism. In 1907 Albert Cave alluded to *Tit-Bits'* 'Hidden Treasure' competition two years earlier, which quickly 'degenerated into a public nuisance': 'money was concealed ... in all sorts of places, the clues extensively advertised, youths and roughs tore up pavements, uprooted shrubs, dug up private gardens, in a wild scramble after the "Treasure"'.<sup>79</sup> The *Daily News and Leader* adapted this technique of the new journalism – the competition – advertising and promoting excitement surrounding the newspaper, but within a political context and through the more civilised means of requesting that telegrams and letters were sent to the newspaper at the earliest convenience announcing the times of births. The newspaper explained that, it 'relies upon its readers throughout the United Kingdom to make the Bounty known in every home that can possibly be concerned, so that it may fall into the right hands'.<sup>80</sup> However, despite this atmosphere of competition and individual luck surrounding the maternity benefits, promoted by the Liberal newspapers, recipients were also presented expressing gratitude to the government for introducing the measure. One mother pledged to the *Star* reporter that she would name her son "'Lloyd George Churchill!'", while another contemplated naming her daughter Georgina 'with compliments and thanks to Mr. Lloyd George'.<sup>81</sup>

As Pat Thane notes, the maternity benefit, payable to the wives of insured men only, was the only provision for female dependents under the 1911 National Insurance Act. Initially the cash benefit was only to be payable to the insured man, but after a female-led campaign they were paid directly to the mother when they were introduced.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the *Daily Chronicle* discussed the provision

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<sup>78</sup> 'The Bounty Babies', *Daily News and Leader*, 14 January 1913, p. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Albert E. Cave, 'The Newest Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 91 (1907), pp. 18-32.

<sup>80</sup> 'The Bounty Babies', *Daily News and Leader*, 14 January 1913, p. 7.

<sup>81</sup> 'Babies' Day', *Star*, 13 January 1913, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Thane, 'Visions', p. 101.

under the headline of ‘New Era For Mothers’.<sup>83</sup> However, the *Star* explained that, ‘if *he* has the good fortune to become the father of a bouncing boy ... [or] a bouncing girl ... *he* will be entitled to the 30s. provided under the maternity benefit clause’.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, the newspapers’ interviews with new parents and authoritative members of working-class communities stressed the benefit of the payment in terms of reasserting masculine independence in the breadwinner role, free from any sense of shame. A *Star* journalist reported a conversation with Dr. Richmond, ‘one of the most popular doctors’ in Bermondsey. The doctor explained that, ‘as things existed in Bermondsey before to-day the mother would often be back at work a week after the birth of her child. The Insurance Act has altered all this. The invalid will be relieved of all work, not to mention the worry as to where the next meal is coming from’.<sup>85</sup> As well as reasserting masculine independence in the breadwinner role, a Liberal newspaper report also drew attention to the emotion and sentiment of new fathers expressed towards their babies. This challenges Jane Lewis’s view noted above, that new Liberal reform always presented working-class family life as a ‘system of reciprocal obligations’ based on financial duties and performed services. The *Daily News and Leader* explained that, ‘fond fathers have indulged in pardonable adulation of their offspring, some to an extent which reveals them as persons experiencing for the first time the intimate joys of parentage. “A beautiful bouncing boy!” exclaims one. Another invites our attention to a “very bonny boy”’.<sup>86</sup>

#### IV The National Miners’ Strike of 1912

The significant labour unrest in pre-First World War Britain, dubbed the ‘workers’ rebellion’ by George Dangerfield,<sup>87</sup> saw miners’ strikes in 1910 and 1912 (the latter being the focus of this discussion), and strikes by dockers and railway workers in 1911. London dockers also went on strike in 1912. 1913 saw a lengthy strike by transport workers in Dublin, with a large number of smaller-scale disputes in Britain, including strikes in the Midlands’ metal trades. This

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<sup>83</sup> ‘New Era For Mothers’, *Daily Chronicle*, 13 January 1913, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> ‘Babies’ Day’, *Star*, 13 January 1913, p. 1. Own italics added here for emphasis.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> ‘The Bounty Babies’, *Daily News and Leader*, 14 January 1913, p. 7.

<sup>87</sup> Dangerfield, *Strange Death*, p. 178.

pre-war period of intense industrial discontent, as strikers fought for higher wage rates, better working practices and conditions, was part of a trend that can be traced back to the new unionism of the 1880s. There had been a short-term lull when the 1901 Taff Vale judgement by the House of Lords put trade unions in danger of expensive lawsuits if they called strikes. However, when the Liberals came to power in 1906, they passed the Trades Disputes Act, effectively reversing the Taff Vale judgement, enabling unions to take strike action without fear of prosecution. Between 1906 and 1914, trade union membership increased from 2,210,000 to 4,145,000. Only 2,150,000 working days were lost to strike action in 1907, and an unprecedented 40,890,000 days were lost in 1912.<sup>88</sup>

The Liberal Party's reversal of the Taff Vale judgement attracted the criticism that organised labour had been placed outside of the law, providing inadequate protection for the community against the abuse of trade union power. But Liberals reasoned that the measure allowed for free bargaining between employers and workers based upon equality, relieving the government of the need to intervene to support either side. However, it was increasingly obvious that Edwardian Liberalism could not stand aside from industrial disputes, as some threatened to provoke national economic crises. The government was forced to agree settlements and work in the interests of the nation as a whole, for example, when Lloyd George settled railway disputes in 1907 and 1911.<sup>89</sup> A significant example of Liberal intervention came during the national miners' strike of early 1912, which saw a million men go on strike. Discontent had emerged on the coalfields of South Wales and was taken up by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB), resulting in miners across Britain going on strike to campaign for a national minimum wage. The strike threatened to deprive ordinary people of fuel and to throw millions more out of work. It was, according to George Riddell of the *News of the World*, 'worked up to the highest pitch of excitement' by the press.<sup>90</sup> The government sought to reach a

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<sup>88</sup> Powell, *Edwardian Crisis*, pp. 117-121; Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (London, 1976), pp. 293-294.

<sup>89</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>90</sup> George Riddell, '24 March 1912', in McEwen (ed.), *Riddell Diaries*, p. 37. For an authoritative overview of the 1912 coal strike, see Hugh Armstrong Clegg, *A History of British Trade Unions since 1889: Vol. 2 – 1911-1933* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 43-52. For the government's response, see Jane Morgan, *Conflict and Order: The Police and Labour Disputes in England and Wales, 1900-1939* (Oxford, 1987), Chapter 3.

compromise between the union and the employers, which, as discussed in Chapter Five, dramatically brought Asquith to tears in the House of Commons.<sup>91</sup> The miners' strike ceased at the end of March 1912 only when the government passed an emergency Act of Parliament, which would establish boards in each mining district to determine local minimum wages. Through his Welsh connections, Riddell had been instrumental in the negotiations between the miners' union leaders and the government, helping to both stop the strike and to formulate the minimum wage legislation.<sup>92</sup> Asquith sought to emphasise that the legislation was a response to a national emergency and should not be construed as setting a precedent regarding the state regulation of the economy through the granting of minimum wages in different industries.<sup>93</sup> However, Lloyd George considered that the provision "may be the knell of the old Liberal Party".<sup>94</sup> The establishment of the miners' minimum wage was not part of a programmatic or planned agenda of welfare intervention, but rather a response and a conciliatory measure at an unforeseen time of crisis. The miners had pressed to secure the reform.

As one of the most outspoken supporters of advanced Liberalism within the press, often giving voice to the views of the emerging Labour Party,<sup>95</sup> the *Daily News* provided the most consistently sympathetic and supportive treatment of the miners' strike. The newspaper presented the strikers as working-class heroes, whose protests were backed up by sound principles surrounding economic exploitation by employers and the desire for greater independence, which the wider community could relate to. In an editorial entitled 'The Nation's Victory', printed at the start of the strike, the *Daily News* explained that, 'the sense of grievance is universal because the grievance is universal, and it is those who are suffering who are giving the impulse and the direction to the movement of protest'.<sup>96</sup> In an article adjacent to this editorial, entitled 'The Heart of the Trouble: Crying Grievances of the Welsh Miner', details were provided of the

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<sup>91</sup> See Chapter 5, p. 176.

<sup>92</sup> Bainbridge and Stockdill, *News*, p. 51.

<sup>93</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 152.

<sup>94</sup> George Riddell, '7 March 1912', in McEwen (ed.), *Riddell Diaries*, p. 39. Lloyd George actually saw the state regulation of wages as a positive development and, as discussed, went on to suggest the establishment of a minimum wage for farm workers. See Chapter 5, p. 201; Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 152.

<sup>95</sup> As noted in Chapter 2, p. 58.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Nation's Victory', *Daily News*, 1 March 1912, p. 4.

inadequate living conditions of Welsh miners and their large families.<sup>97</sup> This portrayal was backed up by a photograph of ‘A Poor Man’s House’, which showed eight children standing at the front door.<sup>98</sup> The *Daily News* sought to limit the damaging impact of the reduced coal supplies upon public welfare, for example, by presenting an article aimed at the resourceful housewife, outlining practical suggestions for how she could ‘make this almost indispensable fuel last as long as possible’. The newspaper explained that, ‘there is scarcely any limit to the varieties of dishes which the woman with an imaginative mind can arrange’ without the need for coal, because fruit, salad, nuts, cheese and butter satisfied all nutritional requirements. Appealing to housewives whose ‘pride and sense of well-being [came] from being in charge of the creation of beautiful things’,<sup>99</sup> the *Daily News* reassured readers that the appeal of such basic dishes could be improved if they were ‘carefully arranged in a pretty salad bowl’.<sup>100</sup>

However, as James Thompson explains in his brief discussion of public opinion within the context of the miners’ strike, unsympathetic newspapers placed considerable emphasis not upon the suffering of the strikers and their families, but on the impact of the strike upon poor members of the community as the price of food increased and industries that relied upon coal, such as the railway service, risked being brought to a standstill.<sup>101</sup> The aims and actions of the organised working-class miners were not represented as heroic but as selfish and shameful, and in conflict with the wider community. This reportage was not limited to the Conservative newspapers. A letter printed in the *Manchester Guardian* bemoaned the idea that, ‘if a number of persons who happen to control the supply of a necessity of life choose to refuse to supply it they can hold society to ransom’.<sup>102</sup> At the end of February 1912, as the strike looked set to go ahead, the *Daily Chronicle* sought to evoke sympathy for the poor and vulnerable female purchasers of coal, explaining that, ‘the poor slum-dweller [will be] no

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<sup>97</sup> ‘The Heart of the Trouble: Crying Grievances of the Welsh Miner’, *Daily News*, 1 March 1912, p. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Barratt, ‘A Poor Man’s House’, *Daily News*, 1 March 1910, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures*, p. 66. Joanna Bourke added that, ‘cooking a luscious assortment of dishes stimulated feelings of triumph’ for housewives.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Unfired Meals – Suggestions for Coal Strike Fare’, *Daily News*, 6 March 1912, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> Thompson, ‘Public Opinion’, pp. 50-56. See, for example, ‘Necessities of Life – Ominous Prospects of a Bread Famine’, *News of the World*, 10 March 1912, p. 9; ‘Disaster on Disaster – Many Industries Paralysed’, *News of the World*, 10 March 1912, p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> ‘The Coal Strike and the Public’, *Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1912, p. 9.

longer able to buy coal in her accustomed bucketfuls and pennyworths'.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, the *Star* drew attention to the fact that while miners 'themselves have been hoarding up their free coal for some time in view of a stoppage', the wider community had to deal with a last-minute 'panic for coal at panic prices'.<sup>104</sup> The *Star* presented the conflict as 'a civil war' very much against national character, exclaiming with bewilderment that, 'people do not do these things'.<sup>105</sup>

Amidst the strike action of March 1912, the news also reached Britain that the Norwegian sailor and explorer Roald Amundsen had successfully led the first expedition to the South Pole.<sup>106</sup> The first full account of Captain Amundsen's exploration was cabled to the *Daily Chronicle*, (the sailor had sold the *Daily Chronicle* exclusive rights), and printed in the newspaper the following day on 8 March. The *Daily Chronicle* hailed Amundsen – described physically in extremely masculine terms, as 'tall, slender, yet sturdily built, with a lean, strong face' – as 'The Hero Of The North West Passage'. Belonging to a family 'nearly every member of which is a sailor', the *Daily Chronicle* highlighted how Amundsen's expedition had contributed to scientific knowledge, as he gained a first-hand understanding of the domestic habits of some little known Eskimo communities.<sup>107</sup> Having hailed the sailor as an idealised and heroic masculine type – a courageous explorer, but also sensitive to the importance of domestic identities, and imparting valuable knowledge – the following day the *Daily Chronicle* gave a clear indication of its lack of patience and sympathy with the striking miners in a news article that adopted the title, 'Victims of the Coal War – Sailors Without Work, Money or Food'. The newspaper explained that in South Wales, seamen had travelled 'from far off ports and are now stranded in Cardiff' due to a lack of fuel. 'It is as though they were shipwrecked on a barren rock far from the trade routes of the sea', the *Daily Chronicle* continued. The newspaper's special correspondent described a meeting with the seamen in a

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<sup>103</sup> 'The Nation and the Coal Crisis', *Daily News*, 24 February 1912, p. 6.

<sup>104</sup> 'Coal Panic', *Star*, 16 February 1912, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup> 'What We Think: People Do Not Do These Things', *Star*, 26 February 1912, p. 2.

<sup>106</sup> Having reached the pole on 14 December 1911, it later emerged that the Norwegians had beaten the British party, the Terra Nova Expedition, by five weeks. Led by Robert Falcon Scott, all members of the British party died on the return journey, and their bodies were discovered in late 1912.

<sup>107</sup> 'The Hero Of The North West Passage', *Daily Chronicle*, 8 March 1912, p. 7. The accomplishment was also discussed in the *Daily Chronicle's* editorial of the day: 'The South Pole at Last!', p. 4.

Welsh lodging house: ‘they were sturdy men, strong to work, strong to suffer, strong also to hate. They spoke fierce words about the miners who had caused their present misery. I could find no sympathy here for well-paid labour in revolt’.<sup>108</sup>

These negative emotions expressed towards the miners were sharply juxtaposed in the article to the strikers’ own seeming lack of emotion or care about the cause or impact of their protest. It was explained that, ‘in the valleys all is very quiet. In the mining towns the men who have left work stand about in orderly gangs without any sign of passion’.<sup>109</sup> Liberal newspaper reports more widely drew attention to the seeming passivity and lack of political consciousness of the strikers. On laying down their tools, the *Westminster Gazette* portrayed strikers as behaving in a holiday spirit, as they ‘set out to enjoy themselves at football matches, picture-palaces, and music-halls’.<sup>110</sup> Photographs were provided of miners at whippet races and playing football (see *Figure 55*).

***Figure 55: Photograph of Striking Miners Playing Football [Unidentified Photographer]. Printed by the News of the World, 10 March 1912, p. 9.***

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<sup>108</sup> ‘Victims of the Coal War – Sailors without Work, Money or Food’, *Daily Chronicle*, 9 March 1912, p. 5. Max Jones has explored the heroification of the naval officer in Edwardian Britain within the context of Captain Scott. Despite his final failure in the Antarctic in 1912, he was commemorated as a national hero for his endurance of hardship and his noble sacrifice. See Max Jones, ‘What Should Historians Do With Heroes? Reflections on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain’, *History Compass*, 5:2 (2007), p. 447; Max Jones, *The Last Great Quest: Captain Scott’s Antarctic Sacrifice* (Oxford, 2003), Chapter 4.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Victims of the Coal War – Sailors without Work, Money or Food’, *Daily Chronicle*, 9 March 1912, p. 5.

<sup>110</sup> ‘A Million Strikers’, *Westminster Gazette*, 1 March 1912, p. 9.

Conversely, rather than emphasising passivity, other newspaper reports drew attention to the negative, excessive and irrational political emotions of the miners. These emotions had led to episodes of window smashing at pithead buildings where policemen also became ‘a target for the missiles’.<sup>111</sup> The *Daily Chronicle* explained that strikers in Pontypool, South Wales had also attacked the homes of miners who had continued to work: ‘engaged in battle’, it was explained that the strikers ‘smashed practically all the windows’ in one street. Reportage of the fact that the striking miners had taken their grievances into domestic domains, with their missiles injuring young and old people in the homes of the non-striking miners, again served to draw attention to the damaging impact of the strike on the innocent wider community.<sup>112</sup> Significantly, March 1912 had also seen an intensification of the suffragettes’ notorious campaigns of window-smashing in London’s West-End, which were widely reported in the Liberal press as ‘wild and reckless scenes of wanton destruction’, sometimes on the same page as coverage of the miners’ strikes.<sup>113</sup> Drawing attention to the window-smashing protest tactics of the miners, who were reported as sometimes using crockery as their missiles,<sup>114</sup> linked their cause and methods to those of the often-discredited suffragettes, and also served to feminise the strikers.

Reports of the striking miners also sought to subvert gender roles by providing images of groups of women and children taking up the job of ‘amateur colliers’, after some proprietors gave permission for the public to pick coal on pitheads and to take it free of charge (see *Figure 56*). These depictions served to reduce public hostility towards mining bosses. They also served to suggest the undermining of the striking miners’ independence, concurring with Lucy Delap’s assessment that 1912 (as opposed to the impact of the First World War) saw the first substantial questioning of chivalric values in Britain.<sup>115</sup> Women, to some

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<sup>111</sup> ‘Colliery Attacked’, *Star*, 6 April 1912, p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Miners’ Riot’, *Daily Chronicle*, 4 April 1912, p. 5.

<sup>113</sup> For example, see ‘The Women Who Break Windows’, *Star*, 2 March 1912, p. 1; ‘More Windows Gone – Suffragette Outrage at Harrods this Morning’, *Westminster Gazette*, 4 March 1912, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Miners’ Riot’, *Daily Chronicle*, 4 April 1912, p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> As Lucy Delap explains, ‘the year 1912 has been portrayed as a highpoint of a revival of chivalry in Britain’, as the masculine virtues of bravery, loyalty and the protection of women were highlighted. The year saw both the heroic death of Captain Scott and the sinking of the *Titanic* (claiming the life of W.T. Stead). Those on board were expected to adhere to the ‘women and children first’ code of conduct when using the limited lifeboat provisions. However, examining narratives surrounding the shipwreck disaster, Delap concludes that 1912 ‘was in fact

extent, were publically depicted taking up the miners' role after they there portrayed as relinquishing themselves of their duty to provide for the nation.<sup>116</sup> This breaking down of masculine chivalric codes would have been intensified amidst the report of children being killed by heavy falls of shale while collecting coal at abandoned sites.<sup>117</sup>

**Figure 56: Photograph of 'Amateur Colliers at Work' [Unidentified Photographer].  
Printed by the *News of the World*, 10 March 1912, p. 9.**

## V Conclusion

This chapter has again drawn attention to the serious political messages conveyed within political cartoons and human-interest stories found in the Liberal newspapers, reinforcing the idea that these two important features of the

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a site for the rehearsal of new social norms and emphases, reflecting the unsettled socio-political environment and erosion of certainty for late Edwardians'. See Lucy Delap, "'Thus Does Man Prove His Fitness to Be the Master of Things': Shipwrecks, Chivalry and Masculinities in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 3 (2006), pp. 46-47. For a discussion of chivalry as a code of behaviour for Victorian and Edwardian men, see Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 13-14.

<sup>116</sup> In the mid-1880s the Miners' Federation had attempted, and failed, to monopolise the mines as masculine spaces. They called for the exclusion of women from employment at the pit brows, identifying the work as morally degrading, a threat to the cult of motherhood, and also citing practical reasons such as the unsuitability of women's dress for the work. See Jane Lewis and Sonya O. Rose, "'Let England Blush": Protective Labor Legislation, 1820-1914', in Ulla Wilkander, Alice Kessler-Harris and Jane Lewis (eds.), *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880-1920* (Urbana, 1995), p. 107.

<sup>117</sup> 'Coal Seekers Killed', *Star*, 6 April 1912, p. 1.

new journalism cannot simply be dismissed as providing entertainment, sensationalism or frivolity. They provide important indications about how the newspapers wanted to convey the new relationships between welfare recipients and the state and between welfare recipients, their families and the wider community. The cartoon representation of a female figure could help to bring women to the forefront of political debate surrounding welfare. However, feminised representations of social reform in the cartoons could also suggest vulnerability, reinforcing the conventional view of men as, often benevolent, protectors and providers, particularly within the context of their exercising of a vote. Yet cartoons could also suggest the shaming emasculation of husbands if they failed to behave morally and in the interest of their family.

The human-interest reports surrounding the opening of Labour Exchanges in February 1910 did not seek to explicitly evoke sympathy for the welfare recipients in the way that sympathy was evoked for old age pensioners by the newspapers. Yet rational emotion was still very important in the portrayal of the work-seekers. Hope emerged as the dominant emotion defining positive interactions with the Exchanges, separating the hopeful from the hopeless and despairing. Reports were clear that the state could not cure unemployment immediately or construct and sustain hope in every individual – this important test of character, therefore, reinforced the importance of individual belief, virtue and morality within the context of the new Liberalism. Ideas surrounding individualism and competition rather than collectivism were also evoked in newspaper depictions of the maternity benefits introduced in January 1913 under the National Insurance Act. Insecurity and the idea of luck were introduced as babies were reported being born moments before or after the system came into effect. Women had campaigned to ensure that when the benefits were introduced they would be payable to mothers rather than fathers. However, the newspapers could still highlight that the benefits served to reassert masculine independence and the traditional male breadwinner role, for example by showing that the benefits meant women did not need to return to work immediately after giving birth. Yet similarly to some of the cartoons, the joy and emotional attachment of fathers to their babies and children, portraying the emergence of compassionate family life, was acknowledged.

A distinction can be identified between the Liberal newspapers' human-interest representations of the experience of welfare provision and the more abstract cartoon representations of welfare relationships. The latter provided a safe arena where the maintaining of manly independence was not always at the forefront, whereas in the depictions of welfare experience it often was. However, the Liberal newspapers' reportage of the national miners' strike of March 1912 in support of the establishment of a minimum wage did not adhere to this pattern. The experience, which was not state-led but rather signalled the increasing power of organised labour, was reported with much resentment in the Liberal newspapers, except for the *Daily News*. Considerable emphasis was not placed upon the suffering of the miners and their families, and the strikers' heroic attempts to rectify the situation. Reports instead highlighted the strikers' selfishness, their lack of – or excessive and feminised – emotion, and the shameful impact of the strike on the wider community. Overall, this chapter has illustrated a complex interplay between ideas about individualism and collectivism, masculine and feminine duties and ideals, which were often at the forefront of the newspapers' negotiations about how to represent new Liberal reforms.

## *Chapter Eight*

### Conclusion

Reflecting upon the condition of England and the spirit of its inhabitants in 1909, the quintessential new Liberal politician and social observer Charles Masterman explained that the great masses were ‘never articulate except in times of exceptional excitement’, when ‘as on the “Mafeking” nights, they suddenly appear from nowhere to take possession of the city’. Arguing that it was only sensational incidences such as these that were logged by the popular press, the ‘chronicle of the time’, Masterman imagined ‘the future historian demanding ... [to know if] anyone could have been in those days altogether sane’.<sup>1</sup> Masterman’s observations, characteristic of the radical critique of the mass democracy, the popular press (including Liberal newspapers), and the limits of both of their emotional engagements with politics, provide an important answer to the question of why histories addressing these themes at the turn of the twentieth century have either been in short supply or have focussed upon debates surrounding irrationality. However, the answer is not simply that, as Masterman predicted, historians have explored the more populist press and have uncovered a lack of serious discussion about important political issues. It is more the case that the works of contemporary critics, such as Masterman, have often formed the easily accessible backbone of historians’ source material, conveying prejudices about the mass democracy and the popular press, dissuading scholars from consulting the press sources because of their perceived predictability.<sup>2</sup> Rather than adopting a simplistic ‘rational versus irrational’ approach to Edwardian political culture, the central contention of this thesis has been that the history of emotion as an analytical tool provides an important lens for developing our understanding of the Liberal newspapers as historical sources, the new Liberalism and Edwardian political gender identities.

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Matthew Arnold’s hugely influential denunciation of the new journalism in 1887 as ‘*feather-brained*’ placed the role and implications of this journalistic formula’s use of emotions,

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<sup>1</sup> Masterman, *Condition*, pp. 4, 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, p. 16.

including ‘sensation, sympathy, generous instincts’, at the centre of the criticism.<sup>3</sup> This showed that understandings and misunderstandings surrounding what emotions constituted, and perceptions about journalism for the democratic age, were thoroughly entwined by the end of the nineteenth century. Critically analysing the role and meanings of emotions and emotional expressions utilised by newspapers, and questioning whether they should be coarsely dismissed as frivolous, sensationalist or irrational, is the approach that this thesis has adopted in seeking to better understand the Edwardian Liberal newspapers.

The Edwardian period has been discussed as a ‘golden age of editors’ when journalists such as C.P. Scott, J.A. Spender and A.G. Gardiner asserted themselves in ‘steadfast defence’ of the rational liberal journalistic ideals that were collapsing around them.<sup>4</sup> These editors undoubtedly held high-minded principles and honourable aims regarding the direction of journalism and Liberalism. However, by looking beyond their editorials, this thesis has highlighted that, just as the romantic portrayal of the Edwardian age as a ‘golden afternoon’ has demanded substantial revision, the idealised view of the period as a ‘golden age of editors’ also requires modification. More in line with Samuel Hynes’ assessment that the ‘meeting of old and new makes the Edwardian period both interesting and important’,<sup>5</sup> this thesis has shown how even these editors of the more politically and socially elite Liberal newspapers did not exist outside of the age of Northcliffe, or in constant opposition to populist journalistic features, such as political cartoons, human-interest stories and the use of emotional rhetoric to discuss politicians’ speeches and other socio-political events. Rather, they were willing to make concessions and adapt the content and presentation of the new Liberalism. This thesis has shown that aspects of sensationalism and irrationality were not absent from any of the Liberal newspapers during the campaign periods for the elections of January and December 1910. For example, they all used military rhetoric to express the anger of the people towards the House of Lords’ legislation blocking tactics. However, this thesis has also shown that their adaptation of style and content frequently did not simply mean that they were presenting their politics in an irrational or sensationalist style but,

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<sup>3</sup> Arnold, ‘Easter’, pp. 638-639. For discussion of Arnold’s critique, see Chapter 1, pp. 23-25.

<sup>4</sup> Startt, *Journalists*, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Hynes, *Edwardian Turn*, p. vii.

similarly to the more populist titles, they were presenting it in a more accessible and practical format, often harnessing rational emotions to convey their political messages. Exploring the new Liberalism and emotion in the Liberal newspapers has therefore revised the view that the Edwardian period saw the taking shape of sharp press polarisations and coarse dichotomies, distinguishing between the rational debate and sensationalism presented in elite and popular publications respectively.

Britain's entry into the First World War in August 1914 brought Edwardian progressivism to an abrupt standstill and the onslaught of conflict established sharp divisions within the Liberal Party. Throughout the 1920s, the allegiances of the two Edwardian national Liberal morning newspapers, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*, reflected the deep divisions within the party, until they were amalgamated as the *News Chronicle* in 1930. The *Daily Chronicle* was owned by a syndicate whose major funders included Lloyd George, and the newspaper swung between reaction and progressivism in line with the erratic nature of its influential investor. The *Daily News* was supportive of Asquith and the Liberals who remained independent of Lloyd George's Conservative-backed coalition, which lasted until 1922. The newspaper was gradually distanced from the Labour movement on account of Labour's increasing antagonism towards the Asquithians.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the 1920s, the Liberal Party found itself irreversibly consigned to the political wilderness, while the Labour Party's proportion of the national vote increased at every election between 1918 and 1929.<sup>7</sup> However, this thesis has shown the importance of suspending preconceptions and estimations about the various weaknesses of Edwardian Liberalism, aware of its interwar decline, in order to explore what can be revealed about not only the nature of the new Liberalism, and the relationships between the state, the individual and the community that were being introduced, but also what can be revealed about the presentation of liberalism and popular political debate more widely at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Beers, *Your Britain*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>7</sup> Beers, 'Education or Manipulation?', p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> As Matthew Roberts acknowledges, because 'it constituted the most novel development in popular politics' in the early decades of the twentieth century, 'the focus of much of the "new political history"' has been the rise of the Labour Party rather than the nature of the Liberals. See Matthew Roberts, *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832-1914* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 196, fn. 2.

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, historians have stressed important continuities in liberal values and styles, impacting upon constructions of the left put forward across centuries, whether by nineteenth-century radicals or twentieth-century Labour activists.<sup>9</sup> The similarities between the new Liberalism and the early Labour Party are clearly indicated not only through their forging of an electoral pact in 1903 but also by the fact that Edwardian new Liberals formally switched their political allegiance to the Labour Party in significant numbers during the interwar period.<sup>10</sup> In 1920, in a book entitled *The New Liberalism*, Charles Masterman noted the emergence of a Labour Party ‘with a great mass of enthusiasm and energy which is itself Liberal; animated by similar ideas, working for the same ends, as the historic Liberal Party’.<sup>11</sup> As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, press historians have considered how interwar newspapers, such as the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mirror*, positioned to varying degrees on the left, defied radical critics and combined readability with serious political discussion.<sup>12</sup> Laura Beers notes that they could effectively use ‘the techniques of salesmanship to make education more palatable’, as exemplified through the construction of public sympathy for the railway strike of 1919 by the *Daily Herald’s* cartoonist.<sup>13</sup> This thesis makes an important contribution to these recent historiographical developments by showing that the Edwardian Liberal press provided important, practical indications of how mainstream newspapers with leftist sympathies would be able to combine accessibility with meaningful political content in the future, (combining aspects of both the old and new journalism), particularly when the circulation of daily newspapers increased substantially and provided an important tool for aiding the growth of the Labour Party.<sup>14</sup> The Edwardian Liberal newspapers’ efforts and willingness to adapt and enliven their presentation of politics for the democratic age, (in ways that helped the Labour Party to thrive during the interwar period), does provide evidence to speculatively support the school of thought led by Peter

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> John Shepherd, ‘The Flight from the Liberal Party: Liberals who Joined the Labour Party, 1914-1931’, *Journal of Liberal History*, 67 (2010), pp. 24-34.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Masterman, *The New Liberalism* (London, 1920), p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Beers, ‘Education or Manipulation?’, pp. 135-136, 151.

<sup>14</sup> The Circulation of daily newspapers in Britain doubled in the twenty years after 1918, with two-thirds of the population regularly reading one by 1939. See Bingham, ‘Representing the People?’, p. 109.

Clarke, which argues that the Liberal Party was in relatively good shape and was not facing inevitable decline during the Edwardian period.<sup>15</sup> The emergence of Labour and mass politics had not rendered the Edwardian Liberals culturally stagnant or irrelevant, within the context of the Party's newspapers at least.

At this early stage of research on emotions and how they contribute specifically to our understanding of political narratives in history, there has been an important focus upon how large scale political transformation was facilitated through the culturally defined affective bonds of those who began with limited traditional political power. Emotions and their impact upon power have been fruitfully explored, for example, within the context of the French, American and Russian Revolutions.<sup>16</sup> From this perspective, it is understandable that the history of emotion as a methodological approach has had less of a sustained impact upon the recent direction of political history in modern Britain, where such dramatic domestic upheavals did not occur. In his reflection on the condition of England in 1909, Charles Masterman referred to the Englishman's 'general capacity for accepting the universe rather than for rebelling against it'. The 'invincible patience of the English workman' was marked by 'no recognised or felt grievance'.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, an enduring feature of national character from the nineteenth century, promoted partly as a response to concerns about the consequences of emotional excess in Revolutionary France, was that of the Englishman's 'stiff upper lip' and reserve.<sup>18</sup> However, this thesis has showed that even when political change was being envisaged as a slow and progressive project, implemented by a political party already legitimately in power, emotion remains a useful category of analysis for contributing to our understanding of how aspects of change were facilitated and, indeed, equally importantly, how the assurance of some continuities with the past, the building of bridges, and the upholding of liberal democracy through the long-term oppositional relationship between political parties, were communicated. Speaking in 1886, the radical

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<sup>15</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*; Nicole Eustace, *Passion in the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2008); Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2008); Mark D. Steinberg, 'Melancholy and Modernity: Emotions and Social Life in Russia between the Revolutions', *Journal of Social History*, 41 (2008), pp. 813-841.

<sup>17</sup> Masterman, *Condition*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> Philip Collins, *From Manly Tears to Stiff Upper Lip: The Victorians and Pathos* (Wellington, 1974); Mandler, *National Character*, pp. 223-224.

journalist and future Edwardian Liberal politician J.M. Robertson explored the role of emotion in the relationship between the French and American Revolutions and progressive change in Britain. Robertson explained that it had been, and would always be, the case that, ‘the upward path for men lies by the way of knowledge and reason – a path from which emotion is in no ways shut out, but in which it is ever more finely touched by finer issues ... Our reason and our emotions blend’.<sup>19</sup>

Attempting to gain the clearest possible insight into the subtleties and small increments of progressive change discussed by the Liberal newspapers, this thesis has placed the newspapers’ use and representation of emotion within the context of their individual ‘emotional communities’. This approach was taken as opposed to, from the outset, simply discussing the newspapers as a collective extension of the Liberal Party – a view often put forward on account of the close relationships that Lloyd George shared with editors and proprietors. In numerous circumstances the contextual information provided on the newspapers, building a picture of their emotional communities, has aided a better assessment of why, and with what impact, the newspapers utilised specific emotions. This was particularly the case during the discussions of the 1910 election periods, which showed that sensationalism and vulgarity should not always be central to our understanding of how emotions were galvanised. For example, the popular halfpenny *Daily Chronicle* was able to establish a relaxed emotional community that was not off-putting to Conservatives. The newspaper’s exposure of, and construction of a disgust narrative surrounding, the electoral tactics of Hoxton’s Conservative and aristocratic M.P. Claude Hay against the Liberal candidate, Dr. Christopher Addison, during the January 1910 election campaign, was acknowledged by Addison as a vital factor contributing to his electoral success, and was linked by the *Daily Chronicle* to the wider electoral debate surrounding aristocratic immorality. This case study showed that the newspaper’s representation of emotion was not simply a rhetorical device, but had a direct impact upon how voters felt – both working-class (previously Conservative) voters and middle-class medical professionals – which helped to shape political realities and enact tangible change. Other evidence to illustrate the cross-class

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<sup>19</sup> J.M. Robertson, *Emotion in History: A Glance in the Springs of Progress. A Speech Delivered in South Place Chapel, Finsbury on 14 March, 1886* (London, 1886), pp. 3-4, 14.

construction of support for the Liberals was provided by the electoral cartoons, which sought to contrast the emotional excesses of the peers with the straightforward moral manliness of their middle- and working-class counterparts.

A recurring theme of this thesis has been how the lens offered by the history of emotion reaffirms the importance of gender constructions to political identities. This has helped to provide a counterbalance to the historiographical focus upon the significance of gender identities within the context of the Conservative Party in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.<sup>20</sup> This thesis has shown that new Liberal gender identities were fluid and were both shaped by, and helped to shape, gender values within the context of new Liberal politicians, their opponents, their welfare subjects, their welfare subjects' families, and their voters and supporters. During the election campaigns, for example, the representation of voters within an imagined heroic military context and a domestic context varied at different times during the campaigns and depended upon the assumed readership of the newspaper in question. The representation of Lloyd George's public speeches across the period between 1908 and 1913 also highlighted challenges and change in his masculine identity over time. This was particularly the case towards the end of the period when the toning down of his emotional approach and the focus upon his moral character was emphasised by the newspapers – a change heavily influenced by the progress of the new Liberalism. A recurring finding in this thesis has been that the Liberal newspapers, supportive of female suffrage in principle but hostile to militancy, highlighted the suffragettes' emotional excesses to juxtapose them to, and reinforce, the rational emotions of the new Liberals. Or else the suffragettes' activities were allied to those of some of the striking miners in March 1912, to similarly discredit their approach, questioning notions of chivalry before the commonly identified watershed of the First World War. Yet this thesis has also shown some indications that the newspapers were beginning to make more room to highlight the positive political roles that women had to play, a trend that was accelerated during the interwar period as women were enfranchised.<sup>21</sup> Emphasis was sometimes placed upon the importance of women within the context of

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<sup>20</sup> As discussed in Chapter 7, pp. 243-244.

<sup>21</sup> Bingham, *Gender*, Chapter 4.

welfare politics, as exemplified through the centrality of elderly women in the reportage of the first pension collections.

Exploring how far liberal collectivist theories that developed from the 1880s were manifest in a distinct shift when the Liberals returned to power in 1906, the new Liberalism has for many decades provided ‘a particularly fruitful site for historians seeking to investigate the relationship between ideology and politics’.<sup>22</sup> A central theme in the discussions surrounding the emotional representation of new Liberal social reform in this thesis has been the relationship between individualism and collectivism, providing a lens for exploring the wider relationships envisaged between the state, the welfare recipient, their family, and the community. The representation of these relationships actually varied little between the newspapers, but the relationships did differ substantially according to the specific reform in question, and, again, they were often influenced by practical concerns surrounding the issue of gender. The representation of the new Liberalism in the national press reflected what historians have identified at local levels, and what has Paul Readman identified particularly within the context of land reform and the language of patriotism:<sup>23</sup> there was no simplistic shift from the old to a distinctly separate new Liberalism.

The Liberal newspapers’ focus upon the language of hope when reporting on the opening of Labour Exchanges across Britain in January 1910, and the reports of luck and competition surrounding the payment of the first National Insurance maternity benefits in January 1913, conveyed a limited sense of collectivist harmony and highlighted key continuities with the past. Reports promoted masculine independence, insecurity in the fiercely competitive industrial age, and individual moral character (an attribute that was also central to the press representations of Asquith during his public speeches throughout the Edwardian period). However, collectivist ideals, seeking to promote social bonds of sympathy, were being related more explicitly in the newspapers when they reported on the elderly men and women as they collected their first pensions in January 1909, and also reported on the role and reactions of the wider community. The emotion conveyed in the narratives challenged the idea of recipient passivity and helped to shift or confirm public judgements about the

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<sup>22</sup> Packer, *Liberal Government*, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 35-37.

legitimacy of pensions, providing vital justification for a welfare reform financed by taxpayers. This thesis has shown that newspaper human-interest stories can provide a unique and important source for shedding light on both the wider cultural meanings attached to social reform (as expressed through the collective emotions of the newspapers and the wider community) and the immediate impact of social reform upon the individual recipients.

Overall, this thesis has argued in favour of the use of the history of emotion as one important category of analysis both for reassessing radical assumptions about the new journalism into the twentieth century and for exploring socio-political relationships within the context of progressive change. It can therefore be speculated that adopting emotion would prove to be a fruitful methodological approach when exploring newspapers, positioned to various degrees on the political left, in modern Britain during other periods that saw change or significant challenges to the status quo. That is, when the newspapers sought to harness emotions to galvanise political movements, and explore redefined relationships, in ways that cannot simply be dismissed as irrational, sensationalist or for purposes of entertainment. Exploring the cementing of the foundations of the welfare state at the beginning of the twentieth century, this thesis suggests the useful role that the analysis of emotion could play in future attempts to take up James Curran's call for a "reformist" narrative of media development', seeking to account for the newspapers' contribution to progressive change throughout the twentieth century, most notably in aiding the development of the welfare state after the Second World War.<sup>24</sup>

Questions of press power, its irresponsibility and its value as a vehicle for public discussion remain hotly debated topics today, not least within the context of the phone-hacking scandal that prompted the closure of News International's *News of the World* in July 2011.<sup>25</sup> Yet recently, as the phone hacking trial drew to a close, it was keenly emphasised by the *Sun*, owned by the same company as the former *News of the World*, that a newspaper's appeal to the emotions does

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<sup>24</sup> Curran, 'Narratives', pp. 11, 18-19; Curran and Seaton, *Power*, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Charles Beckett, 'The Tabloids – A Particularly British Beast', *Guardian*, 30 July 2011; Jonathan Freedland, 'In Defence of Britain's Tabloid Newspapers', *Guardian*, 3 January 2012; Bingham, 'Reading Newspapers', pp. 140-141; Adrian Bingham, 'Monitoring the Popular Press: A Historical Perspective', *History and Policy* (2 May 2005). Online at: <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/monitoring-the-popular-press-an-historical-perspective> [Accessed 12 December 2013]

not amount to irresponsibility and a lack of reasoned discussion – the two can work in harmony. Acknowledging that sceptics ‘do not believe the newspaper industry has a place in our digital world’, the *Sun* outlined why newspapers do still matter, explaining in June 2014 that, ‘we all turn to newspapers when our *heads and hearts* are all consumed by exactly the same thing. When a nation *thinks and feels* as one, we need our newspaper’.<sup>26</sup> Tracing the interactions between emotions and newspapers in historical periods is therefore also an important task because it can help contribute to our understanding about the popularity of the print press, and to debates surrounding the fate of the newspaper industry, in the twenty-first century.

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<sup>26</sup> ‘22M Free Copies of The Sun Delivered to England Tomorrow and Friday’, *Sun*, 11 June 2014, pp. 10-11. Own italics added here for emphasis.

## *Appendix 1*

### **Statistics Relating to Chapter Four**

**Table 1: The Number of Original, Reproduced and Advertisement Cartoons, and the Number of Times that they Raised Each Oppositional Issue, Printed in the Liberal Newspapers During the Campaign Periods for the Two General Elections of 1910**

	<i>Daily Chronicle</i>	<i>Daily News</i>	<i>Westminster Gazette</i>	<i>Star</i>	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	<i>Northern Echo</i>	<i>News of the World</i>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Total Cartoons</b>	85	70	106	32	56	133	24	<b>506</b>
Original Cartoons	71	40	98	29	53	43	15	349
From Other Sources	4	24	3	1	3	90	8	133
Advert Cartoons	10	6	5	2	0	0	1	24
<u>Campaign One:</u>								
Total No. of Cartoons	53	43	72	24	46	83	18	339
Original Cartoons	47	24	64	21	44	29	9	238
From Other Sources	3	15	3	1	2	54	8	86
Advert Cartoons	3	4	5	2	0	0	1	15
<u>Campaign Two:</u>								
Total No. of Cartoons	32	27	34	8	10	50	6	167
Original Cartoons	24	16	34	8	9	14	6	111
From Other Sources	1	9	0	0	1	36	0	47
Advert Cartoons	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	9
<b>Total Oppositions</b>	101	76	113	34	68	148	24	<b>564</b>
Lords(Budget/Liberty)	50	43	54	20	33	67	12	279
Tariff Reform	36	24	45	9	23	63	9	209
War Scare	5	3	9	1	5	8	3	34
HomeRule Opposition	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5
Opposition to Welfare	4	4	1	1	2	5	0	17
Brewery Interests	5	1	3	2	4	5	0	20
<u>Campaign One:</u>								
Total Oppositions	71	47	77	26	54	99	19	393
Lords(Budget/Liberty)	38	25	40	15	27	46	8	199
Tariff Reform	21	16	25	6	17	36	8	129
War Scare	4	2	7	1	4	7	3	28
HomeRule Opposition	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
Opposition to Welfare	3	3	1	1	1	5	0	14
Brewery Interests	5	1	3	2	4	5	0	20
<u>Campaign Two:</u>								
Total Oppositions	30	29	36	8	14	49	5	171
Lords(Budget/Liberty)	12	18	14	5	6	21	4	80
Tariff Reform	15	8	20	3	6	27	1	80
War Scare	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	6
HomeRule Opposition	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Opposition to Welfare	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Brewery Interests	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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