

**From the birth of “*The Gladstone*” to the death of
W.E. Gladstone: The Scottish Liberal Club, 1879-1898**



Examination number: 0000163

Dissertation Supervisor: Dr Gordon Pentland

Date of Submission: 29 March, 2012

Word Count: 11,858

Acknowledgements

With thanks to

Eleanor Bampfylde

Owen Dudley Edwards

Gordon Pentland

Willis Pickard

for being interesting, interested
and generously sharing their expertise

Contents

A note:	Transcripts and Cover Image	page. 4
Chapter One:	Introduction	page. 5
Chapter Two:	The Political Sphere	page. 11
Chapter Three:	The Social Sphere	page. 27
Chapter Four:	Conclusions	page. 38
Appendices:		page. 43
Bibliography:		page. 50

A note:

Transcript

All transcripts from the Scottish Liberal Club Minute Books have been standardised here due to the varying scribes that took the minutes. Capitalisation and the names of certain committees varied and this has been standardised throughout this paper therefore although the content is true to what was written it is not photo accurate. In addition, for clarity the Scottish Liberal Club 'Committee' refers to both the General Committee *and* the House Committee which reported directly into it. Sub-Committees are referred to according to their specific titles.

Cover image

The Scottish Liberal Club as it is today - Scottish Liberal Democrat offices, 4 Clifton Terrace, Edinburgh. Photograph taken by the author with kind permission of the Scottish Liberal Club

Chapter One: Introduction

The Scottish Liberal Club was inaugurated in 1879 by a group of prominent Scottish Liberals including Lord Rosebery, J.B. Balfour, W.P. Adam and with Holmes Ivory as its Honorary Secretary. Within the Club's fledgling years the strength of Liberalism as a party and as an ideology was severely tested. During the nineteen years that this paper will cover, the Scottish Liberal Club (SLC) experienced the successes of the Midlothian Campaign, the strains of the Scottish Disestablishment crisis, the national drama for Liberalism that came in the form of the Irish Home Rule debate in 1886 and in 1898 the death of W.E. Gladstone. This paper will examine the socio-political significance of the SLC. Moreover it will explore how the SLC dealt with political difficulties such as Irish Home Rule and how these manifested themselves in club life. The aim is to analyse how the political and social significance of the SLC changed over this period and the extent to which this was an essential change that maintained this institution as a functional, Liberal, club.

The Interim Committee that formed the first organisational body on 13 November 1879 consisted of many shades of Liberal thought from Whigs through to Radicals [figure 1]. The SLC rapidly established itself within Scottish Liberalism and its prominence was not confined to Scotland. *The Morning Post*, the London paper, carried a mention in August 1879 showing that the establishing of the SLC was national news and giving further details 'that there is a strong feeling that this club should be called "The Gladstone", in honour of the ex-premier'.¹ As will be shown, it was a shrewd move for the SLC to steer away from this suggestion. Buoyed by the support of

¹ 'Election Intelligence' in *Morning Post*, 29 August, 1879

Liberals from all over Scotland, the Interim Committee began to make more public steps towards the opening of the Club and by September 1879 had accumulated the names of more than four hundred Liberals in favour of such an endeavour.² At a meeting on 13 November 1879 Rosebery announced the advantages to be derived from such a club in Scotland and congratulated the meeting on already having enrolled two hundred members and this 'entirely without any public appeal or effort to canvass'.³ This shows the desire of Liberals in the area for such a club and the extent of Rosebery's network. The SLC initially worked out of Holmes Ivory's house in South Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, before moving to rented premises at the former Osborne Hotel at the east end of Princes' Street. The membership numbers rose dramatically and the doors of the Club House officially opened the day before the Dissolution of Parliament on 22 March 1880. Its position in the centre of the capital, directly opposite the train station, implies that this was established as a lively and prominent enterprise. The SLC moved to a more permanent residence at the former Palace Hotel, 119-110 Princes' Street in 1890.

The nineteen years between the establishment of the SLC and the death of Gladstone were a redefining and controversial period for the Liberal party not only in Scotland but throughout Britain. The split over Irish Home Rule damaged the Liberal party irrevocably. The extent of this split and its affect on the SLC does not appear however to follow the pattern of the wider political context. The SLC managed to maintain a unity throughout these turbulent years. The aim of this paper, through applying this particular period of history to this particular club, is to give an insight into how and why

² Report in *Scotsman*, 20 September, 1879

³ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 14 November, 1879

the unity occurred and what this can tell historians about Liberal attitudes within the SLC. This will be done through tackling the two prominent spheres of the Club: the political and the social. It must be highlighted at the start that to split these two apart and treat them as mutually independent factors would be a somewhat forced division as the two are too intricately linked. However, there is something of a distinction between the political and the social spheres and this has been exploited for this paper. By dividing them thus, whilst being mindful of the links between the two, it is possible to determine various nuances of club life for SLC members whether social experience, club politics or politics on the wider scale.

Part of the justification for this research topic lies in the fact that the historiography on the SLC is extremely limited despite the vast tome of Liberal history. Secondary material reading has uncovered barely any mention of the SLC except in passing as a place visited by prominent figures such as Gladstone or Rosebery or merely as a setting for a speech that had been made.⁴ Ian Hutchinson comments on its make up as 'very much a Whig institution' and although this is one of the few references available in secondary literature it is one that will be contested later in the paper.⁵ Even the modern day SLC, confined to one room at the Liberal Democrat headquarters in Edinburgh, has no primary or secondary material for the Club in this period.⁶ The question must be asked why no study of this club was ever undertaken. Through an exploration of the Minute Books of the SLC and the newspaper archives of British newspapers it has become apparent that the SLC was an institution worthy of more

⁴ The Marquess of Crewe. K.G., *Lord Rosebery*, Volume 1, (London, 1931), pp130

⁵ I. G. C., Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924: Parties, Elections and Issues* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp166

⁶ It should be noted that the Scottish Liberal Club owns the premises in Haymarket and that the Scottish Liberal Democrats rent it from them. In addition the Club does have some paintings taken from the Princes' Street Club house but no records of when they were bequeathed.

than the occasional footnote or sentence; it was a hub of Scottish Liberal activity both politically and socially. It is acknowledged as such in the newspapers from the period and is even lauded (at least in a Liberal journal) as ‘an institution which, though newly born, is of its kind one of the best managed, politically and socially, in Great Britain’.⁷

The core sources for this paper are the Minute Books of the SLC which are preserved at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.⁸ The benefit of these is that they are present from the beginning of the SLC and give an insight into the mechanics of the SLC Committee. The Minute Books combine this insight into the mechanics with a mechanical presentation and rarely offer more than administrative detail. Nonetheless, where there is additional comment written in the minute this can be significant and highly relevant. Whether the overall lack of political comment is due to a distinct effort by the Committee to keep politics out of SLC business will be discussed in a later section. The names of new members are not always printed and there is no complete membership list kept in these records. This can make it difficult to ascertain whether certain individuals, unless explicitly mentioned in the Minute Books or newspapers, were members.

To provide additional detail to the Minute Books, newspapers from the period will be used.⁹ Although it is necessary to be aware of the bias and limitations of politically affiliated papers, they do add depth, description and an external perspective to the events and actions of the SLC. Secondary sources in the form of Liberal histories and biographies are prolific and are used here to contextualise the SLC and, in some

⁷ Mr Gladstone’s Midlothian Campaign: Important Speech on Dis-Establishment’ in *Daily News*, 12 November, 1885

⁸ National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], Dep. 275, Records of the Scottish Liberal Club[hereafter SLC] Minute Books No.1 – 3

⁹ See Newspapers and Periodicals list in Bibliography

instances, are used as a prompt for debate on the relevance of the SLC within specific Liberal contexts. The lack of presence that the SLC has in these secondary sources limits their use for any analysis of the Club but this paper will ascertain as to whether the SLC can give any extra insight or contradiction on already established arguments on the Liberalism of the period.

This paper will firstly investigate the 'political' sphere of the SLC. In this first chapter membership fluctuations will be assessed and what this can demonstrate about the Club's political standing and make up will be explored. The Liberal party split will be the main point of analysis in this first chapter. The impact of Scottish Disestablishment will also be briefly discussed followed by Irish Home Rule and how this affected the SLC. The SLC's reaction to the crisis will be contrasted to the overarching historical perception of the split. Finally in this section the extent to which the SLC made a political impact will be assessed. The second chapter will focus on the 'social' sphere to explore and analyse the events that were organised and their impact on the SLC before assessing the relationship between the SLC and other clubs and associations. The fiscal aspects of the SLC will then be investigated with this leading into a discussion of the levels of exclusivity within the Club. Following this an analysis of transgressors and punitive measures will be undertaken and subsequently a consideration of how all these impacted on the SLC and what they can tell historians about Liberalism in this institution that may not be apparent from looking at Liberalism on the wider, macro scale.

Finally, conclusions will be drawn from this research to argue that the SLC moved from being a political club with the potential to be a 'very powerful political instrument

carried on through the medium of social intercourse' to a more ambiguous role.¹⁰ It will be argued that the SLC became something of an idealised microcosm of, and projection of, what the split and fractured Liberal party on a national scale might have sought (without success) to become.

¹⁰ 'Inauguration Of The Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 23 March, 1880

Chapter Two: The Political Sphere

The political dimension of the SLC is fundamental to understanding the Club's relevance between 1879 and 1898 and this chapter will examine how the SLC navigated the stormiest period in Liberal Party history. Through looking at the SLC and its political attributes this chapter will give a different perspective on the split between the Gladstonians and the Liberal Unionists from that which appears to have become historiographical orthodoxy. The orthodox view that divisions within the Liberal Party were deep and long lasting implies a fundamental fractious split of politics, thought and people.¹¹ The SLC appears to somewhat contravene this idea. The Club's overriding unity despite political diversity indicates that these divisions may not have been as desperate in every instance. Even so it would be hard to claim that a club such as the SLC was not affected by the political environment that surrounded it in the period 1879 – 1898. When the SLC was established Gladstone declared the Club 'a powerful political instrument'.¹² In another speech at the SLC in November 1885, he 'spoke at some length on the value of such clubs in diffusing a knowledge of sound political principles'.¹³ Apparently denying this however, a motion was carried in January 1889 '[t]hat the Club should not be used by any section of the Liberal Party for party purposes' showing that differences in Liberal political stance were making themselves known within the SLC.¹⁴ Although this was tentatively relaxed in December 1896, it shows that there was some disagreement about just how 'political' the SLC should and could be.

¹¹ M. Pearce and G. Stewart, *British Political History 1867 – 1995: Democracy and Decline*, (London, 1996), pp53

¹² 'Inauguration Of The Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman* 23 March, 1880

¹³ 'Parliament Out Of Session', in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 18 November, 1885

¹⁴ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 16 January, 1889

One way to try to assess the attitudes of the members is through the numbers of 'New Members' (individuals joining per year) and 'Resignations' (individuals resigning per year) as seen in [figure 2]. Some of the intricacies of membership will be discussed in the social section of this paper but here it is the fluctuations of membership that is of concern and whether or not they can reveal the political affiliations of the SLC members. The graphs clearly show that membership numbers were not stable [Figure 2 and 3]. The 'Resignations' trends however, seems to correspond to key political events rather more than 'New Members'. The graph clearly shows therefore that people were voting with their feet. The most simple and effective way to demonstrate one's dissatisfaction with the Club would have been to leave it. This not only showed a member's disaffection but could also have had a direct impact on the Club itself meaning a reduced revenue. If said member were one of influence it could have meant not only the loss of a prominent figure but also copy-cat resignations by followers or supporters. It is noteworthy that many of the resignations occur in and around December and January. It was during this period that new subscriptions were due for the following year. This indicates that rather than actively cutting short their membership of the SLC, members were prepared to use the Club until the end of their current year's membership. This could indicate two things, either the political atmosphere within the SLC was not so potent as to alienate to the point of resignation anyone who disagreed with a certain aspect of the liberal party stance, or the social facilities of the SLC were reasonable enough to justify seeing out the end of the current year's subscription before, if so desired, looking elsewhere for a club.¹⁵ These links

¹⁵ There was also the self-conscious Scots cult of thrift to acknowledge: club facilities unused for the remainder of subscription means the waste of good money

cannot be verified exactly as there are of course many and varied reasons why members may have resigned.

In contrast, the data for 'New Members' does not follow any concrete trends [figure 3].

The graph indicates that although influxes of new memberships did occur during election years there are larger influxes at other times. Elections, and external political enthusiasm, cannot therefore have been the sole stimulant. The graph shows the initial enthusiasm for the SLC was high and this corresponded with the great success of the Midlothian Campaign. The Midlothian Campaign was unlikely to have detracted from potential membership save possibly for the Whig contingent who deplored its very skill in managing what they would have termed as demagogy. The Minute Books show that the peaks in new memberships correspond with membership drives from the Committee or a Sub-Committee established for the purpose. Two major methods were used in these drives; the first being to send circulars through the various Liberal associations throughout Scotland and later through the Scottish Liberal Association, a distinctly political organisation formed 1881, which had a wide circulation.¹⁶ The second, less often used, tactic was to send current Country Members to drum up potential membership in their country districts.¹⁷ The action that created the largest influx of members however, was the reduction and later temporary cancellation of entrance fees. This method was implemented for Country Members in February 1886 and later for Town Members in May 1891.¹⁸ That this happened in 1886 suggests that someone - quite possibly Rosebery – anticipated the strains on party loyalty caused by Gladstone's new commitment to Home Rule and took defensive action in anticipation.

¹⁶ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 1 December, 1880 and 27 February 1882

¹⁷ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 22 February, 1897

¹⁸ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 24 February, 1886 and NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 18 May 1891

The Town Member drive was originally intended to be a temporary measure until two hundred new Town Members were admitted but at the AGM of 1895 it was overwhelmingly decided that the 'Committee be authorised to continue, as long as they consider it advisable, to admit Town Members without entrance fee'.¹⁹ This initial 1886 motion opened up the SLC to new clientele and both Gladstone and Rosebery were pleased at the more accommodating nature that the Club had adopted with Gladstone believing that 'Liberal clubs and associations should be placed on as popular and representative a basis as possible'.²⁰ Rosebery acknowledged that this increased number of members – 'especially Country Members' – would be a benefit not only to the SLC but to the Liberal Party.²¹

The political leanings of the membership of the SLC itself is interesting. Hutchinson's belief that the SLC was 'very much a Whig institution', is not borne out by the Interim (i.e. founding) Committee of 1879-1880 which included some clearly radical Liberals such as Duncan McLaren.²² Furthermore the *Glasgow Herald* of 14 November 1885 reports a banquet at the SLC where the present chairman Lord Stair explained that the Club was 'made up of liberals of all shades of thought, from all parts of Scotland, and possibly even all ranks of society'.²³ This theme will be taken up again in the next chapter. A clearer indication of the political bearing of the Club can be seen through the newspapers that it subscribed to. Newspapers can give an indication of the leaning of the speaker and of the gathered listeners within the Club but only *in that instance*.²⁴

¹⁹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 30 January, 1895

²⁰ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Glasgow Herald*, 12 March 1886, Reproduction of letter sent to Holmes Ivory from H.W. Primrose on 10 March, 1886

²¹ *ibid*, Reproduction of a letter sent to Holmes Ivory from Lord Rosebery on 5 March, 1886

²² Hutchinson, *Political History of Scotland*, pp166

²³ Report in *Glasgow Herald*, 14 November, 1885

²⁴ Many of the speeches were printed verbatim and the reactions of the gathered listeners are placed within parenthesis indicating the attitude of the audience

The particular bias of individual newspapers could demonstrate the leanings of the SLC members whilst magazines could give in an insight into some of their more leisurely pursuits. Papers were, and still are, seen as important political and opinion forming tools. Rosebery during a House Dinner in April 1890 quipped 'I certainly did not anticipate that any of the recording angels of the press – (laughter) – who blot out nothing with a tear or anything else, would be present tonight. I, therefore, am not prepared to utter to you any important deliverance'.²⁵ Rosebery's use of the word 'deliverance' was part mocking, part reverent use of Presbyterian terminology, meaning a Church of Scotland (or Free Church of Scotland) statement of proposed official policy. The papers taken by the SLC can be seen in [Figure 4]. They are an eclectic mix but tellingly the list contains papers of both Liberal Unionist and Gladstonian standing, demonstrating once more that the Club's political stance was one of Liberal neutrality.²⁶

J. G. Kellas explains that up until 1886 the Scottish Disestablishment Crisis had been the cause of the greatest schism in Scottish Liberalism. Although the Disestablishment Crisis did appear to have an effect on the membership, 'such was the strength of liberalism in Scotland that the church question did very little damage to the party' in the polls of 1885.²⁷ Within the SLC however, the large number of resignations in 1885 could have been bolstered by Gladstone's refusal to make Scottish Disestablishment a test question for the election. The high number of Church of Scotland members in SLC Committee, such as Dick Peddie and Lord Balfour, may have meant that Free

²⁵ 'Lord Rosebery On The Liberal Party Split' in *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 April, 1890.

²⁶ It looks as though the Club assumed members would have their own copies of the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*, but subscribed to them from May 1880 following new demand with the advent of Gladstone's Second Government

²⁷ J. G. Kellas, 'The Liberal Party and the Scottish Church Disestablishment Crisis', *The English Historical Review*, 79 (1964), pp37

Churchmen despaired of this Club. The Church Disestablishment Crisis rumbled on until the Scottish Disestablishment Bill was finally dropped in June 1895, soon after which Rosebery fell from power, both of which may have contributed to the peak of resignations from the SLC in 1895.

The most divisive political issue that the SLC had to contend with was Irish Home Rule and this clearly had an impact on membership and the SLC. It is not only the membership numbers, shown in [figure 3 and 4], that demonstrate this but also newspaper reports of speeches made in and around the SLC. The Liberal Split over Home Rule was something that defined the Liberal Party in this period and Gladstone's determination to see through a policy of Irish political independence came at the expense of the Party for the rest of the nineteenth century. This led many significant Liberals to split from the Party and ultimately form the Liberal Unionists in 1886. The Liberal Unionists were still Liberals, this much must be remembered, but their main concern was to maintain the Union of 1800, many fearing that Irish Home Rule could set a precedent for a break up of Empire.²⁸ Within the SLC however, the waters never seem to have been that disturbed; people did leave the Club but it was never in such significant numbers to have made an overall, significant and detrimental impact on the SLC. Admittedly in 1885 and 1887 the number of 'Resignations' surpassed the numbers of 'New Members', however even at its peak figure in 1887 the total net change in membership was only minus eighteen [figure 5 and 6]. In a Club of approximately one thousand members this was not permanently damaging nor even popularly acknowledged. Nonetheless, the net loss of members is important as the Scottish

²⁸ Michael Bentley, *Politics without Democracy: Great Britain 1815 – 1914, Perception and Preoccupation in British Government* (Oxford, 1985)

Liberal Union Club (SLUC), a rival Unionist club, was founded in 1886 by former Liberal MP for Roxburghshire Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot.²⁹ Further investigation into the SLUC would be beneficial as there are limited records as to how many of the former members of the SLC later went on to join the SLUC. If this material were to be available then it could bring to light whether some members were so disaffected by the politics of Home Rule that they went to the extent of joining or indeed forming a new club through cross referencing the two membership lists.³⁰

Historians such as John F. McCaffrey have argued that the split of 1886 was the culmination of tensions for the Liberals in this period.³¹ According to the SLC however this problem did not reach a boiling point until a decade later. The most significantly dramatic event that occurred in the SLC in relation to the Irish Home Rule was an occurrence at the Annual General Meeting on 29 January 1896 at which the Liberal Unionists within the SLC demanded not merely representation on the Committee but equal representation.³² At the meeting a Mr McLennan moved “That an attitude of political neutrality should be maintained in the conduct of the Club, and that with the view of securing the continuance of this, the Committee should be selected equally from the two political parties in the Club”.³³ This motion was seconded by a Mr John Usher, a Liberal Unionist, who received hisses as he stood.³⁴ This was not, however, a bolt out of the blue. As early as April 1894 a member, signing himself off as ‘SCOTTISH

²⁹ Scottish Archive Network, Online Catalogue, ‘Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot’ <http://195.153.34.9/catalogue/person.aspx?code=NA22217&st=1&tc=y&tl=n&tn=y&tp=y&k=minto&ko=a&r=&ro=s&>, accessed 18 March, 2012

³⁰ It has not been able to ascertain whether Arthur Elliot was a member of the SLC. As he an MP it is likely that he was but it would be unwise to speculate on this.

³¹ J.F. McCaffrey, ‘The Origins of Liberal Unionism in the West of Scotland’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 50 (1971), pp44-71

³² NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 29 January, 1896

³³ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 29 January, 1896

³⁴ ‘Scottish Liberal Club: Unionist Dissension – Speech By Lord Rosebery’ in *Glasgow Herald*, 30 January, 1896

LIBERAL UNIONIST', wrote to the *Standard* (a Tory London Evening Paper) that the SLC has remained, since 1886, of the proportions sixty percent Liberal Unionist and forty percent Gladstonian.³⁵ 'SCOTTISH LIBERAL UNIONIST' then added that the Committee had always been equally divided between Liberal Unionists and Gladstonians.

Furthermore in another letter, this time to the *Scotsman* four days before the Annual General Meeting of 1896, 'LIBERAL UNIONIST' writes in retort to a circular he received from Sheriff Comrie Thomson and 'eleven apostles of Home Rule' who are demanding that the Committee should have a majority of two Home Rulers.³⁶ This circular suggested that Mr Usher had been having meetings with the aim of introducing a change to the name and nature of the SLC. The circular also recommended that by having this small majority of two Home Rulers 'while sufficient to prevent the Club from being handed over to those who seek to change its character, gives to the Liberal Unionists a share in its management larger than in proportion to their members', which directly conflicted with the evidence from the letters.³⁷

The 'apostles'' fear was not without foundation. There was a report in the morning papers of 28 November 1895 that a section of members from the SLC had had a meeting on the previous evening at which 'it was agreed to appoint a committee to report on [sic] a future meeting as to the name and character of the Club, its financial position, general management, and future prospects'³⁸. This was deemed hostile enough to call a Special Meeting of the General Committee which included some members of the reported meeting.³⁹ It was decided to send a copy of the resolution

³⁵ 'Lord Rosebery And The Liberal Unionists' in *Standard*, 30 April, 1894

³⁶ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 25 January, 1896

³⁷ 'The Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 24 January, 1896

³⁸ 'The Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 30 November, 1895

³⁹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 29 November, 1895

condemning such a meeting to the press as ‘unwarrantable and detrimental to the best interests of the Club’.⁴⁰ However it was also printed in the press that several members, including Mr John Usher, ‘dissented from the resolution so far as it described as “unwarrantable” for a section of the members of the Club to hold a separate meeting’.

⁴¹ This debacle demonstrates that there was considerable friction between the two factions of the Liberal Party housed within the SLC by the time of the AGM in 1896, but that they were still engaged some joint enterprises.

In retaliation to Mr McLennan’s motion, Mr Smith Clark moved a direct negative, which was seconded by Mr Lang Todd, in which he argued that having ‘16 Liberals and 14 Unionists on the committee was as near an equality as could be, seeing as the chairman, who was a Liberal, never voted on any contentious question’.⁴² The Minute Book records that ‘Several members took part in the discussion, among them being Lord Rosebery who spoke against the motion’.⁴³ Rosebery covered this point in typically candid fashion by explaining ‘they could not divide 29 by two without Solomon’s judgement which would be a painful one to the particular member of Committee’ and was met with ‘loud laughter and applause’.⁴⁴ It appears that Rosebery swayed the, if not already convinced, gathered members. As a result seven Gladstonians and five Liberal Unionists were voted into the available positions on the committee making up the total sixteen to fourteen in favour of the Gladstonians.⁴⁵

Following this on the 5 February John Usher wrote to the General Committee resigning his position as a member of the Committee ‘owing to the decision come to at the

⁴⁰ *ibid*

⁴¹ ‘The Scottish Liberal Club’ in *Scotsman*, 30 November, 1895

⁴² ‘Scottish Liberal Club: Union Dissension - Speech By Lord Rosebery’ in *Glasgow Herald*, 30 January, 1896

⁴³ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 29 January, 1896

⁴⁴ Scottish Liberal Club: Unionist Dissension – Speech By Lord Rosebery’ in *Glasgow Herald*, 30 January, 1896

⁴⁵ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 29 January, 1896

Annual General Meeting of the Liberal Club regarding the composition of the General Committee'.⁴⁶ Although there was another letter written to the *Scotsman* by 'LIBERAL UNIONIST' stating that following the actions of the Annual General Meeting 'I trust that the Liberal Unionist members will show that they clearly grasp the situation by resigning in a body before the end of the year' it is not clear how much of an effect this had, especially when it is considered that this year had the highest membership influx of the period [Figure 2].⁴⁷ What this demonstrates is that although there were two factions that wanted very different things politically they also wanted to maintain the neutrality of the SLC. What is significant is that there is little coverage of the events of the Annual General Meeting and its aftermath in the Minute Book other than, once again, a perfunctory mention of proceedings; it seems that all the hyperbole, action and description is left to the newspapers. Whether this is an attempt to remain neutral or just the nature of the Minute Book is a question that cannot bear satisfactory answer.

The most interesting aspect of the split in the Liberal Party is that the SLC did actually maintain a membership of *both* Gladstonian Liberals and Liberal Unionists. It could be suggested that the Club was predominantly Gladstonian by the fact that the members who left the SLC appear to have left because of disagreement with Gladstonian policies. Many Liberal Unionists remained members despite this however, and in fact the makeup of the SLC membership between Gladstonians and Liberal Unionists throughout this period was not more than approximately sixty percent either way.⁴⁸ This could be because, like Rosebery, they believed that the split would only be a

⁴⁶ *ibid*, 5 February, 1896

⁴⁷ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 30 January, 1896

⁴⁸ 'Lord Rosebery And The Liberal Unionists' in *Standard*, 30 April, 1894

temporary one – even after nearly a decade of friction. Rosebery's belief was based on three grounds: first that Liberalism in Scotland had a more mature, conscientious and farseeing enthusiasm than other parts of the United Kingdom; second, because the Liberal Party had divided before and become united again; and third, because he believed that the next general election would settle the issue of Ireland.⁴⁹ The account of Rosebery's optimism was written before the Parnell Split, with hopes rising high for a Liberal victory at the next election. It was made clear in this speech that the SLC was to 'tend eminently to promote union of the party', and this must have worked to an overall extent as the SLC remained a club that housed both factions of the Liberal Party.⁵⁰ When it is also considered that with the Home Rule crisis a 'much larger portion of the party seceded to become Liberal-Unionists in Scotland than elsewhere', the unity maintained by the SLC is all the more impressive.⁵¹ Another explanation for the reason that so many Liberal Unionists remained members may be that the Liberal Unionist faction was of the same opinion as Colonel Montague Hozier, the secretary of the Liberal Unionist Association in London. His view was that it was not the Liberal Unionists who were the dissenters and in fact 'they were those who still adhered to the ancient creed and...they were prepared...to undergo considerable sacrifices and considerable suffering in support of that ancient creed'; in other words maybe the Liberal Unionists did not believe that it was they who should be leaving as they were maintaining the status quo.⁵² On the other hand the very fact that the split was apparently relatively even may have contributed. If there had only been a small

⁴⁹ Report in *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 3 April 1890

⁵⁰ Report in *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 3 April 1890

⁵¹ Kellas, 'Liberal Party and the Scottish Church Disestablishment Crisis', pp44

⁵² Colonel Montague Hozier in *Glasgow Herald*, 21 October, 1886 cited in McCaffrey, 'Origins of Liberal Unionism', pp55

contingent of dissenters then they may well have been squeezed out of the SLC. If this had occurred according to the percentage divide of Gladstonians to Liberal Unionists within the SLC makeup the Club could have been looking at a loss of between forty and sixty percent of its membership.

It has been demonstrated that political events had an effect on membership of the Club, albeit one that did not cause significant detriment to the SLC. However, the question needs to be posed of whether the Club made any significant contributions to politics that have hitherto been overlooked. The SLC was a major gathering ground for Scottish Liberals and was 'an important element in the organisation of the party' as a centre and a hub of information and events, especially dinners and functions.⁵³ It was not a place where thoughts and ideas emanated from but it helped with the organisation of a Liberal agenda. In other words the SLC had ideas flowing down to it rather than up from it. This conclusion is amplified through evidence from the Minute Books as they rarely mention political events per se. It may well be that politics was discussed at these meetings but just not seen as Club business, or perhaps discussed in the backrooms and not minuted, as in keeping with the regulations of 1889 – 1896. Yet even outside this period of regulation there is rarely any mention of political happenings. One of the rare occasions is when Rosebery, having just accepted office in Gladstone's government of 1881 turns down the prospect of a congratulatory dinner as 'while very highly appreciating the honour proposed to be conferred on him, felt a delicacy at present in accepting such a banquet'.⁵⁴ Another instance is when a member suggests that a petition against the Court of Session Bill should be sent around

⁵³ Report in *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 19 January, 1881

⁵⁴ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 5 October 1881

the SLC. The Committee refused to send the petition around the Club suggesting it 'was thought not expedient for the Club to present such a Petition'.⁵⁵ These examples, being two of so few, could be seen as lending weight to the argument that the SLC was always more of a social institution than a political one.

Even with the lack of in depth political comment in the Minute Books they do have minutes organising dinners held in honour of prominent Liberals. The content, at least in terms of the speeches that occurred during the dinners, is left once more to the newspapers demonstrating that, even in turbulent times, the focus of the Committee at least, was on the running of the SLC. How far the SLC can be said to be pushing the development of politics is limited; perhaps the best explanation for the SLC's role in these instances is that it allowed a platform for political speeches. Yet within these speeches, especially those by Rosebery, contentious issues were often avoided and are conspicuous by their absence. His speech at the First House Dinner in the New Club House 'displayed a decided reluctance to alienate any possible section'.⁵⁶ Here Rosebery could be demonstrating his view that the unity of the SLC was more important at that time than political rhetoric which he knew was a divisive element within the political affiliations of the Club. Whether this informed decision can be held as a factor as to why the SLC maintained its unity during such a potentially temperamental time is uncertain although it could be argued that by maintaining this pseudo-neutrality within Rosebery's speeches there was little likelihood of instigating dissent.

⁵⁵ *ibid*, 21 March, 1881

⁵⁶ Report in *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 April, 1890

Even though the SLC counted amongst its members some influential politicians as well as influential people from other fields [Figure 1 and 7], the split within the party and the regulations on the use of the SLC for political purposes that were in place from 1889 to 1896 meant that much of the political potential of the Club was removed. To emphasise this point the letters to the papers in 1894 and 1896 referenced above deserve a second viewing. 'SCOTTISH LIBERAL UNIONIST' continues in his letter of 1894 that 'it has been an absolute understanding on both sides that the Club should be used only as a social club, and that not the slightest political demonstration should be made from it or in connection with it'.⁵⁷ Similarly 'LIBERAL UNIONIST' also postulates in 1896 that for 'the last ten years political neutrality of the Club has been maintained, and the Club managed purely as a social club'.⁵⁸ It should be noted here that although the motion of 1889 forbids the use of the Club for party purposes this did not mean that people were unable to use it privately as such: who was to know if party business was being done in a dimly lit corner over a Sub-Committee approved cigarette and whiskey? Indeed Rosebery was fully aware of the likelihood of this, as he 'laughingly' alluded on 2 April 1890 on the opening of the New Club House, that the old premises in the Osborne Hotel had a 'number of small rooms...wherein the different sections of the Liberal Party might discuss the various points of view from which they regarded the political situation'.⁵⁹ However, speculation on these topics does not allow conclusions on the general attitudes of the SLC members.

Another point of significance is that the SLC managed to maintain this unity whilst many other Liberal clubs, such as those in London, voted to go one way or the other on

⁵⁷ 'Lord Rosebery And The Liberal Unionists' in *Standard*, 30 April, 1894

⁵⁸ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 25 January, 1896

⁵⁹ Report in *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 April, 1890

Irish Home Rule. Arthur Elliot, the founder of the Scottish Liberal Union Club wrote in his biography of George Goschen that in 'a strenuously active Liberal body like the Eighty Club' a resolution had been passed in 1886 to avoid disruption but in 'May 1887 it was not possible to maintain this truce. Neutrality had for active politicians become impossible' eventually resulting in eighty of the two hundred and forty members seceding from the Eighty Club in a body.⁶⁰ In terms of the SLC the 'active politicians' were able to maintain such a neutrality over Ireland and this speaks volumes for the position that the SLC held amongst the members. Ironically it was on the 'dinner question that the quarrel came to a head' with the London club being willing to pass a resolution that all election activities will be postponed but not that they could entertain eminent Liberal statesmen opposed to Home Rule.⁶¹ This did not happen with the SLC, as will be shown in the next chapter, and the Club maintained a near open door policy on dinners and members so long as the general principles of Liberalism were adhered to.

The unity of the Club was of paramount importance and it could be argued that such a unity was easier to afford on a social basis. On the occasion of Holmes Ivory stepping down as Honorary Secretary of the SLC in 1891, John Usher gave an appraisal reported in *The Scotsman* stating that:

'by adopting a very wise decision [Holmes Ivory and the Committee] agreed it should cease to be a political club from a certain date, and in that way they had

⁶⁰ A. D., Elliot, *The Life of George Joachim Goschen, First Viscount Goschen: 1831 – 1907*, Volume 2, (London, 1911), pp 116

⁶¹ *ibid*

held together as a Club. [Usher] thought it had been of great use to the Liberal party, for it had kept people together who might have been otherwise apart'.⁶²

It can be seen that the SLC certainly changed throughout the period 1879 to 1898, moving from the political instrument that was envisioned by Gladstone to a place of supposed political neutrality in the mid 1880s to mid 1890s. It seems apparent that this change was due predominantly to the split in the Liberal party over Irish Home Rule. It was deemed essential that a neutrality was maintained for fear of a) losing potential supporters of the Liberal party once the hoped for reunion of the party occurred, b) losing membership and therefore revenue for the SLC or c) losing the SLC altogether. If this political neutrality did occur then there must have been other reasons for members to stay in the Club and the declarations of the two pseudonymed gentlemen and John Usher seem to provide them. As well as a place for meeting friends, colleagues and men of influence it can be deduced that there must have been a thriving social scene which rose above such lowly activities as politics.

⁶² 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 30 May, 1891

Chapter Three: The Social Sphere

As with many clubs in the late nineteenth century, the SLC had a thriving social sphere. In newspapers, both Scottish and British, the SLC was recognised as a popular, successful club and considered to be one of the best organised and managed, socially and politically, in Britain.⁶³ This chapter will demonstrate that the SLC's social activities were a key factor in forging the unity that the Club managed to maintain from 1879 – 1898. It will also consider to what extent the claims that the 'Club was organised to be the headquarters in Scotland of the Liberal party – a party which desired to represent no class or section' were reflected in the admissions and makeup of SLC members.⁶⁴ Furthermore, how far political aspects of the Club manifested themselves in social forums and to what extent the SLC would to 'cease to be a political club' will be explored.⁶⁵

The most frequent social events for the SLC were dinners and luncheons and it is these that have the most prominent place in both the Minute Books and the newspapers. At these events there was often a key figure from the Liberal Party in the Chair or presiding over them and their speeches were printed verbatim or abridged in the papers in the following days.⁶⁶ Rosebery was most frequently sought after to preside and the SLC Committee habitually went to great pains to get him, even changing dates or postponing dinners altogether if they did not suit his schedule.⁶⁷ This demonstrates the importance that Rosebery held for the Committee and the members as a

⁶³ 'Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign: Important Speech on Dis-Establishment' in *Daily News*, 12 November, 1885

⁶⁴ Letter in *Scotsman*, 14 July, 1884

⁶⁵ 'Scottish Liberal Club' in *Scotsman*, 30 May, 1891

⁶⁶ Numerous examples – NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 6 March, 1881 - Table D'hôte Dinner presided by Lord Rosebery; *Minute Book 2*, 13 May, 1896 - a reception with Lord and Lady Tweedmouth

⁶⁷ One of the many examples of this can be found in NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 17 September, 1884

figurehead and proponent of the SLC. Dinners and events held for and including prominent Liberals were popular and well attended. At a dinner held in honour of The Right Honourable J.B. Balfour MP 'in recognition of his many and valuable services to the Club as its chairman, and also of his services to the Liberal Party in Parliament', tickets sold quickly.⁶⁸ For Balfour's Dinner three hundred were taken two months in advance of the evening.⁶⁹ Regular events, with diversely affiliated Liberal speakers and people presiding, meant a constant mixing of the factions within the SLC, maintaining relationships that may not have been possible if one group or the other had left the Club.

The ties the SLC had with other clubs is worth investigating briefly because there were many clubs in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland and the SLC was not entirely insular. The SLC bought The Palace Hotel on Princes' Street in 1887 and *The Glasgow Herald* reports that '[c]uriously enough, it stands by the side of the club-house which the Scottish Conservative Club erected some years ago'.⁷⁰ Rosebery joked that his fear in relation to the proximity of the two clubs was that 'in moments of popular excitement such as these of a general election the windows of the Liberal Club may be mistaken for those of the Conservative Club'.⁷¹ The Committee of the SLC looked to other clubs to determine, in terms of prices and actions at least, how they fared against them. The New Club, The Conservative Club, The Northern Club and others were used to compare such things as drink prices and acquisition; table prices for lunch; cards and billiards organisation and closing times; Club Tariffs; and 'the use of private rooms...for political

⁶⁸ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 4 April, 1897

⁶⁹ *ibid*, 8 September, 1897

⁷⁰ Report in *Glasgow Herald*, 1 November, 1887

⁷¹ 'Lord Rosebery On The Liberal Party: The Next General Election' in *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 April, 1890

conferences and other purposes'.⁷² The SLC also took heed of other Clubs' methods of increasing membership. The SLC followed the precedents set by The Northern Club, The United Service Club, and the Glasgow Liberal Club by temporarily suspending the entrance fee for Town Members, following the increased membership the other clubs had achieved.⁷³ Furthermore the SLC associated itself with other clubs through various means such as affiliation with the National Liberal Club in London⁷⁴ and also the reciprocal honorary memberships of the then incumbent Glasgow Liberal Club Secretary and SLC Secretary.⁷⁵ This latter link is particularly significant as the Glasgow Liberal Club, and the Glasgow area as a whole, was a hotbed for Liberal Unionist politics.⁷⁶ It shows again the efforts undertaken by the SLC to maintain a unity within the Liberal Party on the wider scale outwith the Club.

It was not only for improving their own facilities that the SLC had contact with other clubs and external bodies. The SLC gave permission in 1887 to the Honorary Secretary 'Goschen Banquet Committee' to place a notice on the Notice Board of the SLC Club House. This banquet was being given to George Goschen, a prominent Liberal Unionist and recently appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer to Lord Salisbury's government, by friends and supporters from the East and North of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association.⁷⁷ Interestingly the SLC Committee only allowed this to be posted once they were reassured that '[Banquet] Committee consisted of Liberal Unionists and the Speakers at the Banquet were all to be Liberal Unionists' and not Conservatives.⁷⁸ This

⁷² NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 23 May, 1881; *Minute Book 2*, 10 January 1893; *Minute Book 1*, 21 March 1881; *Minute Book 2*, 14 December, 1892; *Minute Book 2*, 12 November, 1890 – respectively.

⁷³ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 18 May 1891

⁷⁴ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 5 January, 1883 and *Minute Book 2*, 11 March, 1896

⁷⁵ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 9 February 1887 and *Minute Book 2*, 11 May, 1897

⁷⁶ McCaffrey, 'Origins of Liberal Unionism', pp47-71

⁷⁷ 'Liberal Unionists At Edinburgh' in *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 18 April, 1887

⁷⁸ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 4 April, 1887

was before the motion of 1889 was brought into the SLC and demonstrates that the level of collaboration between the two factions of the Liberal party within the Committee was high, even though 1887 proved to be the year with the greatest net loss of members from the SLC [figure 5 and 6].

On various occasions the Club House was opened up to societies and associations who were holding or attending conferences and meetings.⁷⁹ The Scottish Reform Club for example was given permission to hold their dinners at the SLC regularly.⁸⁰ The SLC even offered to house the Conservative Club during the time they were temporarily homeless but 'the Committee of the Conservative Club, while appreciating the kindness of the offer, had thought it inexpedient to proceed further in the matter'.⁸¹ This last point may go some way to explaining why the SLC maintained a sense of unity over the Irish Home Rule split; if they were prepared to let their historical enemy take refuge in their Club House then the likelihood that the SLC would oust members of its own party merely because of a disagreement on one piece of policy is rather unlikely.

Apart from the various investments made by the Committee of the SLC, predominantly between 1884 and 1886, there were also debentures available from 1888. It was Rosebery who took the first of these on 10 October 1888, once again showing his prominence as a Trustee of the SLC.⁸² These debentures, initially organised to aid the purchasing of The Palace Hotel, could be exchanged between members, sometimes due to a death in the family or the want of the holder to cash in their debenture.⁸³

⁷⁹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 9 October 1889 - National Association for the Advancement of Art; *Minute Book 2*, 13 April 1892 - British Association for the Advancement of Science; *Minute Book 2*, 14 July 1897 - Franco-Scottish Society.

⁸⁰ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 9 February 1898 and *Minute Book 3*, 20 May 1898

⁸¹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 13 February, 1884

⁸² *ibid*, 10 October, 1888

⁸³ *ibid*, 31 October, 1888 – The Palace Hotel, no.109-110 Princes' Street was purchased for £37,000.

Although trading debentures within the SLC was permissible the Committee wished to keep their debenture holders within the Club. One member wrote to the Committee resigning his membership and enquired into the means of disposing of his debenture, proposing to advertise it in the *Scotsman*. His resignation was accepted but the Secretary was instructed to write to him asking him to hold his debenture until a buyer from the SLC could be found and 'requesting him not to advertise in *The Scotsman*'.⁸⁴ It is evident here that the SLC Committee did not want debentures being acquired by buyers outside of the vetted world of the SLC.

The vetted world of the SLC, although open to both sections of the Liberal party, did have its exclusive traits and it was not open to all sections of society. It is these restrictions and exclusivity that shall be considered here. The entrance fee and yearly subscriptions for the SLC were not cheap. An initial fee of ten guineas per member followed by yearly subscriptions of four guineas for Town Members and two guineas for Country Members indicates that this was certainly a club for the more well-heeled Liberals in the region. Indeed if someone on a wage similar to the Clubmaster of the SLC wished (and more to the point was proposed) to join the Club, the entrance fee and one year's subscription would have been a month's wages.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the times of Committee meetings and the Annual General Meetings were often in the early afternoon. This indicates that the individuals who were able to attend such meetings were the kind of gentleman who had a position and a profession that allowed them this freedom and the Club was therefore not universally representative [figure7].⁸⁶

⁸⁴ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 10 January, 1894

⁸⁵ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 9 April, 1885

⁸⁶ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 24 February, 1886

Although the admission of outside agents was permitted at times, the age old enemy of the clubman, namely woman, was not welcomed so freely.⁸⁷ In the male dominated world of the club women were rarely a feature. The SLC was no different in this respect and women were not able to become members. Although this could be argued to be undermining of the argument that the SLC was inclusive to *all* Liberals, in the context of the time the exclusion of women not only from clubs but from the political sphere in general was not uncommon. Women did however get the opportunity to see and use the SLC on certain occasions. For the Queen's visit to Edinburgh on 18 August 1886, for example, 'It was resolved to throw the balconies open to Lady Friends of members'.⁸⁸ Similarly for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee the Club House was 'opened to Ladies on the day from 3 to 6 o'clock'.⁸⁹ The bigger political events at the Music Hall, Edinburgh, were also ticketed but women were confined to the galleries.⁹⁰ Not every suggestion of mixed events was accepted however. A proposal for a concert and ladies' evening was rejected by the Committee on the grounds that 'in their opinion such a thing was not generally desired by members of the Club'.⁹¹ The SLC then, like many of the clubs of the period, was characterised by a masculine 'ambience of smoking rooms, billiards, cards and manservants'.⁹² This separation of gender was maintained throughout the period and serves as a reminder that, whilst the warring factions may well have found a neutral social ground within the SLC, women were still not afforded a distinctive role within the Liberal political or SLC social sphere.

⁸⁷ J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (Bury St Edmunds, 1999), pp187 and A. Lejeune, *The Gentleman's Clubs of London*, (London, 1984), pp130

⁸⁸ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 11 August, 1886

⁸⁹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 11 May, 1897

⁹⁰ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 20 October, 1880

⁹¹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 11 February, 1897

⁹² Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp187

The reinforcement of gender roles ties into the reinforcement of order and hierarchy within the SLC. Transgression of any form was taken seriously by the Committee and punitive measures, most frequently of expulsion, were enforced. A certain Mr Peat who had already been chastised for late payment of arrears was written to by the Honorary Secretary 'drawing his attention to a report in the newspapers that he had been fined for assaulting a policeman, and asking him what explanation he had to offer the Committee'.⁹³ When no explanation was forthcoming another letter was sent explaining that before the Committee took further steps they would afford him the opportunity of tendering his resignation, which he duly did.⁹⁴ In another instance it was reported that a 'serious breach of the rules had been committed' by a Mr William C. Raleigh who broke into the locked box containing the balls in the billiards room in the early hours of the morning. He too was sent a letter demanding an explanation but in this instance a profusely apologetic letter was received in reply and was accepted by the Committee'.⁹⁵ There are two points to be drawn here. The first is that the reputation of the SLC was obviously of great importance; policeman assaulters and vandals were not the kind of members that the Club was willing to accommodate. Secondly, these two examples are the only two specific instances of transgression other than the non payment of subscriptions recorded in the Minute Books in this period. The Committee was more than happy to shame the transgressors by sending them a circular intimating 'that unless payment was made within one week...their names should be posted in the Club'.⁹⁶ This approach did push some members into action but others were summarily dismissed from the membership list if the 'name and

⁹³ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 4 December, 1882

⁹⁴ *ibid*, 13 December, 1882

⁹⁵ *ibid*, 30 May, 1881

⁹⁶ *ibid*, 11 January, 1888 – other examples *Minute Book 1*, 8 March, 1882; *Minute Book 2*, 8 September, 1897

shame' tactic did not produce an arrear payment.⁹⁷ That there were so few misdemeanours gives an indication of the type of individuals that joined the SLC; respectable, well to do men. It also demonstrates that the 'Proposer', 'Seconder' and then Committee approval of potential members was adept, for the most part, at weeding out individuals who may have been considered unsuitable. As has been shown however, some slipped through the net. Interestingly it was not only people with undesirable behavioural traits that were admitted; at times those completely at odds with the SLCs political standing were too.

Although the SLC was considered after 1889 to be a neutral and perhaps, at times and by some, a purely social club it was still the case that an individual needed to be a Liberal, or have Liberal sentiments to join. But it appears that the motion of 1889 stopping the SLC from being used for either Gladstonian or Liberal Unionist party purposes was so well upheld by the members that its political attributes were subtle enough that even some Conservatives were unaware of them. In a letter addressed to the Committee a Mr J.M. Blyth, who had been elected a SLC member in January 1897, wrote a letter to the Committee 'in which he declined to join because on reading the Rules he found that the Club was not non-political as he had believed, while he himself was "politically entirely Conservative"'.⁹⁸ His refusal was accepted and the Committee made sure that the Secretary informed 'Mr Blyth's Proposer and Seconder of this', perhaps as a reminder to them that the SLC was still a Liberal club.⁹⁹ It is clear then that by 1897 the SLC had lost much of its political overtones. Furthermore it shows that the social attractions must have been considerable if a Conservative nearly joined;

⁹⁷ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 9 March, 1897

⁹⁸ *ibid*, 8 February, 1897

⁹⁹ *ibid*

especially when it is considered that the Conservative Club was next door. J.M. Blyth's application indicates that after Parnell's scandal, Gladstone's retirement and Rosebery's fall the SLC really had become non-political to outside eyes despite its name.

Looking solely at the Minute books would suggest that at times that politics took a back seat. The choice of additional non-political newspapers and journals, for example, such as *Athletic Times*, *Financial News* and *Punch* shows that the SLC members also had sporting, business and other, less serious, interests [figure 4]. The main concerns of the SLC Committee and members appear to be of a social nature with the Minute Books mostly consisting of administrative detail on the best methods of how to look after the members' interests in terms of food, smoking, drink and sporting activities such as billiards and cards. They also contain considerable detail on the rent, renovation and maintenance, of both the former Osborne and Palace Hotels as well as detailing the purchase of the latter. This is where the limitations of the Minute Books truly come to the fore. Can it be argued that the predominance of social affairs within the Minute Books was indicative of a greater emphasis on the social, rather than overtly political, nature of the SLC? If the Minute Books were the only source available then the implication seems to be that the Committee of the SLC were principally occupied with social and 'housekeeping' duties. Yet the lack of political comment in the Minute Books does not translate into a lack of political comment and consciousness within the SLC; the politics chapter has shown this to be the case. To return to a comment made in the previous chapter it may well be that politics was discussed, perhaps even fiercely, but just not seen as minutable Club business. Whilst the Committee made big decisions on

the political nature of the SLC, such as the motion of 1889, it is in the social sphere that they had the most day-to-day and regular input. It is also the social aspects such as dining, game playing, drink and reading facilities that were most frequently used by the members. The concerted efforts by the Committee and Rosebery to create a neutral ground for all Liberals within the SLC did frequently take the form of dinners and other activities where there was no need for political differentiation. Perhaps the Committee and Rosebery were conscious of, and desirous to maintain, a claim made in 1881 at a banquet for W.P. Adam. Before his departure to assume the Governorship of Madras a large and highly attended banquet was held and the presence of the SLC there was described as 'representing Scottish Liberalism in general'.¹⁰⁰ The social sphere of the SLC gives a greater indication into the nature of the Club as an everyday institution than the political sphere can. The social events were at the heart of the SLC even when it was established in 1879; it was always meant to be a social arena. If Gladstone's statement on 'the value of such clubs in diffusing a knowledge of sound political principles' is returned to, for the SLC this likely occurred through the informal forum that was provided.¹⁰¹ Although it could be argued that events within this Club could never have been entirely apolitical, the motion of 1889 managed to create something akin to it as some of the examples in this chapter have shown. Even the choice to become a non-political and purely social club in 1889 was a political choice and if it had not happened then the SLC may well have not lasted the period. The irony of political tensions rising again in 1896 over the desire of both Liberal political factions to maintain the SLC as a neutral base in the form of a social club is not difficult to see.

¹⁰⁰ Report in *Scotsman*, 3 November 1880

¹⁰¹ 'Parliament Out Of Session' in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 18 November, 1885

0000163

Throughout however, none of the political aspects adversely affected the SLC's social sphere which maintained sports, dinners and concerts, as well as other events. The political divisions within the SLC were therefore bridged, or perhaps even bandaged, by the social elements that the Club provided.

Chapter Four: Conclusions

The year 1898 did not see the end of the SLC but it did see an end of the life of one of the most revered politicians of the age. Gladstone's death engendered a sincere and heartfelt speech from J.B. Balfour in the Chair who expressed the 'unanimous sense of appreciation' and that the members of the SLC had 'a special degree an association with Mr Gladstone' because of his links with the Club.¹⁰² This appreciation was shown for Gladstone in the rapid accumulation of voluntary subscriptions of '£1.1/-' and the resolution at the AGM of 1899 'That the Memorial of the late Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone in the Club shall take the form of a Library to be known as the Gladstone Library'.¹⁰³ Here is another, final, example of a united front within the SLC even for the man who introduced the most divisive issue in Liberal political and SLC history.

There is no doubting that the SLC was founded with the aim of creating a political establishment within which Liberals could enjoy the social elements and attractions that the Club had to offer whilst diffusing 'sound liberal principles'. The role of the SLC, as with any club, was to provide a meeting place for like-minded men and in the SLC's case one with a distinctly Liberal 'flavour'.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless it was the Liberal Party split over Irish Home Rule that changed the dynamic of the SLC. Although not much was made explicitly of the split in the Minute Books in the years 1885 to 1898, the decision to run the SLC on a supposedly solely social basis from 1889 is demonstrative of a change in the Club's role. Ironically this change to neutrality was a distinctly political measure and one that was not deemed to go far enough by Liberal Unionists such as John Usher, resulting in rising tensions and ultimately the motions on Committee makeup that were proposed at the Annual General Meeting of 1896. These tensions demonstrate that the culmination of the Home Rule discontent in the SLC did not occur until ten years after the split in the Liberal Party in 1886. Even after this spike of discontent the Club

¹⁰² NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 3*, 21 May, 1898

¹⁰³ *ibid*, 30, January, 1899

¹⁰⁴ His Grace the Duke of Devonshire in Lejeune, *The Gentleman's Clubs of London*, pp foreword

remained a united institution. When in December 1896 it was suggested that the Committee 'reserves to itself the power to rescind the Resolution of 9th January 1889 regarding the use of the Club for political purposes at such times as it thinks fit' the subject was delicately dealt with, the Minute Books recording that 'after some discussion and general expression of opinion that there was no objection to entertaining prominent members of the Party, and to their freely discussing political questions, the motion was not pressed'.¹⁰⁵ This shows that even nearly eight years after the SLC 'cease[d] to be a political club' best way to deal with such a potentially explosive issue was to delicately and calmly leave it be.

What this paper has shown is that the SLC is an institution worthy of investigation on its own account. Further study of the particularities of the SLC and its membership in later periods would no doubt also uncover some fascinating and hitherto unseen aspects of Scottish Liberalism. Limited sources and the limited word count of this paper cannot give a full history to the SLC nor give full due to the role that this club played in Scottish Liberalism. This paper does show though that the SLC appears to buck the trend that Liberalism followed on a more national, and even a British, scale. The SLC gives an uncommon insight into the attitudes of individuals who were involved in the Liberalism of the era, one that shows, in contrary to other histories, a Liberal conciliation. The willingness to maintain a club, even if it was in a purely pseudo-social capacity, gives an indication that the divisions and discrepancies between the two factions, the Gladstonians and the Unionists, were not so divisive as to stop them coming together and socialising under the banner of Liberalism. Thanks to the efforts of the SLC Committee the Club managed to retain, even in Liberalism's most volatile years, a significant proportion of its membership with the worst yearly deficit being eighteen members [figure 6]. Distance from London, and 'Clubland', no doubt aided this unity but perhaps it was also a practical demonstration of Rosebery's comments made at the SLC in 1890 that:

¹⁰⁵ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 2*, 23 December, 1896

‘Scottish Liberalism is, and always has been, of a somewhat different character from the Liberalism in the rest of the United Kingdom, more matured, more deep, more founded on reflection, more animated perhaps by a conscientious and far-seeing enthusiasm than the Liberalism of any other part of the United Kingdom. And being so based and so animated, I believe it is independent of any one political question that may momentarily divide the Liberal party, and that it is impossible for any one issue, however grave and important it may seem to us for the moment, permanently to divide the Scottish Liberal party. (Cheers)’.¹⁰⁶

The SLC has a particular debt in this period to Lord Rosebery. His ability to constantly press for unity of the Club and to use the SLC as an example of what he felt the wider Liberal Party could achieve was carefully balanced with wit and humour. Rosebery’s humour, as has been shown in this paper, is seemingly less demonstrative of a blasé attitude or defence mechanism and more of an intelligent application to disperse tension and bitterness from a delicate and potentially ruinous (for the SLC) situation. It has also become evident that whilst Lord Rosebery was something of a key figure within the SLC the SLC was similarly significant for Lord Rosebery. Although it is unclear as to Rosebery’s involvement in the initial conception of the SLC, it is plain that he was fundamental in the establishing the physical club. That it was established so quickly is a testament to his enthusiasm for the SLC. Rosebery probably saw the potential for its use and the benefit it could provide to the highly successful Midlothian Campaign. The SLC throughout the period 1879 to 1898 became a nerve centre for Scottish Liberalism and something of a base for Rosebery. Further investigation into Rosebery’s use of the SLC would bring to light previously unseen insights into his attempts to gain a more

¹⁰⁶ ‘Lord Rosebery On The Liberal Party: The Next General Election’ in *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 3 April, 1890

prominent place in the Liberal Party and all the while the passing of the motion of 1889 on the neutrality of the Club afforded him the ability when it suited him to claim the SLC was a not a political institution. The SLC supplied him with an eager audience, whether that audience consisted of the Club as a whole or solely the Committee. The potential for him to dictate, through his close ally and Honorary Secretary Holmes Ivory, a good deal of the goings on within the SLC is apparent and further investigation may prove to what extent this happened.

Moreover, the readiness of Rosebery to cancel appearances at dinners or events could add to an argument that Rosebery treated the SLC as his possession. The SLC evidently offered a base to Rosebery for efforts towards Liberal reunion, and may have ensured some reconciliation.

Rosebery was always in demand for events at the SLC, evidently a popular speaker and the Club gave him a place to speak to an attentive and appreciative audience. Whether this provided him an ego boost or a means to soothing a bruised ego is unclear; the likelihood is that Rosebery used it for both such was his turbulent acquaintance with Liberal government.

For this paper however the fact that Rosebery made an effort to maintain the unity of the SLC indicates the importance of the Club to this figurehead of Scottish Liberalism and his belief that the SLC was a positive and worthwhile institution which would play its part in the (ultimately unachieved) reunification of the Liberal Party.

The SLC then can be seen to have held ambiguous place in Scottish Liberalism and politics in this period and on that changed over time. Therefore its transition from a politically driven to a more apolitical institution shows that for the SLC at least, unity was more important than political affiliation. Rosebery's constant affirmations that the Liberal party would become united once more was never actually realised but the Club and the makeup of its membership had been a beacon of what could have been. This desire was made evident in a speech at the controversial Annual General Meeting of 1896 when Rosebery stated that he hoped that the

SLC would continue to remain as it had done, a strong, united entity and a 'Club to meet in and indulge in some hope for the future'.¹⁰⁷

The Scottish Liberal Club has been sidelined by historical discourse yet it has revealed a wealth of insight and intrigue into Scottish Liberalism that has previously been ignored. Careful management, delicacy and tact, social events and a busy calendar kept the community of the SLC healthy and stable. The uncommon club unity within the SLC could not have been accomplished purely within the sphere of political debate. It seems that the tired maxim of 'the family that plays together stays together', here at least, rings true.

¹⁰⁷Scottish Liberal Club: Unionist Dissension – Speech By Lord Rosebery' in *Glasgow Herald*, 30 January, 1896

Appendices

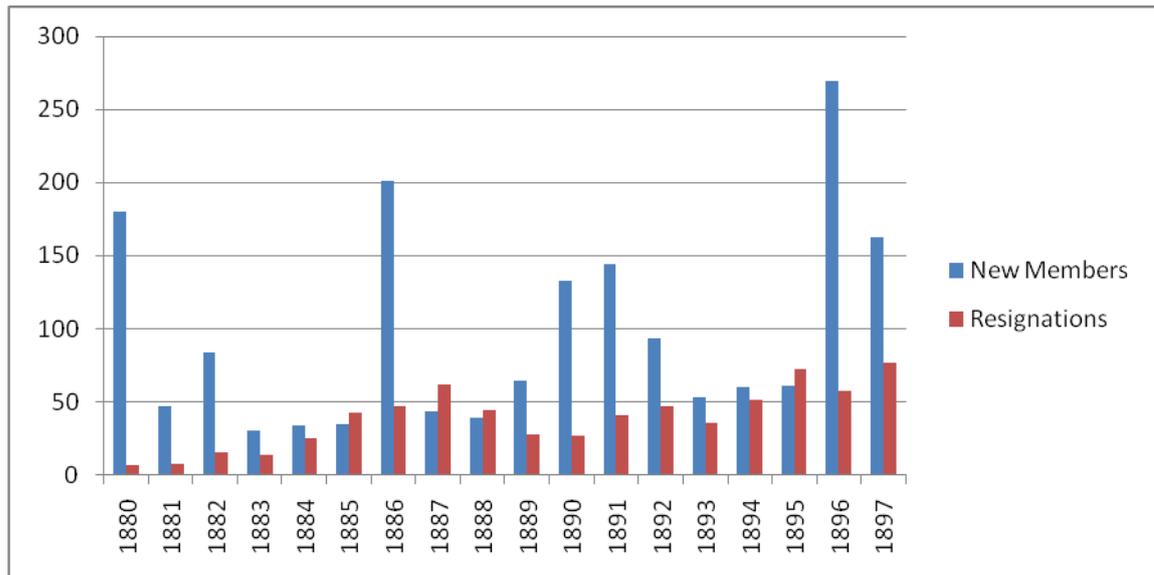
[Figure 1]

**The Interim General Committee
as taken from 'Classified Advert' in *The Scotsman*, 22 November, 1879**

The Interim General Committee 1879	Continued.
The Most Hon. the MARQUIS of HUNTLEY	PATRICK FRASER, Esq., LLD, Dean of Faculty of Advocates
The Most Hon. the MARQUIS of TWEEDALE	J. MAXTONE GRAHAM, Esq. of Caltoguhey
The Right Hon. the EARL of ROSEBERY	JAS. GRAHAME, Esq., C.A. Glasgow
The Right Hon. the EARL of STAIR, K.T	E.A. STUART GRAY, Esq. of Grey and Kinfauns
The Right Hon. the EARL of ELGIN and KINCARDINE	S. G. C. HAMILTON, Esq. of Dalzell
The Right Hon. the EARL of FIFE	GEORGE HARRISON, Esq., Merchant, Treasurer of the
The Right Hon. the EARL of BREADALBANE	City of Edinburgh
The Right Hon. LORD KINNARD	W.B. HODGSON, Esq. LLD, Donally
The Right Hon. VISCOUNT DALRYMPLE	ANDREW JARDINE, Esq., Lanrick Castle, Doune
The Right Hon. LORD COLIN CAMPBELL	R. JARDINE, Esq. of Castlemilk
The Right Hon. W.P. ADAM of Blairadam, M.P.	FRANCIS T.R. KENNEDY, Esq. of Dunure
The Right Hon. LYON PLAYFAIR, O.B. M.P.	A.S. KINNEAR, Esq., LLD, Advocate
Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, Bart, M.P.	ANDERSON KIRKWOOD, Esq. LLD, Glasgow
Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, K.C.B, M.P.	JAMES MANSFIELD, Esq., Advocate
Sir W.M.E. GIBSON-CARMICHAEL, Bart. of Skirling	WILLIAM MCEWAN, Esq., 43 Manor Place
Sir GEORGE MACPHERSON GRANT, Bart, M.P.	A. B. MCGRIGOR, Esq., LLD, Glasgow
Sir ALEXANDER KINLOUGH, Bart	DUNCAN MCLAREN, jun., Esq., Merchant, Edinburgh
Sir KENNETH S. MACKENZIE, Bart. of Gairloch	JOHN MCLAREN, Esq., Advocate
Sir PETER COATS, Auchendrana	JAS MELVIN, Esq., Bonnington, Ratho
H. CAMPPELL-BANNERMAN, Esq., M.P.	R. T. MIDDLETON, Esq., Hillfort
Jas. W. BARCLAY, Esq., M.P.	WILLIAM WHITE MILLAR, Esq., S.S.C
JAMES COWAN, Esq., M.P.	Hon. H. J. MONCREIFF., Advocate
A. GRANT, Esq., M.P.	CHARLES MORTON, Esq., W.S.
W. HOLMES, Esq., M.P.	W. J. MUIR, Esq., of Deauston
P. MACLAGAN, Esq., M.P.	D. NICHOLSON, Esq., Parson's Green
D. MACLAREN, Esq., M.P.	G. W. T. OMOND, Esq., Advocate
JOHN PENDER, Esq., M.P.	J. DICK PEDDIE, Esq., R.S.A
JOHN RAMSEY, Esq., M.P.	JOHN PULLAR, Esq., Ettrick House, Bridge of Allan
CHARLES TENNANT, Esq., M.P.	J. J. REID, Esq., Advocate
A. ASHER, Esq., Advocate	JAMES ROBERTS, Esq., LLD, Glasgow
Major F. W. Balfour of Fernis	A. C. SELLAR, Esq., Advocate
J.B. BALFOUR, Esq., Advocate	D. SMALL, Esq., Gray Houne, Dundee
J.C. BOLTON, Esq. of Carbrook	J. SMITH, Esq., Lord Dean of Guild of the City of Edin-
DAVID BRAND, Esq., Advocate	burgh.
J. CLERK BRODIE, Esq., W.S.	J. GUTHRIE SMITH, Esq., Writer, Glasgow
T.D. BRODIE, Esq., W.S.	JOHN TRAYNER, Esq., Advocate
The Hon. R. P. BRUCE, Broomhall	R. ERSKINE WEMYSS, Esq. of Wemyss and Torris
ROBERT CATHART, Esq. of Pitcairnie	JAMES WHITE, Esq. of Overtoun
JOHN CLAPPETRON, Esq., Merchant, Edinburgh	Rev. ALEXANDER WHYTE, of Free St George's, Edin-
THOMAS CLARK, Esq., Publisher, Edinburgh	burgh
JOHN COLVIN, Esq., Solicitor, Inverness	Lieutenant-Colonel WILSON, Bannockburn House.
CHARLES COWAN, Esq. of Westerlee	(HOLMES IVORY Esq. W.S. is referenced contact point and Secretary at the end of the advert)
JOHN COWAN, Esq. of Becslack	
H.E. CRUM EMWIN, Esq. of Stathleven, Lord-Lieutenant of Dumbartonshire	
J.R. FINDLAY, Esq. 3 Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh	
DAVID FORSYTH, Esq., Town-Clerk, Elgin	

[Figure 2]

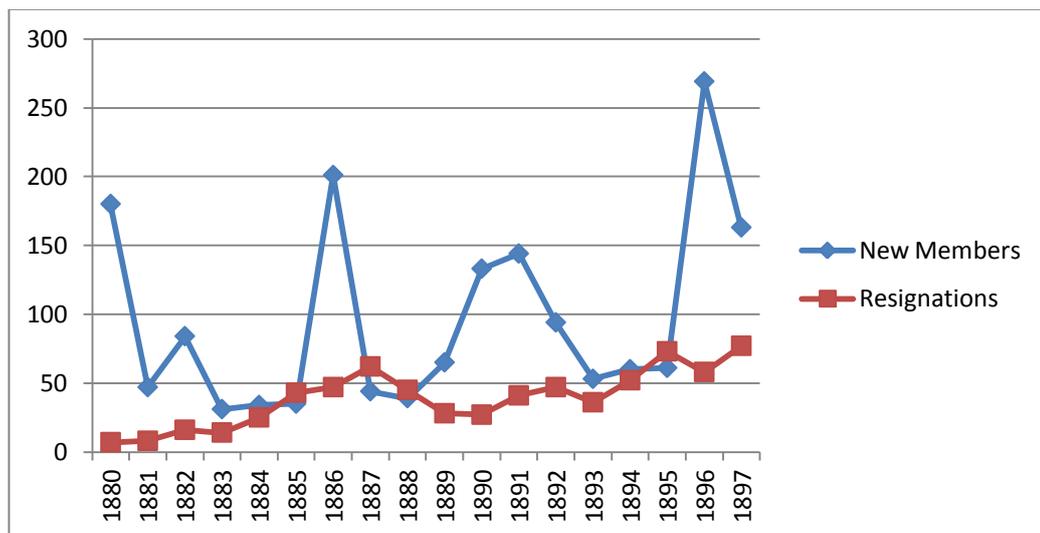
Graph showing the total number of New Members and Resignations throughout the period 1880 to 1897



Note: The graph year consists of date from February to January as subscriptions were due between December and January and therefore resignations processed in January were in reaction to the previous year. In addition the graphs do not show the incomplete years of 1879 and 1898. Full data can be seen in [Figure 6]

[Figure 3]

Graph showing the total number of New Members and Resignations throughout the period 1880 to 1897



Note: As above. See [Figure 6]

[Figure 4]

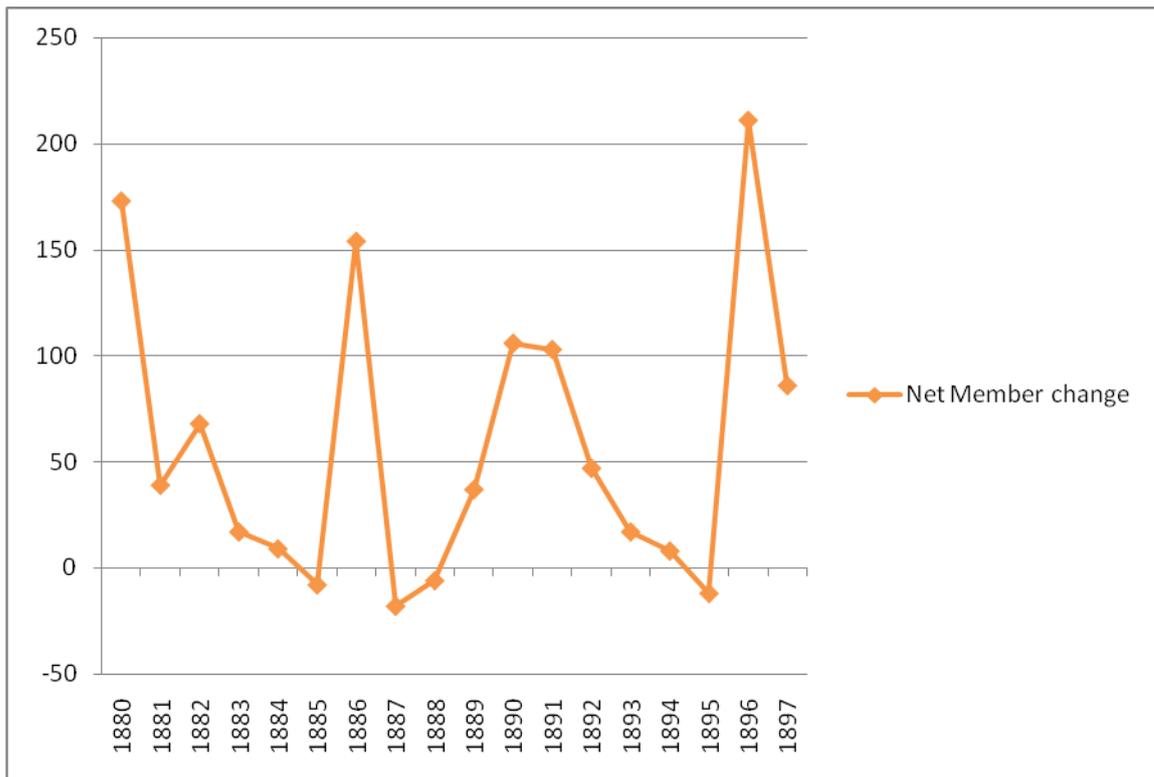
Papers taken in by the Scottish Liberal Club* - dates indicate when first procured for the Club as according to the Minute Books unless otherwise stated

Papers in alphabetical order	Continued.
Athletic Times [November 1897]	Scots Magazine [March 1892 discontinued by April 1898]
Belfast Northern Sshing [sic] [October 1888]	South Africa [March 1896]
Century Magazine [July 1896]	The Aberdeen Free Press [April 1880 - one copy discontinued from September 1880]
Cosmopolis [November 1897]	The Banffshire Journal [September 1880]
Court of Session Bills [November 1897]	The Border Advertisers [April 1880]
Evening News [April 1880]	The Daily News [May 1880]
Financial News [unknown start date - one copy discontinued October 1896]	The Dumfries Standard [April 1880]
Financial Times [October 1896]	The Edinburgh Gazette [May 1880]
Greenock Telegraph [March 1896]	The Glasgow Evening Citizen [April 1880]
Guardian [June 1896]	The Glasgow Herald [May 1880]
Highland News [March 1896]	The Money Market Review [April 1880]
Illustrated London News and Graphie [unknown start date - extra copies from July 1891]	The Northern Ensign [March 1896]
John O'Groats Journal [April 1880]	The Perthshire Advertiser [April 1880]
Liberal Magazine [November 1897]	The Railway News [April 1880]
Liverpool Mercury [unknown start date]	The Scotsman [May 1880]
London Daily Mail [November 1897]	The Standard [May 1880]
Military and Naval News [May 1880]	The Times [unknown start date - additional copy making '4 copies in all' - April 1880]
Pall Mall Gazette [unknown start date - one copy discontinued from Sept 1880]	Tit Bits [unknown start date - discontinued November 1897]
Pick-Me-Up [unknown start date - discontinued November 1897]	To-Day [November 1897]
Punch [May 1880]	Volunteers Service Gazette [March 1896]

* There were other papers that were brought in but these have not been listed; they are however referred to – see NLS, SLC *Minute Book 2*, 11th Feb 1897 - 'The list of newspapers etc was revised in connection with suggestions made by members and the various deletions and additions were noted'

[Figure 5]

Net Number of New Members from period 1880 to 1897
(New Members minus Resignations)



Note: The graph year consists of date from February to January as subscriptions were due between December and January and therefore resignations processed in January were in reaction to the previous year. In addition the graphs do not show the incomplete years of 1879 and 1898. Full data can be seen in [Figure 6] below.

[Figure 6]

Table showing New Membership numbers and change in period 1879 - 1898

Year	New Members	Resignations	Change
1879	245	0	245
1880	180	7	173
1881	47	8	39
1882	84	16	68
1883	31	14	17
1884	34	25	9
1885	35	43	-8
1886	201*	47	154
1887	44	62	-18
1888	39	45	-6
1889	65	28	37
1890	133	27	106
1891	144	41	103
1892	94	47	47
1893	53	36	17
1894	60	52	8
1895	61	73	-12
1896	269	58	211
1897	163	77	86
1898	15	5	10

* There is one major discrepancy in the Minute Books relating to membership numbers. According to various newspaper reports the SLC admitted 'over 200 members' in 1886 'being the largest number ever admitted in one year'.¹⁰⁸ However this does not tally with the Minute Book which gives its numbers for the year as 76. Rather than assuming foul play it will be presumed that as there was a 'Candidate Book'¹⁰⁹ which is referred to that there were times when it seemed injudicious to copy the names from said book into the Minute Book. Therefore for 1886 the number of New Members will be set at 201, this being the lowest number that is true to the statement that 'over 200 members' were admitted.

¹⁰⁸ Report in *Scotsman*, 1 February, 1887

¹⁰⁹ NLS, SLC, *Minute Book 1*, 11 August, 1886

[Figure 7]**Occupations taken from the July 1897 list of 'Nominations for Admission'**

List of Occupations in alphabetical order*	Continued.
Accountant to the Edinr[sic]. & District Trams Co.	Managing Director, Rossleigh Cycle Co. Ltd
Advocate [x 5]	Manufacturer
Auctioneer	Printer
Bachelor of Laws	Railway Traffic Superintendent
Bachelor of Medicine	Reverend
Biscuit Manufacturer	Royal Circus, Musical Director (scored through)
Builder and Contractor	Slate Merchant
Chartered Accountant [x 3]	Solicitor
Civil Engineer	Solicitor (Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland) [x4]
Doctor of Dental Surgery [x 2]	Solicitor (Writer to the Signet)
Depute [sic] City Clerk	Stationer
Electrical Engineer [x 2]	Stock Broker
Electrician	Student of Arts[x 2]
Grocer and Wine merchant	Student of Law
Iron and Steel Merchant	Surgeon Dentist
Ironmonger [x 2]	Tanner
Jeweller	Unifinicer [sic]
Jouaeco [sic] Manufacturer	Upholsterer
Medical Doctor, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh	Wine Merchant [x 2]
Merchant (scored through)	Writer

*Some nominees did not have occupations printed beside their name.

The list nominees was approved on 14 July 1897 with two delayed for six months and admission of sixty-nine.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

National Library of Scotland Archive

Manuscripts Division, Dep.275: Records of the Scottish Liberal Club

1. 'Scottish Liberal Club. Minute Book No.1', 1879-90. [56]
2. Minute Book [2], 1890-98. [58]
3. Minute Book 3, 1898-1901. [16]

Newspapers

Aberdeen Weekly Journal

Belfast News Letter

Daily News

Daily Gazette

Dundee Courier and Argus

Glasgow Herald

Huddersfield Daily Chronicle

Morning Post

North-Eastern Daily Gazette

Northern Echo

Scotsman

Standard

Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser

0000163

Diaries

Gladstone, W. E., *The Gladstone diaries*, (Oxford, 1968-1994)

Online Resources

Scottish Archive Network

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Secondary Resources

Books

Belchem, J., *Class, Party and the Political System in Britain 1867-1914* (Oxford, 1990)

Bentley, M., *Politics without Democracy 1815-1914* (2nd edn, 1996)

Burness, C., *“Strange associations”: the Irish question and the making of Scottish Unionism* (East Linton, 2003)

Crewe, K.G. The Marquess of., *Lord Rosebery*, Volume 1, (London, 1931)

Elliot, A. D., *The Life of George Joachim Goschen , First Viscount Goschen: 1831 – 1907*, (London, 1911)

Ensor, R.C.K., *England: 1870 – 1914*, (Oxford, 1992)

Garrard, J., ‘Parties, Members and Voters after 1867’ in Gourvish, T. R. and O’Day, A., *Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900* (Basingstoke, 1988)

Hamer, D. A, *Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery: A Study in Leadership and Policy*, (Oxford, 1972)

Hanham, H. J., *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Gladstone and Disraeli* (London, 1959)

Hoppen, K. T., *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998)

Hutchison, I. G. C., *A political history of Scotland 1832-1924: parties, elections and issues* (Edinburgh, 1986)

James, R. R., *Rosebery: a Biography of Archibald Philip, 5th Earl of Rosebery* (London, 1962)

Jenkins, T.A., *The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830 – 1886*, (London, 1994)

Matthew, H. C. G., *Gladstone 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1997)

McKinstry, L., *Rosebery: Statesman in Turmoil*, (London, 2005)

McKibbin, R., *Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880 – 1950*, (London, 1990)

Meisel, J. S., *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, 2001)

Lejeune, A., *The Gentleman's Clubs of London*, (London, 1984)

Lyons, F. S. L., *Charles Stewart Parnell*, (London, 1977)

Parry, J. , *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (London, 1993)

Pearce, M., and Stewart, G., *British Political History 1867 – 1995: Democracy and Decline*, (London, 1996)

Pugh, M., *The Making of Modern British Politics, 1867-1939* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1993)

Searle, G. R., *A New England? Peace and War, 1886-1918* (Oxford, 2004)

Sykes, A., *The Rise and Fall of British Liberalism, 1766-1988* (London, 1997)

Tosh, J., *A Man's Place: Masculinity and Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (Bury St Edmunds, 1999)

Winstanly, M., *Gladstone and the Liberal Party*, (London, 1990)

Articles and Dissertations

Akroyd, R. J., *Lord Rosebery and Scottish nationalism 1868-1896*, (Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996)

Brooks, D., 'Gladstone and Midlothian: The Background to the First Campaign', *Scottish Historical Review*, 64 (1985)

Brown, S. J., "'Echoes of Midlothian": Scottish Liberalism and the South African War, 1899-1902', *Scottish Historical Review*, 71 (1992)

Dudley Edwards, Owen, 'Rosebery and the Birth of the Old Edinburgh Club', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, New Series*, 7 (2008)

Kellas, J. G., 'The Liberal party and the Scottish Church disestablishment crisis', *English Historical Review*, 79 (1964)

Kellas, J.G., 'The Liberal Party in Scotland 1876-1895', *Scottish Historical Review*, 44 (1965)

McCaffrey, J. F., 'The origins of Liberal Unionism in the west of Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 50 (1971)

Milne-Smith, A., 'A flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentleman's Clubs of London, 1880-1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 45, No. 4 (2006)

Savage, D. C., 'Scottish politics, 1885-6', *Scottish Historical Review*, 40 (1961)