

Archives of the British Conservative Party 1867-1992

**A Detailed Guide to the
Microform Collections**

Primary Source Microfilm

an imprint of the Gale Group

ARCHIVES OF THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, 1867-1992

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GALE GROUP
50 Milford Road
Reading
Berkshire RG1 8LJ
England
Tel: +44 (0)118 9568844

GALE GROUP
12 Lunar Drive
Woodbridge
Connecticut 06525
USA
Tel: (203) 3972600

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Conservative Party has been the most powerful and electorally successful political party in Britain during the past few generations, and has dominated British politics since 1868.

Primary Source Media have now published a substantial section of the Archives of the Conservative Party including Pamphlets and Leaflets 1868-1986, Executive Committee Minutes 1897-1956, Minutes and Reports of Conservative Party Conferences 1867-1991, General Election Campaign Guides 1885-1992, The Agents' Journal 1902-1983 and other published sources. For a full list of these microform collections please see page 17 of this guide. This comprehensive coverage will be periodically updated with new series.

The aim of this guide is to bring together detailed listings of all these publications. However, the extensive Pamphlets and Leaflets series will require separate treatment. A brief note on this series appears on page 19 of this guide.

No complete understanding of modern British political history, domestic, social and economic change, world and European events, is possible without reference to these crucial archives. They provide the researcher with an excellent insight to so many areas of Party activity:

- The Conference Reports provide primary source material for all the questions, arguments and the viewpoints that contributed to the shaping of Conservative Party policy.
- The Executive Committee Minutes provide essential information for the National Union.
- The Minute Books of the Party's Numerous Committees provide a wealth of detail on behind-the-scenes thought and activity, from the Minutes of the Tactical Staff Committee, responsible for the Party's daily tactical response in the "political battle" to the records of the Trade Unionists' National Advisory Committee. The vital contribution of women is also extremely well documented.
- The Conservative Agents' Journal includes a myriad of articles and papers on all subjects of practical interest to the Party's Agents. Reports of Meetings and Conferences of the National Society of Conservative Unionist Agents appear in full.
- The Campaign Guides are a comprehensively detailed source for the key electoral struggles of modern Britain from the late nineteenth century right through to 1992. All these volumes are well indexed and contain a full conspectus of events and review of problems for each parliament with extensive background information and appendices.

The archives do not of course contain the private papers of individual Conservative politicians but they do provide a substantial amount of material relating to a large number of MPs, ministers, shadow ministers and a succession of well known Party Leaders including Salisbury, Baldwin, Chamberlain, Churchill, Eden, Macmillan, Heath, Thatcher and Major.

The word "Conservative", as opposed to the traditional term "Tory" was first used in Britain by George Canning in 1824. It is well known that the appellation "Tory" originated as a seventeenth century term of abuse describing Irish papist outlaws, probably first used in the context of English politics by Titus Oates in the 1670s. The word was first applied to a "party" during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-1681. The supporters of the hereditary principle and of the royal prerogative were

labelled "Tories" in contrast to the "Whigs" who wished to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne.

However, the modern Conservative Party essentially dates from the Tamworth Manifesto of 1834 in which Peel grafted ideas of moderate reform on to the older concept of respect for established institutions. A few decades later it was Disraeli who established the fundamental principles of the Party as "the maintenance of our institutions, the protection of our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of the People". After the 1886 split in the Liberal Party, caused by the debate over Irish Home Rule, Gladstone's opponents merged with the Conservative and Unionist Party. Under Disraeli the Party soon became the "traditional party of government" in office from 1886-1892 and again from 1895-1905. The last Liberal government and the coalition and war governments of 1915-1922 proved an interlude to this dominance of British politics. However, from 1922 onwards the Conservatives returned as the "traditional party of government" and since the Second World War the party has continued to dominate the political scene.

A number of influential leaders - Churchill, Eden, Macmillan, and later Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher and John Major, have overseen tremendous changes both at home and abroad.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHIVES OF THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY

The Conservative Party may be described as having a tripartite structure at all levels of political life. On one side is the Parliamentary Party, ranging from the individual constituency MPs to the parliamentary leadership. On the other is the voluntary 'rank and file', National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations (known as the National Union). This exists to bring together in a national organisation the otherwise separate and autonomous constituency associations, providing a channel for the expression of grass roots opinion and support through its Central Council, Executive Committee, Annual Conference and a number of national advisory committees. Between these two elements and servicing both is the professional party machine, again represented at all levels from Central Office and the Conservative Research Department down to the Area Offices and finally the constituency agents.

This apparently simple structure conceals an organisation of tremendous complexity and the interrelationship and interdependence of the various elements are reflected in the archives.

The Archives of the Conservative Party, deposited with the Bodleian Library in December 1978, are organised according to the particular office in which they were maintained and held rather than according to the element of the party from which they supposedly originate. They comprise the non-current papers from a number of offices or bodies:-

The Office of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations

Conservative Central Office, including the Leader's Private Office

The Party's Area Offices

The Conservative Research Department

The Conservative Whips' Office

Related Conservative organisations (e.g. the National Association of Conservative and Unionist Agents)

The National Union archive contains material exclusively from the National Union. The Central Office papers include not only Central Office files but also National Union Advisory Committee minute books and material from related Conservative organisations. The Area Office archives largely comprise National Union records. The Research Department, in addition to its own records, contains material from the Parliamentary Party. Finally the archives of the Whips' Office and of related Conservative organisations consist entirely of material from those bodies.

Papers from individual constituency associations are not held in the archives, but have in general been retained in association offices or transferred to local libraries and record offices. From the Parliamentary Party the minute books of the Conservative Private Members' (1922) Committee have been retained by the current secretary. The archives do not contain the private papers of individual Conservative politicians, although it is inevitable that material relating to a large number of MPs, ministers, shadow ministers and party leaders is present.

Prior to 1979 the party had neither archive nor archival policy. Consequently survival of material has been comparatively arbitrary. The oldest papers are to be found in the National Union collection and date from 1867. Area Office material survives from the 1880s onwards and Central Office files from 1911. The Research Department collection starts with the CRD's establishment in 1929 and a few inter-war files from the Whips' Office have also survived. The greater part of all the archives however, consists of post-Second World War material. Much was lost during the war, and a number of moves by Central Office since then have resulted in the destruction of still more, particularly from the period prior to 1939.

However, the microform collections available through Primary Source Media (please see list on page 17 of this guide) do include a significant element of early material. For instance, scholars and researchers can use microfiche of the original Executive Committee Minutes of the National Union of Conservative Associations dating from 1897, The Minutes and Reports of Conservative Party Conferences dating from 1867, and The Campaign Guide from 1885 through to 1992.

A cut-off-date of 31 December 1964 has been employed for the microfilming of all central minutes and reports.

Despite losses and gaps in the archive the collections of material at the Bodleian Library amount to a large and very important body of papers. Much cataloguing work has been carried out and each independent archival source within the party organisation has been given a three letter prefix, thus:-

The Office of the National Union	NUA
Conservative Central Office	CCO
The Party's Area Offices	ARE
The Conservative Research Department	CRD
The Conservative Whips' Office	WHP
Related Conservative Organisations	RCO

Within each collection files have been individually designated by a three-part index number, the first digit of which commonly denotes a particular department, the second a general subject area and the third a specific file. Thus CCO 500/18/52 indicates the 1962 Orpington By-Election file (52) in the general subject series 'By-Elections' (18), within the papers of the Director of Organisation (500), part of the archive of Conservative Central Office.

A number of Committees within the party organisation are of particular importance. These are listed here, together with their archival location:-

When the Party is in opposition the most important committee is clearly the Shadow Cabinet, known officially as the Leader's Consultative Committee. The Shadow Cabinet is serviced by the Conservative Research Department, and its minutes since 1964 are contained in the CRD collection. Minutes for earlier periods of opposition do not appear to have survived.

The Advisory Committee on Policy, created in 1949, comprises representatives from the different sections of the party (backbench MPs, peers, National Union, Party Chairman, CRD and CPC

directors and others) and exists to advise the Leader on policy matters. It commonly delegates the detailed consideration of particular issues to a number of policy groups which, like the main committee, are serviced by the Research Department.

A number of Parliamentary Committees also meet regularly to discuss particular aspects of policy. In opposition they are chaired by the relevant shadow minister, who continues to maintain contact when in power. Like the ACP and the policy groups, these parliamentary committees are generally serviced by the Research Department, and many of their minutes are contained in the CRD archive.

The Management Committee, known at various times as the Tactical Staff Committee, the Liaison Committee, the Policy Initiatives and Methods Committee and the Tactical Committee, is the chief tactical committee of the party. Composed partly of ministers/shadow ministers and partly of professional party staff, it has been responsible for the party's daily tactical response to the political battle. The minutes of the Tactical Staff Committee 1947-1951, are in the papers of the Chief Publicity Officer (CCO 650); those of the Liaison Committee are in the Research Department collection. Subsequent minutes are to be found in the papers of the Chairman's Office (CCO 20).

The principal committee within the National Union, the party's voluntary side, is the Executive Committee, responsible to the Central Council and to the Annual Conference. Annual Conference minutes date from 1867 (NUA 2), Central Council Minutes from 1899 (NUA 3) and Executive Committee from 1897 (NUA 4). A number of National Advisory Committees consider aspects of party policy and organisation, and express National Union opinion. They are invariably serviced by the Central Office departments, on whose functions they advise, and their minutes are to be found in the papers of these.

Within the areas a number of Area Councils act as a forum for regional rank and file opinion. Their minutes, dating from the 1880s, are contained within the Area Office archives.

Finally, although not a standing committee, mention might be made of the large number of ad hoc committees which have considered the state of party organisation. Starting with the Report of the Unionist Organisation Committee of 1911 they provide a useful record of the development of the party organisation and the state of the party generally throughout the twentieth century. The papers of these committees are to be found amongst those of the Director of Organisation (CCO 500), the General Director (CCO 120) and the National Union (NUA 6).

There is, of course, still a significant element of material retained at Central Office in London. The Conservative Research Department Library has volumes of Conference Reports, Campaign Guides and a collection of Pamphlets and Leaflets right up to the present time. There is also a complete run of the Conservative Agents' Journal 1902-1983 at Central Office.

Conservative Central Office

Conservative Central Office, established in 1870, constitutes the main professional, organisational element of the Party. Initially under the overall control of the Chief Whip, by 1911 it had grown sufficiently to warrant the appointment of a Chairman of the Party Organisation. This was, and has almost invariably been, a politician of cabinet or near cabinet rank, and the deputy and vice-chairmen have generally also been political appointments, though not necessarily MPs. The permanent head of Central Office for most of its existence was the Principal Agent, known from 1931 as the General Director. In the late 1920s the posts of Director of Publicity and Office Controller were temporarily raised to the same stature as Principal Agent, all three being directly

responsible to the Chairman. In 1966 the office of General Director was abolished, and the various departmental directors again became personally answerable to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

It is the function of Conservative Central Office 'to guide, inspire and co-ordinate the work of the party throughout the country, to advise and assist Constituency Associations and Area Councils and to provide such services as can best be organised centrally' [Maxwell Fyfe Report on Party Organisation, 1948]. To that end it contains a large number of departments and sub-departments, each responsible for one or more aspects of party organisation. At the top are the Leader's Private Office, housed in No. 10 Downing Street when the party is in power, and the Chairman's Office. Beneath these come the offices of the Deputy Chairman or Chairmen and the Vice-Chairmen. The number of vice-chairmen varies, but there are commonly at least three, responsible for the women's organisation, the candidates' list and local government. Other vice-chairmen have had responsibility for party organisation generally, for the International Office and for the Young Conservatives. The party Treasurer is sometimes also the Deputy Chairman and the Treasurer's Office is of the same standing as those of the Deputy and Vice-Chairmen. Closely connected with the Treasurer's Office is the Conservative Board of Finance, which assists particularly in raising money from areas and through the constituency quota scheme. The Treasurer and Board of Finance are technically independent of Central Office but are housed in the same building. In party literature they are described as the 'Party Treasurer's at Central Office' and their papers have, for the purposes of this archive, been included within the Central Office collection.

The organisation within Central Office has seen many alterations, and departments and sections have appeared and disappeared in response to changing organisational emphases. Similarly the administrative system of record keeping has undergone a gradual change, as the central filing registry of the inter- and post-war years gave way to a departmentally orientated method of keeping files. Because this development was gradual the two systems overlap, with registry files dating from 1921 to 1978 and departmentally held records stretching back as far as 1911, although with the bulk starting after 1945.

There are six registry series of files. CCO 1 contains correspondence with and about individual constituency associations and dates from May 1936. CCO 2, starting in March 1949, is a similar series of files for the party's area organisations. CCO 3 consists of correspondence files with and about other organisations ranging from agents' societies and Conservative clubs to Labour, women's, youth and other bodies, both related to the party (e.g. the Bow Group, the Conservative Teachers' Association) and wholly unrelated (e.g. the BBC and the Labour and Liberal parties). The earliest files in this series date from June 1936. CCO 4 is a series of special subject files on almost any and every issue. Files start in 1921 and range from education and industry to flag days, bazaars and by-elections. CCO 5 contains general correspondence with the public, prospective candidates, party workers, applicants for jobs and, very occasionally, MPs. Files date from the 1930s. Finally CCO 6 relates entirely to the Unionist Agents' Superannuation Fund and the Conservative Agents' Benevolent Association.

Turning to the records of individual departments, the largest unit within Central Office is the Organisation Department. This is something of an umbrella body, with sub-sections which have, at various times, included the Industrial, Local Government, Speakers' and Education Departments, the Overseas Bureau, Young Conservatives, Students, Personnel, the Small Business Bureau and the Organisation and Legal Officer, to name only a few. The various sections of the Organisation Department are numbered between CCO 500 (the Director of Organisation's Office) and CCO 599. Certain departments started as sub-sections of Organisation and graduated to independent status.

The Local Government Department is one such. An Organisation Department reference (CCO 508) indicates this fact, although its files will now be found under an independent number (CCO 130).

Other primary departments, some of which have their own sub-departments, include the General Director's Office, the Publicity Department, Community Affairs, the International Office/Overseas Bureau, the Conservative Political Centre, the Women's Organisation Office, Finance and Resources and the Public Opinion Research Department.

In a collection of this size it is difficult to point to specific files of particular interest. The Leader's Office papers so far received in the archive consist almost exclusively of correspondence with the general public since 1975, and so do not yet live up to their promise. The Chairman's Office papers, by contrast, date from 1940 and contain much of value. There is no material surviving from the offices of the Deputy Chairmen and little from those of the Vice-Chairmen, whilst all Treasurer's and Board of Finance files have been retained at Central Office for the time being (but see CCO 100 and 110). The General Director's papers have been decimated since the post was abolished, but what remains, on by-elections and party organisation for example, is of interest. The records of the various departmental directors are generally of considerable importance, and this is particularly true of the Director of Organisation's files which range over a wide variety of issues. There was considerable inter-departmental correspondence and discussion, as well as a regular weekly Chairman's Meeting attended by all departmental heads. Consequently the files of some directors reflect a wider range of interests than those which were their primary departmental concern. Finally, mention should be made of the 'Outside Organisations' and 'Special Subjects' series of registry files, whose scope is extremely large and whose content, whilst largely routine, is occasionally of considerable interest.

The National Union

The history of the National Union goes back to 1867. At a meeting in London held on November 12th, it was decided to form a federation of local Conservative Associations under the title of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations. This was the beginning of the National Union, an organisation which was in the course of time to give nation-wide scope to the objects and aspirations of the various societies and associations which had sprung up in many constituencies after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832.

At a Special Conference held in May 1886, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, it was decided to promote the more efficient organisation of the National Union by forming ten Provincial Divisions - eight in England and two in Wales.

No further development of importance took place until 1906. One result of the great political landslide in January was the creation of the Junior Imperial and Constitutional League, the objects of which were to give the young people an opportunity of taking some share in the political life of the nation and to provide an organisation which would be a means of giving purpose and direction to their activities. In order to make the National Union more representative a scheme of re-organisation was agreed to at a Special Conference held in July 1906. This gave each county and certain big cities and boroughs in England and Wales direct representation on the Central Council.

The year 1912 stands out as an important landmark in the history of the National Union. This was the year when the Conservative and Liberal Unionist wings of the Party amalgamated. Their fusion led to the name of the National Union being changed to that of the National Unionist Association of Conservative and Liberal-Unionist organisations.

Active Party work was suspended during the Great War 1914-18, after which the Party found itself faced with conditions very different from those existing before the war. The Representation of the People Act 1918 had not only led to a large increase in the number of electors, but had also given the vote for the first time to women, though not under the age of 30. To meet the changed conditions the rules of the National Union were amended to provide for the inclusion of women in the Party Organisation. During the following ten years which culminated in 1928, in the granting of equal franchise to men and women at 21, women began to play an increasingly active part in the work of the Party and were given an equal status with men in the Organisation.

At the Annual Conference held in October 1924, a new constitution and rules were adopted under the title of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and the familiar term "National Union" restored. The Central Council was enlarged by giving direct representation to each constituency Association in England and Wales, and by the inclusion of Conservative and Unionist Members of both Houses of Parliament in receipt of the Party Whip.

Following the defeat of the Party at the General Election in May 1929, a Sub-Committee was set up to examine the rules and organisation of the National Union. In presenting its report to the Central Council in March 1930, the Sub-Committee said that, while preserving full individuality to the constituency as a unit, it was to the greater activity of the Provincial Areas that they must look in future for a revival of local interest and a more extended means of spreading our political principles. The rules were revised to provide for a Council and Executive Committee in each of the twelve areas into which England and Wales were divided. Prospective Conservative and Unionist Candidates, officially selected by Constituency Associations, were granted membership of the Central Council. The responsibility for rule-making was transferred from the Conference to the Central Council.

During the Second World War local Conservative Associations were practically closed down. Meetings of the Central Council however, were held each year and the Executive Committee continued its work. The first Party Conference to be held after the outbreak of war took place in May 1943, and a second Conference was held in March 1945. This second Conference enthusiastically endorsed the recommendations of what is known as the Palmer Report, which called for an early revival of the Party's Youth Movement.

The rules of the National Union were again revised by the Central Council in March 1947. The name "Young Conservative and Unionist", was given to the Party's Youth Movement, and steps were also taken to broaden the basis of the Party Organisation. Thus provision was made for each Constituency Association to include in its representation on the Central Council the Chairman (or a deputy) of its Conservative Trade Union Council or Conservative Labour Advisory Committee. Each Provincial Area was empowered to elect a Conservative Trade Unionist to the Executive Committee.

In June 1948, the Executive Committee set up a Committee, under the Chairmanship of Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, GCVO, QC, MP, to study reports on Party finance, financial arrangements of Candidates and employment of Agents, and to suggest how the proposals could best be implemented; also to examine the constitution of the National Union and the relationships between the Constituencies, the Provincial Areas, the National Union and the Party as a whole. An interim report was approved by the Llandudno Conference in October 1948, and the final report was approved by the Central Council at a special meeting held in London in July 1949.

Today the National Union possesses a truly democratic form of organisation. Every Constituency is entitled to be represented at the Annual Conference by two men, two women, two Young Conservatives and a Conservative Trade Unionist. Under the amended rules of the National Union, consequent on the adoption of the recommendations of the Committee on Trade Unionist Policy and

Organisation established in 1952, this Trade Unionist representative is the Chairman or a deputy of the Divisional Council of Conservative Trade Unionists. Each Provincial Area is represented on the National Union Executive Committee by its Chairman, Treasurer, Chairman of the Women's Advisory Committee, one Young Conservative, and a Conservative Trade Unionist; the larger areas have additional representatives.

The Officers of the National Union are elected by the Central Council and consist of a President, a Chairman and three Vice-Chairmen. The Executive Committee elects its own Chairman and appoints an Honorary Secretary and a Secretary of the National Union. The Executive Committee has only taken part in the formal proceedings of electing the Party's Leader since 1937. This was when Mr Neville Chamberlain succeeded Mr Baldwin, the Committee was also invited to the meeting which elected Mr Churchill in 1940. Formerly, it had been the custom for Members of the House of Commons alone to elect the Leader. A change in the procedure, however, took place in 1922, when Mr Bonar Law resumed the Leadership, and invitations to the Party meeting which elected him were sent to Peers and also to adopted Parliamentary Candidates. The same procedure was followed when Mr Baldwin succeeded Mr Bonar Law in 1923. The body which elects the Party Leader now consists of the Conservative and Unionist Members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, all prospective Conservative and Unionist Parliamentary Candidates in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Executive Committee of the National Union.

As mentioned in the previous sections of this introduction, there are very close links between Central Office and the National Union. The Central Office, which was founded by the great Disraeli himself, has grown and developed parallel with the National Union. Disraeli always took the greatest interest in Party matters and did much to encourage the formation of local Associations. After the General Election of 1868, which followed the second Reform Act of 1867, he devoted himself, while out of office, to the task of strengthening the Party machine. One of his innovations was the setting up, in 1870, of a Conservative Central Office, with Sir John Gorst as Party Manager.

Yet the National Union and the Central Office were for a short time completely distinct and separate bodies. In 1872, however, an arrangement was made by which the work of the National Union - which continued nevertheless to maintain its own individuality - became more closely associated with that of the Party generally, and its headquarters were transferred to the premises occupied by the Central Office.

In 1911 it was decided to create the post of Chairman of the Party Organisation to take over the duties at Central Office previously performed by the Chief Whip. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland was the first Chairman. In addition to the Chairman there are two Vice-Chairmen and two Treasurers. All these appointments are made by the Leader of the Party. The General Director is the principal official in charge of the Central Office and is responsible to the Chairman for the general organisation of the Party.

The Central Office organisation is closely linked with that of the National Union both at the Centre and in the areas. The General Director is customarily appointed Honorary Secretary of the National Union, and the Central Office Agents are usually appointed Honorary Secretaries of their Provincial Area Councils and Committees. In addition, various Departments of the Central Office are linked with the National Union through Advisory Committees of the Executive Committee of the National Union.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MICROFORM COLLECTIONS

Pamphlets and Leaflets:

Part 1: 1868-1901 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 2: 1902-1914 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 3: 1915-1925 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 4: 1926-1937 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 5: 1938-1949 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 6: 1950-1956 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 7: 1957-1963 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 8: 1964-1969 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 9: 1970-1978 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Part 10: 1979-1986 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee, 1897-1956; Minutes of the Central Council Meetings, 1899-1956; Annual Reports of the Executive Committee to the Central Council, 1919-1945 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Minutes and Reports of the Conservative Party Annual Conferences, 1867-1946 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

British General Election Campaign Guides, 1885-1950 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Annual Conference Reports, 1947-1963; Campaign Guides, 1951-1974; Conservative Agents' Journal, 1902-1983 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

Annual Conference Reports, 1965-1991; Campaign Guides, 1977-1992 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

National Union Gleanings and Continuations, 1893-1968 (35mm silver-halide positive microfilm)

Conservative Party Committee Minutes, 1909-1964 (35mm silver-halide positive microfilm)

Advisory Committee on Policy Correspondence, Minutes and Papers, 1946-1964 (silver-halide positive microfiche)

BRIEF NOTE ON PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS, PARTS 1-10 (1868-1986)

Part 1:	1868 - 1901
Part 2:	1902 - 1914
Part 3:	1915 - 1925
Part 4:	1926 - 1937
Part 5:	1938 - 1949
Part 6:	1950 - 1956
Part 7:	1957 - 1963
Part 8:	1964 - 1969
Part 9:	1970 - 1978
Part 10:	1979 - 1986

This major microfiche series makes available well over 5,000 pamphlets and leaflets issued by the Conservative Party between 1868 and 1986. These complete original file sets provide a useful guide to Conservative thinking and policy from the administrations of the 1870s and 1880s right through to the first seven years of the Margaret Thatcher government.

Author indexes and chronological listings appear on the first fiche of each part.

Additional Conservative Party pamphlets and leaflets are deposited at the Bodleian Library, separate from the Conservative Party Archive (full lists are available from the Conservative Party archivist), these are:

- National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations pamphlets and leaflets (1891-1987)
- Conservative Political Centre pamphlets and leaflets (1946-1984)
- The Bow Group pamphlets and leaflets (1951-1985)

The Collections

**Minutes of the National Union
Executive Committee, 1897-1956
Minutes of the Central Council
Meetings, 1899-1956
Annual Reports of the
Executive Committee to Central
Council, 1919-1945**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

Primary Source Microfilm offers the complete run of private minute books (as released so far up to 1956) of the highest echelons of the British Conservative and Unionist Party from 1897. This major archival collection comprises:-

Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee 1897-1956; Minutes of the Central Council Meetings 1899-1956; and the Annual Reports of the Executive Committee to Central Council 1919-1945.

Attention should be drawn to the arrangement of this microform edition. The first section comprises the Minutes of the National Executive Committee and all minutes from 1897 to 1938 have been indexed in four parts (see note on indexes below). These four indexes appear on the first three fiche. The indexes are in manuscript (the Minutes only remained in manuscript form until 7 February 1922) and there has been some loss of image through ink-fade. We have produced the best image possible. For further details of these indexes refer to Card 1. The Minutes of the Central Council Meetings were also indexed. Refer to Card 102 for further details.

In order to establish the integrity of the minutes all pages with a folio number have been filmed, even when pages are blank. Supporting documents were not usually foliod and these have been given, by Primary Source Media, an A, B, C, D etc. numbering when necessary. To aid the user we begin each year with a new fiche. However, whenever we have been able to fit two or more complete years onto one fiche we have done so. The dates of the minutes which are clearly marked on each header are those of the Executive Committee Minutes and never of the supporting documents which always follow the minutes they support.

Note about the indexes

The Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee have been indexed from 1897 to 1938. The indexes are in manuscript and ink-fade has caused a serious loss of image. We offer the material, conscious of this difficulty.

- INDEX 1 - For the Minutes of 2 April 1897-21 July 1911.
These appear on Cards 4-14.
- INDEX 2 - For the Minutes of 13 October 1911-8 February 1917.
These appear on Cards 14-21.
- INDEX 3 - For the Minutes of 13 March 1917-7 February 1922.
These appear on Cards 21-30.
- INDEX 4 - For the Minutes of 14 March 1922-9 November 1938.
These appear on Cards 30-59.

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1897-1956
MINUTES OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS, 1899-1956
ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CENTRAL COUNCIL,
1919-1945

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1897-1956

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10 February-14 December 1920	(Cards 26-27)
8 February-13 December 1921	(Cards 28-29)
7 February-1 December 1922	(Card 30)
6 February-13 November 1923	(Card 31)
29 January-9 December 1924	(Card 32)
13 January-8 December 1925	(Card 33)
9 February-14 December 1926	(Cards 34-35)
15 February-13 December 1927	(Card 36)
14 February-11 December 1928	(Card 37)
12 February-10 December 1929	(Cards 38-39)
14 January-9 December 1930	(Cards 40-41)
13 January-8 December 1931	(Cards 42-43)
23 February-14 December 1932	(Cards 44-45)
15 February-13 December 1933	(Cards 46-47)
29 January-28 November 1934	(Cards 48-50)
9 January-11 December 1935	(Cards 51-53)
12 February-9 December 1936	(Cards 54-55)
10 February-8 December 1937	(Cards 56-57)
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9 January-11 December 1947	(Cards 69-72)
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11 February-10 November 1954	(Cards 95-96)
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MINUTES OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETINGS, 1899-1956

<u>Index 1</u> - 28 November 1899-8 June 1917	(Card 102)
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2 February-18 December 1900	(Card 105)
15 February-26 November 1901	(Card 106)
17 January-5 December 1902	(Card 107)
6 March-6 November 1903	(Card 108)
12 February-2 December 1904	(Card 109)
24 February-8 December 1905	(Card 110)
23 February-26 October 1906	(Card 111)
15 February-13 November 1907	(Card 112)

31 January-18 November 1908	(Card 113)
19 February-16 November 1909	(Card 113)
25 February-16 November 1910	(Card 114)
10 February-3 November 1911	(Card 115)
16 February-13 November 1912	(Card 116)
30 January-12 November 1913	(Card 117)
12 February-17 July 1914	(Card 118)
There were no Central Council Minutes for the war-time year 1915	
17 February-16 November 1916	(Card 118)
18 January-10 July 1917	(Cards 119-120)
9 April 1918	(Card 120)
11 March-18 November 1919	(Card 120)
17 February-19 October 1920	(Card 121)
22 February-21 June 1921	(Card 121)
21 February-27 June 1922	(Card 122)
20 February-29 June 1923	(Card 122)
12 February-1 July 1924	(Card 123)
24 February-30 June 1925	(Card 123)
23 February-22 June 1926	(Card 124)
1 March-28 June 1927	(Card 125)
28 February-26 June 1928	(Card 126)
26 February-2 July 1929	(Card 127)
4 March-25 November 1930	(Card 128)
24 February-30 June 1931	(Card 128)
8 March-28 June 1932	(Card 129)
28 February-28 June 1933	(Card 129)
28 March-4 December 1934	(Card 130)
27 March 1935	(Card 130)

25 March-24 June 1936	(Card 131)
23 March-24 June 1937	(Card 131)
24 March-30 June 1938	(Card 132)
30 March-29 June 1939	(Card 132)
4 April 1940	(Card 133)
27 March-2 October 1941	(Card 133)
26 March-1 October 1942	(Card 134)
20 May-7 October 1943	(Card 135)
There were no Central Council Minutes for the war-time year 1944	
14 March-28 November 1945	(Card 136)
27 March 1946	(Card 136)
13 March 1947	(Card 137)
18 March 1948	(Card 137)
17 March-15 July 1949	(Card 138)
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20 March 1952	(Card 140)
20 March 1953	(Card 140)
18 March 1954	(Card 141)
17 March 1955	(Card 142)
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ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CENTRAL COUNCIL,
1919-1945

11 March-18 November 1919	(Card 143)
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21 February-27 June 1922	(Card 143)

20 February-29 June 1923	(Card 144)
12 February-1 July 1924	(Card 144)
24 February-30 June 1925	(Card 144)
23 February-22 June 1926	(Card 145)
1 March-28 June 1927	(Card 145)
28 February-26 June 1928	(Card 145)
26 February-2 July 1929	(Card 145)
4 March-25 November 1930	(Card 146)
24 February-30 June 1931	(Card 146)
8 March-28 June 1932	(Card 146)
28 February-28 June 1933	(Card 146)
28 March-27 June 1934	(Card 147)
27 March-26 June 1935	(Card 147)
25 March-24 June 1936	(Card 147)
23 March-24 June 1937	(Card 147)
24 March-30 June 1938	(Card 148)
30 March-29 June 1939	(Card 148)
4 April 1940	(Card 148)
27 March-2 October 1941	(Card 149)
26 March-1 October 1942	(Card 149)
20 May-7 October 1943	(Card 149)
There is no Report of the Executive Committee to Central Council for the war-time year 1944	
14 March 1945	(Card 150)

**Minutes and Reports
of the Conservative Party
Annual Conferences,
1867-1946**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

This microfiche edition of the Minutes and Reports of the Conservative Party Annual Conferences provides a unique record of the shaping of party policy from the very first conference in November 1867 through to the 67th Annual Conference in October 1946.

During this period the Conservative Party did not issue any printed account of their Party Conferences. For 1867-1896 the only record is to be found in the manuscript minute books. Thereafter the conferences were recorded in selected press cuttings, manuscript notes, typed lists and some printed agenda. No other record exists of the resolutions and decisions taken during conference by what was to be the most electorally successful party of modern Britain.

A number of gaps exist in the records:

Firstly, no extant accounts exist for the conferences held during 1888, 1889, 1893, 1943 and 1945.

Secondly, no annual conferences were held in 1906 (a Special Conference took place), 1914-1918 inclusive (war-time years), 1919, 1930 (a Special Conference took place), 1931, 1938-1942 inclusive, and 1944.

Special Conferences were held in 1886, 1906, 1912, 1917 and 1930.

These irregularities are clearly indicated not only on the List of Contents but also on the fiche headings.

We have not attempted to number the conferences. Initially the Minutes and Reports were numbered from the Inaugural Conference and the 1884 Annual Conference was numbered the 18th. Thereafter no number was given to the conferences though in 1903 it was noted on the typed list of representatives that this was the 38th Conference. This numbering included not only the Inaugural Conference but also the 1886 Special Conference. Thereafter no numbers were given to the conferences. F.W.S. Craig in his *Conservative & Labour Party Conference Decisions 1945-1981* has provided a full list of the conferences on pages 463-467, and he has numbered all Annual Conferences from 1868, excluding the Inaugural and Special Conferences in the numbering sequence.

Neither numbering sequence is entirely satisfactory and we leave it to the individual scholar and user of the material to decide how and whether they wish to refer to the Annual Conferences by number. All the references in this programme are to the dates of the Conferences.

Attention must be drawn to the nature of the original material. A proportion of this is in manuscript and there has been some loss of image through ink-fade. The cuttings are in relatively good order but there are times when these original characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast which stringent tests and camera alterations cannot entirely overcome. We have sought to exercise all responsible care and to meet the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM) and the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

A complete listing of the documents appears on each fiche which starts with a new conference. In a number of cases more than one conference is reproduced on a fiche.

The original Minutes and Reports, together with other Conservative Party Archives, are now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Two microfiche updates covering the Conference Reports from 1947 to 1963 and 1965 to 1991 have now been published. Please see pages 55 and 87 respectively of this guide.

MINUTES AND REPORTS OF THE CONSERVATIVE
PARTY ANNUAL CONFERENCES, 1867-1946

CONTENTS OF FICHE

The listing below gives the date of each conference, indicates whether the conference was other than an Annual Conference, whether a report is missing, when an Annual Conference was not held, and also specifies the Bodleian Library volume reference and the card number.

1867	12 November	Inaugural Conference (NUA 2/1/1)	(Cards 1-2)
1868	29 December	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 3)
1869	11 June	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 3)
1870	20 April	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 3)
1871	2 June	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 4)
1872	24 June	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 4)
1873	16 April	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 4)
1874	1 July	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 4)
1875	19 June	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 5)
1876	25 October	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 5)
1877	30 June	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 6)
1878	17 July	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 6)
1879	25 October	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 7)
1880	23 July	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 8)
1881	11 October	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 9)
1882	14 November	(NUA 2/1/1)	(Card 9)
1883	2 October	(NUA 2/1/2)	(Card 10)
1884	23 July	(NUA 2/1/3)	(Cards 11-13)
1885	6 October	(NUA 2/1/4)	(Cards 14-16)
1886	15 May	Special Conference, on the Organisation of the National Union (NUA 2/1/5)	(Cards 17-19)
1886	26 October	(NUA 2/1/6)	(Cards 20-22)

1887	22-23 November	(NUA 2/1/7)	(Cards 23-26)
1888	2-3 November	(Missing)	
1889	26-27 November	(Missing)	
1890	18-19 November	(NUA 2/1/10)	(Cards 27-31)
1891	24-25 November	(NUA 2/1/11)	(Cards 32-35)
1892	13-14 December	(NUA 2/1/12)	(Cards 36-39)
1893	28-29 November	(Missing)	
1894	13-14 November	(NUA 2/1/14)	(Cards 40-49)
1895	19-20 November	(NUA 2/1/15)	(Cards 50-57)
1896	17-18 November	(NUA 2/1/16)	(Cards 58-59)
1897	16-17 November	(NUA 2/1/17)	(Card 60)
1898	29-30 November	(NUA 2/1/18)	(Cards 61-62)
1899	28-29 November	(NUA 2/1/19)	(Cards 63-64)
1900	18 December	(NUA 2/1/20)	(Card 64)
1901	26-27 November	(NUA 2/1/21)	(Card 65)
1902	14-15 October	(NUA 211/22)	(Cards 66-67)
1903	1-2 October	(NUA 2/1/23)	(Cards 68-70)
1904	28-29 October	(NUA 2/1/24)	(Cards 71-72)
1905	14-15 November	(NUA 2/1/25)	(Cards 73-74)
1906	27 July	Special Conference, on Special Rules Revision (NUA 2/1/26)	(Card 75)
1906	No Annual Conference was held		
1907	14-15 November	(NUA 2/1/27)	(Cards 76-77)
1908	19-20 November	(NUA 2/1/28)	(Cards 78-79)
1909	17-18 November	(NUA 2/1/29)	(Cards 80-81)
1910	17 November	(NUA 2/1/30)	(Cards 82-83)
1911	16-17 November	(NUA 2/1/31)	(Cards 84-85)
1912	9 May	Special Conference, on Amalgamation of Conservative and Liberal Unionist Associations (NUA 2/1/32)	(Card 86)

1912	14-15 November	(NUA 2/1/33)	(Cards 87-89)
1913	13-14 November	(NUA 2/1/34)	(Cards 90-92)
1914	No Annual Conference was held		
1915	No Annual Conference was held		
1916	No Annual Conference was held		
1917	30 November	Special Conference, on Representation of the People Bill (NUA 2/1/35)	(Cards 93-94)
1917	No Annual Conference was held		
1918	No Annual Conference was held		
1919	No Annual Conference was held		
1920	10-11 June	(NUA 2/1/36)	(Cards 95-96)
1921	17-18 November	(NUA 2/1/37)	(Cards 97-98)
1922	15-16 December	(NUA 2/1/38)	(Cards 99-100)
1923	25-26 October	(NUA 2/1/39)	(Cards 101-102)
1924	2-3 October	(NUA 2/1/40)	(Cards 103-105)
1925	8-9 October	(NUA 2/1/41)	(Cards 106-108)
1926	7-8 October	(NUA 2/1/42)	(Cards 109-110)
1927	6-7 October	(NUA 2/1/43)	(Cards 111-113)
1928	27-28 September	(NUA 2/1/44)	(Cards 114-116)
1929	21-22 November	(NUA 2/1/45)	(Cards 117-119)
1930	1 July	Special Conference, on Constitution of the National Union (NUA 2/1/46)	(Cards 120-122)
1930	No Annual Conference was held		
1931	No Annual Conference was held		
1932	6-7 October	(NUA 2/1/47)	(Card 123)
1933	5-6 October	(NUA 2/1/48)	(Card 124)
1934	4-5 October	(NUA 2/1/49)	(Cards 125-126)
1935	3-4 October	(NUA 2/1/50)	(Cards 127-128)
1936	1-2 October	(NUA 2/1/51)	(Cards 129-130)

1937	7-8 October	(NUA 2/1/52)	(Cards 131-132)
1938	No Annual Conference was held		
1939	No Annual Conference was held		
1940	No Annual Conference was held		
1941	No Annual Conference was held		
1942	No Annual Conference was held		
1943	20-21 May	(Missing)	
1944	No Annual Conference was held		
1945	14-15 March	(Missing)	
1946	3-5 October	(NUA 2/1/55)	(Cards 133-134)

**British General Election
Campaign Guides,
1885-1950**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

The 'Campaign Guides' give the history of all important questions of the period and a full record of performances of Conservative, Labour, Liberal and Radical parties. They are a primary source for the arguments, questions, evidence and contemporary viewpoints for the electoral struggles of modern Britain and present essential facts in a handy and accessible form.

They include all important utterances of Gladstone, Salisbury, Joseph Chamberlain, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Lloyd George, Balfour, Bonar Law, Baldwin, MacDonald, Neville Chamberlain, Churchill and Attlee (and many other major and minor figures) in this period, and all are extensively indexed.

This encyclopaedia of politics in Britain is supplied for the years 1885, 1892, 1895, 1900, 1906, 1909, 1914, 1922, 1929, 1931, 1935, 1945 and 1950: no Guide appeared for the elections of 1910, 1923 and 1924: that for 1914 was prepared for the election that was stopped by the outbreak of war. Where possible, lengthy new introductions have been commissioned. Mr. G.D.M. Block (Conservative Party Research Department, London) has written a general introduction dealing with questions of bibliography and authorship.

Two microfiche updates covering Campaign Guides from 1951 to 1974 and 1977 to 1992 have been published. Please see pages 55 and 87 of this guide.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGN GUIDE

By Geoffrey D.M. Block

Scottish origins

Like many good ideas the *Campaign Guide* originated in Scotland. There is a strong hint in the preface to the first *Guide* of 1892 that its immediate cause was disappointment at English failure to deliver the goods. "It had been anticipated", states that preface, "that a work of the kind would emanate from London". Central Office in London had certainly produced, for the 1885 General Election, a set of notes on various topics which were bound together under the title of *Campaign Notes 1885*. As D.H. Urwin has pointed out in "The development of Conservative Party organisation in Scotland till 1912" (*Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 14 No. 138, October 1965) Scottish Unionists relied heavily on London for their political literature. But in the words of the 1892 preface, "As no English Hand-Book had been announced, the Council [of the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland] authorised the preparation of their work, which they intrusted to a small committee of their number" and in ten weeks the first *Campaign Guide* was completed.

This occurred at a significant time in the development of Conservatism in Scotland when, aided by the Liberal Unionist breakaway, the Tories were beginning to find increasing support among the industrial middle classes and "had ceased to be almost entirely confined to lairds and factors" (D.H. Urwin). The *Campaign Guide* which they produced was, with its broad synoptic approach, an advance on the largely factual *Campaign Notes* of 1885 which has been included in this microfiche edition. It was an immediate success and ran through four impressions (erroneously called editions by the editors).

For the record it should be made clear that the 1892 *Campaign Guide* was the first. A.S. Pringle's preface to the 1914 edition contains the statement that a contributor had been associated with the *Campaign Guide* since "that which was prepared for the General Election of 1886". Pringle may have had in mind *Campaign Notes 1885* published in London; but he could not have been referring to the *Campaign Guide*. Unfortunately this reference to 1886 has been repeated subsequently in a few other sources.

Joint sponsorship

As a result of its success there was a joint request from Conservative Central Office in London and the Council of the Scottish National Union for a further *Guide* in 1894 when a General Election was thought to be rapidly approaching. This resulted in the second guide, issued in March 1894. The joint sponsorship of the London headquarters and the Scottish National Union remained on the title page until 1914 and Edinburgh remained the place of publication for all editions of the *Campaign Guide* up to and including 1909.

In the early summer of 1895 the 3rd and 4th guides were produced because the election expected in the spring of 1894 was delayed and the 1894 edition had run out of print. We are told in the preface to the 1895 *Guide* that a separate edition of the Irish section of the second *Campaign Guide* was produced for use by the Irish Unionist Alliance. This 1895 issue was a revised version of the 1894 edition updated to the defeat of Lord Rosebery on 21st June 1895.

The 1900 *Guide* produced for the election of that year, was described in its preface as "in great part re-written". The 1904 *Guide* was a substantially revised version of it, updated to 20th

September 1904, with some new chapters. The next edition, produced because of the sudden dissolution of Parliament, appeared in January 1906. It was the 1904 text unchanged, but with the addition of a 63 page supplementary chapter, and footnote references to it. For this reason the 1904 edition has not been included in this series. The edition published at the end of 1909 was much re-written and rearranged, with several new chapters.

London publication

The 1914 *Guide* was the first to be published in London, though still jointly sponsored on the title page by the English and the Scots (at that time the National Union and the Scottish Unionist Association). Its editor was A.S. Pringle who had written the "Fiscal Reform" chapter of the 1909 *Campaign Guide*. Pringle was responsible to (Sir) Malcolm Fraser, then Head of the Publications Department of the National Union. Reference is made in the preface to the Publications Committee of the National Unionist Association who must have had overall responsibility for its production. The Scottish Unionist Association are thanked for permission to adopt the name of *Campaign Guide* and to use previous editions as a basis for this edition - though the 1914 *Guide* was in practice a wholly re-written and largely remodelled version.

The 1922 *Guide* had the preface signed by the Chairman of the Publications Committee, "R.A.S." (Sir Robert Sanders, later Lord Bayford). According to Mr. Percy Cohen (see p.7), it was edited by Philip Cambray, who also wrote Chapter II, the "Political Summary 1914-1922". Cambray was head of the Central Office Reference and Literature Department. By that date the English felt equal to taking over the *Guide* completely. They certainly produced a very bulky edition - over 1,000 pages long. Unfortunately, they took a long time to produce it and the sad fact is that it turned up too late for the campaign. The date of receipt at the British Museum Library is 23 November 1922 - eight days after Polling Day.

This effort may have been too much for the English, for no *Campaign Guide* appeared at the 1923 or 1924 Elections. The idea was permanently revived by Conservative Central Office for the 1929 and all subsequent elections. These Guides were efficiently produced on time; but they now assume the more anonymous style of Central Office. No names are mentioned and the prefaces are laconic. Of the post-1922 issues reproduced in this series only the 1950 *Campaign Guide* bears even the editor's initials, "P.C." standing for Percy Cohen.

Some sources used

The compilers of the early *Campaign Guides*, however, have given some helpful information in their prefaces and their indebtedness to Party publications is made clear. Apart from the Scottish National Union's leaflets, mention is made of all the standard Conservative publications of the period including the *Constitutional Yearbook*, *National Union Gleanings* and *Handy Notes*. Assistance from the Scottish Unionist Headquarters from Central Office and the National Union in London, from the Irish Unionist Alliance, from the Liberal Unionists and from "other Unionist organisations" is recognised. In 1909, when the debate raged on tariffs and Lloyd George's budget, acknowledgements are made to the Budget Protest League and the Tariff Reform League. In 1914 the advice of the Anti-Socialist Union, the Union Defence League and the London Municipal Society was sought "in dealing with their special subjects". Acknowledgement is also made in the 1914 preface to "the Central Church Committee for Defence and Instruction in connection with Welsh Disestablishment". Furthermore there was a link with the Land Union and the Central Land Association.

An indication of the broad-minded approach of the Edinburgh *Campaign Guides* is seen in the statement made in the 1892 preface - and subsequently repeated - that "whilst Liberal Unionists may not subscribe to everything in these pages, the book contains much that is common ground to the parties...". At the height of the Tariff controversy the 1904 preface stated that on "the Fiscal question" the *Campaign Guide* supported Prime Minister Balfour, while the proposals of Mr Joseph Chamberlain were examined "from a neutral standpoint".

Contributors 1892-1922

The compilers of the early *Guides* took the precaution of recording their names for posterity. With the aid of Grant's *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1944) and other sources of reference it has been possible (with one or two queries) to identify the 45 contributors named. As the National Union in Scotland was dominated by lawyers it is not surprising to find that nearly all the compilers of the *Guide* were barristers ("advocates"). They formed an Editorial Committee, normally of four members, who shouldered much of the work but also received contributions from other Unionists. At least two-thirds of these editors and contributors reached positions of some national eminence. Many of them contested elections and a third of them got into Parliament. Some like Lord Sands (C.N. Johnson) and Lord Fleming rose to the Bench. Included among these compilers of the *Guides* are one Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade; three Under-Secretaries at the Scottish office; one Whip; three Solicitors-General; and in the Cabinet: one First Lord of the Admiralty; one Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries; one Home Secretary; one Chancellor of the Exchequer; one Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords; and one Lord Chancellor.

The name of Lord Kilmuir has been added because, while he is not mentioned in the prefaces, he states in his autobiography, published in 1964, that as a young man he was lent to Central Office to help with the preparation of the 1922 *Campaign Guide*. This is referred to indirectly in the 1922 preface by the acknowledgement to (Sir) Patrick Hannon. As director of the British Commonwealth Union, which then employed the future Lord Kilmuir, Hannon would have been responsible for releasing him to work at Central Office. Lord Kilmuir recorded the occasion in noticeably warm terms - "To my great joy I was lent to the Conservative Central Office to help with the preparation of the 1922 Campaign Guide" (*Political Adventure*, p.20).

Two other names worth noting are (Sir) Edwin Savill, a surveyor and Vice-Chairman of the Land Union, and Bevil Tollemache, Secretary to the Central Land Association (now the Country Landowners' Association). They illustrate the importance attached to problems of land and land taxation when the 1914 *Campaign Guide* was being compiled.

The 1914 and 1922 editions were the first to be published in London, but their chapters on Scotland were still written in Scotland under the editorship of the veteran C.N. Johnson, K.C. (Lord Sands) and (Sir) Matthew Fraser respectively. Thereafter no names are available from the prefaces. A few names that survive in recollection are mentioned below.

Central Office production

In 1929, when the idea of a *Campaign Guide* was revived, the familiar oblong shape was adopted. The preface to this edition indicates that the traumatic experience of 1922 had left its mark. The new version, 472 pages long, is frankly described as probably less ambitious than the 1922 version, but it is suggested that "a compact handbook... would prove to be of greater practical utility at the forthcoming election". With a new shape came new titles. From 1929 to 1945 the Guide appeared under two different titles (*Election Notes for Conservative Speakers and Workers* and *Notes for*

Speakers and Workers). It may be added that Percy Cohen, as head of the Library and Information Department at Central Office at that time, was responsible for planning the 1929 issue and arranging for its writing. He tells me that responsibility for its publication was taken jointly by (Sir) Joseph Ball, Director of Publicity and Sir Patrick Gower, Deputy Director of Publicity. He attributes the new title in 1929 to Joseph Ball. He adds that he was himself responsible for the planning and publication of the 1931 *Election Notes* and the 1935 *Notes* but that ultimate authority for these rested with Sir Patrick Gower, then the Chief Publicity Officer. But the old title had apparently stuck: in 1950 the publication reverted to the title of *Campaign Guide*, though the oblong shape was retained.

Production methods

As to the method of production of the inter-war *Campaign Guides*, I am greatly indebted for his recollections to Mr Percy Cohen, a former joint Director of Conservative Research Department, who had joined Central Office in 1911. As a member of the Publications staff under A.S. Pringle, he had written the chapter on National Insurance for the 1914 *Campaign Guide*. He helped the editor Philip Cambray to see the 1922 *Guide* through the press; and he also wrote Chapter XVI on Social Questions and Section XV (Russia) of Chapter V for that *Campaign Guide*. He remained the anchor-man of the *Campaign Guide*, in later years its editor, until the 1959 issue. I gather from Percy Cohen that the system of a small professional staff helped by a voluntary panel of knowledgeable Conservatives who were prepared to write sections continued throughout the inter-war years. The work of assembling material for the *Guide* was a continuing process. When a few years had elapsed since a general election a number of chapters would be held in draft form, ready for use. It is certainly an interesting point that the compilers of the post-war *Campaign Guides* seem to have shown greater insight at forecasting the occurrence of elections than did the producers of Victorian and Edwardian *Guides*. We may add that after the Second World War if much time elapsed between the appearance of the *Campaign Guide* and the announcement of the General Election, a *Campaign Supplement* was produced. There is a specimen of one of these in this series in the form of the 1950 Supplement.

In June 1945, Percy Cohen had sole responsibility as Editor for the *Guide* (i.e. *Notes for Speakers and Workers*). He was assisted by Charles Bellairs (recently recruited to the office), joined at a late stage by two returning pre-war members - Oliver Stebbings and Walter Beaton. Oliver Stebbings had contributed to every *Guide* since 1931 (in which latter he tells me he wrote the initial section on the national crisis and other pieces). These then remained Party officials for many years.

Conservative Research Department

In 1948 the Reference and Political Section at Central Office was transferred to Conservative Research Department. The production of the *Campaign Guide* therefore passed to Conservative Research Department *quorum pars parva fui*. The system of contributions by volunteer writers was ended. With its bigger pool of writing talent Research Department assumed the full burden of authorship as well as editing - though the imprint on the title page has continued to be that of Central Office. Initials at the foot of the brief prefaces are (to go beyond the time-span of this series a trifle) the initials of Research Department Directors or Joint Directors: P.C. (Percy Cohen) from 1950 to 1959; M.F. (Sir Michael Fraser) in 1964; B.S. (Brendon Sewill) in 1966 and 1970; J.A.T.D. (James Douglas) in 1974. All the prefaces of *Campaign Guides* produced under this regime contain a doubtless well-merited general acknowledgement to the members of Research Department who worked on the *Guide*. But with one exception no names are preserved in these prefaces. (The

exception is Oliver Stebbings who assumed the burden of Chief Editor after the retirement of Percy Cohen).

As a survivor of the team, the present writer may perhaps interject a few personalia. In the 1950 *Guide*, which is the only Research Department issue reproduced in this series, the section on Scotland was the work of Iain Macleod, while Peter Goldman wrote the sections on Wales and on the House of Lords. The section on food was the work of John Wyndham (the late Lord Egremont). The names of a few more officials of Research Department at that time who contributed may be mentioned. Overseas affairs were mainly the concern of Ursula Branston. Agriculture was covered by Philip Brembridge. Michael Graham wrote on steel and Ian Campbell on fuel. Peter Hodgens wrote on defence. Education and aspects of the Social Services were the responsibility of Miriam Rose. The chapter on the British Empire and Commonwealth was written by John Lowe. My own contributions were the chapters on local government, town and country planning and on housing and rents: it gave me great pleasure as a younger man when, months later, the *Times* referred to the section on rents as "thoughtful".

Iain Macleod, as a Joint Head of Section, would have had some overall responsibility for the Home Affairs articles and must have written at least some of the chapter on the social services. The hand of, his colleague at Research Department, Enoch Powell, is less evident, though there are signs of the authentic Powell. As Head of the Economic Section, Reginald Maudling played a part in shaping the economic sections of the 1950 *Campaign Guide*. Producing these sections in addition to its other commitments placed some strain on the Department's Economic Section; and David Wills was persuaded to leave Sandford Park for the time, to join Research Department and help draft the economic sections of the *Guide*.

Carrying the story forward, all subsequent *Guides* have been produced within Research Department in much the same way and somehow produced at the right time. As in pre-war years a proportion of the contributors find their way to Westminster. To the names of Macleod, Maudling and Powell one can add Michael Alison MP, Lord Balniel MP, John Biggs-Davison MP, Gordon Campbell MP, John Cope MP, Paul Dean MP, Nigel Forman MP, Ian Grist MP, Barney Hayhoe MP, Douglas Hurd MP, Carol Mather MP, Antony Newton MP, Sir Richard Sharples, Cyril Townsend MP, Keith Speed MP, Peter Tapsell MP and John Wilkinson MP. These names include two Chancellors of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State for Scotland, a Minister of Health, two Ministers of State and two Under-Secretaries.

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1885-1950

- 1885 *Campaign Notes 1885*. Preface: *The Bibliography of the Campaign Guide* by Geoffrey D.M. Block of the Conservative Research Department. (Cards 1-3)
- 1892 *The Campaign Guide. An Election Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. 1892. Introduction by Dr E.J. Feuchtwanger, University of Southampton. (Cards 4-8)
- 1895 *The Campaign Guide. An Election Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. 1895. Introduction by Dr Paul Smith, King's College, University of London. (Cards 9-16)
- 1900 *The Campaign Guide 1900. A Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. (Cards 17-23)
- 1906 *The Campaign Guide 1906. A Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. (Cards 24-34)
- 1909 *The Campaign Guide 1909. A Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. (Cards 35-41)
- 1914 *The Campaign Guide 1914. A Handbook for Unionist Speakers*. Introduction by Professor Peter Stansky, Stanford University. (Cards 42-51)
- 1922 *The Campaign Guide 1922*. Introduction by Professor Michael Kinnear, University of Manitoba. (Cards 52-63)
- 1929 *Election Notes for Conservative Speakers and Workers. General Election 1929*. (Cards 64-66)
- 1931 *Election Notes for Conservative Speakers and Workers. General Election 1931*. Together with *The Liberal Party 1929-31*. Introduction by Professor Trevor Wilson, University of Adelaide. (Cards 67-70)
- 1935 *Notes for Speakers and Workers. General Election 1935*. Introduction by Dr Tom Stannage, University of Western Australia. (Cards 71-73)
- 1945 *Notes for Speakers and Workers. General Election 1945*. Introduction by Dr R.B. McCallum. (Cards 74-76)
- 1950 *The Campaign Guide. General Election 1950*. Together with *The Campaign Guide Supplement*. (Cards 77-81)

**Annual Conference
Reports, 1947-1963
Campaign Guides,
1951-1974
Conservative Agents'
Journal, 1902-1983**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

This microfiche edition continues our coverage of The British Conservative Party Archives. It includes the Annual Conference Reports, 1947-1963, the Campaign Guides, 1951-1974 and the Conservative Agents' Journals, 1902-1983.

Since the Second World War the Conservative Party has continued to dominate British politics. Major leaders Churchill, Eden, Macmillan and later Edward Heath and Margaret Thatcher - have overseen tremendous changes both at home and abroad.

The Conservative Party has been the most powerful and electorally successful political party in Britain since 1868. The Party's archives are a crucial source for modern political history, domestic social and economic change, World and European events.

The eight volumes of Conference Reports for the period 1947-1963 provide primary source material for all the questions, arguments and the viewpoints that contributed to the shaping of Conservative Party policy under Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Harold Macmillan and Sir Alec Douglas Home. Reports of Central Council, conference resolutions, verbatim records of Conference Speeches and Addresses are all included in full.

Education, the Health Service, Housing, Pensions, Transport, The Commonwealth, Defence, Disarmament, Foreign Affairs, Economic Policy, Employment, Taxation, Industrial Relations, Crime and Punishment, Electoral Reform and a wide range of other topics are comprehensively covered in these Reports. Each volume contains a full index to subjects and speakers.

The General Election Campaign Guides are a further detailed source for the electoral struggles of modern Britain. The elections of 1951, 1959, 1964, 1966, 1970 and 1974 are all covered. These Campaign Guides are a unique political reference tool for scholars, students, researchers and political specialists. Each Guide is fully indexed by subject and contains a full conspectus of events and review of problems for each parliament, with extensive essential background information and appendices.

A complete run of the Conservative Agents' Journal from 1902 to 1983 includes a myriad of articles and papers on all subjects of practical interest to the Party's Agents. With the motto "Union is Strength" this quarterly publication is the official journal of the National Society of Unionist Agents. Reports of its meetings and conferences and those of its various affiliated Unions are fully covered.

The modern political association introduced an entirely new system requiring permanent organisation continually working for the Party cause. Instigated by Sir John Gorst, Principal Agent 1871-1877, this system could only flourish with the guidance of energetic leaders and dedicated activists - The Party Agents. Their journal gives an impressive insight into the workings of the Party machine.

Each issue has its own full list of contents. Voting Rights, Campaigning, Party Discipline, Registration Cases and the entire spectrum of political subjects are discussed in special features, informed articles and letters to the editor.

A brief four-page listing of all documents appears on every microfiche. The full detailed listing appears on the very first fiche of this edition only.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS, 1947-1963; CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1951-1974;
CONSERVATIVE AGENTS' JOURNAL, 1902-1983

BRIEF LISTING

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS, 1947-1963 (Cards 1-27)

<u>Card Nos.</u>	<u>Description</u>
1-2	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1947
3-4	Conservative-Party Conference Report, 1948
5-6	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1949
6-7	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1950
8-9	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1952
9-10	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1953
11-12	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1954
12-13	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1955
14-15	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1956
16-17	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1957
18-20	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1958
20-22	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1960
22-24	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1961
24-25	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1962
26-27	Conservative Party Conference Report, 1963

CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1951-1974 (Cards 28-58)

<u>Card Nos.</u>	<u>Description</u>
28-31	Campaign Guide and Supplement, 1951
32-35	Campaign Guide, 1955
36-40	Campaign Guide and Supplement, 1959
41-45	Campaign Guide and Supplement, 1964
46-48	Campaign Guide, 1966

CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1951-1974 (continued) (Cards 28-58)

49-53	Campaign Guide, 1970
54-58	Campaign Guide and Supplement, 1974

CONSERVATIVE AGENTS' JOURNAL, 1902-1983 (Cards 59-336)

<u>Card Nos.</u>	<u>Description</u>
59-60	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1902
61-62	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1903
63-64	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1904
64	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1905
65	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1908
66-67	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1909
68-69	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1910
70-71	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1911
72-73	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1912
74-75	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1913
76-77	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1914
78	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1915
79-80	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1916
81-82	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1917
83-84	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1918
85-87	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1919
88-91	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1920
92-95	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1921
96-99	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1922
100-103	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1923
104-107	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1924
108-112	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1925

113-118	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1926
119-124	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1927
125-130	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1928
131-134	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1929
135-139	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1930
140-144	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1931
145-150	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1932
151-155	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1933
156-159	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1934
160-163	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1935
164-168	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1936
169-173	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1937
174-178	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1938
179-182	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1939
183-184	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1940
184	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1941
185	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1942
186	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1943
187	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1944
188	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1945
189-190	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1946
190-193	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1947
194-198	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1948
199-203	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1949
204-209	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1950
210-214	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1951
215-218	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1952
219-224	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1953

225-229	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1954
230-233	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1955
234-238	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1956
239-242	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1957
243-246	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1958
247-249	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1959
250-253	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1960
254-257	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1961
258-261	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1962
262-265	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1963
266-269	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1964
270-275	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1965
276-280	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1966
281-286	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1967
287-291	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1968
292-295	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1969
296-299	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1970
300-303	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1971
304-307	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1972
308-311	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1973
312-314	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1974
315-317	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1975
318-320	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1976
321-322	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1977
323-324	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1978
324-326	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1979
327-329	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1980
330-332	Conservative Agents' Journal, 1981

333-334

Conservative Agents' Journal, 1982

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Conservative Agents' Journal, 1983

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS, 1947-1963; CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1951-1974;
CONSERVATIVE AGENTS' JOURNAL, 1902-1983

DETAILED LISTING

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS, 1947-1963 (Cards 1-27)

<u>Card Nos.</u>	<u>Description</u>
1-2	68th Annual Conference, held at Brighton, 2-4 October 1947. Verbatim report of the proceedings together with the text of Mr Churchill's speech.
3-4	69th Annual Conference, held at Llandudno, 6-9 October 1948. Verbatim report of the proceedings together with the text of Mr Churchill's speech.
5-6	70th Annual Conference, London, 12-14 October 1949
6-7	71st Annual Conference, Blackpool, 12-14 October 1950
8-9	72nd Annual Conference, Scarborough, 9-11 October 1952
9-10	73rd Annual Conference, Margate, 8-10 October 1953
11-12	74th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 7-9 October 1954
12-13	75th Annual Conference, Bournemouth, 6-8 October 1955
14-15	76th Annual Conference, held in Llandudno, 11-13 October 1956. Official Report including the text of Sir Anthony Eden's speech.
16-17	77th Annual Conference, Brighton, 10-12 October 1957
18-20	78th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 8-11 October 1958
20-22	79th Annual Conference, Scarborough, 12-15 October 1960
22-24	80th Annual Conference, Brighton, 11-14 October 1961
24-25	81st Annual Conference, Llandudno, 10-13 October 1962
26-27	82nd Annual Conference, Blackpool, 9-12 October 1963

CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1951-1974 (Cards 28-58)

28-30	The Campaign Guide 1951. An Encyclopaedia of Politics.
30-31	The Campaign Guide Supplement. General Election 1951.
32-35	The Campaign Guide 1955. The New Political Encyclopaedia.

36-40	The Campaign Guide 1959. The Unique Political Reference Book.40 The Campaign Guide Supplement (April-September). General Election 1959.
41-44	The Campaign Guide 1964. The Unique Political Reference Book.
45	The Campaign Guide 1964 Supplement (February-August)
46-48	The Campaign Guide 1966. The Unique Political Reference Book.
49-53	The Campaign Guide 1970.
54-58	The Campaign Guide 1974.
58	The Campaign Guide 1974 Supplement.

CONSERVATIVE AGENTS' JOURNAL, 1902-1983 (Cards 59-336)

<u>Card No.</u>	<u>Description</u>
59	No. 1, January 1902
59	No. 2, April 1902
60	No. 3, July 1902
60	No. 4, October 1902
61	No. 5, January 1903
61	No. 6, April 1903
62	No. 7, July 1903
62	No. 8, October 1903
63	No. 9, Volume 3, January 1904
63	No. 10, Volume 3, April 1904
64	No. 11, Volume 3, October 1904
64	No. 12, Volume 3, January 1905
65	No. 13, New Issue, November 1908
66	No. 14, New Issue, January 1909
66	No. 15, New Issue, April 1909
67	No. 16, New Issue, July 1909
67	No. 17, New Issue, October 1909

68	Nos. 18 and 19, New Issue, January and April 1910
69	No. 20, July 1910
69	No. 21, October 1910
70	Nos. 22 and 23, January-June 1911
71	No. 24, October-December 1911
71	No. 25, December 1911
72	Nos. 26 and 27, April and July 1912
73	No. 28, November 1912
74	No. 29, January 1913
74	No. 30, May 1913
75	No. 31, October 1913
76	No. 32, January 1914
76	No. 33, April 1914
77	No. 34, July 1914
77	No. 35, October 1914
78	No. 36, January 1915
78	No. 37, April 1915
79	Nos. 38 and 39, January 1916
79	No. 40, April 1916
80	No. 41, July 1916
80	No. 42, October 1916
81	No. 43, January 1917
81	No. 44, April 1917
82	No. 45, July 1917
82	No. 46, October 1917
83	No. 47, January 1918
83	No. 48, April 1918
84	Nos. 49 and 50, July and October 1918

- 85 Nos. 51 and 52, January and April 1919 (End of Series)
- 85 No. 52, July 1919
- 86 August 1919
- 86 September 1919
- 86 October 1919
- 87 November 1919
- 87 December 1919
- 88 No. 59, January 1920, No. 7 (New Series)
- 88 No. 60, February 1920, No. 8 (New Series)
- 88 No. 61, March 1920, No. 9 (New Series)
- 88 No. 62, April 1920, No. 10 (New Series)
- 89 No. 63, May 1920, No. 10 [11] (New Series)
- 89 No. 64, June 1920, No. 12 (New Series)
- 89 No. 65, July 1920, No. 13 (New Series)
- 89 No. 66, August 1920, No. 14 (New Series)
- 90 No. 67, September 1920, No. 15 (New Series)
- 90 No. 68, October 1920, No. 16 (New Series)
- 90 No. 69, November 1920, No. 17 (New Series)
- 91 No. 70, December 1920, No. 18 (New Series)
- 92 No. 71, January 1921, No. 19 (New Series)
- 92 No. 72, February 1921, No. 20 (New Series)
- 92 No. 73, March 1921, No. 21 (New Series)
- 93 No. 74, April 1921, No. 22 (New Series)
- 93 No. 75, May 1921, No. 23 (New Series)
- 93 No. 76, June 1921, No. 24 (New Series)
- 93 No. 77, July 1921, No. 25 (New Series)
- 94 No. 78, August 1921, No. 26 (New Series)
- 94 No. 79, September 1921, No. 27 (New Series)

- 94 No. 80, October 1921, No. 28 (New Series)
- 95 No. 81, November 1921, No. 29 (New Series)
- 95 No. 82, December 1921, No. 30 (New Series)
- 96 No. 83, January 1922, No. 31 (New Series)
- 96 No. 84, February 1922, No. 32 (New Series)
- 96 No. 85, March 1922, No. 33 (New Series)
- 97 No. 86, April 1922, No. 34 (New Series)
- 97 No. 87, May 1922, No. 35 (New Series)
- 97 No. 88, June 1922, No. 36 (New Series)
- 98 No. 89, July 1922, No. 37 (New Series)
- 98 No. 90, August 1922, No. 38 (New Series)
- 98 No. 91, September 1922, No. 39 (New Series)
- 99 No. 92, October 1922, No. 40 (New Series)
- 99 No. 93, December 1922, No. 41 (New Series)
- 100 No. 94, January 1923, No. 42 (New Series)
- 100 No. 95, February 1923, No. 43 (New Series)
- 100 No. 96, March 1923, No. 44 (New Series)
- 101 No. 97, April 1923, No. 45 (New Series)
- 101 No. 98, May 1923, No. 46 (New Series)
- 101 No. 99, June 1923, No. 47 (New Series)
- 102 No. 100, July 1923, No. 48 (New Series)
- 102 No. 101, August 1923, No. 49 (New Series)
- 102 No. 102, September 1923, No. 50 (New Series)
- 103 No. 103, October 1923, No. 51 (New Series)
- 103 No. 104, November 1923, No. 52 (New Series)
- 104 No. 105, January 1924, No. 53 (New Series)
- 104 No. 106, February 1924, No. 54 (New Series)
- 104 No. 107, March 1924, No. 55 (New Series)

- 105 No. 108, April 1924, No. 56 (New Series)
- 105 No. 109, May 1924, No. 57 (New Series)
- 105 No. 110, June 1924, No. 58 (New Series)
- 106 No. 111, July 1924, No. 59 (New Series)
- 106 No. 112, August 1924, No. 60 (New Series)
- 106 No. 113, September 1924, No. 61 (New Series)
- 107 No. 114, October 1924, No. 62 (New Series)
- 107 No. 115, December 1924, No. 63 (New Series)
- 108 No. 116, January 1925, No. 64 (New Series)
- 108 No. 117, February 1925, No. 65 (New Series)
- 108 No. 118, March 1925, No. 66 (New Series)
- 109 No. 119, April 1925, No. 67 (New Series)
- 109 No. 120, May 1925, No. 68 (New Series)
- 110 No. 121, June 1925, No. 69 (New Series)
- 110 No. 122, July 1925, No. 70 (New Series)
- 111 No. 123, August 1925, No. 71 (New Series)
- 111 No. 124, September 1925, No. 72 (New Series)
- 112 No. 125, October 1925, No. 73 (New Series)
- 112 No. 126, November 1925, No. 74 (New Series)
- 112 No. 127, December 1925, No. 75 (New Series)
- 113 No. 128, January 1926, No. 76 (New Series)
- 113 No. 129, February 1926, No. 77 (New Series)
- 114 No. 130, March 1926, No. 78 (New Series)
- 114 No. 131, April 1926, No. 79 (New Series)
- 115 No. 132, May 1926, No. 80 (New Series)
- 115 No. 133, June 1926, No. 81 (New Series)
- 116 No. 134, July 1926, No. 82 (New Series)
- 116 No. 135, August 1926, No. 83 (New Series)

117	No. 136, September 1926, No. 84 (New Series)
117	No. 137, October 1926, No. 85 (New Series)
118	No. 138, November 1926, No. 86 (New Series)
118	No. 139, December 1926, No. 87 (New Series)
119	No. 140, January 1927, No. 88 (New Series)
119	No. 141, February 1927, No. 89 (New Series)
120	No. 142, March 1927, No. 90 (New Series)
120	No. 143, April 1927, No. 91 (New Series)
121	No. 144, May 1927, No. 92 (New Series)
121	No. 145, June 1927, No. 93 (New Series)
122	No. 146, July 1927, No. 94 (New Series)
122	No. 147, August 1927, No. 95 (New Series)
123	No. 148, September 1927, No. 96 (New Series)
123	No. 149, October 1927, No. 97 (New Series)
124	No. 150, November 1927, No. 98 (New Series)
124	No. 151, December 1927, No. 99 (New Series)
125	No. 152, January 1928, No. 100 (New Series)
125	No. 153, February 1928, No. 101 (New Series)
126	No. 154, March 1928, No. 102 (New Series)
126	No. 155, April 1928, No. 103 (New Series)
127	No. 156, May 1928, No. 104 (New Series)
127	No. 157, June 1928, No. 105 (New Series)
128	No. 158, July 1928, No. 106 (New Series)
128	No. 159, August 1928, No. 107 (New Series)
129	No. 160, September 1928, No. 108 (New Series)
129	No. 161, October 1928, No. 109 (New Series)
130	No. 162, November 1928, No. 110 (New Series)
130	No. 163, December 1928, No. 111 (New Series)

- 131 No. 164, January 1929, No. 112 (New Series)
- 131 No. 165, February 1929, No. 113 (New Series)
- 131 No. 166, March 1929, No. 114 (New Series)
- 132 No. 167, April 1929, No. 115 (New Series)
- 132 No. 168, May 1929, No. 116 (New Series)
- 132 No. 169, July 1929, No. 117 (New Series)
- 133 No. 170, August 1929, No. 118 (New Series)
- 133 No. 171, September 1929, No. 119 (New Series)
- 133 No. 172, October 1929, No. 120 (New Series)
- 134 No. 173, November 1929, No. 121 (New Series)
- 134 No. 174, December 1929, No. 122 (New Series)
- 135 No. 175, January 1930, No. 123 (New Series)
- 135 No. 176, February 1930, No. 124 (New Series)
- 136 No. 177, March 1930, No. 125 (New Series)
- 136 No. 178, April 1930, No. 126 (New Series)
- 137 No. 179, May 1930, No. 127 (New Series)
- 137 No. 180, June 1930, No. 128 (New Series)
- 138 No. 181, July 1930, No. 129 (New Series)
- 138 No. 182, August 1930, No. 130 (New Series)
- 138 No. 183, September 1930, No. 131 (New Series)
- 139 No. 184, October 1930, No. 132 (New Series)
- 139 No. 185, November 1930, No. 133 (New Series)
- 139 No. 186, December 1930, No. 134 (New Series)
- 140 No. 187, January 1931, No. 135 (New Series)
- 140 No. 188, February 1931, No. 136 (New Series)
- 140 No. 189, March 1931, No. 137 (New Series)
- 141 No. 190, April 1931, No. 138 (New Series)
- 141 No. 191, May 1931, No. 139 (New Series)

- 142 No. 192, June 1931, No. 140 (New Series)
- 142 No. 193, July 1931, No. 141 (New Series)
- 143 No. 194, August 1931, No. 142 (New Series)
- 144 No. 195, September 1931, No. 143 (New Series)
- 144 No. 196, October 1931, No. 144 (New Series)
- 144 No. 197, December 1931, No. 145 (New Series)
- 145 No. 198, January 1932, No. 146 (New Series)
- 145 No. 199, February 1932, No. 147 (New Series)
- 146 No. 200, March 1932, No. 148 (New Series)
- 146 No. 201, April 1932, No. 149 (New Series)
- 147 No. 202, May 1932, No. 150 (New Series)
- 147 No. 203, June 1932, No. 151 (New Series)
- 148 No. 204, July 1932, No. 152 (New Series)
- 148 No. 205, August 1932, No. 153 (New Series)
- 149 No. 206, September 1932, No. 154 (New Series)
- 149 No. 207, October 1932, No. 155 (New Series)
- 150 No. 208, November 1932, No. 156 (New Series)
- 150 No. 209, December 1932, No. 157 (New Series)
- 151 No. 210, January 1933, No. 158 (New Series)
- 151 No. 211, February 1933, No. 159 (New Series)
- 152 No. 212, March 1933, No. 160 (New Series)
- 152 No. 213, April 1933, No. 161 (New Series)
- 153 No. 214, May 1933, No. 162 (New Series)
- 153 No. 215, June 1933, No. 163 (New Series)
- 154 No. 216, July 1933, No. 164 (New Series)
- 154 No. 217, August 1933, No. 165 (New Series)
- 154 No. 218, September 1933, No. 166 (New Series)
- 155 No. 219, October 1933, No. 167 (New Series)

- 155 No. 220, November 1933, No. 168 (New Series)
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**Annual Conference Reports,
1965-1991
Campaign Guides,
1977-1992**

INTRODUCTION BY STUART BALL

Reader in History, University of Leicester

Annual Conference Reports, 1965-1991

The Conservative Party normally holds its annual conference in the second week of October, following after the Labour Party as the last gathering in the political 'conference season'. In 1964 and 1974 the conference was cancelled, as a general election campaign was being fought at this time. From 1947 to 1977 a full text of the conference proceedings was issued not long afterwards in the form of a printed pamphlet. This practice was then discontinued due to the cost of the production and declining demand, and the minutes of the conferences from 1978 onwards are taken from the unpublished record which is now preserved in the Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

The conference is the gathering of the voluntary wing of the Conservative Party, the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, to which each recognised constituency Association is affiliated. By the 1980s each constituency was entitled to send eight representatives to the conference: the Association chairman, the treasurer, the agent, the women's committee and Young Conservative chairmen, a trade unionist and two others (one of whom should be under 30 years of age). These make up the core of the conference, but in addition Conservative MPs, prospective parliamentary candidates, peers and a wide range of Party officials are all eligible to attend. The result is a large gathering, with a possible maximum of between seven and eight thousand persons. In fact few constituencies can field their full quota and so the actual attendance is much less, being around 3,000 in the mid-1980s. This is still a large and impressive body, although in more recent years there has been criticism that the size of the audience has been maintained by permitting the presence of a higher number of non-voting observers. There are few venues that can accommodate an assembly of this scale, possessing either a suitable hall or the necessary (and not too expensive) hotel capacity. Between 1965 and 1985 the Conservatives met either in Blackpool or in Brighton, but in 1986 the completion of a modern conference centre enabled Bournemouth to rejoin the circuit. However the principle of alternating between north and south - important for the image of a 'national' party - has meant that Bournemouth shares the southern slot with Brighton.

Since 1958 the conference has extended over four days, and it culminates with a mass rally and an uplifting speech by the Party leader. Until the early 1960s this event was not formally part of the conference proceedings and did not appear on its agenda, whilst in turn the party leader was not present during the conference itself. This all changed in 1965 with Edward Heath, the first elected Conservative leader. The leader's address now became an integral part of the conference, and still more symbolically Heath began the present practice of being present throughout the conference week, listening to most of the debates from a prominent position on the platform. The leader's posture is normally one of respectful interest, but Margaret Thatcher on several occasions made her own sympathies clear by her vigorous applause for certain speakers from the floor of the conference, as in the debate on the death penalty in 1981.

Given the fact that the conference meets during the week, the time of year and the costs involved, it is not surprising that many of the representatives who attend are of retirement age. Women over 40 form the largest part of the audience, drawn mainly from the middle class (lower even more than upper). Most are non-working housewives with traditional attitudes to the role of the family, to whom 'feminism' is a dirty word, and much of the rhetoric and imagery used at the conference reflects their outlook and concerns. The composition of the conference is not a significant

distortion of the Party rank and file, however, for these same gender, occupational and age groups form the mass of the local membership.

Resolutions can be submitted by any constituency Association, by the regional Areas, by the national Executive, and by the Party's special bodies for youth, women, trade unionists, local government and so on. All the resolutions received before the announced deadline are grouped under subject headings and printed in the *Annual Conference Handbook*. The conference was organised by the General Purposes sub-committee of the National Union Executive Committee, with the day-to-day administration being carried out by the Secretary of the National Union and his staff from their office within Conservative Central Office in London. The crucial task of drafting the agenda is delegated to a further small sub-committee, normally of eleven or twelve. The two most important figures on the agenda sub-committee are the Chairman of the National Union Executive Committee and the Chief Whip of the Conservative Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons. The latter gives advice on who should reply to each debate from the platform; this is normally the appropriate cabinet minister when the Party is in office, and front-bench spokesman when it is not. The Chief Whip acts informally as the representative of the leader on the sub-committee, but there is little friction and the agenda emerges by a process of consensus.

It is certainly the case that the resolutions chosen have always tended to be bland and uncontroversial, with the emphasis being on congratulating Conservative governments for their achievements. Resolutions on policy stick to the common ground around which all can agree, and avoid thorny areas. Even from within the Party, there is sometimes a feeling that the desire to avoid dispute is taken too far and that the grass-roots view is being muffled. However, it is the content of the debate and the mood of the floor that matter more at Conservative gatherings than the texts of the resolutions passed. The standing orders give the conference chairman considerable powers to control debate, and to select (or ignore) those who wish to speak, but viewpoints for which there is strong support can not be suppressed. It should be remembered that the chairman conducting the conference is a prominent member of the National Union (normally the chairman of one of the eleven regional Areas) who acts for one year only, and whose main concern is to preside over a positive and contented assembly. Furthermore, the existence of the 'balloted motions' means that the agenda is not entirely handed down from above. In the week before the conference meets, those attending vote for the inclusion of two subjects not already on the agenda. The result of this ballot is announced at the start of the conference, after which delegates vote to choose the actual motion from those printed under that heading in the *Handbook*.

There is certainly an element of spectacle and theatre in the Conservative conference, and an inevitable measure of stage-management - quite literally, in the efforts of Harvey Thomas after 1978 to create a more striking and professional conference setting which would communicate well through the all-important medium of television. The Party is aware that it is in public eye, all the more so since the introduction of full television coverage of the conference proceedings in the 1960s. It expects to be a focus of attention in the television news bulletins during the conference week, and since the 1970s Party publicity managers have taken increasing care to distribute the announcement of headline-grabbing initiatives so as to maximise media interest and public impact. The tone is polite, with invective normally reserved for the opposing parties, and tensions and factionalism are kept below the surface. The difference in atmosphere between Conservative and Labour conferences was a matter of much journalistic comment, especially during Labour's difficult years in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, the contrast is not always in the Conservatives' favour, as commentators tend to be critical of the 'unreality' of their assembly.

This followed the traditional dismissive view of the Conservative conference as lacking in importance, being a rally rather than a debate. In fact, Conservative conferences do not lack

influence, but it is hard to measure since much of the Party's policy-making process takes place behind the scenes. Certainly both M.P.s and the leadership take what they hear into account - one famous example being when sentiment at the 1987 conference led to the accelerated introduction of the 'poll tax', with disastrous political consequences. The conference is used in turn as a sounding board, such as in 1986 when it was used to unveil many of the key proposals of the 1987 general election programme. In 1971 it debated the terms of entry into Europe shortly before the crucial parliamentary vote was taken, and its overwhelming endorsement of the terms which the Heath government had negotiated was underlined when the Party leader took the unprecedented step of insisting on a card ballot instead of the customary show of hands. It has seen moments of drama and confrontation, such as Enoch Powell's onslaughts over immigration in 1968 and 1972, and the displaced Heath's attempts to rally the economic moderates in 1981. Really explosive issues cannot be avoided - as was shown during this period by debates on Rhodesia and immigration in the 1960s and 1970s, capital punishment in the 1970s and 1980s, and Europe in the 1980s and early 1990s.

It is in the nature of politics that the conference returns time and again to the same themes in social issues, in economic policy, and in foreign affairs. One of the principal values of the present collection is that it shows how attitudes and ideas have changed over time, not only in the concrete details of policy statements but also in the assumptions made and the language used. Between 1965 and 1991 the Conservative Party passed from the interventionist era of Macmillan to the free-market ideology of 'Thatcherism'. It met with frustration and defeat in the 1960s and early 1970s, and with the heady triumphs of the 1980s. Throughout these years, the annual conferences provide a revealing window upon the heart and soul of the most successful force in modern British politics - the Conservative Party.

Introduction to the Campaign Guides, 1977-1992

For many years the Conservative Party has published a book-size *Campaign Guide* for use in each general election, normally appearing a few months before the contest is likely to begin. Since 1979, similar volumes have also been produced for the direct elections to the European Parliament. Whilst the guides are primarily designed for the Party's own candidates and officials, they are not confidential and are available to the press and other interested observers. The *Campaign Guide* is the Party's 'bible': the authoritative source for definitions of policy and for checking the terms of statements which have been made. When the Party has been in power, it provides a defence of the Conservative record with supporting statistics and examples; when their opponents have been in office, it offers chapter and verse on their failings. During the pre-election period and the actual campaign the guides have a practical value, containing both a digest of the Conservative position on any and every issue which might be a focus of attention, and ammunition for attacks upon opponents - their divisions, contradictions and most vulnerable remarks. The *Campaign Guide* is not a series of pledges or the official statement of the Party's programme: that is the role of the *Manifesto*. However the latter is brief and often deliberately kept to vague generalities, and it is the *Campaign Guide* which puts flesh on the bones. In practice - at least unofficially - it has come to be regarded as a supplement to the manifesto. As it is in the public arena and the Party can be challenged upon its contents, it is carefully drafted, rigorously checked, and quoted passages are buttressed by attribution or source. The guide is normally prefaced by an introduction from the Party leader which summarises the main planks of the programme and aims to set the tone of the campaign.

Preparation of the *Campaign Guide* is one of the main tasks of the Conservative Research Department (a previously separate element in the Party organisation, following the 1979 election it was integrated into the structure of Conservative Central Office and housed in its building in Smith Square, Westminster). Material for the guide is kept in a constant state of readiness, with increased

attention during the second half of a parliament, and it is printed and circulated a few months before the anticipated time of the next general election. Ideally it should appear sufficiently in advance of the campaign to help set the agenda, but not so far ahead that it becomes stale and loses its relevance. The timing of its appearance is therefore partly a matter of judgement and nerve, and partly a reflection of the progress of the Party's policy-making and the degree of readiness of the next manifesto. A rapidly changing political situation or an unexpected start to the election can cause problems, as was the case in February 1974 when the guide had not yet been issued and other material was not ready and lagged behind the Labour equivalents. The Labour ministry of 1974-79 posed particular problems, being 'a minority government living from crisis to crisis' [*Campaign Guide 1977*, introduction]. As a matter of prudence it was decided to issue a guide in April 1977, after the administration had been in office for three years. In fact, the pact with the Liberals hastily concluded at the end of March 1977 became a more permanent arrangement and the parliamentary position was stabilised. A supplementary *Campaign Guide* was therefore needed in 1978, as an election in the autumn of that year was universally expected; in the event, the election did not come until May 1979.

After this the Conservative Party was securely in power and the next two elections of 1983 and 1987 were held at a time of its choosing. After the downfall of Margaret Thatcher in 1990, the approaching end of the 1987 parliament posed greater problems of timing. A *Campaign Guide* was issued in April 1991 with the stated aim of providing an authoritative defence of the Conservative record of the past twelve years; it also provided a platform in case John Major decided to go to the country in the autumn. The election however did not come until the spring, and so a 'sequel' *Guide* was issued in March 1992, to be 'used together' with the 1991 version [*Campaign Guide 1992*, introduction]. In one respect it has been an easier task to produce a version for the direct elections to the European Parliament which have been held every five years since June 1979, for in this case the date of the polling is fixed. The importance of these elections as a form of massive opinion-poll on the government's popularity increased during the 1980s, and in 1989 the European voting took place on the same day as the County Council local government elections in many parts of the country, requiring the preparation of a more weighty *Campaign Guide* covering local, national and European issues. However by the late 1980s the tensions within the Conservative Party over the European issue were causing visible problems, and the 1989 campaign was widely criticised for taking refuge in negativism.

The *Campaign Guides* are a valuable historical source in two respects: the pages of each one provides a detailed picture of the stance of the main governing force in modern British politics as it prepares to enter each electoral battle, whilst comparison across the sequence shows how its policies have changed and developed over time. One of the most significant such changes comes at the start of this series, when the combination of embarrassment over the failures of the 1970-74 Heath government and the radical change of course under Margaret Thatcher after 1975 led to an almost Soviet-style erasure of the recent past: both Edward Heath and his administration are almost unmentioned in the guide produced before the 1979 election. However whilst the present set spans the 'age of Thatcher', examination of the guides will show both the complexity and ambiguities of the Party's position and that the triumph of 'Thatcherism' was neither dogmatic nor absolute.

The guides originated before the Second World War. In that era the local contest played a more significant role, consisting of a demanding schedule of speeches at public meetings night after night. Parliamentary candidates and the many other speakers who addressed these gatherings needed information and points to use, whilst mistakes or contradictions over party policy could cause difficulty during the election and in Parliament afterwards. Pressure groups were also more active in seeking pledges from candidates, and again the guide ensured a basic element of standardisation amongst candidates' responses. By the 1970s the *Campaign Guide* had become a part of the political

furniture, although methods of electioneering had greatly changed. In the post-war era popular participation and excitement had greatly diminished, and attendance at public meetings in draughty school rooms was much less attractive than the other leisure pursuits available. Of these one of the most significant was the advent of television, which further continued the trend of marginalising the significance of the local candidate and campaign. Elections were now a national contest between the party leaders and their publicity machines, whilst door-to-door canvassing of individual voters became the staple of the local effort.

The *Campaign Guide* was still valuable in this context but it now acted very much as a backdrop to the more immediate and responsive material issued during the campaign itself, such as the *Daily Notes*, which could keep pace with the developments of the campaign and offer a freshness which the bulky *Guide* lacked. This point was taken up in the Party's Advisory Committee on Policy after the 1970 general election, when some speakers questioned whether the *Campaign Guide* was worth the effort which went in to producing it. However it was defended by the administrative head of Central Office, the Deputy Party Chairman Sir Michael Fraser, who made two points in reply. The first was that the guide met an immediate need during the campaign for an authoritative compendium, and that even if it did not exist in its present published form the Research Department would still have to produce something very like it for their own internal use. His second point, revealingly, was that the Party found the *Campaign Guide* to be almost more valuable after the election than during it, for it provided a reliable source of reference for the commitments and statements upon which its programme was based. It is for this reason, rather than the local need from which it originated, that the Conservative Party has continued to produce a *Campaign Guide* for each election until now, and is likely to continue doing so in the future.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE REPORTS, 1965-1991;
CAMPAIGN GUIDES, 1977-1992

DETAILED LISTING

Annual Conference Reports, 1965-1991 (cards 1-69)

<u>Card Nos</u>	<u>Description</u>
1-2	83rd Annual Conference, Brighton, 13-16 October 1965
2-4	84th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 12-15 October 1966
4-5	85th Annual Conference, Brighton, 18-21 October 1967
6-7	86th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 9-12 October 1968
7-8	87th Annual Conference, Brighton, 8-11 October 1969
8-10	88th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 7-10 October 1970
10-12	89th Annual Conference, Brighton, 13-16 October 1971
12-13	90th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 11-14 October 1972
13-15	91st Annual Conference, Blackpool, 10-13 October 1973
15-16	92nd Annual Conference, Blackpool, 7-10 October 1975
16-18	93rd Annual Conference, Brighton, 5-8 October 1976
18-19	94th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 11-14 October 1977
19-23	95th Annual Conference, Brighton, October 1978
23-24	96th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 9-12 October 1979
25-28	97th Annual Conference, Brighton, 7-10 October 1980
28-30	98th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 13-16 October 1981
30-32	99th Annual Conference, Brighton 5-8 October 1982
32-34	100th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 11-14 October 1983
34-37	101st Annual Conference, Brighton, 9-12 October 1984
37-40	102nd Annual Conference, Blackpool, 8-11 October 1985
40-43	103rd Annual Conference, Bournemouth, 7-10 October 1986
43-48	104th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 6-9 October 1987

48-54	105th Annual Conference, Brighton, 11-14 October 1988
54-60	106th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 10-13 October 1989
60-65	107th Annual Conference, Bournemouth, 9-12 October 1990
65-69	108th Annual Conference, Blackpool, 8-12 October 1991

Campaign Guides, 1977-1992 (cards 70-119)

<u>Card Nos.</u>	<u>Description</u>
70-78	The Campaign Guide 1977
78-80	The Campaign Guide Supplement 1978
81-84	The Campaign Guide for Europe 1979
84-90	The Campaign Guide 1983
90-93	Handbook for Europe 1984
93-100	The Campaign Guide 1987
100-106	The Campaign Guide 1989
106-114	The Campaign Guide 1991
114-119	The Campaign Guide, Companion Volume to the 1991 Guide, Centenary Edition 1992

**National Union Gleanings
and Continuations,
1893 -1968**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

National Union Gleanings was first issued as a monthly by the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations in 1893, with the first volume covering the last five months of 1893. In July 1912 it became *Gleanings and Memoranda*, and in 1934 it gave way to a quarterly successor, *Politics in Review*, which continued to be published by the Conservative Party until 1939. Between July 1942 and December 1943 a war-time substitute was issued as *Notes for Speakers* and in 1944 *Notes on Current Politics* was begun by Party Headquarters. Since 1949 this has been prepared and written by the Conservative Research Department and it continued to appear each fortnight through to 1968.

All the material in this project is filmed by sequence of pages. Where the original publication is indexed the index is filmed first, immediately after the original title page and original preliminary pages of the particular volume.

This material has been filmed exercising the most responsible care and this microform publication meets the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM) and the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

The following introduction by Professor Michael Kinnear provides additional background information about the project.

INTRODUCTION BY MICHAEL KINNEAR

Professor of British History, University of Manitoba

For eighty two of the one hundred and fourteen years since the extension of the franchise in 1884 to include most adult males, the Conservatives have formed the government either alone, or in combination with other parties. Yet historians have paid far more attention to the Liberals and Labour, partly from inclination, and partly because the Conservatives have been reticent about publishing their party records. In contrast, the Liberals and Labour have exposed their party squabbles to the public on many occasions. There are comparatively few Conservative parallels, for instance, to the intra-party feuds which have marked practically all Labour Conferences, and there is nothing in the Conservative party since 1885 which approach the deep and open fissure among the Liberals in the 1920s.

Most standard works on the pre-1914 period, such as the last volume of Halevy's History, or R.C.K. Ensor's *England 1870-1914* (Oxford 1936) have approached such subjects as the drink question, education, tariffs, Ireland, and social reform from the Liberal and Labour viewpoint. Conservative views have tended to be portrayed as wicked or misguided, or both. Yet there must have been something in the Conservative's appeal to the electors, because in the last three elections before the First World War, they received almost as many votes as the Liberals and Labour combined and there can be little doubt that Conservatism represented a sizeable portion of public opinion on the topics mentioned.

Students of British Politics over the past century have one basic work of reference on Conservatism which easily surpasses similar Liberal or Labour publications both in the range of sources on which it is based and in the comprehensiveness of its coverage. This publication, *National Union Gleanings* (from 1912, *Gleanings and Memoranda*) was the official monthly journal of record of the Conservative and Unionist Central Office between 1893 and 1933. With its successors, *Politics in Review* (1939-49), and *Notes on Current Politics* (since 1944), *Gleanings* (which item I use hereafter for the series as a whole) provides basic information on a great number of subjects of political interest. For many of those subjects, particularly for those concerning the Conservative Party organisation it is the only printed source available.

National Union Gleanings and its successors has rarely been utilised to its fullest extent. R.T. McKenzie relied heavily on it for his book *British Political Parties* (London 1955) and I have used it for my book on *The Fall of Lloyd George* (London 1973). Some other authors have also used it for specific points of information but it remains a virtually untapped mine of information on many subjects, and it is not going too far to say that it is the most useful single source of British politics of the past eighty years. Other party publications such as the *Liberal Magazine*, the *Labour Monthly*, or the annual reports of Labour Party conferences are more editorial in their nature than *Gleanings*, which was primarily a notebook intended to be useful to Conservative agents, members of Parliament, and speakers.

A notable feature of *Gleanings* is that it drew on a wide variety of sources which are available in only one or two libraries. For example, it used many provincial newspapers in its compilations of election speeches and manifestos. The originals of these newspapers are today only available in the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale and in some instances not even there because of war damage in 1939-1945. *Gleanings* also cited government documents with limited circulation and ephemeral party literature which is nowadays unobtainable. In almost all of the cases where it has been possible to check the accuracy of its quotations *Gleanings* adhered closely to the original text. The most important exception to this was Bonar Law's speech to the Carlton Club Meeting of

October 1922 which overturned Lloyd George. A significant section of this speech was omitted from the version published in the November 1922 issue; the censored extract can be found in the Bonar Law papers, 107-2-72, in a letter from Sir Malcolm Fraser to Bonar Law. Apart from this exception, the anonymous editors took considerable pains to be accurate in their quotations although in some cases (for instance, Russian Affairs, after 1917) the originals are chiefly based on hearsay.

As usual with Conservatives (and other political) publications, *Gleanings* preferred to avoid washing its own party's dirty linen in public. However, it did not avoid the major internal crises in the party of the tariff reform after 1902, over the future of the coalition in 1921-1922 or over India and Empire free trade in the 1930s. In these cases the views of the party leaders naturally took precedence, but minority Conservative opinion found a place in *Gleanings* too. However, dissent among Conservatives in the late 1930s is played down, but this may be because the Conservative Central Office cut *Gleanings* back to less than two fifths of its former length in its reincarnation as *Politics in Review* during the last pre-war years.

Gleanings yields much information on the day-to-day working of the Conservative Organisation. For example, it listed the members of the executive of the National Unionist Association and their attendance at party meetings. By comparing this with the political opinions of the members as recorded elsewhere in *Gleanings*, one may trace significant changes in party policy. As an instance, such deductions show that the die-hard opponents of the Lloyd George coalition were in a majority at the meeting of 18th October 1922, although they were in a minority on the executive as a whole. This meeting exercised some influence over the meeting of MPs a day later and its unrepresentative nature can be seen by comparing attendance at it with other executive meetings in 1922. Reports of the county divisions of the National Unionist Association also appeared regularly, and although the reports were generally limited to a few paragraphs, *Gleanings* provides an indispensable first reference to researchers using the local press.

One of the most important aspects of *Gleanings* is its concentration on the views of its opponents. The *Liberal Magazine* and similar Labour publications tended to report the speeches of their own leaders and although they were hardly unbiased, positive expressions of party policy, the Liberal and Labour Journals did not gloat over their opponents troubles to the extent to which *Gleanings* so often did. *Gleanings* was, to say the least, unreliable on the Bolshevist bogey of the early 1920s but it did have much to offer the student of Labour, and even more, the student of Liberal politics. The conflicting views of Labour leaders were catalogued carefully in its pages and in those of its successors right up to the present. *Gleanings* relegated the Liberals to "miscellaneous" even before 1914, but it exhibited considerable *schadenfreude* when listing successors from the Liberal party in the inter-war years. Many of these references came from *The Times* and other national newspapers, but a great many other references were taken from the provincial press.

A large part of *Gleanings* was devoted to fiscal matters, details of current legislation, and similar topics. While this is of only limited use to students of politics, it is none the less valuable in that it frequently combines several ephemeral sources which the reader may not have at his disposal. The interested layman will also find that the clause-by-clause discussions of major legislation is the fullest and most straightforward guide to new laws outside specialised law-books. *Gleanings* was, for instance, far more detailed in its legal and financial sections than was the *Liberal Magazine*.

One of the most valuable features of *Gleanings* was its regular summary of elections. The statistical results were analysed in a superficial manner, but the compilations of speeches were unsurpassed. The election summaries were intended to provide source material for later election campaigns and the editors therefore went into considerable detail when describing Liberal and Labour speeches. The compilers used numerous newspapers in their coverage of the 1929 election. They quoted 45

newspapers, 22 of which were outside London, and their coverage of other elections was equally comprehensive. Virtually all the major speeches by the leading politicians, as well as significant speeches by other candidates were reproduced. In contrast the *Liberal Magazine* concentrated on Liberal speeches, with only occasional excerpts from Conservative and Labour ones. *Gleanings*, on the other hand, selected the salient points from speeches by politicians of all parties. Sometimes the speeches recorded in this way proved to be inconvenient to the Conservatives, as for instance, Baldwin's "appalling frankness" speech of 12 November 1936, in which he explained why he had not publicly called for rearmament during the 1935 election. This was the speech to which Winston Churchill referred in his index to *The Gathering Storm* (London 1948) under the head 'Baldwin, Stanley, confesses to putting party before country'. The reader can judge this for himself in the text reproduced here.

There is always a danger of imposing hindsight on history; it is easier to accept orthodox views of the past than it is to investigate the accuracy of those views. For example, there has been a general tendency to portray pre-1914 Conservatives as die-hard anti-Germans. Yet a perusal of *Gleanings* undermines this interpretation. The issue of July 1910, to take but one instance, has a Conservative criticism of the Liberal government for circulating anti-German literature; a defence of horse-flesh consumption in Germany; and a speech in favour of Germans ("the English people had excellent qualities, but so had the Germans".) While it would be absurd to describe the Conservatives' as a pro-German policy, it is clear that they were by no means so anti-German as one might have anticipated. It might be added that certain Liberal pamphlets such as the infamous "Tariff Reform Means Dog-Meat" were as anti-German as anything issued by the Tories. (This pamphlet, issued by the Liberals in 1910, reprinted a German butcher's advertisement for dog and horse meat under a cartoon of running dogs and horses).

Many similar misconceptions of Conservative policies and opinions during the past 80 years can be revived or corrected easily by a judicious use of *Gleanings* and its successors. In this respect the publication is more useful than the pre-election *Campaign Guides* issued by the Conservative Central Office before elections. The *Campaign Guides*, though also intended as reference material for Conservative politicians, contained far less in the way of quotations from speeches and party organisational material than did *Gleanings*; on the other hand, the *Campaign Guides* had more fully-developed statistical sections. The fact that *Gleanings* was issued monthly also means that it is the more useful source for tracing the development of Conservative opinion over an extended period which was notable for many changes in party, policies and alignments.

One significant change which can be seen in *Gleanings* was the decrease in bitterness of the Conservatives towards their opponents after 1914. The emotionalism of the pre-1914 *Gleanings* was much more pronounced than in the average Liberal or Labour publication, possible because the Conservatives were on the defensive. A brief selection of headings from the 1909 issues indicates the strength of Conservative feeling then:

"Free Trade run mad"

"The Socialist tail wagging the non-conformist dog"

"The Evil Eye" (of Winston Churchill)

"Micawbers in Office"

"The crumbling majority of all the minorities"

"Socialist lies greedily espoused by Radical liars"

After the First World War, when the Conservatives were on the verge of half a century of predominance, the emotional tone of *Gleanings* declined, though it remained present in discussions of terrors in Russia. The editors often cited during the early 1920s, horror tales, many of them ludicrous, about nationalisation of children and women, torture on a massive scale and famine. While these stories generally had a basis in fact, the editors of *Gleanings* accepted exaggerated reports without discrimination; yet according to J.M. Kenworthy, there was only one British correspondent in Russia in the 1920s, Arthur Ransome of the *Manchester Guardian*. (Please see page 206 of J.M. Kenworthy's *Sailors, Statesman and Others* (London 1953). The other newspapers relied on correspondents in Riga, who in turn relied on émigré gossip. Yet *Gleanings* normally cited newspapers other than the *Guardian*.

In addition to providing much basic material on significant political subjects *Gleanings* contains many curiosa, such as the fact that slavery was not finally abolished in the British Empire until 1927, when the domestic slaves in Sierra Leone were freed; or a list of local authorities which in 1936 refused to support the air-raid precaution programme. All were Labour strongholds, some of which, such as Battersea, were bombed heavily during the War. Hundreds, if not thousands, of interesting nuggets abound in the volumes of this publication.

To conclude, *Gleanings* was heavily politicised, particularly before 1914, but it was also far superior as a professional journalistic creation than similar Liberal or Labour publications. After its change to *Politics in Review* in 1934, it became less substantial both in terms of content and presentation. This in itself may have been significant, for it showed that the massive Conservative victories of 1931 and 1935 put the party off its guard, and thus prepared the way for its downfall in 1945.

NATIONAL UNION GLEANINGS AND CONTINUATIONS, 1893-1968

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Notes on Current Politics and Old Queen Street Papers: 1966 - 1968

**Conservative Party
Committee Minutes,
1909-1964**

A NOTE ON THE MATERIAL

This microform edition of Conservative Party Committee Minutes 1909-1964, makes available the records of the following committees:

Committee on Party Organisation
Advisory Committee on Party and Political Education
Tactical Staff Committee
Sub-Committee on Annual Conference Arrangements
Sub-Committee to Consider Electoral Reform
Sub-Committee to Consider "Representation of the People Bill" Trades Unionist National Advisory Committee
Central Women's National Advisory Committee
Central Women's National Advisory Council Sub-Committee
Women's Advisory Council (Western Area)
National Society of Women Organisers
Conservative Teachers' Association
Conservative Overseas Bureau
Conservative Commonwealth Council

The loss and destruction of many of the Conservative Party's archives makes these records of particular value to all research into Conservative policy and philosophy of government. They provide full details on behind-the-scenes thought and activity in a wide range of subject areas. The vital role and contribution of women is extremely well documented.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY COMMITTEE MINUTES, 1909-1964

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- (d) Minutes of the Sub-Committee to consider reorganisation of the National Union, 31st July 1911

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- (a) Minutes, February 1946-June 1949
- (b) Minutes, May 1950-December 1964

TACTICAL STAFF COMMITTEE

- (a) Minutes, 1947-1951

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SUB-COMMITTEE ON ANNUAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS

- (a) Minutes, 1909-1914

SUB-COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER ELECTORAL REFORM

- (a) Minutes, 1917

SUB-COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER "REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL"

- (a) Minutes, 1917

MINUTES OF THE TRADES UNIONIST NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- (a) Minutes of Labour Sub-Committee, July 1919-June 1922
- (b) Minutes of Labour Sub-Committee, July 1922-December 1926
- (c) Minutes of Labour Sub-Committee, February 1927-March 1935
- (d) Minutes of Central Trade Union Advisory Committee, March 1947-July 1953
- (e) Minutes of Trade Unionists' National Advisory Committee, July 1953-November 1958
- (f) Minutes of Trade Unionists' National Advisory Committee, January 1959-July 1963

REEL THREECENTRAL WOMEN'S NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

- (a) Minutes, July 1935-March 1939
- (b) Minutes, June 1952-November 1957
- (c) Minutes, December 1957-December 1964

REEL FOURCENTRAL WOMEN'S NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL SUB-COMMITTEE

- (a) Minutes of General Purposes Committee, March 1936-April 1962
- (b) Minutes of Ad-hoc Committee on Relations with Outside Societies, April 1944-May 1951
- (c) Minutes of Outside Organisations Sub-Committee, 1961-1964
- (d) Minutes of Sub-Committee on Party Literature especially intended for Women, 1945-1946
- (e) Minutes of Parliamentary Sub-Committee, 1946-1964

REEL FIVEWOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL (WESTERN AREA)

- (a) Minutes of Women's Parliamentary Council (Western Area), May 1920-May 1927
- (b) Minutes of Women's Parliamentary Council (Western Area), November 1927-December 1937
- (c) Minutes of Annual General Meetings, May 1938-February 1962
- (d) Minutes of Half Yearly Committee, January 1939-October 1961
- (e) Minutes of General Purposes Committee, July 1949-October 1962

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF WOMEN ORGANISERS, 1933-1946

- (a) Minutes, September 1936-October 1946
- (b) Minutes, East Midlands Area Branch, February 1933-December 1946

REEL SIXCONSERVATIVE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

- (a) Minutes, 1947-1964

CONSERVATIVE OVERSEAS BUREAU

- (a) Minutes, 1948-1952
- (b) Minutes, 1953-1964

CONSERVATIVE COMMONWEALTH COUNCIL

- (a) Minutes, March 1953-June 1964
- (b) Minutes of the London West African Committee, October 1953-June 1959

**Advisory Committee on Policy
Correspondence, Minutes and
Papers,
1946-1964**

INTRODUCTION BY STUART BALL

Reader in History, Leicester University

The Advisory Committee on Policy (ACP) lies at the heart of the Conservative Party. From its foundation in 1946 until the 1970s it was the central forum for considering policy, and its deliberations provide a uniquely important and revealing insight into the inner workings of Conservative politics. Its founding father was R.A. Butler, one of the most important figures in the post-war revival and the governments of 1951-64. He remained its chairman until 1965, and under his patronage and influence the ACP became the Party's clearing-house for ideas and policies.

The ACP was created as a result of the Second World War and the Labour landslide of 1945. The need to bring Conservative policies up to date and develop a programme for post-war reconstruction was recognised during the conflict, and in May 1941 the Executive Committee of the National Union approved the establishment of the Post-War Problems Central Committee (PWPPC). 'Rab' Butler, a rising star in the Commons leadership, was appointed as its chairman by the party leader, Winston Churchill. Butler proved to be a skilful and tactful circus-master, and his deft touch and interest in policy-making led Churchill increasingly to rely upon him. Far from discrediting such work, the 1945 defeat at the hands of a Labour Party committed to planning, interventionism and nationalisation made a credible Conservative response essential for any recovery in the party's fortunes. Accordingly the Central Council meeting of November 1945 reaffirmed the value of the work of the PWPPC, and reconstituted it as the Advisory Committee on Policy and Political Education (ACPPE). Butler remained as chairman, and his centrality in policy-making and propaganda was underlined by his assumption in April 1946 of the vacant chairmanship of the Conservative Research Department (CRD) as well. The remit of the ACPPE was broad: its task was to 'promote the study and preparation of reports on suitable subjects for the benefit of the party organisation' as well as setting up 'a political education movement' (National Union Central Council, minutes, 28 November 1945). Political education had been a developing concern of the party organisation since the extension of the franchise in 1918; the aim had been to increase the effectiveness and motivation of the rank and file by making them better informed. In December 1945 the Conservative Political Centre (CPC) was created to carry out this task and as a means of involving the local membership and sounding their views on policy. The ACPPE became the apex of Butler's policy-making pyramid, serviced and supported by the Research Department and the CPC.

At the outset, the ACPPE was simply the continuation of the PWPPC under a new name. It was not a representative body, either of organisations or of different viewpoints within the Party. It was left to Butler to select its membership, which he confined to those who had useful expertise and a forward-looking and open-minded approach. By the spring of 1946 Butler had created sub-committees to deal with political education and publications, whilst the main body ranged more widely. However, there was clearly some unease over the lack of definition of the membership, role and powers of the ACPPE. The regularisation of its position was a logical part of the wider reappraisal of the Conservative Party organisation which took place in the wake of the 1945 defeat. When the Committee on Party Organisation, usually referred to as the Maxwell-Fyfe Committee from the name of its chairman, produced its final report in April 1949, a 'reconstituted' Advisory Committee was one of its principal recommendations. Whilst noting that the ACPPE had done 'a great deal of excellent work', the committee considered it 'vital that the powers of the Committee should be defined and that the Party should have absolute confidence in it.' ((Maxwell-Fyfe) Committee on Party Organisation, final report, 27 April 1949, published after approval by the Executive Committee, May 1949, pp. 15-16) The aim was clear:

What is needed is a Committee so strong that the Executive of the National Union will have full confidence both in its examination and in its approval or disapproval of all policy documents submitted to it which are designed to be published under the authority of the Party. It will be understood that this has nothing to do with Governmental decisions or statements when the Party is in office. Cabinet responsibility cannot be shared.

The Maxwell-Fyfe Report was approved in May 1949 and this section became the founding charter of the ACP.

As political education was now the remit of a separate committee, the title of the ACPPE was shortened to Advisory Committee on Policy. The new committee was to consist of a Chairman and Deputy Chairman appointed by the Party Leader, and at least fourteen others. Half of these were 'to consist of Peers and Members of Parliament, to be chosen by whatever means other than his personal choice the Leader considers appropriate', and the other half were to be 'selected by the Executive Committee of the National Union from its own members'. The ACP would have power to co-opt up to four further members, and it was also laid down that 'Scottish and Welsh interests should be represented and due regard should be had to the geographical representation of the membership'. The Research Department would provide secretarial and administrative support. The limitation on the leader's power of nomination to the ACP was essential for its value and credibility as a sounding board, and it was strictly adhered to. It was decided that the MPs would be nominated by the 1922 Committee, and those chosen to serve have normally included the 1922's chairman and senior members of its executive; the smaller number of peers were similarly chosen by the parallel body in the House of Lords. Churchill appointed Butler as chairman of the reconstructed ACP and, after a delay due to the February 1950 general election, it met for the first time on 25 May 1950. It included eight members of the National Union Executive, five MPs nominated by the 1922 Committee, and two peers. These numbers have remained fixed ever since, but the maximum number of co-options had increased to seven by the 1970s. The link between the ACP and the Conservative Research Department was strengthened at the outset, with the decision to make its Director (the official responsible for the day-to-day running of the CRD) an *ex officio* member. Over the following years, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Party and the Director of the Conservative Political Centre also became *ex officio* members of the ACP.

The ACP has no power to make policy, a fact underlined by the word Advisory in its title. In the Conservative Party, only the leader can adopt or define a policy. Replying to questions about the role of the ACP at the National Union Executive in 1953, Butler declared 'we do not decide anything, because the Leader decides what is to be published' (National Union Executive Committee, notes of meeting, 14 May 1953, NUA/4/3/1). However, whilst this theoretical position is a vital part of the leader's authority and a useful device for maintaining discipline and coherence, the reality is more complex. The range of policies required from a modern political party is so extensive and detailed that no one individual could ever master them all. The leader has to delegate to his colleagues, and they in turn often rely upon preliminary work done by the Conservative Research Department. A National Union report after the establishment of the ACPPE affirmed that it was 'not intended that this Committee should lay down Party policy, but it should help to provide the necessary material on which long term policy could be based'; in practice, these functions are hard to separate (National Union Executive Committee Report to Central Council, 27 March 1946). Nor is policy made in a vacuum, for the leader and front-bench spokesmen are influenced by a variety of viewpoints - by the parliamentary subject committees, by backbench MPs, by the various levels and bodies in the party organisation, as well as by outside pressures. The ACP has an important role in drawing together several of these elements. It receives written and oral briefings from front-benchers or party officials on the policy topics of the moment, and provides a means by which the opinions of

backbenchers and the rank and file membership can be expressed privately and effectively. In the words of the Maxwell-Fyfe Report, 'the Advisory Committee would be in full liaison both with the Leader and the Executive of the National Union', whilst the inclusion of representation from the 1922 Committee added a further vital link. The National Union representation on the ACP has customarily included senior figures from the different wings of the organisation: the women, Young Conservatives, trade unionists, local government and so on. As a result, the different sections had a forum in which their voices could be heard, and this improved the sense of communication and consultation within the Party.

Butler was the guiding hand of the ACP during its first fifteen years, during which he was also one of the most senior members of the Conservative governments of 1951 to 1964. Even when carrying a heavy burden of ministerial responsibility, Butler did not lose interest in the broader field of policy-making or lose touch with either the ACP or the work of the CRD, remaining chairman of both until his retirement from active politics in 1965. Butler continued the pattern which he had developed with the ACP's precursors of delegating detailed work to subordinate 'policy groups', often containing or consulting expert opinion, which then reported back to the main body. Here they were given careful scrutiny; in some cases, such as the town and country planning group in 1961, serious criticisms were raised. As well as the reports of policy groups, the ACP also received papers drafted by the staff of the Research Department which ranged more widely over the Party's strategy, future programme, electoral performance and sources of support; this was a particular feature of the period from 1959 to 1964. The ACP was involved in the preparation of the most important public statements of policy and saw them at various stages of drafting; a particular example was *Onward in Freedom* in 1953. Macmillan's creation of the Steering Committee in 1957 to prepare the manifesto for the next election introduced another and more active element in policy-making, but it did not displace the ACP. Rather they tended to run in tandem, and the ACP continued to see discussion papers at an early stage and to be consulted on key points in the programme, including the manifesto.

The papers of the ACP held in the Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian Library fall into three categories: correspondence (ACP/1), minutes (ACP/2), and papers (ACP/3). The last two are the most important, and have to be looked at together: whilst the memoranda on their own are of interest, the reaction of the meeting at which they were discussed is necessary to complete the picture. The historical value of the ACP's records lies almost equally between the papers circulated and the minutes, and the latter also contain revealing sidelights upon Conservative attitudes and assumptions. The ACP met quarterly through most of this period, although there was a possibly significant gap in the second half of 1956. Just under 120 memoranda were circulated for discussion by the ACP between 1950 and the general election of 1964. The papers were given a single numerical sequence; this figure is preceded by the letters ACP and an identifier of the year in the form of its last two digits, normally shown in parentheses. Thus the last paper drafted in 1954 has the reference number ACP (54) 36, and the next item is ACP (55) 37. The papers were strictly confidential, and often issued in the form of numbered copies. In many cases the authors of a paper are given at the end in the form of initials only. These can usually be identified as either the moving figures in the policy group or senior figures in the Research Department such as Malcolm Fraser or James Douglas.

The ACP is not an executive body, but a sounding board. It is passive rather than active, and offers guidance rather than instruction to the leadership. The ACP provides a unique microcosm of the Party as a whole, bringing together key figures in the leadership, the parliamentary party and the National Union. It is too broadly-based to be a target for capture by factions or dissidents, yet it is small enough and its members are senior enough to express concern or doubt when they feel the need to do so. The ACP is confidential, discreet and loyal, but this should not be mistaken for

unimportance or ineffectiveness. Above all, the memoranda circulated to it and the minutes of its meetings provide a inside view of Conservative attitudes, strategy and policy-making at the highest level, for it is here that the various strands all come together.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON POLICY CORRESPONDENCE, MINUTES AND PAPERS, 1946-1964

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- 50 ACP 3/1 (51) 13 - Parliamentary Labour Committee: Report of Trade Union Problems Sub-Committee, 2 May 1951
- 50 ACP 3/1 (51) 14 - Addendum to Transport Policy: Roads Policy, 7 June 1951
- 51 ACP 3/2 (51) 15 - Parliamentary Fuel and Power Committee: Gas Sub-Committee, Chairman's Report, 26 April 1951
- 51 ACP 3/2 (51) 16 - Comparison of Conservative Schemes for the Denationalisation of Electricity and Gas, 5 July 1951
- 51-52 ACP 3/2 (51) 17 - Report on the Problems of Old People, 30 April 1951
- 52-53 ACP 3/2 (51) 18 - *Britain - Strong and Free*, a note by R.A. Butler, 5 July 1951
- 53 ACP 3/2 (52) 19 - Outline of present research programme, 28 March 1952
- 53 ACP 3/2 (52) 19 - Home Ownership, n.d.
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- 57 ACP 3/3 (54) 28 - Memorandum from the National Advisory Committee on Local Government, 20 January 1954
- 57-58 ACP 3/3 (54) 29 - National Insurance Policy Sub-Committee: Report on the Finance of National Insurance, n.d.
- 58 ACP 3/3 (54) 30 - Progress report on work of Research Study Group, 2 April 1954
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- 58 ACP 3/3 (54) 31a - Mr Geoffrey Lloyd's comments on paper on Fuel and Power, 8 July 1954
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- 61 ACP 3/4 (56) 42 - Labour Restrictive Practices: What the Government is doing, n.d.
- 61 ACP 3/4 (56) 43 - The Mechanism of Monetary Policy, 11 July 1956
- Missing ACP 3/4 (56) 44 - Proposed pamphlet for Party Conference 1956
- 61 ACP 3/4 (56) 45 - Agricultural Policy Committee, 13 December 1956
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- 68 ACP 3/6 (59) 72 - Policy for Nationalised Industries: A paper by Sir Eric Edwards on the feasibility of applying to nationalised industries any of the statutory controls to which public or private companies are at present subject, 2 February 1959
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85	ACP 3/10 (62) 101 - Industrial Relations Committee: Interim report on contracts of services, 17 July 1962
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86	ACP 3/10 (63) 103 - Industrial Relations - Unofficial Strikes: Paper by Mr John Hare
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86-87	ACP 3/10 (63) 105 - Report of the Industrial Relations Sub-Committee, 8 May 1963
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- 90 ACP 3/11 (64) 111 - Manifesto in outline, 28 January 1964
- 90 ACP 3/11 (64) 112 - National Health Service Drugs for Private Patients, 22 January 1964
- 90 ACP 3/11 (64) 113 - Ministers' comments on the second report of the Policy Committee on the Future of the Social Services, 23 January 1964
- 90 ACP 3/11 (64) 114 - Women's Policy Group comments on the second report of the Policy Committee on the Future of the Social Services, 22 January 1964
- 90-91 ACP 3/11 (64) 115 - General Election 1964: The Manifesto (second draft), 5 March 1964
- 91 ACP 3/11 (64) 116 - General Election 1964: The Manifesto (fourth draft), 30 June 1964

NOTE ON OTHER SOURCES

Regional Papers:

- (i) East Midlands Few records survive prior to 1939.
- (ii) Eastern These papers include minute books of the former Eastern Provincial Division and its successor from 1908 to 1935 and from 1940 to 1988; general accounts 1931 to 1937; subscriptions list for 1939 to 1949; minutes of The Women's Parliamentary Committee 1920 to 1928, and The Women's Advisory Committee 1932 to 1952 and 1960 to 1988.
- (iii) Greater London These records include the Papers of the London Municipal Society dating from the 1890s the Papers of the London Conservative Union with Council and A.G.M. minutes from 1956, General Purposes Committee and Executive Committee Minutes from 1954, and Women's Advisory Committee Minutes from 1946.
- (iv) North Western This is probably the most complete collection at regional level and is now located in the Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Included are Committee Papers and Minutes from 1925 through to 1950.
- (v) Scotland The Scottish records, covering most of the history of the Scottish Party's national organisation since the formation of the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland on 24 November 1882, are to be found at Scottish Conservative Central Office.
- (vi) South East Area Records include Council Papers from 1939, Committee Papers, Treasurer's Circulars, Housing, Trade Union and Education Papers covering the period 1946-1962.
- (vii) West Midlands This is also a reasonably full group of records. The earliest material consists of a constituency records book of the Midland Union for the period 1885-1911. There are full minutes of the Council, Women's Organisation, Junior Imperial League and Labour Advisory Committee from 1886.
- (viii) Wessex Few records have survived. Nothing prior to 1928.
- (ix) Yorkshire Papers include minutes of the Council, Executive Committee and Financial Committee since 1886.

Federation Offices exist at the following addresses:-

East Midlands: Cedar Lawns, Church Street, Burbage, Hinckley, Leicestershire LE10 2DE.

Eastern: Broadway House, 149-151 St Neots Road, Hardwick, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire CB3 7QJ

Greater London:	32 Smith Square, London SW1P 3HH
North Western:	17 St Mary's Place, Bury, Greater Manchester BL9 0DZ
Scotland:	Suite 1/1, 14 Links Place, Leith, Edinburgh EH6 7EZ
South Eastern:	1a High Street, Cobham, Surrey KT11 3DH
Wales:	4 Penline Road, Whitchurch, Cardiff, South Glamorgan CF4 2XS
West Midlands:	10 Greenfield Crescent, Edgbaston, Birmingham, West Midlands B15 3AU
Western:	3 Marlborough Court, Manaton Close, Matford Business Park, Exeter, Devon EX2 8PF
Yorkshire:	53 Great George Street, Leeds, West Yorkshire LS1 3BL

"1922" Committee Papers

These records are not yet available for research purposes.

Junior Imperial and Constitutional League

Central Council, Executive and Finance Committee Minutes, Annual Reports, Press Cuttings, Photographs and other papers are at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These records cover the period 1905-1946.

Young Britons

Papers 1931 to 1965 are at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Young Conservatives

Policy Reports, Conference Papers, Minutes, Publications and other papers 1946 to 1969, are housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

General Election and By-Election Addresses

These are large "scrapbook" type volumes covering the period 1922-1970, and again housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.