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BRITISH
POLITICAL FACTS
1900-1968

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1900-1968

BY
DAVID BUTLER
AND
JENNIE FREEMAN

THIRD EDITION

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION to the First Edition	xiii
INTRODUCTION to the Second Edition	xvii
NOTE to the Third Edition	xix
I. MINISTRIES	i
Complete Ministries	i
Ministerial Offices: the offices	49
the holders	50
Leaders of the House of Commons and the House of Lords	57
Size of Cabinets and Governments	57
Ministerial Resignations	58
Parliamentary Private Secretaries to Prime Ministers	59
Biographical Notes on Prime Ministers, Chancellors of the	
Exchequer, and Foreign Secretaries	59
Index of Ministers	65
II. PARTIES	99
Conservative Party:	
Leaders of the Party	99
Leaders in the House of Lords	99
Principal Office-holders	99
Chief Whips in the House of Commons and House of Lords	100
Chairmen of the 1922 Committee	100
Party Conferences and their Chairmen	101
Labour Party:	
Leaders and Deputy Leaders of the Party	102
Leaders in the House of Lords	102
Chief Whips in the House of Commons and House of	
Lords	102
Labour Representation Committee and National Executive	
Committee Office-holders	103
Parliamentary Labour Party	103
Liaison Committee Chairmen	106
Party Conferences and Party Chairmen	106
Party membership statistics	107
Labour Party organisation and constitutions	109
Sponsored M.P.s	110
Liberal Party:	
Leaders of the Party	112
Leaders in the House of Lords	112
Principal Office-holders	112

Chief Whips in the House of Commons and House of Lords	113
Party Conferences and their Presidents	113
Minor Parties:	
Common Wealth	115
Communist Party	115
Co-operative Party	115
Independent Labour Party	116
Irish Nationalist Party up to 1922	116
Irish Parties since 1922	117
Liberal National Party	117
Liberal Unionist Party	118
National Party	118
National Democratic Party	118
National Labour Party	119
New Party, British Union of Fascists, Union Movement	119
Scottish National Party	120
Welsh Nationalist Party	120
Representation of Minor Parties in the House of Commons	120
Independent M.P.s	121
 III. PARLIAMENT	 122
House of Commons:	
Speakers and their Deputies	122
Officers of the House of Commons	122
Fathers of the House of Commons	123
Parliamentary Sessions	123
Parliamentary Hours of Sitting	123
Government and Private Members' Time	123
Dates of Sessions, use of parliamentary time, parliamentary bills, and questions to Ministers	124
Regnal Years	126
Select Committees:	
Public Accounts	126
Estimates	127
National Expenditure	128
Nationalised Industries	128
Statutory Instruments	128
Selection	130
House of Commons Services	131
Agriculture	131
Science and Technology	132
Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration	132
The Select Committees of Privileges	132
Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration	134
Payment of M.P.s	134
Seats Forfeited	135

House of Lords:	136
Lord Chairmen of Committees	136
Officers of the House of Lords	136
Composition of the House of Lords	136
Creation of Peerages	137
Reform of the House of Lords	137
 IV. ELECTIONS	 140
General Election Statistics	140
General Election Results by Regions	145
Party Changes between Elections	146
M.P.s' Changes of Allegiance	147
By-elections	151
Seats Changing Hands at By-elections	152
M.P.s seeking Re-Election	154
Electoral Administration, Franchise and Redistribution	155
Election Expenses	156
Successful Election Petitions	157
Women Candidates and M.P.s	157
Public Opinion Polls:	
Gallup Poll	158
National Opinion Polls	164
Accuracy of Forecasts	165
 V. POLITICAL PLACE-NAMES	 166
 VI. CIVIL SERVICE	 169
Heads of Departments and Public Offices	169
Top Civil Service Salary Level	172
Size of Civil Service	173
 VII. ROYAL COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES OF INQUIRY AND TRIBUNALS	 175
Royal Commissions:	
Royal Commissions listed chronologically	175
Permanent and Operating Commissions	179
Irish Vice-Regal Commissions	180
Departmental Committees	180
Select Chronological List	
Tribunals:	
Inquiries held under Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence Act), 1921	182
Tribunals and Inquiries	183

VIII. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE	185
Criminal Justice Legislation	185
Principal Judges	186
Criminal Statistics	188
Police Force	189
Daily Average Population of Prisons, etc.	189
IX. SOCIAL CONDITIONS	190
Population:	
U.K. Population 1901-1967	190
Population of the Main Conurbations	190
Birth Rates and Death Rates in the U.K.	191
Age Distribution of the Population of the U.K.	191
Expectation of Life	191
Main Causes of Death	192
Average Age at First Marriage	192
Divorces	192
Intercensal Changes in Population	192
Emigration	193
Naturalisation	193
Aliens in Great Britain	193
Commonwealth Immigration into the U.K.	194
Commonwealth Immigrants in the U.K.	194
Types of Commonwealth Entrant	194
Housing:	
Legislation	195
Permanent Dwellings Built	196
Number of Houses	196
Education:	
Legislation	197
Education Statistics: Pupils in Schools	198
Percentage in Grant-Aided Schools	198
Percentage receiving Full-Time Education	198
Students in Full-Time Higher Education	198
Educational Finance	199
Library Loans	199
Social Security:	
Legislation	199
Old Age Pensions	202
Women and Children:	
Women's Rights Legislation	202
Maternity and Child Welfare Legislation	202
Transport and Communications:	
Current Vehicle Licences	203

Railways	204
Shipping	204
Postal Traffic	204
Telephones	205
X. EMPLOYMENT AND TRADE UNIONS	206
Major Employment Legislation	206
Major Trade Union Legislation and Litigation	208
Earnings and Hours Worked	209
Rates of Unemployment Benefit	210
Industrial Analysis of the Occupied Population	211
Size of Labour Force	211
Trades Union Congresses, with Presidents and General Secretaries	212
The Eight Largest Unions:	
Formation	213
Officers	214
Membership Figures	215
Income, Expenditure and Funds of Registered Trade Unions	216
Density of Union Membership	216
White-Collar Unions	216
Major Industrial Disputes	217
Statistics:	
Unemployment, Industrial Disputes, Trade Union Statistics	219
XI. THE ECONOMY	221
Landmarks in Economic Policy	221
Statistics:	
National Income	222
Income Tax	222
Wholesale and Retail Price Indices	222
Purchasing Power of the Pound in 1900 and 1965 terms	222
Indices of Industrial Production	224
Coal and Steel Production	224
Raw Cotton Consumption	224
Agriculture: Cultivated Areas, Cattle, and Sheep	224
Price of 2½% Consols	224
Bank Rate	224
Net Balance of Payments	226
Terms of Trade	226
Imports and Exports: volume indices	226
Foreign Exchange Rates	226
Total National Revenue	228
Main Sources of Revenue	228

Main heads of Expenditure	230
Specimen Tariffs	230
National Debt	230
Industrial Output of the U.K.	232
Surtax	232
Estate Duty	232
Maximum Rates of Death Duty	232
Hire Purchase	233
Budget Dates	233
XII. NATIONALISATION	234
Main Landmarks	234
Board Chairmen	235
Other Public Bodies	238
XIII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT	239
Local Government Structure	239
Number of Councils	239
Local Government Finance	240
Legislation	240
Local Government Elections	242
Borough Council Election Results	243
Party control in the main cities	243
Party Representations on the London County Council and Greater London Council	245
XIV. ROYALTY	246
British Kings and Queens	246
Use of Royal Power	246
Regency Acts	247
The Royal Family	247
Private Secretaries to the Sovereign	249
Lord Chamberlains	249
Civil List of the Crown	249
XV. BRITISH ISLES	250
Scotland	250
Wales	251
Ireland 1900-1922	251
Northern Ireland 1922-	252
Channel Islands	254
Isle of Man	255

XVI. THE COMMONWEALTH	256
Main Territories under British Rule since 1900	256
Independent Self-Governing Members of the Commonwealth	261
Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meetings	261
Commonwealth Secretariat	262
Viceroy and Governors-General	262
XVII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	264
Major Treaties and Documents Subscribed to by Britain	264
League of Nations	265
United Nations	265
British Ambassadors to Leading Powers	265
British Ambassadors to Leading International Organisations	266
XVIII. ARMED FORCES	268
Service Chiefs	268
Defence Organisation:	
Committee of Imperial Defence	268
Ministry of Defence	269
Total Forces Serving	270
Total Expenditure on Defence	270
Conscription	270
Rationing	271
Principal Military Operations	271
British Costs and Casualties in the Major Wars	272
Major War Commanders	273
XIX. THE PRESS	276
National Daily Newspapers	276
National Sunday Newspapers	280
London Evening Newspapers	283
Circulation of National Newspapers	284
Provincial Morning Daily Newspapers	285
Main Political Weeklies	287
Newspaper Readership	288
The Press Council	288
XX. BROADCASTING AUTHORITIES	290
The British Broadcasting Corporation	290
British Broadcasting Company Board	290
British Broadcasting Corporation Board	290
B.B.C. Television	291

Broadcasting Receiving Licences and B.B.C. Expenditure	291
Independent Television	292
Members of the Independent Television Authority	292
Programme Contracting Companies	293
Independent Television News Ltd.	295
 XXI. RELIGION	 296
The Church of England	296
Membership Statistics	297
Archbishops and leading Bishops of the five principal dioceses in the Church of England	298
The Church in Wales	298
Episcopal Church in Scotland	298
Baptist Union	299
Congregational Union	299
Methodist Church	299
Presbyterian Church	300
The Church of Scotland	300
The Roman Catholic Church	300
Membership Statistics	300
Archbishops of Westminster	301
Northern Ireland, Religious Affiliations	301
The Jewish Community	301
 XXII. PRESSURE GROUPS	 302
 XXIII. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	 306
 ADDENDA	 308
 INDEX	 309

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE table of contents offers the simplest justification for this book — but inevitably it is a book that will justify itself in different ways to different readers. The scholar, the journalist, the politician and the club bore were all in the authors' minds at one point or another during its compilation. Some of those who look at this book will, we hope, be delighted to find in compact and reliable form data that might still have eluded them after searching through a dozen standard works of reference; others will at least discover from our pages where the information they seek may be found; a few, we fear, will be infuriated by our omissions and, despite all our efforts at checking, by our errors.

The idea of writing this book grew gradually in the mind of one of its authors as, in the course of twelve years as a student and a teacher at Nuffield College (which is devoted to research in contemporary subjects), he noticed the amount of time that he and others wasted in searching for seemingly obvious facts about twentieth-century Britain. If, therefore, any one reader has been especially in our minds, he is the graduate student writing a thesis on any domestic theme in the last sixty years. We hope he will find here not only an expeditious way of checking basic facts but also, if he finds time to browse through our lists and tables, a stimulating reminder of people and considerations that must have played a part, perhaps only as background, in the situations he is analysing.

But we are not concerned solely with academic needs. Experience of checking facts in newspaper offices and broadcasting studios, and the anecdotes of friends in Whitehall and Westminster have made plain to us how much elementary political data is annoyingly elusive. Many admirable works of reference exist but the right one is not always to hand; most of them, moreover, are compiled on an annual basis — which can be very frustrating for those who are trying to trace an office or a statistic over a number of years.

The compiler of any work of reference is limited by space and time. How much data shall be included? How far shall other works be duplicated? How many hours is it worth devoting to any particular compilation? In this book we have had to exclude interesting information either because it would fill a disproportionate number of pages or because it could not be obtained without more labour than we thought justified. We have consoled ourselves for setting out data in abbreviated form by giving exact references to more exhaustive sources.

Indeed, since the compilation of reference books is, even more than other research, systematised plagiarism, perhaps the most valuable part of

these pages lies in these citations. We have not attempted an exhaustive bibliography — except for a compilation of bibliographies and general reference books — but we have throughout tried to list all major authorities.

The title, *British Political Facts 1900-1960*, provides a reasonably close delimitation of the scope of this book. *British* indicates that we have been concerned with the domestic history of the United Kingdom. But it is not possible to set precise boundaries to the term 'domestic' and we have perhaps strayed beyond them by listing Colonies, Governors-General, and some Ambassadors.

Political is potentially ambiguous, but we have used it to stress that our interest is in the power of the state. We have tried to list the principal people who were involved in the government of Britain at any moment in this century; we have recorded election results — as providing the basis for political authority — and major legislation — as representing its use; we have assembled, in summary form, statistical data which show some of the social and economic background to all political action.

Facts indicates that we have tried to eschew political judgements as far as possible. Some value judgements may be implicit in our selection of material, but we believe that virtually everything here would be acceptable as non-controversial evidence in debates over the nature of twentieth-century British history. It is a waste of time to argue about verifiable questions of fact. But it is also a waste of time to assemble facts except as a basis for argument. Because in this book we have stuck rigidly to facts, it does not mean that we overrate them. Analysis of our past and present situation is far more important than mere fact-gathering. Unlike Martha we are fully aware which is the better part.

1900-1960 is a somewhat arbitrary period — but any historical period must be arbitrary. Our terminal date, 31 December 1960, was determined by the availability of material in 1961-2; perhaps a second edition will carry the record forward. Our opening date was a numerological accident — but it would be hard to find a better watershed without going back at least to 1885, which because of space, and still more because of the availability of data, was impracticable. We have endeavoured to treat every one of our sixty years equally, providing as full and exact data about 1901 as about 1959. With some statistics this has proved impossible and some of our time-series are regrettably discontinuous. But in general it will be found that we have resisted the temptation to make a special favourite of the more recent past — it is not our fault that there were no Gallup polls before 1938 and that local election results cannot usefully be pursued very far back.

In compiling this book we have become very conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of other reference books — and particularly of the importance of pedantic accuracy and clear presentation. We have certainly not avoided all the pitfalls into which we have observed others falling; therefore, by way both of excuse and of warning, it may be worth describing a few of the difficulties we have faced.

The general problems of finding exact data on British politics were best exemplified in the gathering of complete lists of ministries over the last sixty years — the most time-consuming of all our operations. There are a number of publications which purport to list all ministerial appointments — the most useful of these are the two Parliamentary handbooks, *Dod* and *Vacher*. There is also the Stationery Office publication *H.M. Ministers and Heads of Public Departments* which has appeared four or five times a year since 1946. Lists of ministers are also printed in *Hansard* once a fortnight during sessions. But all these sources have the same disadvantage — no indication is given of the date when a minister was appointed or left office. A man may indeed be appointed and leave office between the publication of these lists, so that there is no record whatever of his elevation. *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* have since 1931 recorded most government appointments — but they depend solely on newspaper sources and are not altogether infallible. The *Indexes to The Times* are the best means of checking on ministerial changes, though here too there are problems. *Palmer's Index to the Times* which was not superseded by the *Official Index* until 1906 is far from satisfactory; under the heading 'Official Appointments' is the depressing injunction 'See every issue'. From 1906 the *Official Index* is much more thorough, although misprints and references to different editions of the paper do occur. Even *The Times*, moreover, has occasionally missed a minor government change. An additional complication lies in the range of possible days which might be considered the date of appointment: there is the announcement from Downing Street, the press report the following day, the official gazetting a week or more later, the exchange of seals and the kissing of hands. None of these may represent the precise date on which the new minister took over his duties, but wherever possible, we have decided to use the date of *The Times* report, as being the earliest and most public announcement. Peerages sometimes cause further confusion, since weeks usually elapse before a newly elevated minister's title is announced. Care has also to be taken when a familiar minister disappears behind a new name — the fact that Mr Ivor Guest, Lord Ashby St Ledgers, and Viscount Wimborne were one and the same person is not immediately apparent. Another snag arises, particularly in wartime, when the titles and functions of ministries change kaleidoscopically.

In many other fields the sources of confusion were almost equally numerous. The search for reliable and consistent evidence about newspaper circulations, religious affiliations and trade disputes caused us particular trouble and we were surprised at the difficulties involved in compiling lists of all permanent secretaries of departments and assessing the size of the various grades of the civil service. But it would be tedious to quote all the gaps in existing works of reference which we have — with very varying success — tried to fill. We must, however, mention the complications which arise from the structure of the United Kingdom. The changes in Ireland in 1922 inevitably cause a break in all national statistical time-series and since then many tables have, perforce, to exclude Northern Ireland as well as

Bire; but the administrative separation of Scotland causes almost as many difficulties. Statistics are compiled independently north and south of the Border, quite often on different bases. Sometimes this arises from the different legal or administrative systems—as with education; but in the case of population and vital statistics the Registrars-General seem unnecessarily perverse in presenting their census findings in differing forms.

In preparing this book we have had assistance from many quarters—most notably from the Fellows and Students of Nuffield College, but also from officials in Parliament, in the Party Headquarters, in Government Departments and in newspaper offices, from many friends in the academic world, and from our publishers. We are also deeply indebted to anonymous compilers of the many works of reference from which we have so freely drawn. The statistical section of the book was largely prepared by Mrs Barbara Williamson with some invaluable advice from Mr Brian Mitchell and Mr Graham Pyatt of the Department of Applied Economics at Cambridge. The data for elections before 1918 was prepared by Mr Neal Blewett. The section on the courts was mainly the work of Mr Yash Ghai. Indispensable secretarial aid came from Miss Audrey Carruthers. And here is an incomplete list of others to whom we are indebted.

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N. Birnbaum	S. Gordon	H. G. Nicholas
G. D. M. Block	M. Harrison	H. Pelling
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While we could not have completed this book without these far-flung helpers, we should stress our sole responsibility for its inevitable errors. Our readers are earnestly invited to let us know of any that they may detect.¹

DAVID BUTLER
JENNIE FREEMAN

NUFFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD
June 1962

¹ June 1964. We must express our gratitude to the many people, friends and strangers, who answered this request. Several of those listed above have suggested *corrigenda* and we would like to add these names to their number: A. N. Cass, A. Deyermund, C. Driver, R. Jenkins, A. L. Lamaison, J. S. Milner, J. Morland Craig, J. Palmer, C. Pannell, M. B. Parker, J. C. Sainty, and A. H. Warren. We hope for still more suggestions of corrections and additions before the next edition.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE preparation of this new edition of *British Political Facts* has involved three tasks: bringing the record up to date with the facts of 1961 to 1967; incorporating new material to improve the usefulness and balance of the book; and correcting errors which have been spotted since the reprinting of the first edition.

The process of up-dating is by no means simple. The 1960's are better documented than any previous decade, but the continuity of the statistical time series which ran up to 1960 is often broken by new bases of computation. We faced the dilemma of whether to recalculate the earlier figures or not. In many cases we realised that the first edition had not made sufficiently clear what our basis of calculation had been, and we were ourselves confronted with the same difficulties that would face the ordinary reader who sought to build on our data—we had to search for what were the original criteria of selection and calculation. We hope we have remedied that failing. Another problem has been that of obtaining sufficiently up-to-date material. This affects statistics more than other kinds of fact; we have, for example, with the aid of the Addenda on p. 308, been able to incorporate all ministerial changes up to 31 December 1967, but for some of our tables the last available figures are for 1965 or even 1964.

The most challenging and rewarding part of preparing this edition has, however, lain in collecting new material. *British Political Facts* differs from the vast majority of books in the field of history and social sciences in that it is expounding no thesis of its authors but is produced entirely for the convenience of its readers. This has made us the target for all kinds of helpful criticisms and suggestions. It is the people who have found the book most useful—academics, civil servants, librarians, journalists, party officials, and officers of the Houses of Parliament—who have been its keenest—and most constructive—critics. We feel we owe them not only gratitude for the assistance they have given us but also an obligation to provide them with the material that they need in a form that will save them most time and effort.

Almost without exception the suggestions for improvement comprised ideas for additional material rather than for deletions. The only section of the first edition that we have in fact omitted is the list of constitutional cases and statutes—we felt that while it took up a considerable number of pages it was still too selective to be of much use and, more important, that the material was readily available elsewhere. The last consideration is indeed one that has loomed increasingly large in our decisions during our work on this edition. Contact with many users of *British Political Facts* has made us realise the need not just for the gathering together of facts and time series

from other — mainly annual — works of reference: there is also a need for material that is not available anywhere else at all. We described our first edition as 'systematised plagiarism'. But two of the major innovations in this edition — the listing of floor-crossings and the listing of Royal Commissions and other committees of inquiry — have involved an appreciable amount of original research. The more difficult and frustrating this research proved the more we became convinced that these additions were worth while and would provide short cuts for the labours of others. Other sections of the book which have been radically changed and expanded are those dealing with Social Policy, Employment and Trade Unions, and the Economy. But the sections on Parliament, on Elections, on the Armed Forces, on the British Isles, and on Local Government have also grown appreciably, and there is, indeed, no section that has not been modified in one way or another.

The correction of errors is a task in which we have had many helpers. One of the great satisfactions of publishing a book such as this is the wide range of friendly correspondence which it evokes. Misprints, omissions, and arguable points have been sent in by friends and by strangers. This edition has benefited enormously from the rigorous scrutiny which its predecessor received. It would be wrong to suggest that the first edition was riddled with errors. The percentage of mistakes in the 50,000 or more facts and figures it contained was low. In this edition, thanks to our readers, it is lower. But some undoubtedly survive, and once again we beg those who use this book to send us their corrigenda.

Even more people have assisted in the revision of this book than in its original compilation. Many of those whose names are listed in the earlier preface have given us further counsel and information. The following are only a few among the large number of others who have helped us to new material.

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Professor T. Wilson
Mrs J. Wigan

Among those who remain unnamed are many civil servants as well as members of the staff of the British Museum State Paper Room, the

Libraries of the House of Commons and House of Lords, and the Bodleian, who went far beyond the line of duty in gathering data for us. To all of them we owe a great debt of gratitude.

The main burden of revising and up-dating this book was borne by Mrs Anne Duncan-Jones, and I would like to pay the warmest tribute to her skill and thoroughness, and to the extraordinary zest and drive which she has brought to the tedious and often infuriating tasks that confronted her. I would also like to record my special thanks to Miss Ann Bishop for all her secretarial labours.

On this occasion while the credit for any virtues this book may have is widespread I must accept sole responsibility for any shortcomings. I hope that in due course the comments and suggestions of its users will lead to the production of new editions that will be more error-free and still more compendious.

DAVID BUTLER

NUFFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD
December 1967

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE third edition, by contrast to the second, involves no radical alterations. But the lapse of a few months and the helpfulness of many correspondents has made it possible for me, aided once again by Anne Duncan-Jones, to eliminate a number of misprints and minor errors. In addition the developments of another twelve months have, as far as possible, been recorded.

Many of those whose help has already been acknowledged made further suggestions, and among others who sent comments I should particularly like to thank:

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NUFFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD
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I MINISTRIES

THE following list contains all holders of paid and political ministerial offices since 1900. It leaves out some office-holders, since various offices in the Royal Household have during the past century ceased to be political appointments. The list also omits some politicians with governmental posts, since various other offices such as the Church Estates Commissioners are at times filled by M.P.s who are not regarded as part of the Ministry. Assistant Government Whips were unpaid until the 1964 Parliament and are not listed until then. Parliamentary Private Secretaries are also unlisted.

The problems of compiling this list are discussed on p. xv. The dates are as far as possible the dates on which the announcement of the appointment appeared in *The Times*. Where more than one person holds the same title starting and finishing dates are given. In all other cases it may be assumed that the date of the new appointment represents the vacating of the office. Ministers in the cabinet are printed throughout this section in heavy type. Ministers outside the cabinet and Ministers of State are printed in capitals. Junior Ministers are in ordinary print. The seven leading offices are placed first in each Ministry; the remainder are arranged alphabetically, except the law offices and the political appointments to the Royal Household, which are placed at the end, together with the Treasury appointments which are held by Whips. In these tables (and throughout the book) titles are placed in brackets if acquired during the tenure of a particular office or on transfer to the next office. U-S. Under-Secretary; F.S. Financial Secretary; P.S. Parliamentary Secretary.

This section has been sub-divided chronologically at changes of Prime Minister, except when few other offices changed hands, as in 1902, 1923, 1937, 1955, and 1963; further subdivisions are made for the drastic reconstructions of 1915, 1931, and May 1945.

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, 1900-1905

MINISTERS IN CABINET		JUNIOR MINISTERS ATTACHED
P.M.	M of Salisbury (3rd)	
	1900-11 Jul 02	
	A. Balfour	12 Jul 02-4 Dec 05
1st Ld of Treasury	A. Balfour	1900
	(office combined with P.M. when Balfour succeeded Salisbury)	
Ld Pres.	D of Devonshire	1900
	M of Londonderry	13 Oct 03
Ld Chanc.	E of Halsbury	1900
Privy S.	Vt Cross	1900
	M of Salisbury (3rd) (P.M.)	1 Nov 00
	A. Balfour (P.M.)	12 Jul 02
	M of Salisbury (4th)	11 Oct 03

¹ The only occasion in this century when 1st Ld of Treasury was not combined with P.M.

MINISTRIES

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, 1900-1905 (contd.)

MINISTERS IN CABINET			JUNIOR MINISTERS ATTACHED		
Exch.	Sir M. Hicks Beach C. Ritchie A. Chamberlain	1900 8 Aug 02 6 Oct 03	Treasury: F.S. R. Hanbury A. Chamberlain W. Hayes Fisher A. Elliott V. Cavendish	1900 7 Nov 00 8 Aug 02 10 Apr 03 9 Oct 03	
For. O.	M of Salisbury (3rd) (P.M.) M of Lansdowne	1900 1 Nov 00	U-S. St J. Brodrick Vt Cranborne ¹ (4th M of Salisbury)	1900 7 Nov 00 9 Oct 03	
Home O.	Sir M. White Ridley C. Ritchie A. Akers-Douglas	1900 1 Nov 00 8 Aug 02	U-S. Earl Percy ¹ J. Collings T. Cochrane	1900 7 Nov 00 8 Aug 02	
Admir.	G. Goschen E of Selborne Earl Cawdor	1900 1 Nov 00 5 Mar 05	P. & F.S.: Sir W. Macartney H. Arnold-Forster E. Pretyman	1900 7 Nov 00 11 Oct 03	
			Civil Ld: A. Chamberlain E. Pretyman A. Lee	1900 7 Nov 00 11 Oct 03	
Bd Ag. & Fish.	W. Long R. Hanbury E of Onslow A. Fellowes	1900 14 Nov 00 19 May 03 12 Mar 05	U-S. E of Selborne E of Onslow D of Marlborough	1900 12 Nov 00 23 Jul 03	
Col. O.	J. Chamberlain A. Lyttelton	1900 6 Oct 03	Sec. (office not established) Sir W. Anson (previously Vice-President of Committee of Council on Education—Sir J. Gorst 1900-8 Aug 02)	8 Aug 02	
Bd Educ.	D of Devonshire M of Londonderry	1900 8 Aug 02	U-S. E of Onslow E of Hardwicke Earl Percy ¹ E of Hardwicke M of Bath	1900 12 Nov 00 8 Aug 02 15 Oct 03 19 Jan 05	
India O.	Ld G. Hamilton ¹ St J. Brodrick	1900 6 Oct 03	V. Pres. Dept. Agric. for Ireland: (Sir) H. Plunkett	1900	
Chief Sec. Ireland	(office not in cabinet) G. Wyndham W. Long	8 Aug 02 12 Mar 05			
Ld Chanc. Ireland	Ld Ashbourne	1900			
Ld Lieut. Ireland	Earl Cadogan (E of Dudley 8 Aug 02 & office not in cabinet)	1900			
D. Lanc.	Ld James of Hereford (Sir W. Walrond 8 Aug 02 & office not in cabinet)	1900			
Loc. Govt. Bd	H. Chaplin W. Long G. Balfour	1900 7 Nov 00 12 Mar 05	P.S. T. Russell (Sir) J. Lawson A. Jeffreys	1900 11 Nov 00 27 Jun 05	
Postm.-Gen.	(office not in cabinet) M of Londonderry A. Chamberlain Ld Stanley ¹	7 Nov 00 8 Aug 02 6 Oct 03			
Scotland	Ld Balfour of Burleigh A. Murray M of Linlithgow	1900 6 Oct 03 2 Feb 05			

¹ Not a member of the House of Lords.

MINISTRIES

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, 1900-1905 (contd.)

MINISTERS IN CABINET			JUNIOR MINISTERS ATTACHED		
B.o.T.	C. Ritchie G. Balfour M of Salisbury (4th)	1900 7 Nov 00 12 Mar 05	P.S.	E of Dudley A. Bonar Law	1900 8 Aug 02
War O.	M of Lansdowne St J. Brodrick H. Arnold-Forster	1900 1 Nov 00 6 Oct 03	F.S.	J. Powell Williams Ld Stanley ¹ W. Bromley-Davenport G. Wyndham Ld Raglan E of Hardwicke E of Donoughmore	1900 7 Nov 00 11 Oct 03 1900 12 Nov 00 8 Aug 02 15 Oct 03
1st C. Works	A. Akers-Douglas (Ld Windsor 8 Aug 02 & office out of cabinet)	1900			
MINISTERS NOT IN CABINET					
Chief Sec. Ireland	G. BALFOUR G. WYNDHAM (8 Aug 02 office in cabinet)	1900 7 Nov 00	(for Junior Ministers see above)		
D. Lanc.	(office in cabinet) SIR W. WALROND	8 Aug 02			
Paym.-Gen.	D OF MARLBOROUGH SIR S. CROSSLEY	1900 11 Mar 02			
Postm.-Gen.	D OF NORFOLK M OF LONDONDERRY (7 Nov 00 office in cabinet)	1900 2 Apr 00			
1st C. Works	(office in cabinet) LD WINDSOR	8 Aug 02			
Law Officers:			P.S. to Treasury:		
Att.-Gen.	SIR R. WEBSTER SIR R. FINLAY	1900 7 May 00	Sir W. Walrond Sir A. Acland Hood 1900 8 Aug 02		
Sol.-Gen.	SIR R. FINLAY SIR E. CARSON	1900 7 May 00	Junior Lds of Treasury:		
Ld Advoc.	A. MURRAY S. DICKSON	1900 18 Oct 03	W. Hayes Fisher H. Anstruther Ld Stanley ¹ A. Fellowes H. Forster Ld Balcarras ¹ Ld E. Talbot ¹ 1900-8 Aug 02 1900-11 Oct 03 1900-7 Nov 00 7 Nov 00-15 Mar 05 8 Aug 02-4 Dec 05 11 Oct 03-4 Dec 05 16 Jun 05-4 Dec 05		
Sol.-Gen. Scotland	S. DICKSON D. DUNDAS E. SALVESEN J. CLYDE	1900 18 Oct 03 30 Jan 05 16 Oct 05			
Att.-Gen. Ireland	J. ATKINSON	1900			
Sol.-Gen. Ireland	D. BARTON G. WRIGHT J. CAMPBELL	1900 30 Jan 00 8 Jul 03			
H.M. Household:			Lds in Waiting		
Treas.	Vt CURZON ¹ (Earl Howe) V. CAVENDISH M OF HAMILTON ¹	1900 3 Dec 00 11 Oct 03	E of Clarendon Ld Harris Ld Churchill (Vt) Ld Lawrence E of Kintore Ld Bagot E of Denbigh Earl Howe Ld Kenyon E of Erroll 1900-30 Oct 00 1900-4 Dec 00 1900-4 Dec 05 1900-4 Dec 05 1900-4 Dec 05 1900-2 Jul 1901 1900-4 Dec 05 30 Oct 00-1 Oct 03 4 Dec 00-4 Dec 05 19 Oct 03-4 Dec 05		
Comptr.	Vt VALENTIA ¹	1900			
V. Chamb.	A. FELLOWES SIR A. ACLAND HOOD LD WOLVERTON	1900 3 Dec 00 17 Nov 02			
Ld Chamb.	E OF HOPETOUN E OF CLARENDON	1900 12 Nov 00			
Ld Steward	E OF PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY	1900			

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