

HARROW

I shared a room with a ^{another boy} ~~certain relation~~ and ought of course to have been loyal to him; however, my greatest friend Mordaunt Lawson, always known as Marcus, conspired with me to make war on my bedroom companion, and he was a great adept at bombarding him through the door of the bedroom which I shared. Marcus was especially entertained by the fact that this boy, like many boys at that age, developed a tendency to pimples on the face which he attempted to treat by the application of the kind of watch key which preceded the modern watch winder. He christened the boy "Googee Pick", and I can still see ^{our enemy} through the hole which Marcus made ⁱⁿ ~~through~~ the door, standing at bay, ~~with~~ his pale face disfigured with the inky water which was squirted through the hole.

Marcus inherited the ^{wit} ~~way~~ of his famous father Sir Wilfred Lawson, and ~~perhaps~~ I never enjoyed myself more than staying with him at Brayton where we caught eels in the lake, and played cricket in a vast unused drawing room. It was a great loss to the world when Marcus died a few years later.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS TO INSERT OR REFER TO

1. The Liberator. Preamble to my Public Trust.
2. My Tract 1910. Morals and Religion.
3. Article on Trust system Contemporary Review.
(Files of my review articles are at Adstock Vicarage.)
4. Articles in 19th century and Contemporary, etc. from about
1900.
5. Article on a day's gardening, not published.

leave out.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN PROBLEMS

This occupied the whole time of my Parliamentary life, beginning 1911. British policy had by that time become committed to the pro-French side from the time of the Anglo-French entente of 1904. It was too late to make it ones job unless it was still possible to modify the lines then adopted by the Liberal Government.

Grey was thought to be perfection, and the few of us who aspired to affect his policy showed temerity. However, my decision to put this course before any other, and before the aspiration to get office, was deliberate. The Algeciras Conference had taken place, and the chance of alliance with Germany, which Joe Chamberlain had advocated, was out of reach.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN PROBLEMS

This occupied the whole time of my Parliamentary life, beginning 1911. British policy had by that time become committed to the pro-French side from the time of the Anglo-French entente of 1904. It was too late to make it ones job unless it was still possible to modify the lines then adopted by the Liberal Government.

Grey was thought to be perfection, and the few of us who aspired to affect his policy showed temerity. However, my decision to put this course before any other, and before the aspiration to get office, was deliberate. The Algeciras Conference had taken place, and the chance of alliance with Germany, which Joe Chamberlain had advocated, was out of reach.

PARENTS

We were fortunate indeed in our parents. Mother was truly what A.G.Gardiner said of her; "A fine flower of the Victorian age." I am thankful that we got her memoir written. It has inspired many and will inspire her descendants.

What an ineffaceable tragedy that such energy and goodness were imprisoned from early years by ill health and pain. I do not remember her going for a walk. The only outlet for physical energy which lasted till my day was in leading us in singing. What force she put into the piano on those winter evenings in the library when we revelled in her bound volumes of the songs sang as a girl, and nigger minstrels, and the Harrow song book, and made fun of Victorian sentimentality of "She Wore a Wreath of Roses."

She was by nature also an intellectual. The fact that we her children are exceptionally united in spite of our marked diversity of view is due to the devotion with which she surrounded us.

After her mother's death in 1885 her natural breadth of mind was free to expend. She had been brought up to abjure the stage, and to decline waltzing. She had only broken this rule when the Prince of Wales request was regarded as an order. She urged me to be social, and regretted that I did not take to London dances. She rejoiced that I did a lot of dinner parties and week-end visits.

Inactivity must have been a dreadful trial to her. Her extreme energy in playing accompaniments represented I suppose a means of giving vent to force which had not other outlets; and once when I came up from private school I remember how active she looked in a lovely sealskin coat, and how far handsomer she was than I had noticed before.

Clifford's drawing of her is too robust, but it gives her energy. Father once told me that he took that huge house in Grosvenor Crescent because he then expected her to entertain a lot, which shows that up to 1870 Mother was active.

She must have suffered as much from inability to do things for others as from her physical pains. The chief thing she could do for us was reading aloud, and how delightfully she read. Unhappily it was just this reading from a sofa with the eyes directed downwards which ruined her eyes. In the years of blindness she was pathetically grateful when flowers were brought to her - to feel their shapes.

One realises too late how little one did for her. Especially do I deplore that I persuaded her to let me leave off learning the piano at school. She seldom urged things on us, and I knew that my insistence grieved her.

Few lives can have experienced a greater total of suffering, but I do not remember her ever complaining. It was no doubt a great help to her to think that her trouble was in some way the Will of God. When some of us arranged for religious absent

treatment, it would have distressed her if we had told her so. As some French divine said of her when she spent a winter in Paris, she had "le coeur bien serieux."

One can hear her emphatic tone when she said, "I adore Church services." No doubt that feeling grew when she ceased to be able to get to a church. But she lived up to her favourite quotation "Forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth to those that are before."

Mother's health was a sad loss to Father. He was so sociable that he would have loved paying visits with her, and he had the social quality which is expressed in the words of the inscription at Upshire: "Endowed with a gracious personality" which fitted well with social life.

But I think he was satisfied so long as he had children to ride with him, and he was not a type that cultivated enjoyment very much. His epitaph might well have been: "One who sought but Duty's iron crown."

Living at home I ought to have been far more to him than I was. I only remember once getting up a sight-seeing excursion with him. That was when we went to South Wales, taking Helen with us. I should think the episodes he enjoyed most after we grew up were the times in Australia and the visits he paid in Ireland by himself, or with Mabel.

RECOLLECTIONS

I am often urged to record recollections of my past, but I think autobiographies of people without public greatness are not worth anybody's time to read. And in these busy days, even things of personal interest to relatives are probably not used. However, as I have to spend some days in hospital without being able to see, I may as well respond to the kindly interest of my sisters and dictate a few points.

0 What I feel least disinclined to do is to say something about people who have had an influence on me, and I will also amuse myself by recalling a few odd recollections which may interest those who shared them. And it is also possible that one or two of my children may waste their time on genialities and ancient records which have no particular interest.

~~SCHOOL~~

Parents 2.

I don't think there is anything interesting in the way of influences to relate before I went to school. We lived a very isolated life, seeing hardly any children except the Noels. Our governess was not social, and not young or athletic. It might have been better for our natural shyness if we had seen more people. Even at Cromer where there were cousins, Miss Jay led us to dislike them. We must have had most of our social life from the company of our parents.

Father rode with us several times a week, and I seem to recollect constant walks to the home farm. Every Tuesday we rode to Waltham, and every Friday to Epping as he was chairman of the Bench at both. I myself when we had a schoolroom at the Bury never dared to interrupt schoolroom lessons, but he did constantly, and we owe him ever so much for freely doing so when he took us to shows and public events. I remember visits to the London Fire Brigade; the Buckingham Palace stables; the Bible Society House, and he was very fond of the show at the Westminster Aquarium.

I wonder what public occasion it was when I was handed along over the heads of a dense crowd. In Norfolk he took me to autumn shoots where I must have been toughened by walking and standing all day long, and returning in the evening soaking wet on an outside seat when I remember him saying to somebody, "It doesn't matter their being wet if you wrap them up warm."

A great thing he did for us was to make us fond of birds. I remember him carrying a nesting box into the house with the tit sitting on the eggs to show the bird to Mother; and one of his frequent delights was to bring out one of the magnificent volumes of Goulds birds, and turn over the lovely plates with us. Gould was regarded as something almost sacred because of its superb get up. We did not turn the pages ourselves because we might crease them or soil them. Every picture was amply worth hanging on a sitting room wall. He taught us to distinguish harmless snakes from adders, and one result was that snakes which we brought into the house got loose. In the northern wing the servants who lived there in large numbers, then refused to stay in their rooms, and migrated to the swanky rooms on the gallery of the hall.

When Tor went to school he became my leader in the holidays, and for many years we seemed to have amused ourselves without much companionship from Father. I sometimes feel that it was his deliberate plan of education to let us invent our amusements and he encouraged us with equipment for them. I don't remember his joining us in fishing or birds nesting, and yet he must have carefully provided us with the nesting ladder and the tackle, the canoe, the carpentering at the estate wood year, and also with toys that I never dared to supply to my boys for fear of danger, namely, steam engines and toy cannons.

Mother had become an invalid before the time I can remember,

and I have no mental picture of her walking about even in the garden. Considering this, it was extraordinary that she was the main feature of our lives.

A memorable incident was the Bible reading from one o'clock until lunch. We schemed to keep her gossiping until the gong rang. This had the double advantage of being more enjoyable than the Bible, and of compelling her to keep us for Bible reading after lunch, taking the time out of the hours of lessons.

Somehow one has not the impression of the parents bothering about us very much, but indeed this was part of their clever plan. It certainly seemed that the young of later days to whom we in our turn seemed to treat with far more attention, and to whom we gave far more time must be equally unaware of the constant efforts made for them.

An exception was Father's riding with us. When it came to hunting he seemed to be teaching us enterprise by a practice of leaving us to our fate. We must all have memories of him charging at fences, practicing his well-known maxim; "Sit back and hit her" leaving us to follow without ever looking back to see how we fared. Jumping fences in cold blood was an unusual form of education for small children. I remember when riding to a meet at Nazing when we had got past Fern Hall, and he wanted to explore a new line north of the brook, he charged at a stiff hedge out of the road, and I in terror was compelled to follow on the cob called "Skinney." I very nearly came off and didn't find it

an agreeable preliminary to the day's hunting.

As far as I can remember, technique was disregarded in those days. I don't think we were taught how to keep close to the saddle, nor in shooting did we ever have shooting lessons. I went to a shooting school for the first time when I was about twenty-five, and found what a huge advantage it was.

Later on I must have been an awful nuisance to Father through my ungovernable longings to make improvements. In early days the view from the library which was the usual sitting room was marred by iron railings just beyond the lawn, and groups of trees just outside them were also surrounded by rings of railings. Having seen somewhere the merit of a sunk fence, I would not rest until I had got Father to remove the railings to their present position which is certainly better, but necessitated his enclosing in the garden two or three acres which were not wanted.

I wonder whether he gave in to avoid trouble or to educate me. An event which looks like the former occurred long afterwards when some party was leaving on a Monday morning, and among them Cecil Harris. As we drove away, the crash of a falling plane tree roused my distress. It was the tree which stood behind the big ilex, and Father had long wished to remove it. I had dissuaded him, but he at last decided to be bullied no longer, and had ordered the tree to be cut on that Monday. Finding the men had arrived to cut it before we had left home, he took Cecil Harris into his

confidence, and asked him to get me away before the tree fell. This I learned from Cecil Harris, owing to the plan to elude me having failed.

The other theory that he did things to educate me was illustrated by his giving me the Bury when I was still only just of age.

When I was fifteen Father and Uncle Henry designed a Swiss climbing holiday, and we arrived at Zermatt. I was too stupid to admire the mountains (except the Matterhorn) or to enjoy the painful exertion of climbing, or the practice of starting at 4 a.m. without any time for breakfast. The only thing I found attractive was birds in the woods below, or the lawn tennis, and by chance also a bit of fun which Redmond and I had when, under our hotel window we saw a much-hated Harrow master, and hastily poured a jug of water on his head.

I was longing to get home, and am glad to say that I had sufficient enterprise to ask if I might not accompany an old cousin who was going back to England. My prayer was granted. I went home happily with the old cousin and a marmot to come in for a memorable delightful time at home, where we were a large party with Fanny and Conrad.

Our habit was to play cricket on the lawn until we felt inclined for food; then to ravage the plum trees on the garden wall, and fish for pike in the evening in Stokes' pit. Connie caught one of $5\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., and Fanny one of $6\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.

One of Father's inventions was, as he said, to teach ponies to lift their feet by galloping across Nazing Common where it was most thick with ant hills. I suppose he did this to try and rid us of funk, as the ponies inevitably stumbled.

Is it possible that he did not know that we fired cannons to our imminent danger. It seems likely because Tor's amusement was to fill the cannon with gunpowder to the muzzle, and make it burst. On the other hand Tor was so honest that I don't think he ever would have concealed his prank, and also, how did he get the gunpowder flask except from Father?

It seems to be extraordinary that private school boys of twelve should not only shoot ferreted rabbits, but also shoot with a party as we did for a whole week on end at the Cromer January shoots, when we school boys were collected at Colne House. Certainly the grown ups who joined the parties without the motive attached to Father's showed some courage. I remember a woodcock flying low along the side of a covert, and several boys blazing at it, followed by yells from Bertie Barclay in the covert. He came out at the end of the beat, protesting loudly and saying the battle of Waterloo was nothing to it. But the boys were merely convulsed with laughter.

PRE-SCHOOL

Parents

Although I do not remember parents doing things with us, they must have taken a lot of trouble to get us the advantage of paying visits. We elder ones were sent or taken many times to Fritton and to Easneye.

When I recall the life at home before I went to school I am deeply surprised and grieved to note some deplorable instincts which certainly were not inherited, once when taken on a walk
I chiefly remember in connection with this an incident which shows deplorable depravity. I was enjoying the phase of the catapult and had acquired considerable skill. I can hardly

believe
~~remember~~ it now, but I certainly did repeatedly pick off thrushes nests in the small fir tree at Easneye while the thrush was sitting. The noise she made in dashing off is still clear to me.

It must have been about the same time that I invited Smith, the well-known butler to witness my skill with the catapult at Grosvenor Crescent. About half way up the enormous stairs hung the portrait which the King of the Belgians had given to father, and I remember getting Smith to express *scolding* criticism when I said I could put a stone

through his nose. I proceeded to do this, and what was much worse, I don't think I ever confessed. It showed a *prophetic* pathetic instinct

later on the portrait was
because this man proved a blood-thirsty tyrant on the Congo, and ~~Tom~~ *Tom* rightly removed him from any place of honour. If he finds the portrait some day when he clears the store room, he will find a hole through the canvas where my stone hit the old villain.

If I am to continue my confessions, I ought to record the time when the Colne Cottage garden contained a small greenhouse in the S.E. corner of what was then only garden in the angle of the old wall

the little old yard

Pre-School ctd

~~near what was then the stable and is now the Cottage.~~ This was disused and full of snails. I am ashamed to say I taught Marley the sport of attacking these snails as they moved along, with school boys' percussion cap pistols, which, when discharged at their distended horns, made them suddenly shrink into their shells. I don't think I corrupted Marley with another sport which occupied me when a little boy when mother was being tended by Ahmar at the looking glass facing the great window of mother's bedroom. Hidden by this from mother and Ahmar, I enjoyed tearing up the flies at the foot of the window. I remember that Ahmar used to tell mother of my sins, especially my having broken the glass of some picture with my bow and arrow which I refused to admit, but mother was unwilling to believe her charges.

5 1
PRE-SCHOOL
THE BROOK

I think ^{at} the great importance really attaches to the use we made of the Cobbin brook. Considering that most boys of our sort are introduced to trout fishing early in life, and know hardly anything about catching roach with dough, or perch with worms, it was a feat on my father's part to get his boys to find complete satisfaction in the fishing provided by a small brook - in fact, so small that it stopped running in summer.

We got exciting sport out of sticklebacks and minnows. It became thrilling to get a gudgeon, a chub or a carp. We never caught a pike on a line, but they became an exciting feature when Tor had somehow secured a minute drag net with a mesh so fine that it held sticklebacks. Dragging the brook with this net remained an exciting sport long after we had gone to Harrow, and it became to be combined with cooking the catch for a picnic lunch.

We discovered that minnows wrapped in wet paper and roasted in the ashes of a wood fire, made excellent eating; or at least, good enough when ~~framed~~ ^{flavoured} by the romantic excitement which the brook offered.

The net was only about 8 or 10 feet long, and less than 3 feet deep. The pools had to be cleared of single stones to begin with, because, if left in the pool, they entangled the net and the fish got under it. We often got small pike in these diminutive pools, and sometimes when the brook had ceased to run for a time, the pike had eaten every other fish in the pool.

Perhaps the most memorable catch was when we took to setting night lines in the pool above the dam where the water was deep and the eels

7/11
~~4~~ 2
The Brook ctd

had been fattening on a *sheep* which had fallen in and been drowned.

Charlie, in the neighbourhood of the *sheep* had an eel of $2\frac{1}{4}$ pounds which was really remarkable for such a tiny stream.

Long after this, *Charles* de Bunsen and I, when tired of pike fishing, in Cobbin pond, tried our hand at spearing gudgeon with a penknife tied to the end of a stiff rod. It was a sport that might well have developed if we had thought of it. *samev.* But anyhow, we got out of this brook an amazing amount of education, and we learnt the attraction of small and simple things.

I learnt to swim in the Temple pond, but it was in the brook that I *had already* learnt to float, and I ^mremember the sensation when I was just able to keep clear of the bottom, and floating was just possible.

CAMBRIDGE

There were 4 boys in Vanity Watson's House at Harrow who were in the lower 6th form and went together to Trinity, Cambridge in October 1886. I was very keen to get there and welcomed my father's view that a boy should go early. He thought that if a boy went later, he would less easily settle into work afterwards. The result was that I went through Cambridge a year younger than my colleagues, as hardly any others were under 18 when they went up.

Should have been older.

I think this has been a great misfortune to my life. I was underdeveloped, too retiring, and being among older boys, I was still further tempted not to assert myself. For instance, I wanted to make use of the Union, but it was an appalling effort to speak there at all. Perhaps I should never have done so if father had not promised me £100 when I did.

The first Winter I spent a lot of time shooting, particularly at Hygham, and until the middle of my second year I wasted time from not having enough experience to see that I ought to employ a coach for the history Tripos. The result was that, in my last year and a half I had to work too hard and missed the advantage of debating clubs etc.

I was still mainly moved by Miss Marsh' influence. I was not nearly social enough, and altogether I ^{find} found it hard not to regret that I went to Cambridge too young, though of course it was a glorious time, and I came on in many ways.

It was quite a turning point when Canon Farrar preached in Trinity Chapel, and called on us to serve the poorer classes. His eloquence was wonderful when he contrasted the slums with the parks and mansions in which we lived where snowy swans floated on the glassy lake. I rem-

Cambridge ctd

ber then conceiving the desire to follow the steps of the Liberator, but the most enterprising move that I remember making was to persuade my tutor to let me absent myself from Sunday Chapel which was then compulsory, and go to the Church of Dr Moule who became a great family friend later on and stayed at Prince's Gate for the Coronation, at which he had an important place as Bishop of Durham.

Perhaps it was also the beginning of original views when after Tor had left, I ceased to take part in open air preaching and became a visitor at the Cambridge Hospital,

AFTER CAMBRIDGE

When I left Cambridge in 1889 I was still mainly interested in sport and Evangelism. I went immediately to the Brewery in June, and Miss Marsh introduced me to the old Evangelist, George Holland, who had a Mission in Whitechapel. He fixed me up with a class of boys from the lowest stratum of society, and I got these boys together one evening a week, after which I used to dine at the Brewery House, served by the aged butler with white whiskers. I caught a late train to Waltham. There I was met at midnight by the wagonette, as Father had not yet yielded to my request for a dogcart, and I remember waking up once, if not twice, to find myself at Broxbourne station, having slept and passed Waltham. There was no telephone then, but the railway people telegraphed a message which reached the groom, and the poor man then had to drive to Broxbourne. We got home about one o'clock.

George Holland was a fine old gentleman of a fundamental view, and was regarded with strong distaste by the highbrows of Toynbee Hall. So it was a strange experience for them when I became political under the influence of travel and became a Toynbee worker myself. I remember my astonishment at finding that my Toynbee friends reprobated a man whom I so revered.

I suppose this illustrated one of my qualities. I was always inclined to indulge my interest in a variety of subjects and activities and probably this has been a serious defect because I should otherwise have developed along fewer lines of effort more thoroughly.

But I suppose it connects with a strong attachment to what seems to me to be impartial justice. I admire an enthusiast, but I do seriously condemn him in that he cannot see the other side. I think that we as a family do possess a merit in this judicial breadth of mind. Others condemn it and feel it intolerable. It led to a piquant incident in the propaganda and relief work which Harold and I promoted during the Balkan war. The Balkan Relief Fund held a meeting at which Harold gave an account of his work in the winter of 1912, and spoke of having found needy objects of relief among the Turks as well as among the Bulgars and Greeks whom he mainly relieved. He told the meeting that on the whole, his sympathies were with the latter, but said that one must remember the view of the Turks. The Chairman was so disgusted with this apparent coolness that he resigned from the movement in which he has held an important post.

TRAVEL

If my Father wanted me to grow up he did a wise thing in asking the Truman directors to give me a long leave in 1902. I was keen to see New Zealand - probably moved by my Father's interest in Imperial Federation - and I concentrated on New Zealand and Japan. Fortunately I stopped in Australia on the way out because this played an important part in my Father's decision to take an Australian Governorship in 1905.

In both the countries I found things deeply interesting and enjoyable. I had previously been conservative and deeply attached to the ideal of benevolent squirearchy. In the Dominions it was most agreeable to find all the people in the train ready and able to talk to anyone else - class bars did not exist - and I realised how deplorable it is that nine-tenths of the men of England are cut off from the other tenth as far as social life goes. This agreeably undermined my conservative ideals at a blow.

It is said that travel in the Dominions has commonly had the opposite effect by rousing interest in the Empire which by tradition is used as a Party tool by the Conservatives. I had some adventures in New Zealand which I have noted, and which can be found in papers merked "For my Children," in a drawer in the writing table at the Bury.

New Zealand seems to me the choicest part of the earth for British people, or anyhow, the south island which is agreeably cool. I now greatly regret that, when Mr. MacDonald asked me to go to

New Zealand as Governor in 1929, I did not accept, but at the time it seemed less important than membership of a Cabinet, and I fought shy of the job of constant official functions with uniform, flummery and inability to take part in reform movements. As a result of my refusal, Bledisloe was sent out, and the use he made of it, both in public utility and enjoyment, both during and after, makes me think I made a mistake.

We were a month between Sydney and Hongkong during which I met a great friend, Noel Farrar, who was travelling with two of the Bridgemans. We spent part of the morning making balls with string for playing cricket in the cool evening. A great many balls went overboard, but a good many were stopped by the bodies of Chinese passengers who were employed as a screen along the bulwarks, and who seemed indifferent to being hit like San Sebastian. Such was the colour bar in those days.

Unfortunately our time only allowed gleams of China by an excursion to Canton from Hongkong, but we had six weeks in Japan and were lucky in meeting the well-known mountaineering missionary, Walter Weston, owing to whom we visited remote parts, and were the first Europeans to climb a mountain which Weston was exploring for Murray's Guide Book, to Japan, and did another record in climbing Fuji earlier in the year than any recorded climb.

The Japanese never ascended the mountain until the priests had made arrangements for pilgrims when the snow had gone in July, therefore when we went up in April, our coolies refused to come further than a hut where we sheltered during a typhoon.

There were still many thousand feet of snow, and from the top we glissaded down the other side of the mountain, so that we never returned to the village from which we started. Soon afterwards Japanese papers had an account of the Britishers who had ignored the warnings and dared the spirits of the mountain. They had perished in the typhoon and it served them right. They were presumed to be British because that people had a taste for foolishly running into danger.

I count Japan as having influenced me in two important respects. Firstly, aesthetic appreciation; and secondly, humanitarian views. Japan was not then modernised. The buildings harmonised amazingly with the very lovely landscape, and this made a background for the universal practice of ornamenting every house by some flower or flowering shrub placed with extreme care in the right place.

Even the humblest houses also ornamented a room with one scroll picture; never more than one to each room, and one could only marvel at the apparently genuine love of beauty. It must have been felt by the vast majority, because otherwise this custom could not have become universal. Another sign was, and apparently still is, the celebration of each notable tree by the devotion of a day to the admiration of it. The resort of the whole population of Tokio to see the cherries in flower in the park is only one incident.

I bought some good embroidered screens which were honoured by conspicuous places at Warlies. I think I had very little aesthetic appreciation before I went to Japan. I certainly remember strong distaste for mediaeval pictures, and feeling glad that some important writer had described them as "squint-eyed saints" so that my philistine views had his sanction. My debt to the Japanese was such that my next holiday was devoted to a visit to Florence with Connie.

It seems odd that one should learn humanity from the Japanese, but I certainly did so. The Buddhists object to the taking of life, and we came across a case where some Japs who objected to foreigners shooting pigeons were crudely lectured by certain missionaries on the absurdity of their objection to killing. I may have had occasional qualms previously about shooting, but they had not interfered with my intense interest in sport, especially shooting, and it was certainly the Japs who made me

decide to give it up.

It was an inopportune moment for doing so because I had shortly before my travels induced my Father to start breeding pheasants at Warlies, and had nearly deferred my travel in order to be at the November shoot in 1892. I had also persuaded him to plant the Brookwood and the Fernhall wood for the sole purpose of pheasant shooting. Having given him all this trouble, I came home and was afterwards unwilling to take any part in the subsequent shooting which could justify the planting. It was especially hard because he disliked planting out the view across the park towards Scatterbushes.

I was certainly spoiled by his excessive good nature. However, he enjoyed the shooting himself, and happily Tor became even keener than before; subsequently working up the shoot to over 300 pheasants, and entertaining the neighbouring squires to a shooting lunch in a marque.

I think it is extraordinary that the inhumanity of leaving birds and animals to a painful time with broken legs or perforations of bits of lead in their organs should strike so few people who have been brought up to ignore it. The odd thing is that when one takes the ordinary view one feels no compunction in watching the eye of a hare, or perhaps a deer, losing its brilliance as it slowly dies. It is also a paradox that sporting men are more developed in the way of care for animals (gogs and horses) than other people. I wonder that such people as Uncle Charles, and the Liberator, who were very reflective,

did not see things as I do, but I do realise that I lost a great deal in giving up sport, and I have hesitated to urge my view strongly on my own boys, because I see what, e.g. Mick might lose if he gave up sport. My point is that my revolutionary change to anti-blood sport views were due to the Japs.

PARLIAMENT

Politics.

Politics *it was*
Barnet and Gore led to Parliament, but only because V. and C.R.B.
who pushed me into standing for Parliament.
~~had become keen on national politics and pushed me into standing.~~

The C.S.U. had not made me political in the parliamentary or Liberal sense, and I had a strong distaste for public appearance.

In 1892 I had got up a meeting at Copthall Green in support of Colonel Lockwood, the Tory candidate, and had had no connection with Liberals since I was at Harrow when, having ^{been} brought up a Gladstonian until father joined the Unionists in 1886, I spoke in a House debate at Harrow denouncing Lord Salisbury's name as being a byword for prevarication.

Father had become practically Conservative, and my position in the Brewery was at variance with Liberal policy. It required the Boer war to give me much contact with the Liberal party view, and even so, it was only with ^{the} Campbell-Bannerman section of the Liberals. My uncle E.M.B. who was chairman of Truman's encouraged me to stand and introduced me to Herbert Gladstone who was in the Liberal office. The result was my selection as candidate at Ipswich, and the preliminaries were made easy.

When it came to public life and visits to leading supporters, I found the strain very severe, especially as I was all the time carrying on my work at Truman's etc. The election was alleviated by the presence of Masterman, C.R.B. and others, but it was a painful time to me, and when it was over I felt very unlike standing again. However, I was very kindly treated by new people, especially Lord

Parliament ctd

Spencer who had been in the Liberal Cabinet, and was gratified by the support of my uncle Francis Buxton and many others.

Two years later I was asked to stand for the North West Division of Essex, which was a Liberal seat, but I was still deterred by previous experiences. Then in 1904 I found my position at Truman's inconsistent with standing, and I resigned after many qualms about cutting adrift from a regular job. Greater freedom made me keen to stand in 1905 I offered to put up for the vacancy which occurred in the Whitley division.

Put page 3 here (new page)
Having got in I found the House an irksome strain. I was too little developed and found the Party very little associated with my C.S.U. outlook. However, Bryce was there, so that my Balkan liberationism had good support, and I liked the local Yorkshire Liberals.
Liberals.

The keen Nonconformists, when roused to fury by Balfour's education policy were an inspiring, vigorous Christian type. The *North Yorkshire moors & Whitley were* ~~country was~~ grand, and I felt confident of winning in the ^{general} election which everyone knew would end the ten years domination of the Tories. I ^{had} won a seat which had never been previously anything but Conservative, and gained something of a name for doing so., C.B. himself making a speech about the crowning mercy of Whitley.

However, the great landowners of that feudal district put out tremendous efforts to retrieve their power in the dales, sending their gamekeepers round to the little farmers with the demand that

Parliament ctd


As^ugith's at the request of the non-radical local leaders.

The farm labourers Union then announced that they would back me whether Liberals adopted me or not, and ^{this} they roused intense indignation. The meeting of the ~~400~~ ^{Liberal Hundred} at Melton was almost a battle. I was adopted by 36 votes to 24, and then those who resented the importance claimed by the labourers, refused their support, though I was the official candidate. They came back by degrees, and I was elected by a good majority in the January election. *in 1910.*

Parliament ctd

Any activities of mine in the succeeding years in Parliament which can said to be of any importance are described in Evan's book "Foreign Policy from ^a ~~the~~ Back Bench," but I may tell ^{of} some aspects which the book is not concerned with.

It was an exciting time and very thrilling that Charlie and I had got in together. We were both ^{definitely} ~~Radicals~~ of ~~the~~ ~~Radicals~~, and keen supporters of the small group led by Sir Charles Dilke which had a weekly meeting. We were all sympathetic with Ramsay Mac ^{Donald} who had just become Labour leader, and we were naturally disapproved ~~of~~ by the mass of Liberal members, ^{many} ~~most~~ of whom appeared to us little distinguishable from the Tories.

 As the papers kept announcing the formation of new groups formed to ginger the Government on one point or another, the names of us two Buxtons constantly appeared, and I remember Sydney, who had become Postmaster General, and was soon to get the Board of Trade saying half playfully and half reproachfully, ^{that} whenever he heard of rebellions, he knew without looking that C. and I were in it.

It was very jolly to find oneself in the House with old friends in other causes such as Arthur Ponsonby, and Percy ^{Aden} Aden and Masterman, and there were new friends who became close allies. One was Phillip Morrell, who loved a fight for its own sake, and who led the crusade against the Russian Government when it imprisoned a Polish girl. In this case we attacked the Government for lethargy, and I remember raising the question on the adjournment, and using the expression, "Oh

Parliament ctd

for an hour of Palmerston!" The case would never ^{have} been heard of if the girl had not been a friend of Fanny Noel, owing to which Morrell got to hear of it through us. *Amphar in the Russian Government so we got the girl out of jail, and we saved the girl.*
My closest collaborator The greatest feature in those ~~parliamentary~~ years was Howard Whitehouse. He had been secretary at Toynbee Hall, and had made his way by the aid of intense enthusiasm, a passion for reform, a sympathetic personality and a formidable wit.

by foreign We two bachelors were able to indulge in ~~even~~ ^{our} common tastes which ^{even} required travel. He was ready to help me, for instance, in promoting the cause of the inshore fishermen of the British coasts. This meant meetings at Cromer and at Sheringham. It was proper that I should care for the fishermen of the Norfolk coast, but it also meant visits to Devon. We denounced the neglect of their interests in debate and Whitehouse was a somewhat unexpected advocate of men so remote from urban life. It was reported that he had not quite realised the cause he was supporting, and had alluded to his clients as "Indoor Fishermen".

It was also new to ^{him} ~~me~~ to work at foreign affairs, but he was extremely clever at taking up new subjects, and most friendly in following my tastes. So after the Agadir incident of 1911 he came with me to Berlin. We both of us spoke and wrote upon it, and came to see that the Anglo-German trouble must be regarded as our chief concern.

He was ^{also} ~~almost~~ my partner in running Colne Cottage and helping me to entertain there. He was very artistic and led me into the promotion of applied art. We decided to ^{promote} ~~support~~ the ^{handicraft} ~~craftsman~~ movement in Cromer,

Parliament ctd

and somewhere near Ipswich we discovered a man to our taste who came to Cromer, started a workshop and forge, and made lovely iron work, especially such as fire irons and lamp stands, and also made jewellery, and ran a shop in the Church Square. When I had nephews staying in the winter, it was great fun to hammer pokers, toasting forks, and table lamp holders on the forge. It all went on happily until the war killed it. But the pokers we made are still the best that I possess.

Whitehouse was a great authority on Ruskin, and I learnt a lot through him. He deplored ^{as} I did both humbug and toadyism which invaded even some parliamentary minds, and was amusing to the last degree when he took off these oddities. ^{He} ~~Having~~ lost his seat in 1918 ^{he} but he was not to be defeated by fate, and proceeded to create a very large boys' school which ~~succeeded in spite of the original ways and states~~ ^{embodied highly original methods and} ~~which he introduced.~~ ^{studies}

Whitehouse insert Edward VII Memorial.

Parliament ctd.

Of my eighteen years in the House of Commons, four were occupied by the **G**reat **W**ar, and eight by the post-war period which included many elections, two Labour Governments, and the unsuccessful attempt to establish collective peace. The first four were enlivened by the ~~Irish~~ ~~Home~~ crises of democracy represented by the Lloyd George budget, and the Parliament Act. Secondly, by the Irish Home Rule struggle, and thirdly by the Suffrage Campaign.

All this ended with the war which perhaps resulted from them. One now sees that it was a period of ^a peculiar kind in which Liberalism passed through ~~its~~ phase of decay. I will ^{not} attempt to describe it because everyone should read the brilliant ~~book~~ of Mr Dangerfield on the sad tale of Liberalism. It describes those years with fascinating irony.

The summer holidays of those years were interesting. In 1910 we went, quite a family party to the Inter-parliamentary conference at Brussels. Belgians were annoyed with England because of the Congo atrocities campaign, and when ~~time~~ came to leave, the hotel refused to take a cheque. We then called a taxi ^{but found} in which I found that our luggage had been locked up. Charlie ^{nobly offered} ~~was victimised~~ to stay behind and raise money from the Consul.

In 1911 ^{came} ~~was~~ the Agadir crisis, and in August I went with Whitehouse to Berlin. ~~We~~ found that Lloyd George's reckless words ~~we~~ had created despair even among the keenest Anglophiles, and Sir George Goschen, our ambassador said to me: "His speech has destroyed all my work."

with Harold

In 1912 came the Balkan war, and I went out, in October. The Premier, Gudshoff arranged for ~~Harold~~^{us} and me to join the Commander-in-Chief, and what I have to say of this episode may be read in "With the Bulgarian Staff."

Next year Harold and I felt we had neglected the chief sufferers from Turkish mis-rule, namely, the Armenians, and ~~I~~^{we} went out across Russia, meeting the Bryces in St Petersburg - as it then was - and Arthur Moore, correspondant of the "Times" who had been ~~the~~^{the} first secretary of the Balkan Committee.

We pushed through the Caucasus into Persia, and then back through Turkey. The Russians were in occupation, ^{of Persia} near Tabriz, and passed us on to ~~a~~^{the Kurdish Simbo} Chief, on the Turco-Persian frontier who became famous for massacre and treachery during the war. We were robbed by his retainers, and perhaps came nearer to being finished off than we realised at the time. Again I may save the trouble of enlarging here because we recorded our doings in a joint book: "Travel and Politics in Armenia."

Parliament ctd

new para.

I am not specially interested in the science of Parliamentary Government, and I will only record a few impressions that I formed.

It is very easy to pick holes in the British Parliamentary machine. Stevenson expressed an obvious weakness when he said that legislating was the only profession for which no training at all was required. Obviously as social legislation becomes more and more constructive and complicated, it is absurd that membership of Parliament should be confined to men of large means, much leisure, and a gift of the gab.

Vast numbers of M.Ps belong to no official committee, and make no speeches. *Much of the* ~~A vast~~ expenditure of time and money might very well be regarded as only waste; ~~and~~ there is far too much Party spirit, *and* Too much satisfaction with a life which has little responsibility. ~~for real work.~~ I should like to see more politicians professional in a proper sense. There are too ~~many lawyers,~~ *and* too few men who have been trained in social science. The few who have been so trained as secretaries of social settlements like Toynbee Hall, are of the utmost value, and their number should be multiplied tenfold. This is now impossible because ~~county seats,~~ ^a ~~means~~ great expense, ~~and rich men have not seen the wisdom of putting some of their wealth into Trusts which could provide income for men of the kind which I suggest.~~

As to expert training, Ministers do of
~~As to Ministers~~ *they do* of course, furnish a supply of experts ~~www~~, at least in getting Acts of Parliament through. *The element*

Parliament ctd

of expert science ~~has to be~~ ^{is} furnished by the Civil servant, and the quality of these is extraordinarily high. But the predominance of the Minister, combined with frequent changes in Ministerial personnel, hampers the influence of the expert.

The Minister is also handicapped by being too busy to devote enough time to planning, ^{and he is too ephemeral to feel full of} One of these handicaps is an institution on which we are accustomed to pride ourselves, namely, the power of the M.P. to get an answer from Ministers on questions of fact or of intention. In my opinion the great merit of this plan is largely balanced by the excessive amount of time occupied by the Minister in getting up the answer to questions which have no real importance, and often merely serve to ^{help} ~~keep his end up for~~ ^{an} M.P. in the eyes of his constituents. It is no doubt a good thing that a ~~politician and Minister~~ should be respected, ~~and not regarded as they are in America and elsewhere.~~ But in fact, they are only the men who have asserted themselves just a fraction more than a vast number of their rivals for Office. They are much more human than the public think, and I have often felt what a shock the public would get if the occasional irresponsibilities of their remarks were known.

Parliament ctd

In those pre-war days neither Liberal nor Tory was in a hurry to reform things. Closure was regarded as a denial of the ideal of unlimited freedom of Debate. Private ~~means~~ ^{motions} took a considerable share up to Easter, and when the Budget was finished in May, there was hardly more ^{time} ~~time~~ for one important bill for August. ~~August~~ ^{Autumn} sessions were regarded as abnormal, and it remained for the Labour Party to introduce the idea that things needed urgently to be set in better order. *carry on*

If we ever get a Labour Government in power as well as in Office, there will have to be free use of Closure by time-table. ^{par} One thing that struck me with my ^{quicker} ~~quicker~~ inclination was the tendency to waste which parliamentary life revealed. I found it both an inconvenience and distressing extravagance that the only note paper in the libraries, and other writing places, was the old fashioned double-folded sheet. It was actually owing to my request for single sheets that this revolutionary change was made in the House of Commons. It must have saved a good many thousands of pounds by this ~~change~~ ^{time}.

When I had a Minister's room, I of course never dreamed of leaving the lights burning when I left it, and the fact that, on the contrary, Ministers commonly never thought of turning the lights off, shocked me considerably...

There is also a ^{terrible} double waste of time. An M.P. who wants to really earn his living ^{must} ~~must~~ ^{feel} that he is only half employed by actual parliamentary work unless he is working hard to get Office. It is also a dull life unless he ^{is} ~~was~~ extremely social ~~and~~ and able to enjoy unlimited hours in the smoke room of ~~the~~ Lobby or on the Terrace. I liked myself, to

Parliament ctd

regard the House as ~~an~~ a ^u ~~convenient~~ office from which movements that one wanted to promote could be conveniently run. After questions there was always time to spare before 11 o'clock, even if one had meetings upstairs, to attend. ^{up to dinner.} There ~~is~~ always facilities for dictating letters, even if one has not a personal secretary to work with in the secretaries room.

The foreign ~~estimate~~ ^{system} of official committees connected with each Ministry gives members of Parliament more responsibility and occupation than we have provided in our system. I realised this when I was invited in 1915 to address the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber. But the system will be resisted by Governments in this country because it certainly would limit the freedom of the Minister and take up much of his time.

I still think, after eighteen years in Parliament that great reformers ~~have~~ made far better use of their time than if they had been in Office. Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and Buxton have been ^{injustice} ~~unfortunately~~ more important than the Ministers of their day, and we could well do with more men with the ability to play for Office who would devote themselves to promoting reform. At the same time I always felt that, if a Minister would turn reformer, and contribute the prestige of his position to promoting a cause, that would be the ideal position for successful reform. ^{in lead.}

^{90% of the} Robert Cecil is a good example. ^{I had a small degree. It is the same advantage.}
The English Party system probably produced better results than any other Parliamentary plan, but I must confess that Party spirit seemed to me far too prevalent. If you regard yourself as an ^{advocate} ~~advocate~~, avowedly

Parliament ctd

one
 taking side in a law court, the position is sound; but it seemed to me
 improper where the business was legislation. It leads to the Opposition
~~fighting~~ ^{finding} to prevent action which it may think highly desirable, on the
 general principle that the main business is to discredit the Government,
 and turn it out. ^{Par.} Accordingly I felt strong sympathy with the few
 Liberal members who insisted on voting for ^{Tory} Government proposals if they
 thought them good.

I had the occasion for doing so myself all too early in my career.
 When I got in for Whitby in 1905 the Tory Government was passing a
 measure enabling the Church of Scotland to govern itself, and determine
 its doctrines. The Liberals were opposing; the Nonconformists were
 holding that the Church which wrongly accepted the help of the State
 ought to receive no favour until it shook off the State connection.
 I could not take that view myself and I persuaded one other Liberal
 member to rebel along with me. C. F. B. was very annoyed with me and I
 was sorry for this because I was an enthusiastic supporter of his, but
 it could not be helped.

Some years before, after I stood in 1900, the Liberal Imperialists
 were conspiring against C. F. B., and in their search for support, they
 got Lord Roseberry, the leader of what they called the Liberal League,
 to meet candidates at dinner. I had not liked to refuse one of these
 very select invitations, and was curious to see what attractions were
 offered to us. To my surprise, when dinner was over, I was the first
 to be called to a separate chat with the great man, and we had a long

talk.

I did not conceal my ardour for some Liberal measures, but they did not meet with enthusiasm. The ~~ex~~-Premier dwelt on efficiency as the key note of the policy which was to rival that of Campbell-Bannerman, and my loyalty to the latter was confirmed. I was all the more sorry to hurt the old man's feelings in 1905.

My maiden speech, which was made in 1905, was agreeably appropriate to the ~~Christina~~ Social Union propaganda. Scott-Holland's paper, the organ of C.S.U. had been agitating about factory inspection, and I spoke on these lines on the Home Office vote; Scott-Holland subsequently eulogising in his paper.

~~The Liberal Party was lukewarm on the subject of further Home Office control.~~

Having lost my seat in 1906 I accepted a request of Herbert Samuel, who had become under-secretary to the Home Office, to serve on a Departmental enquiry into the question of poisoning by lead and injury by dust in potteries.

We spent some time at Newcastle ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ Staffordshire and it was ^a very interesting insight into the scandalous conditions prevailing in some of the works. We recommended stiffer regulations which made a great reduction in the injury to workers.

After the great war the place of the old Liberal Opposition was virtually taken over by Labour; the Labour members, who, before the great war had been few, and had been regarded as exotics, introduced an entirely new type. What struck me most was the extraordinary efficiency which most of them displayed - although they had received no more than

Parliament ctd

an elementary school education. ^{Ignorance} ~~A knowledge~~ of the derivation of words seemed to make no difference to their vocabulary, and the ~~paucity~~ paucity of what is known as education, seemed often to increase their quickness. Interjection thus became ^a much more marked feature of Parliamentary Debate.

Parliament ctd

A great many people complained of the unhealthiness of the life in the House. Certainly it is terrible to be indoors without a break for ^{about 9} ~~our~~ hours on end, and they blame the impurity of the air. But I myself, found the life perfectly salubrious, and I think this is due to my always going for a walk before dinner. Usually I did the round of Lambeth Bridge, the delightful walk along St Thomas' Hospital viewing the Parliament~~ary~~ House across the river, and back by Westminster Bridge. If people suffer from being cooped up, it is their own fault because it was almost always easy to avoid Division in the hour before dinner, and get the Whip to let one off. If people voluntarily shut themselves indoors from lunch until bedtime, it is a marvel ~~we are not a nation of C's.~~ ^{if they do not become C's.}

At the same time the average M.P. is amazingly hardy. I find all-night-sittings terribly trying, and they served to confirm the saying that the requisites for the job are a hard head, a stout heart, and a thick neck. ✕.

But there is something about the atmosphere that keeps one going. I always found one could work or write letters after dinner for the whole evening until 11 p.m., while in any other place, to write even a couple of letters ^{might have given me a bad night} ~~would have prevented my going to sleep.~~ I ~~suppose~~ ~~this is why~~ sometimes a man collapses late at night.

Willie Graham, when in charge of a Bill, suddenly fainted behind the speaker's chair, and an invaluable man was lost to the Government for several days.

When Lloyd George turned Asquith out he needed badly to get keen

Parliament ctd

supporters in view of the violent disapproval of his action by loyal Liberals. ~~It~~ interested me that he thought I might be one of these, ~~but~~ ^{was intrigued by} ~~was~~ ~~debarred~~ from the fact that I and only 3 ~~or~~ 4 others were invited by one of L.G.'s men to select dinner parties at the Ritz, about the end of December 1916. ~~I thought it would be interesting, so I~~ ^{though} accepted. Nothing was further from my plan than to support a Government whose *raison d'être* was its adhesion to more fire-eating views in war policy than those of its predecessor.

It was part of this policy to endorse the cause of the new small states to be created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The word, "Czecho Slovakia" had ^{not} ~~hardly~~ been heard before, and L.G.'s new chief, whip made great ^{fun} ~~russ~~ at this dinner ~~with the union~~ ^{and} of the invention of a new nationality.

It was a striking occasion when the new Government first met in the House, and one was curious to see what reception L.G. would get when he entered to take his seat ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the Prime Minister's place by the Box. Ministers who had been turned out were choosing places below, the gangway, ~~where~~ Mr. Birrell had secured a corner seat, and I sat next to him, ~~and~~ ^{he} gazed with intensity at L.G. as he murmured: "He's just a Welsh poacher." ^{adding other epithets not fit for repetition.}

Parliament ctd

The decay of the Liberal Party dates perhaps from the old Queen's selection of Roseberry in preference to Harcourt as Gladstone's successor. ^{in 1894.} Roseberry's prestige enabled him to make a split in the Party when Campbell-Bannerman's radicalism had given an opportunity.)

Asquith's succession to the leadership was the result of this Liberal Imperialist Movement, and he represented an outlook which made possible the creation of the Labour Party. Some of these leaders told me that they had fully considered the question of continuing to work with the Liberals and thus avoid a split in the progressive forces which in many ways, was bound to prove disastrous. If the split could have been avoided, we might never have seen the long Tory reign in the twenties and again in the thirties, when it may have been responsible for the renewal of war. But nobody with keen reform ideals, let alone the ~~collectivist~~ ^{socialist} convictions, could possibly have felt that co-operation was possible with an Asquithian Party.

Of course the most important Parliamentary job that I had was the piloting of the Agricultural Wages Bill in 1924. It was an exciting experience, involving the very unorthodox method of co-operation with the Conservative leaders. I was really indebted to Halifax, then Edward Wood, as much as to anyone for the fact that the Bill became law. ~~But I refrain from detail as I made a full record at the time.~~ *I shall return to this later on.*

From 1910 when the Anglo-German trouble became more prominent, I felt that no question was comparable in importance with it, and it was from that time my main political interest. *I refrain from detail* Here again I will avoid repeating myself because ^{as} an adequate statement ~~to mine~~ ^{of my activities} appears in "Foreign Policy from a Back Bench."

PARLIAMENT. (add)

If any fear of public appearance can be excused, it is when a new Minister has to answer Parliamentary questions. You are not only facing Parliament, but are reported to the world at large. The official answer to the many questions which are put to you can be prepared, but the questioner has often laboriously planned to involve you in trouble. The crux is the supplementary questions of which you have had no notice, while the questioner has often thought out his method of giving you a fall. It is a ²¹seraching test of mental rapidity staged in conditions of the greatest possible publicity. ~~Here above~~ ~~Here above all is the saying true that parliamentary life requires "A stout heart, a strong head, and a thick neck."~~

Add-
 Cabinet. window &
 Front bench - sleep.

Parliament ctd

and wild, Fit muse for a poetic child."

One of the features of that summer when the Tory Government was dying, was the attempt to get them out by a snap division. The chief Whip organised a secret gathering of Liberal members in a house in Dean's Yard, when there was an all-night sitting and the Government's men had slipped past their Whips. The Liberal Whips were to telephone when the moment came for us thirty or forty stalwarts to rush across for the division. It never came off, but the intense boredom of spending most of the night dawdling ^{sometimes} ~~in the House or~~ in Dean's Yard long after daylight, remained an unforgettable memory.

Start page here
 X The Marconi incident was a feature of the times, and might easily have brought the Government down. *This belongs to 1910* Naturally we Radicals were displeased with those who gave rise to the charge of putting private interests before public rectitude, and this view was keen among the men who attended the weekly lunch of the writers of the "Nation." I was one of those, being a friend of Massingham, the famous editor. In the *note* talk at lunch I made some drastic comments, and I remember my alarm when these appeared in the next number of the "Nation"; happily nobody learnt who was their author.

Parliament ctd

In ^{the} ~~that~~ summer of 1905 after getting in for the first time, I remember feeling the burden too great. I was very young and I was still younger for my age. I got sustenance from recollections of the Liberator. More than once I remember going to the statue in the Abbey to remind myself of the inscription which I like so much: "Endowed with a vigorous and capacious mind. ^{of undaunted courage +} untiring energy." He was ^{early} easily led by ^{the love of} Almighty God to devote his talent to ^{the good of man} ~~men~~."

There were some thrilling things. ^{that} in Parliament, ~~and I realised it~~ ^{It was} ~~was~~ an event to be in the House with Joe Chamberlain, and I heard him

speaking. But he was ^{already} ~~also~~ failing and his end was not far off. ^{Another notable figure was Lecky, the historian whom I revered most of all the}

The Liberator has always been a great inspirer as he was to very many of a former generation. People I have met in electioneering told me that their fathers had brought them up on the Memoir as if it was the Bible. I said what I thought about ^{him} ~~it~~ in the preamble to my "Public Purposes Trust."

It was jolly to be in the House with my father's old friend Sir John Kennaway, and I liked some of the ^{Members} ~~older men~~ very much. Jebb, the classic authority, I remember congratulating me on studying the rules of procedure, and ~~Lecky whose "History of European Moral" I had admired more than any other history which I read for the history Tripos, was a quaint figure when he spoke in Debate.~~ Sir Wilfred ^LLanson was also a delightful patron. He never lost a chance of some fun, and I remember sitting by him below the gangway when he began a sort of greeting to me by adapting Scott's poetry with the words: "Oh Macedonia, stern

Sunday

ACHIEVEMENTS

Charlie and I, not long before his death, ~~talked about~~ *discussed whether we*
could credit ~~ing~~ ourselves with having accomplished anything which
would not have been accomplished without us. He said he
looked to what he ~~may~~ *might* have done to stir individuals up to
action.

I myself like to think of concrete things, and it gives
me pleasure to claim credit for the following:-

- (1) My Public Trust.
- (2) The Agricultural Wages Bill.
- (3) Paycocks House and
- (4) The re-publication of the Liberator's Memoir.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BILL.

This bill was a heavy task, and my nose was only kept to the grindstone by the urgent plight of the farm labourer. His wage which had been adequate for the first time during the war had rapidly fallen to the old scandalous level when L.G. recklessly repealed the Agriculture Act, ^{in 1921.} The Ministry reported to me cases where labourers were only getting £1 a week.

We had not a majority in the 1924 Parliament for any measures which did not ^{carry the} ~~command~~ the support of the Liberal Party, and this limited the measures on which the government could embark. Bills affecting the workers interests were therefore generally speaking limited to two, namely, housing and farm wages. Wheatley's Housing Bill encountered great opposition and occupied much time. The other Bill fell to me and we knew that it was doubtful how far the Liberals would support us in it. I introduced the Bill with a provision for restoring the National Wages Board, ~~and a Bill was referred to a Committee~~

and the chances of the Bill on second reading looked fairly good, ^{but in Grand Committee we found the etc.} but in Grand Committee we found the Liberals luke warm and a National Wages authority was defeated.

Finding this I adjourned the Committee disregarding the advice of my officials, because I did not wish to be compromised without consulting the Prime Minister. The next step was to discuss with him whether to go on, and we did this at lunch at Downing Street with Ramsay and Jimmy Thomas. We decided to proceed and called the Grand Committee again. Friction developed with the Liberals, and I despaired of passing any Bill till one evening in the Lobby a

Loaves

PRINCIPLES

Temperance Reform,

The parents taught us fundamental principles like avoiding injury to others ~~and promoting freedom~~, but if I am to report to my sisters on the motives which have led to any efforts in my life I should say that I am indebted to a certain capacity for keen desires of an altruistic kind. The first of these which seized me arose from my being in the brewing trade. I was conscious of course even before going into the business of the debatable question whether it was a business that one should enter at all. Having largely by Father's advice decided that it was a trade like many others only undesirable *in the comparatively small section of it which where it touched on laxity, represented laxity,* I still felt that the problem of Licencing Reform was the proper business of the members of the trade. I was particularly stirred through being constantly in the least orderly quarter of London where in the 1890's drunkenness was common, and degraded specimens of both sexes could sometimes be seen in certain streets, *hopelessly hanged and* attacking each other with broken bottles.

I was very much taken with the idea of disinterested management of the public house, and naturally deplored the regrettable character of a large class of English pubs compared with the corresponding houses of the continent. There was much talk at that time of the Swedish system under which the manager of the licenced house had no interest in the sale of intoxicants. An opportunity of studying this system came when the family went to Australia, and C.R.B. and I ~~started for~~ *went abroad.* ~~Stockholm and Gottenburg~~ *for* ~~Sweden~~ *Stockholm and Gottenburg* on the day after their departure.

I afterwards induced the Board of the Brewery to let me experiment with certain public houses in which a commission was given to the

(4).

Among agreeable recollections are those of K. Boris, who was the only royalty to behave quite like a friend. We had a nice afternoon with him at his palace on the Black Sea in 1923, and lunched with him and his sisters, and liked him much better than his father. When he came to London he asked me to see him at the Ritz, and I took Rufus, who stayed with the secretary outside the King's room, during our talk. He was charming to R when we emerged, and I hoped that he would have proved to have liked the King, as it would make an incident for him to remember. He, being then about eight years old, told me that he had had a splendid time, and the reason was that while I was with the King, the secretary had been sick. I think that Boris's father, Foxy Ferdinand, had perhaps more humour than his son. When Leland and I saw him in 1904, Leland apologised for his clothes, and Ferdinand consoled him with the words, "you are exquis".

ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

More urgently than any other moving cause I have felt the urgency of International harmony, and above all of Anglo-German relations. During the whole of my political life since 1910 this impressed me as by far the most urgent duty. My part in it is dealt with in Evans' book, and I hesitate to write of it otherwise because in my view the subject is too important to be dealt with briefly, and I should like my family and friends to read the adequate account.

manager on the sale of non-alcoholics and food. I wrote an article on the results, and in order to secure attention and avoid the appearance of bias I persuaded Mr. Charles Booth, whose fame as the author of "Life and Labour in London" was then at its height, to publish the article with a preface by himself and without my name.

I took part afterwards in two movements for experimenting in disinterested management on a large scale and originally promoted by the Bishop of Chester, and afterwards by Lord Lytton. The first was The Peoples Refreshment House Association; the second The Public House Trust Movement. ~~XX~~

Poor Law Reform.

Another keen aspiration arose from my becoming a Poor Law guardian for Whitechapel. This was to introduce a system for dealing with ~~ignorance~~ ^{vagrancy} which would both provide a decent opportunity for those who wanted work, and squeeze out those who did not. A great deal had been done in this direction in Germany, and in 1897 I went to study the system there, afterwards pushing the plan at Poor Law conferences.

The Near East Balkans.

The next aspiration ~~and~~ in order of time occupied a bigger place in my affairs, ^{to} was the desire to promote relief for the populations suffering under Turkish mis-rule owing to British intervention. I have dealt with this elsewhere.

Agricultural Co-operation.

Another aspiration was followed up after I left business in 1904 and had lost my seat in Parliament in 1905. It was the cause of ^{Agriculture} Cooperation in ~~Production~~ which appealed strongly to me. In this I was prompted - as in the cause of Gardening for Urban Workers - by Rollo Meyer, who in the neighbourhood of his parish in Bedfordshire had seen the urgent need, both social and economic, of cooperation for

the small growers in buying, and also in selling their products, and had conferred benefits on them by organizing societies on the continental model. I was a keen member of the committee of the Agricultural Organization Society and in our own neighbourhood I founded the Epping Society, holding a meeting in the dining room at Werlies at which the Copt Hall agent, Mr. Ormond, was elected chairman.

Supplies

My other aspirations, I ought to record two which followed the great war. One was the cause of Humane Slaughter of Animals. I introduced a bill in the House, and visited the slaughter houses both reformed and unreformed. I also went to Rotterdam to see the system in vogue there. My bill made no concession to the Jews whose system I consider very much too cruel, and I was naturally the object of a violent campaign in the Jewish press.

Humane Slaughter

Afterwards when another Bill was passed the Jews obtained exemption. As Hitler's anti-Jewish policy is I cannot shed tears over his prohibition of Jewish ritual slaughter.

I was specially unpopular with a Jewish MP who had to sit up at the end of Parliamentary proceedings to block my bill by carrying out the title of bills were read out I was more fairly content to my idea of the will of God

Parliamentary proceedings

The other reform which moved me in recent times was that of housing. I made several speeches in the Lords on the subject, and I have found nothing more compelling than the one-room dwellings which I have seen in such large numbers. I wish I could have done more in the matter, but it naturally belongs properly to members of the L.C.C. and other great municipal bodies.

Housing

More urgently than any other moving cause I have felt the urgency of international harmony, and above all of Anglo-German relations. During the whole of my political life, this impressed me as by far the most urgent duty. My part in it is dealt with in Evans book, and I

There is nothing that a Christian who knows the intolerable limitations of life and crowded housing, can feel more fairly content to my idea of the will of God

Anglo-German Relations

of international harmony, and above all of Anglo-German relations.

During the whole of my political life, this impressed me as by far the most urgent duty. My part in it is dealt with in Evans book, and I

since 1910

hesitate to write of it otherwise because in my view the subject is too important to be dealt with briefly, and I should like my family and friends to read the adequate account.

Balkans contd.

Harold and I went out in October, and our impressions are recorded in my quotation "With the Bulgarian Staff." When the Armistice came and the London Conference took place, the delegates of the three states came for their Christmas dinner at Princes Gate, and it was delightful to bring our parents into the Balkan world. One felt happy that the Turks at all events had ceased to persecute European populations, but King Ferdinand had spoilt the game by his ambition to be crowned at Constantinople. Wasting his forces in Thrace, and far from Bulgaria, he had allowed the Serbs, and the Greeks, to forestall him in the country which Bulgaria had claimed with the approval of Russia. The result was grievous. The Serbs encouraged by Russia betrayed the Agreement they had made to divide the Macedonian country, and the Bulgarians finally attacked them. The Bulgars were conscious of their military prowess and unduly despised the Serbs.

On the terrace of the House of Commons in June 1913 I entertained their delegate and implored him to report that Bulgaria would lose British sympathy if they used force. His confident pride alarmed me. Bulgaria was beaten; the Roumanians stabbed them in the back; they were deprived of more than a quarter of their population, and the seeds of future war were sown by the unjust settlement of the Treaty of Bucharest. That settlement was partly responsible for the Great War which opened a year later. Bulgaria was ready to ally herself with any power which might recover her rights, and that gave vast

erman etd.

riends. In 1900 C.R.B. and I took him to Switzerland, and he turned up at Victoria with a suitcase falling to pieces, a dirty collar exuding from the opening, and some string taking the place of fastenings. Later on in 1907 he came with us to the Near East, and his appearance when dining with the Ambassador in the princely Embassy was beyond description. His marriage to Lucy Littleton in Henry VIIIth Chapel must have tested the breadth of mind of Lady Littleton.

Perhaps the most enjoyable of all our times together was when I stayed with him and Lucy in a disused and leaky railway carriage on the shore at Selsey.

One of the great services which he rendered to me was an indirect one. He insisted on my taking part in the writing of a book on London dealing with the subject of "Temperance Reform". As a junior Director on the Board of Truman's it was an impertinence almost involving a rebellion which I could hardly face, but Masterman was irresistible, and I somewhat shielded myself by getting a friend in the trade, Walter Hoare, to give his name with mine. The general result was to loosen my connection with the Board already severely tested by the contradiction between the views of the Board and the policy of the Liberal Party. Taken together to my desire for free time to give to speaking and organizing on the question of Macedonia it led to my resigning my seat on the Board in 1904.

3
BENEFACTORS ctd

Searle

Connected with Harrow, but belonging to some years later was Fred Searle. He became a master after I left, and I suppose I got to know him through Charlie or Harold who were at Harrow about ten ^{thaw I.} years later. He introduced a plan of being a friend to boys which was inconceivable in my time. He had an eager and affectionate way with him, and was notorious for his enthusiasms which provoked a certain amusement, but did not prevent his being extremely popular.

He had a small house and I stayed there with him several times. Winston Churchill was one of his boys, ^{at the time} and was ~~also~~ a common subject of conversation. Searle used to tell us how Winston made himself disliked, and how he reported to Searle that he was having a rotten time, but he would get them down in the end.

Searle ^{would} ~~made~~ have made a vast difference to Harrow if he had lived, and it was a public loss that he died early. His executors passed on to me his dog, a mongrel terrier with long natural tail, and of whom mother became so fond, and his writing table which I have used ever since.

Reeve.INFLUENCEScontd

When I went to the Brewery in 1889 the Manager was a pompous old thing ^{in a grey frock coat who} ~~who~~ had been a favourite of the Chairman, ^{He} ~~who~~ lectured me on the importance of his position as the nominee of the Directors whom he always spoke of as the Directors. My uncle E.M.B. soon afterwards became Chairman, and at once proceeded to ~~bring to the~~ ^{replace} ~~of~~ this old humbug by T.F. Reeve, until then Manager at Burton-on-Trent.

I was given charge of two minor departments of which my father in his day had been in charge, and after a year, which I spent largely at Burton, I was made partly responsible for the main department which was the Manager's special sphere. This brought me in touch with Reeve. I was extremely fortunate to have his friendship all through my fifteen years at Brick Lane. He was a most remarkable man, and combining great business ability with first class conscience, and what was much more rare, the quality of an intellectual and a very sympathetic altruism. He was a Liberal of the old school - a keen disciple of Mill, and when he stayed at Warlies which he occasionally did, my mother was delighted with his knowledge of my uncle Roden Noel's poetry. He had sons then at school, and one of them came to Warlies for the dragging of the Temple Pond. ~~Nearly~~ ^{Fifty} years afterwards this boy, now ^{retired} ~~nearly as old as I~~, heard that I was in hospital, and came to see me. He reminded me that I had long ago said that his father ought to have been Prime Minister, and I seriously think that he would have been an ideal one. One of his remarks which I have often remembered was to the effect that one should store the mind with poetry

Influences dtd. Mr Reeve

learnt by heart in case one lost eye sight. It may be due to this advice that I have at intervals learnt scraps of poetry, and which are among my best possessions. I wish I had taken his advice thoroughly.

BARNET Most men on leaving the Varsity know very well what their tastes will be, ^{but} ~~and~~ I was a late developer, and the fact accounts for my never meeting Canon Barnett until I had been concerned with his district for no less than 8 years. I even regarded Toynbee Hall as something regrettable from the Christian point of view.

After I returned from Australia in January 1897, Uncle Edward got me to stay at Knighton to meet the Barnets, and I had ~~by~~ that time become alive to other than Evangelistic purposes. I immediately accepted Barnett's invitation to come to see him at Toynbee ~~and do~~ ~~something for his work~~. No doubt his charm was an added attraction; ~~any~~how we fell into each other's arms. Barnett had a most delightful way with him, and his forcible leadership was clothed in a personal approach of extraordinary sweetness. He very soon got me to stand

for the Whitechapel Board of Guardians, and this led to my putting up for the L.C.C. Barnett had made the Whitechapel Board famous for the anti-outdoor relief policy which he led them to adopt.

After the Board meetings he and I always walked back along the Whitechapel road, and I shall never forget his marvellous charm in talking as he looked up at me from the level of my shoulder, swinging along with his extraordinarily springy step, and a collection ^{of} books under his arm. His religious views were extremely broad, and I still felt rather suspicious of them, but in so lovable a man they left me unmoved while, in any other man, they should have ^{been hurt off by} ~~been~~ from them.

Barnet did a great deal to bring me out of my shyness because he made something of me. I remember a particular action which surprised me by its flattering implication, and probably brought me out considerably. Being concerned with the Poor Law, I went in 1907 with Noel Farrar on a bicycle tour in Germany, designed partly to study methods dealing with vagrants developed by von Bodelschwingh. I was very keen on introducing the plan in Whitechapel, and Barnett got up a meeting at which I had to read a paper. I remember my surprise when I found that Barnett had invited a large crowd, and had got Lord Herschell, who was a notable person, to take the chair.

When Barnett became Canon of Bristol I went with Masterman to consult him on our projects, and later we met in the little cloister when he was Canon of Westminster, and I was in the House of Commons. After his death, Mrs Barnett became almost as famous as he had been, but when I ^{used} ~~saw~~ ^{to see} them together, I always thought that she asserted herself too much, as I wanted the conversation to rest with him.

after Cambridge ctd

No. 11-

BISHOP GORE I suppose it was another case of my fluidity of views that I could be at the same time an ardent follower of both Barnett and Gore. Gore's high catholicism must have jarred Barnett's latitudinarian views. The Christian Social Union ^{of which Gore was leader} ~~Gore led~~ was extraordinarily welcome to me, wanting as I did to connect philanthropic activity with religion. Gore at that time was an extremely popular preacher. His manner was most attractive. His voice in preaching was irresistible.

I valued the C.S.U. in connection with Temperance reform, but I got to know Gore better in regard to the problem of Turkish disorder. I remember lunching with him in his house in the Cloister overlooking the Westminster Canon's garden when I returned from the Balkans in ~~1900~~ ¹⁸⁹⁹. It was a chance which led me to go there and to learn that Macedonia had been restored to the Turks by the British government. This shocking fact did not seem to be appreciated by anyone whom I ^{knew} ~~had known~~ except Gore whose keen sense of humanity had been ²¹profoundly moved a few years before by the Armenian massacres. He became intensely friendly to me and an eager supporter of the Balkan Committee. His way of addressing a meeting on the subject of massacres and so on, was most moving, and his keen approval certainly furnished another influence on my life because he was a very great man. His friendship gave me confidence.

BENEFACTORS

Bryce was famous as a Minister (Secretary for Ireland) as the most popular Ambassador who represented us in America, and as author of the "Holy Roman Empire." He was the most distinguished person who has given me friendship. He was a friend of my father, and I remember him staying at Cromer when he was first in a Liberal Government as Chancellor of the Duchy and therefore concerned with many Church livings in Norfolk.

When the Balkan Committee was formed in 1902 we naturally turned to him as he had prominently espoused the cause of the victims of Abdul ^{Hamid} Mohammed years before. When things became urgent through the insurrection of 1903, Bryce invited us to meet in his house at Portland Place in order to put the Committee on an active footing. I remember that I, as Chairman was asked to work with Henry Nevinson who became so famous, but was then unknown to me. I enquired where he could be found, and the reply was, "He is sitting beside you."

In the subsequent years of Balkan activity, Bryce showed wonderful thoroughness and lack of pride in constantly writing to me, and attended meetings whenever we wanted him. His encouragement revived my desire to enter Parliament which had waned after the Ipswich episode, and he was certainly my political father.

It was a personal loss when he left Office for the Washington Embassy, but he continued to write me long letters in his own hand about Turkish affairs. This side of his activity is sadly ignored in his Memoir by Herbert Fisher and for this I am much to blame, because I ought to have collected his letters and sent them to Fisher when

writing the book.

When Rufus was born in 1917 I thought that a distinguished god-father would be good for him in after years. Bryce was the natural man to invite. He replied that as a member of the Scottish Church he was not entitled to accept, but for personal affection he would do so, and would moreover call upon Rufus not only to hear sermons, as the prayer book enjoins, but also to learn the shorter catechism.

In the end I am afraid Bryce was disappointed in me. At Rutland Gate about 1920 we ^{gave} a dinner party to meet the new Bulgarian Minister, Stancioff. Bryce came, and at one point the conversation turned on the Labour Party which I had just joined. He inveighed with great vehemence against it, but after all, you can hardly expect a Liberal of the old individualistic school to feel otherwise about a Party which chooses to say ^{though literally} (it does not mean, that all the means of a production, ^{and} ^{and} distribution, ^{and} of exchange should be owned by the State.

INFLUENCES contd

Ramsay McDonald
~~J. R. M.~~

I first saw Ramsay McDonald at one of the dinners which Charlie Masterman arranged for us whom he had induced to take part in writing "The Heart of the Empire." ^{Ramsay} ~~He~~ was then organising the infant Labour Party, and annoyed me by his bitter attack on a Liberal M.P. whom I had regarded as an admirable reformer.

When I got in the House in 1910 I had begun to see that the Liberals needed gingering if they were to display the Radical spirit that I wanted. There was something romantic about Ramsay with his good looks, his fine voice and athletic figure which ^{made a strong} ~~excited almost admir-~~ ^{impression on me} ~~ation,~~ and I was quite hungry for his friendship. But there was something cold in him which kept ~~one~~ at bay, and my attitude to him was always a mixture of affection and criticism which probably ^{was} ~~due~~ to the strange dualism of his ~~presence.~~ ^{nature.}

Sometimes he seemed to think far too well of one; sometimes too ill. In choosing me for his Cabinet I ^{have} often thought that he displayed the former kind of defective vision. His most friendly moments arose when he dined with us at Rutland Gate. By good luck Lucy had provided wild duck, and it proved that this was his favourite dish. His ^{epicureanism} ~~specurianism~~ was a surprise. He expatiated at lunch on the merits of port wine sauce, and went on to tell us of the exact way to produce old brandy. Foibles of taste were quite a feature in him. He was very fond of scents, and wore peculiar rings. The oddest thing was his concern with his appearance, and it was still odder that he was

7

Influences ctd. J.R.M.

not ashamed to reveal to us his satisfaction in regarding himself as the best-looking man in the Cabinet.

It must be very uncommon for a man to arouse in others such a strong liking and such antipathy. His son Malcolm asked me after his father's death to make a contribution to the Memoir which he was planning, and said that he wished it to include criticism as well as praise. So I wrote some notes which will appear in the book, and I need not say more here.

He was a very kind friend on the whole and I wish I had accepted his quite numerous invitations to travel with him. I am glad that ^{I did} at least two journies were ^{travel with him twice}, namely Germany after the War, and North Africa in 1926. It was probably due to personal friendship that I became Minister.

MASTERMAN

8

The most brilliant contemporary who gave me his friendship in my youth was Charlie Masterman. I knew him first as a friend of C.R.B. when they left Cambridge in 1899. He fitted in with my lately conceived enthusiasm for the Christian Social Union and we made fast friends in a flash. He came from Cambridge with a brilliant reputation and my sense of his intellectual superiority required to be balanced in order to make me at ease with him. This was affected by his affectionate nature and by the fact that I had something to give him in the shape of introductions. I felt him a great acquisition to the cause and was more than delighted to make him known to Barnet, and to Gore and Scott-Holland. Through Barnet he became Secretary to the Childrens' Country Holiday Fund, and through Gore and Holland he was soon one of the writers on the *Commonwealth*. ^{the organ of the C.S.U.} Then it became a question of politics and I made that introduction through Sidney Buxwood. ^{ton} Sidney introduced him to Asquith, and his foot was on the ladder which led in such incredibly short time to ministerial office.

He was a marvellous combination of personal charm and humour, and political idealism and capacity. John Burns was right when he said of him "Heart of Gold" but not when he added "Head of Feathers". His life in a Camberwell block of workmen's flats with Reggie Bray afforded me one of my best experiences through being their guest. The invariable evening fare of toasted sardines is still a memorable pleasure, but was possibly less advantageous to Masterman for whom it was invariable and who always neglected his health. His incorrigible untidiness was one of the chief amusements which he afforded to his

Masterman ctd.

friends. In 1900 C.R.B. and I took him to Switzerland, and he turned up at Victoria with a suitcase falling to pieces, a dirty collar exuding from the opening, and some string taking the place of fastenings. Later on in 1907 he came with us to the Near East, and his appearance when dining with the Ambassador in the princely Embassy was beyond description. His marriage to Lucy Littleton in Henry VIIIth Chapel must have tested the breadth of mind of Lady Littleton.

Perhaps the most enjoyable of all our times together was when I stayed with him and Lucy in a disused and leaky railway carriage on the shore at Selsey.

One of the great services which he rendered to me was an indirect one. He insisted on my taking part in the writing of a book on London dealing with the subject of "Temperance Reform". As a junior Director on the Board of Truman's it was an impertinence almost involving a rebellion which I could hardly face, but Masterman was irresistible, and I somewhat shielded myself by getting a friend in the trade, Walter Hoare, to give his name with mine. The general result was to loosen my connection with the Board already severely tested by the contradiction between the views of the Board and the policy of the Liberal Party, Taken together ^{with} ~~to~~ my desire for free time to give to speaking and organizing on the question of Macedonia it led to my resigning my seat on the Board in 1904.

No heading

FRIENDS

I have been so unsocial since I went into Parliament in 1910 that I can hardly believe I was in
Apart from special benefactors I feel a special debt of affection
to many people who showed me special kindness, and hospitality.
premises years so much given to seeing people and staying
with them. A great many

LADY LYTTLETON

Lady Lytton, (Sybella) who often invited me to the Chantry,
~~and~~ was a very attractive woman.

RALEIGHS

Perhaps I stayed oftener than anywhere else for week ends with
the Rayleighs at Tarling. Lord Raleigh was an attractive combination
of ~~an~~ unsocial mind who, like myself, had come under the influence of
Miss Marsh, - and whom I had seen embraced by her with kisses, - ~~and a~~
world-famous scientist. After lunch on Sunday he used to show us
liquid like ginger beer which was air compressed to so many thousands
of pounds to the square inch.

EDWARD TALBOTS

I had great luck in being befriended by the Edward Talbots. They
were both extremely beautiful and charming, and Mrs Talbot - considered
the pick of the well-known family of Lyttons - remained lovely
until about eighty years old when she could neither hear nor recognise
anyone.

LOCKER LAMPSONS

I used often to stay with the Locker Lampsons at Cromer and
Rowfant, and while Mr Locker was alive the pungent contrast between
him and his robust and hospitable wife was interesting. At Rowfant
I met Austin Dobson.

PORTSMOUTHS

An ill-assorted couple who entertained me in Hants and Devon were

Friends ctd

the Portsmouths. There are many good stories of his oddities, and the oddest thing that I remember myself was his habit of ordering flies for his departing guests on Monday morning, and driving by himself in his brougham to the same train, not saying goodbye to them at all.

EXTON

It was great fun staying in mother's country at Exton, and at Burley on the Hill. I am amused now at my temerity at taking Cecil Harris to stay at the latter when he was quite unknown. *to the hostess,*

LADY FRANCIS BALFOUR

Lady Francis Balfour was another real friend, and I often dined there. She was a great admirer of Alfred Spendon who was very famous as the editor of the Westminster Gazette. He was at dinner more than once when I was there, and she, being an adept at general conversation, frequently led the talk to ^{his paper which} ~~what~~ she called: "The Green Rag." General talk is very alarming to me, and I abhorred it until

at these parties Lady Francis' home and afterwards at her brother-in-law Arthur Balfour's. He made
I perceived its merits ~~from staying at Whittingehame where Mr Balfour~~ made it a crime to utter a single word to one's neighbour. ~~Being~~

there was always
~~always~~ an immense party, this led to total silence on the part of all but three or four. It was interesting to listen to the great guns such as Oliver Lodge and the Balfour brothers; and I have since felt that there is ^{a great deal} ~~something~~ gained in the way of stimulation if one can rise to general conversation, all the more, because I find it impossible in individual talk to avoid being distracted by other talk.

Friends ctd

LADY BATTERSEA

Liberal

Being a social outcast as ~~Labour~~ candidate in North Norfolk, I appreciated the friendship of Lady Battersea who certainly was the embodiment of good nature, and must have converted any anti-semitist whom she met, being a purely Jewish Rothschild. She had been a friend long before I was candidate in Norfolk, and it was nice that she was also a friend of Lucy's, and brought us together.

THE SYDNEY WEBBS,

The Sydney Webbs were also extremely kind to me, and I met lots of interesting ^Upeople at dinner in their house in Grosvenor Road. Mrs Webb never seemed to realise the intellectual gul~~f~~ which separated one from her, and she never represented the school which has been described as preferring clever dullness to stupidity.

SUNDRY FRIENDS

There are others to whom I am ^{deeply} ~~especially~~ indebted and to whom I like to show a grateful tribute. Some of them are alive so I cannot say very much. Rollo Myer has been a wonderful friend from Cambridge days; I owe to him all the pleasure I have derived from plants and flowers and from gardening and planting which have been for a long time my main recreation. He also gave rise to the slum gardening movement.

J.W. Burchier, the famous correspondent of the "Times" in the Balkans was a real friend, though we touched at few points - his tastes being peculiar. I greatly admired his enthusiasm for liberty in the young nations freed from the Turks, and he showed a glorious energy in pursuing this aim. He was also a lovable man, and his week end visit to Warlies when home on leave each Summer became an annual institution. I have described him in a contribution to his Memoir which was written by Lady ~~Gwgan~~ ^{Gwgan}, and which I hope my children will read.

Among others whom I think of at least once a week is Agnes Noel. She was a great joy to me ever since, when I stayed at Campden in 1897, she revealed her liking for me by hiding herself in a hedge between the village and the house, and startling me from her hiding place. She became a favourite of us all though she had no tastes or purposes of the kind that especially belonged to us. She was a lovely creature and most friendly, and her sudden death in 1915 was a mystery.

I owed a great deal to Ethel Buxton since I first emerged after leaving Harrow. As a cousin older than myself, one could get to know

Sundry Friends ctd

her better than others, and when the family were in Australia I almost lived for a time at ~~Basmeys~~^{Basmeys}. She had a tremendous gift of personal influence and altruistic convictions, and I always thought she ought to have been a leader like ~~Mr~~ⁱⁿ Marsh, only more so because she also ran Poor Law and social works. It grieved me that after her parents died she should be limited to ~~the care of~~^{the care of} an invalid sister.

One of my greatest boons has been the friendship of my nephews ~~and~~^{nieces}. They have been among my greatest benefactors, but ~~I mention one because he is dead.~~ Noel Ponsonby was the first who became a very great friend. It is difficult to imagine any other boy or man like him. Our affection for each other dates from the time when I spent Easter holidays with the Ponsonbys on Dartmoor, and he made friends with the blacksmith's boy, Sam, who remained ~~so~~^{Sam} intimate with him until ~~he~~^{great} died in the war.

I commend this to all others who want to break out of the deplorable unchristian narrow minded division of classes in England, and do not realise the advantage of making a friend in the so-called uneducated class where it is possible.

SISTERS.

A peculiar boon of those early days was the possession of a remarkable group of sisters. They have always seemed to me to be endowed with a unique combination of charm with reason and an open mind and at the same time both religion and zeal for goodness. An extraordinary expression of their quality was the school which they carried on at a distant farm on Sunday afternoons. It was Marly who started this effort; Edie's health not being equal to such activity. In those days having the whole of Sunday morning was occupied in getting to the Service at Waltham Abbey. This would have pointed, in these days to a nap in the afternoon. But no sooner had we eaten a heavy lunch, and then entered the stalls and fed 14 horses with bread, than we (I had been drawn into the scheme) set off on the long tramp across the country, laden with books, to teach some 8 or 10 farm labourers children, getting home in the winter long after dark. V. carried the school on for years, after Marly married, and added to it an evening class during the week for village boys whom she taught to knit, while she read to them, in the servants' hall. I cannot believe that such exertions were made by any girls of that period. It would be laughable to think of such activity now.

~~CHAPTER I~~

PARENTS

Childhood

3

She seldom urged things on us, but this she urged very strongly
and I knew my insistence grieved her. *and ought to have cared that*

What I feel most inclined to do is to say something about people who have had influence on me, and I will also amuse myself by recalling a few old recollections which may interest those who share them. And it is also possible that my children may some day wish for records of me when they come to the time of life to which the experiences belong.

Being extremely altruistic

She must have suffered as much from inability to do things for others as from her physical pains. The chief thing she could do for us was reading aloud, and how delightfully she read. Unhappily it was just this reading from a sofa, with the eyes directed downwards, which ruined her sight. In the years of blindness she was pathetically grateful when flowers were brought to her, ~~to~~ to feel their shapes.

One realised too late how little one did for her, and how one failed to gratify her wishes. Especially do I deplore that I persuaded her to let ~~me~~ leave off learning the piano at school.

In his recollections of youth he writes of his
parents,

~~CHAPTER I~~

PARENTS

We were fortunate indeed in our parents. Mother was
truly what A.G. Gardiner, editor of "The Daily News", ^{wrote} said of
her, "a fine flower of the Victorian Age."

She was by nature an intellectual and after her mother's death in 1885 her natural breadth of mind was free to expand. She had been brought up to abjure the stage, and to decline waltzing. She had only broken this rule when the Prince of Wales' request to waltz with her was regarded as an order.

The fact that we, her children, are exceptionally united, in spite of our marked diversity of view, is due to the devotion to her which we shared.

What an unspeakable tragedy that such energy and goodness were imprisoned from early years by ill-health and pain. I do not remember her going for a walk. The only outlet for physical energy which lasted till my day was leading us in singing. What force she put into the piano on those winter evenings in the library when we revelled in the songs she sang as a girl, in nigger melodies, and favourites from the Harrow Song Book, and made fun of Victorian sentimentality like that of "She wore a Wreath of Roses".

VARIOUS RECORDS OF N.-B.

Articles in Monthly Reviews.

Stock copies are in one
of the large boxes at
Adstock Rectory.

Old Bury magazines.

Books which mention N.-B.

e.g. Life of Barnet,
Life of Bouchier,
Life of Snowden etc.

Fuller list among my papers.
(Probably at the Bury, or in box
of papers with my luggage.)

old copy

DOCUMENTS.

- 1 My View of T.F.B. Preamble to my Charity Trust Deed.
- 2 Religion and Morals. My tract of 1910, "by a Politician".
- 3 Speeches in Parliament. (Hansards in case)
- 4 Review Articles (at Adstock) (Contemporary,
Nineteenth Century, etc)
- 5 Article on Trust System (Contemporary Review)
- 6 Notes at Bury and in attache case and small suitcase.
- 7 Letters to Times, Manchester Guardian, etc.

CONTENTS.

	Page
I. Parents	1
II. Before School	6
III. School and Cambridge	16
IV. Business	29
V. Travel	31
VI. Benefactors	39
VII. Friends	53
VIII. More Benefactors	61
IX. Politics	77
X. Anglo-German Relations	121
XI. Causes	140
XII. Sundry	168
XIII. Religion	205

PREAMBLE.

June 1942

My sisters urge me to

I am often urged to record recollections of my past, but I think autobiographies of people without public greatness are not worth anybody's time to read. And in these busy days, even things of personal interest to relatives are probably not used. However, as I have to spend some days in hospital without being able to see, I may as well respond to the kindly interest of my sisters, and dictate a few points.

what I feel ^{most} least disinclined to do is to say something about people who have had an influence on me, and I will also amuse myself by recalling a few old recollections which may interest those who shared them. And it is also possible that ~~(one or two of)~~ my children may some day ^{care with for} waste their time on ancient records ~~(which have no public interest)~~ of ^{my} ~~their~~ parents when they come to the time of life to which the ^{experiences} records belong.

Mr 3x

~~Many~~ ~~thought~~ ~~how~~ ~~few~~ ~~very~~
earnest people are ~~humorists~~
from to fun, but ~~her~~ was
a born humorist. In the
intense atmosphere of the
Westwick Evangelical Conference
she was ^{at once} ~~at~~ the same time
engaged in Richard Woods?
~~Addressed~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ~~oddity~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~
native African who begged for
volunteers for foreign missions,
whose argument consisted in
~~partially~~ ~~satirical~~ ~~remarks~~
to ~~the~~ ~~audience~~ also
derived great fun from
ridiculing herself. - her
paraphrasing of air questions
+ ~~stipulations~~ ~~carrying~~ ~~water~~ ~~beds~~ -
that these were the ~~specimens~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~
specimens of most painful ~~fact~~
And it was half fun
when she talked of her

CONTENTS.

Copied by E.C

Page

I. Before School	1
II. School and Cambridge	6
III. Business	16
IV. Books which mention N.B	29
V. Dates — <u>Personal records</u>	31
VI. Documents	39
VII. Friends	53
VIII. More Benefactors	61
IX. Politics	77
X. Anglo-German relations	121
XI. Causes	140
XII. Sundry	148
XIII. Religion	168
	205

causes
 reform
 danger
 life is
 are plain
 How
 page

(This list goes on till page of ch VIII)

- 5 Bay ... 9 ... 190
- 4 ... 174 ... 202
- 3 ... 175 ... 203
- 2 ... 180 ... 204
- 6 ...
- 1 ...
- 7 ...

love of
religion. ~~low~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~adored~~
A then ^{deep} ~~floating~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~enemies~~
enjoyment of the world
"I hate them that hate thee
O Lord. Yea I hate them with
a perfect hatred"

10 LOWNDES SQUARE
S.W. 1

SLOANE 9542

Documents
Docs - (green cover)
Library notes etc

	Page
	1
	6
III. School and Cambridge	16
IV. Business	29
V. Travel	31
VI. Benefactors	39
VII. Friends	53
VIII. More Benefactors	61
IX. Politics	77
X. XII Anglo-German Relations	121
XI. XI Causes	140
XII. XIII Sundry	168
XIII. XIV Religion	205

X Special causes
XI Balkan reform
XII The German dance
XIII Sundry
XIV Religion
Ambrance for
for your special
cooperation
Humanity
Houring
(This list goes on title page)

(This list goes on title page of the XIII)

- 5 Pay codes 168*
- 4 Regub 174*
- 3 Health 176*
- 2 Strokes of luck 180*
- 6 Animals 182*
- 1 Family 184*
- 7 Sport 186*
- 8 Money 188*
- 9 Notables 190*
- 10 Achievement 202*
- 11 Forebears 203*
- 12 Enterprise 204*

WMS

Web
Letters
WMS HV

est chances
his life
is life

ittee.

riel novel by W.A. Moore
question d. by Macnaughtan
Iran. bk on gardens.
wydfeop. bk on 1 war
Churchill 'The World Crisis'
Sir Harris' bk on slave liberation
Life of J.D. Bowdler
- Canon Barnett.
Col House. bk on 1 war

in and Agitation re
Agadir.

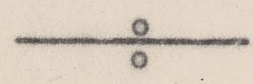
Coe House
Ld Wedgwood. bk on Parliament
Philip Howell - bk on
Lloyd George's memoirs

Evans' book).

HC

Copied by E.C.

- 1927 Humane Slaughter Bill.
- 1929 Office. "Travels and Reflections".
- 1930 Resigned.
- 1931 S.C.F., Anti-Slavery ^{Soc} and Miners' Welfare.



Copied by E.C.

28th
Letters
MRS HV

London Hospital Committee.

Balkan Travel.

Ipswich Election.

Wrote in 'Heart of the Empire'.
Balkan Committee founded. travel.
Balkan Cee Campaign. & travel
M.P. Whitby.

1902
1903
1905

1907
1908
1910

"Europe and the Turks".
Visit to Young Turks
M.P. Norfolk.

1911

Liberal M.P.s' Foreign Group. Berlin and Agitation re Agadir.

1912

Balkan War. Relief Fund and Book.

1913
1914

Armenia
Balkan Mission.

1916

Decisive Settlement Committee, (vide Evans' book).

1919

Labour Party.

1921

"Oppressed Peoples".

1922

Labour M.P.

1924

Office. Wages Act.

1927

Humane Slaughter Bill.

1929

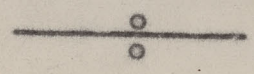
Office. "Travels and Reflections".

1930

Resigned.

1931

S.C.F., Anti-Slavery and Miners' Welfare.



Copied PC

Noel

99 '41

(V de B. + CRB - Falle Guildford 1941)

NOTES ON PAST EVENTS.

vide jacket of notes in my writing table at the Army.
added. (Reported by Request of V. de B.) (top R hand drawer)
"Notes of past events"

1. Warlike Memories of Father and Mother.

- 2. Adventures
 - New Zealand
 - Labour Home
 - Assassination

Books which mention.

- 3. Dates
 - Degree 1889
 - Travel 1892
 - Australia
 - New Zealand
 - Japan
 - Territorial 1890
 - Australia 1896
 - Ipswich Election 1900
 - Whitby Election 1905
 - Norfolk Election 1910
 - Agadir 1911
 - Balkan Committee 1903
 - Balkans 1914
 - America 1916
 - Defeated 1918
 - Elected 1922 1923 1924
 - Office 1924
 - Africa with Macdonald 1926
 - Office 1929
 - Abyssinia 1932

Articles in

Articles in reviews.

In Tea chest at Adstock Rectory with books etc. Row 4.

Lords, speeches + newspapers articles + letters.

Brown cardboard box file at Comeragh 1941 (2 v 4 papers)

4. Notes re

- 1. Slums
- 2. Balkan Royalties
- 3. Kurds
- 4. Sport
- 5. Politics

Common speeches, v Standard + questions.

Books by W.M. v Whos Who.

- 5. Early Days
 - Business
 - Travels
 - Politics
 - Housing
 - Religion
 - Philanthropy.

NOTES ON PAST EVENTS.

d by Request of V. de B.

1. Warlies Memories of Father and Mother.
2. Adventures
 - New Zealand
 - Labour Home
 - Assassination
3. Dates
 - Degree 1889
 - Travel 1892
 - Australia
 - New Zealand
 - Japan
 - Territorial 1890
 - Australia 1896
 - Ipswich Election 1900
 - Whitby Election 1905
 - Norfolk Election 1910
 - Agadir 1911
 - Balkan Committee 1903
 - Balkans 1914
 - America 1916
 - Defeated 1918
 - Elected 1922 1923 1924
 - Office 1924
 - Africa with Macdonald 1926
 - Office 1929
 - Abyssinia 1932
4. Notes re
 1. Slums
 2. Balkan Royalties
 3. Kurds
 4. Sport
 5. Politics
5. Early Days
 - Business
 - Travels
 - Politics
 - Housing
 - Religion
 - Philanthropy.

NOTES RECORDS OF N-B.

Monthly Reviews.

stock copies are in one of the large boxes at Adstock Rectory.

at Goodbury in my study at Abbey House, Victoria St.

e.g. Life of Barnett, Life of Bouchier, Life of Snowden etc. fuller list among my papers. (Probably in the box, or in box of papers with my luggage.)

Lloyd George memoirs
Reminiscences

After 1900 (pol)

97 Guides
Friends
Horsemen

its
Victorian feature.
100 hrs
10 yrs.

[35 pp. of Personalities
27. Classification - B Horsemen
C Early feds
D Later feds
A Influences Kingsley?

PERSONALIA?

CHAPTER VI. BENEFACTORS

<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VI Benef. Teacher.</p>
<p>Char B</p>	<p>Char B</p>	<p>Char B</p>	<p>Char B</p>	<p>Char B</p>	<p>Char B</p>
<p>Marshall</p>	<p>Marshall</p>	<p>Marshall</p>	<p>Marshall</p>	<p>Marshall</p>	<p>Marshall</p>
<p>Clifford</p>	<p>Clifford</p>	<p>Clifford</p>	<p>Clifford</p>	<p>Clifford</p>	<p>Clifford</p>
<p>Sirkin</p>	<p>Sirkin</p>	<p>Sirkin</p>	<p>Sirkin</p>	<p>Sirkin</p>	<p>Sirkin</p>
<p>Grindmiller</p>	<p>Grindmiller</p>	<p>Grindmiller</p>	<p>Grindmiller</p>	<p>Grindmiller</p>	<p>Grindmiller</p>
<p>at Gra</p>	<p>at Gra</p>	<p>at Gra</p>	<p>at Gra</p>	<p>at Gra</p>	<p>at Gra</p>
<p>at Laura</p>	<p>at Laura</p>	<p>at Laura</p>	<p>at Laura</p>	<p>at Laura</p>	<p>at Laura</p>
<p>at Unity</p>	<p>at Unity</p>	<p>at Unity</p>	<p>at Unity</p>	<p>at Unity</p>	<p>at Unity</p>
<p>Barnett</p>	<p>Barnett</p>	<p>Barnett</p>	<p>Barnett</p>	<p>Barnett</p>	<p>Barnett</p>
<p>Fore</p>	<p>Fore</p>	<p>Fore</p>	<p>Fore</p>	<p>Fore</p>	<p>Fore</p>
<p>App</p>	<p>App</p>	<p>App</p>	<p>App</p>	<p>App</p>	<p>App</p>
<p>Searle</p>	<p>Searle</p>	<p>Searle</p>	<p>Searle</p>	<p>Searle</p>	<p>Searle</p>
<p>Reeve</p>	<p>Reeve</p>	<p>Reeve</p>	<p>Reeve</p>	<p>Reeve</p>	<p>Reeve</p>
<p>Bryce</p>	<p>Bryce</p>	<p>Bryce</p>	<p>Bryce</p>	<p>Bryce</p>	<p>Bryce</p>
<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>	<p>Ch VII Benef. Teacher.</p>
<p>C. H. Law</p>	<p>C. H. Law</p>	<p>C. H. Law</p>	<p>C. H. Law</p>	<p>C. H. Law</p>	<p>C. H. Law</p>
<p>C. R. M.</p>	<p>C. R. M.</p>	<p>C. R. M.</p>	<p>C. R. M.</p>	<p>C. R. M.</p>	<p>C. R. M.</p>
<p>C. Agnes</p>	<p>C. Agnes</p>	<p>C. Agnes</p>	<p>C. Agnes</p>	<p>C. Agnes</p>	<p>C. Agnes</p>
<p>C. H. M.</p>	<p>C. H. M.</p>	<p>C. H. M.</p>	<p>C. H. M.</p>	<p>C. H. M.</p>	<p>C. H. M.</p>
<p>B. B. M.</p>	<p>B. B. M.</p>	<p>B. B. M.</p>	<p>B. B. M.</p>	<p>B. B. M.</p>	<p>B. B. M.</p>
<p>B. Talbot</p>	<p>B. Talbot</p>	<p>B. Talbot</p>	<p>B. Talbot</p>	<p>B. Talbot</p>	<p>B. Talbot</p>
<p>B. Laker</p>	<p>B. Laker</p>	<p>B. Laker</p>	<p>B. Laker</p>	<p>B. Laker</p>	<p>B. Laker</p>
<p>B. Bennett</p>	<p>B. Bennett</p>	<p>B. Bennett</p>	<p>B. Bennett</p>	<p>B. Bennett</p>	<p>B. Bennett</p>
<p>B. Linn</p>	<p>B. Linn</p>	<p>B. Linn</p>	<p>B. Linn</p>	<p>B. Linn</p>	<p>B. Linn</p>
<p>B. Adams</p>	<p>B. Adams</p>	<p>B. Adams</p>	<p>B. Adams</p>	<p>B. Adams</p>	<p>B. Adams</p>
<p>B. Barber</p>	<p>B. Barber</p>	<p>B. Barber</p>	<p>B. Barber</p>	<p>B. Barber</p>	<p>B. Barber</p>
<p>B. Webb</p>	<p>B. Webb</p>	<p>B. Webb</p>	<p>B. Webb</p>	<p>B. Webb</p>	<p>B. Webb</p>
<p>B. Aberdeen</p>	<p>B. Aberdeen</p>	<p>B. Aberdeen</p>	<p>B. Aberdeen</p>	<p>B. Aberdeen</p>	<p>B. Aberdeen</p>
<p>B. Barnhill</p>	<p>B. Barnhill</p>	<p>B. Barnhill</p>	<p>B. Barnhill</p>	<p>B. Barnhill</p>	<p>B. Barnhill</p>
<p>B. Richardson</p>	<p>B. Richardson</p>	<p>B. Richardson</p>	<p>B. Richardson</p>	<p>B. Richardson</p>	<p>B. Richardson</p>
<p>B. Ford</p>	<p>B. Ford</p>	<p>B. Ford</p>	<p>B. Ford</p>	<p>B. Ford</p>	<p>B. Ford</p>
<p>B. Brichdale</p>	<p>B. Brichdale</p>	<p>B. Brichdale</p>	<p>B. Brichdale</p>	<p>B. Brichdale</p>	<p>B. Brichdale</p>

Benefactors?

Ch VII
were benef^m

(a Seattle) (a H)

(a Reeve) (a H)

(a Barnett)

(a Gore)

(a Bryce)

(a JRM) (not benef^m?)

(C Law) (to feds)

(C I C F M) (a)

D nephews - niece (Port Ballin)

(97 to Sunday. after Family)

in none since '14

Seas early young

Harris

Relations

Webb

135-38

re W.B. + L.B.

L.W.B.
Lab. Hy. Compu
Lab. Hy. Policy
Insurance

born

over policy

Abyssinia

natives

Children in Spain

League of Nations

Europe

Germany

Balkans

London

Slavery

Americans

Raw materials

Beerton church

Vienna

Health

Austria

German colonies

Trade

Nutrition

benefits +
friends
not to a ch
ear?
Snyder (7 gm)

deal of equity in
liberty
Mother. (Graw given)

THE BRITISH COPY

Dear Noel,
I am so sorry but the
noon of the 24th has got
with weddings and a
Service which I have got
so that I won't be free
r 5.

Dear Noel,

14th March

BYRON

~~Personal record jacket~~
Flamify pen/m +
friends
Biography. ~~Palham bet a ch~~

R.M. Haslemere. Hymns. ~~Why in car?~~
Books which mention. ~~Barnet. H.W. St. Stephen C7 gm~~
~~Justice of the Peace~~
Articles.
Speeches. ~~Hangard bse~~
Press letters. ~~cd~~
~~Adverticess~~
Own Books. 1907. 1912. Arm^a.
Back Bench
H.N.B.

Social Advance.

~~1~~ Closed Paths. ~~Wansley spirit~~
Love of Order. ~~St. Augustin's Reason. No ideal of equity n~~
~~Brooke rules~~ ~~Liberty~~
George Edwards against Liberals.
Bribe w/ straw
Hate them with hatred, and Leave her Mother. (Graw firm)
~~French political signified~~
~~W.S.C. P.M. Unknown.~~

1324 139

Not PLACED

(Good Copy)

might
by th
that

ocratic principle
vil is outweighed
its doing evil
principle on

which ... candidates for Anglican orders declare
that they agree with the Thirty-Nine Articles, though, in
fact, they do nothing of the sort.

134 139

Peerage

The conflict of title-taking with democratic principle might be compared with other cases where evil is outweighed by the supposed good. People talk of Jesuits doing evil that good may come. It reminds me of the principle on which, I understand, candidates for Anglican orders declare that they agree with the Thirty-Nine Articles, though, in fact, they do nothing of the sort.

PARLIAMENT

The House provides a very convenient chance of getting at people. Once, feeling the duty of propoganda for Christianity, I invited a large party of M.P.'s to hear a famous American evangelist, and among about twenty who accepted was Ramsay. They all thanked me warmly as they left, shaking hands to mark their feeling for the subject, and for all my effort, even if they were not impressed, but J.R.M. said it was just typical Yankee stuff.

Some people thought that we bourgeois people made a sacrifice by joining the despised Socialists, but I don't claim this at all. In his book about Parliament Jos Wedgewood gave two instances of what he called "political sacrifices", and one of these referred to a certain loss of income on leaving business for politics, of which I had told him privately, but that, again, was no sacrifice as, like Ananias, I had retained plenty to live on.

A larger class of people seemed to think it creditable to do hard work when one had no necessity to do so. How strange that people should think it more agreeable to lead an inactive life than a busy one.

On the other hand I was not one of those who get pleasure from being a rebel, and it was painful to me to annoy and disappoint, e.g. my uncle E.N.B. (Edward North Buxton). He was very angry with Charlie and me during the Four Years' War. However, this gave rise to a bit of fun which was quite consoling. He was dictating his Recollections, and used these words: "My nephews, N. and C., seem to be no better than Communists". When the type was produced, the wording ran: "Are no better than Communicants".

It is a famous feature of English political life that personal relations are not damaged by difference of political views. It is famous, but not necessarily admirable. Pure opinion ought not to divide people, because opinions should be distinct from feeling. But the difference between desire for decent housing and the desire to keep down the rates represents the difference between altruism and self-preservation, and that is properly a division of moral personality.

As to the effect of my own politics on social relations, it did happen that, after I became known as a Radical, I lost sight of nearly all the houses where I formerly stayed. But I think this was more from being regarded as too busy to pay visits. On the other hand, there is an interesting feature in the vehement hostility of many Conservative minds to those who support social change, because this hostility seems to be greater in those who know least, and care least about politics.

Once when breakfasting at Downing Street during the war I was painfully surprised by the casual way in which L.G. spoke of a certain British Force which, the day before, he had learnt was being annihilated. Perhaps I ought to make allowance for a habit of talking without restraint, because I remember when I had invited him to meet someone at dinner in the Strangers' Room in the House of Commons, a note was brought to him during the dinner by the waiter. It proved to be a little scrawl from Sir John Simon, as he then was, who was dining at a neighbouring table. It was a friendly warning to L.G. that what he said was being overheard, and was too private for the ears of strangers.

... was standing at the box and declaring his support of the Irish rebels. He, the representative of a party of law and order, asked to say explicitly whether he approved of the King's subjects arming themselves to resist the decisions and the forces of the Crown, arrived at by constitutional process, replied emphatically that he did so. It gave me the impression of madness and unreality, but it led to appalling results, and perhaps to the Great War.

It was entirely supported by the Conservative Party, and this is one of the cases which should make us look with doubt on the reputation of Conservatism for trustworthiness.

During the long Conservative reign which followed the Four Years' War the Tory Party claimed to be loyal to the League of Nations system, and, although it was foreign to their national tendency, to Nationalism, and Imperialism of the Party, I felt confidence in the professions of Baldwin; but after all we were disappointed in the event. Nobody now believes that the professed enthusiasm for the League was quite genuine.

neway

84

on "Temperance Reform". As a junior director of the Board of Truman's this was an impertinence (almost involving a rebellion) which I could hardly face; but Masterman was irresistible, and I somewhat shielded myself ^{as faced the music} by getting a friend in the trade, Walter Hoare, to give his name with mine. This ^{episode} helped to weaken my connexion with Truman's, already severely tested by the contradiction between the views of the Board and the policy of the Liberal Party. Taken together with my desire for free time to give to speaking and organising on the question of Macedonia, it led to my resigning my seat on the Board in 1904.

accepted the help of the State ought to receive no favour until it shook off the State connection. I could not take that view myself and I persuaded one other Liberal member to rebel along with me. C.B. was very annoyed with me, and I was sorry for this because I was an enthusiastic supporter of his, but it could not be helped.

Some years before, after I stood in 1900, the Liberal Imperialists were conspiring against G.B., and in their search for support they got Lord Rosebery, the leader of what was called the Liberal League, to meet candidates at dinner. I had not liked to refuse one of these very select invitations, and was curious to see what attractions were offered to us. To my surprise, when dinner was over, I was the first to be called to a separate chat with the great man, and we had a long talk.

I did not conceal my ardour for some Liberal measures, but they did not meet with enthusiasm. The ex-Premier dwelt on efficiency as the key note of the policy which was to rival that of Campbell-Bannerman, and my loyalty to the latter was confirmed. I was all the more sorry to hurt the old man's feelings in 1905.

My maiden speech, which was made in 1905, was agreeably appropriate to the Christian Social Union propaganda. Scott-Holland's paper, the organ of the

A great many people complained of the unhealthiness of life in the House. Certainly it is terrible to be indoors without a break for about nine hours on end, and they blame the impurity of the air. But I found the life perfectly salubrious, and I think this is due to my always going for a walk before dinner. Usually I did the round of Lambeth Bridge, the delightful walk along St. Thomas's Hospital, viewing Parliament House across the river, and back by Westminster Bridge. If people suffer from being cooped up, it is their own fault because it was almost always easy to avoid Division in the hour before dinner, and get the whip to let one off. If people voluntarily shut themselves indoors from lunch until bedtime it is a marvel if they do not become C3. At the same time the average M.P. is amazingly hardy. I found all-night sittings terribly trying. Sometimes a man collapses late at night. Willie Graham, when in charge of a bill, suddenly fainted behind the Speaker's Chair, and an invaluable man was lost to the Government for several days.

But there is something about the atmosphere that keeps one going. I always found one could work or write letters after dinner for the whole evening until 11 p.m., while in any other place to write even

a couple of letters might have given me a bad night.

When Lloyd George turned Asquith out he needed badly to get keen supporters in view of the violent disapproval of his action by loyal Liberals. It interested me that he thought I might be one of these, and I was intrigued by the fact that I and only three or four others were invited by one of L.G.'s. men to a select dinner party at the Ritz, about the end of December, 1916. I accepted, though nothing was further from my plan than to support a Government whose *raison d'être* was its adherence to mere fire-eating views on our policy than those of its predecessor.

It was part of this policy to endorse the cause of the new small states to be created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The word "Czechoslovakia" had not been heard before, and L.G.'s. new Chief whip made great fun at this dinner of the invention of a new nationality.

It was a striking occasion when the new Government first met in the House, and one was curious to see what reception L.G. would get when he entered to take his seat in the Prime Minister's place by the Box. Ministers who had been turned out were choosing places below the gangway. Mr. Birrell had secured a corner seat, and I sat next to him. He gazed with

intensity at L.G. as he murmured: "He's just a Welsh poacher", adding several epithets not fit for repetition.

The decay of the Liberal Party dates perhaps from the old queen's selection of Rosebery in preference to Harcourt as Gladstone's successor in 1894. Rosebery's prestige enabled him to make a split in the Party when Campbell-Bannerman's radicalism had given him an opportunity. Asquith's succession to the leadership was the result of this Liberal Imperialist Movement, and he represented an outlook which made possible the creation of the Labour Party. Some of these leaders told me that they had fully considered the question of continuing to work with the Liberals and thus avoid a split in the progressive forces which, in many ways, was bound to prove disastrous. If the split could have been avoided, we might never have seen the long Tory reign in the twenties and again in the thirties, when it may have been responsible for the renewal of war. But nobody with keen reform ideals, let alone socialist convictions, could possibly have felt that co-operation was possible with an Asquithian Party.

The most important parliamentary job that I had was the piloting of the Agricultural Wages Bill in 1924. It was an exciting experience, involving the very unorthodox method of co-operation with the

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BILL

This Bill was a heavy task, and my nose was only kept to the grindstone by the urgent plight of the farm labourer. His wage, which had been adequate for the first time during the War had rapidly fallen to the old scandalous level when L.G. recklessly repealed the Agriculture Act in 1921. The Ministry reported to me cases where labourers were only getting £1 a week.

We had not a majority in the 1924 Parliament for any measures which did not carry the support of the Liberal Party, and this limited the measures on which the Government could embark. Bills affecting the workers' interests were therefore generally speaking limited to two, namely, housing and farm wages. Wheatley's Housing Bill encountered great opposition and occupied much time. The other Bill fell to me and we knew that it was doubtful how far the Liberals would support us in it. I introduced the Bill with a provision for restoring the National Wages Board, and the chances of the Bill on Second Reading looked fairly good, but in Grand Committee we found the Liberals lukewarm and a National Wages Authority was defeated.

Finding this I adjourned the Committee, disregarding the advice of my officials, because I did not wish to be compromised without consulting the Prime Minister.

The next step was to discuss with him whether to go on, and we did this at lunch at Downing Street with Ramsay and Jimmy Thomas. We decided to proceed and called the Grand Committee again. Friction developed with the Liberals, and I despaired of passing any bill till one evening in the Lobby a Conservative country member let fall the remark that the Tories might not be opposed to a Bill which provided for separate authorities for each county. I wired to Edward Wood (afterwards Halifax) who was leading the Tories in the matter, asking him to meet me, because there was only just time for the necessary steps before the recess. He was willing to help a Bill on these lines provided that we did not insist on a minimum money wage figure. This the Liberals would not agree to, and when the Committee met we of the Labour Party were ourselves divided, because some of the Trade Union members insisted on voting for a minimum figure of 30/-. My old friend George Edwards was among these, as was natural, he being Secretary of the Farm Labourers' Union. The others I did not so easily forgive, because they endangered the negotiation with Wood, by which alone a bill could be passed. It was a novel and valuable procedure, and I had casually obtained Wood's promise to secure that the Bill should not be thrown out by the Lords.

Francis Acland, who led the Liberals, agreed with me, but some of his flock threw over my offer, so that I was thrown into a valuable alliance with the Tories. The Trade Union members on the Committee urged that the Bill should be dropped, and on strict principle their wishes should have prevailed on an industrial question, but I decided to do what I thought was best for the agricultural labourers and, rather than betray them, I asked for a special meeting of the whole Party. At this I made the strongest possible appeal not to lose what would benefit the poorest class of workers.

Meanwhile Wood and Fitzroy (afterwards Speaker), who was assisting Wood in Committee, had been alarmed at the fact that some Labour members voted against me in Committee on the minimum figure question. They asked me to declare in Committee that the Government would not propose or start a minimum figure. I was glad to do this though it annoyed the rebellious Labour men. It was the only way to get the Bill. When the Bill reached the Lords there was protest by some peers against the bargain which had been struck with me by the Tory leaders, taking away the freedom of their lordships to deal as they liked with the Bill, but Lord Salisbury stuck to the combat and the Bill was passed.

The Act was a great success, immediately raising farm

wages with general consent and soon bringing up the counties then paying 25/- to the 30/- which had been demanded. In spite of this the agricultural divisions voted Tory, with the single exception of my own Division, at the next election. But among my treasures is a present expressing the gratitude of the Farm Labourers' Union for the enormous benefit which the Act conferred, and I derive the greatest satisfaction from the knowledge that my departure from strict democracy inside the Labour Party was an example of sound principle.

GEORGE EDWARDS.

My great helper in securing the North Norfolk candidature was George Edwards, the agricultural labourers' leader. He had revived the Union started by Joseph Arch, which had died out. Edwards, as the world knows from his book, "Crows-searing to Westminster", was a very remarkable man. He was bred in the hungry forties when his father - a farm labourer - went to jail for taking a turnip to feed his children; as a result of which he and his mother went to the workhouse.

He was almost a hunchback; though starved in his youth, he had indomitable courage. He was an agitator from early years and lost his job. My uncle, Louis Buxton of Bolwick, then got work for him, and ultimately he began to organize the Union from his tiny cottage at Gresham.

When I got to know him in 1907 he was doing all the business of the Union from a minute attic, reaching meetings all over the county on his bicycle. He was also a fervent Primitive Methodist and local preacher. When his Union meetings included a tea, he always opened with grace, and sometimes a hymn. He got into Parliament in 1923, and it was jolly to have him in the House when I was Minister in charge of the Farm wages Bill.

My fondness for him was undiminished by his voting against me in the Grand Committee of the Bill.

Edwards was a real friend. He was a genuine gent and it was a great pleasure to have him staying with at Colne Cottage - a pleasure enhanced by his quaint tastes, such as an abhorrence of novels, and a habit putting seven lumps of sugar in his tea.

out election showed itself in the grotesque settlement. L.G. argued for sensible terms, but was overruled by the threatening message sent to him by about half the members of the House of Commons, demanding that he should show no weakness. Among these, oddly enough, were Halifax and Sam Hoare. Such was the blindness caused by victory, even among thinking men. Liberal and Labour ^{men} had been unseated as I was, by the election, and no serious obstacle could be made to the policy of Versailles. Further, the treaty with Germany had been dictated with every circumstance of humiliation.

The Paris Conference lost interest when the fate of the smaller enemy countries came up for settlement in the succeeding summer, after the big leaders had gone home. I went out in August because the case of Bulgaria was coming on, and her faithful friend, Bouchier, begged me to join him. Balfour was in charge for England, Henry White for America. His half-brother, Willie Buckler, got me to lunch with him at the Crion Hotel. He was perfectly sound from my point of view, but the Americans seemed to have no force in putting their ideas forward, apparently thinking that they were amateurs beside the French and British diplomats. Arthur Ponsonby, my nephew, was with me and we had an interesting time. Hoover, who was in control

Austrians relieved their feelings by spitting at the windows. It was not easy to enjoy our dinner, realizing their point of view.

By the help of an English doctor who was due in Budapest, we got a chance of going on to Budapest in his special train consisting of one carriage. The city was in disorder, and when we got to the hotel (Hotel Hungaria), Arthur, who was to follow with the luggage, did not turn up. Roumanian troops were in occupation, and nobody could answer for their conduct. I forced my way into the H.Q. of the Roumanian general, and in time Arthur reappeared. The hunger was even greater than at Vienna, and at the hospitals we saw the babies still covered with the newspapers which, for a long time, had been their only blankets. The Russians had stolen all the hospital supplies, including the milk. It was a fearful situation for the proud and ancient Hungarians to be under the thumb of Balkan upstarts. One day we were in a house facing the old bridge of the ancient capital, which crosses the Danube, when band music was heard, and we saw Roumanian troops marching on to the bridge. No one had thought that the old city would be so degraded, and the Hungarians were deeply moved. However, they must have seen that they had brought it upon themselves

than ever amazed at the French want of logic. They admitted that their policy of pinpricks ensured the hostility of Germany, and that Germany would eventually be stronger than France. In fact they agreed that their policy was suicidal, but they seemed blind to this point of view, and replied in effect, "Yes, it is fatal, but we will bully them as long as we can."

One year I went with Ben Riley to Danzig. The Poles naturally claimed the Corridor to the sea, but they made no attempt to diminish German resentment, which was the only possible way of avoiding conflict once the German territory had been cut in two. To this day I do not understand how a clever man like Balfour could have thought that Germany would ever accept a policy comparable to the severing of England from Scotland by a hostile country, without a fight. Throughout these years, the League of Nations Union was insisting that unless we and the Allies were loyal to the League in regard to armaments and so on, Germany would be free to arm. I often spoke for the Union, and often think that if their advice had been followed Hitler would have remained obscure.

Our second term of government gave Henderson a chance, as Foreign Secretary, to improve matters by withdrawing British troops from the Rhine. Unfortunately

he decided not to approve of the German proposal to make a customs union with Austria, but to refer it as a legal question to the International Court at The Hague. The Court decided that it was technically illegal, and the Allies appeared to Germany as obstructing every legitimate German claim. The result of this was the conversion to Hitlerism of countless Germans who, until then, had hated the upstart Hitler.

with Evans and Ben Riley. The British quakers' agents had acquired a strong position, and I thought it just worth while to appeal to the Nazis to let them visit the concentration camps, which had already begun their dirty work, and to urge that British opinion, which they then strongly desired, would be alienated by illegal violence, which was so contrary to German tradition. After seeing Goebbels, Rosenberg, von Papen and Gen. Blomberg, we got an interview with Hitler, but it was a forlorn hope, as I had realized. He declared that everybody loved him, and that if he went into the Linden a hundred thousand people would crowd to acclaim him. He soon took to raving against the Communists, and violently asserted that every Communist was a criminal. He shouted in this strain as if we were a public meeting, and we broke off the talk.

The Hitler period is familiar to all, because the danger became evident and was the chief feature of the time. To keep the peace was still more a failing hope than before, but the game was not wholly lost, at least in the eyes of our Ministers who did not prepare for war. Actual conflict might be avoided by good relations on the personal side, e.g. with the German representatives in London. My friends and I thought it worth while to make speeches in this direction in the Lords, and Lothian was

a powerful advocate in this line. I thought it a good thing to keep in touch with German Ministers. Hoersch in particular was a rational man, and when he died suddenly some suggested that his amiable countrymen in the Nazi Party had poisoned him. Direksen had a good name as a professional diplomat, and when I lunched with him at the Embassy he expressed distress at the persecution of the Jews which I think was genuine. Ribbentrop was more important than any of them, but he was certainly a difficult and wooden-minded man. Some people handled him sensibly. Sydney Clive, who was Chamberlain of the Diplomatic Corps, had him to stay and shoot. Others showed their dislike, and the Press made every possible occasion for offence. Our own Foreign Secretary failed to correct this. Here is an illustration. The German Embassy occupies two of a line of houses which have common rights to the terrace overlooking St. James's Park. Ribbentrop wanted to make the terrace opposite his houses more private, and, as they are the end houses, this was easy and perfectly proper. Instead of putting this through as we would have done for the Russians or the French, Ribbentrop was told that he must arrange it with the neighbouring householders if he could. It is quite possible that this might turn the scale in the mind

of a rather stupid man, and lead him to decide that nothing could be done with these infernal, insular-minded British.

Perhaps it was too late when Chamberlain attempted appeasement, and sent Neville Henderson to Berlin, but it raised hopes. I had known Henderson and stayed with him when he was minister at Belgrade, and saw him more than once at Berlin up to 1936. When he first took up his post, he discussed with the Head of the Foreign Office the way to show friendliness at Berlin, and the reply was that on no account should we make any attempt at friendliness whatever. As the chief contact of a foreign diplomat is with the Head of the Foreign Office, one can see what stupendous consequences might result from this apparently small personal factor.

In these years our want of logic revealed that of the French. We sublimely offered guarantees to Poland and Roumania, and committed ourselves to war as if we had boundless power in Eastern Europe, when in fact we were helpless. If it is true that we did this as the result of French insistence, that is no excuse. If it is true that in 1940 we were in danger of actually losing our independence, that is the measure of our madness in defying German action in the East without due preparation. Baldwin and Chamberlain must be held

responsible, because they knew the facts and concealed them from the country. They were either blind or reckless, or they were like members of the Group Movement who have been given guidance superior to reason. The latter seems to me to be the least indefensible of the excuses. How men with very good brains can act as if they were, at the best, misguided mystics is a thing which I can never understand.

In subsequent years I went several times to Berlin, and also to the de Bunsens near Cologne, and the Bismarcks in Pomerania. In '38 I went to see Henderson, and on arriving in the evening found an invitation to dine at the Embassy. I was tired enough with the journey and would gladly have got off, but of course answered that I would go. Having got there, and hoping to get away fairly early, I found it was a large party, with the Londonderrys expected, and they were about an hour late. However I forgave Lord L. in the end, because we had a long and useful talk after dinner. The colonial question was then to the front, and it was rather an episode that the Aga Khan was seeing ministers on the same lines as myself. This famous winner of the Derby invited me to meet him at the Adlon, and was quite a novel sort of ally for me to work with. In these years it seemed to me madness neither to keep overwhelming force, nor to attempt a modus vivendi. One could not be surprised

at Hitler leaving the League of Nations when Sir John
Simon, the Foreign Secretary, declared that the Allies
were not bound in the sense that everyone had understood.
We had many debates in the Lords, and I reminded noble
Lords of the German point of view, the blockade, the Ruhr,
the control by negro troops; and I was thrilled one day
by Lord Lothian alluding to "the admirable speech of my
noble friend, Lord M.-B.". He was very active and went
to see Hitler, escorted and interpreted by my secretary,
Conwall Evans.