

Biog 5

5

Plgn. + + Moral ideas  
Observ. 44? #

Principles. Earn living  
Miscellaneous diff.  
(Relieve pain.  
in injure

Review scraps  
Life n work telling bec  
n what food intended  
Duty to reform when poss.

Qualific + demerit?  
I told me. C. H. Hall  
+ sermon. (for sec)

Wedwood on him  
to me. disint.

Agg on me scrapble?  
Lab. gd. 78 Med down  
B27. a 1/2 time of W. Bart  
Wed Sat Sun! Standard rose  
No talent ext concern  
(brainwage geniality  
energy dash force  
Chief benefactor for near  
to write of

Biog 6

my report or Review  
Speech at Paris. Pessensé  
Money. m + dbun. C. H. bus  
+ Bulgar by Lendyghes

Deerage. ar. ag. Parmour  
Pros + cons strong. n  
on shelf Pol. phil.

Illegit influence. Bolstering econom  
Broke (in reason + snob)

Sh. hampered (Rts) flaked  
Old ho: Salt grain lived  
done gd - up wage. Paycox

Log + old ho  
Report swallow

Butterfly?  
Money. Why all sh.  
Tree ship. Trust. Art.



BLOG.

~~Parents~~

~~Wipe dance~~

~~Dyn. phys. writs.~~

~~Lang. b. Etching~~

~~Read by imp down~~

~~Full looks, seal skin~~

~~Button~~

~~Vision. Clipped drawing~~

~~Fr. 1st. 1st. to be up~~

~~Page. M<sup>2</sup> was well in 70~~

~~B22) Westcott. adom doctrine~~

~~J.W. St. Jas Park.~~

~~Hotel rear~~

Wealth. Compromise of heart.

Enjoyment. a merit. by failure.

Class diffc

M<sup>2</sup> Keswick Confe

~~Brook fish. net cook.~~

~~Little hrs. econ. neck~~

~~Harrow~~

~~Walden sweat~~

Gerald

Bright shaft

~~Harrow~~

~~Tram.~~

~~Buz~~

~~Resch~~

Reflected

Parls

Fresch

Catapult

Shails & flies

Westree

Intimacy w food.  
Track 1910 do 1942

Rlgm

Forbode regret

Class feeling present

Earn living

Bulgh army

Humane slaughter

Bible bet shoot



Blog

4

Balance = slow but  
whisker handicap.  
ambition (urge - me)  
- to retiring.  
Afraid of consequences  
judgmental too good.  
Shd v done more -  
to did > ability -  
v Review Arts.

His office Lds  
Perage of A/C. provisions  
V + CRB.  
Double name  
Saw at the museum  
Chas Booth  
Aspir<sup>n</sup> - chief quality  
Temp. vacancy.  
aos. Liber. Ho &  
Peace



Biog

3

enjoyt

Best health of us 10.  
L. less skill in enjoys  
glad ch<sup>ng</sup>gd at it.  
If life ends, a gd achieve  
god pl<sup>d</sup> even if no o<sup>r</sup>g  
sh<sup>d</sup> v learnt cards &c  
mongrel oppos<sup>t</sup> views -  
- If then, not pol. & vv

judging. my bane.

Oh for a yr wt it.

Yet I prided myself on superior

Ol clever & stupid

Geil at Carlson. Bryce  
Lansd<sup>n</sup> & Talyan Ho a

Claverambury. MCP & V.

Lib. N. N. jumped Lab.

'all gd Lib<sup>st</sup> Heri' aff<sup>o</sup> 10<sup>m</sup>

Cabinet window. Choc

Brewing problem

Hunting. CVH. Stag. 78877 ab

Review TP, & my Oks.

Mrs Asquith. Fear. L

Hoped small audience



*Blunt*

The Grange,  
Overstrand,  
Cromer,

Date *July 17<sup>th</sup>* 19*32*

Dear *Noel*,

OVERSTRAND CHURCHYARD.

I am venturing to ask if you, as one who is interested in this Churchyard, will be so kind as to subscribe again to the Fund for its upkeep.

The cost is considerable year by year and we are anxious that the beauty and the care with which it is kept should not be diminished in any way.

Contributions may be sent to me at the above address and will be gratefully acknowledged.

Yours sincerely,

*Rt Hon Lord Noel Buxton*

LAWRENCE C. CARR,  
Rector of Overstrand.

Your former Subscription was £ *1* : - : -

OVERSTRAND CHURCHYARD FUND.

I enclose herewith £ *1* : - : -  
for the Overstrand Churchyard Fund.

Name .....

Address .....

Date ..... 193



Prig<sup>?</sup> Old ho<sup>s</sup>. ✓

Paycodes a factor in my life.  
pleasure + educ<sup>n</sup>.

a gd way to use spare inc.  
a public benefit.

(Hol + phil) perhaps no  
more. It's o<sup>n</sup> w<sup>d</sup> done  
in lived in vain.

How arose. vidrup pty  
to love of JTB. + Beaumont.

1 problem. Discovery (Courad.  
Lutgens. Power.  
Beckwith.

Integrity. modesty (pure  
Delight in flues (taste  
Kath trust. pub<sup>c</sup> use.

Why gd? Old. (instinct) & also  
solid. generous. simple.

Low w<sup>o</sup>ms. (y voices)

Wood = indoor decor<sup>n</sup> (h<sup>o</sup> p<sup>o</sup>ss  
"reasoned" + Power.



# Memor.

Documents (go with it)

- 1) ~~of~~ My pin of TPB  
preamble by Charity Trust  
deed.
- 2) Religious words  
my tract of 1910.  
"by a politician"
- 3) Speeches in Parl (Harvard's  
in case)
- 4) Review articles (at Aldrich)  
Colony 19th Century &c
- 5) Art on Trust system.
- 6) Notes at Bonn (Colony) Review  
+ in attache case
- 7) Small Brit case.
- 8) Letter to Times, Manchester John &c



Are the Germans too docile?

1. The Germans believed that the Wars of 1914 and 1939 were forced on them. (Olden p. 51)
2. The Germans are not really a united people. They were torn and divided in 1914 and 1939. Their wars arose from a desire for the unity of their race and once they are "satisfied" they may be expected to be peaceful.



~~LAB~~ Blog. re L B

No use f well to do. .6

- fond of Lab. miners.

Young. at 53 an AT sd

joining 1 services?  
Nerve in accidents

Bazars. La Stall Asket again  
got minds. at dogs. C C 26 mm  
Bury 4 addm

Only papers ~~for~~ h. 6 W or  
whit in 6h ut read it

Seldom in fdu f names?  
every rose in RAS'

## Colne Cottage

excuse  
Chaffed f hos all over sup.  
-raw agent. + much trouble.  
6 reasons for CC. Pol getting known.  
+ election & luxury  
do of ch<sup>n</sup>  
Gd of lending. Just the exp.  
- Exhaust form of prov<sup>n</sup> of bathing  
- Ed<sup>n</sup> social & gymnasiums  
+ dog shows. neighbours.

2  
Rushm. a craze. el<sup>n</sup> hol.  
in exp<sup>n</sup>. miniature landscape.  
Trees become my recre<sup>n</sup>.  
Ideal camp ground.



(978) on my own. They've taken  
rooms. but was asked  
to do Wood? + stayed  
Orr. Samey. Clifford.  
~~to~~ Barnes. Effort normal.  
CSU 6 h evang<sup>c</sup>.

1910-14  
germ? Ireland Tenney Superpage

98-1914. Prince's Gate.  
Fortunate. esp w mother.  
Also saved more, only made  
up for this by her Aunt.  
These were the days of  
weekend parties at Waltham  
& his first wife. Knowing  
parents pictured & fest.  
Indign<sup>n</sup> & amusement at  
her self when dau's plain.  
Sun a m. Wilberforce.  
Left her too long. no occup<sup>n</sup>.



BLOG (L. speeches. every mfg  
Muge, now <sup>no</sup> walk. no bus or train

at 45 jobs repaired. unawar  
of L's charms

~~Richardson~~

Had heard of NUN. & distant.

Then heard of entrod -

Monie. supporter. eulogy.

Richardson

Balkan on 2et. Relief.

Stayed 13. Eng. Apr. 1/30

suprajets  
Brickdale

White cottage

Parties, asprink.

Withmans.

Palace at 11 h m.

Balkans

Mr parents. gel + cheap

Wg. Mum. juds.

Before. To m. kneed R. R. R.



Prof.

Lab. Edwds. Graceat Union  
Blackballed.

Relgn. Justify ~~as~~ living,  
Only trust. to end to  
Part. Parks. Justify using  
Sutyeus.

Big. Orz is a profession. a profess  
A Cropper. A trust. &  
JA clever. Not be MP.  
Archbp f mens' ref.  
TFR.



Biog

032 9

No training. Amateurs.

Trad<sup>n</sup>: 1/2 job + pol's.

77B. 700m. Sherry.

Light job. Absurd seen for pool.

Cropper cross-land

CSU - trust idea.

Fortified by CB. + Reeve.

Thrilled C of E Temp booklet

Embarrassed. Diff. w board.

ENB's formulated. up to 1900.

Big salr. no compet<sup>n</sup>

Sat off. + Wed.

Old ho. 700m-vote.

Gardens

Fear of unemployment

glad got free. Did more work

Cowley. 1931-41.

Rusland fell to Lib becoming MP.  
Elected June '30 taxi contract.

St. S. took Westminster flat.

W. & J. div. bell.

Big no 19 £400 in 1935.

~~18~~ 18 over double. 400.

Luxury. 18th cent. ~~18~~

rather forged w period already.

Less part of place socially

th W. End. atmosphere.

nr V. J. of m. f. Cees.

02 peoples as well as ours.

Handy of Lds. Labbies.

bad of exercise. City Talone

725d - beware of ho. fated.

went hair case an educ.

sermon ambass. Barber



# Elections

<sup>400</sup> 179 Team. Watch. <sup>Hustings?</sup>  
181. Blue powder. Tory  
192 Chair +  
Period 1900.

'02 Reform Army

Whitty. ①

Cars Squares.

do ②<sup>n</sup>. Roses.. all 1 way.

'Gordon. Lick. +

Nov 10. '09. Split. Apt Sat

Jan 10. agent. no left

At Laura. Pepper. Brickbat

Dec 10 At Eva

8 yrs. Moore off! fury.

more local work

no 7a of King + Cook

Dec '18. Bertie Barclay.

— Car got blown from

First class L.B.

Colne Lodge

Gilbert Murray

Fit Lab.

more of resign

in sorry I was out. of JTB '38

[Decap Rightle

Joined Lab. + bro party over  
 of ~~CP~~ CP, CPT etc. moved. A  
 few leaders left me.

Spoke always clergy.  
 Scarborough. Riley

Nov 22 Rowdy at Holt.

Rowdiness. Police apology

Bombarded

~~Hot~~



'23. Baldwin prof.  
[Lyadod put us in  
[when depression coming]

First Lab fork  
Lib patronising.

→ from petty, c'd  
done much -  
6 Lib years - 2000/01  
v Waste bill

'24. Red letter.  
Speech + Govt.

Shd v done for services  
making figure  
5 yrs. Ag. howah of R.M.  
The: Baden. Ag. pol  
crowden

'29 Spring el<sup>n</sup>

JRM nervous

Self n fit boils

of wife JRM want see them  
Pol Sp pond in Catt.

→ Tired Pains

Resigned office + Seat.

June'30

Beaver<sup>n</sup>

Export cand! Repartee  
injured more th anything  
ext babies

Sept 31 League betrayed.

T's n f Jg.



Good 9 times.  
20 in 8 odd.

3d card?

Showered real keen  
+ didn't frighten w

abstract ideas -

Solst Commonwealth

to chiefly luck. Bxth name

To Best.

bad - worst mixer  
you happened to like.

Mr. Leelan?

not forced to vote if differ  
v church reform '05

never dangerous attempted

eg Prayerbook by keeps



Blog  
Money. Not hoarded.  
Cog. Bkms. Arms  
Election. C.C. Bagnary.  
CV Trust & Cotemp Art  
Canon Webster fore  
Wealth only just of art

much I regret.  
Nephews & nieces.  
rewards of late wife.  
to lucky in personal  
n dropped me after wife  
travel.

Wind in pictures.  
Hugo. pubs. France. Val's Lee  
Spain. eggs.  
Am bad recorder  
forget best bits  
Events in Hugo. C.H.  
GR2121 teach socks  
Hunting. Fine. mule. Essex  
Zanzibar. se.  
Australia. The lord  
Ledger. after made miser  
Lib. P. Royal. What speak  
to Harold Baker.  
Brewing. to be MP if  
a land agent  
Brickdals. no culture.

~~BLOG~~ ~~BLOG~~  
Trust. bank. C.S. off  
money. Step towards ideal  
I see both sides. in Com. pr.  
As to men. can't escape  
Payroll. no fair free possession.  
S. Bendish. B.S.B. Com. Deley  
Average. Fragst. v. sent  
of heredity. intended  
be min. to what / pruned  
It is up to us.

Why J.R. gave offie 29  
when I had shown entrance  
Last fish bones in river  
Cabinets waste min. time  
fish bones in river time  
premature life spirit  
Belvin effort of G7



~~England. (god fathers)~~  
~~gate. (prose)~~  
~~Turkey so get. big & vulgar.~~  
~~distant view healthy & vulgar.~~  
Lg. Lab. 20 dine.  
air parents. no use. M<sup>2</sup> at warming.  
Riding. Eels. Office (Car destiny)  
Schools.

~~Cowley. Super luxury.~~  
~~Temple. Providence~~  
~~Lon family life over~~  
After '24 RJ. proceeded.  
I proved rural. Catfish.  
Came + Sal's arrival.  
I avoid Bury. bec I ill. Sal  
'24-'29. Alone in Lon. '25 ill. Baden. The  
sol marking time. My game.  
Shd i gone am. + worked office.



4  
X  
Y  
Z  
Dio g. get known in hfk.  
Part 10. 14 R def CC.  
(1904-10) nitury ext 1905.  
a os. Land agent. Balkan.  
Norfolk. Lib Feder.  
C.C. Puntton St. Rosslyn  
gurdon. Davison. Executing.  
Oppos. Lab leader - n revered by Pxtus  
Hdgrs - Baker. too indept.  
also too Left. E durds.

Decent lib can ignore  
Heartburning Tom's wage  
Asked H Q withdraw maj?  
3 shocks. Union. w Baker  
of Union. n h hfk of CAB.

Spoke app City 1916 '05-  
no by no hof. except  
Balkans 67 w V. d my hfk.  
Rheumatism '04, '08, '09. Osteo.

Bring Sunday  
Balkan Orders a feature.  
~~Row~~ Row w Jerdy. Kirkhise.  
Tempt? Curious instincts  
Tempt principle. Travellers' use

Babies.

Wheel R in park. Lunde Margot  
is impressed.

R at 3 went walk home.

C heavy up stoppie school full.

Godparents. effect of prayer.

shows merit.

at R prizes. C drawings.

(M) psalms. God did labour. bec

Feet on table. <sup>sky red</sup>

(M) recalled feet in Ho of  
Commons. who ~~he~~ told to be

tidy!



Bury.

given to educate. all my life.

Link to m<sup>r</sup>. Much an?

Especially gd material.

No. wall, pond. bldgs.

Love + not needed to see th

↳ cd be ideal miniature country ho.

gave ch<sup>r</sup> home be fond of.

~~yet~~ + is ashamed to ask  
fids to.

gd purpose of sch<sup>l</sup> + hill Bg.

Continuity w parents.

+ link of bro + sis<sup>s</sup> w a w<sup>m</sup>

Not too big to lend.

Prig

~~Tranpoem~~

Food

= Judging.

Based self on n being  
simple. That is gd to  
resentment useless.

Inclined to see faults  
desires for for. - few for  
+ desires on for looking on.



*This has  
A master piece DE*

Private & Confidential.

April, 1923.

No. 277 (a).

GENERAL COUNCIL  
TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
LABOUR PARTY.

JOINT RESEARCH AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS.

RESULTS

of the

LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.

CONTENTS OF MEMORANDUMS.


- Page 1. Labour Party Policy and Procedure.
2. Government Policy and Procedure.
5. Lausanne Treaties - character and contents.
5. Treaties questions. Thrace and Bulgaria page 6:  
Syria and Armenia, page 9: Islands, page 9:  
demilitarisation, page 10.
11. Straits questions, with special reference to  
Russia and Bulgaria, page 14: demilitarisation,  
page 15.
17. Sanitary regime.
18. Balkan bloc and allied solidarity.
18. Minorities and nationality: exchange of  
populations, page 21; provisions for  
protection, page 20.
23. Financial and Economic.
24. Miscellaneous.
25. Capitulations and protection of foreigners.
-



D A T E S .

- 1889 Degree and brewery.
- 1890 Territorials
- 1896 A.D.C. ?
- 1897 Guardians
- 1899 First Balkan travel
- 1900 Stood for Ipswich
- 1902 Founded the Balkan Committee
- 1905 M.P. Yorks
- 1907 "Europe and the Turks"
- 1910 M.P. Norfolk
- 1911 Liberal Foreign Group
- 1912 Balkan War visit (With the Bulgarian General Staff")  
War relief fund.
- 1914 Balkan Mission. Assassination.
- 1916 Decisive Settlement Committee (v. Evans Committee)
- 1919 Labour Party
- 1921 "Oppressed peoples"
- 1922 Labour M.P.
- 1924 Office. (Wages Act)
- 1927 Humane Slaughter Bill
1929. Office. "Travels and reflections"
- 1930 Illness and peerage
- 1931 S.C.F. and Anti-Slavery, and Chairman of Miners' Welfare Fund.



  
Memorials at Overstrand.

Sir T.F.B. the first.

Entrusted with many talents  
He made the welfare of mankind  
Especially that of the negre race  
The chief object of his life.  
Blessed with signal success  
He gave God the glory  
And full of love and thankfulness  
Died in single reliance  
On the merits of his redeemer.

Sir E.N.B.

To the rich inheritance of  
a sound judgment  
With a tender and generous heart  
Were added the sanctifying endowments  
of the grace of God.  
In public as in private life  
He walked with God  
His first desire was to be found in Christ  
And in that blessed hope he died.

Proposal for tablet under the above.

With an untiring devotion to duty  
He combined the widest exercise  
of personal kindness  
And a constant reliance on Christ as  
his Saviour.  
Till the very end of a long life  
He sustained the tradition of  
his ancestors  
In philanthropy and public work.

I approve  
W.C.B.



Memorandum written on the Night of Sept. 12th. 1938  
-----

Is it either fair or wise that the B.B.C. in its report on Hitler's speech, to which I have just listened, probably the first public British comment on the subject, should give gramophone records of two of the most violent passages (presumably just show how fierce they sounded, as almost nobody would understand whilst omitting any reference to the renunciation of the Locarno and to the German Fleet limitation to 35% of that of Great Britain, both deliberate gestures in the interest of World Peace?

It is not too much to say that the issue of Peace and War may turn upon such small points as this. I happen to know for instance how far an incident which occurred during von Ribbentrop's ambassadorship in London, contributed to the embittering of his relations with this country. Stones had been thrown by Communist demonstrators through the Embassy window. At the trial of those arrested the magistrate, imposing a fine of £ 2.- said: "I understand your feelings, in fact, I share them myself". Many people in this country, no doubt, think the same; but I ask for more care and tact in the interest of World Peace in the present intensely difficult and dangerous situation. The whole trend of German policy away from Great Britain and towards Italy, with all the incalculable results which that re-orientation has brought, and may yet bring in its train, has probably been influenced more than we imagine by a relatively trivial incident.



Not only should we take care negatively, to avoid unnecessary causes of offence; but for the sake of World Peace should we not rather endeavour to contribute positively to creating a better atmosphere? Sir Philip Gibbs said recently: " I believe that if the right Englishman went to the Führer one day and said the right thing with emotion, with deep sincerity, and with generosity, the Führer would respond with emotion because there is no real reason for a conflict between us."

Only some unique personality, who has not yet been found, could do that; but there are other possibilities open to us.

The Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison. M.P. for instance, published recently in "The Star" (Sept. 6th.) an Open Letter to the German People, with a heading in the German language: "Warum müssen wir einander töten?" (Why kill each other?) "I want to keep this letter clear of controversy.....to leave politics out. I write to you as one human being to another". The Daily Herald (22.Sept. 38) asked recently in a short leading article a propos an incident at, I think, Brighton, when some German visitors were booed at, whether English people responsible for such an attitude and action were really doing "good work", really contributing to the cause of Peace.

We need more efforts of this kind. It has long been in the minds of some of us that British broadcasts in the German language - cultural, human, friendly. "clear of controversy, politics left out" as Mr. Morrison says - would be a valuable contribution to



*Duplicate*

Preamble

My sisters urge me to write 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 memoirs 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 inclined to do is to say something about people who have had an influence on me, and I will also amuse myself in recalling experiences which may interest those who shared 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.

These recollections deal with the more personal side of life. My political record is better given in "Foreign Policy from a Back Bench" by Cornwell Evans.



CHAPTER XII

THE GERMAN DANGER



representative. However, before the House met again after the Christmas recess, they had become committed to the "delenda Austria" policy, and when I raised the question in the House Balfour made this plain. Mazaryk, who contended with me in the columns of "The <sup>New</sup> Statesman", had made an impression on Ministers, and enabled them to use the plan of a Czechoslovak plus state as an argument for destroying Austria.

~~This reminds me of an odd experience of those days. L.G. needed friends when he had ousted Asquith, and got a rich supporter to invite five or six to dine at the Ritz Hotel. To my surprise I was one of these, and I felt justified in accepting though I had no intention of backing L.G. Neil Primrose, his new Chief Whip, made fun at this dinner of the invention of Czechoslovakia; the device for justifying L.G.'s policy appealed to a cynical sense of fun.~~

We only knew after the war that Balfour had said, in a memorandum to the Cabinet, that to destroy Austria would mean a stronger Germany, because all the German land would become united. When we had obtained the knockout, we went further than breaking up Austria; we cut Germany in two by creating the Polish Corridor. To this day I do not understand how Ministers thought that a Germany cut in half would settle down to a lasting peace. It was almost as if a victorious Germany cut off Scotland by a German belt, and



other social/  
activities in the East End - particularly at Toynbee Hall, at the  
Trinity Mission and other settlements.

Noel began at this time to set before himself his  
constant aim in social and political life, "to express spiritual  
values in political institutions."  
*Mrs de Binscn writes of the various influences which affected his development. She  
says that* "Canon Barnett was a real master to Noel." He laid down  
precepts, political and philosophical, which guided him all  
through his life. "Be on your guard when all men speak well of  
you." Christ himself had been a "social heretic" in his own time.  
"Give the people not always what they want, but what they do not  
want - what might be unpalatable to them." *But, she says, "the*  
~~The~~ great Liberal masters of the past, J. S. Mill,  
Herbert Spencer, made less impression on him than on most young  
Liberal politicians of his day. But in more recent years,  
John Morley did. For joining the Labour Party never killed  
Noel's fundamental liberalism, and he found the principles of  
Morley's "Compromise" as compelling 50 years later as he had in  
youth."

In his work with these great leaders of thought and in  
endless talks and work together with his friends, such as Charles  
Masterman and his cousin Conrad Noel, the social implications  
of his Christian faith took shape. It is interesting to see how,  
with Conrad Noel or his friend Hugo Law, he tried to bridge the  
ignorance which in those days characterised the relations between  
rich and poor; drinking with them in 'pubs', sleeping in common



She seldom urged things on us, but this she urged very strongly and I knew 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 a psychotherapist for "absent treatment", it would have distressed her if we had told her so.

As some French divine said of her, when, as a child, she spent a winter in Paris, she had "le coeur bien sérieux". 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 in hope, obeying her favourite maxim: "Forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth to those that are before".

Mother's ill-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", fitting him well for social life."

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



remember Father telling me that when Sir George Trevelyan was Secretary for Ireland and stayed a week-end at Warlies, and was taken to the service at the Abbey, my father took a revolver in his pocket and told Sir George of the fact. The reply was: "I have got one too".

Although I do not remember parents doing any 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.

I dimly remember various outings which Father took us: the Tower, the Bible House, the Central Fire Station, <sup>and</sup> the Queen's stables. And he was fond of taking us not only to the Zoo, but to the old 'Westminster Aquarium', a circus which the West End thought too democratic.



17  
~~18~~

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 by himself, or with Mabel.

Apart from riding with Father, Tor and I seem to have been left mostly to ourselves. I think this was a deliberate policy on the part of the parents, and they probably denied themselves to carry it out. They certainly did not spare themselves trouble, because we were taken to various functions which must have required a good deal of arranging. For instance, when the old Queen came to declare the Forest open I was brought over from school. What I remember, however, was not the Queen, or the Forest, but the sense of shock, when I was waiting near the front door on the "dicky" of the landau, and it was whispered in bated breath that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, had been murdered at Dublin that day. It came as a blow to us, because he had been staying with my parents the previous Sunday, which proved to be his last on earth.

While I am on the subject of Father and Ireland, I



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We returned from New Zealand to Sydney and then sailed for China. We were a month between Sydney and Hong Kong, during which I made a great friend, Noel Farrer, who was travelling with two of the Bridgemans. We spent part of every morning making balls with string for playing cricket in the cool evening. A great many balls went overboard, but a good many were stopped, a screen consisting of the bodies of Chinese steerage passengers whom we employed to stand for the purpose along the bulwarks. They appeared quite as indifferent to cricket balls as San Sebastian was to the arrows. Such was the colour bar in those days. At length we arrived at Hong Kong. *Insert p 43*

From Hong King we went up to Canton, where we saw the old China which has since so amazingly changed. Pigtailed, right down to the waist, were general, and now and then one saw a woman walking on tiny feet, almost no feet at all. These were high class women, whose lives were ruined by the ancient custom of foot-binding. Its disappearance must have been a salvation to millions. One of the sights was the set of rooms where examinations were held. There were long passages in the open air, with tiny compartments on each side, where the examinees were locked in to avoid cribbing. Many of them were quite aged men, still qualifying to be mandarins. With the rest of our party of visitors, we were also taken to the prison, where we passed cells containing savage-looking men carrying immense wooden collars, such that they could not get through the open door. These collars were built round their necks, and



Top 44<sup>a</sup>Travel from Australia to China

If these Chinamen had been forced or pressed by us to make themselves into a cricket net, I ought to record the fact with shame, but as far as I remember they placed themselves along the bulwarks on their own accord in order to watch the game, and the violent contact of the cricket ball seemed to cause them no discomfort whatever.



*Friends*

Lady Aberdeen.

One of the most interesting people whom I got to know was Lady Aberdeen. Although I did not see her very much I was influenced by her personality. She was quite unique in her combination of qualities rarely found in one person.

I have felt myself in different cases in strong sympathy with keen political reformers. I have made still greater friends with whom I agreed as to religion. And again others, with whom one's contact arose from philanthropic interests. Perhaps my greatest friends have had none of these in common with me but only a turn for personal friendship.

One occasionally finds somebody possessing two of these sets of sympathies, but Lady Aberdeen struck me as possessing all four, and I do not remember any similar case. I have always felt a certain grievance in not possessing friends who shared my tastes in all four directions.

I can think of a few, but very few, others whose religion reached the level of missionary zeal. There seems now to be nobody who would set out to attract the West End to religion by organizing meetings in a form which would appeal to them. She organized such meetings in the ballroom of the old Grosvenor House, with Professor Drummond as the attractive speaker. Certainly there were few, if any, who would energize in this direction and, at the same time, give a lead in political and radical reform in a definite Party organization. As to philanthropy, there was the well known campaign against



## Friends

tuberculosis in Ireland and her leadership in the Parents' National Educational Union. As to personal relations, I might not have known so much if she had not, when I stayed at Haddo, made time for a long talk in her room, reading me letters from interesting people, among which I remember a long one from Lord Rosebery on the futility of self-blame if one had done one's reasonable best.

Another thing that made a deep impression on me was what seemed to be an overflowing energy such that, on the top of multitudinous interests, she could enjoy organizing a London dance, or even a London garden party. And, when I stayed at the Viceregal Lodge, she was occupied with dog breeding to the extent of having over fifty dogs.

Perhaps most of all I was impressed by the fact of her appearing to have plenty of time for social relations of no serious importance, which seemed to show up one's own inclination to think oneself too busy for small things.



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there stayed for months on end. This sort of thing formed part of the attraction which a party of tourists were taken to see. I suppose that not many people are still alive who saw that old China as I did.

We had six weeks in Japan, and were lucky in seeing the unspoilt mountainous parts, through falling in with a well-known mountaineer, the Rev. Walter Weston, owing to whom we visited remote parts. We were the first Europeans to climb a mountain called Ena Sun, which Weston was exploring for Murray's Guide Book to Japan.



Early Toryism

I am ashamed to think of the narrow views which, for several years after growing up, I held on social justice, although it may enable me to take a broader view of other people's opinions to-day. I somehow contrived to be strongly concerned for social betterment, in some ways, with rank class prejudice in others. I could make a case of Toryism even now, if it were not for the fact that English temperament is overwhelmingly Conservative, and the opposite view is more needed in practice. I am shocked to remember that in my shooting days I was blind to the criminality of closing a public footpath in order to keep land at Warlies quiet for game. I must wear a white sheet and confess that I made the keeper, Joe Lodge, keep certain stiles blocked up in the hope that people would disuse the path which crosses the upper bridge across the brook, and induced them to be content with the other path which avoids going through the Brook Wood, and passing the edge of Scatterbushes. It is some consolation to think that many people whose action strikes me as anti-social, are quite unaware of their falling short of what now seems to me to be humane, reasonable and ideal.



after Duplicate  
Whitby.

pp a  
-

I found the strain of Parliament very great. I was young and I was still younger for my age. I get 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. (This appears on page 35.)



I was all the time carrying on my work at Truman's and my other jobs. The election was alleviated by the presence of Masterman, C.R.B. and others, but it was a painful time for me. <sup>And when I was over I felt very unliberal stand again!</sup> However, I was very kindly treated by politicians, especially by Lord Spencer, who had been in the Liberal Cabinet, and I was gratified by the support of my uncle Francis Buxton and others. I was only beaten by about 200 votes.

*Sebach  
of dipl.  
copy p. 77.*

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 experience. 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, and in 1905 I offered to put up for the vacancy which occurred in the Whitby Division. To everybody's surprise I won this seat, which had never been anything but Tory. Campbell-Bannerman, then Liberal leader, spoke of "the crowning mercy of Whitby".



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I did not agree with the "pro-Boers" nor with the Tories. I condemned Chamberlain and Milner for a policy which would have been adjudged aggressive by a League of Nations enquiry, but I did not want the Boers to win because of their treatment of the blacks. Yet the war was the main topic, so for me the campaign was hardly fun. However I was very kindly treated by politicians, especially by Lord Spencer, who had been in the Liberal Cabinet, and I was gratified by the support of my uncle Francis Buxton and others. I was only beaten by about two hundred votes.

This is  
insertion  
from old  
copy p. 77 (over)

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Note

*in both sets also*

The German Danger

letting

I remember Ribbentrop himself go in conversation with me about his envy of British Imperial good fortune. He was quite eloquent about the feelings aroused in him when he attended the Lord Mayor's Banquet, and realised the various possessions which underlay British wealth and power. The German outlook was natural, and is much better described in Churchill's account of Kaiser William.



### The German Danger

About 1937 I thought of a new approach to Hitler in regard to Concentration Camps. Public action had proved quite useless, so I asked Doctor Temple, then Archbishop of York, to join in a personal appeal to Hitler, using the argument that we were desirous of seeing good-will towards Germany in this country. I sent a letter on these lines to Ribbentrop, and he responded by sending over an important messenger in the shape of a certain Count Dohna, a well-known Junker. He announced himself through Evans when we were at Cromer for the August holidays, and he was so determined to see me that he came to stay with us. We talked far into the night, and he explained that Ribbentrop wanted to convey the Nazi point of view better than could be done by letters. He drove home the point that Nazism represented a complete rejection of ideas hitherto accepted as fundamental: not only what was liberal, also what was humane had no use for the Nazis, and therefore we must understand that our arguments about atrocities and camps made no appeal at all.



*Lord B...*  
*from copy*

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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.



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.



Biography.

Webbs and Balfour.      Oliver Lodge.



~~219~~      ~~218~~

when Cromwell's troops were approaching, burnt it down  
to prevent it becoming their headquarters.

But above all we are indebted to the Liberator. Not  
many have been philanthropist, politician and reformer;  
few, if any, have been at the same time sportsmen and  
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Personal

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~~256~~

I have long had an urge to keep on working, because it seems to me unfair that we should use the fruits of other people's labour (as we do on a large scale) and not do our bit. St. Paul said those who won't work will not have food. But they do. I should rather say they will not have food if they get what they ought.

To  
Relig.

the Bulgars and Greeks whom he mainly relieved. He told the meeting that, on the whole, his sympathies were with the latter, but said 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 had held an important post.



Personal

39 ~~40~~

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 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 had held an important post.

To  
Religion



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 more thoroughly along fewer lines. 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 if he cannot see the other side. I think that we as a family do possess a merit

where?



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~~231~~

outside the King's room during our talk. He was charming to R. when we emerged, and I asked Rufus if he had liked the King, hoping it would make an incident for him to remember. He, being then about eight years old, said "yes", but the best thing had been waiting with the secretary, because while I was with the King, the secretary had been sick !. I think that Boris' father, Foxy Ferdinand, had perhaps more humour than his son. When Leland and I saw him in 1904, Leland apologised for his shabby clothes, and Ferdinand consoled him with the words, "You are exquis". He loved mixing English and French.



I ought also to report about another king. I was asked to lunch at the Bulgarian Legation to meet King Boris on the Saturday following the Funeral, but as it was my last possible day for planting at the Bury, I screwed up courage to cry off, and proposed calling on him at the Ritz Hotel. He appointed seven o'clock, and I presented myself in a black morning coat, desiring by this courtesy to make up for cutting his lunch. The secretary was conducting me to the presence, and I had hardly begun to pull myself together for the entry to the royal chamber, when far away from it His Majesty came running down the passage to greet me. He is always very affectionate, but this was going further than I had known before. We had a very nice talk, and I got him on to the Abyssinian question. He also talked about his difficulties at home, and said that the people were on his side against the politicians who wanted a military dictatorship. In regard to popular support he compared himself to King George, and said (in the attractive mixture of English and French which he learned from his father), "I am not a



(Prommed Monarch)  
Monarche wh likes to be a monarche. I do not like being  
glorificated.

He said tat Mussolini was not yet shaken in popularity, as  
the Italians are theatrical, and by controlling the press he gives  
the public a theatrical impression of the kind they like.

*Possible about King of England*



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 that our luggage had been locked up. Charlie nobly offered to stay behind and raise money from the Consul.

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

In 1912 came the Balkan war, and I went out with Harold in October. The Premier, Godshoff, arranged for us to join the Commander-in-Chief. I tell of this episode later on.

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



to do in the former direction when I was asked by Lloyd George and Churchill to go to Bulgaria, and use what influence I had there to keep her neutral or even to bring her to our side. I have told elsewhere what I have to say about this business.

When my Balkan work was finished I worked in the diplomatic department of the Admiralty, but soon I saw that there was much to do in the cause of a durable settlement after the war.

and perhaps

Those of us who foresaw that a knockout victory would mean a peace of humiliation, and would therefore lead to a war of revenge, in fact would mean more sacrifice for a worse result, had a hard job. Even

the peaceloving Cecil thought that a knockout could be followed by a reasonable settlement. Lord Lansdowne in 1917 argued for such a settlement by negotiation, but even he, with his great prestige, was flouted; and the result was the humiliating peace, the blockade by which children were starved, and the war of '39. It was difficult to believe that men so much cleverer than myself could be less far-seeing. How often have I had to regret that we of the minority proved right. What a joy if our fears were unjustified !

In the House of Commons I did not work with men like Maddonald and Snowden, who were definitely anti-war, but thought it better to attack the different aims on which



Politics contd.

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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 the Kurdish chief Simko, 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."

(Space)



Politics contd.

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~~ <sup>demanded</sup>. 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.P.s belong to no official committee, and make no speeches. Much of the expenditure of time and money might very well be regarded as only waste; there is far too much Party spirit, and too much satisfaction with a life which has little responsibility. I should like to see more politicians professional in a proper sense. There are 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 a seat means great expense.

As to expert training, Ministers do of course furnish a supply of experts at least in getting <sup>Bills through</sup> ~~Acts of Parliament through~~. The element of expert science is furnished by the Civil servant, and the quality of these is extraordinarily high. ~~But~~ <sup>Yet</sup> the predominance of the Minister, combined with frequent changes in Ministerial personnel,



Politics contd.

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 responsibility. 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 an M.P. in the eyes of his constituents. It is no doubt a good thing that a Minister should be respected, 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.



Politics contd.

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 motions took considerable share up to Easter, and when the Budget was finished in May, there was hardly more than time for one important bill for 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. 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.

One thing that struck me with my Quaker blood 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 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, <sup>some</sup> Ministers commonly never thought of turning the lights off shocked me considerably.

There is also a terrible waste of time. An M.P. who wants to really earn his living must feel that he is only half employed by



Politics contd.

actual Parliamentary work unless he is working hard to get Office. It is also <sup>a</sup>dull life unless he is extremely social and able to enjoy unlimited hours in the smoke room or Lobby or on the Terrace. I liked myself to regard the House as an 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.

The foreign 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 made far better use of their time than if they had been in Office. Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and Buxton have been infinitely more important than 90% of 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. Robert Cecil is a good example; I had a small degree of the same advantage.



Politics cont.

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 avowedly taking one 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 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.

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; <sup>because</sup> the Nonconformists ~~were holding~~ <sup>held</sup> 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.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.B., and in their search for support, they got Lord Roseberry, the leader of what <sup>was</sup> they called the Liberal



Politics contd.

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 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.

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 in Staffordshire, and it was a very interesting insight into the scandalous conditions prevailing in some of the works. We recommended stiffer regulations which <sup>were accepted and</sup> made a great reduction in the injury to workers.



Politics contd.

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



Politics contd.

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 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 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, and they served to confirm the saying that the requisites for the job are a hard head, a stout heart, and a thick neck. 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.



Politics contd.

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 3 or 4 others were invited by one of L.G.'s men to <sup>a</sup>select dinner parties 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'etre was its adhesion to mere 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 "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 <sup>several</sup>~~other~~ epithets not fit for repetition.



Politics contd.

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 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. I shall return to this later on.



Politics contd.

~~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 as an adequate statement of my activities appears in "Foreign Policy from a Back Bench."~~

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 searching test of mental rapidity staged in conditions of the greatest possible publicity.



As to Cabinet meetings, what happens there is a state secret, but I may be allowed to say that I found the work sadly hampered by lack of fresh air. Luckily my seat was near a window, but if I left it open a certain Minister was sure to shut it. I defeated him, however, ~~adequately~~ by leaving just a crack open too small to call his attention to the fact that it was open at all, *but enough for my purpose.*

As to work on the front bench, I am ashamed to say that in those tiring days I was plagued by attacks of sleepiness. On one occasion when waiting for my turn to answer questions I found myself waking up only just in time. The thought of what would have happened if when my question came I had, instead of rising to reply, been seen in slumber on the front bench still makes me shiver. My best expedient was to surreptitiously consume chocolates, while at Cabinet meetings I relied on the smoking of cigars. I also carried one of those powerful sprung clips used for holding papers together, and created pain in my finger to keep me awake.



CHAPTER 3.  
-----

(Lloyd George (at end of Balkan War diplomacy))

Though Bulgaria had gone to war everyone knew that *Bulgarian* public feeling was outraged, *by* the possibility of detaching *her* Bulgaria from her allies was *held* in view from the first. Among those who urged this question on Mr. Buxton were J. D. Bouchier of the Times, who remained at Bucharest, and General Howell, chief of the staff at Salonica. That the problem was studied in the highest quarters is illustrated by the following letter from Lord Milner. *General Sir William Robertson.*

" Many thanks for your letter and useful notes. I think  
"the chances of a separate peace with Bulgaria are certainly  
"somewhat improved by recent events. It would be foolish to  
"underestimate the difficulties in the way, but it is well  
"worth while considering, on what terms such a peace  
"peace might be concluded, if the chance offered.

Yours very truly,

J. Milner.

1. 4. 17.

16th July, 1917.

" Many thanks for your letter of the 13th instant and  
"the Note enclosed with it. It is months and will soon be  
"years since I was first impressed with the importance of  
"detaching some of the enemy countries, but as you are aware,  
"with a large number of Allies to deal with, it is not easy to  
"arrive at an agreement as to the best course to pursue, because



"you cannot detach any enemy country without disappointing  
"one or more of the Allies in their original aspirations.  
"Still if we stop at difficulties we shall never achieve  
"anything, and the question is whether all has been done  
"that could have been done in the matter.

Yours truly,

W. J. Robertson.



advocates of professional & independent colleges (Catholic hostels  
to wit) I shudder  
in search of my friend  
Howard Cotton. been  
been by you. & sad at the  
intolerant voting of the day.  
I explained her the vote  
was not entirely a  
disproportion one  
There seems in many  
I understand a 'tolerant'  
even more interesting  
than the opposite view.  
Barnett & Mess more  
I wish you went to them  
They had not understood,  
I was on H & the  
situation I await anxious

you well, I admit. but with  
about 'quits'. yr letter to Japan  
after long silence was welcome.  
forwarded  $\frac{1}{2}$  of it. & have before  
me the part re Kodanso &c.  
You were right to go to Japan, as  
you enjoyed yourself all the time.  
& didn't go for duty. & you know  
lot more than I do, of the place.  
2 days was all I had in town,  
if not more. yr whole trip has  
been exactly what I wanted for  
you, having too great hurry,



be prepared  
a little  
at least  
in his own  
mind?  
of being  
read.  
out this,  
surely all.  
I had not  
I have taken  
# from Scott's.  
He is leaving  
conference!

that chiefly in China. The  
reasons for getting back are always  
interruption at the time. but in the  
light of history we must learn to  
disregard them when we can.  
What you did of China was far  
better than more time in Japan,  
as I wrote writing, before.  
I dined with the Kato's lately, & stayed  
till nearly 12 after the cat  
had gone. They were keen to hear of  
you, & Madame & sorry you didn't  
see her people. She is as delightful as  
ever but more at ease, marshalling  
her many titled guests with naive  
confidence. I was lucky in talking  
to knowles the 19th century editor

whom I'd heard from re my apt. of our  
fictitious trial. He is worth knowing.  
Get Geo. Russell's Collections &  
recollections if you can; just out.  
much better than front Duff.

I got a quiet evening play &  
laughed loud over it by myself.  
The K's do not think Kotano clever  
but were amused & interested  
to hear of him. I am greatly  
he ought to have written, & my high  
opinion of his fidelity to friends  
is slightly shaken. The fact is, I  
admit. I was rather tired by his  
egotism last summer, & have not  
been so devoted since. I fear his  
compatriots may be right after all



about his selfishness, but I believe  
he has great virtues & gifts, still  
I am glad he's found such an  
~~Assistant~~ Kato denies that  
high officers such as K. M. says he  
refused were ever offered him.  
but admits that he thought highly  
of his powers.

I agree that the geisha is ideally  
a fine institution, but is not to  
be in practice even in Japan, &  
could not be ~~anywhere~~ <sup>anywhere</sup> unless  
the women's character was very  
subject & weak.

Gordon says the Nin does want you  
to get a fellowship & after some years  
of independence, enter parliament.  
It is attractive, but disciplined  
work probably finer. Elliott ~~asked~~  
Cent H. lately, asking if he was  
Chas. B. Marsh fees & pay,  
dancing band, after voting down the



Biog. Sundry  
Notes.

Some not ~~yet~~ used.

Keep w/ Sundry jacket



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HEAD OFFICE  
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LONDON, S.W.1.

AND AT HASLEMERE.

Lord Noel Buxton,  
Crosslee Hotel,  
Heathside Crescent,  
WOKING.

Dear Sir,

We have to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of the 21st inst. which is to hand this morning, and as requested, have pleasure in enclosing herewith brief particulars of "CLARE COTTAGE", West Byfleet, which is available to be let furnished.

The present tenants vacate about the middle of July next, and our Client would be willing to let the house for six months or possibly for the duration of the war, at a rental of Six guineas per week, the tenant paying the wages of a gardener, who, we understand, attends two days each week.

The house occupies a pleasant position within a few minutes walk of the village and station, and is comfortably furnished.

Mrs. Prescott Hedley, the present tenant, will be pleased to show you over the house by appointment which we can arrange at short notice. If there is any additional information you require, we shall be pleased to supply it, and in due course shall be glad to know if we can arrange for you to inspect the house.

We are,  
Yours faithfully,

*H. A. Ramsley*

P.P. HARRODS LTD.  
West Byfleet Office.

PLEASE REPLY TO

*Estate Office,  
West Byfleet,  
Surrey.*

OPPOSITE BYFLEET STATION.

24th May, 1943.

HAU/CJ



ch VI Friends.

Friends contd.

There are others to whom I am deeply indebted and to whom I like to show a grateful tribute. Some of them are alive so I cannot say much. Rollo Meyer has been a wonderful friend from Cambridge days; I owe 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.



Another interest which I owe to Rolfe Meyer was that of the movement for encouraging gardening by the workers in towns, and especially in slum districts. It began in Spitalfields, where he showed how much might be done even in dense mean streets, and in the Brewery yard itself. This grew finally into the London Gardens Guild, and the National Gardens Guild. Lucy became chairman later on, and we bought a house in Walworth as a social settlement with the secretary of the Guild as Warden. In the Great War an extraordinary amount of vegetables was grown, but I was most of all concerned for window box gardening which must have made all the difference to the thousands of humble people who enjoyed seeing plants grow. Various Ministers of Agriculture took part in judging for the final championship for all London.



Balkans contd.

(Balkans)

151

It was a highly dramatic moment. The Germans were far into France. Paris was expected to fall, and the British Embassy were packing up for Bordeaux. The Paris-Lyons station was barricaded, in case of a sudden stampede of the frightened population to get away from the enemy. The train was so crowded that to get a rest one lay on the ground in the corridor, taking it in turns to find space to do so. Our luggage had to provide for a possible long spell, but there was no porter to help carry it. We got at last to Brindisi, where Churchill was to send a warship for us. The British Consul at last got a wireless message that H.M.S. Hussar, which was lying off the port, was unable to approach the harbour for fear of being interned. There were no signs of the ship. She lay in fact so far out that, seeing nothing of her, we despaired of finding her for a long while. However she appeared on the horizon at last, and it was a curious contrast to the hardship of our unassisted journey to be received with formal honours by the large company of naval officers, and an entire ship to ourselves.

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# 1st Labour Govt (Chor Politics) <sup>From p. 110</sup>

First Labour Govt. It was a historical event when the Labour Party, which had been so dreaded by respectable people, actually, took office. Old ladies nearly died of funk. I had never seen myself as a possible Minister, and it gave me a shock when Lucy and I went out to lunch with the Webbs and he broached the idea. I thought he might be speaking without his book. Soon afterwards, Ramsay proposed himself to lunch at Rutland Gate, and asked me to take him by road to Oxfordshire to see his daughter. It looked as if he had something unusual to say. C.R.B. was at lunch, and when the car drove up to the door, he remarked "This is the car of destiny" and so it proved. The situation was thrilling but extremely alarming. I had always thought that ministers represented first class brains. However I was fortified by the statement that strength is made perfect in weakness. Apart from the general alarm, I felt rather like a fish out of water in being regarded as an expert on agriculture, as I had long reserved myself for foreign questions.

We were duly martialled at Buckingham Palace to be commissioned by the King, and to kneel in front of him to kiss his hand. Wheatly, the Minister of Health, who had always posed as a sort of crude saboteur, was apparently unable to get up again from the cushion, and it looked as if he had been overcome with loyalty to the throne.

We had no majority in the House without the Liberals,



and ought to have worked with them to carry out what they would support, but R.M. hated them more than he hated the Tories, and we were never on good terms. In that situation we had chiefly an opportunity for propaganda. I might have used the unrivalled platform which we all had to make the country more acquainted with our policy for agriculture, through State control of the land, but Ramsay gave no lead, and the practical job was to get through my bill on wage regulations by avoiding antagonising people as much as possible.

The second Labour Government came after an interval of five years. Part of the time had been occupied by illness and convalescence, and afterwards I had felt that the job of opposition was so insignificant that I had better give Parliament up. As I stayed on, however, I ought to have tried to qualify myself for some other office. We did not know whom Ramsay would put into office the second time, and in fact Olivier, Wedgewood and others were dropped. However Ramsay wanted me when the time came, and insisted that I and Charlie Trevelyan must resume our offices.

This second Labour Government was less happy than the first. Ramsay, for some reason, was unfriendly, and, as Sydney Webb wrote in an article after the Government fell, he disliked his colleagues more and more. He would not let me introduce the marketing bill, which was the only measure that I saw a chance of passing, and then he insisted on my



holding a series of conferences with leading landowners and farmers, who at the end naturally wished to see the P.M. He refused to see them. I was gagged in replying to the enquire in the House about our policy, and I did not enjoy being described as an oyster. I also found myself after a time exhausted, and began to show alarming symptoms, so that I could not face all night sittings, and in June 1930 I resigned.



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 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.



Crosslee Hotel,  
W O K I N G .

N O T A B L E S

~~When people have become historic~~ <sup>It is interesting if one</sup>  
is connected with people who have met <sup>historic figures.</sup> ~~them,~~ so I may as well  
mention some of the notable people I have met, ~~in case they have~~  
~~become historic.~~

Naturally I had contact with several Prime Ministers. I never saw Disraeli, but I saw Gladstone and heard him speak. He was very old and sat speaking with a low voice, but very impressive. It was a Meeting for a memorial to a famous Doctor who had attended him. Salisbury I shook hands with several times when we went to Parties at the Foreign Office. Balfour was the Premier I knew best, because I stayed at his house being a friend of his relations who spent their holidays with him. I won't repeat what the books say about him, but I should like to praise him as a host. He was charming and good-natured, and quite free and easy at a picnic. ~~Campbell~~ Bannerman was a dear old fellow.

Owing to my friendship with Balfour relations, I once did a very unusual thing. There were always great official evening parties on the eve of the session. Having attended the Liberal party to meet C.B., in Belgrave Square, I went on to the Tory party at Downing Street to meet Balfour.



Taking prime ministers, I have known in their order, Salisbury was the first, but he hardly counts because I only shook hands with him at Foreign Office parties ~~and~~, to which I was invited as the son of a Unionist. Roseberry I met later. I need not say more than appears in a former chapter except that my view of him was confirmed during the Great War when I had been seeing L.G. at Downing Street on Balkan policy. As I came out I passed a deputation waiting to see L.G. next, and noticed Lord Roseberry. I asked the door-keeper what the deputation was about, and was sorry to learn that its object was to ask permission for more horse racing. Cambell Bannerman is the next, and I am glad that I admired him, as already described, because I seem too apt to criticise when I come on to Asquith. I had better say no more because he had great merits, but it was rather characteristic when a friend of mine went to him about pushing the Home Rule Bill, and Asquith replied " the gas is gone out of that balloon."

~~Bonar Law was a strange dry personality. On the Irish question he seemed quite inhuman, but when he dined with me at the Balkan dinner, I thought him simple and straightforward. Also he gave me a perfectly magnificent cigar. About Macdonald I have said enough~~

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believe that he was not as honest and keen on the League of Nations as he professed, but I don't know how to excuse his taking the country in about preparation for war. Neville Chamberlain was a dry personality, I hardly knew him, but after Munich I told him of a letter received from a German about him, and he wrote me saying that he thought Hitler meant well. I liked him better when I sat by him at a lunch, and he told me about his father's orchids, which he said were all known by pet names. I have never cultivated Churchi and I have only one personal contact to report. He said to me when we were talking in the House of Commons waiting room, that he was the only candidate who had ever induced a Buxton to vote conservative.

A more famous figure than some prime ministers, was Chamberlain's father Joe. I was in the House with him, and heard him speak but he was past his prime. This may interest you, just as it interests me to know that my father was in the House with Lord Palmerston.

Other great figures you may read of and whom I may mention, ~~the~~ included Archbishops Benson, Davidsson, Lang and Temple, Sir Oliver Lodge, the poet Henry Newbolt, and perhaps greatest of all, these great men, Robert Browning. It was at a party of Dr. Butler's at the Masters' Lodge, but I was not old enough to appreciate the great man fully, but I have a very nice impression of him as a short rather fat, bearded comfortable man, very kind to a speechless under graduate.



(Cont'd.)

who represented the Anti-Allied side. But opinion was markedly divided, traditional sympathies being with Russis, and also with England. During August it was suggested in the Cabinet that I should be sent to Bulgaria, and so came about the events which are recorded in the notes compiled by Mother. ~~I cannot do better than quote from her note book.~~

The two Ministers who were keen on cultivating Bulgaria, and therefore on my being sent, were Lloyd George and Churchill. On receipt of a wire from Masterman I raced back from Scotland and found that L.G. wanted to see me at Walton Heath. C.R.B. and I had the evening there, and the end of various interviews was a letter to me authorizing me to pledge the Treasury to loans of any extent to Balkan States. *The simplicity of the plan by which vast financial advances should be made entrusted to an individual on the basis of a manuscript not to be broken away.* It sounded informal, but it was essentially sound because Ferdinand wanted money for himself and we might have literally bought Bulgarian aid. But of course I had to show the letter to Grey, and he suppressed it. He asked me to go *out unofficially* in officially but cooperating with Legations and wiring through them. Churchill did what he could by naval transport, *sending HMS HUSSAR to convey us from Rindri to Salonika* and by writing an eloquent letter of appeal to the Balkan States. I told Grey I did not believe the trick could be done without official authority because it was a matter of territory which Bulgaria must have if we were to prevent *her from siding with* giving Germany the help which would make a vast difference to the war. I doubted the use of going without that, but finally agreed to go. *The rest of the story is written elsewhere.* I persuaded C.R.B. to come, but I would not have done so if I had *seen the Allies finally accepted the policy which we might have followed when it was too late.* ~~foreseen that he would be shot through the lungs.~~

*Bulgaria joined Germany furnishing the gangway to Turkey which probably prolonged the war by 2 years.*



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Crosslee Hotel,  
W O K I N G.

NOTABLES

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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.

Additions <sup>Belcher</sup> Lad L " the family Sec  
10 p 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8

New 3 pages at end

~~2 copies of mixed but~~  
great people (to come)

~~find principles~~

~~Keep 6 | whole copy A German Relation~~

Sandy I whole Reachers

- 1) Royalties
- 1) a church
- 1) forbeas
- 1) Enterprise







Another valuable chance influence came through father's excellent plan of giving us experience. He took Tor and me to lunch at Portsmouth on the battleship "Thunderer", whose captain was a friend of his through having done slave trade work off East Africa. This visit resulted in my wishing to make a model of the ship, and with the help of Wash I produced a model which ornamented the village reading room for so many years. My interest in war ships remained intense for a long time, and this is where the chance comes in.

After Edie's marriage I remember asking Walter if he would like to visit Woolwich as I had met the Admiral in charge. In the evening we travelled back to London with this Admiral, and he happened to talk about Arnold Forster, then a rising politician and naval expert. He described how Arnold Forster, after a tiring day, worked at his notes without ceasing all through the railway journey. This somehow inspired my emulation and planted in me an interest in trying myself to work when not inclined to. I think this has made a lot of difference to my life and I often remember Arnold Forster and the Admiral in connection with it.



Balkans cont.

It was a highly dramatic moment. The Germans were far into France Paris was expected to fall, and the British Embassy were packing up for Bordeaux. The Paris-Lyons station was barricaded, in case of a sudden stampede of the frightened population to get away from the enemy. The train was so crowded that to get a rest one lay on the ground, in the corridor, taking it in turns to find space to do so. Our luggage had to provide for a possible long spell, but there was no porter to help carry it. We got at last to Brindisi, where Churchill was to send a warship for us. The British Consul at 1 got a wireless message that H.M.S. Bussard which was lying off the was unable to approach the harbour for fear of being interned. There were no signs of the ship. She lay in fact so far out, that seeing nothing of her, we despaired of finding her for a long while. However, she appeared on the horizon at last, and it was a curious contrast to the hardship of our unassisted journey, to be received with formal honours by the large company of naval officers, and an entire warship to ourselves.

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Harrow ctd

One of <sup>our</sup> ~~my~~ best sports <sup>at Harrow</sup> was climbing about <sup>roofs</sup> ~~ruins~~ after dark, but unhappily we were detected <sup>at</sup> ~~and~~ had a very unfortunate moment.

Marcus's sister married a man who had a place with a trout stream near Watford, and we were to go there together at the next whole holidays.

~~I think it was~~ While we were signalling from the parapet of the <sup>roof</sup> ~~roof~~ to the boys in a room on the floor below, appearing to their astonishment against the dark sky, <sup>the housemaster</sup> ~~when~~ Vanity went on his round, and entered a room to share their surprise at seeing us up in the sky. <sup>our holiday was stopped</sup> Owing to this ~~and~~ I never saw the trout stream of Marcus' brother-in-law, but it must be said to <sup>the housemaster's</sup> ~~Vanity's~~ credit that anyhow, he never went round the house <sup>wearing soft slippers</sup> ~~wearing soft slippers~~, trying to catch out the boys ~~wearing soft slippers~~, but always made loud tramping noises.

His fame as a master was deserved, but I do think he should have understood me better than to put <sup>a boy above me because he was good at cricket</sup> ~~the cricketer~~ above me when I was top of the ~~First~~ <sup>First</sup> Fifth. However, when that sad episode was over life was very pleasant in the ~~Lower~~ <sup>Lower</sup> Sixth.

There were four of us who did the ~~con~~ <sup>returning</sup> for fourth school together every day, and we took it in turns to buy a small cake <sup>or the way</sup> back from third school which we consumed while doing the Con, as tea was not provided until late in the day.

There were fourteen of us in the ~~Sixth~~ <sup>Sixth</sup> that term which was a record for a house of forty boys. George Peel, the son of the Speaker, was head of the house, and he invented a condign punishment for a lower boy who needed to be suppressed for cheeking the sixth form. He summoned the whole fourteen to his room, and to <sup>the rebel's</sup> ~~his~~ astonishment ~~the~~ <sup>the rebel's</sup>



## HARROW MASTERS

I was appreciated by Bosworth Smith, but chiefly because I was not so entirely ignorant of birds as other boys, one of whom I remember, could not say what was the colour of a violet. Other masters were not so friendly, and one of these unluckily for me, was an old snob called Holmes who took the first fifth. He was nearly blind and did not know, or perhaps did not care that cribbing was almost universal as the result of his blindness. Having by that time been taught to see that cribbing should be avoided, I lost several places in the form during the Easter term of 1885. I worked very hard to get out of the form at Easter in order to be in the lower sixth that Summer; I should then have been in the upper sixth for my last year, and my subsequent career would have been different. But owing to my inhibitions about cribbing <sup>and</sup> to the dislike of my ~~boy~~ boy, "Old Skipper" as he was then called, I was left top of the fifth for the Summer term, and subsequently never got above the lower sixth as I was taken away from Harrow at seventeen. This was a terrible trial, <sup>disaster for me and I heavily regret it still</sup> and it was made worse by my supercession ~~as Head of Hall in the house, because a boy lower than I, was good at cricket, and was therefore put above me by the House Master.~~ This trivial event had a damaging effect on me.



Travel ctd

3

We were ~~a~~ month between Sydney and Hongkong during which I met ~~a~~ great  
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 <sup>as</sup> ~~indifferent~~ to being hit  
like San Sebastian. <sup>as</sup> ~~Such~~ <sup>was by the arrows</sup> was the colour bar in those days. <sup>At length</sup>  
~~we arrived at Hong Kong.~~ <sup>a glimpse</sup>  
~~Unfortunately our time only allowed gleams of China, by an excursion to Canton from Hongkong, but we had six weeks in Japan and were~~



On one occasion we decided that a protest must be made to his father against the completely bare condition of the ham bone. One of us must invade the dining room where the miscreant was feasting with his parents. It was an abominable task and I was selected to perform it. I feel a certain satisfaction to think that I was willing to face the job in spite of my social incompetence.

There were some real hardships in fagging even in those days of comparative reform. One got out of school at 9 a.m. having worked at a distant room for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours without any food or drink, and one had to be back in school at 10 a.m. Between this you had to get a kettle of hot water for your fag master, and if they wanted other things, or were in a bad mood, it took most of the 40 minutes available; not more than that because after that you had to get your own breakfast at a shop, and wait while they cooked your sausage or eggs and carried them in a paper bag all along the High St., and I remember at least once going back to second school at 10 a.m. without any breakfast.

I look with great satisfaction on a day when I and another boy were given 500 lines for cribbing. As the other boy had cribbed from me; I summoned up courage and protested. I was allowed to appeal to Dr. Butler and duly



See change

3

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BUSINESS

After Cambridge etc.

2

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 had held an important post.



^ lucky in meeting the well-known mountaineering missionary, Walter Weston <sup>we had six weeks in Japan and (5) were</sup> 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~~ 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 <sup>had</sup> preferred to have a taste ~~for~~ for foolishly running into danger.



Harrow ctd



<sup>3</sup>  
NB

type again

<sup>he</sup>  
~~would be rebel~~ was spanked in turn by all fourteen of us.

The four members of our "~~find~~" <sup>took it in turns to</sup> provide the food of the week, the son <sup>in Sundays</sup> generally a ham. One of us was ~~seen~~ of a master and consequently went to meals with his parents. He was apt to provide the rest of us on these occasions with inadequate food. On ~~one~~ occasion we decided that a protest must be made to his father against the completely bare condition of the ham bone. One of us must invade the dining room where the miscreant was feasting with his parents. It was an ~~abominable~~ <sup>formidable</sup> task and I was selected to perform it. I feel a certain satisfaction to think that I was willing to face the job in spite of my social incompetence.

There were some real hardships in fagging even in those days of comparative reform. One got out of school at 9 a.m. having worked at a distant room for 1½ hours without any food or drink, and one had to be back in school at 10 a.m. <sup>In this interval ~~you~~ you had</sup> Between this ~~you had~~ to get a kettle of hot water for your fag master, and if <sup>he</sup> ~~they~~ wanted other things, or ~~were~~ in a bad mood, it took most of the 40 minutes available; ~~not more~~ than that because after that <sup>(1)</sup> you had to ~~buy~~ your own breakfast at a shop, and wait while they cooked your sausage or eggs and <sup>it</sup> carried them in a paper bag all along the High St. <sup>to your house</sup> and I remember at least once going back to second school at 10 a.m. without any breakfast. <sup>(Paragraph)</sup> I look with great satisfaction on a day when I and another boy were given 500 lines for cribbing. As the other boy had cribbed from me, I summoned up courage and protested. <sup>to the house master</sup> I was allowed to appeal to ~~Dr Butler~~ and duly <sup>the</sup> head master who happily <sup>saw</sup> that I was innocent.



(2)  
UNCLE CHARLES

I never saw Uncle Charles, but he was a definite influence. This began with my being given a copy of his "Notes of Thought" by Ethel Buxton. I ~~had~~ <sup>heard</sup> from Mother of Father's great attachment to him, and how his death had been the ~~only~~ occasion of the only tears which she ever saw Father shed. This added to the interest afforded by the "Notes" introduced me to attractive thoughts which followed a different line <sup>from</sup> that of Miss Marsh's philosophy.

It is a very interesting book, and I have taken care to get copies for my children though it had long been out of print. I remember staying at Feltwell and reading to Miss Marsh a saying of Uncle Charles that human nature was not black or white, but generally grey. I felt she was pained, feeling this perhaps an indication that I was getting away from the view that man was either saved or unsaved, making too little of religious principle as compared with morals.

Uncle Charles was later on an immense interest to me when I found that, while a partner in the Brewery, he had been an ardent student of licencing reform. The manager, Reeve, who had ~~then~~ as a young clerk been a great admirer of C.B., described how on the introduction of the Licencing Bill, known as "Bruce's Bill", C.B. came down to the office thrilled with admiration, and how he was squashed by the old Hanbury who was senior partner.

I found among the papers of the Church of England Temperance Society a booklet on Licencing Reform which C.B. had written, and I got them to republish it. When I looked ~~at~~ at "Notes of Thought" now, I am amazed



that C.B. was a man of such great culture, and wide reading, because these are not specially associated with his father or the family in general. I suppose it was largely due to his never being sent to a public school.

I had another ground for veneration when I learned of his campaign in Parliament about the Anti-native policy in the well-known case of governor Eyre, while there again he represents the family tradition of impartiality <sup>in that ~~because~~ he declined</sup> by declining to follow the extremists who wanted to ruin the slave-owner, and therefore got denounced as a compromisor.

I had once a talk with Sir Alfred Lyall about Uncle Charles, and was interested that he <sup>thought</sup> described <sup>best known as</sup> him as chiefly known as a humanitarian.



Another interest which I owe to Belle Kire was that of the movement for encouraging gardening ~~in-the-slums-~~ by the workers in towns, and especially in slum districts. It began in Spittlefields where he showed how much might be done even in dense mean streets, and in the Brewery yard itself.. This grew finally into the London Gardens Guild, and the National Gardens Guild. Lucy became chairman later on, and we bought a house in Walworth as a social settlement with the secretary of the Guild as Warden. In the Great War an extraordinary amount of vegetables was grown but I was most of all concerned for window box gardening which must have made all the difference to the thousands of humble people who enjoyed seeing plants grow. Various ministers of agriculture took part in judging for the final championship for all London.



**THE SOLDIERS', SAILORS' & AIRMEN'S FAMILIES ASSOCIATION.**  
**COUNTY OF LONDON.**

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## DICKENS AND TOLSTOY

By Professor Nikolai Gusev

The author of the following article was Tolstoy's personal secretary

Dickens was one of Tolstoy's favourite writers. "How charming this David Copperfield is!" he noted in his diary on September 2, 1852. When his first tales - "Childhood" and "Boyhood and Youth" - came out in 1854, the Russian critic Dudyshkin observed: "Tolstoy has painted a Russian picture, and has shown himself as profound an observer of human nature as Dickens: that is his chief merit. An Englishman will understand this just as well as a Russian, though it is a perfectly Russian picture."

About ten years after his first perusal of Dickens' works, Tolstoy saw and heard the great English novelist. It was in the spring of 1861, during a fortnight's visit to London. Dickens gave a public lecture on education, which Tolstoy attended.

At that time Tolstoy was absorbed in opening schools for peasant children in his home town, Yasnaya Polyana, and the neighbouring villages. He very much wanted to ask Dickens some questions, but being an extremely modest young writer he did not venture to address the famous novelist.

\* \* \*

Many appreciations of Dickens' works are to be found in his diaries and letters. For instance, in one of them he speaks of "that charming novel 'Our Mutual Friend.'" Bella reminded him of his wife's sister Tatyana (whose name after her marriage was Kuzminskaya). ~~She was the original of Natalia Rostova in "War and Peace,"~~ and Tolstoy briefly noted the resemblance in a diary jotting - "Bella-Tanya."

While he was reading "Bleak House" his attention was arrested at the page where Esther says that her childhood's prayers were all promises: one, to be industrious always; two, to be straightforward; three, to be contented; four, to try to win the love of those about her. Underneath these words, which he copied down in his diary, Tolstoy wrote: "How simple, how sweet, how practicable and great these four rules are."

In his famous treatise "What is Art?" Tolstoy enumerates what he regards as the finest examples of creative literature: "A Tale of Two Cities," "David Copperfield" and "Pickwick Papers."

His reading of Dickens helped him in his creative work. In 1878 he began a novel which he called "The Decembrists," about the St. Petersburg rising of 1825. As always, the writing of the novel was preceded by a great deal of thinking, of working out a general plan and defining the principal characters. Simultaneously he re-read Dickens.

He preserved his interest in Dickens until he was very old.

(Contd.)



He liked to read him in the family circle and to his friends. "Like our Russian Pushkin and Chekhov, Dickens belongs to those few writers who bear reading and re-reading many times," he said.

\*\*\*

When in the middle of the eighties Tolstoy founded "Posrednik," the People's Publishing House in Moscow, for the purpose of producing cheap editions of Russian and world classics, Dickens was among those he placed first on the list, and he was most insistent in recommending the friends who worked under his guidance to acquire the "Complete Edition of Dickens," because he said that in Dickens the Russian reader from among the people would find much that was very beautiful. He also recommended reading Dickens in his school for the grown-ups.

For Tolstoy, he remained a "universal genius such as is only born once in a hundred years...the real teacher of literary language." He loved Dickens for the general spirit of humanism that pervaded all the creations of the English novelist, for his invigorating joy in life and his sound optimism.

\*\*\*

In his 1856 diary he explains his feeling for Dickens as follows: "The primary condition of an author's popularity, that is, the gaining of his readers' love, is the love with which he treats his characters. That is what <sup>make</sup> Dickens's character the friends of the whole world; they serve as a link between the peoples, in America and in St. Petersburg."

Replying to a question, he wrote in a letter dated February 3, 1904: "I think that Charles Dickens is the greatest novelist of the nineteenth century, and that his works, imbued with the true Christian spirit, have done and will continue to do a great deal of good to mankind."

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8

BALKANS (Cont'd.)

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, it was delightful to bring our

~~parents into the Balkan world.~~ *came for them* The delegates of the three states ~~at Christmas dinner at Princes Gate, and one felt happy that the~~ *and it was delightful*  
*to bring our parents into the Balkan world, and one felt*  
Turks at all events had ceased to persecute European populations, *happy that*

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 especially the Greeks, to forestall him in the country which Bulgaria should have ruled. *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 <sup>21</sup> 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. ~~Possibly~~ *T* That settlement was partly responsible for

the Great War which opening *ed* a year later. Bulgaria was ready to ally herself with any power which might recover her rights, and that gave vast encouragement to German prospects of successfully *establishing* the route to the East which she had so long coveted.

When the war began Bulgaria was accordingly under a Premier and a



Balkans contd.

9

encouragement to German prospects of successfully establishing the route to the East which she has so long coveted.

When the war began Bulgaria was accordingly under a Premier and a King who represented the Anti-Allied side. But opinion was markedly divided, traditional sympathies being with Russia, and also with England. During August it was suggested in the Cabinet that I should be sent to Bulgaria, and so came about the events which are recorded in the notes compiled by Mother.

The two Ministers who were keen on cultivating Bulgaria, and therefore on my being sent, were Lloyd George and Churchill. On receipt of a wire from Masterman I raced back from Scotland and found that L.G. wanted to see me at Walton Heath. C.R.B. and I had the evening there, and the end of various interviews was a letter to me authorising me to pledge the Treasury to loans of any extent to Balkan States. The simplicity of the plan by which vast financial advances should be entrusted to an individual on the basis of a manuscript note took ones breath away, but it was essentially sound because Ferdinand wanted money for himself and we might have literally bought Bulgarian aid. But of course I had to show the letter to Grey, and he suppressed it. He asked me to go out unofficially but cooperating with Legations and wiring through them. Churchill did what he could by naval transport, sending H.M.S. HUSSAR to convey us from Brindisi to Salonika, and by writing an eloquent letter of appeal to the Balkan States. I told Grey I did not believe the trick could be done without





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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 wored 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



BALKANS (B)

Evans' book gives a good review of my Balkan activities, and here I had better record some more personal aspects of the work of the Balkan Committee. When I first became acquainted with the pitiable condition of the Macedonian peoples I was intensely moved by this gratuitous suffering and by the fact that it was due to the action of our own country in 1878. The insurrection of 1903 when the shocking massacres and burning of villages which followed it seem to me almost intolerable, and my holiday at Humble in August of that year was occupied in attempting to rouse a useful pressure on the Government through the columns of the "Times".

The Balkan Committee was assisted to activity by Mr. Bryce, and we were intensely busy from the end of August. We secured a big room in Adelphi Terrace in the house of Bernard Shaw, and there overlooking the river we concerted measures and produced leaflets which secured public notice both here and abroad in a measure quite out of proportion to our diminutive numbers.

Through Barnett we secured a splendid Secretary in Arthur Moore, and I have a quite thrilling recollection of lovely days of September weather (I had never been in London in September before) in intense efforts in which Brailsford, Nevinson, and C.R.B. were conspicuous. The exhilaration of fervent work afforded a pleasure which contrasted with the melancholy objects of our ambition. That autumn I got leave to take more time off from the Brewery, and spent the most of my evenings making speeches up and down the country. There was also a lot to do in seeing politicians, and especially Lord Lansdowne,



BALKANS

(A)

People have often enquired of me why I was known in connection with the Balkans. The answer is partly given in what I have said in my "Travels", and a fuller reply is provided by my book, "Travels and ~~Reflec~~ Reflections," and "With the Bulgarian Staff," and also the book which C.R.B. and I published during the war.

I took to going to the Balkans as my normal annual holiday, partly because I felt intensely the responsibility of our country for the atrocious fact that European populations were still misgoverned by the unspeakable Turk; but perhaps I should not have done so if I had not given up shooting. I am afraid my love of that sport would have kept me at home, but the Balkans furnished a field for real rough travel with the chance of adventure within three days of London; and I consider that in those days Balkan travel was far superior to ordinary tame sport, and deserved the name of "sport" more fully.

The fact that I became publicly connected with the Balkans was due to the chance <sup>in forming the</sup> that ~~at the~~ Balkan Committee we ~~might say~~, happened on ~~any~~ my problem which roused intense interest in the politics <sup>of</sup> of all Europe because of the prospect of European war arising from the rival ambitions of Austria Hungary and Russia.

The diplomats of those countries and of Germany could not imagine that any Britisher could be active about Balkan affairs unless he were the agent of his Government, and as Lord Grey said: "It was much easier in diplomacy to tell the truth than to get people to believe it." ~~///~~

It so happened that my name was the one connected with the supposed activities in the Balkans world itself. I was regarded as a pro-Bulgarian



Balkans ctd

<sup>cm</sup>  
and ~~subsequently~~ held in horror by the neighbouring nations who competed for the possession of Macedonia.

In Greece, the Times correspondant Bouchier was also held in execration, and burnt in effigy. The name Buxton spelt by the Greeks "MPOUKASTONU" became a genuine title for all those who sympathised with the obvious claim of the Bulgars. Subsequently when Bryce went to Macedonia, the Greek public denounced this famous man as being a Buxton. It was all because after the population of Macedonia had been thrust back under the Turks in 1878, nobody had taken notice of their cruel fate until the Balkan Committee was formed. Naturally when there was a revolt against the Turks in 1903, we organised relief, so admirably carried out by Brailsford, Nevinson and Lady Thompson and others, there was keen gratitude, and I was always moved by this feeling on the part of the Bulgars in whom it went with an attractive reserve, as compared with the spluttering effusion of some neighbouring peoples.

~~A~~ A quite false impression of my importance was created by that sort of chance. ~~In~~ In 1903 the 'Times' was much on our line owing to its famous correspondant, Bouchier, being so keen. It gave me a shock when, being not yet in Parliament, and in the stage of aspiring to get my letter about the insurrection printed at all, the 'Times' leading article spoke of the two schools of thought, one represented by the Prime Minister, Balfour, and the other by me.

My letter about the insurrection and massacres had another valuable effect. It encouraged Phillip Howell who <sup>wrote for the Times on</sup> ~~know~~ the Balkans, to write



in the same strain, and <sup>led</sup> ~~led~~ to his acquisition as a great friend.

\* <sup>Lord Lansdowne, the</sup> A climax arrived when the war began in 1914. The Cabinet, insti-  
gated by Masterman, debated whether to send me out, and C.R.B. and I  
started just as <sup>Paris</sup> Paris was expected to fall, <sup>carry on</sup>

getting into the Gare de Lyon when it was barricaded against the  
expected rush of refugees.

The record of this journey is provided by the black book of notes  
which mother compiled from our records; and a good survey of my Balkan  
events appears in Evans' book: "Foreign Policy from a Back Bench."

\* Lord Lansdowne, 1/2 of 1914, /  
agitation, and his influence on the other  
members of the Concert of Europe  
was partly based on the fact that British  
public opinion was deeply roused.  
The result of his efforts was the system  
of 5 quinquennials with ~~the~~ 1/2 allotted  
> 120 states.



BALKANS (B)

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(4) BENEFACTORS cont.  
EDWARD CLIFFORD

Clifford was an excitement in our childhood because he was an intimate bachelor friend of the parents <sup>and because he</sup> who gave tea parties at which we discharged fireworks <sup>in</sup> ~~under~~ the cellar <sup>under</sup> ~~in~~ his house. He was an artist who did very delightful water-colour sketches, and had a lovely old house in Kensington Square. Later he gave up painting to organise the Church Army, and became keenly evangelistic. He was one of the people who came to Warlies to give addresses, like Miss Marsh, and I remember being deeply stirred by him in the Warlies Hall on Sunday evening. He became an even greater friend to me when grown up than he had been to my father, and when the parents went to Australia, he let me live with him in Kensington Square for a long time.

He was a man of charming manner, quaint speech and appearance, and immense hilarity, his laugh being unforgettable.

We were well dosed with religion in early days including Church twice every Sunday, and prayers twice also, and I wonder why we were not antagonised ~~as~~ so many people have been by having religion pressed on them. I think it was partly because I was rather tame, ~~and~~ but mainly because the influence came from people extremely sympathetic and mostly broad-minded; and especially because they were humourous. This applies mainly to Mother, who was such a superb mimic, but it was largely due to Clifford being very amusing.



~~INFLUENCES~~

Miss Marsh.

~~I have always felt it strange that turning points towards characteristics which have become marked in anybody's life have arisen from chance contacts. This applies to several people who have influenced my life, and possibly adds to the interest which attaches to them as people amply worth recalling in themselves.~~

I am sure I owe a tremendous debt to Miss Marsh - perhaps more than to anyone except my parents. When she gave addresses at Warlies, I was very poor stuff in many ways. I remember feeling how different I was to Tor who was always an absolutely admirable boy, and full of spirits besides religion. I remember feeling that I must try to imitate him, but it was not natural to me at all.

Perhaps I had better go further back to develop this. I remember Mother telling me of facts in my infancy, and perhaps they form some excuse for my inferiority to other members of the family which is certainly a fact of my youth. \* I had some really deplorable tastes which seemed to come strangely from such admirable parents.

In private school time and also up to ~~the age~~<sup>the age</sup> of 16 when ~~Miss Marsh came on the scene~~, I was still a reprobate. ~~It seemed natural~~<sup>When Miss Marsh came on the scene.</sup> at the time to be devoted to this blind, aged, sentimental woman, but when you think of some school-boys having such an experience now, it seems exotic. ~~In this way it was a strange chance.~~ I even wonder if I should have adopted the cult if Tor had not set the example.



Influences ctd.

It was almost a sudden conversion on Sunday evening in that beautiful hall with Miss Marsh, talking from the table, looking distinguished in the light of candles and the dimness of the rest of the room, filled with crowds of servants including grooms and laundry women, and others in the gallery. We were called on to indicate whether we wished to be saved, by holding up a hand. Before taking action in this way, I looked to see if Tor was holding up his.

One way or another I certainly returned to Harrow a few days later in January 1885 a different person. It was not only that I stopped teasing other boys, but I became extremely keen that they should become religious, and induced a great number to join the Scripture Union.

It was an agonising effort, and I am not sure whether it was a valuable episode because it probably diverted my energy from school work. On the other hand it may possibly have increased it, and anyhow I am sure it made a prodigious change in my outlook. The new motive <sup>inspired</sup> ~~improved~~ me for a long time afterwards - certainly all through my time at Cambridge, and for <sup>many</sup> ~~three~~ years afterwards.

It was until I travelled in 1892 and began to see things politically, that I ceased to be a devotee of P.M. <sup>so exclusively</sup> ~~as we all called her~~. An odd thing was that this devotion that several of us felt, was undiminished by the fact that we, led by Mother, were also extremely amused by P.M.'s oddities. The appellation P.M. came from Mother's addiction to mimicking people, and the rendering which she gave of Miss M's habit of calling her friends 'precious.' ~~is~~



## 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 *athletic* 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~~ <sup>visited</sup> the ~~stalls~~ <sup>stables</sup> 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 <sup>other</sup> girls of that period. It would be laughable to think of such activity now.



Wolsy

GRANDMOTHER

Grandmother is one of the chief of the influences. What we derived from her in early life, we cannot estimate, but for many years we were almost living with her for a good part of the year. When I stayed with her for the ringworm episode ~~she~~ she inspired both fear and liking. She compelled me to learn the 12th chapter of Romans, and I do not remember resenting this, and I have hundreds of times been grateful to her for it. If she took as much interest in all her countless descendants as she did in me, she must have had miraculous energy, but I think she found me specially rather ready to respond to her. Somehow she was always sympathetic about one's doings.

When I had gone to business, and also at Father's desire joined the Territorials and became Major in the 2nd Tower Hamlets, it was a difficult case for her because of her Quaker upbringing. Her extreme sympathy clashed with her pacifism, and she told me in the most charming way how she wished she could subscribe to Regimental funds, but she really wished that I was not joining the Forces.

I must have been a definite admirer by that time because I conspired to get her to have her portrait <sup>a</sup>nted.. I brought into the intrigue Aunt Bunsen, and the result was Hughe's portrait. She was profoundly sympathetic about all my activities except the military, and wanted to subscribe freely. She used to say how she would like to give, but Aunt Anna would not let her. There was something very great about the strength of her feelings, religious, sympathetic, humane or merely personal.



Grandmother ctd

A second stage came when I was candidate in the Cromer district. Though over ninety, and blind and feeble, she was eager to join in helping me, and she detected that Father was not a political supporter. She said to him, "You and I Fowell, must work hard in this election". She invited me to have a large tea-party for supporters at Colne House, and left her bed to come among people for a few moments, leaning on my arm. She impressed me so much, that when she died I felt that her life ought to be written, and there was an approach to the daughter of Thackeray, Mrs Ritchie, about this. In the end mother and ~~she~~ <sup>Aunt Emma</sup> collected her letters and I hope my children will value the copy of this informal biography of which a fair number were typed. A public biography would have been difficult because of the absence of striking incident from an early age, she having lived for ~~seventy~~ <sup>fifty</sup> years since she was a wife of a member of Parliament, my grandfather having died in 1858. ~~✗~~

In her youth she acted as the secretary of her father-in-law, the Liberator. She had an extraordinary humour which she clothed in the most original language. Her patronage was everything to the clergy and good ~~and~~ works of the neighbourhood, but she recognised the different functions of those whom she befriended.

There was a story of a pike which was brought to Colne House by one of the grandsons. The pike had swallowed a large roach and the Colne House cook reported to Grandmother that the pike was in



Grandmother ctd

the family way, and not therefore in good condition to eat.

Grandmother replied, "Then send it to ~~Mr Fitch~~." *the Vicarage*"



No. 6.

8

AUNT EVA

All of us brothers and sisters think with affection of Aunt Eva. She was <sup>the most</sup> charming and lovable one of our numerous aunts. Perhaps I had most occasion to love her because after I nursed a seat in Norfolk I was therefore far more in touch with the Cromer <sup>life</sup> world, and she was a loyal supporter in a social world which was almost entirely hostile. When I was elected in December 1910, the following day was a wild snow storm. She and I toured the whole Division, nearly frozen, and I keenly remember her care <sup>for</sup> me as a bachelor candidate, ~~and the enormously welcome warmth of the tea at Gley.~~

AUNT Laura

I must not omit the similar affection of Aunt Laura, who like Eva, set herself to replace my invalid mother at an election. At that time my defeat was expected <sup>but the Tories were disappointed</sup> and ~~a declaration at Aylsham~~ <sup>at Aylsham</sup>. Even my agent left me unattended after the declaration, and attended by Aunt Laura, I had to make my way through the hostile crowd down the narrow old street at Aylsham to get my car. We were snowballed as we went along, but nothing daunted Aunt Laura, and we may hope that the chagrin of the disappointed Tories was relieved by the unusual pleasure of insulting the aged widow of an Oxford Professor.

AUNT EMILY.

When I came to London on leaving Cambridge, "No 7" as we called Aunt Eva's house in Grosvenor Crescent, was a factor in my life.



Influences ctd. Aunt Emily

Aunt Emily and Chenda were extremely kind in bringing me out chiefly through dinners at No 7, and at week-end visits ~~to~~ Foxwarren.

May Rutson and Sybil Barnes were equally charming in asking me for week-ends, and at these houses I met interesting people of a world that was different to our's at Warlies. These family houses and other family houses too; ~~both in Norfolk + Essex~~ <sup>both in Norfolk + Essex</sup> Knighton of the Norfolk House represented to me <sup>in</sup> a marked degree ~~of~~ a combination of public spirit with a rigid determination not to claim any more of it than other people, and I formed a strong preference for the kind of enthusiasm which goes with extreme reserve, and the kind of affection which is not too demonstrative. <sup>It is true that</sup> ~~Indeed,~~ reserve can be carried too far. Those members of the family whom I heard make speeches seemed to me to be unlikely to move an audience, however susceptible, but to my mind they displayed a quality far more remarkable than oratorical eloquence.

I was susceptible to the inspiration of the style of Cyrano de Bergerac which I saw in Paris on the eve of my first Parliamentary campaign, and which served to help me through it; but I felt a keener admiration for the Scarlet Pimpernel doing his dangerous works of liberation by stealth. I think that the latter kind of mind is more given to enterprise in a serious form.

I can never be grateful enough to Edie for her well-known inculcation of enterprise, and I deeply regret <sup>the times</sup> when I have ignored it.



## NORFOLK ELECTIONS

I had seven elections in North Norfolk election campaigns, and Lucy afterwards had two. ~~It is~~ In the earlier elections a good deal of rowdyism still survived, much more so than in other parts of the country. It is curious that the feeling against Liberals in the early days was even hotter than against Labour in the period after the war. At Holt the toughs used to scatter pepper which was an excellent way of destroying the dignity of the speaker. Once driving through Holt one winter's night a sudden crash and fall of the broken window into the car witnessed the good shot made by a Tory youth with a brick.

After the victory in December 1910 when the car was dragged into Cromer by supporters as we approached from Sheringham, the ~~Cromer~~ <sup>Tory</sup> mob, which was ~~far larger~~ <sup>the largest element in Cromer</sup> kept up a magnificent bombardment with stones and lumps of turf from the roadside. These were aimed at the car on the principle of a ~~mountain~~ <sup>mountain</sup> gun, passing over the heads of supporters and falling on the open car. Rotten eggs were deftly dropped on to us in this manner, and Connie's <sup>fur</sup> coat remained yellow for a long period afterwards. I rather suspect that this bombardment was instigated by Lucy, and carried out by the agency of her brother, she being then a leader of a movement called N.N.N.N. signifying "No Noels for North Norfolk."

Afterwards in married days Lucy and I had an exciting time in Holt moving from the car to the meeting when a menacing crowd surrounded us in <sup>Pan.</sup> spite of two policemen in close escort, and showered us with gravel. Perhaps the climax was reached after the declaration



Norfolk Elections ctd

of the poll when I was first elected for Labour.

We had turned from Aylsham and were to go to some celebration meetings after a high tea. Gradually a curious noise penetrated from the front door, and Mrs Kirby shortly entered with all the appearance of alarm, telling us that the crowd were breaking the windows. Sure enough the draught was blowing through the glass of the front door, and we made for the car. We could not yield to the various entreaties not to emerge, and made a dash for the car which was all in darkness, the crowd being hidden behind it. As I seated myself the door of the far side was suddenly opened, and the hob-nailed boot of a political opponent struck me violently on the shin. We then felt the car being tipped up in the attempt to turn it over, and in the light of the head lamps we saw the faithful Mitchell rolling on the ground entwined with a tough from Chapel Street.

At last we got off amid showers of stones, and the second car containing the agent and others was also attacked as we all charged through the crowd, the stone going through the back window being picked up by our well-known Mrs Gee which was subsequently produced in triumph by him.

*but all was quiet*  
We expected more fun on our return from Aylsham and the Police came round to offer apologies for permitting these doings to occur.

Lucy's pungent speeches in later elections drew the fire of the enemy's venom from me to her, and we were followed from meeting to meeting by a well-known squires whose thirst for Lucy's blood led her to take the scant opportunity afforded by questions aimed at myself.



Perhaps it was my support of the labourers which made the feeling when I first stood, more violent than in other divisions. I was the favourite of the labourers because I had from the first felt that the Norfolk wage of 12/- a week, (and less when wet, prevented work,) could not be overlooked by public men, whether the Liberalism of the day liked it or not. This was the reason given by a certain landowner for his efforts to get me blackballed when I came up for election to the Norfolk Club: efforts which were successful.



## LABOUR

Until the great war it never crossed my mind that I might join the Labour Party. For one thing there was <sup>no</sup> ~~provision~~ *place in the Party* for the non-manual worker, and we Liberals regarded Labour as only for the horny-handed. During the war two aspects changed my mind. On the one hand the Liberals, who under Asquith's leadership tended to pursue *respectability*, and drop the Radical idealism of Campbell Bannerman, seemed to conform more and more to the Conservative outlook. The activities of wartime brought Parties together. For the first time Liberals found themselves free from hostility, and on war questions they displayed no difference of view. There were admirable exceptions.

Buckmaster in particular who had been a Law Officer, held views *like those of Lansdowne on the settlement which should be pursued.* ~~on the best form of settlement which should be pursued were on the same lines as those of Lansdowne.~~ I urged him to give a lead in that direction, and he felt strongly, *drawn to this* but said he could not break loose from Asquith to whom he owed so much.

Indeed, Asquith himself would have made a better peace than Lloyd George, but until his overthrow he showed no public sign of disapproving the purely 'knock out' policy which L.G. definitely pursued, thereby winning public favour, and justifying his expulsion of Asquith.

The result of this attitude of the Liberals was to make us who took a special interest in war and peace questions feel keen to support candidates of our view, even if they were Labour. I myself took the



Labour ctd

plunge by supporting the Labour candidate at a bye-election at Keighley. I was ~~severely~~ lectured by the chief Whip, and indeed, it was an act of revolt.

At the election of 1918 I stood as Liberal-Labour <sup>and a year later I</sup> C.R.B. and joined the Labour Party. Charlie Trevelyan gave a lead to malcontent Liberals like myself. Without Charlie's example I doubt if I should have brought myself to such extreme action, being <sup>a</sup> convinced compromisor and not by nature a whole-hogger.

I put off joining the Party in the hopes that I could carry my Liberal supporters with me if they were given time. Other Liberals moved to new Divisions, while I invited my old supporters to come over to a new tabernacle. The strain was too great for many of them, and the fury of some local leaders was bitter.

My Tory opponent was confident of success, and at the last moment a Liberal candidate was also run against me, but I got in easily in 1922, and still more easily at subsequent elections. In all I was elected for North Norfolk twice as a Liberal, and four times as a Labourite.

I do not think I should have joined the Party if I had not seen that one should judge Parties by their deeds more than by their words. Socialists are fond of talking in general abstract terms which, I think, has largely hampered their success. In practice when in Office they are bound to promote measures which are not more startling than the best Radical measures of a Liberal Government. For instance, in the



Labour ctd

first Labour Government we did nothing of consequence except a Housing Bill and my own Wages Bill, both of which would have been normal to a Liberal regime.

I was convinced that the Labour Party represented a far greater interest in the question of peace and war than did the Liberal Party. The question was so little spoken of by Liberal politicians that one could be attacked as I was for talking of foreign politics and denounced to the electors as the friend of every country but one's own.

It was the Labour Party which changed that, and it is essentially committed to international ~~order~~ <sup>order</sup> because it is an international ~~Government~~ <sup>movement</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> organisation. More than that it was recognised by the best Christian leaders, e.g. Gore and Temple, as embodying Christian ideals.

I feel that the Labour Party was the true successor of the Radical school of Liberals. It is a question of <sup>the</sup> degree of <sup>reforming</sup> ~~referring~~ energy. It is quite easy to take the view that things have moved in recent times quicker than before, and that there is no need to hurry. I can sympathise with the Conservative outlook, but by conviction I think it is mistaken. The vast improvements we have seen in social schemes would never have come about without the work of those who pushed hard.

There ~~was~~ a wonderfully good illustration of the two schools ~~with~~ when I stayed with the venerable Bishop Westcott at Bishop Auckland. His son was arguing that the workers were ~~well~~ <sup>well</sup> satisfied with their life, and there was no need to encourage them to complain, because they were quite as happy as ourselves.

The reply of his famous father, ~~expressed~~ <sup>his</sup> in ~~the~~ tiny low voice, was



Labour ctd

the simple question: "In one room?"

It was a good answer because I think that the most complacent person would find his views upset if he visited <sup>as have done</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>normal</sup> ~~homes~~ <sup>homes</sup> ~~which I have seen~~ <sup>which consisted</sup> family when in the Isle of Dogs, consisting of a very small bedroom, <sup>rooms</sup> mostly filled by the ~~one~~ <sup>two</sup> bed in which the family  ~~slept~~ <sup>parents boys & girls huddled</sup>  ~~and on which~~ <sup>at night,</sup>  ~~meals were cooked and eaten,~~ <sup>meals were cooked and eaten,</sup> and <sup>all</sup>  ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> family also members of the family were born and died <sup>goods including coal were stored.</sup>

In the same room



### 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. 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 commend 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 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



GEORGE EDWARDS

My great helper in securing the North Norfolk~~k~~ 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-scaring 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 <sup>to feed</sup> ~~for food~~ for 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, had indomitable courage. He was an agitator from early years and lost his job.

My uncle Louis Buxton of Bolwick~~k~~ then got work for him, and ultimately <sup>he began</sup> he began to organise 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~~y~~ on his bicycle. He was also a fervent Primitive Methodist and local preacher. When his Union meetings included a <sup>tea</sup> ~~committee~~, 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. It was essential to make a compromise with the Tories in order to get the Bill through, and this involved the exclusion of a definite minimum <sup>wage</sup> expressed in money. The Liberals also, having no wish to see the Labour Government succeed<sup>e</sup>, voted in the same directions, and so did some of the Trade Unionists whose view was that



George Edwards ctd

when the election came ~~it would make~~ it would make an electioneering cry that the Labour Party had tried in vain to pass a good bill.

It was a question whether we could drop it and Ramsay asked me to lunch at Downing St to settle the question with him and Jimmy Thomas. I took the view that to raise the farm wages which had fallen terribly low after the repeal of the war-time wage, was far more important than the preservation of an election cry. The Trade Union policy might have prevailed if I had not asked for a special Party meeting, and pleaded the immediate needs of the farm workers. The event justified my resistance to Trade Union policy. The county committees were a great success, and it was not long before the lowest wage in the county was brought up to 30<sup>p</sup> which was the figure for which Edwards and the others voted as a national minimum; and when the election came we could point to real benefit conferred by the Labour Government. *Carry on*

In spite of this the Tories re-captured every rural division in the whole country except mine. *han* Edwards was a real friend. He was a genuine gentleman, and it was a great pleasure to have him staying with us at Colne Cottage - a pleasure enhanced by his quaint tastes such as an abhorrence of novels, and habit of taking seven lumps of sugar in his tea.







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PTD



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.



~~Whitehouse~~

An enterprise with Whitehouse which I still often think of with pleasure was his campaign for preventing the London parks being spoiled by a memorial to Edward VII. The official proposal was to make a great roadway and stone bridge across St James' park from St James' Palace to Queen Anne's Gate. It would have been a deplorable injury to the park and the delightful lake, and the view along the water would also have been obstructed,

Whitehouse made speeches and got me to back him up, and old Lord Carlisle who was an artistic notable wrote forcibly in the "Times."

The Government gave way and made another scheme for a triumphal road across Green Park, going so far as to erect the splendid gates at the high point in Piccadilly which record the attempted scheme as do the gates opposite St James' Palace. This time the Prime Minister intervened, and said nothing would alter the determination of the Government.

However, Whitehouse beat him, and I shared in the exploit which really showed the greatest daring, certainly greater than I would have displayed if not led to battle by my diminutive leader.

and the end was most satisfactory - 2 parks of priceless value were saved and East End acquired a park, which otherwise would never have existed. <sup>me</sup> (at Shadwell)

I shared in the exploit which really showed the greatest daring, certainly greater than I would have displayed if not led to battle by my diminutive leader.



### Anglo-German Relations.

In 1910, when I first felt the extreme urgency of the subject, very few people regarded war as unavoidable, and I was encouraged by the views of important British ambassadors, to see that relations with Germany could be affected for the better.

The logical course was either to aim at avoiding a clash, or to ensure security by superior force. As we could not be sure of the latter, it was reasonable to urge the former. German politicians were, of course, difficult to deal with, and there were men like Tirpitz who wanted war. Military factors always need restraining, and on the German side they were less restrained than in other countries, because pride in war is widespread in Germany. On our side it was natural to feel Germany to be parvenu, on their side it was natural to claim the position of the largest nation in Europe, and to be jealous of the British Empire. We were inclined to deny them equal status. Friction arose from the time of the Jameson raid, and it increased in the days of Algeiras. However, the prospect of peace was hopeful until 1908, when Grey decided to quarrel with Austria about the annexation of Bosnia. It was a technical point, as she had governed Bosnia since 1878, and everyone who travelled there, as I did in 1902, knew it to be the only decent government in the Balkans. Grey reversed the British tradition of friendliness to Austria, which had been so marked that I remember Dilke speaking in the House, quoting the saying that if the Austro-Hungarian Empire did not exist, it would be necessary for us to create it. Lord Courtenay and others condemned Grey's action. It led to the crisis in which Germany backed Austria, as, in the Kaiser's words, "her ally in shining armour", and Russia was humiliated. War was brought definitely nearer.

I remember seeing at the Agadir crisis the intense feeling in Berlin on the question of colonies. Shop windows showed maps colouring the world largely red, which succeeded in rousing patriotic German pride at



a comparative total denial to German colonial claims, The ambition was exactly what our own would have been if in their shoes ; and with their military power, most of us would have favoured an attempt to right the injustice by force, supposing that it could not be done otherwise. National pride may be foolish, but we have not regarded it as so, anyhow since the days of Kipling.

We had annoyed the Germans by deterring France from concessions after Agadir. Maurice de Bunsen, then Ambassador at Madrid, wrote me that we were more French than the French.

Then came the war. Many historians hold that we were responsible for encouraging Russia to mobilise and to back Serbia, whose government is now known to be responsible for the murder of the Archduke at Sarajevo. However that may be, there was nothing to do for the prevention of war in the future, except to win the war and arrange a durable settlement. I had something to do in the former direction, when I was asked by Lloyd George and Churchill to go to Bulgaria, and use what influence I had there to keep her neutral, or even to bring her to our side. I have told elsewhere what I have to say about this business. Not having been given authority as Lloyd George wished, the object had to be pressed at home, and on getting back I brought L.G. into contact with the Bulgarian Minister in London. Twice L.G. got me to give dinners at the Savoy Hotel, and at one moment he committed himself to what was necessary in talk with the Bulgarian Minister, but Grey again intervened and the matter dragged on. The great obstacle was the hostile influence of our minister at Sofia, who was violently anti-Bulgarian. It was not until the summer that Grey saw that I was right, and removed him. It was then too late. Bulgaria had further allied herself with Germany, and the result was that the German road to Turkey was completed, and the war prolonged by perhaps two years.



(34)

For a time I worked in the Admiralty, but soon I saw that there was much to ~~be done~~ do in the cause of a durable settlement after the war. Those of us who foresaw that a knockout victory would mean a peace humiliating to Germany, and would further lead to a war of revenge, in fact more sacrifice for a worse result, had a hard job. Even the reasonable Cecil thought that a knockout could be followed by a durable settlement. Lord Lansdown in 1917, argued for such a settlement by negotiation, but even he was rejected, and the result was the humiliation of Germany, the German thirst for revenge, and the war of '39.

It was difficult to believe that men so much cleverer than myself could be in the wrong. How often have I had to regret that we of the minority proved right. In the House of Commons I did not work with men like Ramsey and Snowden, who were definitely anti-war, but thought it better to attack the different aims on which the policy of the knockout was based, e.g. the plan of carving up Austria and depriving Germany of colonies. Walter Long in debate, while attacking Ramsey and the Union of Democratic Control, distinguished between them and me, saying that I was sound on the prosecution of the war, and therefore should be listened to, so that he would treat my arguments seriously. I was therefore apparently successful in my tactics. I persuaded them by getting Lloyd George to breakfast at Rutland Gate, and putting before him maps showing how devolution of power in Austro-Hungary, would satisfy real national claims, and would also keep Austro-Hungary from Germany. I invited Willie Buckler of the American Embassy, to breakfast, in order to remind L.G. of the United States in connection with their policy. L.G. was very charming and admired the carrots which we were growing in our back garden, and told us stories of interviews at the Palace, especially at breakfast; once one of the princes, then a young boy, had refused to eat his porridge, and on being pressed by the Queen, exclaimed "God



lumps in it !" He took care not to seem hostile, but he was really committed to the knockout policy which justified his seizing the Premiership. In the early days of the L.G. Government, that is Dec. 1916, a speech by Balfour seemed to say that the Government was intending to negotiate with Austria; about this time, Smuts met the Austrian representative. However, before the House met again after the Christmas recess, they had become committed to the "delenda Austria" policy, and when I raised the question in the House, Balfour made this plain. Mazyk, who contended with me in the columns of the Statesman, had made an impression on ministers, and enabled them to use Czeckosslovakia as an argument for destroying Austria. We only knew after the war that Balfour had said in a memorandum to the Cabinet, that to destroy Austria would mean a stronger Germany, because all the German land would become united. When we had obtained the Knockout, we went further than breaking up Austria ;we cut Germany in two by creating the Polish Corridor. To this day I do not understand how ministers thought that Germany cut in half by the Corridor, would settle down to contented peace.

The deplorable election, immediately following the war, produced what was called a "Parliament of hard-faced men." 1919 was the critical time, and the knockout 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 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.



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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 their 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 Caïon 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 of the American relief work, gave us lunch at a restaurant in the Ellysee, and I remember the floods of cream which were in evidence. As central Europe was then largely starving, and the German babies were without milk, the cream with which Paris abounded, made an impression on us. The great space at the foot of the Ellysee, held a great pile of captured cannons, and everything was in harmony with the spirit of punitive triumph.

One day the Bulgarian delegates were brought to Paris, and placed in a house like prisoners, not being allowed contact with anyone. Stamboliski, their Premier, had opposed the war, and risked his life in doing so, but he had been addressed by the French general who signed the armistice with Bulgaria, as "sal cochon". With him as secretary was Miss Stancioff, whom Charlie and I had seen in Paris on the way back from the Balkans in 1915, when she was nursing the French wounded, and who afterwards came to London, when her father was appointed Minister there.

Arthur and I went on to Vienna, and there visited hospitals, and saw the distress which prevailed. All the men seemed to be carrying knapsacks, in which to place any food they might obtain by going out to farms in the country. As we entered Vienna in a luxury train, we were dining in the restaurant, and the starving Austrians relieved their feelings



by spitting at the windows. It was not easy to enjoy our dinner, realising 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 to 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 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 onto 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 by sending the ultimatum to Serbia, which began the war. I asked one who had been a minister then, if he had realised at the time that the ultimatum would mean war. He said certainly he did, and that they had hoped for it.

We could not return to Vienna by train, because the Roumanians wanted to be cut off from the west, and had announced that any train crossing the bridge would be bombed.

Getting back to Paris, I wrote to Balfour about the distress, as he could give orders. He asked me to lunch and we had a very interesting talk, Philip Carr (afterwards Lothian) being with us. I learnt later that ample stores were quickly sent to the hospitals at Vienna and Budapest. I attempted to give Balfour an accurate view of the Roumanians by telling



him of the inadequacy of their civilization. I mentioned a particular minister in the lounge of the chief hotel, holding the hand of a demi-monde, while talking with a foreign diplomat. I ought to have remembered that A.J.B. hated earnestness. To pull me up he interjected "I wish I could have held one too !"

In 1920 I went to Berlin with Ramsey and Joe King. We stayed in the magnificent Kaiserhoff Hotel, and it was strange to be in such a princely place with hardly any food. The substitute for jam was unspeakable. We were amazed at the apparent absence of any hostile feeling. People seemed cowed, and many men were going about with very little on except an overcoat. The Quakers and Americans were still doing relief work on a great scale. Ramsey did not like being taken to see these things, but when we went on to Geneva for the International Labour Conference, we persuaded him to address a meeting about it. It was characteristic of him that he then made a most moving speech, and showed that he had observed every little detail.

In the subsequent years I went often to Germany. The French policy of pin-pricks was the main feature, and the most alarming side that I saw was west African soldiers of the most pronounced negro type, swaggering in their position of rulers over the Germans, at Mainz. When the Ruhr had been invaded, the responsible man, Pointare, was invited to London, in the hopes of showing him reason, but he was found absolutely intractable, as members of the Government told me, and the conference was broken off.

After we had been in Office in 1924, I had an interesting experience when Ramsey was invited to address the French Institute about the Labour Party. He was nervous of going himself, and got me to go in his place. I saw several leading men, and was more than ever amazed at French want of logic. They admitted that their policy of pin-pricks ensured the hostility of Germany, and that Germany would eventually



It was an enormous shock when in the beginning of 1933, Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor, presumably hoping that responsibility would produce sanity. But a reign of terror immediately began. In the spring I went to Berlin, and saw several ministers, in company with Evans and Benley. 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 public opinion, which they then strongly desired, would be alienated by illegal violence, which was so contrary to the German tradition. After seeing Goebbels, Rosenberg, von Papen and Gen. Blomberg, I got an interview with Hitler, but it was a forlorn hope as I had realised. He declared that everybody loved him, and that if he went into the Strand 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 came 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 ~~good thing to keep in touch with the German ministers.~~ 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. Hoesch in particular was a rational man, and when he died suddenly, some suggested that his amiable countrymen in the Nazi Party had poisoned him. Dirksen 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 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 S. James Park. Ribbentrop wanted to have 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 1938. 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 he 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



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lossing 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 consealed 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 the most 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 subsequeny years I went several times to ~~the~~ 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 Londonderries 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 vivendae". 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 everybody 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 N+B.". He was very active, and



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went to see Hitler escorted and interpreted by my secretary Cornwall Evans.

Perhaps peace was impossible after 1933, and it was generally felt that Hitler meant to fight. Pacifists thought not, but I thought it probable that he and his colleagues, Goering and Goebbels, were the sort of men who would be attracted by a great gamble, and to gamble with the chance of bringing down the British Empire, would be the greatest gamble in history. But I held that if you are dealing with a mad bull, you don't wave a red flag in front of him, but keep him quiet as long as you can. Hitler proclaimed his hope of friendship with England. He had joined the League at one time. It would probably have made a great difference if the English press had been restrained from continually jeering at him in a way that no other European press was doing.

The attitude of the Labour Party seemed to me very illogical and al



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so dangerous. They adopted the most provocative and anti-German expressions, and at the same time they opposed preparation for war, while they reconciled their own minds by declaring that we should appeal to the League to take action against Italy over the Abyssinian question. They knew that the League could do nothing except with British forces. I could only excuse this on the ground that it had been an effort to adopt the Labour view to the use of force as part of the League programme. It was unrealistic, and I myself thought that Hitler was probably ready to go to war. As an illustration of my attitude, I reported to high authority what I saw of the air-base in the Isle of Silt, when I went there with Rufus in 1935, to see the Bismarcks. Of course it was the Govt. who were responsible for informing the country, and Baldwin was far more to blame, but it was natural that conservatives defended Baldwin, on the grounds that the Labour Party had influenced public opinion, making it difficult for him to adopt war preparation.

The Foreign Office was violently anti-German, and we gave the impression of being sublimely superior to the growth of German force, which made our policy seem still more irritating. We drifted along, assuming that we were in no danger, and finally offered guarantees, which helped to increase the punishment inflicted on Poland Roumania and Greece. If we did not mean that we would do anything for Poland, we should have left that question alone, and allowed the inevitable quarrel between Germany and Russia to continue.

We humanitarians have often been reproved for wanting England to police Europe, and it amazed me when the Government/~~adopted~~/ pursued such a policy in an extreme form.

1919 saw the supreme chance of establishing a sane peace, but we lost it, owing, I suppose, to the same sublime confidence that we had no-



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thing to fear from ressurected German power. We gave Germany the most imperative motive by cutting the country in two parts. Whatever other ambition may have moved Hitler, the severing of Germany by the Polish Corridor, ensured the arrival of a conflict, whatever government arose in Germany. The only possible way to avoid it would have been close and partial friendship between England and Germany, which we did not mean to give. I hope and pray that the partition may be reversed and Poland given an access to the sea east of E. Prussia. War must otherwise come again.