

RETROSPECTION

By
LORD NEWTON, P.C.

The simple Truth is my detective,
With me Sensation can't abide;
The Likely beats the mere Effective,
And Nature is my only guide.
(W. S. Gilbert)

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

When Lord Newton's autobiography was published in 1941, readers would have been familiar with most of the people mentioned. Seventy years on many may be aware of only a few of them. I have taken the opportunity to provide an annotated version of the book, introducing more than 500 footnotes. The vast majority of the information has been taken from *Wikipedia*, a source that is generally reliable for uncontroversial biographical details and widely available on modern digital devices. Authoritative biographies are available from other sources such as the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography but this is less readily available. For each person found, I have abstracted the full name and title with their years of birth and death and perhaps one or two sentences to explain their connection with Lord Newton and his narrative. For reasons of space I have eliminated lists of civil honours. The information provided should prove sufficient for interested readers to find the full article on Wikipedia or in other sources.

The introduction of footnotes alters the lengths of the pages and repagination would require the book to be indexed again. To avoid this, I decided to retain the original pages with their numbers and page headers, which show the subject and year. Throughout I have retained the original spellings and terms such as Bolshevik rather than Boshevik and made a few changes to punctuation where it renders the meaning clearer. In the course of pursuing all the named individuals I found a small number had not been included in the index or had been included without a page number and these have now been added in the appropriate place.

What emerges is a fascinating story of Lord Newton in public life in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras and during the Great War and its immediate aftermath. He was a pupil at Eton, an undergraduate at Oxford, in the diplomatic corps at the British Embassy in Paris, then an M.P. and finally a member of the House of Lords. As a consequence, he was acquainted with a large number of the most influential figures in public life in England and some on the continent. When he went to Greece he met the King, in Russia he met the Czar and in Turkey the Sultan. He had several audiences with King George V and he with his wife, Evelyn, and daughter, Hilda, were guests at Windsor Castle. Yet despite these connections he comes over as modest, self-effacing and unafraid to tell a humorous story at his own expense. He had a dry sense of humour and on more than one occasion made flippant remarks that others deemed inappropriate.

In politics, he represented the Conservatives but was an independent thinker, often deprecating the actions of those he called the party wire-pullers. Had he been a "yes man" he may well have obtained higher office. In some ways, he was well ahead of his time. He proposed replacing the House of Lords with an elected senate of three hundred during the constitutional crisis of 1910. During the Great War, he performed a valuable service for his country in negotiating the exchange of prisoners of war with Germany and Turkey. At the end of the book he recounts what he believed was his most important political achievement, blocking the Aliens' Restriction Bill which would have led to the deportation of all people born outside the United Kingdom. He concludes with a moving passage on leaving Lyme to his eldest son, Richard. The Great War marked the end of the Golden Era of the English Country Estate, brought about by estate duty, decline in the profitability of farming, taxation and war.



LADY NEWTON, 1884

From the portrait painted at Paris by J. Sargent, R.A.

PREFACE

Having like many others failed to obtain any definite employment in war work, I utilised part of my enforced leisure in writing a narrative based upon a diary which I started in 1883 and have continued until to-day. This comparatively modest task would, owing to rapidly failing eyesight, have proved impossible had it not been for the devotion of my daughter Hilda and the expert assistance of Mr. F. McShee, a member of *The Times* staff. I desire also in that connection to express my gratitude to Lady Clinton.

This record, which ends in 1919, deals with a period which has been assiduously explored by innumerable writers and cannot therefore be expected to produce much that is new or sensational. For purposes of convenience, quotations from the diary have been often accompanied with subsequent comments. I believe that this is considered to be unconventional, but in reality, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the two classes of statement.

I have no desire to pose as an exceptional authority upon political questions. I have never held high office, and my Ministerial career extended only for about four years, but on the other hand I have an unbroken Parliamentary experience which is longer than that of any living individual with the exception of two or three Peers of advanced age, and during a lengthy life I have been brought into close contact with many distinguished men who have helped to make history.

I hope, therefore, that this book may be of some interest to the older generation, and that it may also be thought worthy of attention by those who realise that the attempt of Hitler to enslave Europe must inevitably bring about the disappearance of much to which we have been hitherto accustomed and the advent of changes which at present are incalculable.

NEWTON.

75, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
August, 1941.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I Early Life: Entry into Diplomatic Service: The Old Foreign Office: Marriage. 1857-1880.	1
II The Paris Embassy. 1881-1883	14
III Life in Paris. 1883-1886	23
IV House of Commons: Visit to Bulgaria. 1886-1887	35
V Country House Life: Politics: Ireland: Egypt. 1887-1890	45
VI Bosnia and Montenegro: Social Activities: General Election. 1890-1892	56
VII My Father a Peer: The Liberal Parliament: Travel 1892-1893	67
VIII Fall of Rosebery: New Unionist Administration: Visit to Russia. 1894-1897	76
IX Diamond Jubilee: Thessaly, Constantinople, Asia Minor and Palestine: Death of my Father. 1897-1898	88
X House of Lords: Montenegro Again. 1898-1899	99
XI The Boer War: Foundation of National Service League. 1900-1902	106
XII Parliamentary Activity: The Unionist Split: Macedonia. 1903-1904	119
XIII India. 1904-1905	133
XIV Lord Roberts and Compulsory Service: Unionist Election Collapse. 1905-1906	144
XV House of Lords Reform: N.S.L. Visit Swiss Manoeuvres: Vanity Fair. 1907-1909.	154
XVI The Young Turks and Macedonia: Compulsion in the Lords: Rejection of Lloyd George Budget: Reform Again. 1909-1910	166
XVII Prince Henry of Prussia: The Veto Conference - A Missed Opportunity: Future of the Lords: A Party Meeting: The Parliament Bill. 1910-1911	179
XVIII Canada: Visit to Baku and Persia: Outbreak of Balkan War. 1911-1912	188
XIX Balkan Peace: Publication of "Lord Lyons": Kipling and the Rewards of Talent: The Great War: General Joffre: Staff Memo, on Alarming Position of B.E.F. 1912-1915.	198
XX In the Coalition Government: Difficulties of Official Spokesmen: Transfer to Foreign Office as Controller of Prisoners-of-War and News Departments. 1915- 1916	214
XXI Prisoner Problems: Anglo-German Negotiations. 1916-1917	227
XXII The Hague Prisoners-of-War Conference: Agreement with the Germans: Anglo-Turkish Negotiations at Berne. 1917	236
XXIII Second Meeting with the Germans at the Hague: Secret Peace Overtures: End of War. 1918-1919	250
XXIV Libel Action against the Daily Mail: A Visit to Germany: Private Member Again: Aliens Restriction Bill in the Lords: Striking Defeat of the Government and House of Commons. 1919	267

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Lady Newton, 1884 <i>From the portrait painted at Paris by J. Sargent, R.A.</i>	Frontispiece
	Page
Photograph taken at the British Legation, Cettinje, in 1898, of a Trout estimated to weigh over 45 pounds	72
The Trinity Monastery, Meteora	93
Cartoon of Author <i>By Spy, published in "Vanity Fair," 1908</i>	164
"The Masked Moneylenders" <i>Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors of "Punch"</i>	203
Facsimile of "Lusitania" Medal <i>Circulated in 1916</i>	266

EARLY LIFE: ENTRY INTO DIPLOMATIC SERVICE: THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE : MARRIAGE. 1857-1880

Those who perpetrate autobiographies and write memoirs occasionally try to propitiate their readers by assurances that they possess phenomenal memories and the ex-Kaiser in one of his publications makes the startling statement that he remembers being dangled in a napkin by the Prince Consort when he was only two years old. My own memory, characterised by Lord Lansdowne¹ as one of “extreme inconvenience,” is probably quite up to the average, but I cannot remember anything until I was four, and my first recollection is also concerned with the Prince Consort: I have a faint memory of the black edges on the newspaper which recorded his death. This was followed by the International Exhibition at South Kensington (1862), and the sight of big elm trees under a roof made a lasting impression upon me. Colours always appeal to the imagination of a child, and the next incident that I remember was the sight of a man in a scarlet shirt driving down Piccadilly and receiving an enthusiastic welcome from cheering crowds. This, of course, was Garibaldi,² proceeding to the Seventh Duke of Devonshire’s³ villa at Chiswick, where a fete had been organised in his honour to which a large number of Sunday school children had been invited. Many years afterwards, when I was staying with the well-known Liberal statesman, Lord Granville,⁴ at Walmer, the conversation happened to turn upon Garibaldi, and Lord Granville told us that he was one of the persons who were selected to accompany Garibaldi to Chiswick. The Liberator, according to Lord Granville, must have been a man of rugged simplicity, for Sunday schools were a complete mystery to him, and Lord Granville and his friends discovered, much to their consternation, that he was firmly convinced that the Sunday school children were

the illegitimate progeny of the Duke - whose character, incidentally, was irreproachable.

It must have been about this time that one phase of my education began. My parents, more sensible than some others, sent me at an early age to M. Roche’s class in the gardens of Cadogan Place to learn French. M. Roche was a vivacious and intelligent teacher who, unlike many other teachers, took a genuine interest in his pupils, and I have often thought since that he must have been painfully struck with the want of imagination of his British pupils. There were, as far as I remember, about twenty girls and one small boy besides myself. One day - probably during a general election - he asked each member of the class to

¹ Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927) was a British politician and Irish peer who served successively as the fifth Governor General of Canada, Viceroy of India, Secretary of State for War, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He has the distinction of having held senior positions in both Liberal Party and Conservative Party governments. (*Wikipedia*) Lord Newton wrote his biography.

² Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) was an Italian general and politician who played a major role in the creation of a united Italy in the 19th century. (*Wikipedia*)

³ William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire (1808-1891) styled as Lord Cavendish of Keighley between 1831 and 1834 and known as The Earl of Burlington between 1834 and 1858, was a British landowner, benefactor and politician (*Wikipedia*)

⁴ Granville George Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Granville (1815-1891), styled Lord Leveson until 1846, was a Liberal statesman. In a political career spanning over 50 years, he was thrice Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, led the Liberal Party in the House of Lords for almost 30 years and was joint Leader of the Liberal Party between 1875 and 1880. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER I

which political party he or she belonged. None of the girls, though some must have been in their teens, had the slightest idea, but when he asked me I said that I was a Conservative, as my father was an M.P., and the other boy asserted that he was a Liberal. I remember, too, M. Roche's pained astonishment when he asked the class to name the greatest man who had ever ruled England and no one thought of Oliver Cromwell.

By this time, I had a brother and two sisters,⁵ and in accordance with the inveterate British habit, which prevailed until recent times, we spent the three best months of the year in London and the remainder in Cheshire.

My father, Captain Legh,⁶ was a professional soldier and served in the Crimean Campaign with his regiment, The Royal Scots Fusiliers (21st). The regiment landed on a desolate beach in Kalamita Bay about the middle of August, 1854, the officers wearing full dress. They were attired in bright scarlet coat with gilt wire, over which was a scarlet sash ornamented with tassels, and a huge sword belt: from one shoulder depended a haversack containing three days' rations of salt pork and biscuit, and from the other a wooden water-bottle similar to that used in the Peninsular War. This costume was completed with an Albert Shako, so abominable to wear that it was at once discarded and a peaked forage cap took its place. The officers had no baggage but what they stood up in. Writing a month later, October 5, Captain Ramsay Muir, the Adjutant, stated: "We sleep on the ground every night. I always sleep in my great coat with spurs on my boots. I am very often on my horse for twenty-four hours. The state of our clothes is beyond description. Yesterday I managed to get some water and washed my hands and face." Later on, he complained that it was so cold that the ink froze solidly in the inkbottle.

Page 3

EARLY LIFE

The other officers were, of course, much in the same case. My father, a delicate man who, his comrades persisted, would never survive, was for a long time in a tent with two companions and the three had only four shirts between them. The cold was so great that the reappearance of the fourth shirt was never welcomed. The regiment, although not engaged at Alma,⁷ soon saw plenty of fighting and distinguished itself greatly at Inkerman, and according to some authorities contributed more to the success of the day than any other force. It lost a third of its strength during the battle.

My father, in spite of his extreme delicacy and the doleful predictions of his brother officers, survived the hardships successfully and was lucky enough to escape wounds, but in the autumn of 1855 he received an urgent summons to return home as his uncle, to whose extensive estate he was heir, was in a critical condition. As, apparently, in those days, private affairs superseded public duty, he applied for and received leave. But, being in no hurry

⁵ Later Major the Hon. Gilbert Legh; the Hon. Mabel Legh, Lady Langford and the Hon. Sybil Legh

⁶ Lord Newton's father, William John Legh, the 1st Lord Newton (1828-1892). (*NT booklet on Lyme Park*)

⁷ The Battle of the Alma (20 September 1854), which is usually considered the first battle of the Crimean War (1853-1856), took place just south of the River Alma in the Crimea. An Anglo-French force under Jacques Leroy de Saint Arnaud and Fitzroy Somerset, 1st Lord Raglan defeated General Aleksandr Sergeyevich Menshikov's Russian army, which lost around 6,000 troops. The Battle of Inkerman was fought during on 5 November 1854 between the allied armies of Britain, France and Ottoman Empire against the Imperial Russian Army. The battle broke the will of the Russian Army to defeat the allies in the field, and was followed by the Siege of Sevastopol. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER I

to return he, with the leave in his pocket, took part as a volunteer in the attack on the Redan,⁸ his own regiment not being engaged. The attack was, as everyone knows, much in the nature of a forlorn hope and he was again fortunate enough to survive the desperate fighting without a scratch. The capture of the Malakoff fort by the French on the same day practically brought the siege operations to an end. My father returned home before the end of 1855 and married a member of an ancient and distinguished Norfolk family, Miss Emily Wodehouse, daughter of Canon and Lady Jane Wodehouse. He left the army on the conclusion of the war, took up his residence at Lyme, in Cheshire, and shortly afterwards became one of the Conservative M.P.s for South Lancashire.

It was at Lyme, which has been the home of the Legh family for over six centuries, that my brother and sisters and I passed our youth. It may pardonably be described as one of the finest country houses in the north of England, but it is unnecessary for me to describe it as this has already been done by my late wife, who wrote an admirable story of the place and the family in 1915 which, in spite of the war, met with success in all quarters and is still quoted as a model book of the kind.⁹ On her part it was entirely a labour of love.

Our family life at Lyme followed the usual course pursued by the landed class. My mother, a very handsome woman in her younger days, with an energetic and vivacious nature, had a large acquaintance besides numerous Norfolk relatives and there were constantly guests

Page 4

SCHOOL

in the house, but though fond of society she was devoted to her children and always keenly interested in our education and general upbringing.

During the decade of 1860-70 there were many important events, including three European wars promoted by the predatory Prussian States, but the really important event, in my case, was that I was sent, in 1868, to a school at Brighton kept by a Mr. Lee. This was a fashionable establishment, much patronised by the old county families, and I remember a series of Parkers, Leighs, Berries and Ormsby-Gores as well as many others, but although fashionable it was certainly not luxurious. The food, for instance, was neither very plentiful nor alluring. We had meat for breakfast once a week only. Luncheon consisted of a joint and a pudding of some kind. For tea, there was bread and butter and the final meal consisted of dry bread. Nothing was drunk but water. Washing arrangements in those days were very inadequate; we were occasionally provided with foot pans, and a big good-natured matron whom we all adored would, if she observed an unusually dirty boy, seize him and administer an individual scrubbing. In the summer term a dip in the sea was considered sufficient, and we also sometimes visited Brill's Baths. As far as I remember we never changed our clothes for games.

Every man probably remembers well his first experience of school and the misery of leaving home, but I was free from much of the bullying which new boys usually encountered in those

⁸ The Battle of Malakoff was a major battle during the Crimean War, fought between Anglo-French forces and Russia on 7 September 1855 as a part of the Siege of Sevastopol. The French army under General MacMahon successfully stormed the Malakoff redoubt, whereas a simultaneous British attack on the Redan to the south of the Malakoff was repulsed. In one of the war's defining moments, the French raised the French flag on the top of the Russian redoubt. The Battle of Malakoff resulted in the fall of Sevastopol on 9 September. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹ *The House of Lyme*, by Lady Newton, Heinemann, 1917. She was Evelyn Bromley Davenport.

CHAPTER I

days through having been entrusted to the protection of the late Lord Airlie,¹⁰ who was subsequently killed whilst gallantly leading a cavalry charge in South Africa. On the whole, I am inclined to think that the school must have been a satisfactory one. The general tone was distinctly good, and the system of tuition was, as far as I remember, much better than that of Eton, probably because there was more individual attention. The discipline was strict and sensible; there was little bullying, and the general health very satisfactory. I fear that I must be one of the few survivors of the period, for I cannot identify anyone now living who was at the school, except Lord D'Abernon,¹¹ then Edgar Vincent, a tall, handsome boy who showed no particular sign of talent. He is the same age as I, but oddly enough, although no flier, I was above him both at the private school and at Eton; but his ability was demonstrated before long, when, at the age of about fourteen, he made a most successful Derby book.

At the age of 12, I was sent to Eton and took Upper Fourth. This did not appear to me a remarkable feat, and many years later my three

Page 5

ETON

grandsons each took Remove, but my performance resulted in Mr. Lee's school getting a half-holiday, and in after life I have been much flattered by meeting strangers who expressed their pleasure at meeting the man who had gained them a half-holiday.

Few people write about Eton except in rapturous terms, but my first days there were acutely miserable. I was at the Rev. Herbert Snow's house, and to tell the truth it could not be described as a good one. There was a certain amount of bullying. Mr. Snow, although a fine scholar and distinguished athlete at Cambridge, was unpopular and not happy in his management of boys, although personally I got on well with him; the general tone of the house was not satisfactory, and finally, being a weak and very light boy, I found playing football with older and heavier boys somewhat trying. Even now I can remember vividly coming into violent contact with Lord Ullswater,¹² then a powerful youth two years older than I, at Vidal's house, and being projected by him yards out of bounds.

When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, in July, 1870, I remember the master asking the class what was the cause of the war. The only answer which was adjudged to be correct was made by the late Lord Portsmouth,¹³ who said that it was because the French wanted the frontier of the Rhine. We know better now. Lord Portsmouth, whom I always thought King James I must have resembled, was a curious compound of wisdom and the reverse. As a politician he had an erratic career. Originally an orthodox Whig, he became a strong Liberal-Unionist. When the Campbell-Bannerman Government was formed¹⁴ he took office and represented the War Office, but without much success, and finally he left that party and became practically indistinguishable from a Conservative.

¹⁰ Lt.-Col. David Stanley William Ogilvy, 11th Earl of Airlie (1856-1900) was a Scottish peer. He was the third child and elder son of David Ogilvy, 10th Earl of Airlie and The Hon. Henrietta Blanche Stanley. He was killed at the Battle of Diamond Hill, Pretoria, Transvaal during the Boer War. In 1963, his grandson Angus Ogilvy married Princess Alexandra of Kent, a granddaughter of King George V. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹ Edgar Vincent, 1st Viscount D'Abernon (1857-1941), a close contemporary of Lord Newton was a politician, diplomat, art collector and author. (*Wikipedia*)

¹² James William Lowther, 1st Viscount Ullswater (1855-1949), was a Conservative politician. He served as Speaker of the House of Commons between 1905 and 1921. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³ Newton Wallop, 6th Earl of Portsmouth (1856-1917), styled Viscount Lymington until 1891, was a Liberal politician. He served as Under-Secretary of State for War from 1905 to 1908. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴ In 1905

CHAPTER I

In the summer of the following year (1871), I was a close witness of the Election Saturday disturbance which gained an exaggerated notoriety, and my sympathies were entirely on the side of the Rev. C. C. James whose long beard suggested an early Christian martyr, who was being dragged to the parapet of Barnes Bridge. He was rescued just in time by Mr. Snow, my housemaster, and I can well remember the unchristian spirit in which the latter read evening prayers, for he expressed a fervent hope that we should all suffer for the outrage.

We were all ordered to write out a Georgic,¹⁵ but the order was immediately rescinded, and a few boys were expelled, but I believe that they were in any case leaving for good in a week's time.

Page 6

ETON

The Eton authorities then quite rightly abolished Election Saturday. It had become little better than a minor orgy, as the younger boys, who had been plied with champagne by the crews of the Eights at Surly Hall, could be seen lying about helplessly drunk - a spectacle which must have scandalised both male and female visitors.

As regards work, which after all was the main object, I did fairly well and was occasionally at the head of my division. Had I possessed more application I believe that I might have become quite a fair classical scholar but, unfortunately, I soon discovered how to pass muster with a minimum of work. As for games, I played without distinction in my house cricket and football eleven. So much has been written about Eton that it is unnecessary to enter into detail. I rose gradually in the school but did as little work as possible, and my parents took me away after about three years. Boys are like horses, who, if they are sufficiently intelligent, can get along without doing more work than is actually essential, and I am no believer in the practice of leaving a boy at a public school after the age of 17, unless he is of an industrious disposition.

When, later on, I had two sons¹⁶ at Eton, I took both of them away at the age of 17 and, although I was denounced at the time as being no gentleman, I am sure that they are now grateful to me.

After leaving Eton I was sent abroad with Mr. Harold Perry, a fine scholar who had a perfect knowledge of German and of Germany and eventually occupied an important post in the Egyptian Government, and, while under his control, I could not well avoid learning something. We visited most of the European capitals, and everything to me was novel and interesting. The winter months were passed very agreeably at Dresden, which has always been an attractive town. There were excellent theatres and a first-rate opera, where the prices of seats were extraordinarily low. Winter sports were unknown in the 'seventies, but there was skating, and every facility for studying the fine arts. In those days there were many Americans and English residing there, and this was in some ways a disadvantage, as it interfered with the study of German, much to my detriment. As regards the Germans themselves, they were friendly and showed no signs of Anglophobia. Their habits and mode of life were simple and unaffected, and I do not remember any evidence of the military arrogance which characterised the German nation during the last twenty years of the 19th century.

¹⁵ A poem in Latin by the Roman author Virgil.

¹⁶ At the time of writing these were Captain Hon. Richard W. D. Legh and Lt.-Col. Hon Piers Legh

CHAPTER I

In the summer of 1875 Mr. Perry and I established ourselves in a little inn in the Salzkammergut, at the place where the clear and green

Page 7

OXFORD

stream of the Traun issues from the Hallstadt Lake. It was a delightful spot and at that time the Salzkammergut was quite unknown to tourists. In the magnificent mountains which surrounded the lake there were chamois, and the Traun was full of trout and grayling. The natives were charming people: simple, courteous, friendly and quite unused to strangers, regarding us more or less as harmless eccentrics whose wants should be humoured. Ischl was not far off and I used occasionally to see Francis Joseph¹⁷ and the Empress driving along the narrow roads: and I remember two small old men of bourgeois appearance, refreshing themselves in the garden of our little inn, who were pointed out to me as the uncles of Francis Joseph, both of whom had refused the Imperial Crown in his favour in 1848. Mention of Francis Joseph recalls to me the innate courtesy and amiability of the Austrians in former days. I remember once seeing the Emperor wearing uniform and accompanied by a single equerry walking about the streets in Graz. Everyone knew him by sight, although it is not likely that he was frequently there, and saluted him respectfully, but there was absolutely no snobbery, no following about, and a complete absence of vulgar curiosity. One can hardly imagine a British Sovereign being treated in this way in a provincial town.

On my return, I passed the Matriculation examination for Christ Church, Oxford, without much trouble, and went into residence there early in 1876. The most prominent members of the University at that period were Dean Liddell¹⁸ and Dr. Jowett, the Heads respectively of Christ Church and Balliol, the former enjoying a reputation for social elegance and the latter as a temple of learning. As a matter of fact, there was no very great difference between them, but at Balliol a man was expected to work, and if he did not he was got rid of. At Christ Church this system did not exist and, like most others, I availed myself of this tolerance and, as at Eton, did just enough work to pass the various examinations. My instructor in Mathematics was the famous C. L. Dodgson,¹⁹ a melancholy-looking man, who did not display the faintest suggestion of humour in his lectures. It was generally believed by the undergraduates that "Alice," one of the charming daughters of Dean Liddell, had refused to marry him. Whether this was correct or not, he wrote various poetical satires on the Liddell family for private circulation, which were in very bad taste. I used to see a good deal of the Liddell family and got on quite well with the Dean, who inspired alarm in many people, being a singularly handsome man with a formidable manner.

¹⁷ Franz Joseph I (18 August 1830-21 November 1916) was Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary from 1848 until his death in 1916. From 1 May 1850 until 24 August 1866 he was President of the German Confederation. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁸ Henry George Liddell (1811-1898) was dean (1855-91) of Christ Church, Oxford, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University (1870-74), headmaster (1846-55) of Westminster School, author of *A History of Rome* (1855), and co-author (with Robert Scott) of the monumental work *A Greek-English Lexicon*, which is still used by students of Greek. Lewis Carroll wrote *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* for Henry Liddell's daughter Alice. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁹ Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832-1898), better known by his pen name, Lewis Carroll, was an English writer, mathematician, logician, Anglican deacon and photographer. His most famous writings are *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, its sequel *Through the Looking-Glass*, which includes the poem *Jabberwocky*, and the poem *The Hunting of the Snark*. (*Wikipedia*)

The star undergraduate at Christ Church in my time was Walter Long.²⁰ He had already succeeded to a big property and lived in great style, keeping a number of horses. As an undergraduate he had already acquired proficiency and extreme fluency in public speaking, which he displayed subsequently in Parliament, but Christ Church men did not often frequent the Union and he took no part in its political debates. I was also acquainted with another undergraduate who achieved fame - Cecil Rhodes.²¹ We used both to ride with the Drag, and I remember him as a tall, slim man, with dark red hair, and very different in appearance from that which he presented in middle age.

Life at Oxford was pleasant enough. I hunted and played games, and the only achievement that stands to my credit there is that I won "the Grind," the principal steeplechase of the year, riding my own mare, over the Aylesbury course. The race was worth about £100, but the bulk of the money was always spent by the winner in a huge banquet. There was always great ambition to win this race, and one enthusiastic winner proclaimed that he would sooner win a Grind than obtain a First Class, and that he would sooner win two Grinds than obtain a Double First, this sentiment providing me with a text when I made what must have been a maiden speech.

In 1878 I came of age and there were the usual celebrations. The tenants and workpeople on the Lancashire and Cheshire estates subscribed what appeared to me far too much for the purchase of presentations, which I had done nothing to deserve, but which were, no doubt, intended to express their esteem for my parents, and when I suggested that the money should be handed over to a local relief fund in connection with a recent colliery disaster the suggestion was decisively rejected.

In 1879, I took my degree, having spent four agreeable but somewhat profitless years at Oxford. Even at that comparatively recent date a young man was by no means invariably allowed to select his career. It was at that time considered that an eldest son, if he entered a profession at all, should become a soldier. Chiefly, I think, owing to the influence of my mother, who was probably much influenced by her relatives, Lord Kimberley²² and Philip Currie,²³ who were both connected with the Foreign Office, I was permitted to enter the Diplomatic Service, much to my relief, for military life would have rapidly palled upon me. In those days a candidate for the Diplomatic Service who had taken a University degree was only called upon to pass a test in

²⁰ Lord Newton's footnote states "Subsequently the Rt. Hon. Lord Long". Walter Hume Long, 1st Viscount Long (1854-1924), was a British Unionist politician. In a political career spanning over 40 years, he held office as President of the Board of Agriculture, President of the Local Government Board, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Secretary of State for the Colonies and First Lord of the Admiralty. (*Wikipedia*)

²¹ The Rt Hon Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) was a British businessman, mining magnate, and politician in South Africa. Rhodes was the founder of the southern African territory of Rhodesia, which was named after him in 1895. He set up the provisions of the Rhodes Scholarship, which is funded by his estate. (*Wikipedia*)

²² John Wodehouse, 1st Earl of Kimberley was a leading Liberal statesman in the government of William Ewart Gladstone and the family were noted landowners in Norfolk. His son, John Wodehouse, 2nd Earl of Kimberley (1848-1932), known as Lord Wodehouse from 1866 to 1902, was a British peer and landowner, who was the first member of the Labour Party in the House of Lords. (*Wikipedia*)

²³ Lord Newton's footnote states "Afterwards Lord Currie, G.C.B." Philip Henry Wodehouse Currie, 1st Baron Currie (1834-1906), known as Sir Philip Currie between 1885 and 1899, was a British diplomat. He was Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1893 to 1898 and Ambassador to Italy from 1898 to 1902. (*Wikipedia*)

French and précis-writing. This test I passed without much difficulty, and the present Lord Hardinge²⁴ of Penshurst and I were the last persons to profit by this regulation. Early in 1880 I began work at the F.O.

I have always retained vivid impressions of my first day as a public servant. I repaired, according to orders, to the Chief Clerk's Department and received the startling information that my ship was starting for Shanghai in a few days and that I must make the necessary arrangements at once. Evidently there was some misunderstanding. I had been taken for a student interpreter and was forthwith despatched to my proper destination, which was known as the Eastern Department and included in its orbit Russia, Turkey, Persia, the Balkan States, Egypt, Morocco and Tunis. Here I received a most friendly greeting from my chiefs and colleagues and was immediately taken to pay my respects to the various high officials in the Ministry. These consisted of Lord Tenterden²⁵ (the Permanent Under-Secretary), Sir Julian Pauncefote²⁶ and Sir Villiers Lister.²⁷ Each of these officials received me with much courtesy and each, after impressing upon me the importance of complete discretion, pointed out that at the moment the Eastern Department was engaged upon negotiations of much delicacy in connection with a certain Captain Synge, who had been captured by brigands on the Turco-Greek frontier, and that unguarded talk would probably cost him his life. I was so greatly impressed with the heavy responsibility now attaching to me that I remained rooted to my desk and never took my eyes off it until I left the office about 7 or 8 p.m. To my unbounded astonishment, I saw huge posters bearing the words: "Release of Captain Synge." At the time that the solemn warnings were conveyed to me, Captain Synge was already a free man; and the announcement might easily have infected me with scepticism with regard to official warnings. As a matter of fact, a case of brigandage is an irresistible lure to the Press, and the various newspapers spare no time and expense in endeavouring to be the first to report it; but the Press has nothing whatever to do with the actual negotiations which are the really important matter.

The Eastern Department was, in 1880, by far the most interesting department in the F.O. It was presided over by my relative, Philip Currie²⁸ whose chief assistants were Frank Bertie²⁹

²⁴ Charles Hardinge, 1st Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (1858-1944), was a diplomat and statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1910-16. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁵ Charles Stuart Aubrey Abbott, 3rd Baron Tenterden KCB (26 December 1834-22 September 1882), was a British diplomat. He was educated at Eton College (1848-53), and entered into service at the Foreign Office in 1854 by the patronage of the foreign secretary, Lord Clarendon. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁶ Lord Newton's footnote reads "Afterwards Lord Pauncefote. Julian Pauncefote, 1st Baron Pauncefote (1828-1902), known as Sir Julian Pauncefote between 1874 and 1899, was a barrister, judge and diplomat. He was Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1882 and 1889 when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, an office that was upgraded to that of Ambassador to the United States in 1893. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁷ Lister, Sir Thomas Villiers (1832-1902) was an Assistant Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F55114>)

²⁸ Philip Henry Wodehouse Currie, 1st Baron Currie GCB (13 October 1834-12 May 1906), known as Sir Philip Currie between 1885 and 1899, was a British diplomat. He was Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1893 to 1898 and Ambassador to Italy from 1898 to 1902. Currie was the son of Raikes Currie, Member of Parliament for Northampton, and the Hon. Laura Sophia, daughter of John Wodehouse, 1st Baron Wodehouse. (*Wikipedia*) Note that Lord Newton's mother was Emily Jane Wodehouse.

²⁹ Viscount Bertie of Thame, in the County of Oxford, was a title created in 1918 for the prominent diplomat Francis Bertie, 1st Baron Bertie of Thame, on his retirement as British Ambassador to France. Bertie was the second son of Montagu Bertie, 6th Earl of Abingdon. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER I

and Sir Thomas Sanderson.³⁰ All these were able men who eventually were created Peers, in a period when titles were much more rarely conferred than

Page 10

THE OLD FOREIGN OFFICE

now. Both Currie and Bertie ended up as Ambassadors, and Sanderson became the very distinguished Permanent Under-Secretary. Bertie had a reputation for being a very strict martinet, but I got on very well with him, probably because he realised that I was interested in the work. Not long after my arrival we were joined by Arthur Hardinge,³¹ one of the most brilliant men I ever met, but whose erratic behaviour and untidy habits soon got him into trouble with Bertie, who had at once christened him “The Professor,” a nickname which stuck for life. It was not long, however, before Arthur Hardinge and I imparted some instruction to our chief. A telegram arrived from St. Petersburg containing simply the words: “Blue Hill fallen,” of which no one could make anything. Then an inspiration came to me. The Russians were attacking at the time a place in Central Asia called “Geok Tepe.” I happened to know that Tepe was the Turkish word for hill, and Hardinge, who knew everything, said that Geok was the Turkish for blue, and the mystery was solved.

The F.O. in 1880 was a very different place from what it is now. The staff consisted of only about sixty persons all told, including Queen’s Messengers. All the copying was in manuscript, and typewriters did not exist. Neither were there female secretaries, and only the higher officials possessed private secretaries. But an inaccurate picture of the old F.O. has been drawn by novelists like Anthony Trollope. In fiction, the F.O. clerk was a man of fashion who condescended occasionally to devote a minimum of time to public business. As a matter of fact, the F.O. clerks, as I knew them in 1880, were hard-working, intelligent men, who made a most favourable impression upon me and seemed to compare well with many of the vacuous personages who were to be found in smart society. The work was undoubtedly hard. I used to go down to the office about 10 or 11 and remain on occasions till 8 or 9, and I used sometimes to compare my duties unfavourably with those of my brother, who was in the Foot Guards and seemed able to spend most of the time on the race-courses. But, as a matter of fact, I found the work intensely interesting, in spite of the complaints that have been brought against it during recent times. What I particularly liked about the F.O. was the absence of official pomposity, the good feeling which prevailed between the different ranks of officials, and the general level of intelligence. I cannot recollect any fools, except perhaps one or two survivors of political nepotism. The system, such as it was, worked

Page 11

AS QUEEN’S MESSENGER TO CONSTANTINOPLE

well and, if I am not mistaken, not a single scandal occurred until after the arrival of a Second Division clerk.

I had not been long in the F.O. before I discovered that it was possible to make a short visit to Constantinople by taking the place of the Queen’s Messenger. I obtained leave to do so and started off with a vast mass of crossed and uncrossed bags in the spring of 1881. The journey took about five days and would now be considered unthinkable. There were no sleepers in

³⁰ Thomas Henry Sanderson, 1st Baron Sanderson (1841-1923), was Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1894 and 1906. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹ Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge GCMG KCB (1859-1933) was a senior British diplomat. He was a fluent speaker of Spanish and French, he studied Classics and Modern History at Balliol College, Oxford University, being a Fellow of All Souls College in 1881. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER I

those days, and one started by spending the inside of one day at Paris. Then came a wait at Vienna, and later on a night at Bucharest. At Bucharest, a fresh train was taken to Giurgevo on the Danube, the river was crossed by ferry, the old Turkish railway took one from Rustchuk to Varna, and 12 hours after leaving Varna one reached Constantinople.

Never shall I forget my delight at finding myself for the first time in the East, and I experienced the sensations so vividly described by Kinglake³² when he first came into contact with the Turks at Belgrade. This is, however, a pleasurable experience which is denied to travellers of to-day. It is largely dress which captures the imagination, and those who travel to Constantinople now are not likely to labour under the illusion that they have arrived in a new world, for the old national costumes of both men and women in Turkey have been rigorously prohibited. Turbans and tarbooshes (a type of fez) have gone; so have caftans and yashmaks. Dervishes and Mollahs have disappeared, so have the dogs, and even the poorest of the population are dressed in shoddy European clothes and second-hand soft Homburg hats. Constantinople, however, in 1881, was still an Oriental city and, except for the so-called Grande Rue de Pera there was no striking sign of ostensible European progress. Many of the streets were unpaved. Sedan chairs were used at night by smart European society, which consisted chiefly of the Diplomatic Corps; big fires were frequent, and there was a slight latent fear of insecurity.

I repaired with my bags to the Embassy, which strangely reminded me of my Cheshire home, both houses being built round an Italian courtyard. The acting Ambassador was Mr. Goschen, M.P.³³ who had been sent out on a special mission by the Gladstone Government, who were determined to reverse the Beaconsfield-Salisbury policy in the East and were perhaps justified in doing so as the result of the General Election of 1880. Ever since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, comparatively ineffectual attempts had been made to compel

Page 12

MARRIAGE

the Turks to carry out some of the articles to which they were pledged. It was the special task of Mr. Goschen to secure the evacuation by the Turks of an insignificant village called Dolcigno, which had been allotted to Montenegro, and to effect a rectification of the Turko-Greek frontier. Although all the Powers were in ostensible unison, and although there were constant and lengthy discussions between the Powers themselves and between the Powers and the Porte, little progress seemed to be made, the truth being that no one except ourselves cared whether the articles of the Treaty of Berlin were carried out or not.

One of the secretaries at the Embassy was Charles Hardinge, and he and others were good enough, during my stay at Constantinople, to show me the principal sights of the town, one of which was the weekly visit of the Sultan to the Mosque. It was the custom of Abdul Hamid³⁴ to avoid showing himself in public as much as possible, and he eventually constructed a mosque close to the Yildiz Palace, so as to reduce the journey to the minimum. He

³² Alexander William Kinglake (1809-1891) was an English travel writer and historian. (*Wikipedia*)

³³ Viscount Goschen, of Hawkhurst in the County of Kent, is a title created in 1900 for the politician George Goschen upon his retirement from a long political career, during which he served variously as Member of Parliament, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, President of the Poor Law Board, Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Admiralty. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁴ Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918) was the 34th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire and the last Sultan to exert effective autocratic control over the fracturing state. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER I

proceeded to it in a small carriage which he drove himself, and the dignity of the ceremonial suffered from a disorderly and breathless crowd of officials, many of whom were obese and clumsy, who followed the carriage on foot, scrambling laboriously up a steep hill to the Palace. Abdul Hamid himself was sinister and insignificant in appearance, with little trace of rank or breeding. I little thought that, at a future date, I should be received by him as an honoured visitor.

Not long after my return to London I was informed that I should probably be sent abroad at no distant date, and I heard the announcement with mixed feelings, for I had married, four months earlier, Evelyn, the beautiful and gifted daughter of Mr. Bromley Davenport, M.P.,³⁵ the well-known sportsman and writer, who was one of our Cheshire neighbours, and I was doubtful whether she would enjoy leaving England and settling on the Continent. It was one of those marriages which might have been predicted with some certainty. I had known her in the schoolroom, and a mutual attachment had developed between us after two seasons in London, where she had been much admired. She saw no reason to alter her mind. We were married in the late summer of 1880.

Meanwhile Lord Granville, who was an uncle of my wife by marriage, had appointed me attaché at the Paris Embassy. Secretly, and foolishly, I felt that I should have preferred Constantinople, but

Page 13

APPOINTED ATTACHE AT THE PARIS EMBASSY

had the sense not to say so, as Lord Granville, who was the kindest of men, particularly selected Paris as the most agreeable post in the world.

I left the F.O. with much regret, and it was a great and unexpected pleasure to me to return there in 1916 and resume my acquaintance with old friends, but it is a painful fact, if I am not mistaken, that all those who were connected with the F.O. or the Diplomatic Service in 1880 are now dead, with the exception of Lord Hardinge.

³⁵ William Bromley-Davenport (20 August 1821-15 June 1884), was a Conservative politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1864-84. Bromley-Davenport was the son of Rev. Walter Davenport of Wootton Hall, Staffordshire. He was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Staffordshire Yeomanry Cavalry and a Deputy Lieutenant and J.P. for Warwickshire and Staffordshire. In 1864 Davenport-Bromley was elected at a by-election as a M.P. for North Warwickshire, a seat which he held until his death. (*Wikipedia*)

THE PARIS EMBASSY. 1881-1883

1881. I proceeded to my new post with considerable qualms, for a married attaché was a complete *rara avis* and I was haunted by a fear that our advent might be considered an unwarranted intrusion. My suspicions, however, turned out to be completely groundless and nothing could have exceeded the kindness of our welcome. This success was undoubtedly due to my wife, whose beauty and charm took everyone by storm, from Lord Lyons³⁶ downwards. Her success with Lord Lyons was all the more noticeable because he was no admirer of the sex in general, and waited for a long time before he formed a favourable or unfavourable opinion of anyone, man or woman. He was a man of such remarkable personality that he deserves a special mention. In appearance, he by no means suggested the diplomatist of fiction. He was a big, heavy man, with homely features, and represented a type which must now have almost completely disappeared - the man who lives only for his profession and has few interests outside it. He possessed few of the tastes of the average Englishman, hated exercise, never walked farther than to the English Church, about 100 yards distance from the Embassy; drank no wine and did not smoke. The opposite sex, as I have already said, had little attraction for him, and he used to relate with glee that his dossier at the "Prefecture de Police" contained the entry "*on ne lui connait pas de vice*," and would boast that he had spent six years in America without taking an alcoholic drink or making a speech. Indeed, in self-derision he used to quote the German hedonist lines which stigmatise as a fool the man to whom wine, women and song make no appeal. No one, however, would ever have set down Lord Lyons as a fool. He was, in fact, a model of sagacity and industry, with a profound knowledge of his profession which was unrivalled.

The very high influence which he enjoyed in International Diplomacy was not due to any special brilliance but to industry, patience,

cautiousness, impartiality and the gift of inspiring confidence. Even the French, perhaps the most suspicious people in the world, used to put complete trust in his assurances, and he knew exactly what line the French Government would take under certain circumstances. His industry was prodigious. Every day he rose early and studied the French Press before settling down to the ordinary business of the Embassy which, combined with official visits, practically filled up the time until dinner. Then he relaxed for a short period, usually in the company of some of his staff, and again worked before going to bed. He lived, in fact, a machine-like existence, and even his holidays in England, always taken at the same season, were passed at the houses of members of the governing families, such as Knowsley, Hatfield and Woburn. This stereotyped kind of existence might have been expected to produce a kind of social mummy, but this was far from the case. Lord Lyons was a very well read man, an excellent linguist, a fair classic, possessed of a keen sense of humour and an especially retentive memory, which enabled him to remember much that most people had forgotten.

³⁶ Richard Bickerton Pemell Lyons, 1st Viscount Lyons (1817-1887) was an eminent British diplomat. Lyons was the elder son of Edmund Lyons, 1st Baron Lyons (1790-1858), naval officer and diplomat. After attending Winchester College, he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated BA in 1838 and MA in 1843. He entered the diplomatic service in 1839 as an unpaid attaché at his father's legation in Greece. In 1844 he was made a paid attaché and transferred to Saxony and then Tuscany. His first major appointment came in December 1858 when he succeeded Lord Napier as British envoy to the United States in Washington. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

Although simple in his tastes he held strong views concerning the duties of the British Ambassador; the entertainments at the Embassy, consisting mostly of dinners, were faultless; so were his carriages and his household, and in the spirit of true hospitality he invariably invited the unmarried secretaries to dine with him if they were disengaged. As a chief, he was perfect: always kindly and considerate. No one ever served on his staff without feeling a real affection for him, and, looking back over a vista of considerably more than half a century, I realise more than ever, and understand more fully, why Lord Salisbury tried to persuade him to become Foreign Secretary in 1886.

Amongst the other members of the British Embassy in 1881, all of whom, alas, are dead, were several intimate friends who subsequently became Ambassadors: Sir Michael Herbert,³⁷ Sir Nicholas O'Connor,³⁸ Sir Maurice de Bunsen³⁹ and Sir Gerard Lowther.⁴⁰ The Commercial attaché was Sir Joseph Crowe, a world authority on painting and father of the late distinguished Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, Sir Eyre Crowe,⁴¹ and also George Sheffield, Lord Lyon's Private Secretary. The latter enjoyed a wide popularity both in Paris and London. He was completely in the confidence of Lord Lyons and generally believed to be absolutely discreet. Oddly enough he spoke very imperfect French, with a pronounced British accent, but I have always considered a so-called perfect French accent to be an

Page 16

WORK AT THE EMBASSY [1881]

overrated accomplishment, for Frenchmen are usually much more anxious to talk than to listen and pay little attention to the accent of a foreigner. Sheffield knew everyone worth knowing in the two countries, and, in view of his intimate association with his chief, prominent Frenchmen were delighted to express their opinions to him; and he was frequently used as an intermediary.

I found the work in the Chancery child's play after the Foreign Office. There was a vast amount of correspondence but not a great deal of telegraphic work, and our labours were much lightened by the intense industry of our Chief, who read every document that appeared, without delay, and either answered it himself or gave close instructions as to the reply. Consequently, there was little to do beyond copying and the routine duties of any diplomatic establishment, and frequently a written message would arrive quite early in the afternoon: "I have nothing more for the Chancery to-day." Mention of the word Chancery leads me to speculate why the word "Chancellery," quite unknown to the British diplomatist, is almost invariably employed in the Press when diplomacy is discussed, for the Accusing Spirit did not fly up with Uncle Toby's oath to Heaven's "Chancellery": and we do not talk of a ward or even of a head being in "Chancellery."

³⁷ Sir Michael Henry Herbert (1857-1903), was a British diplomat and ambassador. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁸ Sir Nicholas Roderick O'Connor, was born in County Roscommon, Ireland, in 1843 and died in Constantinople in 1908. He was a British diplomat and at his death was the British Ambassador to Turkey. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹ Sir Maurice William Ernest de Bunsen (1852-1932) was a British diplomat. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁰ Sir Gerard Augustus Lowther, 1st Baronet (1858-1916), was a diplomat. His wife, Alice, had a portrait painted by John Singer Sargent. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹ Sir Eyre Alexander Barby Wichart Crowe (1864-1925) was a British diplomat. He was a leading expert on Germany in the foreign office. He is best known for his 1907, vigorous warning that Germany's expansionist intentions toward Britain were hostile and had to be met with a closer alliance ("Entente") with France. Eyre Crowe was born in Leipzig and educated at Düsseldorf and Berlin and in France. His father, Joseph Archer Crowe (1825-1896), had been a British consul-general and ended his career as commercial attache for all of Europe (1882-1896), as well as being an important art historian. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

Our Paris Chancery was very efficiently directed by the late Sir William Barrington,⁴² and I can only recollect one instance of a serious; error which might have caused trouble. One day a pallid and flustered *chef de cabinet* from the French Foreign Office arrived with a document and explained that there must have been a mistake. The document was a report by our Naval Attaché of a confidential interview which he had held with the French Minister of Marine, in which the latter used very strong language about his Cabinet colleagues. The report was, of course, intended for the British Admiralty, but had accidentally been put into a printed envelope addressed to the French Foreign Minister. I was the junior, and suspicion naturally fell upon me, but I was able to prove my innocence. A momentous discussion took place as to whether Lord Lyons should be informed, and it was finally decided to leave him in ignorance. The decision turned out to be a wise one, for the French Foreign Office never alluded to the incident, and if Lord Lyons had ever been told I really believe that it might have shortened his life.

Missing the interest of the cypher telegrams which arrived at and departed daily from the Foreign Office, I, after some time, ventured to make the bold suggestion that we should be permitted to see the Blue

Page 17

SOCIETY IN PARIS [1881]

Print, which the Ambassador received almost every day and which contained the latest telegraphic news. This practice had never been adopted in Paris, and my colleagues were inclined to be scandalised at my audacity, but to the general surprise the request was immediately complied with.

I have already described Lord Lyons's efforts to shorten our labours as much as possible and enable us to enjoy life at Paris. It has always seemed to me that Paris must present greater attraction to diplomatists than London. London society is so vast that to some extent they are submerged or overlooked, however much they may be respected. In Paris, membership of an Embassy or Legation is, or was, a passport to the highest society, whether official or private, and it was not long before we made the acquaintance of many new friends. This was, no doubt, partly due to the personality of my wife, who was not only very good-looking, but an excellent linguist, speaking both French and German perfectly, was a very proficient pianist, and an accomplished dancer and rider: whereas I had all the young Englishman's silly fear of speaking a foreign language, and the typical national aversion to obtruding myself on anyone by asking for an introduction. Of course, I cured myself of these errors in course of time, and, after having some experience of Continental countries, came to the conclusion that most so-called foreigners preferred an Englishman - unless he was socially hopeless - to anyone else, and this notwithstanding political hostility between the two countries. In Paris, in the early 'eighties, most of the smart entertaining was done by the Haute Finance, and we experienced much kindness from the various members of the Rothschild family who resided there. But in those days many of the old French aristocracy were still in a position to entertain, and so were many who had been personages of importance during the Second Empire, and I am disposed to think that the extraordinary grace, distinction and courtesy which was displayed by both men and women of the *grand monde* was greater than could be seen in any other country. Still, in spite of its charm, I confess that I never could feel

⁴² Sir William Augustus Curzon Barrington (1842-1922) was a British diplomat. He was the third son of William Barrington, 6th Viscount Barrington. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

thoroughly at home in French society, for I could not quite appreciate its gregarious spirit, although I ought to have admired it. In addition to French and high cosmopolitan society there was also a strong American element and a few British residents, and we naturally saw a good deal of both. The class with whom one scarcely ever came in contact was the Political, and I was too modest to try and make acquaintance with the men whose names were famous in Art, Literature and Science.

Page 18

TENNIS IN FRANCE [1881]

One of my chief resources was tennis (real), and there were two courts in the Tuileries Gardens, close to the Place de la Concorde, at which one could play under the most ideal conditions. They were admirably kept, never unduly crowded, and all the staff were most obliging and intelligent. Tennis is, of course, a French game, and was perhaps the best game in the world, suitable for any age, until it was more or less impaired by American methods. The Dedans used to be visited frequently by distinguished people, and amongst the comparatively unknown I used to notice a quiet-looking man whose name was Huddleston. He was a squire in Lincolnshire and in his younger days he had fallen in love with the Empress Eugenie,⁴³ and the latter, who was temporarily tired of her rackety existence, very nearly accepted him. Oddly enough, I have never seen this incident referred to in any of the books which have been written about her.

The standard of French tennis was not high, and although I doubt whether I should ever have been classed as a good third-class player at home I could beat all the French players except about two, and if they insisted upon playing for money, as they occasionally did, I could make sure of winning because they invariably lost either their heads or their temper. Now, all that has changed - the French play games just as well as we do, and, as far as I know, can equally well control their feelings. In one respect the French seem to me to have a distinct advantage over us and that is in teaching. French instructors are more intelligent and painstaking than English, and I attribute this superiority to the careful study of theory. This applies to all forms of sport.

The year 1881 was notable for an important change in the French attitude towards Germany. Hitherto, since the war, the attitude had been one of deference amounting almost to servility, and the first small country to become conscious of the change was Tunis. One of the French delegates sent to attend the Berlin Congress in 1878 had been M. Waddington,⁴⁴ with whom I was on very friendly terms, and, although he was much older than I, he did not disdain to talk politics with me. M. Waddington, partly English by origin, was a perfect bi-linguist, who had been educated at Cambridge and had rowed in the Boat Race, and he was therefore accused by his political opponents of speaking French with an English accent. He used frequently to tell me of his experiences at Berlin in 1878, how well he got on with Bismarck,⁴⁵ and of the

⁴³ Empress Eugenie, Doña María Eugenia Ignacia Augustina de Palafox y KirkPatrick, 16th Countess of Teba and 15th Marchioness of Ardales (1826-1920), known as Eugénie de Montijo, was the last Empress consort of the French, from 1853 to 1871, as the wife of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁴ William Henry Waddington (11 December 1826-13 January 1894) was a French statesman who served as Prime Minister in 1879, and as an Ambassador of France. Waddington was born at the Château of Saint-Rémy in Eure-et-Loir, the son of a rich English industrialist, Thomas Waddington, whose family had established a large cotton manufacturing business in France, *Établissements Waddington fils et Cie.* (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵ Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince of Bismarck, Duke of Lauenburg (1815-1898), known as Otto von Bismarck, was a conservative Prussian statesman who dominated German and European affairs from the 1860s until 1890. In the 1860s he engineered a series of wars that unified the German states (excluding Austria) into a powerful German Empire under Prussian leadership. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

admiration which the latter felt for Lord Beaconsfield⁴⁶ as well as of his intense hatred for Gortchakoff⁴⁷ but I never

Page 19

FRANCE: TUNIS AND EGYPT [1881-82]

elicited from him a precise statement as to how the seizure of Tunis originated. Bismarck's consent was obtained, and the British Government were informed of the fact and replied that they did not consider our interests to be affected.

Nothing happened for three years, but in the Spring of 1881 the French Government suddenly announced that they intended to occupy Tunis, in order to anticipate the Turks, who were alleged, without a vestige of evidence, to be also contemplating a Protectorate. When the absurdity of the French pretext was exposed, that Government actually had the audacity to declare that they had been advised by the British Government to take Tunis, and Lord Salisbury's political opponents did not scruple to assert that he had made a present of it to France. It was in vain that the unfortunate Bey complained bitterly to the world of his treatment. No Power paid any attention to his lamentations, except Italy, who was well known to have harboured recently the same intentions as France but had not the means or the courage to act.

The seizure of Tunis was a discredit to Europe, bearing a strong resemblance to the subsequent actions of Hitler, but, as no Power except Italy really cared what happened to Tunis, the question was allowed to drop and was before long superseded by the more important crisis in Egypt.

1882. Affairs in that country were steadily going from bad to worse, and the appearance on the scene of Arabi⁴⁸ presaged an inevitable crisis. Arabi was an uneducated Egyptian soldier, who, according to my informant, Sir E. Malet,⁴⁹ who had dealings with him, was so ignorant that he did not realise that the Canal had two open ends, but was well up in the Koran and could recite much of it. But, ignorant though he was, he represented a real force which could be utilised by cleverer people than himself. It was, of course, the obvious duty of France and England, as the controlling Powers, to deal with the situation, but united action seemed impossible, chiefly owing to the vacillation of the French and the want of a

⁴⁶ Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881), was a British politician and writer who twice served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He played a central role in the creation of the modern Conservative Party, defining its policies and its broad outreach. Disraeli is remembered for his influential voice in world affairs, his political battles with the Liberal Party leader William Ewart Gladstone, and his one-nation conservatism or "Tory democracy". (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁷ Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov (1798-1883) was a Russian statesman from the Gorchakov princely family. He has an enduring reputation as one of the most influential and respected diplomats of the nineteenth century. (*Wikipedia*) Lord Newton gave a footnote mentioning him as Russian Chancellor. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁸ The 'Urabi Revolt, was a nationalist uprising in Egypt from 1879 to 1882. It was led by and named for Colonel Ahmed 'Urabi (also spelled Orabi and Arabi) and sought to depose the Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, and end British and French influence over the country. Despite a French refusal to resort to arms and the pacifist proclamations of the Gladstone administration in Britain, the uprising was ended by a British bombardment of Alexandria and invasion of the country that left it under foreign control until after World War II. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁹ Sir Edward Baldwin Malet, 4th Baronet (1837-1908), was a British diplomat. He served as Secretary of Legation at Peking (1871-73), Athens (1873-75), Rome (1875-78), and Constantinople (1878-79). Malet was appointed Agent and Consul-General in Egypt on 10 October 1879. He served there until 1883, pressing for administrative and financial reforms. He was later British Ambassador to Berlin. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

real leader. The most prominent man in France was still Gambetta⁵⁰, but even he, who took office at the end of '81, only lasted for about two months and his place was taken by M. de Freycinet,⁵¹ who was more responsible than anyone for the failure of France to act with us. The inevitable crash came with the massacre of Europeans in Alexandria in July, 1882, and intervention became inevitable. No one can accuse the British Government of being desirous of acting alone. We implored first

Page 20

DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES IN FRANCE [1882-83]

France, then Italy and finally Turkey to join us in an expedition, and each refused. In France, which was the only country that mattered, opinion was divided. Gambetta had given us to understand that he was ready to act with us, but it is perhaps fortunate that he was not in a position to carry out his promise, as for us it would probably have led to trouble eventually. Freycinet was afraid to run the risk, and Lesseps,⁵² who was then a very important personage in France, is understood to have assured the French Government that we should never venture to make use of the Canal. French military authorities estimated that an expedition was a very serious undertaking which would require at least 60,000 men, and all these parties must have felt considerable disappointment when Lord Wolseley⁵³ brought the campaign to a triumphant conclusion in a very short time with a force of only 30,000. Our success in Egypt naturally gave no satisfaction to France and perpetual attempts were made to impede our work, although we made every effort not to ruffle French susceptibilities.

The year 1883 opened gloomily for France, as the death of Gambetta had just occurred, and the mystery of the pistol shot which killed him has never, as far as I know, been explained. It was assumed, of course, by the French public that a woman was involved, but even Sheffield,⁵⁴ who knew Gambetta personally, could never get any definite information on the subject.

I was present in the Elysée when President Grevy⁵⁵ received the Diplomatic Corps on January 1, and the intense agitation of that uninspiring statesman was obvious to all. Gambetta, in spite of his failures as administrator, was still the most popular figure in the country and was looked upon as the man who could best save France in an emergency. His death was, therefore, considered an irreparable blow, and his loss was accentuated by the simultaneous death of General Chanzy,⁵⁶ in whom the various Royalist and Capitalist factions put their trust. The fact was that the propertied classes felt that the Republic, in spite of its apparently unassailable position, offered them very little security, and they also disliked the "Spirited

⁵⁰ Léon Gambetta (1838-1882) was a French statesman, prominent during and after the Franco-Prussian War. Lord Newton's footnote was that he was Chairman of the Suez Canal Company. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵¹ Charles Louis de Saulces de Freycinet (1828-1923) was a French statesman and four times Prime Minister during the Third Republic. He also served an important term as Minister of War (1888-93). (*Wikipedia*)

⁵² Ferdinand Marie, Vicomte de Lesseps (1805-1894) was a French diplomat and later developer of the Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³ Field Marshal Garnet Joseph Wolseley, 1st Viscount Wolseley (1833-1913), was an Anglo-Irish officer in the British Army. He served in Burma, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, China, Canada, and widely throughout Africa — including his Ashanti campaign (1873-1874) and the Nile Expedition against Mahdist Sudan in 1884-85. He served as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces from 1895 to 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴ This may be Henry North Holroyd, 3rd Earl of Sheffield (1832-1909), styled Viscount Pevensy until 1876, who was an English Conservative politician and patron of cricket. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁵ François Paul Jules Grévy (1807-1891) was a President of the French Third Republic from 30 January 1879 to 2 December 1887 (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁶ Antoine Eugène Alfred Chanzy (1823-1883) was a French general, notable for his successes during the Franco-Prussian War and as a governor of Algeria. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER II

Colonial Policy” which had been followed with so little success, judging by Tonquin, Assam, Madagascar and Tunis. Everyone, in short, was discontented and anxious, and under the circumstances Lord Lyons dissuaded the Prince of Wales from proposing a visit to Paris. In the spring M. de Freycinet was replaced as Foreign Minister by M. Challemeil-Lacour⁵⁷, a gentleman wanting in urbanity, who had recently

Page 21

TEMPORARY TRANSFER TO BERNE [1883]

been Ambassador in London. No advantage was expected by us from the change, and the newcomer wasted no time in the usual gushing protestations of mutual affection. Lord Lyons, however, was rather disposed to look upon this as a hopeful symptom. “I know,” he wrote to Lord Granville, “by long experience that ardent professions of love for England on the part of an incoming Minister are not to be trusted to as good signs.”

In the meanwhile, a small change occurred in my affairs. A temporary secretary was required at the Legation in Berne and, as I was the junior and none of the others were desirous of leaving Paris, I was selected for the post, sent my wife to England and proceeded to Berne in May. Many years afterwards, when going through Lord Lyons’s papers, I came across the following note:

Paris, May 15, 1883.

Lord Lyons to Sir F. O. Adams.⁵⁸

Dear Adams,

I have settled that Legh is to be at Berne on the 28th and I hope you will like him. He is clever and well informed, though some people think he does not look it.

Yours, etc.,

Lyons.

It is at all events satisfactory to learn on high authority that one is more intelligent than one’s appearance suggests.

Berne was a great contrast to Paris, but I have always liked variety in life and dislike a monotonous existence. In those days, it was an essentially bourgeois city, as may be judged from the fact that there was only one private carriage in the place and that was owned by the French Ambassador, a pompous individual who cannot have been endowed with much perspicacity, for when the whole Diplomatic Corps went to attend the Tir Fédéral at Lugano he could not be convinced that the railway, which lay thousands of feet below us, was the line which had actually conveyed us from Berne.

Although all, or nearly all the Powers, great or small, maintained diplomatic missions at Berne, the French alone enjoyed the possession of an Embassy. I always entertained suspicions that the various Missions had very little to do, judging by our own case. I can only recollect one subject which caused correspondence and negotiation

⁵⁷ Paul-Armand Challemeil-Lacour (1827–1896) was a French statesman. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁸ Lord Newton’s footnote refers to him as British Minister at Berne, i.e. the ambassador.

between Great Britain and Switzerland, and that referred to a water-pipe belonging to a British subject, and as there was practically no work and as my chief, Sir Francis Adams, whom I had formerly known in Paris, was a kindly and considerate person, I spent most of my time touring about the country. And if there was little work at Berne there was equally little entertaining. The various Swiss Ministers lived in small and modest quarters, quite unsuitable for the purpose, and the President usually spent his evenings in playing billiards with an hotel waiter. There were no forms of amusement; no theatres, as far as I remember, although there may have been a music hall of some kind, and nothing in the shape of lawn tennis or even of croquet. Consequently, the Diplomatic Corps, as in places like Sofia or Teheran, were thrown back upon their own resources, which were mainly confined to whist and gossip. Whist was the great stand-by, and I used to observe with interest how each player, before sitting down, endeavoured to touch the small hump which characterised the bearer of a historic name who represented one of the Great Powers.

I left Berne in the autumn. It could not be described as an exhilarating place, but it was pleasant enough during the summer months, and although it was out of the beaten track of most tourists I had both found and made friends there, one of whom afterwards became German Ambassador in Paris. My short and uneventful stay, however, had filled me with great admiration for the country. Switzerland, in some ways, is a model State. The distribution of wealth is much wider than in most European countries; there is little unemployment, and a contented democracy is a more formidable obstacle to Communism than any dictator. But what fills me with admiration is the fixed and resolute determination of the Swiss to resist all attacks upon their integrity and independence. With wise foresight they have not been content to rely upon treaties and solemn inanities such as collective security, but upon their own exertions. With this object, they created long ago a home defence force, based upon the principle that it is the duty of every able-bodied man to serve his country, and it is the existence of this force that has hitherto saved Switzerland from the aggression of predatory Powers which have attempted the enslavement of nearly all the small countries of Europe. At the time of writing, it is hardly an exaggeration to state that Switzerland is the only genuine neutral country in Europe.

LIFE IN PARIS. 1883-1886

Paris, November 16, 1883. Returned from leave and started this diary, which I have kept up to the present time, making rough notes daily on any incident which seemed to be of interest. Those who keep diaries are often held up to ridicule, but I have found that mine has saved me a great deal of trouble, and when I wrote the biographies of Lord Lyons and Lord Lansdowne it lightened the work considerably.

Towards the close of 1883 the political situation in France seemed to be even more unsatisfactory than earlier in the year, and a disgraceful attack by the Paris mob upon the King of Spain, who had been made a Colonel of Uhlans by the German Emperor, certainly did nothing to improve matters, for it reflected equal discredit both upon the responsible authorities and upon the populace. Among the causes which brought about a general discontent and distrust in the Government were the "spirited colonial policy" of M. Jules Ferry,⁵⁹ the clumsy efforts of the Legitimist Parties to attack the Republic, the growing hostility between France and England in consequence of the Egyptian complication, and the ever-present fear that a German attack might take place in the spring. But this widespread pessimism, which was in fact about thirty years in advance of the great European crisis of 1914, seemed to have little effect upon the social activity in Paris. The winter of 1883-84 was noticeable for a series of brilliant entertainments on the part not only of the Haute Finance but of the French aristocracy and of wealthy upstarts who, with the assistance of needy members of good families, indulged in entertainments representing colossal expense. Evidently money was not wanting, in spite of the general sense of danger.

1884. In contrast with these luxurious displays, I remember an Elysée Presidential ball to which 10,000 guests had been invited who struggled, without much success, to obtain a free meal at the buffets.

A SARGENT PORTRAIT [1884]

The spirit of entertainment also spread to the English-speaking community, and, it being Leap Year, I made my first acquaintance with the American "Leap Year dance," when the usual practice is reversed and the invitation is made by ladies. From the feminine point of view, it seems to me, there is one advantage in the practice. On all such occasions a woman is carefully watched by her friends and acquaintances, and if a lady were involved in a liaison to which she did not desire attention to be drawn it would be easy to divert suspicion by addressing herself to uninteresting friends.

In the American world at Paris was the painter Sargent,⁶⁰ then a tall, good-looking young man, who had lived chiefly in Europe and was more cosmopolitan than American. An English art student who was a friend of mine told me one day that Sargent was extremely anxious to paint my wife, and spoke very highly of his talent, urging me to employ him, but added that Sargent was much too modest a man to approach me on the subject.

⁵⁹ Jules François Camille Ferry (1832–1893) was a French statesman and republican. He was Prime Minister from 21 February 1883–6 April 1885.

⁶⁰ John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) was an American artist, considered the "leading portrait painter of his generation" for his evocations of Edwardian era luxury. (*Wikipedia*)

Fortunately, I had sense enough to seize the opportunity, and had no difficulty in arranging about the price, which was considerably less than a tenth of what subsequently he sometimes asked. At the time, he was known only as a favourite pupil of Carolus-Duran,⁶¹ and the portrait of Madame Gautreau had not yet been exhibited. The story of my wife's portrait affords an instance of the ineptitude and snobbery which is occasionally met with in the art world. Sargent took immense pains, and there must have been about thirty or forty sittings, and he produced a beautiful work of art, but somehow missed a good likeness. He expressed a wish to exhibit it, either in Paris or at the Grosvenor Gallery, and finally decided upon the latter. When the picture eventually arrived, it was ignominiously skied, as no one there, apparently, had ever heard of Sargent, or even perhaps of Carolus-Duran, and all my relatives abused it because it was not a good likeness. For a good many years it remained quite ignored, but later on its merits were recognised. Now, of course, it is well known and regarded with much interest by admirers of Sargent, as being his first portrait of an English woman.

We saw a good deal of Sargent in Paris and always found him a most agreeable and cultured man. When subsequently he settled in London we unfortunately saw less of him, but I can recall a striking instance of his modesty. He was dining with us one night and asked to take in a certain lady. He fancied that she had not caught his name, and one of my daughters, Hilda, heard him say to her, in an apologetic

Page 25

VISIT TO CONSTANTINOPLE [1884]

tone: "My name is Sargent." This modesty was in strong contrast to the pretentious pomposity of other eminent artists. At a very smart party given by the Gustave Rothschilds, at which I was present, the painter Meissonier,⁶² on being asked to write his name in a visitors' book, refused point blank to do so, exclaiming that it was an insult and that his signature was worth 2,000 francs.

In the spring of 1884 wagons-lits trains, with restaurants, made their first appearance on the Continent, and the Orient Express company announced a weekly service from Paris to Constantinople. The temptation to revisit Constantinople so easily was an irresistible one. The Queen's Messenger whose destination was Constantinople was quite willing to spend nearly a fortnight in Paris instead of continuing his journey, and I obtained permission to take his place. My wife and I left Paris on March 20, reached Giurgevo, where we left the Orient Express, on the morning of March 24, and arrived in Constantinople on the following morning. I found that various improvements had been made in the town, new streets built, and a tramway was working from Stamboul to the upper parts of Pera. The Embassy, too, presented a much smarter appearance under Lord Dufferin⁶³ than in the time of his predecessor.

⁶¹ Charles Auguste Émile Durand, known as Carolus-Duran (1837–1917), was a French painter and art instructor. He is noted for his stylish depictions of members of high society in Third Republic France. (*Wikipedia*)

⁶² Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) was a French Classicist painter and sculptor famous for his depictions of Napoleon, his armies and military themes. He documented sieges and manoeuvres and was the teacher of Édouard Detaille. (*Wikipedia*)

⁶³ Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826–1902) was a British public servant and prominent member of Victorian society. In his youth he was a popular figure in the court of Queen Victoria, and became well known to the public after publishing a best-selling account of his travels in the North Atlantic. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER III

Lord Dufferin himself, not long returned from his important mission to Cairo, was in every respect a model Ambassador and a man well calculated to impress Orientals, being firm and genial or severe as the occasion required. The relations of Lord and Lady Dufferin and their daughter, Lady Helen Blackwood⁶⁴, with the staff were so friendly and informal that one might easily have imagined that one was staying in a country house party. Lord Dufferin told me that the Sultan, who had by this time concentrated all power in his own hands, was so obsessed with the fear of assassination that he was half demented: that spies were everywhere, and that the censorship of the Press was so strict that literally no news ever appeared in the papers, and that even the Embassy had to wait until the F.O. bags arrived before they heard anything. As regarded the future, he saw little hope of improvement, and I found everyone else equally convinced that Turkey could not exist much longer if the present form of Government continued.

But in spite of this political gloom the members of the Embassy and the other foreign residents in Constantinople seemed cheerful enough. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of Lord and Lady Dufferin. They invited us to stay in the Embassy, arranged for us to

Page 26

EXCURSION TO BROUSSA [1884]

see all the principal sights and took us into Pera society, where we made friends with the Diplomatic Corps. Turkish intercourse with Europeans was not regarded with favour by Abdul Hamid, but some British and other Europeans employed in the Government service used occasionally to put in an appearance.

With Colonel Trotter, our Military Attaché, I made a short expedition to Broussa which was well worthwhile. Everyone has heard of Broussa, which is one of the most attractive cities in Turkey and comparatively prosperous; but even here the signs of misgovernment were too glaring to escape notice. A railway had been constructed between Broussa and Mudania, its seaport. But when the rolling stock arrived it was found that the gauge was wrong, and as the authorities were unable to decide whether the track or the rolling stock should be dealt with the latter was still rotting away after more than ten years of inactivity. The carriage road, which was in a deplorable condition, was undergoing feverish repairs in view of an impending visit by the Crown Prince of Austria. Broussa, which had suffered severely from dishonest Valis, had also been the victim of a reforming governor who had established a theatre, at which Moliere plays were given, and all the wealthier inhabitants were compelled to attend whether they understood French or not. A Greek bank manager told me that it cost his bank £200 a year in obligatory theatre tickets. Still, Broussa was looked upon, on the whole, as a prosperous place, although even the Government salaries were six months in arrears. Anyhow, Broussa, in spite of its troubles, was a charming city, with beautiful mosques, situated in delightful surroundings, and it must presumably have been a cheap place to live in, for I remember that we found that 100 excellent oysters could be bought for 1s. 3d., and that a horse and attendant could be hired for about 2s. a day. It must be admitted, however, that this advantage was balanced by the not infrequent activity of brigands.

⁶⁴ Lady Helen Hermione Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood (1865–1941), JP for Fife, was married on 31 August 1889 to Ronald Munro Ferguson (later 1st and last Viscount Novar), who later became Governor-General of Australia. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER III

On the voyage back to Constantinople a trivial but typical incident occurred. A number of Jews who had embarked at Mudania refused to pay their fares. They were promptly clapped into a small hold with a soldier in charge of them, and when the boat arrived in port they paid up like lambs without making any further difficulty.

April 5. Went in the morning with a large party, including Lady Dufferin and some Germans of semi-royal rank, to the Treasury.

Permits for the Treasury were not easily obtained, and ours were regarded as a special privilege. We were accompanied by one of the

Page 27

DEATH OF MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT [1884]

Sultan's A.D.C.s. A large crowd of nondescript attendants clustered round us, probably actuated by the fear of theft. As is usual in oriental collections of a similar character, there was a curious mixture of what was valuable and what was rubbish. We were shown huge diamonds, pearls and other jewels, but according to rumour the originals had been sold long ago and replaced by shams. At the close of our visit there was an unseemly row with the Sultan's A.D.C., who demanded an exorbitant backsheesh.⁶⁵

In the afternoon we started with the F.O. bags, accompanied by the Duke of Sutherland,⁶⁶ who had also been a guest at the Embassy and was apparently interested in a project to make a Dead Sea canal at the cost of 70 million pounds! We had found the visit a delightful experience, and I was so impressed with the attractions of Constantinople that I volunteered to come and spend my leave there, working in the Chancery. This handsome offer was, however, rejected, on the ground that it would be contrary to the regulations.

April 9. Arrived in Paris.

On the previous day, I had noticed the immediately preceding Vienna-Paris express lying in ruins in a depression by the side of the line, and it was typical of the corruption of the French Press at that time that no mention, as far as I know, ever appeared in the newspapers, although there had been numerous victims.

About the middle of June, we left Paris with the intention of joining my wife's parents in Norway, but while we were staying, on the way, at Clingendaal (near The Hague), with the De Brienens, the news arrived of the sudden death of Mr. Bromley Davenport, whilst out with his Yeomanry at Lichfield, and we left at once for home. Mr. Bromley Davenport, M.P., was a remarkable man who excelled in every kind of sport and had a genius for writing both prose and poetry. In his day, proficiency in sport did not as a rule imply culture, and there were very few sportsmen who were able to write, apart from Whyte Melville and Bromley Davenport; Surtees being in a category by himself. Shortly before his death he wrote four sporting essays which had a striking success and were greatly admired. These were published posthumously in a book entitled "Sport," illustrated by General Crealock, an

⁶⁵ A tip or bribe.

⁶⁶ Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 4th Duke of Sutherland (1851–1913), styled Lord Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower until 1858, Earl Gower between 1858 and 1861 and Marquess of Stafford between 1861 and 1892, was a British peer and politician. Towards the end of his life, he disposed of properties in the UK (such as Trentham Hall and Stafford House) and began moving his wealth to Canada. (*Wikipedia*)

indifferent artist who could only draw deer. In 1933, I published a new edition of this book, with a biographical sketch by myself and a selection from some of his admirable poems.

In August I went with my brother-in-law, the late Edward Ridley,⁶⁷

Page 28

GROS BOIS: POACHERS AND THE LAW [1884-85]

to the beautiful Romsdal valley, the scene of some of the exploits so graphically described in "Sport," but the fishing season was practically over, although I did enjoy the indescribable delight of catching salmon for the first time. During our visit, we ascended the celebrated Romsdalshorn, which had until quite recently been considered inaccessible. Since then I have paid many visits to the Rauma river and the Romsdal, as the guest of my other brother-in-law, the present Sir William Bromley Davenport, K.C.B.,⁶⁸ and have spent there some of the happiest hours of my life.

Paris, October 5. Went to spend the day with the Wagrams⁶⁹ at Gros Bois. Gros Bois is a splendid possession, bestowed upon Wagram's grandfather, Marshal Berthier, and, Princess Wagram being one of the Rothschild family, there is plenty of money and the place is kept in much better order, both inside and out, than is usually the case in France. The house, large and dignified, contains many valuable Napoleonic relics, including a fine portrait of Napoleon by Lefevre. In the afternoon, we drove round the park, which contains an immense wood, divided, in the usual French fashion, by numerous rides, abounding in game and displaying magnificent oaks, much surpassing any that I have seen elsewhere in France. The park is enclosed by a high wall, and Wagram, who was a very keen sportsman, never made any secret of the fact that, during his lifetime, three poachers have been killed within it, two by himself and one by the keepers. He claimed that he had been attacked first, that all three were buried where they fell, and that no inquiry had ever been held by the authorities.

At the end of the year there came disquieting news from Berlin. Bismarck had just swindled us over a New Guinea agreement and this was followed by an alarming despatch from Sir E. Malet (Ambassador at Berlin), to the effect that, unless we managed to come to an agreement with the French over Egypt, all the other Powers, with the possible exception of Italy, were resolved to combine against us. The French, of course, knew this, and it was not encouraging to be told by our very able Naval Attaché, Captain Kane, R.N., that the French Navy was almost equal to our own in strength and that their guns were much better than ours.

⁶⁷ Sir Edward Ridley (1843-1928) was a barrister, judge and Conservative Politician, M.P. for South Northumberland from 1878-80. He was the son of Sir Matthew White Ridley, 4th Baronet. He married Alice Davenport, daughter of William Bromley Davenport, of Cheshire. (*Wikipedia*). Lord Newton's footnote says "Afterwards Mr. Justice Ridley".

⁶⁸ Brigadier-General Sir William Bromley-Davenport (1862-1949) of Capesthorpe Hall was a British soldier, footballer and Conservative politician. He fought with distinction in both the Second Boer War and the First World War. An MP from 1886 to 1906, he held political office under Arthur Balfour as Financial Secretary to the War Office from 1903 to 1905. He played football for Oxford University and Old Etonians. He represented England on two occasions in March 1884, against Scotland and Wales respectively. A centre-forward, he scored two goals in the game against Wales. (*Wikipedia*)

⁶⁹ Louis Philippe Marie Alexandre Berthier, 2nd Duke (later 3rd Prince) of Wagram (1836–1911) was a French nobleman and prince of Wagram resident at the Château de Grosbois. He was the son of Napoléon Alexandre Berthier and grandson of Louis Alexandre Berthier, (Marshal Berthier) to whom the title had been given by Napoleon. He married Bertha Clara von Rothschild (1862–1903), daughter of Mayer Carl von Rothschild. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER III

In February, 1885, some Guards battalions were sent to the Sudan and I went over to England to see my brother off. He was a Grenadier, and a large number of people went down by boat to see them start from Gravesend. The weather was bitterly cold, but everyone

Page 29

FUNERAL OF VICTOR HUGO: NORWAY [1885]

was in high spirits and it must have been about the last time that an expeditionary force left this country wearing scarlet uniform.

June 1. Funeral of Victor Hugo.⁷⁰

There was a gigantic crowd, far larger than that at Gambetta's funeral, and the procession, which started before 11 a.m., was not concluded until after 4 p.m. Queen Victoria, who was always interested in funerals, ordered Lord Lyons to send her a special report, and this report expressed exactly the same conclusions which I had arrived at myself. He said that there was no evidence whatever of grief and that the proceedings were of the character of a national holiday. The orderliness of the people was a satisfactory symptom, but the absence of strong feeling was chilling, and the studied avoidance of any recognition of religion did away with all solemnity.

June 20. Left Paris to join my brother-in-law, William Bromley Davenport, in Norway, travelling via Copenhagen and Oslo, as it is now called.

My destination was the Romsdal valley, but as the railway in those days only ran a short distance I made most of the journey in a carriage. Even towards the end of June the weather was still cold and in many parts of the roads there was snow: neither had any tourists yet put in an appearance. I was much reminded of Switzerland, both by the people and the scenery. The Norwegian peasants were simple, honest and friendly, and the cost of living incredibly cheap. In fact, I fancy that wages and food in Norway were perhaps cheaper than anywhere in Europe, whereas since the war of 1914-18 wages have probably mounted higher than anywhere else.

Fiva, an angler's paradise at the foot of the mighty Romsdalshorn, situated in magnificent scenery and within a few minutes' walk of the best pools of the Rauma, had been acquired as far back as 1849 and salmon were then very plentiful as compared with the present time. I passed several delightful weeks there.

The Gladstone⁷¹ Administration, which had survived many serious shocks, was defeated on a minor issue in July, 1885, and Lord Salisbury had formed a new Government and had taken Lord Granville's place at the F.O. It was at first thought that the change would do something to modify the hostility against England which had been steadily growing in France since 1882. But in August, 1885, there was another violent outbreak of Anglophobia in Paris,

⁷⁰ Victor Marie Hugo (1802-22 May 1885) was a French poet, novelist, and dramatist of the Romantic movement; his best-known work outside France is *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, on which the musical *Les Misérables* is based. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷¹ William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was a Liberal politician. In a career lasting over sixty years, he served as Prime Minister on four occasions (1868-74, 1880-85, February-July 1886 and 1892-94), which more than any other person, and served as Chancellor of the Exchequer four times. Gladstone was also Britain's oldest Prime Minister; he resigned for the final time when he was 84 years old. (*Wikipedia*)

caused by mendacious statements accusing the British military authorities of having contrived the murder of a certain Olivier Pain in the Sudan. Olivier Pain was

Page 30

ANGLOPHOBIA: RAVINGS OF ROCHEFORT [1885]

an ex-Communist who apparently went to the Sudan in 1884 in order to join the Mahdi. But he disappeared completely from view and, as he was presumably dead, Rochefort, the well-known journalist, took the opportunity to announce that Lord Wolseley had procured his death by offering a reward of £50 for his head. The assassination had been entrusted to a certain Major Kitchener,⁷² “a sinister, whisky-sodden, psalm-singing scoundrel who had been the first to suggest the outrage.” As, however, both Lord Wolseley and Kitchener were out of reach, Rochefort urged vehemently that vengeance should be wreaked upon Lord Lyons. “From this day,” he shrieked, “he is our hostage, and his old carcass represents the compensation which is our due.” The Ambassador, however, being on leave, was also inaccessible, and it was therefore urged that the Secretaries should be seized and forthwith hanged on the lamp-posts of the Rue du Faubourg St. Honore. These ravings were treated more or less seriously, and when I was returning on the night of August 26 to the Embassy, where I was then living, I found the street full of police. When I inquired what they were doing I received the reply that they had been sent to protect us. A year or two later Rochefort, like many of his compatriots, sought refuge in England, which he had vilified consistently, and I met him in the House of Commons in charge of the late Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P.⁷³ The latter, wanting someone who could talk French, asked me if I would like to make Rochefort’s acquaintance. I replied that I should be rather interested to meet a man who had threatened to hang me to a lamp-post, and reminded Rochefort of the incident. He remembered it quite well, but expressed no contrition and evidently thought that it was a case of ordinary routine journalistic work. Rochefort’s paper, the *Lanterne*, was noted for violent vituperation, but the whole of the Paris Press at this period was bitterly Anglophobe and I cannot recall any organ which was friendly to us - or a friendly French Government.

Blowitz,⁷⁴ the well-known Bohemian Correspondent of *The Times*, once, in a burst of candour, stated that the British Government could have as good a Press in France as they wanted provided that they paid for it. But when called to account he hurriedly explained that the last thing that he wanted was to attack the honour of the French Press.

September 16. Dined with the Walshams⁷⁵ and met Morier,⁷⁶ who told us that the two most conceited people he ever met were Gortchakoff and Beust.⁷⁷

⁷² It is not clear if this is the man who was to become General Kitchener (see page 53) but it is known that the general served in Egypt in the 1880s and 1890s, being promoted to the rank of brevet Major in 1884 and full Major in 1889. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷³ This may be The Right Honourable George Augustus Frederick Cavendish-Bentinck (1821-1891), a barrister, Conservative politician, and cricketer. A member of parliament from 1859 to 1891, he served under Benjamin Disraeli as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade from 1874 to 1875 and as Judge Advocate General from 1875 to 1880. He was a grandson of William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷⁴ Henri Georges Stephane Adolphe Opper de Blowitz (1825-1903) was born Blowitz was born as Jindřich Opper to a family of Jewish ancestry at Blowitz in Bohemia. He was widely travelled and spoke several languages. Blowitz became the assistant to Laurence Oliphant, the Paris correspondent of *The Times* and in 1873 he himself became chief Paris correspondent. He was known for his insight into diplomacy. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷⁵ Sir John Walsham, 2nd Baronet (1830-1905) was a British diplomat who was envoy to China and Romania. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷⁶ Sir Robert Burnett David Morier (1826-1893) was a British diplomat, who most notably served as the British Ambassador to Russia between 1884 and 1893. (*Wikipedia*)

The latter I remember as a not very popular Austrian Ambassador in Paris. Morier himself was rather assertive, but his opinion of Gortchakoff was no doubt quite correct. Bismarck found him intolerable and described him to Waddington as a “coxcomb,” using the English word.

October 8. Went down to Ferrieres (Alphonse Rothschild⁷⁸) to hunt with staghounds. A poor day’s sport: galloping through deep rides and occasional ploughed fields, and no jumping. A very small field, which was fortunate, for no one paid any attention to young wheat or to any crops. Ferrieres the most luxurious house that I have ever seen.

I was living alone at this time and consequently often dined with Lord Lyons *tête-à-tête*. On the latter occasions I used to do my best to sound him, but with little success. I did, however, once extract from him a reluctant admission that he considered Napoleon III⁷⁹ to be a kindly but stupid man and that the stories about the Empress Eugenie having engineered the war with Prussia were quite baseless. It may be noted that Thiers⁸⁰ had once characterised the Emperor as possessing “*une immense incapacité méconnue*.” Lord Lyons by this time had become accustomed to me and I had ingratiated myself through two minor accomplishments: I wrote, in those days, a good hand and had shown proficiency in solving acrostics, the latter being one of the few frivolities which he patronised. It never occurred to me that one day I should write his life, and it certainly never occurred to him, for in that case I should have found myself at once transferred to another post.

An impending domestic event took me to England at the end of October, and on November 7 my eldest child and daughter, Lettice,⁸¹ was born in London. The exhilaration caused by her advent was to some extent dimmed by the striking likeness to myself which she seemed to bear, but this resemblance, fortunately, soon disappeared.

Before the end of October, the General Election campaign started, and it lasted well into December. The preposterous length of elections, and their equally preposterous cost, were one of the minor scandals of the day and made it quite impossible for a poor man to stand unless financed by some industry or association, and few more salutary and useful reforms were passed than that which shortened the duration of contests and prohibited expenditure on conveying voters to the poll. Election agents also vied with each other in running up enormous bills for printing party literature which nobody studied, and

⁷⁷ Count Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust (1809-1886) was a German and Austrian statesman. He was appointed Austrian ambassador at London and in 1878 he was transferred to Paris. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷⁸ Mayer Alphonse James Rothschild (1827-1905) was a French financier, vineyard owner, art collector, philanthropist, racehorse owner/breeder and a member of the prominent banking family of France. (*Wikipedia*)

⁷⁹ Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (born Charles-Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; 1808-1873) was the only President (1848–52) of the French Second Republic and, as Napoleon III, the Emperor (1852–70) of the Second French Empire. He was the nephew and heir of Napoleon I. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸⁰ This may be Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) a French statesman and historian. He was the second elected President of France, and the first President of the French Third Republic. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸¹ She married Captain John Egerton Warburton of the Scots Guards. He was the son of Piers Egerton-Warburton, of Arley Hall, Northwich and died of battle wounds on 30 August 1915.

for profuse and blatant posters. All this has now, fortunately, almost disappeared.

The General Election of 1885 was of peculiar interest, as a redistribution Act had been passed and the Irish voters had been directed by Parnell⁸² to vote for the Conservatives. Forgetting, or ignoring, all official regulations, I went down and took a mainly passive part in the local contests, my father being the candidate for a very unpromising industrial division which had been allotted to him by the party organisation. He was defeated, like many other similar candidates, and did not stand again in the following year. The elections, which began well for the Conservatives as far as the boroughs were concerned, turned in the opposite direction when the county electors voted, and it became evident that the Liberals would have a majority in Parliament. It was also evident, however, that there must be another trial of strength before long, as Gladstone's surrender on Home Rule became known about the middle of December and that issue would have to be faced in Parliament.

November 19. Sir George Dasent⁸³ dined and said that he recollected Dickens as domineering in conversation and Thackeray⁸⁴ as very quiet and shy in society. Sir George Dasent, who had married the sister of Delane, The Times Editor, was a cultured man of great experience.

During my stay in London I had my first opportunity of seeing the Gilbert and Sullivan pieces, and I have never departed from the opinion that they surpass all other productions of the modern British Stage. We were back in Paris in December.

January 12, 1886. Dined at German Embassy with Munster,⁸⁵ who was more pro-British than anyone else and who had been sent to Paris from London because Bismarck disliked him. We used to see a good deal of his predecessor, Prince Hohenlohe,⁸⁶ who was an elderly admirer of my wife and had been Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, and in those days, odd though it sounds now, Germans and Austrians were usually the colleagues who appealed most to British diplomatists. Poor Münster was very unhappy in Paris and it was not surprising, for society had no use for the Germans; they were not elected to any clubs and, to crown all, Münster, who adored driving a coach, was warned that if he ever tried to do so in Paris he would inevitably be upset.

Politically, Paris was quiet, but there was tremendous social activity there being an evident

attempt to stimulate the cause of the Legitimist pretenders.

⁸² Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) was an Irish nationalist politician and one of the most powerful figures in the House of Commons in the 1880s. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸³ Sir George Webbe Dasent (1817-1896) was a translator of folk tales and contributor to *The Times*. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸⁴ William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) was an English novelist of the 19th century. He is famous for his satirical works, particularly *Vanity Fair*, a panoramic portrait of English society. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸⁵ Prince Georg Herbert zu Münster ambassador to London for the German Empire between 1873 and 1885. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸⁶ Chlodwig Carl Viktor, Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Prince of Ratibor and Corvey (1819-1901), usually referred to as the Prince of Hohenlohe, was a German statesman, who served as Chancellor of Germany and Prime Minister of Prussia from 1894 to 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER III

March 5. Party given by the Duchesse de Chartres.⁸⁷ A large number of rather uninteresting-looking people. Each royal personage keeps up, apparently, a kind of court, with ladies and gentlemen in waiting.

June 6. Grand Prix won by the English horse, Minting.

Minting was a very strong tip, and I laid two to one on him and he won in a canter. The win was unpopular, more especially because the race in 1885 had been won by an American horse. The French hated to see their money going out of the country, although as regards ourselves they had nothing whatever to complain of, for, whereas all our races were open to French horses, there were only about two French races at which British horses could compete. I have never been able to understand why our Jockey Club did not deal with this anomaly. French race-goers were by no means good losers, and infuriated backers who had lost their money would occasionally even attack the beaten horses whilst they were being led off the course.

A special effort was made to add brilliancy to the National Festival of July 14 by parading a contingent of troops who had recently served in Tonquin, but Tonquin was no longer a name to conjure with, and interest in them was completely eclipsed by the first appearance of Boulanger⁸⁸ at a big military review in Paris. It was on that day that Boulanger first became a real danger to the Republic. Briefly stated, the rise of this military mountebank was due to vague dissatisfaction with the Republic and a secret longing to replace "*l'homme qui monte à la tribune*" by "*l'homme qui monte à cheval*," and when Boulanger, riding a high-actioned circus horse, advanced to salute the President, many must have felt, as I did, that the uninspiring bourgeois occupying the Presidential Tribunal was in a hazardous position, more especially since only a few days before they had been terrified by Boulanger's sudden appearance at a Cabinet Council in uniform. Yet Boulanger possessed no outstanding qualifications for success. There was no particular distinction about his military career: his intelligence was mediocre: he was no orator, and could only talk nebulously on politics, posing in public as personifying the *Revanche* and in private interviews as a worker for peace. He even survived ridicule, generally believed to be fatal in France, for in a duel with an elderly and very short-sighted civilian, M. Flocquet, he was defeated and wounded in the face. Still, he continued to prosper until at a critical moment his

Page 34

FOREIGN OFFICE DECLINED BY LORD LYONS [1886]

nerve failed him, and when he was tackled by a determined Minister (M. Constans) he collapsed and fled the country, dying miserably by his own hand in a Belgian cemetery.

One of Lord Salisbury's first steps on his return to power was to ask Lord Lyons to accept the office of Foreign Secretary, Philip Currie being sent over secretly to Paris in order to support the request urgently. Lord Lyons himself was greatly surprised, but it was not unnatural, for Lord Lyons's opinion was so highly valued and he was so constantly consulted on all sorts of

⁸⁷ Prince Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand of Orléans, Duke of Chartres (1840-1910) was the son of Prince Ferdinand Philippe, Duke of Orléans and thus grandson of King Louis-Philippe of France. He fought for the Union in the American Civil War, and then for France in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁸⁸ Georges Ernest Jean-Marie Boulanger (1837-1891) was a French general and politician. An enormously popular public figure during the Third Republic, he won a series of elections and was feared to be powerful enough to establish himself as dictator at the apogee of his popularity in January 1889. He promoted an aggressive nationalism, known as Revanchism, which opposed Germany and called for the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) to be avenged. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER III

questions that he was already almost in the position of a Vice Foreign Secretary. He had no hesitation, however, in refusing the post, and no doubt he was right, for although he would have made an excellent Minister his health was failing, he had had no parliamentary experience whatever, and, with his peculiar nature, he could not possibly be expected to master at once the difficulty of making important speeches, even to such a kindly assembly as the House of Lords. There are, however, few people who, in the same situation, would have refused so glittering a prize.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: VISIT TO BULGARIA. 1886-1887

August, 1886. A few days later I also received a summons. A telegram arrived inviting me to contest the Newton Parliamentary division, left vacant by the elevation of Sir Richard Cross to the peerage.⁸⁹ I left at once in the evening, after bidding good-bye to the Ambassador. I think that he was really sorry to part with me, because he always hated to lose those whom he had got to know, and as for myself I parted from him with sincere regret, for, like everyone else who had served under him, I appreciated more and more, not only his great professional ability, but also those other qualities which endeared him invariably to his staff.

I left Paris also with much regret. It is true, unfortunately, that I had not made the best use of my time, nor had I displayed as much industry as might have been expected. But life had been extremely pleasant and there had been just enough work to keep me from idleness, and we had made a great number of friends, nearly all of whom, alas, have now disappeared. The one unsatisfactory feature of my stay at the Paris Embassy was the continually increasing growth of Anglophobia, and I cannot recall a single French Government which could be described as friendly between 1881 and 1886. Yet, in spite of this, our personal relations with French friends remained unaltered and I cannot recollect any single episode in society of an unpleasant character.

Before proceeding to Newton I thought it advisable to call on Lord Cross, then installed at the India Office, and ask for any suggestions that he might have to offer. I did not, however, find him much more communicative than my late chief. Regarding me fixedly through a pair of enormous spectacles, he remarked oracularly, "Take nourishment every four hours," not even specifying whether he meant liquid or solid refreshment. Lord Cross enjoyed a tremendous reputation in

Lancashire at this time, in consequence of having defeated Gladstone in an election, and he used to be held up to me as a brilliant statesman whom I should do well to follow but could not possibly ever hope to emulate. I must admit that he usually struck me as uninspiring, but Queen Victoria had great admiration for him and was believed to consult him frequently with regard to her private affairs.

There are some people who enjoy, or profess to enjoy, an election campaign, but this was not the case with me, and during my first contest the only incident between the beginning and the end of it which afforded me real pleasure was that of arriving, after a very long drive, at a remote village and finding only one man present. It was manifestly futile to treat a solitary individual as a meeting, and I went home with a glad heart. At the time, I was obsessed with a feeling that on each occasion I ought to find something new to say, and it did not dawn upon me until long afterwards that very few voters ever trouble to read what candidates say. What a Conservative candidate really required in those days was decision, a confident and genial demeanour, a local connection, and, if possible, the somewhat vague qualification implied by the words "a stake in the country." Rhetorical proficiency was an overrated asset.

⁸⁹ Richard Assheton Cross, 1st Viscount Cross (1823-1914), known before his elevation to the peerage as R. A. Cross, was a statesman and Conservative politician. He notably served as Home Secretary between 1874 and 1880 and 1885 and 1886. (*Wikipedia*)

I was quite aware of my own imperfections and was not allowed to forget them, as the plain-spoken Lancashire voters did not hesitate to point them out. Nor was I very happy about my credentials, for no one had ever heard of the Diplomatic Service, but all things considered I was in a much stronger position than my opponent. I had a splendid band of supporters, composed of ardent workers of every class, both men and women, prominent among whom were the tenants on my father's estate, and the party organisation was excellent. My opponent was a lawyer, quite unknown to the constituency, who had been selected at the last moment. The odds were therefore strongly in my favour and when the poll was declared I found that I had a majority of 707, which was quite creditable, for Lord Cross, who was my predecessor, had a majority of only 815 on a much larger poll.

On August 19, W. Bromley Davenport and I took the oath, and as, I suppose, we both looked younger than our years we had some trouble in convincing the police that we really were Members.

There can be few people now living who were present at this opening, but the survivors must recollect clearly the remarkable spectacle presented by the House of Commons. The Conservatives occupied all the benches on the Government side: the Liberals sat on

Page 37

PARTIES IN THE COMMONS [1886]

the benches habitually occupied by the Opposition, the Irish party, a turbulent and aggressive group, was established below the Opposition gangway, and the Liberal-Unionists, about 70 in number, also sat on the Opposition side of the House, whenever they could find room, side by side with Irish and bitter Gladstonian opponents. I used to admire their courage, for everyone knows what it means to be surrounded by opponents, but I never could see their logic, since they were not in opposition to the existing Government. The respective leaders were Lord Randolph Churchill,⁹⁰ Gladstone, Parnell and Lord Harrington;⁹¹ and of these Harrington seemed to me to swing the most weight with the House. After all, as Leader of the Liberal-Unionists, he was the holder of the scales and the man who could make and destroy Governments. There was a massive imperturbability about him which never failed to impress me. He would rise from the first Opposition bench, where he sat amongst his Gladstonian opponents, completely impervious to abuse, and, although no orator, would state his case with a firm moderation which was difficult to answer and generally ended in allaying passion. Chamberlain,⁹² on the other hand, always a most brilliant and lucid speaker, seldom took a conciliatory line and usually aroused great hostility; but he was essentially a fighting

⁹⁰ Lord Randolph Henry Spencer-Churchill (1849-1895) was the third son of the 7th Duke of Marlborough. He was an M.P. and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 3 August 1886-22 December 1886, but resigned saying it was the result of his inability, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to concur in the demands made on the Treasury by the ministers at the head of the naval and military establishments. He was the father of Sir Winston Churchill. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹¹ I believe that this is a misprint and should read Hartington. The Liberal Unionist Party was a political party formed in 1886 by a faction that broke away from the Liberal Party. It was led by Lord Hartington (later the Duke of Devonshire) and Joseph Chamberlain, the party formed a political alliance with the Conservative Party in opposition to Irish Home Rule. Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire (1833-1908), styled Lord Cavendish of Keighley between 1834 and 1858 and Marquess of Hartington between 1858 and 1891. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹² Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) was a politician and statesman, who was first a radical Liberal then, after opposing Home Rule for Ireland, a Liberal Unionist, eventually serving as a leading imperialist in coalition with the Conservatives. He split both major British parties in the course of his career. He was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 29 June 1895-16 September 1903 and the father of Austen Chamberlain and Neville Chamberlain. (*Wikipedia*)

man, and no doubt from his particular point of view he was perfectly right. As for the Irish Home Rulers, they made a most unfavourable impression; the majority were quarrelsome, unmannerly and ill-educated. Scarcely any of them, with the exception of Tim Healy,⁹³ ever showed any trace of the much-advertised Irish wit.

September 18. Dined with Arthur Balfour,⁹⁴ who had invited some of the new Conservative M.P.s to meet Lord Salisbury and Randolph Churchill.

I was much impressed with the simplicity and dignity of Lord Salisbury, whom I had never seen before and who gave himself much less airs than many under-secretaries. Randolph Churchill expressed the opinion that the Irish Party had lost much of their former go and that Morley⁹⁵ was the best Liberal Speaker. Referring to Parnell, Balfour said that Gladstone had once stated to him that Parnell and Lord Palmerston were the only two men he had ever known who had been able to get up and say exactly what they wanted without adding a single unnecessary word. Certainly, Gladstone could not do this himself.

The House rose late in September, after a good many late sittings.

Page 38

RESIGNATION OF RANDOLPH CHURCHILL [1886-87]

Liverpool, November 8. Came here to serve on Grand Jury.

This was my first experience of the system and it confirmed my suspicions that the Grand Jury was a useless institution. Its main object seemed to be to promote the squandering of money over heavy and tedious banquets and other functions, and it used to cost the High Sheriff of Lancashire £10,000 a year. The extraordinary fact was that there were always men eager to accept this appointment.

At the end of the year great commotion was caused in the Conservative Party owing to the sudden resignation of Randolph Churchill, and to this day I do not think that any satisfactory explanation of his action has ever been forthcoming, but after much strenuous exertion and secret negotiations the Unionist Parliamentary machine started again, with Mr. W. H. Smith⁹⁶ as Leader and Mr. Goschen as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The change, however, did not take place without a serious by-election reverse at Liverpool, at which Mr. Goschen was defeated.

⁹³ Timothy Michael "Tim" Healy (1855-1931) was an Irish nationalist politician, journalist, author, barrister and one of the most controversial Irish Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. In the 1920s he became the first Governor-General of the Irish Free State. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹⁴ Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour (1848-1930), was a Conservative politician who was the Prime Minister from July 1902 to December 1905, and later Foreign Secretary. He had far reaching influence in the so-called Balfour Declaration Balfour's when as Foreign Secretary in 1917, he wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild promising the Jews a "national home" in Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹⁵ John Morley, 1st Viscount Morley of Blackburn (1838-1923) was a Liberal statesman, writer and newspaper editor. He was an M.P. and held several ministerial posts including Lord President of the Council between 1910 and 1914. His opposition to British entry into the First World War as an ally of Russia led him to leave government in August 1914. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹⁶ William Henry Smith PC (1825-1891) was a bookseller and newsagent of the family firm W H Smith, who expanded the firm and introduced the practice of selling books and newspapers at railway stations. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1868 and rose to the position of First Lord of the Admiralty less than ten years thereafter. In the mid-1880s, he was twice Secretary of State for War, and later First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons, among other posts. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IV

Meanwhile the Irish members were becoming increasingly violent and there were constant scenes in which the Speaker was forced to intervene to preserve order.

Aldershot, February 28, 1887. Arrived here in order to undergo a month's training before obtaining a captain's certificate.

I had already gone through a course in 1879 in which the training consisted entirely of the sword exercises, the carbine, manual drill and parade movements. I expected to find further developments in 1887, but found things very much the same. For a fortnight we practised the sword and carbine exercises on foot, and then were mounted and executed so-called field movements, which were in reality parade movements, and which were automatically executed by our well-drilled troop horses without any guidance. The value of the instruction may be judged by the final exhortation addressed to us by the instructing sergeant-major just before our inspection. "Please remember, gentlemen, that General X attaches special importance to the silent grounding of carbines. Please, therefore, be very careful to bring the butt down without making a noise." Under these circumstances there was no difficulty in qualifying for the rank of Captain.

March 18. Immense sensation caused by publication in *The Times* of Parnell's letter with regard to the Phoenix Park assassinations.⁹⁷

The impression conveyed by Parnell's speech was that he was not very sure of his ground and that he suspected *The Times* of possessing further information. This impression was strengthened by an

Page 39

THE FIRST JUBILEE [1887]

obviously inspired speech from Sexton, declaring that the Irish would never take legal proceedings against a newspaper, owing to the prejudice of English juries. This amazing statement was a strange commentary upon the "Union of Hearts" of which we had heard so much since Home Rule had been taken up by the Liberal Party.

The so-called Coercion Bill obtained a second reading this session.

May 22. House of Commons Jubilee service at St. Margaret's, attended by about 400 members, who marched there in a procession. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Boyd Carpenter⁹⁸) and was by far the finest I had ever listened to.

It was, in fact, the finest piece of rhetoric that I had hitherto heard; the language and voice equally perfect, and all delivered with extraordinary fluency, without the smallest hesitation and without the aid of a single note. I am ashamed to add that this was perhaps the only occasion on which I did not welcome the conclusion of a sermon.

⁹⁷ The Phoenix Park Murders were the fatal stabbings on 6 May 1882 in Dublin of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke. Cavendish was the newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Burke was the Permanent Undersecretary, the most senior Irish civil servant. The assassination was carried out by members of the "Irish National Invincibles". Cavendish—who was married to Lucy Cavendish, the niece of British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, and had worked as Gladstone's personal secretary, had just arrived in Ireland the day he was murdered. He and Burke were attacked as they walked to the Viceregal Lodge, the "out of season" residence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (*Wikipedia*)

⁹⁸ William Boyd Carpenter (1841-1918) was a Church of England cleric who became Bishop of Ripon and court chaplain to Queen Victoria. (*Wikipedia*)

June 21. Jubilee Day. My wife being laid up I went down alone to the House of Commons, reaching it without any difficulty by the Underground. Westminster Abbey was a wonderful sight, with galleries reaching nearly up to the roof. After a long wait the Queen appeared, dressed in black with a white bonnet, and seated herself on the Coronation Chair, surrounded by blood relations. The service was most impressive, and just as the Blessing was being pronounced the sun suddenly emerged and transformed the whole scene. I hurried out just before the conclusion and managed to find a place on the pavement, near the North Entrance, from which I watched the procession. There was no special outburst of enthusiasm when the Queen herself passed, and it seemed to me that the Prince and Princess of Wales were received with quite as much applause from the crowd, which seemed indifferent to many of the distinguished representatives and barely refrained from hissing the Russians. The procession was to some extent marred by the number of closed carriages, and the general feeling was that the German Crown Prince⁹⁹ made a finer figure than anyone else. In the evening, there was a great display of illuminations, provided almost entirely by individual effort instead of being officially prescribed by the Government as on the Continent. The crowd, though it appeared to be enormous, must have been far smaller than is the case now, when tubes and motor coaches bring up people by thousands.

Page 40

BELGRADE [1887]

July 20. Intervened in debate for first time, making a few unimportant observations on the F.O. vote.

My vanity was much gratified by Labouchère's¹⁰⁰ crossing the floor and sitting down beside me. He had, of course, been in diplomacy himself. After this first introduction I used frequently to talk to him and always found him most shrewd and entertaining, and I considered that he was one of the few humorists who were worthy of their reputation.

O'Connor, one of my former colleagues at Paris and now Minister at Sofia, had pressed me to pay him a visit in September, and I took advantage of his kindness and left on August 31, arriving at Belgrade on September 2. Here I passed several days with the late Sir Alan Johnstone,¹⁰¹ who was acting as Chargé d'Affaires. I had never been in the East during the summer and was delighted with the blue sky and brilliant sunlight as well as with the brilliant moonlight.

Belgrade was a more modernised place than I had expected, but nearly all the working classes wore the native costume. The situation of the town is beautiful and the view from the old citadel at the junction of the Danube and the Save overlooking the vast Hungarian plain is one of the most striking in Europe. Belgrade, in spite of Serbia's having recently been at war

⁹⁹ The Crown Prince was the future Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941) the last German Emperor and King of Prussia, ruling the German Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia from 15 June 1888 to 9 November 1918. He was the eldest grandchild of the British Queen Victoria. He succeeded his father in 1888 the year after Queen Victoria's golden jubilee. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁰⁰ Henry Du Pré Labouchère (1831-1912) was an English politician, writer, publisher and theatre owner in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. He lived with the actress Henrietta Hodson from 1868, and they married in 1887. Labouchère, was a junior member of the British diplomatic service, a member of parliament in the 1860s and again from 1880 to 1906, and edited and funded his own magazine, *Truth*. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁰¹ Sir Alan Vanden-Bempde-Johnstone (1858-1932) was a British diplomat. Johnstone was a younger son of Harcourt Vanden-Bempde-Johnstone, 1st Baron Derwent. He became Secretary of the Legation to Copenhagen in 1895, and moved to Germany as Secretary of the Legation (Charges d'Affaires) to Darmstadt and Karlsruhe in 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IV

with Bulgaria, seemed quite quiet and unperturbed, nor were there any signs of trouble with Austria. Alan Johnstone was good enough to show me all that there was to see, and with him and two or three of his German and Austrian colleagues I passed several most agreeable days.

The railway to Constantinople at that time terminated at Nisch, and here I spent a night. It was curious, in the light of subsequent events, to hear from foreigners in the service of the Serbian Government that they had a very poor opinion of the Serbs. They said that they were perfectly useless as soldiers, that they were inferior and lazy workers and that the only thing they really cared about was politics. No judgment could have been more erroneous. The Nisch district was extraordinarily fertile and food prices extremely low. A fowl cost 3d. and a sheep 2s., but in spite of this wages were said to be high and the Italian and other foreign workmen on the railway got five francs a day. The hotel charges were almost up to a London or Paris level.

Sofia, September 8. The Belgian engineer was kind enough to take me on a construction train as far as the frontier, and the Serbian Foreign Office, anxious to be amiable, had provided me with a special

Page 41

SOFIA [1887]

visa signed by an important Minister, but the passport officer at the frontier, who probably could not read, realised that the signature was not the one to which he was accustomed and refused resolutely to let me leave. Arguments and threats were equally wasted upon him, but fortunately he retired temporarily to his office, and with the assistance of a German I got behind the construction train and emerged successfully in Bulgarian territory, where I found a carriage awaiting me. I arrived late that evening at Sofia, was warmly welcomed by O'Connor and his newly-married wife, and again came across Charles Hardinge.

On the following morning O'Connor took me to see Stambuloff,¹⁰² who was then Prime Minister and had been mainly responsible for inviting Prince Ferdinand to Bulgaria.¹⁰³ Stambuloff was a small, determined-looking man who had led a stormy life, starting originally as a rebel against the Turks. He talked freely on the situation and showed great hostility to the Russians, whom he accused not only of deposing and abducting Prince Alexander but also of continually fomenting trouble in Bulgaria. Oddly enough he scarcely mentioned Ferdinand. Altogether he struck me as a formidable personage who knew his own mind and would have no mercy upon his enemies. Incidentally, O'Connor mentioned that we contemplated a visit to the Rilo Monastery and asked if it would be safe to go there. Stambuloff hesitated for a moment, and then replied that it would probably be quite safe because the leaves were still on the trees. I was unable to see the connection, but it was explained to me that when the trees are bare people are in a position to protect themselves, but if they are in leaf special protection is necessary and therefore any potential brigand is locked up as soon as the leaves appear.

¹⁰² Stefan Nikolov Stambolov (1854-1895) was a Bulgarian politician, journalist, revolutionist, and poet who served as Prime Minister and regent. He is considered one of the most important and popular "Founders of Modern Bulgaria", and is sometimes referred to as "the Bulgarian Bismarck". He died on 18 July 1895 from wounds received in an assassination attempt on 15 July. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁰³ Ferdinand I (1861-1948), born Ferdinand Maximilian Karl Leopold Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, was the ruler of Bulgaria from 1887 to 1918; firstly, as knyaz (ruling prince, 1887-1908) and later as tsar (king, 1908-18). He was also an author, botanist, entomologist and philatelist. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IV

Sofia in some ways reminded me of Berne. Every European Power maintained a Legation there, but unlike those at Berne each Legation was watching the other and all were convulsed with the problem of recognising Prince Ferdinand. The great question of calling upon him had not yet been decided, and careful steps were taken to avoid meeting him in the street.

September 12. The O'Conors and I left for Rilo in two small victorias, drawn by three horses abreast, and we were accompanied by the Legation cavass¹⁰⁴, and a nondescript whom I had picked up made the impression that he was an interpreter. We arrived after a long drive over a rough road at Dubnitza, a small provincial town where the Prime Minister had commandeered a house for us from a political

Page 42

RILO: A BLOODLESS ENCOUNTER [1887]

opponent, and I subsequently encountered this unfortunate man in a gaol at Sofia. The house was of the ordinary eastern type and looked clean, but when I was dressing on the following morning the fleas fell literally in showers from me. Insect life is one of the drawbacks to travel in the Balkans. The local prefect dined with us, but, as he could only speak Bulgarian and our domestics were unable to speak any foreign language with facility, conversation was difficult. On the evening of the next day we arrived at Rilo, after a stiff ascent, and it was decided that I should go out stalking on the next morning. I started off in the dark, with the cavass and two gendarmes. The weather was extremely hot and I had lagged behind the others when I observed signs of commotion and the cavass came running down towards me and handed me my rifle. I had not been able to understand whether we were pursuing deer or chamois, but somehow it was made clear to me that instead of shooting either I must be prepared to defend myself. We had apparently stumbled across a band of armed men, and for a minute or two things looked critical, but luckily the cavass kept his head and explained that I was a foreigner. The leader of the band stated that they were not brigands but political refugees, who did not wish to molest foreigners. As a sign of peace, we fired a shot to warn other armed refugees, whom we had already passed without being aware of their presence, not to molest us. Peace being proclaimed, I was in favour of going on, but the gendarmes refused to do so, saying that the outlaws might well change their mind. In this they were probably right, and as it was quite evident that there could be no chance of sport whilst armed outlaws were prowling about we decided to return to Rilo. Absurdly sensational accounts of this trivial incident appeared immediately in the Press and penetrated even to London, and the Bulgarian Government, anxious to protect the British Minister, sent numerous troops, who appeared the following morning and set off in pursuit of the outlaws. Whether they were captured or not I never heard.

Rilo being the first Orthodox monastery I had visited, I tried to find out whether it served any really useful purpose, but this was not easy as all the monks appeared to be of a very low class and extremely ignorant, including the Abbot. The monastery, which is a huge and imposing building, adapted for defence, is beautifully situated in the midst of a splendid forest, enclosing a vast courtyard where numerous pilgrims are accommodated on the occasions of religious festivals. There were apparently about 60 monks and about 120 servitors of

Page 43

PRINCE FERDINAND ON HIS PROSPECTS [1887]

¹⁰⁴ An armed and uniformed attendant attached to the suite of a person of distinction in Turkey. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IV

various descriptions, each monk having his own room and cooking his own meals. All these rooms, it may be added, with the exception of the Abbot's, were in a very dirty condition. They professed to hold three religious services a day, but I only saw evidence of two. The monastery owned land and practised timber-farming, and it was also claimed that it maintained a school for the benefit of the local peasants. As, however, the monks themselves were grossly ignorant it is not probable that the school existed. Altogether the monastery did not appear to be of much use except for disseminating Russian propaganda, a practice which was followed in every religious institution in the country.

After returning to Sofia I made several shooting expeditions with Charles Hardinge and Graves,¹⁰⁵ and always maintain that I saved the life of the former. We were shooting snipe far from any human habitation when he sank in a buffalo wallow and, quite unable to extricate himself, was gradually sinking deeper; but I was, fortunately, able to pull him out.

September 21. I had a long audience of Prince Ferdinand who was extremely civil, though inclined to be pompous. He was by profession a cavalry officer, but he bore little resemblance to the typical Austrian hussar and spoke French in preference to German. He was full of complaints of the way in which he had been treated by everyone, and spoke of himself as the "*Pariah de l'Europe*." "Perhaps," he added, "I shall suffer the same fate as my ancestor, Louis XVI." I bade him cheer up and remember the remark made by Bismarck to Prince Alexander of Bulgaria,¹⁰⁶ that he would at any rate retain an agreeable memory of his stay. To this Prince Ferdinand replied, "Well, at all events I shall be entitled to put 'Ex-Prince of Bulgaria' on my visiting cards." As a matter of fact, he did better than he anticipated, for he could have described himself as Ex-King.

Prince Ferdinand was by no means devoid of humour. He was obviously very pleased to talk to someone from the outside world, and I saw him later on several occasions. The impression which I, together with other persons, formed of his character was erroneous. We got the idea that he only cared about the pomps and ceremonies attendant upon a court, and that he would soon tire of his unpleasant position. Far from this being the case he worked assiduously and astutely until he became the real ruler of the State.

Later on, I went on a visit to Philippopolis and found it a much more

Page 44

TOUR IN THE PROVINCES [1887]

attractive city than Sofia and situated in a charming district. Here it was still very hot and the vintage was proceeding, the road being crowded with peasants bringing their grapes to the presses. These grapes were the best that I ever tasted, better than even the finest hothouse grapes at home, but the wine itself was most inferior. I have observed the same phenomenon

¹⁰⁵ Sir Robert Windham Graves (1858-1934) was a British career diplomat. Graves began his career as a student interpreter in Constantinople in 1879 and entered the British foreign consular service soon thereafter, serving for many years in the Ottoman Empire. (From a book at http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts20_1/AH1912_7.html)

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Joseph (1857-1893), known as Alexander of Battenberg, was the first prince of modern Bulgaria from 1879 until his abdication in 1886. Alexander was the second son of Prince Alexander of Hesse and by Rhine by the latter'smorganatic marriage with Countess Julia von Hauke. The Countess and her descendants gained the title of Princess of Battenberg. Alexander's brother, Prince Louis of Battenberg, married Princess Victoria of Hesse and the Rhine, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Their children included Earl Mountbatten of Burma and Princess Alice, the mother of Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IV

elsewhere. However fine the grapes may be, it is the skill of the worker which is mainly responsible for the flavour.

From Philippopolis I turned north and went to Kozanlik, the centre of the Otto of Roses trade, but the rose-picking season was, of course, over. From there I went to the Shipka Pass, where the flower of the Turkish army in 1877 had been destroyed in attacks upon a hopeless position, a senseless proceeding which went far to bring about the ruin of the Turkish campaign in Europe. At the foot of the Pass the Russians were constructing a large, solid edifice which purported to be a church but which the Bulgarians regarded with suspicion as a disguised fort.

All the southern part of Bulgaria seemed to me much more attractive and prosperous than the north, and although the country was much disturbed at the time and travelling was supposed to be dangerous I saw no sign of disorder in this part of the country.

October 1. Left Sofia by carriage for Lom Palanka, on the Danube, and was joined by two young Bulgarian officers who told me that they had participated in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander but had not understood at the time what they were doing. Elections had recently taken place in the district and there had been fighting.

At one small town through which we passed, blood was still standing in holes in the main street. The officer in command of a detachment invited me to inspect a building which had been a polling station. There was a big heap of spent cartridges on the floor, and he called my attention to their large calibre. "Anyone," he said, "who was hit by bullets from these cartridges must have been very severely wounded."

I embarked at Lom Palanka and, after stopping a few days at Vienna, Budapest and Paris, arrived home on October 23.

**COUNTRY HOUSE LIFE: POLITICS: IRELAND: EGYPT.
1887-1890**

The winter months I spent in the country, chiefly at Lyme and at Capesthorpe, the home of the Bromley Davenports, paying visits and putting in frequent attendances to my constituents.

In 1887 the halcyon period of the landed aristocracy was still in full vigour, and it may be said to have survived, with occasional shocks, from the Crimean War to the World War of 1914, although its lustre had been dimmed by the Boer War and Lloyd George¹⁰⁷ taxation. Country home life in 1887 was in reality little changed from the 'sixties, since the electric light, telephone and motor cars had not yet arrived. In the family life of the upper class everything seemed to be subordinated to the male rather than to the female element, and the family accommodated itself to the head of the household with little complaint against anything, however inconvenient it might be. It must have occurred to many people besides myself that the social system of the British upper class was based upon the fiction that the House of Commons was composed of hunting men, the consequence being that autumn sessions were usually banned and the summer months were spent in London, contrary to the practice of any other civilised country. Another recollection of the period is that rich people seemed to be much richer than now, because taxation was light, but that the poor were poorer, because wages were scandalously low: so that the gap between classes was considerably larger than it is now. It would be unfair to suggest that personal extravagance was a characteristic of the period, but it was curious that, if any instance of this nature occurred, it evoked little disapproval, even on the part of the lower classes. Extravagance was in reality rather admired, and it will be noted that in the fashionable novels of those days the hero was almost invariably in debt. Spending money on any form of sport was strongly approved of, and if a young man inherited

a large fortune and immediately invested in a string of race-horses he was looked upon as a highly promising member of society.

One of the features of our country life during the half-century before the war of 1914 was the interchange of visits, which were of an almost ceremonial nature and occasionally involved considerable preparations. On such occasions, when a married couple, for instance, accompanied perhaps by a daughter, set out, they took with them not only domestics and dogs but an immense amount of luggage, too, including perfectly useless articles such as blankets and travelling clocks. A story is told of the late Lord Bath, a man of dry humour, who invited the late Duke and Duchess of Westminster¹⁰⁸ to a shooting party and they arrived

¹⁰⁷ David Lloyd George, 1st Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor (1863 -1945) was a Liberal politician and statesman. As Chancellor of the Exchequer (1908–1915), Lloyd George was a key figure in the introduction of many reforms which laid the foundations of the modern welfare state. His most important role came as the highly energetic Prime Minister of the Wartime Coalition Government (1916–22), during and immediately after the First World War. He was a major player at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 that reordered Europe after the defeat of Germany in the Great War. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁰⁸ Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1st Duke of Westminster (1825-1899), styled Viscount Belgrave between 1831 and 1845 and Earl Grosvenor between 1845 and 1869 and known as The Marquess of Westminster between 1869 and 1874, was an English landowner, politician and racehorse owner. He inherited the estate of Eaton Hall in Cheshire and land in Mayfair and Belgravia, London. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER V

accompanied by hacks, grooms, keepers and retainers of all kinds. Lord Bath,¹⁰⁹ on meeting them, remarked with a sympathetic air to the Duke, "I am so grieved to hear that your odd man is ill!" "Why," said the Duke, "are you so interested in my odd man?" "Because," replied Lord Bath, "I understand that you have not brought him with you."

The mode of life in all our big country homes was practically similar, as were the conditions. In 1887 there were no bath-rooms at Lyme, and very little attempt at artificial heating. As the altitude of the house is 800 feet, which is very high for England, an immense amount of coal was required, and when there was a large party sometimes more than a ton a day was consumed in the kitchen alone. Bread was for a long time baked on the premises, and excellent but strong beer was brewed in the house until 1914, and I believe that everyone who called on any business whatever was always offered a glass. Certain fixed functions and entertainments connected with the employees were attended throughout the year, and my mother and sisters were indefatigable in promoting the social welfare not only of the estate employees but of the village workers. In all this there was nothing remarkable, for we were only following the example of neighbours and friends.

We always had a succession of visitors at Lyme, many of whom were relations, and amongst them I seem to remember a number of unoccupied men who followed no profession. In those days, there was no discredit attaching to a life of leisure, and owing to the cheapness of living many belonging to the upper class were able to exist without the necessity to work. At that time the professions which were considered suitable for a young man of good family were limited, and if he did not enter the army, navy, civil service, the church

Page 47

LORD SALISBURY'S SOLICITUDE [1887-88]

or (more rarely) the law, there was only business left, and very few adopted that alternative.

The real trouble was the lack of regular occupation. This was difficult to remedy, because County Councils were not yet in existence, and it was then almost impossible to take part in county work on account of our remote position. This difficulty has, of course, now disappeared.

Liverpool, January 8, 1888. Arrived here for big Conservative demonstration addressed by Lord Salisbury.

There were many M.P.s present, and before the proceedings began we were each introduced to Lord Salisbury. When my turn came, he said, very amiably, that he knew my parents but had never made my acquaintance. Thinking that pleasantries would not be out of place, I replied that although he did not know me personally he must unconsciously be quite familiar with my handwriting, as I had copied out innumerable despatches addressed to him, and fancied that I saw a shade of gloom appear in his face. The meeting was held and Lord Salisbury made one of those weighty speeches which reverberated all over Europe. At the close of the proceedings the M.P.s were again brought up to bid farewell to Lord Salisbury. When my turn came, he drew me aside, and in a contrite voice remarked that the Foreign Secretary could scarcely be expected to know the handwriting of every member of the Diplomatic Service. I was horrified, for evidently, he thought that he had hurt my feelings,

¹⁰⁹ John Alexander Thynne, 4th Marquess of Bath (1831-1896), styled Viscount Weymouth between March and June 1837, a British peer and a diplomat for almost sixty years. (*Wikipedia*)

and I tried to explain that I was only joking. But I felt that I had made a fool of myself. This trivial incident showed the kindly disposition of Lord Salisbury and ought to have warned me against making jokes on unsuitable occasions in the future.

March 21. Lincoln Handicap won by my father's horse, Veracity, which started untried at 50 to 1, my father having only £10 on him.

He had only started racing a few years previously, and was a singularly unlucky owner, his horses constantly running second or third in important handicaps and being generally not backed on the few occasions when they won.

Southport, May 12. Inspection of our Yeomanry Regiment (Lancashire Hussars) by the Duke of Cambridge.¹¹⁰

Every man and every officer were present, and as the result of a week's assiduous drill the regiment made so creditable a display that the professional soldiers were quite surprised, the Duke of Cambridge congratulating us effusively in his speech, besides making many

Page 48

THE COMTESSE DE PARIS [1888]

guttural ejaculations of approval as we marched past. It was typical of the mentality of the military authorities that the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, with various distinguished generals, amongst whom was Sir Redvers Buller,¹¹¹ should be sent down to inspect a regiment of only 250 men all told, whilst the thousands of militiamen encamped close by at Altcar were completely ignored, if my memory is correct.

The session of 1888, compared with that of 1887, was fairly quiet, the time being chiefly occupied by the Local Government Bill which created the new County Councils and which could hardly be treated as a contentious measure. There were, however, continual grievances brought forward by the Parnellites, who, after loud complaints against the charges that had been brought against them, were now equally violent in denouncing any effective method of inquiry into them. In this attitude, they were supported by Gladstone and Morley, who did not even hesitate to charge Mr. Justice Day, one of the three judges appointed to sit on the Special Commission, with partiality. The Government had to face not only the united opposition of the Gladstonian Liberals and the Irish, but was also liable to frequent attacks by Randolph Churchill, in the character of the candid friend. Added to all this was the obvious fact that the Government was losing ground in the country. The 1886 election had been gained largely through absenteeism, and the absentees were now rallying again to their old leaders.

Castle Menzies, Perthshire. Staying here with the Wagrams, who had taken this place for the autumn. A large party, both French and English.

¹¹⁰ Prince George, 2nd Duke of Cambridge (George William Frederick Charles; 1819-1904) was a member of the British Royal Family, a male-line grandson of King George III, cousin of Queen Victoria. The Duke served as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces from 1856 to 1895. He became Duke of Cambridge in 1850 and field marshal in 1862. Deeply devoted to the old Army, he worked with the Queen to defeat or minimize every reform proposal, such as setting up a general staff. His Army became a moribund and stagnant institution, lagging far behind France and Germany. Its weaknesses were dramatically revealed by the poor organization at the start of the Second Boer War. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹¹ General Sir Redvers Henry Buller (1839-1908) was an Army officer and a recipient of the Victoria Cross. He served as Commander-in-Chief of British forces in South Africa during the early months of the Second Boer War and subsequently commanded the army in Natal until his return to England in November 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

We went over one day for a grouse drive on a neighbouring moor which had been taken by the Comte de Paris.¹¹² The Comtesse de Paris, a masculine lady but with very good manners, also shot, and as I happened to be next to her all day I was able to realise that she was quite a good shot, and safe, which is not always the case with women. She also smoked strong cigars, a habit she had probably acquired in Austria. The Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, who was also present, seemed to be quiet, well-mannered men, but not calculated to inspire much popular enthusiasm. There was also present (a nonshooter) Princess Helene,¹¹³ daughter of the Comtesse de Paris, a very tall, beautiful and most attractive girl, who subsequently married the Duke of Aosta. I have always thought it a misfortune that she did not marry into our own Royal Family.

Page 49

THE PARNELL LETTERS [1888]

All the shooting arrangements were excellent, the operations being directed by the Comtesse de Paris, and we killed about 250 brace.

A day or two afterwards the French Royalties came over to Castle Menzies for a blue hare drive, and I awaited their arrival with much interest, as there was a member of their suite who was obnoxious to Wagram and the French Military Attaché in London, who was a guest at the castle. Both of them threatened with much vehemence that if the obnoxious one ventured to enter the house they would at once hurl him out of the window. When he arrived, however, he was received with as much cordiality as anyone else, and he took part in a tremendous butchery of blue hares, of which over 600 were killed.

Thorneyhole, October 4. Staying with Mr. Townley¹¹⁴ in North Lancashire.

A well-known water finder arrived and was set to work. The difficulty would have been to discover a place where there was no water, for we were in the neighbourhood of the Lakes. The bailiff, who was a sceptic, set him down at once as an impostor because he failed to indicate a large culvert which was covered over. He did, however, detect some places where there were hidden springs, and I think that there are certainly some persons who are susceptible to the presence of water. None of those present, however, were able to make the rod bend.

Lyme, October 23. Cambridgeshire won by Veracity.

I backed him at 20 to 1 to win and for a place and won quite a good stake, whereas I doubt whether my father had put anything on him. He was now a thoroughly exposed horse, very unlikely to win any more handicaps.

November 12. Went to Special Commission and heard some dull evidence.

¹¹² Prince Philippe of Orléans, Count of Paris (Louis Philippe Albert 1838-1894), was the grandson of Louis Philippe I, King of the French. He was Count of Paris, and was a claimant to the French throne from 1848 until his death. In 1864 he married his paternal first cousin, Princess Marie Isabelle d'Orléans (1848-1919), Infanta of Spain. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹³ Princess Hélène of Orléans (1871-1951) was a member of the deposed Orléans royal family of France and, by marriage to the head of a cadet branch of the Italian royal family became the Duchess of Aosta. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹⁴ Sir Walter Beaupré Townley (1863-1945) was a British diplomat and ambassador, who most notably served as the British Ambassador to the Netherlands during the final years of the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

Afterwards I met Philip Stanhope, M.P.,¹¹⁵ who, being a Radical, was intimate with the Parnellites. He said that they knew all about the letters, which had been supplied by one Pigott, and that he had induced *The Times* to buy them as he had produced some genuine letters of little value. Also, that the notorious letters, having been more carefully examined, were found to contain pencil marks. This statement turned out to be practically correct. I think that this was the first time that I heard Pigott's name mentioned, but afterwards I was told that when the Loyalist Irishmen learnt that *The Times* had

Page 50

THE IRISH LAND WAR [1888-89]

received its information from Pigott they were absolutely dismayed, for he was a disreputable Irish journalist of the worst character.

November 18. My eldest son, Richard, born - much to the delight of everyone concerned.

Fota, January 20, 1889. I had never been to Ireland, and had heard so much about it during the last three years that I was very anxious to visit it and gladly accepted an invitation from my friend, Arthur Smith Barry, M.P.,¹¹⁶ to join him here. Fota is by no means a typical Irish residence. It is a modern house between Queenstown and Cork, carefully kept up and surrounded by beautiful grounds containing luxuriant but carefully tended semi-tropical vegetation. Altogether a very attractive place. It was frequently visited by tourists whilst their boat lay at Queenstown, and not long before a millionaire American couple had arrived. The lady was heard to say to her husband, "This is quite the best thing that we have seen since we came to Europe. Go in and buy it right away!" The man, being well-disciplined, did as he was bid and was a good deal surprised to have his offer rejected.

Smith Barry took me into Cork and we attended a meeting of the Board of Guardians, and I made the acquaintance of various prominent loyalists whose names frequently occurred in the Press. On another day, I went with Mr. T. W. Russell,¹¹⁷ the well-known Liberal-Unionist M.P., to visit the Ponsonby estate, near Youghal, where we had many discussions with both evicted tenants and protected emergency men.

Later I went to the Luggacurran estate, which had been the scene of a long and hard-fought struggle between the Land League and the landlords protected by the Government. The agent for the estate was a Mr. Trench, a well-known character who seemed to be a reincarnation of one of Lever's characters, for he was a dashing man of high courage, and it was generally believed that he was so deadly a shot with a revolver that no one ventured to attack him. Mr. Trench, anxious to impress an M.P., however insignificant, offered to drive me over the property, adding, however, that it might be dangerous. Whether I secretly trembled I forget, but I managed to preserve an impassive demeanour. We rushed about in an open car over terrible roads, but there was no other danger, as we were not shot at.

¹¹⁵ Philip James Stanhope, 1st Baron Weardale (1847-1923) was a Liberal Party politician and philanthropist. He was the younger son of Philip Stanhope, 5th Earl Stanhope. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹⁶ Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry, 1st Baron Barrymore (1843-1925), was an Anglo-Irish Conservative politician. Smith-Barry was the son of James Hugh Smith Barry, of Marbury, near Northwich in Cheshire, and Fota Island, County Cork. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹⁷ Sir Thomas Wallace Russell, 1st Baronet MP (1841-1920), was an Irish politician and agrarian agitator. He was elected to the House of Commons as a Liberal Unionist in 1886 for South Tyrone. He served between 1895 and 1900 as Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board in the Unionist administration of Lord Salisbury. (*Wikipedia*)

Luggacurran presented a strange sight. The evicted tenants were living in huts provided by the Land League and, being also provided by

Page 51

UNINTELLIGIBLE IRELAND [1889]

the League with plenty of money, were quite happy. Then there were the tenants who had been served with eviction notices, who admitted that they were able to pay and promised to do so secretly, if possible. Finally, there were the paying tenants, protected by police.

The whole business struck me as artificial. The land was good, it was admitted that the rents were low, and it was also admitted, even by the evicted tenants themselves, that they could quite well afford to pay the rents but were not allowed to do so by the Land League, while the English voters were being assured that they were starving.

The fact was that there was no real grievance at Luggacurran, but the estate had been chosen as a test of strength by the Land League, the protagonists on the other side being Smith Barry and his friends, who represented the cause of law and order. Incidentally, Smith Barry was a man of such a charming character that even his political enemies had little to say against him. From Fota I went on to stay with the Castletowns in Queen's County, and there met various landowners and others who expressed serious misgivings about the future and admitted that some landowners (especially Lord Clanricarde¹¹⁸) had done their cause infinite harm. All were united in their praise of Arthur Balfour. After trying various rivers which were reputed to contain salmon but where even the watchers admitted that they had not seen a fish for years, I returned to London in February. Thus ended my first visit to Ireland. Since then I have been there on many occasions, and on each visit I felt that I understood less about the country.

It was in February that the allegations in the so-called Parnell letters collapsed, Pigott confessing the forgery and fleeing to Spain, where he committed suicide. Philip Stanhope had therefore been perfectly right in what he told me a year earlier. The Parnellites and the Opposition had always taken particular care to concentrate public attention upon the letters, to the exclusion of other matters, and much interest departed from the Special Commission and the continual Irish debates in the House of Commons. One of the major incidents in the session was the splendid defence of the Royal Grants by Gladstone, who was faced with much discontent from many of his followers and never received any gratitude from Queen Victoria.

July 24. Wedding of my younger sister, Mabel, to Major the Hon. William Rowley.¹¹⁹

There were a great many people present, and just before their

¹¹⁸ Hubert George de Burgh-Canning, 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde (1832-1916) was an Anglo-Irish nobleman and politician. He was the son of Ulick de Burgh, 1st Marquess of Clanricarde and his wife Harriet, daughter of British Prime Minister George Canning. He was unmentioned in Ireland, where he had a reputation as one of the worst and most repressive absentee landlords in the country. His estate in Portumna, County Galway, comprising 52,000 acres (21,000 ha), yielded £25,000 yearly in rents paid by 1,900 tenants, and was a main target during the 1887 Plan of Campaign fought for fair rents by the Irish Parliamentary Party. (*Wikipedia*)

¹¹⁹ William Chambré Rowley, later the 6th Baron Langford (1849-1931). (*Wikipedia*)

departure we were exhilarated by a telegram announcing that Veracity had won the Liverpool Cup. This much enduring horse had lately run second and third in the Hunt Cup and Wokingham Stakes at Ascot.

William Rowley, who had been in the R.A., rejoined the Army in 1914, at the age of 65, and served in France, mostly in the front line, during the whole of the war. He must have been very nearly the oldest member of the B.E.F.

November 22. As I had been fortunate enough to secure a Liberal pair, we started for Egypt in the Rohilla, an ancient P. and O. boat which, I think, was eventually sunk to block an enemy harbour during the war of 1914-18. A great variety of passengers: American tourists, military officers, female missionaries to China, Indian students, girls on their way out to get married, and grass widows. We found a few acquaintances: Lady Strathmore¹²⁰ and two daughters; Horace Plunkett and his brother, Lord Dunsany, M.P.¹²¹ The captain was evidently an admirer of the opposite sex, and one of the grass widows appropriated his cabin, with the result that we lost our reckoning and arrived 24 hours late at Gibraltar and were unable to land, the same thing occurring at Naples. It was this same captain who subsequently lost his ship in the Red Sea whilst entertaining Lord and Lady Willingdon.¹²² We arrived at Ismailia on December 12.

Cairo must be a disappointing place to those who are making a first visit to the East. The modern quarter in which Europeans resided already resembled a French city, and the streets were full of early tourists who soon began to arrive in swarms. The English visitors, according to their wont, seemed to pass most of their time watching polo, cricket matches and gymkhanas. I have never been able to appreciate this form of entertainment, which seems to me only fit for little children, and the spectacle of middle-aged officers leading geese and ostriches and riding in donkey races did not seem to me calculated to inspire respect amongst the natives, or to do otherwise than excite the derision of other Europeans, more especially the French.

But on the whole our popularity seemed to be greater than might have been expected. According to the Press of all countries, Egypt was seething with discontent, and various European Powers were doing their utmost to force a British evacuation very shortly. There was, of course, a certain amount of grumbling, especially amongst the French, but even this was lessened by the fact that, owing to the strong

¹²⁰ In 1889, Lady Strathmore would have been the wife of Claude Bowes-Lyon, 13th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne (1824-1904), styled The Honourable Claude Bowes-Lyon from 1847 to 1865. He was the 13th holder of the Earldom of Strathmore and Kinghorne. On 28 September 1853, Claude married Frances Dora Smith. They had 11 children and their eldest son, Claude Bowes-Lyon, 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, was the father of Queen Elizabeth, the wife of King George VI.

¹²¹ John William Plunkett, 17th Baron of Dunsany (1853-1899) was an Anglo-Irish Conservative politician and peer. (*Wikipedia*)

¹²² Major Freeman Freeman-Thomas, 1st Marquess of Willingdon (1866-1941), was a British Liberal politician and administrator who served as Governor General of Canada, the 13th since Canadian Confederation, and as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the country's 22nd. (*Wikipedia*)

common sense of Sir Evelyn Baring,¹²³ who was then our Agent and Consul-General, they had been invited to remain in control of the Archaeological Department. It was a current belief that Baring was a man of brusque manners and despotic temperament. My experience of him was exactly the reverse, and he continued to control the destinies of Egypt with a minimum of friction. Both he and Lady Baring were extremely hospitable and friendly to us, as also were General and Lady Grenfell¹²⁴. General Grenfell, at that time, commanded the Egyptian army and later I became very intimate with him. We made the acquaintance of many prominent personages in Cairo, both English and foreign, but never met Kitchener,¹²⁵ who was at the time in the Suakim district.

December 22. Visit to Wilfrid Blunt,¹²⁶ an entertaining experience.

He was living at a village about ten miles from Cairo, where he had built a house. We arrived by train at the nearest station, and were making our way on donkeys when we were encountered by Blunt himself, attired as a Bedouin, mounted on one of his celebrated Arabs and brandishing a javelin, while uttering shrill Arab cries of welcome. The house was a modest native building, not yet finished, and appeared to be occupied only by Blunt and Lady Anne and their daughter,¹²⁷ both dressed in Bedouin costume. Encamped in a small courtyard were three Arabs whom Blunt pronounced to be Bedouins of the oldest lineage, but who were described by some sceptics as being horse copers. Wilfrid Blunt pronounced an Arabic blessing and we sat down to a typical oriental meal, eating without knives or forks. After the meal, the three Arabian noblemen entered, and one of them, producing a musical instrument which was stated by Blunt to be the exact replica of the instrument upon which David played before Saul, began an interminable song which was, of course, incomprehensible to us. I asked Blunt what was the subject of the song and he admitted that he did not know. Then I realised that Lady Anne was a much better Arabic scholar than he, and she had no difficulty in explaining that the minstrel was comparing her husband alternately to a lion and an eagle. Shortly afterwards a slight embarrassment was caused by Lady Anne discovering that someone had taken a piece of jewellery from her room, and, as

¹²³ Evelyn Baring, 1st Earl of Cromer (1841-1917), was a British statesman, diplomat and colonial administrator. He was British controller-general in Egypt during 1879, part of the international Control which oversaw Egyptian finances after the 1876 Egyptian bankruptcy. He later became the agent and consul-general in Egypt from 1883 to 1907 during the British occupation prompted by the Urabi revolt. (*Wikipedia*)

¹²⁴ Field Marshal Francis Wallace Grenfell, 1st Baron Grenfell (1841-1925), was a British Army officer. After serving as aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, South Africa, he fought in the 9th Xhosa War, the Anglo-Zulu War and then the Anglo-Egyptian War. He went on to become Sirdar (Commander-in-Chief) of the Egyptian Army and commanded the forces at the Battle of Suakin in December 1888 and at the Battle of Toski in August 1889 during the Mahdist War. After that he became Governor of Malta and then Commander-in-Chief, Ireland before retiring in 1908. (*Wikipedia*)

¹²⁵ Field Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener, 1st Earl Kitchener (1850-1916) was a senior British Army officer and colonial administrator who won fame for his imperial campaigns and later played a central role in the early part of World War I, although he died halfway through it. (*Wikipedia*)

¹²⁶ Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922[2]) was an English poet and writer. He and his wife, Lady Anne Blunt travelled in the Middle East and were instrumental in preserving the Arabian horse bloodlines through their farm, the Crabbet Arabian Stud. He was best known for his poetry, which was published in a collected edition in 1914. (*Wikipedia*)

¹²⁷ Lord Newton's footnote says "Now Lady Wentworth". Judith Anne Dorothea Blunt-Lytton, 16th Baroness Wentworth also known as Lady Wentworth (1873-1957) was an Arabian horse breeder and real tennis player. As the owner of the Crabbet Arabian Stud from 1917 to 1957, her influence on Arabian horse breeding was profound, with over 90 percent of all Arabian horses in the world today carrying lines to Crabbet bloodstock in their pedigrees. (*Wikipedia*)

there were apparently no other persons present, suspicion naturally fell upon the Arabian nobleman.

Page 54

THE BORDER OF CIVILISATION [1889-90]

Wilfrid Blunt was often denounced as a rebel and was also described by his enemies as a stage Arab, but he was undoubtedly genuine in his sympathy with the Islamic world and was a man of much ability and courage. He was also an excellent writer, and personally I consider his diary to be better worth reading than any contemporary journal of the kind.

1890. After a period of sightseeing and social activities in Cairo, I went with an American friend on what he termed a “snipe hunt” in the Fayoum. From the sporting point of view, it was not much of a success, for snipe were not very plentiful and my friend found the cotton fields too heavy going, but the camping out was a new experience, the air delicious, and one got an idea of how the Egyptian peasants live. They seemed to have little to complain of and admitted that they paid less in taxes.

Later we made an expedition up the Nile to Wady Haifa with the late Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, M.P.,¹²⁸ and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P.,¹²⁹ and his wife, who was Mr. Beaumont’s daughter. Both Beaumont and Hugessen were advanced Liberals and used to annoy me by addressing the Egyptians as “niggers,” which seemed a very incongruous expression for a Liberal. Wady Haifa was then the last outpost of civilisation, for the Dervishes were in possession of everything south of it. Here I discovered a relative, Colonel Wodehouse,¹³⁰ of the Egyptian Army, who provided us with excellent high-bred dromedaries to view the Third Cataract. Few visitors penetrated as far as Wady Haifa, and the soldiers entertained us with much hospitality. Descending the river we were able to visit Abou Simbel, which struck me as the finest and most impressive monument in the country, and we also had an opportunity to examine the battlefield of Toski, where Grenfell had recently defeated the Dervishes. Many mummified Dervish corpses were lying in the desert.

Cairo, January 30. Went with Baring to see the Khedive Tewfik,¹³¹ an amiable and apathetic man who did not appear intelligent but who was evidently on the best of terms with Baring. I shall always remember this visit, because Baring inadvertently admitted to me that he considered our occupation of Egypt must be permanent, and he did not seem to welcome the prospect.

Alexandria, February 7. Started for Constantinople in an inferior Khedivial Line boat with poor accommodation but an obliging Maltese captain. No other British passengers.

¹²⁸ Wentworth Blackett Beaumont, 1st Baron Allendale (1829-1907) was a British industrialist and Liberal politician. Lord Allendale’s first wife was Lady Margaret Anne, daughter of Ulick de Burgh, 1st Marquess of Clanricarde, and his wife the Honourable Harriet, daughter of George Canning, in 1856. (See also page 52 for reference to Marquess of Clanricarde.) (*Wikipedia*)

¹²⁹ Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen, 2nd Baron Brabourne (1857–1909), was the son of the Liberal politician Edward Hugessen Knatchbull-Hugessen, 1st Baron Brabourne (1829-1893). He was known as E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen before he was ennobled and was Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department under Lord Russell in 1866, under William Ewart Gladstone from 1868 to 1871 and was also Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies under Gladstone from 1871 to 1874. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³⁰ Lord Newton’s mother was from the Wodehouse family, hence his own middle name. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³¹ Muhammed Tewfik Pasha (1852-1892), also known as Tawfiq of Egypt, was khedive of Egypt and the Sudan between 1879 and 1892 and the sixth ruler from the Muhammad Ali Dynasty. (*Wikipedia*)

We had a very rough and uncomfortable voyage, the weather being atrocious: bitterly cold at Smyrna and torrents of rain at Athens. The captain informed me that the line paid its way, which rather surprised me, for I discovered that the inspector who was travelling with us was unable to speak any European language or understand European figures, whereas the accounts were all made out in French.

Constantinople, February 17. Very cold and everything most depressing, streets being almost impassable. Called on Sir William White,¹³² our Ambassador, who seemed much pleased at a reference to him made by Gladstone in Parliament.

White was looked upon as the highest British authority on the Near East and was discovered by Lord Salisbury at the Congress of Berlin.

Sofia, February 20. Staying with the O'Conors. Found snow, bright sun and skating going on. Town much enlarged since my previous visit.

February 24. Perfect winter weather with bright sun. Called on Stambuloff and heard the old abuse of the Russians and the intention of resisting them. He said nothing about Ferdinand, and I gathered that their relations had not improved.

February 27. Dined at the Palace and had previously a long conversation with Ferdinand. Did not get very much out of him, except that he intended to go on, whether recognised or not.

There were about thirty guests at the dinner, which was marked by a great deal of court etiquette, which must have surprised the Bulgarians, most of whom were in uniform. My wife sat on Ferdinand's left and I was seated next to his mother, Princess Clementine of Saxe-Coburg,¹³³ who was a daughter of Louis Philippe and was credited with consolidating her son's position in Bulgaria through her wealth. She was very deaf but extremely intelligent. I had to converse with her through a trumpet, but we got on very well and she laughed so immoderately during our conversation that I could see that Ferdinand's inveterate pomposity was outraged.

London, March 6. Arrived home and found both children well.

¹³² Sir William Arthur White (1824-1891) was a British diplomat. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³³ Princess Clémentine of Orléans (1817-1907), princess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and duchess in Saxony, was the sixth child of ten and youngest daughter of Louis-Philippe I, King of the French, and his wife Maria Amalia of the Two Sicilies. She was the mother of Ferdinand I, Tsar of Bulgaria.

**BOSNIA AND MONTENEGRO: SOCIAL ACTIVITIES:
GENERAL ELECTION. 1890-1892**

In September, 1890, I started for Bosnia with Henry Bentinck,¹³⁴ mainly with the object of fishing for the big trout which were to be found there. My companion, who had had little experience of continental travel, took with him a huge amount of luggage, and after I had persuaded him to send a large part of it home from Vienna it still remained three times as great as my own.

The Austrians were, of course, in possession of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which they had occupied in 1878, and I found the Ministers concerned most anxious to give us every facility, foreign tourists in those regions being extremely rare. We reached Serajevo (Sarajevo) early in September and found all the officials most courteous and obliging, and Serajevo a very attractive town, maintaining its oriental character but supplied with modern amenities. We passed several agreeable days there, fishing in the Bosna and enjoying much hospitality. Then, accompanied by the British Consul, Mr. Freeman, and his Austrian wife, we left for Jaitza, a beauty spot in the north, where there is a wonderful waterfall which must be the best in Europe. Most of the journey was by road, and the scenery was charming, much of it being covered by beech forests containing trees of enormous size; the land was fertile and well-watered with clear and rapid streams. The inhabitants, chiefly Mussulmans, wore costumes which were more ornamental than any which I had seen hitherto, and it was surprising that so far tourists had not discovered Bosnia, more especially since the Austrian Government had established excellent inns in most parts, the roads were admirable and there were no brigands. On arrival at Jaitza our party was received by a crowd of officials and we were invited to attend a popular fete which had been organised for the entertainment of the natives. The entertainment rather

resembled a Primrose League demonstration, with athletic sports, pony races and dancing. Both Mussulman and Orthodox natives attended, and it was quite evident that the Government were anxious to conciliate the population, and all those present seemed to be on friendly terms with each other. In fact, everything was apparently so satisfactory that all stories of discontent and impending revolution sounded improbable, and I am bound to say that, travelling about the country in various directions, I got the impression that it was well administered and that there was little to complain of in Austrian rule.

After Jaitza we went by road, through fine mountain scenery, to the river Narenta, where we camped in tents. Here we expected great sport. Mr. Freeman, who was a keen fisherman, had frequently fished the river and had never failed to get trout which ran to nearly 20 lb., but our luck was out, and though we got plenty of small fish none were over about 3 lb. Mr. Freeman said that he could not understand it, as he had never failed before, but I have no doubt myself that we were too late and that in order to be sure of sport the river should be fished in early summer.

¹³⁴ Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1863-1931), known as Henry Cavendish-Bentinck until 1880, was a British Conservative politician. He was the eldest son of Lieutenant-General Arthur Cavendish-Bentinck from and his paternal grandfather Lord William Charles Augustus Cavendish-Bentinck was the third son of William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland.

CHAPTER VI

Descending the Narenta valley we arrived at Mostar, an extremely picturesque Mussulman town which is now well known to tourists, and here Bentinck left me and returned home, via the Adriatic and Venice. Having, however, got so far, I was determined to go on, and ascertained from the Governor of Mostar that I could travel overland to Ragusa, which was much more interesting than going by sea. Like all other Austrian officials he was most obliging and provided me with a small open carriage and a driver who could speak some German.

Stolatz, September 20. Left Mostar early and arrived here about mid-day. The Herzegovina is quite different from Bosnia, being bare and sterile, with very little water. This is a picturesque little town with a fine castle.

The inhabitants were of a different type from the Bosnian and the women wore costumes resembling the Montenegrin fashion. On all the heights in the vicinity were small forts, and there was a strong garrison in the town. I was accommodated in a military casino, where everything was simple and very inexpensive, and I took my meals with a Hungarian battalion. The officers assured me that one of them was an accomplished English scholar, and when I was confronted with him they were extremely indignant when he failed to make me understand a word of what he said. They said that their

Page 58

ARRIVAL AT CETTINJE [1890]

life was very dull and monotonous, and it must be a terrible place in winter.

Bilek, September 21. Country on the way here from Stolatz equally bleak and uninviting. Hot: about 85 degrees in shade. Lodged with a Dalmatian merchant, and fed at a little inn crowded with officers. Forts everywhere.

Ragusa, September 22. Arrived here, via Trebinje, where I spent several hours. Country, if possible, more uninviting. Trebinje, one of the old Turkish fortresses, a rather more prosperous-looking place than Stolatz and Bilek, equally surrounded by forts on every hill. It seemed extraordinary that all these elaborate defences should be considered necessary to protect Austria from Montenegro, a country with a population of under half a million.

On descending the slope towards Ragusa and the sea, the scene changed like magic and the sterile wilderness gave way to luxuriant vegetation and fine buildings instead of hovels. My driver, who presumably had never been out of the Herzegovina, was overwhelmed with astonishment when he saw the beautiful buildings in the town, and no wonder, for there can be no greater contrast than that between the Dalmatian coast and the barren hinterland. Ragusa is a beautiful town which, as is known, is responsible for the word "argosy"; but the Yugoslavs, with the mania which afflicts new countries for changing names, now call it Dubrovnik, a much less euphonious designation, and in the same iconoclastic spirit have transformed Spalato into Split.

Being very anxious to visit Montenegro, I hurried on, arriving late at night at Cetinje, having walked up there from Cattaro. There is no occasion to describe the wonderful ascent from the Bocca di Cattaro, for it is now a much-frequented tourist resort. Cetinje, however, has now lost such attraction as it originally possessed, for it has fallen from being a capital to the status of an unimportant provincial town in Yugoslavia.

CHAPTER VI

At Cetinje I was again reminded of Berne, for all the Great Powers maintained Legations there, and the diplomatists were entirely dependent upon each other for society, as, except for the Court, there were no social resources whatever.

Cetinje, September 27. A French-speaking native was good enough to befriend me and we saw the principal sights of the little capital, which consisted only of one wide street, along which stalked immense men bristling with weapons. One of the institutions we

Page 59

LIBERALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE [1890]

visited was the prison, where the prisoners seemed to enjoy complete liberty in the open air, although some were in chains. They appeared to consist chiefly of murderers and political offenders, and when assured that I was not an Austrian were extremely polite and amiable. They said that it was not worthwhile to escape, because, the country being very small, everyone would know them and that therefore they were certain to be recaptured. One of them, a well-educated man, assured me that his only crime was that he was a friend of Mr. Bryce, M.P.,¹³⁵ a well-known Liberal.

In the afternoon, I had a long interview with the Prince, of whom I had heard so much, both good and bad, that I was particularly anxious to meet him.

Prince Nicholas¹³⁶ was a big, fine-looking man who had the good sense always to wear the Montenegrin dress, in which he appeared to great advantage. He spoke very good French and was fond of receiving foreign visitors, frequently administering justice under a tree for their especial edification. He received me with much affability, and after bewailing his own and his country's poverty proceeded to expatiate on the great qualities of Gladstone, whose sole fault was that he had failed to catch the notorious London murderer known as "Jack the Ripper." "You," he said, "are an M.P., and it is with astonishment that I learn that you do not follow him, for all intelligent people are Liberals, like myself, for instance."

I replied that I had just been over his prison and had discovered that the prisoners wearing the heaviest fetters were Liberals and had committed no crimes.

"That is easily explained," said the Prince. "It is emphatically right and natural that persons in authority like myself should hold Liberal opinions, but all subjects should be conservative, and I am quite determined that they shall remain so."

We conversed on many subjects and what interested me particularly was an assurance that the river Zeta contained enormous trout, and that he had seen a large number of them caught in one afternoon, many of which weighed more than 40 lb. How they were caught he did not specify, and they were probably either dynamited or netted, but I made a secret resolve to try the Zeta at the first opportunity.

On the following day, I left Cetinje, having, like other foreigners, been struck by the fact that the Montenegrin men were extremely idle and that the women did all the work. The former, having never

¹³⁵ James Bryce, 1st Viscount Bryce (1838-1922) was a British academic, jurist, historian and Liberal politician. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³⁶ Nikola I Petrović-Njegoš (1841-1921) was the ruler of Montenegro from 1860 to 1918, reigning as sovereign prince from 1860 to 1910 and as king from 1910 to 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

been subject to the Turks, were different from the other Balkan races and bore a distinct air of independence, accompanied by excellent manners.

On board the Pandora at Cattaro, I found Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., surrounded by his family and relatives, and was irresistibly reminded of H.M.S. *Pinafore* and Sir Joseph Porter.¹³⁷ Mr. Smith was a most amiable man and much respected in the House of Commons. He appeared very tired and was not looking forward with any pleasure to the approaching autumn session.

October 3. Returned home and joined my family at Walmer.

The split in the Irish Party over Mr. Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea had so weakened it that it had become almost powerless in Parliament and there was much uncertainty as to which section would win. The Liberal Party was, of course, anti-Parnellite, and when I met two of the Liberal leaders, Lord Granville and Lord Herschell,¹³⁸ at a small dinner early in December, they were clearly doubtful whether they had backed the right horse, but both agreed that Parnell was partially insane. Lord Herschell maintained that he was really only supported in some of the big towns.

December 12. My second son, Piers,¹³⁹ born.

London, January 24, 1891. According to Lord Granville the bankers of the late Duke of Bedford,¹⁴⁰ who committed suicide a few days previously, had standing orders to invest £5,000 for him every month.

Hayling Island, March 31. Heard of the death of Lord Granville, which is a sad blow, for we were much attached to him and constantly saw him.

It was not possible to regard him as a successful Foreign Minister, for he was too much influenced by Gladstone, who, according to a remark once made to me by Lord Rosebery,¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ In 1868 W. H. Smith rose to the position of First Lord of the Admiralty. Because of his lack of naval experience, he was perceived as a model for the character Sir Joseph Porter in Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore*. The character in this operetta was an office boy who rose to be Leader of the Queen's Navy and his famous comic song recounts how he started out as an office boy polishing the handle on the big front door.

"I polished up that handle so carefuller

That now I am the Ruler of the Queen's Navee!"

(*Wikipedia*)

¹³⁸ Farrer Herschell, 1st Baron Herschell (1837-1899) was Lord Chancellor of Great Britain in 1886, and again from 1892 to 1895. (*Wikipedia*)

¹³⁹ Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Piers "Joey" Walter Legh (12 December 1890–16 October 1955) was a British Army officer and a member of the Royal Household. The second son of the Thomas Legh, 2nd Baron Newton and Evelyn Caroline Bromley Davenport, Legh was educated at Eton and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst before commissioning into the Grenadier Guards. He was a military secretary in the First World War, during which he was mentioned in despatches. In 1919, he became an equerry to The Prince of Wales until 1936 and then to King George VI from 1937–46 (and also an extra equerry from 1946–55). In 1941, he became Master of the Household, a post he held until his retirement in 1953. He was invested as a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order in 1948. On 15 November 1920, he married Sarah Polk Shaughnessy (d. 1955, née Bradford), the widow of Capt. Hon. Alfred Shaughnessy and they had one daughter, Diana Evelyn Legh (b. 1924), who was the first wife of John Wodehouse, 4th Earl of Kimberley. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴⁰ Francis Charles Hastings Russell, 9th Duke of Bedford (1819-1891) was an English politician and agriculturalist. He was the son of Major-General Lord George William Russell and Lady William Russell, and the grandson of John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford. He was Liberal Member of Parliament for Bedfordshire from 1847 until 1872, when he succeeded to his dukedom. (*Wikipedia*)

“knew nothing about foreign politics.” Nor can he have been a very happy choice as Colonial Secretary in the short Gladstone Administration of 1886, for I recall a conversation at Walmer in the early 'eighties which would have astonished people now. The only other visitor was General Menabrea,¹⁴² the Italian Ambassador in London, and the conversation turned upon the value of colonies. Sanderson, who was then Lord Granville's private secretary, had expressed the view that colonies were really an incubus, and Menabrea wound up the discussion by saying that England was rich enough to afford the luxury of colonies. Lord Granville assented, yet subsequently he was himself appointed Colonial

Page 61

THE BACCARAT CASE [1891]

Secretary. But, if Lord Granville was unsuccessful in these two offices, he possessed many compensating advantages. For he must have been invaluable as a conciliator, in view of the numerous disputes in the Liberal Party. He led the Liberal minority in the House of Lords for many years with conspicuous tact, was regarded as the best after-dinner speaker of the day, and the best *raconteur*, and was, in fact, probably the most popular figure in Parliament. In private life he was charming: kind, courteous, humorous, devoted to his family and completely devoid of the pomposity which so frequently afflicts eminent politicians.

London, May 7. Many people down with what they call “influenza.” The medical profession seems to have realised the advantage of calling an old ailment by a new name.

Glen Tana, May 25. Killed 15 salmon in the Dee between noon and 8 p.m.

The fish were quite fresh from the sea and averaged about 10 lb. This was considered a remarkable achievement at the time, but no doubt it has subsequently been exceeded.

London, June 10. Verdict given against Sir W. Gordon Cumming¹⁴³ in the Baccarat case. This case had caused much excitement, but it was curious that public abuse was chiefly concentrated upon the Prince of Wales and the Wilson family, and that many people and part of the Press persistently maintained that Gordon Cumming was a much ill-used man.

June 14. Met Wilfrid Blunt, who predicted confidently that as soon as Gladstone returned to power Egypt would be evacuated.

Upon this occasion, I ministered unintentionally to his vanity, which was not inconsiderable, although pardonable. The company had been discussing good looks in men, and I expressed the opinion that, although I had never heard anyone else say so, Parnell was a very handsome

¹⁴¹ Archibald Philip Primrose, 5th Earl of Rosebery, 1st Earl of Midlothian (1847-1929), was a Scottish Liberal statesman who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 5 March 1894 to 22 June 1895. Between the death of his father, in 1851, and the death of his grandfather, the 4th Earl, in 1868, he was known by the courtesy title of Lord Dalmeny. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴² Luigi Federico Menabrea (1809-1896), later made Count Menabrea and Marquis of Valdora, was an Italian general, statesman and mathematician who served as the Prime Minister of Italy from 1867 to 1869. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴³ Sir William Alexander Gordon Gordon-Cumming, 4th Baronet (1848-1930) was a Scottish landowner, soldier, adventurer and socialite. He is best known for being the central figure in the royal baccarat scandal of 1891. A friend of Edward, Prince of Wales for over 20 years, in 1891 he attended a house party at Tranby Croft, Yorkshire, where he took part in a game of baccarat at the behest of the prince. During the course of two nights' play he was accused of cheating, which he denied vehemently. After news of the affair leaked out, he sued five members of the host family for slander; the Prince of Wales was called as a witness. The judgement went against Gordon-Cumming and he was ostracised from polite society.

man. "Ah," said Wilfrid Blunt, "I do not suppose that any two men have been mistaken for each other so frequently as I and Parnell."

Clime, August 18. Staying here with Graham Vivian.

He had collected a large party to meet Prince Henry of Battenberg,¹⁴⁴ who had been invited to visit the Eisteddfod at Swansea and to take part in a great duck shoot. The Prince was well received by a huge audience at the Eisteddfod, although there was a certain amount of hissing when the National Anthem was played, but the duck shoot

Page 62

A PRIMA DONNA AT HOME [1891]

was a complete fiasco, for, after a long tramp up a steep hill, carrying innumerable cartridges, we found a concreted pond on which were some lethargic ducks, almost incapable of rising from the water. We had been assured that there were swarms of rabbits, but scarcely any were discovered, and it is strange how ignorant some owners are of what they actually possess. Fortunately, I happened to know that Patti¹⁴⁵, who lived in the neighbourhood, had offered to give a special performance for Prince Henry if he would visit her castle. I pointed out to Graham Vivian that this was a godsend which ought to be seized at once. At first he demurred, as he said that Patti's friends would probably not be class enough to meet the Prince, but I had no difficulty in persuading the latter to announce that he would like to go, and the excursion was immediately arranged, and proved to be an entertaining experience.

When our party, which was a large one, reached the park of Craig-y-Nos we were serenaded at various points by happy peasants, singing hymns of welcome in national costume, obviously imported for the occasion from Covent Garden. The castle was a building of recent construction and I was surprised to find the reception rooms crammed with every sort of music-producing machines. Patti, who ought to have been accustomed to royal society, appeared to be overwhelmed with the importance of the occasion. She wore magnificent jewels and received us with warmth, but her husband, Nicolini, who was in reality a Frenchman called Nicholas and had formerly been a butcher, did not seem very happy in his role of Amphitryon. There were numerous guests in the house, both male and female, and they were of various nationalities, but all obviously connected with the theatre. The costume of both sexes was somewhat peculiar. The gentlemen wore a kind of compromise between day and evening clothes, their feet encased in pumps. The ladies wore low dresses and all were so heavily painted that their faces resembled masks. There followed a huge champagne luncheon, which lasted for more than two hours, and the sole topic of conversation was the Diva and her doings. In an incautious moment, I admitted to my neighbour that I had never before seen the Diva or heard her. Instantaneously I achieved a *succès de curiosité*. The men and women crowded round me, excitedly asking who I was, where I came from, and how I had passed my life. It was in vain that I tried to explain that I really lived a respectable life and was comparatively well educated: clearly, they regarded me as a freak, and the Diva herself would have been interested in me had it not

¹⁴⁴ Prince Henry of Battenberg (1858-20 January 1896) was a morganatic descendant of the Grand Ducal House of Hesse, later becoming a member of the British Royal Family, through his marriage to Princess Beatrice, daughter of Queen Victoria. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴⁵ Adelina Patti (19 February 1843-27 September 1919) a celebrated opera singer. (*Wikipedia*)

been for the presence of Prince Henry. When the luncheon at length terminated, we adjourned to a small but elaborate theatre, where the Diva sang duets with Nicolini. Afterwards she sang some of her favourite airs from Faust and other operas, and concluded with the inevitable "Last Rose of Summer." It was an admirable and finished performance, which aroused the greatest enthusiasm amongst the numerous members of the audience who were musical experts, some of whom had travelled great distances to attend it at short notice.

The concert over, we repaired to the garden, where the flimsy pumps of the gentlemen and the low dresses and heavy paint of the ladies looked strangely out of keeping with the sodden lawns and the misty hills of the neighbouring moors. We then took our leave, speeded on our way by the strains of the happy peasants, who had returned to their posts. It was an amusing and strange experience; strange, because it represented an inversion of the usual order of things. For, while the stage endeavours to picture real life, here were people trying hard to subordinate nature into the stage.

St. Fagan's, August 21. Staying here with the Plymouths.¹⁴⁶ A beautiful little castle, restored with much taste, and a charming garden. This is an industrial district, but the smoke is much less polluting than in the North and Midlands.

A Social Science Congress was being held at Cardiff and I received the impression that the few people attending it were reading rejected magazine articles to each other. A garden party was being given in honour of the Congress by Lord Bute¹⁴⁷ at Cardiff Castle, which we attended. Castles seldom appeal to me as residences, and this particular castle seemed singularly unattractive. Fabulous sums are reported to have been spent upon its construction, which I thought a great waste of money, but probably the place has now been put to some useful purpose.

Glamis, October 7. I had heard so much of the celebrated Glamis mystery that I was prepared for any kind of shock, but soon I came to the conclusion that the family took a pride in the occult and were not disposed to ignore it.

In the evening came the news that W. H. Smith and Parnell were dead. Both men were killed by politics. W. H. Smith, who had patriotically undertaken the uncongenial task of Party Leader in the Commons, had been in failing health for a long time, and Parnell's death was accelerated by the desperate struggle with his former followers which necessitated constant travelling between London and Ireland.

Parnell was essentially the mystery man of politics. He cultivated and practised it with the greatest assiduity. No one knew where he lived, except, perhaps, one or two of his chosen followers, and his movements were also shrouded in secrecy. In Parliament, I do not recollect him speaking to any English M.P. and he never seemed to converse with his followers, for the majority of whom he had, apparently, very little respect. He was the

¹⁴⁶ Robert George Windsor-Clive, 1st Earl of Plymouth (1857-1923), known as The Lord Windsor between 1869 and 1905, was a Conservative politician. He was the founding President of the London Society. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁴⁷ John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute (1847-1900) was a landed aristocrat, industrial magnate, antiquarian, scholar, philanthropist and architectural patron. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VI

absolute reverse of the traditional Irishman and did not, in speech, show the slightest trace of an Irish accent. He struck one really as a cold-blooded Englishman, and, bearing in mind that he had been educated in England and an undergraduate at Cambridge, it was rather difficult to account for the relentless and unquenchable hatred for this country which marked his cold and calculated speeches. He did not, however, fully disclose his real sentiments until after his quarrel with Gladstone.

We passed the winter months at Hayling Island, as the health of the last-born child was precarious and it had been recommended that he should remain at the seaside. Hayling consisted of little more than a small hotel and a few villas, but there was an excellent golf course, frequented by naval and military men from Portsmouth, and we had numerous visitors.

Garswood, January 28, 1892. Staying with Lord and Lady Gerard¹⁴⁸.

Whenever I visited my constituency I used to stay with the Gerards if possible, Garswood being about half-way between Wigan and Warrington, in the coal area. They were intimate friends, and I remember their unfailing hospitality and kindness with much gratitude. They belonged to the smartest section of fashionable racing society, and although he took no interest in politics, she was invaluable to me, especially since she enjoyed immense popularity among the humbler workers who lived in the neighbourhood.

As a general election was obviously imminent I occupied myself with visiting as many people as possible, and it is on occasions such as this that one realises how few are interested in politics and that consequential persons must discover how supremely unimportant they really are. Many did not know whether they had a vote or not; others had no idea which constituency they resided in; a good many thought that Lord Cross was still their M.P., and a large number were not aware whether a Liberal or a Conservative Government was in office. Presumably this absence of interest was general throughout the country, for Lancashire enjoyed the reputation of being exceptionally intelligent. The General Election started in earnest about the

Page 65

UNEXPECTED ELECTION SUCCESS [1892]

middle of June, and it was thought that it would be a close fight and that the Liberals and Irish would probably obtain a small majority. This expectation proved to be correct.

In my own constituency, considerable doubt was felt, for although the seat was reputed to be a Conservative stronghold it was in reality nothing of the kind. One of the burning questions was that of an Eight-Hour Day for Miners, and there were two or three thousand miners with votes in the division. Great pressure had been put by the miners' leaders upon all candidates to promise support for the Eight Hours Bill, and it was intimated that the miners' vote would be cast solidly against those who declined. Some of my Conservative colleagues yielded, and I was continually warned by friends and foes that I should infallibly lose my seat if I refused. I determined, however, to stand fast, and in doing so was influenced by various considerations. Firstly, I was convinced that a hard and fast eight-hour day would be highly injurious to the coal industry; secondly, I felt that anyone who really wanted an eight-hour

¹⁴⁸ William Cansfield Gerard, 2nd Baron Gerard of Bryn (1851-1902). Lord Newton refers to Lord Gerard as Colonel of the Yeomanry in 1900 and mentions Lady Gerard in 1909 on page 170.

day would vote for the Liberal, who was pledged to it, in preference to myself; thirdly, because a wobbling on my part would disgust my own tried supporters; and, lastly, because I felt sure that many of the miners themselves did not want the restriction but were afraid to say so. After all, why should they wish to tie themselves down to an eight-hour day, in preference to an elastic system which enabled them to work for a long or a short period, as they pleased? The fight in the Newton Division was concerned more with this question than any other, and as the polling day grew nearer our anxieties increased. In a calculation made with my agent on the day before the poll we estimated that we could not count upon more than a majority of about 200, and that only if we were lucky. The actual result was a surprise to everyone, for I increased my majority to 896, whilst my Conservative colleagues who had swallowed the Bill were either defeated or returned with much reduced majorities. The fight was conducted by my opponent in an honourable spirit and aroused no bitterness. I heard afterwards that Lord Salisbury had expressed great satisfaction at the result.

Incidentally, I increased my majority and my family at the same time, for my daughter Hilda¹⁴⁹ was born during the contest.

The election resulted in a majority of 40 for the Liberals and Irish, and there was much empty boasting in the Liberal Press over what they termed a brilliant success, but everyone knew that a majority of

Page 66

AN UNFORTUNATE DECISION [1892]

only 40 was too small for practical purposes, and the really astonishing fact was the indomitable courage of Gladstone in undertaking to form an Administration, at the age of nearly 83, with so precarious a majority.

August 4. The House met for the election of the Speaker, moved by Sir M. Ridley¹⁵⁰ and seconded by the G.O.M.

Met Gerard, who announced that he was going to decide within ten minutes whether to buy Eastwell or a house which he had found in Regent's Park. I begged him to decide upon the latter, because he was perfectly certain to want to dispose of either purchase within a month or two, and he would be able to dispose of the Regent's Park house, whereas Eastwell, a huge house in Kent with an enormous park, would be unsaleable. Unfortunately, he decided upon Eastwell, and, after paying a very large sum for it and spending a vast amount upon the house, found that he could not afford to live there and was unable to sell it.

¹⁴⁹ Hon. Hilda Margaret Legh b. 23 June 1892, d. 6 February 1970 aged 77, unmarried. (<http://www.thepeerage.com/p65986.htm>)

¹⁵⁰ Matthew White Ridley, 1st Viscount Ridley (1842-1904), known as Sir Matthew White Ridley, 5th Baronet from 1877 to 1900, was a British Conservative politician and statesman. He notably served as Home Secretary from 1895 to 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

**MY FATHER A PEER: THE LIBERAL PARLIAMENT:
TRAVEL. 1892-1893**

Littlestone, August 10, 1892. Much surprised to hear from my father that he had been offered, and accepted, a peerage.

Although I had heard some vague rumours, I had never believed them, and as my father was a very modest man I had always felt sure that he would never ask for anything himself; but I never ascertained what actually happened, and when I next saw him he explained in a semi-apologetic manner that it was cheaper to become a peer than to serve as High Sheriff, which would otherwise have been his fate.

I, rather foolishly, was inclined at first to resent this honour. I had begun to feel myself at home in the House of Commons and entertained vague dreams of my future there. I had not at the time sufficient sense to realise that it was far easier for anyone to display activity in the Lords than in the Commons, if he had the energy to do so. Besides this, it was by no means certain that I could hold the seat indefinitely: I had certainly increased my majority and improved my position, while in the subsequent general election my majority was further increased to more than 1,500, but I should probably have been beaten in 1906, and the seat has been a Labour one ever since, with two short intervals when there were very small Conservative majorities. Had I remained in the Commons I might possibly have been given a minor post in a Government, and might not have made a success of it, thus ensuring a return to permanent obscurity.

We went to Pau in December, and, crossing the Channel, met Waddington, who said that he was resigning his Embassy in London because he could not combine it with his Senatorial work. He had recently been staying with the G.O.M., who had been very enthusiastic about Home Rule, but feared that he would not be able to do much work in the Commons. Waddington's resignation was probably due to intrigues in Paris, as I do not believe that he had any desire to leave London.

Pau, January, 1893. This seemed an attractive place: full of rich Americans and people with nothing to do, and consequently demoralising. One of the visitors was Arthur Balfour, with whom I used frequently to play golf. Following his usual practice when on holiday, he refused to talk politics, if it could be avoided, and equally refused to read any papers whatsoever.

Society at Pau was cosmopolitan; there were continual entertainments, and it was possible to indulge in every form of sport or game. On one occasion, we paid a visit to Lourdes, accompanied by Miss Balfour, and the authorities, anxious to do honour to her, provided us with a special functionary, who was evidently a very clever man. Somehow, he conveyed to me the impression that he was sceptical about miraculous cures. I could not help being impressed with the manner in which religion and business appeared to work together. Enormous sums had obviously been spent at Lourdes, not only on votive edifices but also for the accommodation of pilgrims and visitors, and as an instance of co-operation I was assured

CHAPTER VII

that, when a flood carried away a whole collection of votive offerings, they were immediately replaced by the P.L.M. company, who sent a special train with a fresh consignment.

London, February 3. Found the House much less agreeable, in one respect, than formerly. In the previous Parliament, the Conservatives occupied practically all the benches on the Government side. Now that we were in Opposition we had to share the places with the Irish, and occasionally one could not find a seat. This forced companionship of opponents was not only inconvenient but was bound to lead to trouble.

April 25. I obtained leave to move the Adjournment of the House in connection with the recent appointments by Mr. Bryce (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster). It did not sound like a matter of "urgent importance," but it was looked upon as a good opportunity to attack the Government.

The facts were fairly simple. The Lancashire Liberals considered that they were not sufficiently represented on the Bench, and, having failed to persuade Lord Sefton¹⁵¹ (a Liberal himself) to pack the Bench with a selection of political partisans, approached Bryce and induced him to appoint 40 himself.

It is not always easy to justify a motion for Adjournment, and it was the first time that I had addressed any considerable number of members; but I was not unsuccessful. The subject lent itself to

Page 69

A PARLIAMENTARY EXPOSURE [1893]

ridicule, and I still feel a tinge of remorse when I recall the flouts and gibes with which I assailed the estimable Bryce. But I was lucky in creating some amusement, and the weighty and pompous reproofs of Liberal speakers produced little effect.

Later, I got to know Bryce, and conceived a great admiration for his talents and versatility. He was one of the most omniscient men that I ever met, and I liked him personally; but, somehow, he was not very successful in the House of Commons, and he was reported not to be one of Gladstone's special favourites.

June 8. Won the Parliamentary Golf Handicap.

This competition had been started two or three years previously, and had been much written up in the Press, the Parliamentary officials and journalists also having taken part in it, although the general standard of play was very low.

July 3. On this day there occurred the most dramatic debating exposure that I can recollect. Chamberlain had accused the Irish Members of making incendiary speeches, and specifically mentioned one by Dillon¹⁵² which was of so violent a nature that it might almost be described as an incitement to murder. Dillon, unable to deny the charge, asserted with lachrymose

¹⁵¹ William Philip Molyneux, 4th Earl of Sefton (1835-1897), was born Viscount Molyneux, the eldest son of Charles Molyneux, 3rd Earl of Sefton. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁵² John Dillon (1851-1927) was an Irish politician from Dublin, who served as a Member of Parliament for over 35 years and was the last leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. (*Wikipedia*)

indignation that the violence of his language was caused by the horrors of Mitchelstown,¹⁵³ which he had witnessed just previously. When he sat down, Chamberlain, who had in the meanwhile sent an emissary to the library, rose and pointed out that the Mitchelstown riot had occurred in September, 1887, whereas Dillon's speech was made in December, 1886. Never have I witnessed such collective consternation: the jaws of the Irishmen seemed to drop simultaneously, and they sat silent, while prolonged cheers and laughter proceeded from the Unionist benches.

Dillon, afterwards described succinctly by either Parnell or Healy as a "melancholy humbug," may have been a most estimable man in private life, but as a politician he always inspired me with antipathy. Although a good speaker he was invariably bitter, querulous and prolix. He seemed to have been cast by nature for the part of a public mourner.

July 27. The Home Rule Bill, which had aroused the bitterest feeling between political parties, had now passed its second reading and was in Committee, the Chairman being Mr. Mellor, who was not

Page 70

THE FAMOUS FIGHT IN PARLIAMENT [1893]

capable of keeping order, and the long-predicted physical fight took place in the evening. Much has been written about this episode and many varying statements have been made as to its origin. Having been a close spectator, I have no hesitation in saying that it was a Radical named Logan, a well-known bruiser, who was primarily responsible for it. During the course of an excited debate, this member crossed the floor of the House, and I specially noticed that whilst doing so he turned up his sleeves, obviously expecting a fight. He then proceeded to seat himself on the front Opposition bench, ostentatiously taking the place usually occupied by Mr. Balfour, who happened to be absent. Hayes Fisher,¹⁵⁴ who was in the seat immediately behind, endeavoured to eject him, whereupon the Parnellites instantaneously and automatically converged in an attack upon Saunderson¹⁵⁵ (leader of the Irish loyalists) and pandemonium broke loose. The centre of the House was filled with a mass of struggling men, and the din was accompanied by the thud of blows, the smashing of some light woodwork and by loud hisses from the Strangers' Gallery. Some members of the Front Benches were hurling insults at each other.

Gladstone sat silent and motionless, pale as a ghost, whilst some accused him openly of being responsible for the disgraceful scene. Meanwhile, the Speaker had been sent for, and when he entered the turmoil ceased at once and quiet was restored. The few spectators of this scene who still survive will probably agree that the moral triumph of Speaker Peel¹⁵⁶ was unforgettable. It was emphatically a triumph of personality. Peel was endowed by nature with all the essentials required for controlling a great assembly. He was naturally eloquent,

¹⁵³ Lord Newton's footnote states: "Two men were killed when the police fired on rioters after an Irish Nationalist meeting. The verdict of wilful murder brought in by the coroner's jury was quashed by the Queen's Bench in Dublin."

¹⁵⁴ William Hayes Fisher, 1st Baron Downham (1853-1920), was a British Conservative Party politician. He held office as President of the Local Government Board and Minister of Information in David Lloyd George's First World War coalition government. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁵⁵ Colonel Edward James Saunderson (1837-1906) was an Anglo-Irish landowner and prominent Irish unionist politician. He led the Irish Unionist Party between 1891 and 1906. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁵⁶ Arthur Wellesley Peel, 1st Viscount Peel PC (1829-1912), was a British Liberal politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1865 to 1895. He was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1884 until 1895 when he was raised to the peerage. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VII

had a magnificent voice, an imposing presence, and possessed also firmness of character and the capacity to make rapid decisions in any emergency. In a short address, admirably worded, he deplored the disgraceful exhibition and was listened to in silence until the conclusion, which was greeted with cheers from both sides. The Orders of the Day were then hurriedly disposed of and the House adjourned.

There were few serious casualties in the fight, for those who took part in it were too closely jammed to do much harm to one another and were composed partly of fighters and partly of peacemakers. Lord Redesdale,¹⁵⁷ who was a spectator, said that he was close to Saunderson and that the latter never struck a blow, but I remember seeing distinct marks of a blow on his face and cannot believe that it

Page 71

FISHING DISAPPOINTMENTS [1893]

was not returned. As usual, the chief sufferers were peaceable people who had no desire to fight at all. Thus ended one of the most discreditable incidents in the history of Parliament, and it caused considerable indignation at the time throughout the country.

August 8. Started with George Taylor (an officer in the Foot Guards) who was an expert angler, to try for the Montenegrin big trout.

We travelled down the Adriatic coast in a Trieste boat which was filled with Austrian reservist officers on their way to the dismal hill forts which I had observed when travelling in the Herzegovina. I commiserated with them, and asked how they spent their time. They replied: "In writing reports," and admitted that it was a miserable existence. But how could anyone write anything of the slightest value from a practically uninhabited country? It gave me a poor idea of the intelligence of the Austrian Government.

We arrived at Podgoritza, a town in the Zeta valley close to the Turkish frontier, full of hope. All along the way we heard stories about the wonderful fish which we expected to catch. There could be no reasonable doubt about their size, for I possess a photograph of a Legation cavass at Cettinje, holding up an enormous fish with the little daughter of the British Minister beside it, and, being acquainted with both, and with their respective sizes, it was quite obvious to me that the fish, which closely resembled a sea trout, must have weighed over 45 lb. - and it was not considered to be especially remarkable.

But our confident hopes were soon dashed, for we found that there were far too many people about, both for fishing and bathing, and the most likely-looking places were inaccessible, owing to precipitous rocky banks. Besides, the heat was so great that it was useless to try except in the early morning or late evening. Taylor did succeed in getting a beautiful fish about 7 lb., which much resembled a sea trout, on the evening of our arrival, but we decided that Podgoritza was no good and moved farther up the Zeta valley. Here we were again disappointed, for the river was dead low and in places almost stagnant. Obviously, we had arrived too late, as had been the case in Bosnia.

Ascending the valley beyond Danilograd we visited the curious little monastery of Ostrog, a famous place of pilgrimage which had successfully resisted the attacks of the Turks in the

¹⁵⁷ Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford, 1st Baron Redesdale (1837-1916), was a British diplomat, collector and writer. Nicknamed "Barty", he was the paternal grandfather of the Mitford sisters. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VII

past. There were few monks, but one of them was a man who mystified me considerably. Apparently, he was a Russian, and obviously a highly-educated, intelligent and cultivated man, with a considerable experience of

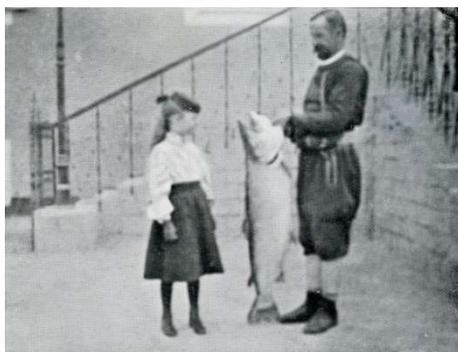
Page 72

A RIDE TO SCUTARI [1893]

society, yet here he was, living as a simple monk in a place so remote that it was three hours' journey from the nearest road and there were no educated persons to associate with. He gave me to understand that he was tired of society and quite satisfied with his surroundings. I believe that it is not uncommon, for Russians more particularly, to abandon a gay and active life for religious seclusion.

The excessive heat of the Zeta valley was too much for my companion, who showed symptoms of malaria, and he decided to go and recuperate at Cetinje, which is a high and bracing place, whilst I resolved to pay a flying visit to Albania before rejoining him. The late Captain George Paget, an adventurous soldier, had established himself at Scutari and had strongly urged me to go there. He was absent at the time, but was good enough to send a servant and a horse to meet me at Podgoritza. Albania was at that time a very difficult country to visit, and under ordinary circumstances all kinds of permits and recommendations were necessary before the Turkish Government allowed foreigners to enter. I, however, paid no attention to these regulations and, riding across die frontier, the mere mention of Paget's name removed all obstacles. The commander of the Turkish blockhouse, which accommodated about 20 unhappy-looking soldiers, received me with much politeness and insisted upon my taking two or three of them as an escort to the nearest town.

On arrival, there it was necessary to embark upon a large punt, and I had an opportunity of realising how much more intelligent a horse is in semi-civilised country as compared, for instance, with ours. Here they had to be embarked over piles of loose, jagged stones, over which it would have been insanity to lead one of our own horses. Excessive care seems to me to sap the equine intelligence. I once possessed a Basuto pony which, when it first arrived, could be ridden with the greatest confidence over horrible places and never shied. After some time, however, it became just as stupid as others.



Photograph taken at the British Legation, Cetinje in 1898
of a trout estimated to weigh over 45 pounds

After passing through avenues of gigantic reeds we crossed an arm of the lake, disembarked and rode on. The weather was desperately hot, and the afternoon sun blazed down on a brown and barren plain. Every now and then we encountered Albanians, armed to the teeth

CHAPTER VII

and not looking particularly pleased to see us, but the name of Paget acted like a charm and we arrived at Scutari without difficulty.

In 1893 it was by no means easy to visit Scutari. Albania, as usual, was in disorder, and even the hold of the Turkish Government was by no means secure. Scutari, as I saw it then, was a thoroughly Oriental

Page 73

SCUTARI [1893]

city, and I do not think there were more than two or three genuine European residents in it. The city was highly attractive in some ways but bore a reputation of contempt for human life. In such cases one always hears blood-curdling stories, and the first thing I was told was that only 1 per cent, of the male inhabitants of the interior died in their beds. This was subsequently whittled down to a statement that only 50 per cent, of male Albanians died natural deaths, and probably both statements were grossly exaggerated. But still it was the fact that the inhabitants were so fanatical that it was more difficult to reach certain towns in the interior than places in Darkest Africa, and apparently it was unsafe to visit the districts around Scutari without an escort.

Accompanied by a gentleman who held the nominal rank of British Vice-Consul, I saw the sights of the city and visited the Governor, a Pasha of the old type, for, in spite of the extremely bad record of Turkish officials, they were usually anxious to oblige British travellers, unless the latter interfered in politics. I own, too, that in those days I felt that the Turks, however culpable, were never fairly treated by the Great Powers unless the latter wanted to get something out of them.

I also witnessed a parade of the available military force, which consisted of no more than a battalion of ragged and decrepit men, so that it was easily intelligible that the Government's hold on the country was insecure. The bazaar was a wonderful sight, full of fierce-looking, heavily armed men wearing the fustanella or the white, close-fitting costume, elaborately trimmed with black braid, worn by the Italians in the 16th century. Here I was frequently accosted by men who had learnt that I was a friend of Paget and insisted upon regaling me with cups of coffee, which I willingly accepted, for I consider that a cup of Turkish coffee is infinitely preferable to our cocktail. But I was considerably tried when a prominent citizen entertained me at a banquet of more than 20 courses, in which every third course was a sweet dish, and survived it with difficulty, marvelling at the same time at the appetite of the other guests, who were Mussulmans.

I was obliged to cut short my visit to Scutari because I was anxious to rejoin Taylor and, for the ordinary traveller, it was nearly as difficult to leave Albania as to enter it, but again the name of Paget worked wonders and I obtained a rowing boat to take me across the lake.

Paget's servant, who had been with me during my visit, deserves a word of mention. He was an Albanian and knew no other language

Page 74

A PRINCE'S INDUCEMENTS [1893]

except a little Italian. When the Boer War broke out Paget joined up and went to South Africa. The servant heard of this and one day, to Paget's intense astonishment, presented himself, bringing nothing with him but a sword! This act of devotion would, in fiction, have

CHAPTER VII

been followed by a brilliant reward, but in fact I believe that the poor man proved to be of no use and subsequently became insane.

On arrival at Cetinje I found Taylor recovered, and the bracing atmosphere was a welcome change from the stifling heat of the Zeta valley and Scutari. We were, however, obliged to wait a few days as there was no boat, and we saw a good deal of the Prince, who was much disappointed with our failure, as he had counted upon our inducing some millionaires to take the river. He urged us to try again, and promised to organise a great chasse for us if we would remain on for a few weeks. I am bound to say, however, that I had seen no sort of game, so far, in the country. We dined with him one night, which was considered a high honour, and he showed us with pride the various presents which he had received from his fellow sovereigns. His enemies used to relate that he was of a very acquisitive nature, and he was certainly in a position to make things uncomfortable for some of his neighbours. In addition to these personal tributes which arrived from time to time, he received payment of about £6,000 a year from Russia. He also entertained us with stories of his feats when a young man, one of which consisted in shooting a cigarette out of the mouth of a subject with a revolver. We discussed many subjects with him, but he was not disposed to talk politics, although he did make a justifiable complaint that the Austrians kept a much bigger force on his frontier than on those of Serbia and Turkey.

We had intended to go to the Narenta river on the way back, but, hearing that Mr. Freeman was detained at Serajevo, we went straight to London, and I arrived in time to vote against the Third Reading of the Home Rule Bill.

Soon after my return I had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, who wished to hear about Montenegro. He received me with much courtesy and at once plunged into an eloquent dissertation in which he showed great knowledge of that country. When he had finished he asked me what kind of representative institutions were now in existence there. I had to explain that if anyone expressed a desire for representative institutions he was treated as a criminal, and that one man was undergoing a long sentence of imprisonment merely because he

Page 75 REJECTION OF HOME RULE: PUBLIC APATHY [1893]

was a friend of one of Mr. Gladstone's own followers. This information disappointed the old man so much that he abandoned the topic of Montenegro and changed the subject. I have always regretted that I never had an opportunity of meeting him again.

The Home Rule Bill only obtained a majority of 34, and, although the Liberal Press did its best, it was evident that it was a hollow victory. About a week later the Bill came up for Second Reading in the House of Lords and was defeated by a large majority, for the Whips on either side had assiduously produced a large number of peers who seldom attended, and there must have been many peers in the division who had never voted before. This action also failed to produce any excitement in the country, and what probably aroused far more interest were the outbreaks which now began to occur in the course of the general coal strike; notably, one in Yorkshire in connection with which Asquith¹⁵⁸, who was then Home Secretary, was most unjustly attacked by the extremists in his own Party.

¹⁵⁸ Herbert Henry Asquith, 1st Earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852–1928), served as the Liberal Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916.

CHAPTER VII

Lathom, October 7. Staying here with a political party invited to meet Lord Salisbury.

Attended a big meeting of about 7,000 or 8,000, at Preston, at which he made a speech of about an hour, dealing with various subjects. The audience listened with the closest attention, and I thought it a most impressive performance. I noticed that, in spite of the complexity of many of the topics touched upon, he did not make use of a single note.

November 23. Visit from Ratcliffe-Ellis,¹⁵⁹ Coal Owners' Representative, who said they were anxiously waiting for Government action, both sides being exhausted.

Later in the day the G.O.M. announced that a conference between owners and men would take place, with Rosebery as Chairman. This course was adopted, and the conference sat for some months, arriving ultimately at an unsatisfactory compromise, largely due to defections on the part of some big owners.

¹⁵⁹ Lord Newton notes him as "Afterwards Sir Thomas Ratcliffe-Ellis."

**FALL OF ROSEBERY NEW UNIONIST ADMINISTRATION:
VISIT TO RUSSIA. 1894-1897**

1894. Rumours of the early resignation of the G.O.M. were in circulation, and in spite of half-hearted denials it was evidently about to occur. On March 1, he made a speech in Parliament denouncing the existing relations between the two Houses, and many were convinced that this was the last speech that he would ever make in the House of Commons. There was naturally much speculation as to who would be his successor, and the choice appeared to be between Rosebery¹⁶⁰ and Harcourt.¹⁶¹ The rumours proved to be correct, for Gladstone tendered his resignation and retired with great dignity into private life. Rosebery took his place, and must very soon have experienced the disillusion which so frequently attend those who have attained the highest political office. His position, indeed, was thoroughly unsatisfactory. Not only was he dependent upon a precarious majority in the Commons, but he had to face the open hostility of the advanced Liberals and the thinly disguised distrust of the Irish party, as well as the unfriendliness of those Liberals who would have preferred the leadership of Harcourt. Harcourt, who made little secret of his sentiments, was undoubtedly, in some respects, an ill-used man. He had for years been, after Gladstone, the chief fighting man in Parliament, and had led the Party with much skill when Gladstone was not able to be present, but he was unpopular with some of his colleagues, several of whom were credibly reported to have refused to serve under him, so that his exclusion was, to some extent, his own fault.

Hopwood, May 21. Went to Manchester to see the formal opening of the ship canal by Queen Victoria. There seemed to be little enthusiasm, which was, perhaps, due to the weather, as it was extremely cold. The streets were full, but the stands in the docks very empty.

Procession and decorations good: a fair number of ships in dock. Queen looked tired and very old.

June 28. My brother (Gilbert) married to the Hon. Mrs. G. Villiers, at the Guards' Chapel, and many people there.

Colonel George Villiers had been Military Attaché at Paris whilst we were there, and we were friends of hers both before and after her marriage to him.

Canterbury, August 9. Came down with F. Bentinck to see a performance by the "Canterbury Pilgrims" during the "Week."

¹⁶⁰ Archibald Philip Primrose, 5th Earl of Rosebery, 1st Earl of Midlothian (1847-1929), was a Liberal statesman and Prime Minister. Between the death of his father, in 1851, and the death of his grandfather, the 4th Earl, in 1868, he was known by the courtesy title of Lord Dalmeny. The 5th Earl's mother was Lady Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Stanhope (1819–1901), a historian, the daughter of Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl Stanhope. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶¹ Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt (14 October 1827-1 October 1904) was a British lawyer, journalist and Liberal statesman. He served as Member of Parliament for various constituencies and held the offices of Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer under William Ewart Gladstone before becoming Leader of the Opposition. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VIII

I thought the acting remarkably good for amateurs, but have never been quite able to understand why middle-aged and elderly people are willing to undertake such enormous trouble as is required. One of the star amateurs, by the way, was in a bad temper, and refused to play up to his unfortunate fellow actor, who was much disconcerted.

December 9. Met Philip Stanhope,¹⁶² much depressed over poor prospects of Liberal Party, which he attributed to want of enthusiasm on part of Rosebery. He was a first cousin of Rosebery, but they were not fond of each other.

The House met again early in March, 1895, and a long and imposing programme was announced, few people, however, believing that the Government would last long enough to pass even a small part of it, for the majorities occasionally sank very low and there were ominous warnings in the country.

The choice of a new Speaker was due shortly and caused much interest amongst members. There were several possible selections, the names of Courtney,¹⁶³ Sir M. Ridley¹⁶⁴ and Campbell-Bannerman¹⁶⁵ being suggested, and there was much lobbying and intriguing. Ridley was admitted to be the most suitable man, but to his appointment the advanced Liberals, headed by Labouchère, refused to agree, and after much private negotiation it was settled that the contest should be a Party one, with Ridley as the Conservative nominee and Gully¹⁶⁶ the Liberal. Gully had been discovered and produced by Labouchère. He was a lawyer, popular on his circuit, but quite unknown in the House, having never made a speech. The election took place on April 10, and in a big House, Gully was elected by only eight votes. It was a strictly Party vote, and before the division both men addressed the House and no one could fail to realise that Ridley was the better

Page 78

GENERAL ELECTION [1895]

candidate. I can hardly recall any occasion when such bitter feeling was aroused, especially after a speech made by Mr. Samuel Whitbread,¹⁶⁷ for the Unionist Party felt, quite justifiably, that they had been jockeyed and that the Government had used their temporary small majority to obtain a petty Party success, instead of leaving the House free to choose the most eligible candidate. It is only right to add that no complaint, as far as I know, was ever made of the new Speaker's impartiality, and when the new House assembled the Unionists returned good for evil by re-electing him.

¹⁶² Philip James Stanhope, 1st Baron Weardale (1847-1923) was a British Liberal Party politician and philanthropist. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶³ Leonard Henry Courtney, 1st Baron Courtney of Penwith PC (1832-1918) was a British politician, academic and man of letters. He was a member of William Ewart Gladstone's second administration from 1880 to 1883 and served as Chairman of Ways and Means (Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons) between 1886 and 1893. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶⁴ Matthew White Ridley, 1st Viscount Ridley (1842-1904), known as Sir Matthew White Ridley, 5th Baronet from 1877 to 1900, was a Conservative politician. He was Home Secretary from 1895 to 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶⁵ Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, GCB (1836-1908) was a British Liberal Party politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1905 to 1908 and Leader of the Liberal Party from 1899 to 1908. He also served as Secretary of State for War twice, in the Cabinets of Gladstone and Rosebery. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶⁶ William Court Gully, 1st Viscount Selby (1835-1909) was a British lawyer and Liberal politician. He served as Speaker of the House of Commons between 1895 and 1905. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Whitbread (1830-1915) was an English brewer and Liberal Party politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1852 to 1895 as MP for Bedford. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VIII

May 29. The Derby again won by Rosebery. I have never been able to understand why the ownership of racehorses should be considered a disadvantage to Ministers. On the contrary, I am convinced that much of Rosebery's popularity was due to his turf successes and that the opposition of the so-called Nonconformist Conscience is a bogey unworthy of serious consideration. Yet even the prestige of winning two consecutive Derbys was not sufficient to avert his impending downfall.

Inglewood, June 7. Gerard arrived and said he had been told by a member of the Cabinet that no one would have remained in the Cabinet under Harcourt except Ripon¹⁶⁸ and Spencer¹⁶⁹. The "member of the Cabinet" must no doubt have been Rosebery, for Gerard was intimate with him and not likely to have known any other Liberal Ministers.

The crash came on June 21, when the Government were beaten by eight votes on an unimportant War Office estimate and there was much excitement. As usual on such occasions there was disagreement in the Party as to what course should be taken, as there are always some ministers who want to cling to their offices and therefore advocate delay. Rosebery, however, had the good sense to lose no time in tendering his resignation; in a few days Lord Salisbury proceeded to form a Cabinet in which the leading Liberal-Unionists accepted office, and the General Election began without delay, most people anticipating the defeat of the Liberals and Irish by a moderate majority. Like others, I repaired to my constituency and zealously courted the voters for about three strenuous weeks. By this time I had become more or less inured to platform oratory and was capable of dealing with hecklers, but I cannot say that I ever enjoyed the process. The odds were, however, heavily in my favour: my opponent was a moderate man who had recently been chosen as candidate and had no connection

Page 79

SELECTED TO MOVE THE ADDRESS [1895]

with the constituency, nor did he, as he informed me himself, expect to be successful. Before the poll we had calculated that I ought to have a majority of about 1,500, and we were practically correct, for the actual figure was 1,504.

The result of the general election was much more favourable than the wirepullers had expected, for the majority turned out to be over 150.

Sandwich, August 1. Received invitation from Arthur Balfour to move the Address when Parliament met. I was rather disposed to decline this. It is an uninteresting task, which is calculated to make one look ridiculous unless adequately accomplished. It was, however, represented to me that moving the Address in a new Parliament was looked upon as a high compliment, and I therefore gratefully accepted.

London, August 15. The House met and I found my ordeal more trying than I had anticipated, for it must have been almost the only instance in which the Leader of the

¹⁶⁸ George Frederick Samuel Robinson, 1st Marquess of Ripon (1827-1909), styled Viscount Goderich from 1833 to 1859 and known as the Earl of Ripon in 1859 and as the Earl de Grey and Ripon from 1859 to 1871, was a British politician who served in every Liberal cabinet from 1861 until the year before his death, which took place forty-eight years later. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁶⁹ John Poyntz Spencer, 5th Earl Spencer (1835-1910), known as Viscount Althorp from 1845 to 1857, was a British Liberal Party politician under, and close friend of, British prime minister William Ewart Gladstone. He was twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VIII

Opposition did not shower compliments upon the Mover of the Address. The Queen's speech was concerned with only two main topics: the murder of Christian missionaries in China and the massacre of Armenians by Turks: and I could not refrain from criticising the action of those Englishmen who had encouraged the unfortunate Armenians to revolt without realising that we were unable to protect them ourselves and could not rely upon the co-operation of any European Power. This opinion was resented, and I was ponderously rebuked by Harcourt, but the storm was partially allayed by the antics of Dr. Tanner,¹⁷⁰ an Irish M.P. and a sort of Parliamentary Caliban, who planted himself close to me and kept up a continuous flow of inane scurrilities, which I naturally ignored, but which eventually produced a kind of reaction in my favour. Oddly enough, I remember that one of the subsequent speakers who congratulated me was Sir Charles Dilke,¹⁷¹ who knew a great deal more about foreign affairs than most people.

The session ended early and we passed the autumn at Aldeburgh. In about the middle of September I made a short elk-shooting expedition to Norway with Lord Castletown,¹⁷² but, owing to continual wet weather and other causes, we were not very successful. Incidentally, I do not know any country in Europe where it rains so persistently as in Norway.

Beyond the customary alarms from the East, nothing of much political importance occurred until nearly the close of the year, when the American President, Mr. Cleveland,¹⁷³ issued an astounding Message

Page 80 JAMESON RAID: AN UNFORTUNATE RETICENCE [1896]

regarding Venezuela, which was generally interpreted throughout Europe as an attempt to provoke a quarrel with us.

The year 1896 opened inauspiciously, with threats of serious danger to us from various directions, for, in addition to the action of President Cleveland and the unsettled condition of Europe, there occurred the so-called Jameson Raid,¹⁷⁴ which may be described, perhaps, as the most unfortunate episode in British history that had taken place for a century or more. It is strange now to recall the entirely mistaken view which was taken of it at the time. The public were led to believe that it was a chivalrous effort to rescue British women and children from a terrible fate, and the Poet Laureate and other bards wrote inspiring odes extolling the Raiders, but when the facts became more fully known a sharp division of opinion developed here and caused a great deal of bitterness. Most people are probably now satisfied that

¹⁷⁰ Dr Charles Kearns Deane Tanner (1849-1901) was an Irish surgeon and politician. In the general election of 1885, Tanner was elected MP for the Mid Cork constituency, and was re-elected unopposed for the seat until his death. His involvement in the Parliament was controversial, as his behaviour was often obstructive. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷¹ Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, 2nd Baronet PC (1843-1911) was an English Liberal and Radical politician. A republican in the early 1870s, he later became a leader in the radical challenge to Whig control of the Liberal Party, making a number of important contributions, including the legislation increasing democracy in 1883-85, his support of the growing labour and feminist movements, and his prolific writings on international affairs. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷² Bernard Edward Barnaby FitzPatrick, 2nd Baron Castletown (1848-1937), was an Irish soldier and Conservative Member of Parliament. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷³ Stephen Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) was an American politician and lawyer who was both the 22nd and 24th President of the United States in the periods 1885 to 1889 and 1893 to 1897 respectively. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷⁴ The Jameson Raid (29 December 1895-2 January 1896) was a botched raid against the South African Republic (commonly known as the Transvaal) carried out by British colonial statesman Leander Starr Jameson and his Company troops ("police" in the employ of Beit and Rhodes' British South Africa Company) and Bechuanaland policemen over the New Year weekend of 1895-96. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VIII

neither Chamberlain nor Rhodes was aware of Jameson's intention and that they disapproved of the raid, whilst fully aware of the existence of his force, a knowledge which was not possessed by some of the other Cabinet Ministers. In connection with this fact a curious little incident is perhaps worth repeating. One of Lord Salisbury's private secretaries at the F.O. was a Mr. Foley, and Foley had a brother who was an officer in Jameson's force, who corresponded with him frequently, and made little secret of what it was proposed to do. Foley, unfortunately, considered that he would be overstepping his official duties if he gave this information to Lord Salisbury. Had he done so, no doubt Lord Salisbury would have taken immediate action and history would have been written differently. It was, in fact, a repetition of the old story of the Spanish courtier who allowed the Queen to burn to death because it was not his duty to extinguish the flames.

But what excited and enraged people more than anything else was the action of the Kaiser¹⁷⁵ in sending an effusive telegram of congratulation to President Kruger¹⁷⁶. It was the first revelation of the hostility of the German nation towards this country, which had hitherto been concealed, and it unfortunately soon became evident that this sentiment was widespread in Europe, much to our surprise. We were forced to console ourselves with the position of "splendid isolation," an expression generally attributed to Mr. Goschen.

London, May 6. Transvaal debate in which Harcourt made a violent attack upon Chamberlain and Rhodes and which aroused more interest than any which had taken place since the Home Rule dis-

Page 81

VISIT TO RUSSIA [1896]

cussions. Chamberlain, who did not dissociate himself from Rhodes, but said that he was not prepared to fight solely for the Uitlanders, made a reply which was generally regarded as satisfactory, whilst the Opposition appeared to be disappointed with Harcourt.

May 12. Won the Parliamentary Golf Handicap for the second time, with a handicap of five. This was a rather surprising success, as I never had any pretensions to be a good player, and there were 90 competitors, amongst whom were some scratch players. The general standard of play, however, was very low; in no game has proficiency so far advanced as in golf since the beginning of the century.

London, June 26. Lunched with Gerard, who was starting in a day or two for Egypt, hoping to take part in the Sudan campaign, either as a volunteer or as Press war correspondent. He had collected an enormous equipment, and his modest residence suggested the base of an expedition. Amongst his impedimenta were four lances and four helmets. Poor Gerard got as far as Assouan and was then held up by Lord Cromer. He remained there for a long time, until illness forced him to return home.

London, December 15. Started for St. Petersburg, O'Connor, now Ambassador there, having invited us to pay him a visit. Had to spend some hours in Berlin and change trains.

¹⁷⁵ Wilhelm II (Frederick William Victor Albert of Prussia; 27 January 1859–4 June 1941) was the last German Emperor (Kaiser) and King of Prussia, ruling the German Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia from 15 June 1888 to 9 November 1918. He was the eldest grandchild of Queen Victoria (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷⁶ Stephanus Johannes Paulus "Paul" Kruger (1825–1904) was one of the dominant political and military figures in 19th century South Africa, and President of the South African Republic (or Transvaal) from 1883 to 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER VIII

In the new train we found the Montebellos. The Marquis de Montebello was the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg and, incidentally, a distant relation of my wife. He was by no means enthusiastic about St. Petersburg and complained much of the climate. At the Russian frontier the F.O. bag which I carried made little impression, but we escaped much of the long examination to which most travellers were exposed and found the complete novelty of the scene extremely interesting. There were many people travelling, and at the stations many who appeared to have nothing to do, including peasants, soldiers and numerous officials in uniform. I very soon formed the opinion that there were many superfluous human beings in Russia, for our tickets in the train were examined by four officials simultaneously. The country from the frontier to St. Petersburg is dismal beyond description, consisting chiefly of bog and scrub and almost devoid of population.

We arrived at St. Petersburg early in the morning and I was favourably impressed: the streets were wide and the buildings looked satisfactory,

Page 82 ST. PETERSBURG: AN INTERNATIONAL CITY [1896]

much like the German type. As soon as we reached the Embassy, a fine house on the river front, I borrowed a uniform and went off to a religious service in the Isaak Cathedral, where all the Diplomatic Corps were present. I found several old acquaintances and was much impressed with the singing and with the barbaric splendour of the building, but the Russian religious services are excessively long and one has to stand all the time.

On returning to the Embassy I made the acquaintance of the staff, amongst whom was the young Clive Bigham,¹⁷⁷ and this was the beginning of a close friendship which has existed ever since. He had invented a special post for himself, that of Honorary Military Attaché, and I very soon discovered that he knew much more about Russia than any other member of the Embassy, for he had learnt Russian and travelled about in the country. I saw more of him than anyone else and we frequently went about together.

Smart society life is very much the same in all European capitals. We did much the same sort of things that we should have done in London or Paris; did the sights of the town, which have been fully described by numerous writers; paid numerous visits, and went frequently to the theatre or opera, but I confess that I did not see much of that remarkable brilliancy which enthusiastic writers have so frequently described. There seemed to me nothing superior in St. Petersburg to what could be found in other capitals, and sometimes one was inclined to forget that one was in Russia, except for the sleighs and snow in the streets and the language. The theatre and the opera were internationalised; so were the principal shops and hotels. Many of the upper class seldom spoke anything but French, and both city and inhabitants seemed bent upon becoming "Western." I had also heard and read a good deal about the wonderful brilliancy of high Russian society and the splendour of their entertainments, but here again I found the upper class much like upper classes elsewhere, though, perhaps, not so well educated, and the men more inclined to drink. But what surprised me more than anything else was to find that the dreaded police were not in evidence at all, and apparently played a very small part in the life of an ordinary person. It is true that they opened all my letters for a week, but after that they only opened letters to me from my coachman regarding a horse that was being treated for glanders. Every one of those letters was conscientiously opened, as they were probably under the impression that they

¹⁷⁷ Charles Clive Bigham (1872–1956), subsequently 2nd Viscount Mersey (*Wikipedia*)

contained a secret code, whereas letters marked "A. J. Balfour," which were in reality only Parliamentary circulars, but might be thought by our people to be important, were never examined. This did not give me a high opinion of the intelligence of the famous Russian police.

Like many Englishmen who go to Russia I was obsessed with the desire to kill a bear. The price of a bear was in those days regulated by the distance from the nearest railway station to its lair, and there were certain bear-selling agents in St. Petersburg who undertook to make the necessary arrangements. One of these, who had been patronised by various millionaires, both American and British, was recommended to me by the Embassy, but I found his terms so extortionate that I declined to deal with him. Much caution was necessary in dealing with these agents. A favourite artifice was to sell a bear twice over. According to the law, if a sportsman had any opportunity of shooting at a bear he was liable to pay, and it was occasionally the habit to interpose a peasant, whether man or woman, in the line of fire at the critical moment, so that it was impossible to shoot and the bear could be reserved for another sale.

Then, by chance, I made acquaintance with a gentleman by the name of Minim, an engineer connected with the big Putiloff engineering works, who offered to go on a short expedition with me, and I at once agreed. The Embassy people jeered loudly at my foolishness. "There will be no bear," they said, "or, if there is one, your Russian friend will shoot it himself and make you pay all the expenses." They were completely wrong. I found Minim, who could talk some French, a very pleasant and intelligent companion and perfectly satisfactory in every respect. We started in a small train and reached Schlüsselburg, the famous political prison, where we engaged a sleigh. It was not long before various humorous incidents occurred. At the first post station, where the horses were changed, I met the lady with whom we are familiar on the stage and in sensational novels, speaking perfect French, and the mother of a son in the Guards Cavalry who had just been appointed by the Emperor to an important post in the Far East because no civilians could be trusted. The obvious sequel that, having lost her purse, she was temporarily without money, was, however, averted by the appearance on the scene of Minim. This incident was followed at another post station by the irruption of an old peasant woman with a long story, which caused extreme hilarity amongst a numerous audience. On inquiry, I found that she

had found the insects in her house so numerous that she had let out the stove in order that they should die of cold, and that, in the meanwhile, she proposed to establish herself in the post house. This request was considered quite reasonable and was readily acceded to. Russians are (or were) extraordinarily good to their friends and relations. When a census of the Winter Palace was taken, many years ago, it is said to have revealed that no less than 3,000 unauthorised persons were living there, in addition to several cows on the roof. A census taken in recent times at the British Embassy, where strict regulations were in force, disclosed the presence of 40 illegal inmates.

At one post station, the postmaster himself was the interesting personage. He was a remarkably fine-looking old man of over 80, and when a discussion arose amongst the numerous persons in the station, on the comparison of the past with the present, he expressed

CHAPTER VIII

himself emphatically against the former. When he was young, he explained, he was a serf and had been gambled away at cards and sold to another employer. He had then found his way into the army and had actually fought in 1848, when the Russians had lent troops to the Austrians for use against the Hungarian insurgents. He had also served during the Crimean War, and had been sent to the Baltic in order to repel the British attack. This must have been a very disheartening experience, for he was armed only with a musket which carried no more than 80 yards, whilst the British guns shot the Russians down from over a mile. Later on, he related, his regiment was quartered in a district frequented by brigands, and whenever any of these were caught they were made to run between two ranks of men armed with sticks, and very few of them survived the ordeal. Now he was quite content with his lot, and every year made a pilgrimage to some especially holy shrine, where he bathed in the icy water in the middle of winter. All this was said not to me, but to the natives, and afterwards translated to me by Minim. I have little doubt that he was speaking the truth.

Driving both by day and by night we eventually arrived at our destination, which was somewhere in the Ladoga district, and put up in a cottage belonging to a so-called hunter. The accommodation was modest, consisting only of a table, some chairs and two rough divans upon which we slept; nor was there any sign of washing utensils, except a teapot. On the next morning we set out, accompanied by six moujiks armed with pikes, and after a long walk reached the lair where the bear was sleeping. The hunter and his men, showing

Page 85

RUSSIAN PEASANT LIFE [1896]

considerable skill, drove him towards us, and the poor shambling beast, moving clumsily over the deep snow, passed within about 15 yards of me. I felt as if I was committing a murder, but in a minute or two all was over. It was not a big animal, but had a fine coat. From the sporting point of view, it seemed to me a very tame and disappointing performance. We then tried to find another bear, but he managed to escape before we had got into position. This animal had constructed an admirable lair in a big anthep with a concave roof. On the following days, we tried for elk, but without seeing anything but cows and calves, which are not killed in Russia.

Whilst staying with the hunter we made use of his bath, which consisted of an outhouse in which there were large stones and some bunks. The stones were first heated by means of a stove to a very high temperature, and when cold water was thrown upon them a tremendously hot steam was produced, which had a great cleansing power. Minim, after reposing for a considerable time in his bunk, got up and rolled in the snow, the outside temperature being about 10 or 12 degrees below zero Fahrenheit. I was prepared to do the same, but he dissuaded me, and he was probably right. I was told that every peasant possessed a bath of this kind and took one every week. This may have been correct but it seemed unlikely, judging by general appearances. The hunter said that he paid 40 roubles a year in taxes: that he lived partly by selling game in Ladoga, that he had a share in the communal land and no complaints to make. What struck me most about these somewhat primitive people was their sociability and love of talk. Men and women were continually coming to the house, both in the daytime and during most of the night, and Minim evidently shared their taste, for he was delighted to talk to everyone. He was an excellent travelling companion and never showed any boredom at my continual questions, but he never could get over his surprise at my dressing myself, and even putting on my boots, without assistance. He himself, although he could not have been in a position to enjoy much luxury, never thought of dressing or undressing without the assistance of some henchman and a long conversation which might

CHAPTER VIII

have been taken verbatim from a Tolstoy novel. Finally, he abandoned the attempt to fathom my remarkable habits, saying, "After all, you are a European and I am an Asiatic."

After a false alarm of wolves on the road, we returned to St. Petersburg, having had a most enjoyable trip and one far more interesting than it would have been had I put myself in the hands of the Embassy

Page 86

A WITTY AMBASSADDRESS [1896-97]

impresario, for I had had a glimpse, however slight, of the manner of life of the Russian peasant, and also avoided considerable expense. We had been away for a week, had travelled great distances by road, employed quite a number of beaters in connection with both bear and elk hunts and finally killed a bear, while the total expenses did not amount to more than about £14. It was my turn to jeer at my Embassy friends, as, if I had taken their advice, it would probably have cost £100 and there might have been no result.

Before this little expedition, I had already paid a short visit to Moscow with my wife. Everyone now knows so much about Moscow that it is unnecessary to describe it. I have already said that St. Petersburg struck me as a city that was endeavouring to copy Western Europe, but in Moscow it was obviously the reverse, for the city was almost aggressively Russian. Obviously, too, it was a far busier place, and there were not many foreigners to be seen, but for some reason or other, perhaps owing to the nature of the architecture, I conceived a sensation of latent barbarism which was perhaps unjustifiable.

St. Petersburg, January 17, 1897. Lunched at the French Embassy, and Montebello made a revealing remark to me which I have always remembered. In the course of a private conversation I had asked him why he did not try for the Embassy in London, as he was fond of the English. "I shall never do that," he replied. "A French Ambassador is sent to London with the mission of getting the English out of Egypt, and the thing cannot be done."

We saw a good deal of the Montebellos and they were a very attractive and popular couple. Madame de Montebello was a clever woman, with an irrepressible sense of humour. Upon one occasion her husband had been discovered embracing a lady, and some kind friend repeated the incident to her. Shortly afterwards she was entertaining a large party of friends at the Embassy when Montebello entered the room unexpectedly, and she then convulsed the company with the remark, made without a trace of acerbity: "*Tiens! Je viens d'apprendre qu'on t'appelle l'Embrassadeur de France.*"

January 18. Day of the Blessing of the Waters.

This was a most gorgeous and impressive function. All the most important personages in the capital, the Grand Dukes, the Diplomatic Corps and numerous troops, were assembled in the Winter Palace. The actual ceremony took place on the Neva, accompanied by the roar of guns, and when the lengthy religious ceremony was at last

Page 87

BLESSING OF THE WATERS: THE EMPEROR [1897]

ended there was a colossal luncheon of the most elaborate description, and I observed that many of the male guests, especially the military, were somewhat the worse for liquor. Something prompted me to remain till almost every guest had left the room, and before the

CHAPTER VIII

last one had departed I saw a remarkable sight. The servants, who wore such resplendent liveries that they might have passed for high officials, in the twinkling of an eye produced large cloths and seized everything upon the tables. In a moment, everything had vanished—champagne, jellies, pineapples, cakes - all had completely disappeared. The scene certainly conveyed the impression that something was wrong.

In the afternoon, I had an audience of the Emperor,¹⁷⁸ O'Connor having very kindly arranged this, although it must have cost him a good deal of trouble. I repaired to the Palace in uniform. Every room through which I passed seemed to be crowded by military officers, increasing in splendour as I approached the Imperial apartments. But just as I was about to enter the last ante-room I witnessed one of those contrasts which are only to be seen in Oriental countries. Emerging from what seemed to be the Emperor's study, there appeared an old peasant couple, carrying bundles which obviously contained broken victuals.

The Emperor received me in a small, dark, unattractive room. He was extremely polite, speaking perfect English, but I could not help feeling that he was somewhat embarrassed, and he said nothing of any interest except that it was more important that religion should be most carefully inculcated in Russia than in any other country. He gave me the impression of being a kindly and humane man, but showing little evidence of being adequate to the terrible responsibilities which confront autocrats.

Warsaw, January 23. Arrived here with Bigham. Saw as much as we could of the town in two days and then proposed to go on to Cracow, but were met with much difficulty about passports.

Eventually we forced our way into the office of the Governor-General, who, much to my surprise, instead of turning us out, was extremely civil, but said that it required a long time to obtain an Austrian visa and that even he would probably be detained if he did not possess the necessary papers. As we had no time to spare we accordingly returned to St. Petersburg. We both agreed that Warsaw seemed to be more civilised than either St. Petersburg or Moscow. We left Russia soon afterwards and arrived in London on February 15.

¹⁷⁸ Nicholas II or Nikolai II (1868-17 July 1918) was the last Emperor of Russia, ruling from 1 November 1894 until his forced abdication on 15 March 1917. Following the February Revolution of 1917 Nicholas abdicated on behalf of himself and his son, and he and his family were imprisoned. In the spring of 1918, Nicholas and his family were executed by the Bolsheviks on the night of 16–17 July 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

**DIAMOND JUBILEE: THESSALY, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR AND
PALESTINE : DEATH OF MY FATHER. 1897-1898**

DURING the spring of 1897 there was continually increasing tension between Greece and Turkey, and it became clear that war was ultimately inevitable. Bigham resigned his post at St. Petersburg and came back in order to go out as war correspondent of *The Times*, but hostilities were long delayed and, when it also became improbable that any of the Great Powers would be involved, interest here was chiefly directed to the so-called Rhodes Committee and the preparations for the Diamond Jubilee.

London, June 21. I went, with my two elder children, Lettice and Dick, to Sir Matthew White Ridley's house in Carlton House Terrace to see the Colonial procession. Very striking, and well calculated to give an idea of our world-wide responsibilities. All the Premiers and troops very well received, and the blacks making perhaps the best show. Then to the Carlton Club to see the military procession, as fine a pageant as could be conceived. The appearance of the troops, especially the heavy cavalry, splendid, and not a fault to be found. A magnificent display - dragoons and lancers seemed to produce a more brilliant effect than hussars and artillery. The Household Cavalry best of all. The rest of the pageant, i.e. procession of State carriages, foreign princes and their retinues, equally effective. The Queen was received with great enthusiasm, but the Ministers and great State officials were not represented. The weather brilliant and extremely hot; whole effect far more gorgeous and impressive than on the last occasion, and one which spectators are never likely to forget. Arrangements, apparently, very good and little crowding or accidents. Everything over about 2 p.m.

It is a bitter reflection to remember that, two years later, many of those who took part in this historic procession were either dead or prisoners in the hands of rough farmers in South Africa.

June 23. Went with M.P.s to Buckingham Palace to present Address. Whole business badly conducted and quite wanting in dignity.

The Speaker in his coach - which, incidentally, sheared off a wheel of Lord Rosebery's state coach - was followed by a hired fly containing a clerk, and the majority of M.P.s, some very badly dressed, hastening after him and dividing him from the Privy Councillors - who were in uniform and in carriages - marched in a disorderly procession through the Horse Guards and Mall. On arrival at the Palace they were kept penned up in the hall for a long time, and, when at last released, rushed into the ballroom, where the Speaker presented the Address, aided by Balfour and Harcourt. The Queen replied inaudibly, owing to the confusion, and I well remember her attempt to conceal her amusement at the ridiculous scene. The whole body, consisting of about 500 persons, endeavoured to retire backwards and the proceedings ended before many others had time to enter the room.

June 29. Heard that I had been appointed executor and trustee of the unsettled property left by the late Lord Sefton. This was a surprise, as he had never spoken to me on the subject, but I was on very good terms with all the family and my colleague was the late Thomas

Baring,¹⁷⁹ who, of course, was a first-rate business man and very pleasant to work with. The property was of great value.

The fiasco which attended the presentation of an Address by the Commons at Buckingham Palace had caused a great deal of grumbling, and the Queen therefore invited the Members to a party at Windsor on July 2. She was herself present and all the arrangements were admirable, with every facility for inspecting the treasures of the Castle. The room in which I and others left our coats and umbrellas was a small and somewhat gloomy bedroom, very badly lighted. I observed some obviously valuable Dutch pictures on the wall, and asked our guide whether the public ever had any opportunity of seeing these pictures. "Oh, certainly," was the reply. "Sir Augustus Harris's company changed their costumes in this very room quite recently." Sir Augustus Harris¹⁸⁰ was a well-known Pantomime impresario.

Before the autumn of 1897 all danger of war in Europe seemed to have vanished, as the Greeks had collapsed and made peace, but the situation in the Far East had become alarming owing to the Russian seizure of Port Arthur and the blatant threats of the German Emperor.

Page 90

ON THE WAY TO THESSALY [1898]

Bigham, who, upon the termination of the Turko-Greek War, had managed to rejoin Diplomacy, was now an honorary member of the Constantinople Embassy and employed in relief work amongst war sufferers in Thessaly. He wrote urging me to come out and pay him a visit. I had to find an excuse for doing so, and offered to go out there and report on the work carried on by the British Relief Committee headed by the Duke of Westminster and Lord Wantage.¹⁸¹ I was afraid that they would decline to accept this offer, because I had been denounced as pro-Turkish, but actually they welcomed it, probably influenced by the fact that I proposed to go at my own expense. Accordingly, I started for Salonika on February 16, 1898, and arrived there after a tiresome journey during which I was held up at Nisch. After the train had passed the Turkish frontier a spy entered the long compartment and was presently relieved by another, and he again was replaced by others, but they examined nothing and were harmless and inoffensive. At Salonika, where I spent a couple of days, I found everyone, including the British Consul-General, very pessimistic in their outlook, predicting that it would be almost impossible to force the Turks to evacuate Thessaly, and full of alarming reports concerning the condition of that country. All these doleful views I heard again expressed by the passengers on the boat, and all appeared to be convinced that Thessaly was permanently ruined.

Volo, February 22, 1898. Arrived early morning and was met by Bigham. Delighted with this place, which is charmingly situated at the foot of the snow-covered Ossa and Pelion mountains. The weather perfect and the town quite uninjured, showing no signs whatever of

¹⁷⁹ Lord Newton's footnote says that he was the brother of Evelyn Baring who became 1st Lord Cromer. Wikipedia has an entry without dates for Tom Baring. Thomas Baring, known as "Tom", was the tenth child (fifth of second marriage) of Henry Baring of Cromer Hall, and younger full brother of Edward Baring, 1st Baron Revelstoke. Baring was born at Cromer Hall, Cromer, Norfolk, but never lived there as an adult. The estate was home to his younger brother Evelyn who, after a distinguished career as a statesman, diplomat and colonial administrator, was raised to the peerage as 1st Earl of Cromer. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁸⁰ Sir Augustus Henry Glossop Harris (1852-1896), was a British actor, impresario, and dramatist. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁸¹ Brigadier General Robert James Loyd-Lindsay, 1st Baron Wantage, VC, (1832-1901), was a British soldier, politician, philanthropist, benefactor to Wantage, and one of the founders of the British National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War (later the British Red Cross Society), for which he crucially obtained the patronage of Queen Victoria. (*Wikipedia*)

war. Quite a good hotel, too, where we took our meals in company with an intelligent Turkish staff colonel who had been one of the garrison at Plevna.

All the shops were open and, as far as one could judge, the Turkish soldiers were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. The scene, too, was gay, for it was the Bairam feast day, which marks the end of the Ramazan fast, and everyone who could do so was wearing new clothes. We called on many people, including the Commander-in-Chief, Edhem Pasha,¹⁸² with whom Bigham was on very good terms, and he impressed me very favourably as a moderate and intelligent man. Our conversation, however, was not as free as might have been desired, for a Sultan's spy was present the whole time. The British Consul assured me that the Turks had behaved very well as far as his experience went. According to Bigham, 60,000 out of 70,000

Page 91

A METEORA MONASTERY [1898]

refugees had already returned. We visited some of these, and after conversing for some time with a large family in one room were informed that one of them was suffering from smallpox.

I passed several days at Volo, which was Bigham's headquarters, and we visited various places in the neighbourhood for the purpose of ascertaining how the relief was working. One of these places was Velestino, where there had been fighting and some destruction of houses, and here I found the classical Pierian Spring, a big, open well where the Turks were watering their cavalry horses. We also made an expedition to Kalambaka, close to the celebrated Meteora monasteries. Kalambaka was greatly crowded with Turkish troops, but a Christian Mayor, with much warmth, begged us to accept his hospitality as honoured guests. On the following day, we visited the monasteries, which have been so graphically described by Mr. Robert Curzon¹⁸³ and other distinguished travellers. I have visited many parts of the world, and find it difficult to recall anything more striking than the Meteora monasteries. The rocky heights on which they are perched start up suddenly from a flat plain through which winds the Peneus river, and in after years I was reminded of them by the extraordinary rocks which overhang the town of Kassala, in the Sudan.

As the neighbourhood was reported to be much disturbed, the Turkish authorities provided us with an escort of 12 men or more; ragged, slovenly-looking, but who somehow gave the impression of being of the right quality and of a cheery disposition.

We selected the Trinity Monastery for the first visit because it was the most inaccessible. It stands on a steep isolated rock about 200 feet high and occupies the entire top of the pinnacle. There were two methods of approach, one by perpendicular ladders and the other by a net worked by a windlass in the principal room of the building. We decided to go up by ladder and return by net. The ascent was by no means easy; there were iron trapdoors which it was necessary to open, and the rungs of the ladder looked suspiciously old. We arrived safely and found about six monks, dirty and stupid, with whom conversation was difficult. When the

¹⁸² Edhem Pasha (1851–1909) was an Ottoman military commander. He was the deputy of Gazi Osman Pasha during the siege of Plevna in 1877. He was the leading commander of the Ottoman army that defeated the Kingdom of Greece in Thessalian front during the Greco-Turkish War (1897), which would end in a decisive Turkish victory. Edhem Pasha was especially successful in the Battle of Dömeke/Domochos. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁸³ Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche (1810-1873), styled The Honourable Robert Curzon between 1829 and 1870, was an English traveller, diplomat and author, active in the Near East. He was responsible for acquiring several important and late Biblical manuscripts from Eastern Orthodox monasteries. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IX

time for departure arrived, I volunteered to descend first, with the view of impressing our escort with my courage. As a decrepit monk began to pay out the rope we observed that it looked very old and frayed. "Do you ever," we asked, "mend the rope?" "Oh, yes," was the reply. "We mend it whenever it breaks." I began to repent my vainglorious offer, but it was too late to retract it. I was put into the net like a fish and then

Page 92

THE TURKS IN THESSALY [1898]

went down, revolving like a joint on a spit and fending myself off the rock with my feet. I had quite a comfortable descent, and the rest followed my example.

On getting back to Kalambaka we spent our time in investigating relief arrangements and left the next morning. When the hour of departure arrived, the Mayor who had solicitously invited us to be his guests presented us with a bill, and Bigham was so incensed that he flung the coins in his face and we left him grovelling on the floor for them.

We visited a number of other places: Larissa (the home town of Achilles), Pharsala, the Vale of Tempe, which reminded me of Dovedale; Tricalla, Donoko, Lamia and, finally, Thermopylae. I parted with Bigham at the Greek frontier under a flag of truce, and exchanged, not without regret, the ragged Turkish escort for smart-looking Greek soldiers.

During my stay in Thessaly, Bigham and I consorted almost entirely with the Turkish army of occupation, and it was an enormous advantage that Bigham had taken the trouble to learn not only Turkish but Greek. There were scarcely any Europeans in the country, except at Volo, and in certain places we were the objects of much curiosity, for the sight of European dress was quite unknown to many of the Anatolian peasants who constituted the bulk of the troops. They used sometimes to congregate in crowds to examine us more closely, but were always friendly and respectful. It was the same with the officers, who, although England at that time could not be classed as a friendly Power, were always civil and used to find some sort of lodging for us and lent soldiers for cooking and other purposes. Amongst the officers were a certain number of well-educated men who, when they got the opportunity, did not hesitate to denounce the Sultan and his spy-ridden rule. All, whatever their views, were united in looking upon Russia as the natural enemy, and there seemed to be a general desire to evacuate Thessaly as soon as possible. The general impression which I received was that there had been much exaggeration with regard to the situation in Thessaly. There was little sign of destruction; most of the refugees had returned, the peasants were, in most districts, peacefully cultivating their lands, there were plenty of herds and flocks in the fields, and if it had not been for the numerous skeletons of horses along the roads one would not have imagined that the province had recently been a battlefield. Of course, as was pointed out quite justly, the Turks were on their best

Page 93

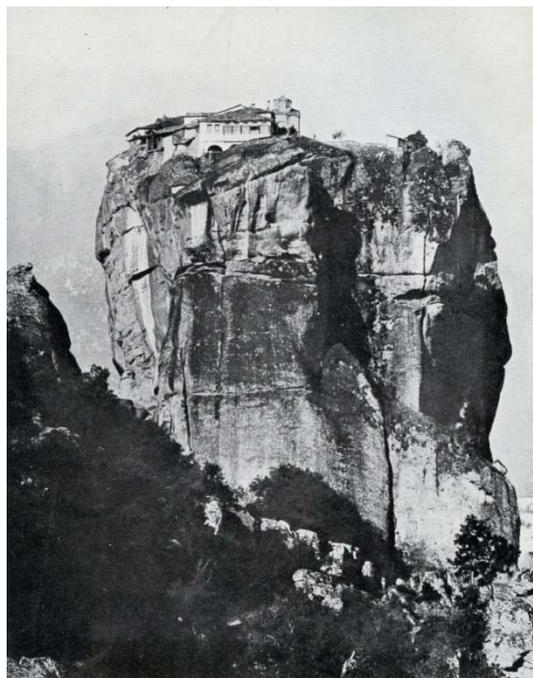
ATHENS: KING GEORGE'S VIEWS [1898]

behaviour, for the eyes of Europe were upon them, but the fact remains that probably no other army would have left a more creditable record.

CHAPTER IX

I went on to Athens, where I met Egerton,¹⁸⁴ an old colleague, now Minister there, and various other acquaintances, and found everyone much ashamed of the poor fight made by the army and the general ineptitude of the Greek Government.

Athens, March 10. I had a long interview with the King,¹⁸⁵ who, unlike most of his subjects, was quite optimistic and certain that the evacuation of Thessaly would take place shortly without much difficulty (a forecast which was quite correct). He said that the country was determined from the start to make war on Turkey, and that the celebrated telegram of the 100 British M.P.s, encouraging the Greeks to fight, had not produced any effect. He was very indignant with the Sultan for his conduct over Crete, and predicted that if his son, George,



The Trinity Monastery, Meteora

were permitted to go there as Governor, everything would be settled satisfactorily and Crete incorporated in the Greek Kingdom. The King struck me as intelligent, but he was, I know, firmly convinced that I was on a secret mission and I did not trouble to deceive him, for so-called secret missions add to one's importance. As a matter of fact, I rather doubt the existence of any British secret missions in peace time, and believe them to be merely the creation of sensational journalists and novelists.

I returned to London about the middle of March and handed to Lord Wantage a report on the activities of the London Committee in Thessaly which I had drawn up with the assistance of Bigham. The Committee were good enough to express their strong approval of it, although they were nearly all political opponents, and asked the Press to publish it in full. Feeling

¹⁸⁴ Sir Edwin Henry Egerton (1841-1916) was a British diplomat who was envoy to Greece and ambassador to Spain and Italy. He was a nephew of William Egerton, 1st Baron Egerton.

¹⁸⁵ George I, born Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg (1845-1913), was King of Greece from 1863 until his assassination in 1913. Originally a Danish prince, George was born in Copenhagen, and seemed destined for a career in the Royal Danish Navy. He was only 17 years old when he was elected king by the Greek National Assembly, which had deposed the unpopular former king Otto. His son Andrew (1882-1944), married Princess Alice of Battenberg and was the father of Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER IX

against the Turks was, however, so strong that they consented to print only a small portion of it. Looking back at these reminiscences, it is strange how greatly the situation has changed. Greece and Turkey, formerly the bitterest of foes, are now more or less allied Powers, whilst we, on our side, feel unbounded admiration for the courage and success of the Greek forces, both by land and sea, and have nothing but praise for the once execrated Turks.

Southport, May 18. Our Yeomanry inspected by the Prince of Wales - a futile exhibition from the military point of view.

His Royal Highness, attended by an escort and staff which must have been almost as numerous as one of our two squadrons, advanced at a slow pace through the deep sand which reached for about two

Page 94

JOURNEY THROUGH ASIA MINOR [1898]

miles from the town to our drill ground, and then, still at the same slow pace, rode down the line and took the salute with a crowd of 20,000 to 30,000 behind him. He had recently been seriously ill and was obviously unfit for much exertion. When the Officers call was sounded and we galloped up to him, I realised that he was feeling extremely unwell, and he shook so much whilst addressing us that I feared that he would roll off his horse if it made the slightest movement. We executed a few simple parade movements, the funereal march was resumed, and a huge luncheon took place. Afterwards the Prince proceeded to Garswood and returned to London. As on the occasion of the inspection by the Duke of Cambridge, the numerous militiamen at Altcar were completely ignored.

In August, Curzon¹⁸⁶ was appointed Viceroy of India, and it became, therefore, necessary to fill up the post of Under-Secretary at the F.O. My name was frequently mentioned in the Press as a possible successor, and I even received letters from various peers, asking me to appoint their respective sons as private secretary. I had never, however, any sort of illusion on the subject. I knew perfectly well that there were others with greater claims and knowledge than I possessed, and the post eventually went to the present Lord Midleton,¹⁸⁷ who is one of my few surviving contemporaries.

The Fashoda crisis, which terminated in the greatest diplomatic victory that we had achieved for many years and much enhanced our prestige throughout Europe, was over in the autumn and, the danger of war having been averted, we took advantage of an invitation from O'Connor, who had recently been appointed Ambassador in Constantinople, to pay him a visit. We arrived early in November at Therapia, the summer quarters of the Embassy. In spite of the late season the weather was delightful and the Bosphorus an enchanting sight. I only stayed there, however, for a day or two, as Bigham had arranged to go on a tour with me through Asia Minor and Palestine. We started on our journey from Haidar Pasha, the railway terminus on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and arrived at Afion Karahissar in the

¹⁸⁶ George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925), known as The Lord Curzon of Kedleston between 1898 and 1911 and as The Earl Curzon of Kedleston between 1911 and 1921, was a Conservative statesman who was the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but who was passed over as Prime Minister in 1923 in favour of Stanley Baldwin. He did not succeed his father to Kedleston until 1916 (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁸⁷ William St John Fremantle Brodrick, 1st Earl of Midleton (1856-1942), known as St. John Brodrick until 1907 and as The Viscount Midleton between 1907 and 1920, was a British Conservative Party and Irish Unionist Alliance politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IX

evening. Here we found a striking example of Turkish ineptitude. It was a railway junction for the two lines from Smyrna and Baghdad to Constantinople, and railways in Asia Minor were rare. Nevertheless, both lines were permitted to have their own stations, thus making it necessary to drive from one to the other across the town. No doubt this was the result of gross corruption, and probably it has been put right now. We found opinion here much

Page 95

A POVERTY-STRICKEN COUNTRY [1898]

divided about our journey. We proposed to take the railway as far as Konieh and then drive to Mersina through the Taurus mountains and there take the boat to Alexandretta, but were told that the road would probably be impassable and that the best plan was to go by sea from Smyrna. We decided, however, to risk it, and, starting next morning at 5 o'clock, arrived at Konieh the same night. Here the railway terminated and the weather had become cold, as we were now on the Anatolian plateau. Konieh, a very interesting and essentially Turkish city, already contained a number of Germans connected with the Baghdad railway, who regarded us with some suspicion. Here we again were told that we should have great difficulty in getting over the Taurus mountains, and the Governor, whom we visited, said that there had been a famine in the district and that we should find nothing to eat: nor was he at all encouraging about the roads, confessing that the bridges were in a very bad state. However, we decided to try, bought a few simple provisions and hired a native conveyance, driven by a taciturn Turk with very pronounced Mongolian features. I had been struck with the prevalence of this type amongst the Turkish soldiers in Thessaly.

Ismid, November 14. Nothing could exceed the dreary aspect of the country round Konieh, which probably in the past had been a fertile district. A vast flat plain, brown, treeless, swept by a cold wind, stretched indefinitely in all directions, and not a living thing was visible, except, at rare intervals, a small camel caravan. Ismid was a squalid mud village, with a miserable khan, dirty, cold and crowded, and the Governor was quite correct in his statement that no food was procurable. The inhabitants, obviously very poor, looked dejected and miserable and were uncommunicative.

As we approached the Taurus mountains, passing the nights in sordid khans and police huts, the road became worse, and we also ran the risk of being upset when crossing the many shallow streams which flowed over the road. As for bridges, in Turkey in those days they were generally regarded as obstacles to be systematically avoided. In the Taurus mountains trees appeared again, and in a more propitious season the scenery would no doubt have been attractive. At length, after passing through the historic Cilician Gates on the way, we arrived at Mersina and saw our boat in the harbour. There we had much difficulty with the police, who paid no attention to Bigham's diplomatic status. We had recourse to the Mudir,¹⁸⁸ and after much blustering on our part were finally allowed to

Page 96

TRAVELLING DIFFICULTIES [1898]

go on board. It was a small Austrian Lloyd boat and seemed to me like a palace of luxury after the mud khans of Anatolia. The captain informed me that the boats built in Austria cost 14 per cent, more than if built in England.

¹⁸⁸ Turkish for a local governor. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IX

We were now again in a warm climate, and at Mersina the vegetation was sub-tropical. There were many caravans, loaded chiefly with cotton, on their way to the interior.

Alexandretta, November 19. Landed and visited the battlefield of Issus.¹⁸⁹ Alexandretta still a very small, undeveloped place. Inhabitants more alert and civilised in appearance than in Asia Minor.

Tripoli, November 30. Decided to land here and ride to Baalbec over the mountains.

We were advised not to do so, but nevertheless persisted, although we ought to have known better, for it was obviously too late in the year. Then the Turkish authorities told us that we should not be allowed to proceed, which increased our obstinacy. These officials were quite different from those with whom we had dealt in Thessaly and were not at all impressed with Bigham's status. However, we ignored their veto and rode out of the town without opposition towards the hills. Presently heavy rain began, turning into snow, and we passed a wet and uncomfortable night in a half-built, uninhabited house. On the next morning, we heard that the pass was blocked with deep snow, and as there was a probability of the fords becoming impassable there was nothing for it but to return to the coast. We accordingly rode to Budrun and from there were able to drive to Beirut, where there were many traces of the German Emperor's recent tour. From Beirut, we went on to Baalbec, which requires no description, as it is now a well-known tourist resort, but I have a vivid recollection of the delightful desert air, at once warm, balmy and refreshing, and better than anything that I have encountered, either before or since. Thence we passed to Damascus, which equally needs no description. Damascus had been fortunate enough to be ruled by some intelligent Pashas¹⁹⁰ and was in a much more satisfactory condition than most Turkish provincial towns, and there were many beautiful native houses which had been carefully preserved. It was, in fact, a genuine Oriental city equipped with the necessary amenities of modern life. We spent a few days seeing the sights and then took the boat from Beirut for Jaffa and Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, November 29. I assume that there have been fundamental changes at Jerusalem since 1898, but anyone with strong

Page 97

THE HOLY PLACES: DISILLUSION [1898]

religious views who visited it at that period must have suffered a tremendous shock. I express no view as to the authenticity of the various Holy Places, except that I have always thought it remarkable that they should be concentrated within so small an area; but the general impression made upon me was one of disappointment, amounting almost to disgust. Nothing could be more disconcerting than the aspect of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Except that there were a number of Russian pilgrims, quite ignorant and illiterate, there appeared to be no sign of devotion, and the heterogeneous crowd inside the edifice looked much more like visitors to a fair or a market than worshippers in the most holy church in Christendom. The crowd consisted of visitors from many nations, and they were talking, laughing and quarrelling. I even saw dirty priests carrying about uninviting dishes of hot food which had evidently been cooked on the premises. This dirty and disorderly rabble was

¹⁸⁹ The Battle of Issus occurred in southern Anatolia, in November 333 BC between the Hellenic League led by Alexander the Great and the Achaemenid Empire of Persia, led by Darius III, in the second great battle of Alexander's conquest of Asia. The invading Macedonian troops defeated Persia. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁹⁰ A Pasha was a higher rank in the Ottoman Empire political and military system, typically granted to governors and generals. (*Wikipedia*)

controlled by Turkish soldiers, who acted as beadles and sorted out the various small processions, pulling away with much vigour those who had strayed into the wrong flock. At Bethlehem the same scene was repeated and armed soldiers stood on guard to protect the Star, the custody of which was the object of dispute between the Greeks and Latins and had been the original pretext for the Crimean war. At both these churches the sight was equally degrading, and, whatever may be the case now, it was impossible then to resist the conclusion that the contest between Greeks and Latins for the possession of Holy Places which possessed a pecuniary value was provoked by the desire to secure the monetary proceeds, and that the Russian and French Governments backed their respective clients for political reasons.

From Jerusalem, we went to Egypt, and there we parted, Bigham for Cairo and I for Constantinople. I travelled on a Khedivial¹⁹¹ boat on which there were very few passengers, and stopped first at the Piraeus, whence I visited Athens in a tremendous rainstorm, and then at Smyrna. The weather was now extremely cold and most of the well-to-do inhabitants were lying in a circle round a brazier, covered with quilts up to their eyes. There were quite large parties of both sexes indulging themselves in this way and conversing incessantly the whole time. The British Consul told me that there was much complaint against the German practice of forging our trademarks, and showed me a selection of glaring imitations of Sheffield cutlery bearing English descriptions. And yet the British Radicals opposed a Trade Mark Act tooth and nail.

Page 98

DEATH OF MY FATHER [1898]

The chief engineer on the steamer, an Englishman, who appeared to be a Socialist, informed me that he had made this particular voyage for seven years but had never yet landed at either Piraeus or Smyrna. This seemed to me to show an absence of the progressive spirit.

Shortly after arrival at Constantinople I received a telegram saying that my father was dangerously ill. We started off at once, but when we reached Vienna, I received a telegram announcing his death. We arrived in time for the funeral, which took place at Disley on December 20 and was attended by a very large number of people of all classes, showing evidence of much sympathy and regret.

My father, a Crimean veteran, as I have already stated, was a good-looking man who preserved a military appearance, and he was, I believe, described by Disraeli as “a model country gentleman.” He was a man of a very modest character and made no attempt during a long House of Commons career to shine in debate, but confined himself chiefly to committee work and voting steadily for his Party. In the county he was highly esteemed by all classes, including even his political opponents, for he was an excellent landlord, treating his tenants with great consideration and possessing a practical knowledge of farming.

Somewhat late in life he was persuaded to buy some horses and became a member of the Jockey Club; but, although he owned one good horse, Veracity, which won both the Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire Handicaps, he probably found racing as expensive an enterprise as any owner of the same type. In private life, he enjoyed the affection of all those with whom he was most closely connected, and this is really the supreme test of character.

¹⁹¹ Boat belonging to the Khedive which is a title roughly equivalent to viceroy. It was first used, without official recognition, by Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769-1849) the governor of Egypt and Sudan, and vassal of the Ottoman Empire. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER IX

One of his good qualities was a remarkable generosity, which was never ostentatious, and when going through his papers I was astonished at the number of persons whom he had assisted without ever disclosing the fact. All his life he had been delicate, but his death came as a surprise to us and it was a terrible shock to my mother, who was already in bad health and practically an invalid.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONTENEGRO AGAIN. 1898-1899

December 1898. All those who have once sat in the House of Commons are credited with a longing to re-enter it after exclusion, but I cannot say that I ever entertained this desire myself. The House itself was a place of continual interest, but I hailed with delight the liberation from those constant attendances at local functions which are expected from an M.P.

As regards the House of Commons itself, I did not see it under the most favourable conditions, for it was largely dominated by the Irish party, which exercised a deteriorating influence upon it, being politically a blackmailing body, animated by a common desire to extract as much as possible from the Government, and at the same time losing no opportunity of injuring them in every possible way. It used often to be said that the wit of the Irish Party redeemed the general dullness of Parliament, but I could never understand why this myth was accepted. The Irish members were nearly all ill-educated and ill-mannered men, whose main object it was to impede legislation and to flout authority, and the only member of the Party who seemed to me endowed with real humour was Tim Healy. He was a natural humourist, and the scathing gibes and epigrams which marked his speeches seemed to flow with complete spontaneity. In this respect, I used to think that he was only equalled by Labouchère, and although there were a good many others who, justly or unjustly, enjoyed a reputation for humour these two men always struck me as being the supreme artists.

Owing to the vacancy caused by my father's death it had become necessary to choose a Conservative candidate at Newton. There was, however, no full-blown Conservative available, and the most suitable man was a Liberal-Unionist, Mr. Richard Pilkington.¹⁹² Liberal-Unionists still at that time considered themselves superior to those whom they described as Tories, but it had become obvious that there

were not very many of them, and I succeeded in convincing Pilkington that unless he called himself a Conservative he might be beaten. Being a sensible man he gave way and I earned the gratitude of the Conservative Whips. Pilkington, who was a large and highly-respected employer in the district, and a colonel of volunteers, was returned unopposed and held the seat until 1906. He was an excellent member and in many respects a much better representative than I had been.

London, January 20, 1899. My elder boy, Dick, went to school for the first time. This is invariably a tragic day in the families of those who can afford to send a boy to a private school, for the fact cannot be escaped that the parents will see no more of him, except during his holidays, and this cruel fact bears with additional force upon the mother. Personally, I believe that a boy, as long as he is manageable by women, should be kept at home until he is at least 10 or even 11, and that it is a mistake to leave him at a public school after the age of 17; but, on the whole, our system works well, and, although I have occasionally been

¹⁹² Richard Pilkington (1841-1908) was a Conservative politician and member of the Pilkington glass-manufacturing family. In December 1898, he was selected as the Conservative candidate for a by-election in the Newton constituency. He had previously been considered a Liberal Unionist. As the only candidate nominated he was elected unopposed on 16 January 1899. Pilkington held his seat at the subsequent general election in 1900, but was defeated in 1906 by a Labour candidate. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER X

acquainted with men who had been educated at home and knew a great deal more than the ordinary school product, I always felt that for some indefinable cause they were at a disadvantage.

Deal, March 18. Told by Buckle¹⁹³ that in 1895 Edward Grey¹⁹⁴ refused to become a Privy Councillor, because he was doubtful whether he would remain in politics. Grey was the only man I ever knew who really wanted to return into private life. Many professed that they wished to go, but nevertheless remained.

Corfe Castle, April 6. Staying with the F. Bentincks. F.B. has a boy of the same age as Dick (who was with us), about 10½ years old, and both were considered to be intelligent and had done well at their respective schools. F.B., who had had considerable experience of educational questions, sent for the local elementary schoolmaster and the boys were examined by him. Much to our disgust, he informed us that neither boy knew as much as an ordinary boy of eight!

London. I cannot say that my first impressions of the House of Lords in 1899 were particularly favourable. It was at that time entirely under the dominance of Lord Salisbury, and there seemed to be a general inclination to do as little work as possible. In fact, the

Page 101

HOUSE OF LORDS: FIRST IMPRESSIONS [1899]

Chief Whip appeared to resent the fact that the House ever met at all. Except on the occasion of a really important debate, the speaking was distinctly inferior to that in the Commons, and it could not escape notice that the whole of the work was carried on by only about one-seventh of the members. One could not fail, also, to realise the absence of any real control of debate, which occasioned irrelevance and prolixity, and that peers were frequently put up to answer questions upon which they were entirely ignorant. Another inconvenience was that, owing to the chamber being occupied by the Law Lords until 4 p.m., the House met at an hour which precluded an adequate report in the Press, as few speeches made after 6 p.m. were published in the newspapers, and speakers rising after that hour generally apologised for so late an intervention. The inconvenience caused by this occupation of the chamber still persists, however, in deference to tradition, and the highest legal authorities continue to work under grotesque conditions, although other and much more convenient rooms, suitable for tribunals, are available in the building.¹⁹⁵

In spite of these inconveniences and difficulties, however, the Parliamentary machine worked efficiently, and probably this was mainly due to the fact that, having no constituents, the only people who spoke were those who knew something of the subject. But there was another reason. The tone of the House of Lords was quite different from that of the Commons. In the latter, political parties are open enemies and have no scruple in opposing each other by every means available, and more especially by obstructing legislation. In the Lords, on the other

¹⁹³ George Earle Buckle (1854-1935) Editor of *The Times*, 1884-1912 (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁹⁴ Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862-1933), better known as Sir Edward Grey (he was 3rd Baronet Grey of Fallodon) was a Liberal statesman. He served as Foreign Secretary from 1905 to 1916, the longest continuous tenure of any person in that office. He is probably best remembered for his “the lamps are going out” remark on 3 August 1914 on the outbreak of the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁹⁵ Lord Newton’s footnote reads: “By a legal fiction the highest judicial authority is held to represent the entire House of Lords, whereas in reality it consists solely of selected Law Lords. Other peers possess no judicial status.”

hand, there seems to be no desire to harry a Government by indiscriminate opposition. Party hatred seems to have no existence, and although there are, of course, many differences of opinion, relations between parties are amicable and toleration is shown by both sides.

Whatever may be its faults, the House of Lords is the most good-natured assembly that exists, and the proof is that speakers who would not be listened to for five minutes in the House of Commons may count with confidence upon a patient hearing in the Lords.

May 9. I broke silence for the first time in the House of Lords by urging the establishment of a British Post Office at Salonika. The Minister concerned thought at first that Salonika was in Sicily, and

Page 102

DISAPPOINTMENT. QUESTION OF A GIFT [1899]

then, correcting himself, said that he meant Persia, but he was most anxious to oblige and eventually the Post Office was created. At one period of his career this gentleman was Minister of Education.

As my wife was going to Schwalbach, with a friend, for the cure, and as there was nothing particular to do in Parliament, I determined to make another attack upon the Montenegrin big trout, and this time went alone, arriving early in June at Cetinje, where I found the Prince¹⁹⁶ labouring under a grave disappointment. The Sultan, he said, had made him a present of a steam yacht, but now that it had arrived it could not be made to move. It appeared that the crew of the yacht, not having been paid any wages, sold parts of the vessel and its machinery on the voyage, and that consequently, when it reached the Montenegrin port, it was completely immobilised. The difficulty, however, was solved later, I was informed, by selling the yacht to a coal company, and it became a collier.

Having secured an attendant who could speak Italian I went on at once to Podgoritza and was lucky enough to find a clean room, free from vermin, and I felt sure that this time I must be successful, as it was now the right time for fishing. I was, however, again doomed to disappointment. The summer, as the natives informed me, was an unprecedented one, there being little warmth and heavy rain falling incessantly and discolouring the water so much that fishing was impossible. Occasionally there were intervals of fine days, but these intervals were short and directly the water began to get right the rain set in again. I persevered and caught some small fish of two or three pounds, but the native fishermen had no better success, and the professional who used occasionally to accompany me said that, whereas in an ordinary season he caught about 300 fish running up to over 40 lb., that season he had only caught 12. I saw a few fish caught by natives and the best weighed about 17 lb. For my part I got nothing heavier than 12 lb., and finally retired defeated, and I have never heard of any Englishman having much success in these waters.

On returning to Cetinje I again saw the Prince, who was much disappointed at my failure, as he had counted upon my advertising the river in England. Although he had in reality done very little for me, I thought that I ought to offer him something in the way of a souvenir. The difficulty was that, he being a Sovereign, I could not well ask him to accept some trifling

¹⁹⁶ Prince Nicholas I of Montenegro (1841-1921) was Prince of the Principality and reigned from 1860, following the assassination of his father, Danilo I, until 1910 when he was proclaimed King. He was in exile from January 15, 1916 and deposed on November 26, 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

offering in the shape of an ordinary present. After much cogitation I asked him if he would like to have a mastiff, as there were still a few descendants of the celebrated Lyme

Page 103

THE PALACES OF A MAD KING [1899]

breed. He did not entertain the suggestion with much enthusiasm, and after some discussion remarked, as I was leaving the room: “Enfin, j 'aimerais mieux un steamlaunch!”

This was the last occasion upon which I saw this potentate, and although his subsequent career was not creditable I could not help feeling some sympathy with him. When the war came he was accused of having betrayed his country to the Austrians, and as his son-in-law, the King of Italy,¹⁹⁷ is said to have refused him permission to retire there, I believe that the British and French Governments paid him a pension of about £10,000 a year and he ended his days in France. Montenegro lost its independence and became a Yugoslav province. It was quite a delusion to look upon Montenegro as a democratic State. The Sovereign controlled the whole administration of the country, and he was a far more capable man than other autocrats who were then in existence.

July 3. Started for Fiume, and at Ragusa picked up an Austrian General with an A.D.C. who became my cabin companion, and who had, apparently, no baggage beyond a small bag similar to that which ladies carry now. As I watched him dress I could not help envying anyone who was able to travel without impedimenta, little suspecting that I should experience it shortly myself. On arrival at Zara I was told that the boat would wait there for several hours. I disembarked, and on returning to the harbour about half an hour later found that the boat had just started. Together with other marooned passengers I jumped into a boat and tried to overtake the steamer. We were unsuccessful and returned to the quay amidst the jeers of the inhabitants, and to make matters worse none of these professed to understand either English, French, German or Italian. However, a little steamer turned up later which was bound for Trieste, and at Trieste I took the train to Fiume, where I recovered my possessions intact.

On the journey home I took the opportunity to visit Herrenchiemsee and Hohenschwangau, two of the famous castles built by the mad King of Bavaria. I do not know what was the exact connection of Bavaria with the Imperial German Government,¹⁹⁸ but I have never understood why this man, being a lunatic, was permitted to squander millions on building these edifices, which are very remarkable in their way. Although they attract a certain number of tourists in the summer months the cost of their upkeep must be very high and they are not original, being only copies of French architecture. In fact,

¹⁹⁷ Umberto I (1844-1900), was the King of Italy from 9 January 1878 until his assassination on 29 July 1900. Umberto's reign saw Italy attempt colonial expansion into the Horn of Africa, successfully gaining Eritrea and Somalia despite being defeated by Abyssinia at the Battle of Adowa in 1896. In 1882, he approved the Triple Alliance with the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁹⁸ The German Empire, formed in 1871, consisted of 27 constituent territories most of them ruled by royal families. Prussia was the most populous of these kingdoms. The armed forces of the larger states, such as the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony, were coordinated along Prussian principles and would in wartime be controlled by the federal government. (*Wikipedia*)

one of their chief merits is that they constitute a warning against the rule of incompetent and uncontrollable autocrats.

All through the autumn of 1899 the threat of a South African war grew more formidable. The criminal imbecility of the Jameson raid was now apparent to all except the wilfully blind. On the plea that they were exposed to unprovoked invasion the Boers were able to accumulate huge stocks of arms, and when they considered that their preparations were complete they broke off the negotiations which had been proceeding for so long and declared war upon us. And yet, in face of this fact, there were plenty of people to be found here who accused the Government of having deliberately forced a war upon an innocent and peaceful community.

Looking back upon 1899 it is difficult to acquit our high military authorities of a complete failure to realise the magnitude of the task before them, and although the public were only too pleased to fall upon the politicians the latter were comparatively blameless, for the soldiers were usually given all that they asked. Thus, Lord Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief, expressed the opinion, in June, that one army corps in addition to the few troops already in South Africa would be sufficient for the campaign, which, he estimated, would be finished in four months. It was the military who sent the celebrated telegram: "Unmounted men preferred."

The war opened with a series of small defeats and "regrettable incidents," which were received with great jubilation in most European countries, but were met here with calm and dignity and no desire, for the time being, to discover scapegoats.

Eaton,¹⁹⁹ November 6. Amongst the people staying here was Lascelles,²⁰⁰ on leave from Berlin. He said that the Germans and other foreigners were greatly impressed by our attitude with regard to our reverses and therefore thought more highly of us than if we had been victorious. He also said that there was no prospect of any foreign intervention. He told me that the Kaiser had complained to him that Bismarck never divulged to him the secret treaty with Russia until two years after its conclusion.

The series of reverses with which we started the war reached its climax in December over the defeat at Colenso. Compared to battles of the present day it was a trifling affair, but in reality it was an event of very great importance. It may be said to have been the greatest blow to our prestige that we had suffered for centuries.

Colenso marked the nadir of our fortunes in South Africa, and it was not until six weeks later that they took a turn for the better. The disappointment here was bitter, for everyone had been expecting that Buller would turn the scale, but once more we rose to the occasion, refused to be downhearted, raised many more men and made it plain to everyone that we

¹⁹⁹ Seat of the Duke of Westminster

²⁰⁰ Sir Frank Cavendish Lascelles (1841-1920) was a British diplomat. He served as Ambassador to both Russia and Germany. He was the grandson of Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER X

intended to persevere. Much satisfaction was expressed at the appointments of Lords Roberts²⁰¹ and Kitchener.

²⁰¹ Field Marshal Frederick Sleight Roberts, 1st Earl Roberts, VC (1832-1914) was a British soldier who was one of the most successful commanders of the 19th century. He served in the Indian Rebellion, the Expedition to Abyssinia and the Second Anglo-Afghan War before leading British Forces to success in the Second Boer War. He also became the last Commander-in-Chief of the Forces before the post was abolished in 1904. (*Wikipedia*)

**THE BOER WAR: FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE.
1900-1902**

SOUTHPORT, January 18, 1900. Came here for inspection of our volunteer detachment. Men presented good appearance, although khaki at first sight gives an impression of convict dress. Discipline seemed to be all right, and the officers to know their duties. Found that, in spite of a new light saddle, a horse had to carry a weight of six stone in addition to the man himself, which does not look like catching many Boers.

These men embarked in company with other yeomanry detachments on January 30, and were then in desperate fear that the war would be over before they arrived. Our Colonel, Gerard, had succeeded in getting out in some undefined capacity on the G.H.Q. staff, and we heard afterwards that, having been put in charge of the mess, he took the precaution, to prevent accidents, of labelling some cases of champagne "Castor Oil," and that these found their way to a hospital base, whence they never returned.

The two and a half months which followed were a period marked by stagnation and a series of small encounters with the enemy which were, on the whole, unsatisfactory, but the change came when Cronje and some 4,000 Boers were captured at Paardeberg. This event was really the turning point of the war, as was shown by the frenzied vituperations of the Continental Press, the most vociferous being the French, German and Dutch organs. At this period Greece was almost the only country which showed any friendliness to us or any disposition to discuss the war in an impartial spirit.

London, March 17. Remarkable interview with Rhodes reported in the Daily Mail, full of abuse of the military which may do a great deal of harm, but he has apparently so great a hold on the Press that the papers will probably not comment upon it.

Rhodes, it will be remembered, had recently been besieged in

Kimberley, and had fallen out with Colonel Kekevich, who commanded the garrison.

May 5. Find, to my surprise, that I have been appointed Chairman of a Private Bill Committee, all the other members of it being considerably older than myself.

May 16. Took Tudor rosewater dish and ewer, which had recently been discovered at Lyme, to Christie's in order to ascertain their approximate value. Mr. Cripps, the well-known authority on silver, was much interested and said that I ought not to accept less than £4,000 for them.

The story of this silver find is an illustration of the ignorance by many owners of the value of their possessions. This rosewater dish and ewer, dated respectively 1553 and 1574, must have remained at Lyme for well over three centuries without anyone discovering their value, and when I first set eyes on them I declined to believe that they were authentic. However, I

CHAPTER XI

was persuaded to show them to an expert, and Mr. Cripps's valuation was well under the mark, for when, about 20 years ago, owing to financial stress, I and my son found it necessary to sell them, they fetched £12,000, representing about £130 an ounce. It so happened that I had a friend connected with the Goldsmiths' Company, and the dish and ewer are now among the company's most valuable possessions. It was satisfactory, at all events, that they remained in the country instead of going abroad.

May 17. Relief of Mafeking confirmed. This event was celebrated by a peculiarly blatant and vulgar display which reflected no credit upon the London crowd. One might have thought that we had won the greatest victory of all time. Baden Powell²⁰² became the idol of the Press and the crowd, and the entirely false impression was created that he was an accomplished self-advertiser. When I eventually made his acquaintance, I found him a remarkably modest but highly-gifted man of extraordinary versatility and resource. It does not appear much to the credit of the high military authorities that Baden Powell was got rid of after the war, whereas many who had failed to distinguish themselves remained.

May 24. General meeting of St. James's Club to decide upon the case of the Duke of Orléans,²⁰³ the eldest son of the Comte de Paris

This young man, a member of the club, had taken upon himself to congratulate warmly some Paris newspapers which had published incredibly malicious and disgusting caricatures of Queen Victoria, in

Page 108

BOXER ATTACK ON PEKING LEGATIONS [1900]

connection with the war. The committee, of which I was a member, demanded from him an explanation, and it was privately suggested to him that he should resign. He wrote a shuffling answer, but before the committee had come to a decision with regard to his expulsion sent another letter tendering his resignation. The committee were divided in opinion, and I moved that his resignation should be accepted. This was carried by one vote and the general meeting approved it by a large majority. Nothing could excuse the conduct of this man, who had always received kindness and hospitality from everyone here, including the Royal Family, but it is very difficult to turn anyone out of a club, and our relations with the French were already quite bad enough.

June 5. News that Pretoria has been occupied by Roberts at last confirmed. This news naturally produced much optimism, Kruger having fled, taking the State money with him, and the British prisoners being liberated. Many thought, quite naturally, that the war was practically over, but they were soon undeceived.

Before the end of June great anxiety had been caused by the attack of the Boxer rebels upon the Legations at Peking, and the sensational Press was provided with a magnificent opportunity, which was gratefully seized. Thus, the Daily Mail, early in July, published a message from their correspondent at Shanghai, "a gentleman with unrivalled sources of

²⁰² Lieutenant General Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell, 1st Baron Baden-Powell (1857-1941), also known as B-P or Lord Baden-Powell, was a British Army officer, writer, author of *Scouting for Boys* which was an inspiration for the Scout Movement, founder and first Chief Scout of The Boy Scouts Association and founder of the Girl Guides. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁰³ Prince Philippe d'Orléans, Duke of Orléans (1869-1926), was the Orléanist claimant to the throne of France from 1894 to 1926. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XI

information,” saying that it was impossible not to conclude that all the men, women and children in the Legation had been murdered, and that one of the greatest crimes in history had been committed. Further details regarding the capture and destruction of the Legations were added, and later on a statement was published in the Press that the victims had been subjected to excruciating torture before death. Suspense, too, was increased by the failure of Admiral Seymour’s²⁰⁴ relief expedition.

It is a curious fact that throughout this crisis the Chinese Minister in London steadfastly maintained that the inmates of the Legation were unharmed, and, whether he had private information or not, he was more correct than the newspapers. What was more curious was that the Chinese could perfectly well have destroyed or taken the Legations, had they meant business. One heard this shortly after the siege, and when I visited Peking many years later I was told that they had never made use of artillery. Then again, were the Boxers acting under Government direction or not? This we shall probably never

Page 109

A WAR-TIME ELECTION [1900]

know, nor is it probable that we shall ever understand the Chinese mentality.

Peking was relieved in August by the joint International Force, and the falsity of most of the reports was revealed, but the Powers took a heavy revenge upon the Chinese, the Germans being especially remarkable for their barbarity.

Lyme, August 1. Arrived here after a fortnight under canvas near Altcar.

The War Office, tardily recognising that our auxiliary forces were very insufficiently trained, had increased the training period from a week to a fortnight and we had been brigaded with the Cheshire Yeomanry. The experiment was quite successful. There was very little grumbling: the discipline was good, the two regiments got on well together, and for the first time in my experience we did useful work instead of perpetual parade movements.

August 17. Much consternation caused by a speech of Wolseley, who declared that the Aldershot Division was not fit for service. It was rather late in the day to announce this discovery, but a long time was to elapse before the defects of our obsolete military system were realised.

In September, I went to Norway for a short time with Edward Hopwood, and this time I was lucky enough to kill a remarkably fine elk with 16 points, and I believe that it was about the best killed that year. On these occasions, I used a small Mannlicher carbine, with which the Austrian cavalry was armed. It looked little more than a toy, and had a very small calibre, but had tremendous power. Although a poor rifle shot, owing to very inferior eyesight, I once killed an elk stone dead with a body shot at a distance of more than 300 yards. After killing the big bull, I gave up this form of sport. The agony suffered by this huge beast was so pitiable that I conceived an aversion for big game shooting. This was, perhaps, illogical, for smaller creatures no doubt suffer proportionately, although we ignore the fact.

The General Election took place in September and October, and as peers were then precluded from taking part I fortunately escaped a spell of platform speaking. There was no real

²⁰⁴ Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Hobart Seymour (1840-1929). (*Wikipedia*)

necessity for holding a General Election at that particular moment, for the war was still more or less in full swing, in spite of the statements of eminent persons that it was over, and Parliament had more than another year to run, but the Party wire-pullers were not going to let the opportunity slip.

Page 110

THE KAISER'S VISIT [1900-01]

Probably no previous election had aroused less interest, and the number of abstentions was enormous. The Government actually added one or two votes to their majority, but events soon showed that the Unionist Party had paid heavily for this victory. In my old constituency there was no contest.

1901. Perhaps the most hopeful sign with regard to the war was that the Kaiser refused to see Kruger when he came to Europe. He would certainly not have done so had he thought that he would be victorious. The refusal to receive Kruger was followed by the Kaiser's unexpected visit to Osborne in January, 1901,²⁰⁵ and the sentimental portion of the British public at once assumed that Germany had become again a friendly nation. This change of opinion was conspicuous in the Press, and the Harmsworth organs, which had been diligent in warning the country against the German danger, now suddenly changed their attitude and vociferously welcomed the Kaiser as a "Friend in Need."

There were few really encouraging incidents in South Africa itself: we were constantly suffering reverses of a more or less serious character, and here there were many appeals for recruits for the Imperial Yeomanry, who, although quite untrained, were offered five shillings a day, exclusive of allowances. One of these appeals asked for 30,000 recruits. And yet we had been told two months before that the war was over!

February 14. Went down about 12 for the Opening of the Session, and waited a long time to get a place. House very crammed, but managed to get a seat near the Bar. Pageant very fine, King and Queen²⁰⁶ both looking remarkably dignified, the former reading the Speech very well. The fact of the women being all dressed in black spoilt the effect to some extent, but the whole ceremony very striking. Saw the procession start back: great crowds everywhere. In the rush of the Commons one M.P. knocked down and ribs broken. Much scuffling at the Bar after the Speaker had got in and the doors shut. Expect there will be a lot of trouble about seating arrangements, as many women had got into the peeresses' places.

March 15. Visit from dealer, who offered £5,000 for the rosewater dish and ewer. Would evidently have offered much more had I shown any sign of acceptance.

In March, two important military debates took place in the Lords which produced unpleasant impressions. On both occasions, Lord

Page 111

LORD WOLSELEY AND LORD LANSDOWNE

Wolseley attacked Lord Lansdowne, on the ground that civilian interference with him was largely responsible for our failures in the war. Lord Lansdowne had little difficulty in meeting the charge and complained that the Government had not received from the

²⁰⁵ On the occasion of the Queen's illness and death.

²⁰⁶ The new King Edward VII and his consort Queen Alexandra

CHAPTER XI

Commander-in-Chief the assistance they had a right to expect. Although in similar disputes public opinion generally favours the military, on this occasion it was felt that they were in the wrong.

The debates gave me the impression that Wolseley was past his work. His speeches were read and he was obviously incapable of replying. I was always given to understand that it was difficult to interest him seriously in the Boer War. The speeches which he made in public were very self-contradictory, for while he sometimes gave the public to understand that all was well with the British Army he frequently complained that the control of civilians prevented efficiency, and if he really believed that he ought to have resigned.

April 15. Disquieting state of my mother's health, owing to various complications. Assured by doctors that she will make a complete recovery, but feel very doubtful.

April 17. My mother passed away to-day, as I had feared. I have described earlier her affection for her family and her philanthropic activities, which had always been highly appreciated in the neighbourhood. Even when well advanced in age she had had sufficient energy to take up drawing, and, largely owing to the tuition of Mr. Augustus Hare,²⁰⁷ the well-known writer, she eventually became an admirable water-colour artist. She had experienced a slight seizure two years before her death, and the loss of my father had been a crushing blow. After that she lived a retired life, devotedly tended by my two sisters. She was buried at Disley on April 20, many people being present.

June 12. Went down to Macclesfield to attend a public reception and presentation to my brother-in-law, W. Bromley Davenport, M.P., who had greatly distinguished himself in the war and had been offered a big Yeomanry Command. Proceedings very enthusiastic. He was not very hopeful about the early ending of the war, and thought that many of the Boers would go on fighting whatever their leaders might do.

Abbeystead, August 13. Killed this afternoon 82 grouse in one drive, which is up to now a record on this moor.

A first-class shot would have had no difficulty in getting 100, but it was not a bad performance, as I had already completely lost the

Page 112

MAYBRICK CASE: THE DUBLIN VICEROYALTY [1901]

sight of my right eye, and the left eye had less than half the normal vision.

Heard from Colonel Custance,²⁰⁸ a militia officer among the guests here, that the King wants to get the Guards back, and that his battalion had been ordered to replace the Grenadiers at Norval's Pont, where my brother is stationed. The King presumably wanted to get the Guards back for the Coronation.

Lyme, November 15. Greatly surprised to hear from Lord Ridley, who was Home Secretary from 1895 to 1900, that the Maybrick case²⁰⁹ had been treated as a Cabinet question, and that

²⁰⁷ Augustus John Cuthbert Hare (1834-1903) was an English writer and raconteur. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁰⁸ Colonel Frederick Hambleton Custance died on 29 September 1925. He was a Colonel in the Grenadier Guards and lived in Weston, Norfolk. (<http://www.thepeerage.com/p48263.htm>)

²⁰⁹ Lord Newton's footnote: "A sensational murder case at Liverpool in 1889 which was the subject of controversy and agitation for many years. Mrs. Maybrick, an American by birth, was found guilty of murdering

various Ministers were in favour of releasing Mrs. Maybrick in order to conciliate American opinion. Queen Victoria had always shown much interest in the case and was not at all disposed to think that there was any doubt of Mrs. Maybrick's guilt.

My wife and I paid a short visit to the Dartreys,²¹⁰ in North Ireland, and went on to the Viceregal Lodge for two or three days, the Viceroy at the time being Lord Cadogan.²¹¹

Dublin, December 2. On the Viceroy's staff I again found Bigham, who had discovered yet another field of official activity after service at the Peking Legation during the Boxer troubles. Once more he had the pleasure of introducing me to a new city. I cannot say that I was highly impressed with Dublin, and the life of a Viceroy appeared to me most unattractive. Under the rule of Lord and Lady Cadogan all the traditions of the Viceregal court were carefully respected: all the arrangements were perfect and dignified: hospitality was unbounded, and there was a continual succession of entertainments and of visitors. But I could not resist a feeling that the whole thing was only an elaborate sham, wasted upon a people who, for the most part, detested British rule. Personally, I should have found the continual round of ceremonies and entertainments an intolerable bore, but apparently, there was never any difficulty in securing a Viceroy.

From Dublin, I went on to pay a short visit to my friend, Arthur Smith Barry, at Fota, where I heard much grumbling from Loyalists with regard to the inaction of the Government. I went into Cork one

Page 113

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR [1901-02]

day to see the departure of some troops for South Africa, and was much struck by the excellent address delivered to them by the Duke of Connaught.²¹² Incidentally, I found on the Duke's staff a major who was so aggressively pro-Boer that I wondered why he had not been locked up.

Lyme, December 16. Long and eagerly awaited speech by Rosebery, at Chesterfield. It had been assiduously advertised, and most of the newspapers professed to consider that it came up to expectations. To me it seemed to be little better than a collection of platitudes expressed in eloquent terms, and there was very little real substance in it. The main feature was his obvious disinclination towards Home Rule, combined with a caution to his Party not to be in too great a hurry. He approved the war, on the whole, and had no particular fault to find with the Government's conduct of it. Altogether, the speech did not seem calculated to encourage his own followers or to conciliate those advanced Liberals who regarded him with suspicion. Nevertheless, the belief in certain quarters still remained that Rosebery was a mystery man who could put everything right if he were given the chance, and that vague

her husband by administering arsenic, and the death sentence was commuted to one of penal servitude on the ground of a medical doubt whether the arsenic was the actual cause of death. Although many efforts were made to secure a free pardon she was not released till 1904, on the completion of her sentence."

²¹⁰ Vesey Dawson, 2nd Earl of Dartrey (1842-1920) (from article in *Wikipedia* about his father who had died in 1897.)

²¹¹ George Henry Cadogan, 5th Earl Cadogan (1840-1915) was a British Conservative politician. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 29 June 1895-11 August 1902. (*Wikipedia*)

²¹² Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn (Arthur William Patrick Albert; 1850-1942) was a member of the British Royal Family who served as the Governor General of Canada, the tenth since Canadian Confederation. He was the seventh child and third son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XI

belief continued to exist for a considerable time. The explanation, no doubt, was that the country was losing confidence in the Unionist Government.

In 1902, I began to take a more active interest in Parliamentary affairs, having realised that there were far more opportunities in the Lords than in the Commons if one chose to avail oneself of them.

My first attempt at legislation was an Amendment Bill to the Vaccination Act (passed by the last Conservative Government), which would have abolished the conscientious objector. There was no difficulty in securing support, for the establishment of the conscientious objector had been an instance of extreme political cowardice, and the Government were obliged to issue a whip against us. We actually had all the best of the argument, but the Government managed to defeat us as they obtained the support of all the Liberal peers. Many Conservative peers expressed to me afterwards their shame at the part which they had been persuaded to play.

I have always thought that the case of Conscientious Objection provided one of the few opportunities when a fight between the two Houses would have turned to the advantage of the Lords, as it was clearly not a party question or one where property was concerned.

My next effort was of a destructive nature. The Bishop of Hereford,²¹³

Page 114

SPURIOUS SPORTS [1902]

a well-meaning but somewhat misguided prelate, had introduced a Spurious Sports Bill, aimed principally at stag hunting, pigeon shooting and rabbit coursing. There seemed to be a strange reluctance to oppose it, for no one was anxious to be gibbeted as a supporter of spurious sports, but having been appealed to I agreed to try. It was no use to attempt a defence of rabbit coursing, but there was something to be said for both the other two sports and the subject lent itself to ridicule. I was able to show that the charges of cruelty in connection with the so-called "carted deer" were grossly exaggerated and that the carted deer and the hounds were on such amicable terms that they occasionally returned to the kennels in company after the hunt. As to pigeon shooting, was it really more culpable than to shoot tame pheasants which from their earliest days had been carefully tended by human beings, and who suddenly found themselves slaughtered like the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day? Was there really an essential difference between shooting a trapped pigeon, which had a good chance of escape, and shooting so-called wild ducks which were wired in and liberated in order that they might be shot at when flying to their home? Besides this, the principal pigeon-shooting establishment was on the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Bishop of Winchester²¹⁴ himself had won a pigeon-shooting competition in his youth. These arguments, however flimsy they may sound, were sufficient to destroy the Bill and the poor Bishop did not dare to take a division.

It was about this period that I was serving on a House of Lords Betting Committee, which, like Royal Commissions, was composed of supporters and opponents, with an addition of

²¹³ John Percival (1834-1918) was the first headmaster of Clifton College, where he made his reputation as a great educator. After 17 years at Clifton he accepted the presidency of Trinity College. From there he went to become headmaster of Rugby School in 1887 before becoming Bishop of Hereford in 1895. (*Wikipedia*)

²¹⁴ Randall Thomas Davidson, 1st Baron Davidson of Lambeth (1848-1930), was an Anglican bishop of Scottish origin who served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1903 to 1928. (*Wikipedia*)

neutrals. In this case the opponents of betting were the Bishop of Hereford, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Peel and Lord Davey. Those who might, for convenience, be designated as friendly were racing peers, represented by the late Lord Derby, Lord Durham and Lord Harewood, whilst Lord Cobham and I were looked upon as neutrals.

The proceedings evoked much more interest than is usual amongst the public and were occasionally not devoid of humour. I remember a particular incident which caused quite unusual merriment. Lord Aberdeen had read with much emphasis and solemnity an anti-betting letter which he had received, and I elicited a confession that it had been written by an inmate of a lunatic asylum. One curious feature of the

Page 115

BETTING: AN OPPORTUNITY LOST [1902]

proceedings was that almost every witness, except the anti-gamblers themselves, protested that they knew nothing whatever about betting, and both the racing lords on the committee and eminent authorities like the late Duke of Devonshire gave us to understand that betting was a low kind of practice which did not interest them at all. This lofty attitude seemed to me surprising in view of the fact that if there were no betting there would certainly be no racing. As might have been foreseen the report of the Committee, when it appeared, was a compromise which had little or no effect, and I have always greatly regretted that I was too modest to write a minority report myself. What should have been recommended was obvious. The Committee had laid down the historic dictum that "Betting is not a crime," and admitted that it was impossible to check it. Therefore the obvious solution was to treat betting on exactly the same lines as drink. Ready-money betting should have been legalised and severely regulated; bookmakers should have been licensed, and all racing investments heavily taxed. If this had been done, and a satisfactory totalisator system established, a considerable revenue would have accrued to the Government, as in the case of New Zealand. Later, some of the principal anti-gambling leaders, such as Canon Edward Lyttelton²¹⁵ and Bishop Welldon,²¹⁶ came round to this view, and in my opinion the Jockey Club lost a great opportunity.

Like many others, I had been profoundly impressed with the failure both of the politicians and the bulk of the public to recognise that our setbacks in the war were due to our obsolete so-called voluntary system, which had been shown to be quite inadequate and bound to involve us in disaster if we were plunged into a war with a big European Power. I came across a book entitled "The Briton's First Duty," by a Mr. G. H. Shee,²¹⁷ which seemed to me to be a useful work, and succeeded in getting several friends to assist in buying it up and issuing it as propaganda. One of these friends was the late Sir Clinton Dawkins,²¹⁸ a very able man and a high authority on finance. He concurred entirely with my views, and said that we must try to start a League, with a Duke at the head of it. After an immense amount of

²¹⁵ Rev. Hon. Edward Lyttelton (1855-1942) was an English sportsman, schoolmaster and cleric from the Lyttelton family. (*Wikipedia*)

²¹⁶ James Edward Cowell Welldon (1854-1937) was an English clergyman and scholar. He was Bishop of Calcutta from 1898 to 1902, Dean of Manchester Cathedral from 1906 to 1918, and Dean of Durham Cathedral from 1918 to 1933. (*Wikipedia*)

²¹⁷ *The Briton's First Duty: The Case for Conscription* by George Richard Francis Shee, Published 1901 (<https://archive.org/details/britonsfirstdut00sheegoog>)

²¹⁸ Sir Clinton Edward Dawkins, KCB (1859-1905) was a British businessman and civil servant. He succeeded Alfred Milner as private secretary to Chancellor of the Exchequer George Goschen in 1889. He later served overseas as undersecretary for finance in Egypt from 1895 to 1899. His final role was as financial advisor to Lord Curzon, Governor-General of India in 1899. (*Wikipedia*)

trouble a meeting was held at Apsley House, on February 27, and after much discussion we decided to call ourselves the National Service League, and the Duke of Wellington²¹⁹ consented to become President.

The common belief is that it was Lord Roberts who first advocated the principle of compulsion, but this is a complete delusion, for he did not join the League until 1906, when he had already ceased to be

Page 116

NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE [1902]

Commander-in-Chief. Those who were chiefly responsible for the foundation of the National Service League were the late Sir George Giffen, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Sir Clinton Dawkins, Sir John Wolfe-Barry,²²⁰ Mr. Warren, Major-General Sir Coleridge Grove,²²¹ Mr. John Walter and myself; but not long afterwards we were joined by Lord Curzon and Lord Milner²²². Mr. G. H. Shee was appointed Secretary and work began throughout the country. It is worth noting that we received little or no help from the military. On the other hand, we found much support amongst the women.

London, March 10. News arrived of a serious reverse in South Africa, a column under Methuen²²³ having been cut up and he himself wounded and captured. The news was loudly cheered by the Irish Party in the Commons, but this exhibition of their real feelings towards this country was carefully ignored by the Opposition.

London, May 8. Find that the National Service League has now collected about 400 members and £800.

Expected that statement about peace negotiations will be made in a day or two.

Broadlands, June 2. Peace settlement announced, and seems to be better than was anticipated. Generally believed that the King did his utmost to force an agreement contrary to Milner's views.

June 5. Addresses in both Houses, and painfully struck at change in Lord Salisbury, who had great difficulty in delivering his speech.

²¹⁹ Arthur Charles Wellesley, 4th Duke of Wellington (1849-1934), was a member of the well-known Wellesley family. He joined the military and served in the Household Division. Upon his childless brother's death in 1900, he inherited the family title and estates. He was the grandson of the 1st Duke of Wellington. (*Wikipedia*)

²²⁰ Sir John Wolfe Barry (1836-1918), the youngest son of famous architect Sir Charles Barry, was an English civil engineer of the late 19th and early 20th century. (*Wikipedia*)

²²¹ Major-General Sir Coleridge Grove (1839-1920) was a senior British Army officer. He became Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General of Ireland in 1882 and Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General at Army Headquarters in 1883 moving on to be Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for War in 1886 and Assistant Adjutant-General at Headquarters after that. (*Wikipedia*)

²²² Alfred Milner, 1st Viscount Milner (1854-1925) was a statesman and colonial administrator who played an influential leadership role in the formulation of foreign and domestic policy between the mid-1890s and early 1920s. He was a member of Lloyd George's War cabinet between 1916 and 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

²²³ Field Marshal Paul Sanford Methuen, 3rd Baron Methuen (1845-1932), was a British Army officer. He took a prominent role as General Officer Commanding the 1st Division in the Second Boer War. He suffered a serious defeat at the Battle of Magersfontein. He was later captured by the Boers at Tweebosch. After the war he became General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in South Africa in 1908, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Natal in 1910 and then Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta in 1915. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XI

June 23. Having been much pressed by Parliamentary agents, and peers who were afraid to do it themselves, I agreed to move an instruction to an L.C.C. Bill which would have the effect of preventing the construction of a tramway from Waterloo Bridge to Westminster Bridge. It was a debating success, upon which I was much congratulated, for I carried the motion by about 70 votes to 30, but I very soon repented it, for upon further consideration I realised that it was a mistaken action, and in the following year, when I was asked to repeat it, I refused. The peer who took my place was heavily defeated.

June 24. General consternation at announcement that Coronation and all ceremonials must be postponed indefinitely on account of King's sudden illness. Fear even expressed that he may not recover.

August 9. Coronation Day. Got to the Abbey about 9 a.m. without difficulty, the streets being much less crowded than on previous ceremonial occasions. Found that my seat was at the end of a kind of tunnel, from which it was difficult to see much. Service

Page 117

ORIGIN OF "B.M.G.": THE GARTER [1902]

admirably conducted, except that it lasted rather too long, probably on account of the infirmity of the Archbishop, who temporarily collapsed during the proceedings. The music beautiful, decorations good, and could barely see the King and Queen, but was told that the latter looked remarkably well. Peers and peeresses much disfigured by their coronets, which are vulgar-looking ornaments, suggestive of pantomime. Everyone pleased, and a general feeling of satisfaction. Weather cold and gloomy.

Lyme, October 14. Took L. Maxse²²⁴ with me to Manchester, where the Conservative caucus was holding a conference.

In the evening, A. J. Balfour addressed an enormous meeting, packed with enthusiastic workers obviously waiting for a strong lead. Balfour, who was never at his best as a platform speaker, spoke for more than an hour and a quarter, almost entirely upon the Education Bill, in a desultory and detached style which was not at all suited to the audience, and the effect upon Maxse was to work him up to a white heat of fury.

I think it must have been that meeting which incited him to start the B.M.G. cry. ("Balfour Must Go!")

Arthur Hardinge, our Minister at Teheran, tells me that the Shah's²²⁵ recent tour to this country and the Continent was paid for by the Russian Government and that there will be no money in the Persian Treasury when he returns. Incidentally, I may add that, when his visit to England was arranged, it occurred to him that he might as well visit America too, but as he was a very bad sailor he asked whether a bridge could not be constructed for his benefit.

This cultivated potentate eventually received the Garter, and it is interesting to note that the King made no difficulties in this case, whereas he strongly objected to the proposal to bestow a Garter upon the Emperor of Japan, who had just become our ally and was obviously a far

²²⁴ Leopold James Maxse (1864-1932) an English amateur tennis player and journalist and editor of the conservative publication, *National Review*, between August 1893 and his death in January 1932. (*Wikipedia*)

²²⁵ Mozaffar ad-Din Shah Qajar (1853-1907) was the fifth Qajar king of Persia. He reigned between the years 1896 and 1907. (*Wikipedia*)

more important world figure than the Shah. In this opposition, he was supported by Rosebery, on the strange ground that the Order of the Garter should be confined to Christians. The Royal opposition was, however, successfully overcome and the Garter was taken to Japan by Prince Arthur of Connaught.

December 2. Visit from Sir Horace Rumbold,²²⁶ who wants me to take up his case in Parliament. I tried to dissuade him, as experience had shown me that a private individual has not much chance of success against a Department, and pointed out that intervention on my part might do him more harm

Page 118

HARSH TREATMENT OF A DIPLOMATIST [1902]

than good. However, he persisted in his request and, feeling that he had been harshly treated, I agreed to try to do what I could.

Sir Horace Rumbold (grandfather of the present baronet) had had a long and meritorious career in the Diplomatic Service, and retired finally after having been Ambassador at Vienna. Subsequent to his retirement he wrote an article for the *National Review*, extolling the Emperor Francis Joseph and comparing the German Emperor unfavourably with him. There was no breach of confidence in this, and also it was common knowledge, but unfortunately the appearance of the article coincided with the recent visit of the German Emperor, and someone drew the King's attention to it. He had already shown signs of intervening in Departmental Administration after a long period of inactivity before his accession, and was much displeased. The authorities severely censured Sir Horace and he was threatened with the loss of his pension if he repeated the offence. When the question came up I pointed out the triviality of the alleged offence, which had really been due to an unfortunate coincidence of events, and suggested that a statement should be made to the effect that there was no "imputation" upon Sir Horace and that the words "he had betrayed his trust" should be withdrawn. This was agreed to by Lord Lansdowne and the subject then dropped. I did not feel that I had been very successful, but Sir Horace was satisfied and expressed his gratitude.

A good deal of controversy took place later as to the censorship of political memoirs, and fresh regulations were drawn up, but when I wrote, some years later, the "Life of Lord Lyons," the Foreign Office never troubled me with any kind of restraint and said that they relied on my own discretion.

²²⁶ This must be Sir Horace George Montagu Rumbold, 9th Baronet (1869-1941), a British diplomat. He was well-travelled, learning Arabic, Japanese and German, and is best remembered for his role as British Ambassador to Berlin from 1928 to 1933, where he warned of the ambitions of Hitler and Nazi Germany. He is mentioned several times in the book including during the Great War. (*Wikipedia*)

**PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY: THE UNIONIST SPLIT : MACEDONIA.
1903-1904**

1903. General Grenfell, who was now Governor of Malta, had kindly invited me to pay him a visit, and I started towards the end of January, travelling via Marseilles and Tunis. Tunis impressed me very favourably as an oriental city which, although provided with European amenities, still retained its character, and this spoke well for French administration. I went to Carthage, but it was disappointing: not a trace of the famous city, and it seems extraordinary that everything Carthaginian - buildings, literature, art and language - was so completely destroyed by the ruthless Romans that nothing survives. Hitler, in his dreams, probably contemplates the same fate for the British Empire.

Malta, January 29. Arrived early morning and struck by dignity and beauty of the harbour and the buildings. Found the Governor installed at Verdala where there is a charming garden. A few other guests and the Chaplain of the Forces here.

I spent about ten days at Verdala under most agreeable conditions. General Grenfell was an ideal Governor: extremely popular, and a most capable man, both as regards military and civilian work. I used sometimes to think that his qualities were not sufficiently appreciated by H.M. Government, as he would have made an admirable envoy for any important special mission. He was one of the fortunate people who can discover an interest in any place where they happen to find themselves, made friends with all classes and got on remarkably well with all foreigners, being a good linguist in addition to his other accomplishments. The only complaint that I ever heard him make was that he had not been given the chance to serve in South Africa. Personally, I thought that he ought rather to congratulate himself on this fact, since scarcely any officer of high rank had returned home with an enhanced reputation.

As a host, he was perfect, and under his auspices I saw a good deal of Malta - palaces, forts, schools, churches and so forth - and was gratified to find that, in spite of vehement Italian propaganda, 98 per cent, of the people opted for English instruction. Incidentally, a very intelligent Maltese lawyer with much experience told me that we had made a great mistake in not making English compulsory for all.

The captain of the *Illustrious* was kind enough to take me to Corfu, this being my first experience of a warship. It gave me the impression of absolute efficiency, and no one seemed to have the least opportunity of remaining unoccupied.

Corfu, February 8. Lovely weather, and I have always thought that the view of the Albanian mountains across the sea will bear comparison with any other landscape.

I met here an Admiral who had been in charge of the Intelligence section at the Admiralty and who, therefore, presumably knew more about foreign navies than anyone else. I felt convinced that a Russo-Japanese war was inevitable and asked him what he thought of their respective fleets. He said that he had little doubt as to the result. Both nations possessed admirable ships, which we had built for them, but that as the Japanese did not know how to

CHAPTER XII

use them they were bound to lose²²⁷. This opinion was calculated to shake one's confidence in naval experts.

From Corfu, I went to Italy and, on the way home, passed a night at Paris, went to see "*Orphée aux Enfers*," and thought this masterpiece very inferior to the best Gilbert and Sullivan productions.

May 25. Moved resolution in favour of holding Autumn Session in preference to existing system of sitting continuously throughout the summer months till September.

The question had aroused a good deal of interest, as it had not been discussed for some time, and there was a large attendance. On all previous occasions the proposal had been defeated, but I had a surprising success, for I carried the motion by a four to one majority, and nearly all the principal members, including both leaders, voted with me. I was told afterwards by various peers that they had never seen the House laugh so much, but on re-reading my speech I do not find much brilliancy about it. Perhaps, 30 or 40 years ago, people were more easily amused than they are now.

As is the case with many sound and salutary resolutions passed by the House of Lords, nothing whatever was done to carry out this particular one, but common sense eventually prevailed and the change

Page 121 CABINET RESIGNATIONS. THE KINLOCH CASE [1903]

advocated in 1903 has now come into effect, and the silly myth that the House of Commons was composed of hunting men has died a natural death.

May 26. Attended first annual meeting of National Service League at United Services Institution, Duke of Wellington in chair: league now has 720 members.

Lyme, September 18. Political bombshell caused by resignation of Chamberlain, Ritchie²²⁸ and Lord George Francis Hamilton²²⁹ from the Cabinet, Balfour apparently being unable to satisfy either of the two parties.

These resignations were shortly followed by the retirement of Balfour of Burleigh²³⁰ and Arthur Elliot,²³¹ but nothing was said about the intentions of the Duke of Devonshire, who

²²⁷ The Russo-Japanese War (8 February 1904– 5 September 1905) grew out of rival ambitions of the Russian Empire and the Empire of Japan over Manchuria and Korea. The Japanese gained complete victory over the Russians in the sea battles off Port Arthur, in the Yellow Sea and finally and decisively at the battle of Tsushima. The Russian Baltic Fleet, renamed the 2nd Pacific Squadron had sailed from the Baltic round the Cape of Good Hope but was ambushed in the Tsushima Straits between Japan and Korea on 27-28 May 1905 losing all but three ships including 8 battleships and 5,000 men. (*Wikipedia*)

²²⁸ Charles Thomson Ritchie, 1st Baron Ritchie of Dundee (1838-1906) was a businessman and Conservative politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1874 until 1905 when he was raised to the peerage. He served as Home Secretary from 1900 to 1902 and as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1902 to 1903. (*Wikipedia*)

²²⁹ Lord George Francis Hamilton (1845-1927) was a Conservative Party politician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries who served as First Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of State for India. (*Wikipedia*)

²³⁰ Alexander Hugh Bruce, 6th Lord Balfour of Burleigh (1849-1921) was a Scottish Unionist politician, banker and statesman, who took a leading part in the affairs of the Church of Scotland. He was Secretary for Scotland between 1895 and 1903. (*Wikipedia*)

²³¹ Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound (1846-1923), known as Arthur Elliot, was a journalist and Liberal Unionist politician. He was the second son of William Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, 3rd Earl of Minto. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

was much more important. His resignation was, however, announced on October 6, and Balfour's position became extremely difficult, for whilst he parted with the others without much reluctance he was extremely anxious to keep the Duke, and complained that the latter had misled him. The complaint was well founded, but the Duke said that he had acted under a misapprehension and a failure to understand Balfour's real attitude. In this he was not singular, for many others felt the same difficulty.

The Unionist Press declared that all difficulties would shortly be surmounted and a new and satisfactory administration found, but to people of political experience it seemed more than doubtful whether any reconstituted Unionist Government could last for long. The new Ministerial appointments were announced and met with a mixed reception.

Lyme, October 12. Attended big meeting in Macclesfield at which my brother-in-law, W. Bromley Davenport, M.P. for the division, made his first appearance as a Minister, having been appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office. He made an excellent speech, and a tightly packed audience of several thousand enthusiastically applauded all references to Tariff Reform.

Southfield, October 13. Staying with the Kinlochs,²³² she being my wife's sister. I had always felt somewhat exercised in my mind at not having taken part in the numerous discussions over the so-called Kinloch case in Parliament, but as a matter of fact I was from the first opposed to raising the question there. David Kinloch, a very efficient and popular officer who had distinguished himself in South Africa, where he commanded the First Battalion, Grenadier Guards - which, owing to the war, was about three times its usual strength - was relieved of

Page 122

DETACHMENT OF A. J. B. [1903]

his command and placed on half-pay in consequence of bullying amongst his officers. It was held by his friends and by many others that his treatment had been unduly harsh and unjust, and that, as there was no power to appeal, the case should be taken up in Parliament. Personally, I disagreed with this proposal for various reasons. If an individual set out to fight a Department, he almost invariably failed. There could be no reasonable doubt that there had been bullying, and if the War Office chose to say that the Colonel was responsible for bullying, whether he was aware of it or not, there seemed to be no means of refuting it. An officer was in a less favourable position to appeal than a man. There appeared to be a widespread desire among the public and the Press to discover a scapegoat, and finally the War Office intimated, privately but quite plainly, that alternative employment was obtainable. Under these circumstances, I preferred compromise - perhaps a craven counsel, but my anticipations turned out to be correct.

A fight was, however, determined upon, and in both Houses there were acrimonious debates which caused considerable interest in the country, arising chiefly from the prestige enjoyed by the Guards and the high social and political status of the persons concerned. In the end the Department triumphed, but a vast number of people thought that David Kinloch had been harshly and perhaps unfairly treated. He obtained, however, a satisfactory compensation in retirement, because influential sympathisers in the City placed him in a much more

²³² Brig.-Gen. Sir David Alexander Kinloch of Gilmerton, 11th Bt. was born on 20 February 1856. He married Elinor Lucy Bromley Davenport, daughter of William Bromley Davenport and Augusta Elizabeth Campbell, on 25 November 1897. He died on 27 October 1944 aged 88. (<http://www.thepeerage.com/p8074.htm#i80735>)

favourable financial position than he would ever have enjoyed as a soldier. In 1914 he re-joined the Army.

Whittingehame,²³³ October 17. Arthur Balfour drove me over here from Gosford. Find a small family party, including Gerald²³⁴ and J. Laidlay,²³⁵ the distinguished golfer.

A very important letter had that day appeared in *The Times*, and there was much chaff of A. J. B. when it was discovered that he had never heard of it. "Why should I know anything about it?" he replied. "No one at Gosford ever mentioned it to me." Further, amusement was caused by a speculative and detached remark which he made when it was noticed that Gerald Balfour was not present: "I wonder if he has resigned!" The loss of his old colleagues did not appear to have depressed him and he seemed quite cheerful. On the next day, Sunday, he read prayers before dinner with much

Page 123

LORD WEMYSS ON DIVOTS [1903]

feeling, and I could not help being struck by the obvious affection with which he was regarded by his relatives. I suppose that few people ever exceeded him in personal charm, but it sometimes happens that it is less exercised at home than in society. With him it was equally apparent in both cases, and Whittingehame was always full of relatives.

Gosford, October 20. Find a party here, including, amongst others, Lady Ribblesdale²³⁶, Mrs. Asquith,²³⁷ Lady Granby²³⁸ and Lady Marjorie Manners,²³⁹ Harry Cust,²⁴⁰ the Elchos²⁴¹ and

²³³ Whittingehame is a parish with a small village in East Lothian, Scotland, about halfway between Haddington and Dunbar. James Balfour (father of the Politician Arthur James Balfour) acquired the property in 1848. (*Wikipedia*)

²³⁴ Gerald William Balfour, 2nd Earl of Balfour (1853-1945), known as Gerald Balfour or Rt Hon G. W. Balfour until 1930, was a senior British Conservative politician who became a nobleman on the death of his brother in 1930. Two Prime Ministers were immediate relations: Arthur Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour, his elder brother, and Lord Salisbury, his uncle. (*Wikipedia*)

²³⁵ John Ernest Laidlay (1860-1940) was a Scottish amateur golfer. He invented the most popular golf grip used today, although the grip is credited to Harry Vardon, who took it up after Laidlay.

²³⁶ Thomas Lister, 4th Baron Ribblesdale (1854-1925), was a Liberal politician. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles Tennant. Charlotte died in 1911. Her sister Margo Tennant (1864-1945) was the second wife of Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928) Liberal Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916. (*Wikipedia*)

²³⁷ Emma Alice Margaret Asquith, Countess of Oxford and Asquith (née Tennant; 1864-1945), known as Margot Asquith, was an Anglo-Scottish socialite, author and wit. (*See reference 236 above*)

²³⁸ Marion Margaret Violet Manners, Duchess of Rutland (née Lindsay; 1856-1937) was an artist. A granddaughter of the 24th Earl of Crawford, she married Henry John Brinsley Manners, 8th Duke of Rutland in 1882. Manners was styled Marquess of Granby until he succeeded as Duke of Rutland in 1906, when Lady Granby became the Duchess. She had five children, including the socialite Lady Diana Olivia Winifred Maud Manners, who was actually the illegitimate daughter of Henry Cust. Diana Manners married Duff Cooper and became Viscountess Norwich. Their son was John Julius Norwich, writer and broadcaster. (*Wikipedia*)

²³⁹ Lady Victoria Marjorie Harriet Manners, eldest daughter of the 8th Duke of Rutland married Charles Paget, 6th Marquess of Anglesey. Her sister Lady Violet Catherine Manners (1888-1971), married Hugo Charteris, Lord Elcho, son of Hugo Charteris, 11th Earl of Wemyss. (*See reference 241*). (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴⁰ Henry John "Harry" Cockayne-Cust (1861-1917) was an English politician and editor who served as a Member of Parliament (MP) for the Unionist Party. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴¹ Hugo Richard Charteris, 11th Earl of Wemyss and 7th Earl of March (1857-1937), styled Lord Elcho from 1883 to 1914, was a Scottish Conservative politician. He married Mary Constance, daughter of the Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham and sister of George Wyndham, in 1883. Their eldest daughter Lady Cynthia was the first wife of Herbert Asquith and became a well-known writer. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

other members of the family. Heard that Brodrick's²⁴² removal from the War Office was due chiefly to the King, who now constantly interferes in the case of appointments.

Played golf with Lord Wemyss,²⁴³ who, in spite of his age (85), still played quite well and got a lot of enjoyment out of it. He complained, with some warmth, for he was the owner of the links, of the growing habit of taking enormous divots when playing iron shots, and personally I believe that he was right. I once heard him expostulate with an amateur champion on this habit, but no one seemed to pay much attention to him.

Harry Cust complained that he had been very unlucky in not being made Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, owing to Milner having refused to take office. It so happened, however, that another friend of mine had made exactly the same complaint. A. J. B. had told me that he had been much distressed at not being able to comply with the requests of many personal friends.

Greatly struck with the remarkable artistic talent and versatility of Lady Marjorie Manners. She, her mother (Lady Granby), who was a very well-known and accomplished artist, and Lady Wemyss, another good artist, had all tried their hands at the same portrait, and Lord Wemyss, who was recognised as a high authority on art, expressed the opinion that Lady Marjorie's work was emphatically the best of the three efforts.

Lord Wemyss, when a young man, had visited Italy, and with much intelligence had bought a number of pictures, many of which proved to be of high value.

In his purchases, he was more successful than his contemporary, Lord Dudley.²⁴⁴ The latter once acquired an old master which was pronounced to be a Carlo Dolce, but on examination it was found that

Page 124

DISCOMFITURE OF ART EXPERTS [1903-04]

the Carlo Dolce was painted over another picture. After taking advice Lord Dudley removed the Carlo Dolce and found what was pronounced, on investigation, to be a Correggio, which was, of course, much more valuable. Most people would have been amply satisfied, but unfortunately Lord Dudley, urged on by more experts, who saw traces of another picture, consented to remove the Correggio, as he was told that a possible Michael Angelo or Raphael might be disclosed. The Correggio was accordingly removed, and then an oleograph depicting the coronation of George IV was disclosed.

Various versions of this story have appeared in past memoirs, but I have no hesitation in declaring the above statement to be correct, for it was told to me by Lord Cobham,²⁴⁵ an intimate friend, neighbour and also trustee of Lord Dudley, and intimately acquainted with

²⁴² William St John Fremantle Brodrick, 1st Earl of Midleton (1856-1942), known as St. John Brodrick until 1907 and as The Viscount Midleton between 1907 and 1920, was a British Conservative Party and Irish Unionist Alliance politician. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴³ Francis Richard Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss (1818-1914), styled as Lord Elcho between 1853 and 1883, was a British Whig politician. He founded the Liberty and Property Defence League. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴⁴ William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley (1817-1885). (*Wikipedia*.)

²⁴⁵ Charles George Lyttelton, 8th Viscount Cobham (1842-1922), known as The Lord Lyttelton from 1876 to 1889, who was a British peer and Liberal M.P. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

his affairs. The late Lord Cobham was an extremely business-like and practical man, a Railway Commissioner, and the last person to indulge in fantastic tales.

Fairhill, November 14. Staying with Clinton Dawkins: only Selborne²⁴⁶ and Milner²⁴⁷ here. Had never met the latter before and was much taken with him, later on becoming very intimate. He is completely devoid of all pomposity and has charming manners, but gives the impression of a tired man who requires temporary rest. As regards finance, on which he is one of the highest authorities, he said that he was in favour of a graduated income tax and thought the special taxation of ground rents was impossible, on account of the numerous societies concerned. He said that he was looking for an opportunity of declaring his opinion upon many subjects, especially universal service, of which he strongly approved.

He told me that he wanted a rest and had therefore refused the Colonial Office. I heard afterwards that the King had been much annoyed at this refusal.

The long-expected clash between Russia and Japan came in February, 1904, and opened with a series of reverses for the Russians at sea. It was evident that there was something seriously wrong with their navy, and Ernest Pretyman,²⁴⁸ M.P., Civil Lord of the Admiralty, told me that, soon after hostilities began, the Russian destroyers which had recently been lying at Malta all had women on board.

February 18. Dined alone with Rosebery, who said that the House of Lords had fallen off greatly during recent years, forgetting, perhaps, that his opinion might have been due to increasing age. He predicted that the war would bring about a revolution in Russia.

Page 125

THE PHYSICIANS AND HEIRS OF TURKEY [1904]

O'Connor, who was Ambassador at Constantinople, had been pressing me for some time to come out and visit Macedonia, which lately had been in a very disturbed condition and was now nominally under the control of Russian and Austrian delegates, whose appointment had been agreed to by the Great Powers.

British Embassy, Constantinople, March 5. Arrived here by Orient Express, having been almost the sole occupant of the train during nearly the whole of the journey. This particular service must be extremely unremunerative.

Went with O'Connor to see various people and found practically everyone very pessimistic about Macedonia. It presents, in fact, an almost insoluble problem. There is always trouble where Christians live under Turkish rule, and in most cases, it is confined to a contest between two races.

²⁴⁶ William Waldegrave Palmer, 2nd Earl of Selborne (1859-1942), styled Viscount Wolmer between 1882 and 1895, was a British politician and colonial administrator. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴⁷ Alfred Milner, 1st Viscount Milner (1854-1925) was a British statesman and colonial administrator who played an influential leadership role in the formulation of foreign and domestic policy between the mid-1890s and early 1920s. In the later part of his life, from December 1916 to November 1918, he was one of the most important members of David Lloyd George's War Cabinet. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁴⁸ Ernest George Pretyman (1860-1931), known as E. G. Pretyman, was a British soldier and Conservative Party politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

But in Macedonia the difficulty was far more complicated, for it was inhabited by Turks, Bulgars, Greeks and Serbs, the three Christian nations detesting each other as much as they detested the Turks, and the remedy decided upon by the Great Powers was to entrust the control of the country to Russia and Austria, as being the parties who were most interested. In order to make the scheme work an International Gendarmerie had been created, which was waiting for the Sultan's permission before proceeding to the country. The main defect of the whole plan was that Russia and Austria, who had been called in like physicians to attend a sick man, were also his heirs, and had therefore no desire to expedite his recovery. Another perfectly simple fact, although we always ignored it, was that no one except ourselves really cared in the least about conditions in Turkey, unless politically or economically concerned. Yet another fact, carefully concealed, was that the German Government, although nominally in favour of reform, were in the habit of secretly giving the Turks some encouragement to resist. It was, in short, an almost hopeless business.

Attended big dinner of between 30 and 40 people at German Embassy, and had long talk with the Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein,²⁴⁹ who was extremely civil and questioned me a good deal about British politics and politicians.

He appeared to be well informed and was much surprised when I told him that I considered that Rosebery had little or no chance of ever being Prime Minister again. In reply to questions I put to him, he made little secret of his opinion that things in Turkey were in a very bad way. Salaries were 15 months in arrear: spying and

Page 126

INTERVIEW WITH THE SULTAN [1904]

corruption were rife, and as an instance of the chaotic administration he said that he knew of a regiment which possessed no less than 15 colonels.

March 11. With O'Connor to see the Selamlık, now held in the new mosque which has been built near the Yildiz Palace. A fine sight, troops being well turned out. Very little room for spectators, but about 50 ministers of various kinds present, and about 12 foreign visitors of distinction.

After the ceremony O'Connor and I were invited to the Palace, which is like a commonplace French villa, with tasteless decorations. Here we waited about half an hour whilst continual messages arrived, intimating to O'Connor the subjects which the Sultan did not wish to discuss with him. When this matter had been settled O'Connor's audience took place, and shortly afterwards I was invited to present myself.

In spite of the phenomenally evil reputation which he bore, I confess that I was far more interested at meeting Abdul Hamid than any of the Sovereigns with whom I have been privileged to come into contact. His appearance was certainly not in his favour: a small man with apparently dyed hair and beard, dressed in a semi-German uniform, but without any military bearing. His manners, however, were excellent and dignified, and when he smiled he conveyed a strong suggestion of benevolence. He began by asking the usual questions, passed on to the Russo-Japanese war, then complained of the constant abuse of Turkey by foreigners, and finally got on to the subject of Macedonia. He said that everything would be

²⁴⁹ Bieberstein Adolf Freiherr Marschall von (1842-1912) was a German politician and Secretary of State of the Foreign Office of the German Empire. In 1897 Bieberstein became ambassador to Constantinople (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

settled satisfactorily, that he hoped to come to an agreement with the Bulgars, but that “other people” prevented it: that he would be happy to act in a paternal manner, and that he had taken great pains to secure Hilmi Pasha,²⁵⁰ who was an excellent man in every way. He added that he was very glad to hear that I was going to Macedonia and would write to Hilmi Pasha about me. In replying, I took upon myself to urge him to come to an arrangement with Bulgaria, as if he succeeded there would be no excuse for foreign interference. This opinion evoked, however, no response. When asked by O’Conor (who was present) to agree to the Gendarmerie proposals, he again kept silence and gave me the impression that he had no intention of consenting. Finally, he changed the subject by giving me his views on electric lighting and his own improvements on it. He ended with messages to the King

Page 127

ADRIANOPLE [1904]

and Queen and renewed compliments to myself. Before I left he instructed the master of the ceremonies, who asked an interpreter, to tell me that he recognised in me a “lover of the truth” and that he would like to know whether there were any other lovers of the truth in England. In an unwary moment, I told him that Lord Percy²⁵¹, M.P. (a strong philo-Turk), was also a “lover of the truth.”

My conversation had been carried on with the interpreter in French, which the Sultan professed not to understand, but I fancy that this was incorrect, for I observed him occasionally smiling before the interpreter started to translate. I was told afterwards that it was very seldom that the Sultan talked politics to a private individual, but although I attached no exaggerated importance to the conversation or the credibility of some of the statements made it had been an interesting experience.

Before leaving Constantinople for Adrianople I received two vases, manufactured at Yildiz, which arrived at the Embassy as presents to the “lovers of truth.” Mine was in the Japanese cloisonné style and of medium size, but the other, destined for Percy, was a much more pretentious object, far bigger, and vulgar in design. I had unfortunately forgotten that he was the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and when it arrived at the F.O. there was a terrible commotion. I believe that the vase was at once relegated to the vaults, where it probably still remains.

Adrianople, March 15. On arrival here found that the news of my interview with the Sultan had preceded me, for a communication quite in the true Oriental style was made to me by the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, placing himself absolutely at my disposal and stating that he was only waiting for orders. As our Military Attaché, Colonel Maunsell, was with me, and had brought a uniform, I thought that a military review would be appropriate, and the suggestion was at once adopted. The rest of the day was spent in visiting the beautiful mosques, which compare so favourably with the Orthodox modern churches, and the principal residents in the town, all of whom, whatever their nationality, took a gloomy view of Macedonia. In the evening Maunsell (who spoke Turkish) and I dined with the Commander-in-Chief, only four or five officers being present, including the invariable Sultan’s spy. The Commander-in-Chief, who occupied one of the most important posts in the Turkish

²⁵⁰ Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha (1855-1922) was an Ottoman statesman of Greek descent and twice Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. At the time of Lord Newton’s visit, he was Inspector-General of Macedonia. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁵¹ Lord Algernon Malcolm Arthur Percy (1851-1933) was a career soldier and Conservative politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1882 to 1887. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

Empire, was an amiable man of a quite remarkable ignorance. He could not speak a word of any European language, was under the impression that the

Page 128

SITUATION IN SALONIKA[1904]

English vineyards were the finest in the world, and was so unversed in the arts of war that, although he had heard of the Russo-Japanese conflict, he had not the slightest idea what was meant by a torpedo, and I tried to explain matters to him by a rudimentary drawing.

On the next day, we repaired to one of the enormous barracks outside the city, and after inspecting the men's quarters, which were wretched, dirty and crowded, watched a march past, followed by some rudimentary field movements. Adrianople was the first place likely to be attacked in the event of a Balkan war, but there was no sign of preparations, except that there were thousands of men loafing about with nothing to do. They apparently had not even been taught to shoot, and I was informed that this was considered quite unnecessary, as the Turkish soldier required no such instruction. On the other hand, elaborate pains had been taken to teach them the German goose-step. It has always been inexplicable to me how the Turkish army, under the circumstances, is an effective machine.

Salonika, March 17. Staying here with Graves, who is Consul-General and knows these countries thoroughly, speaking Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian. An invaluable man, who afterwards became Financial Adviser to Turkey. Graves not at all hopeful. Took me to see Hilmi. Latter a very civil and plausible man who appeared to be intelligent and quite determined to keep all real power in his hands.

Hilmi said that an insurrection was impossible, owing to the disposition of the troops. He was not much disposed to discuss the International Gendarmerie question, but expressed surprise that the officers had not yet appeared. He admitted that some revolutionary bands were still in existence. Obviously a very good man for his job, which was that of obstructing as long as possible any real progress with reform.

Afterwards I saw several of the Foreign Consuls, who were all equally unhelpful. Oddly enough, the one who impressed me most was the Russian, who appeared to be an energetic man, straightforward, and who spoke in high terms of the courage and capacity of the Bulgarians in spite of strained relations. I also took the opportunity to visit the prison, and found about 800 inmates crowded together in very dirty rooms, dressed mostly in rags, and was informed that lately conditions had been much improved. There was no attempt at discrimination, and half of the prisoners were political. Although dirty and neglected, they did not appear to be dejected and showed no fear of their guards.

Page 129

MONASTIR AND USKUB [1904]

Monastir,²⁵² March 20. Arrived here in afternoon, after a journey through a district which bore every appearance of being already at war. Scarcely anything but soldiers to be seen.

In the evening, made the acquaintance of Mr. Brailsford, who is here on relief work. He, like everyone else, has no belief in the efficacy of reform. He said that Monastir was honeycombed with revolutionaries and offered to introduce me to one of the leaders. This

²⁵² Monastir in Bulgaria

CHAPTER XII

offer I accepted, and found the revolutionary to be a very well-educated Bulgarian lawyer, who had no belief in reform or in the duration of Turkish rule. The Turkish troops, he said, were gradually becoming demoralised by want of pay. I hunted up our Vice-Consul, and found that he had apparently not been out of the town for months. I made him telegraph to O'Connor asking for leave to accompany me to Ochrida, but this was refused and I had to abandon the idea. I did, however, persuade him to go with me to visit a neighbouring village, which had been so completely destroyed that nothing was left of it; but we were accompanied by a strong escort. While we were there a battalion consisting mainly of Albanians passed us, marching into Monastir. The stragglers were so numerous that the column covered about four miles, and the condition of the men was pitiable. Nor was there any officer visible.

On the whole, Monastir made the most sinister impression of all the places that I had ever visited. There was an obvious feeling on the part of everyone that disaster was impending. All the country around the city was derelict; it was well known that there were insurgent bands in the neighbourhood, the town was full of conspirators, and the Government seemed quite incapable of dealing with the situation. Yet, after all, there was no real outbreak until several years had passed.

Uskub, March 24. Arrived here in the evening, after an interesting journey in fine weather, and found a friend in a pleasant, French-speaking, and quite incompetent Turkish officer. Part of his duty was to report upon the military huts along the line, but he never discovered that one had been burnt out until I had directed his attention to it. Practically every accessible part of the line was guarded. He said that about 4,000 were employed on this duty and admitted that they were sometimes left for months in the miserable little reed and mud huts without being relieved.

Mr. Fontana, the Consul, was kind enough to take me round the town and introduce me to some of the residents, and I found the same pessimism among them all. The Bulgarian Agent, like many of the

Page 130

A TURKISH MONASTERY [1904]

native Christians that I had met, said that he would prefer Turkish rule to either Austrian or Russian. There was a large Albanian element in the town and their dresses made a vivid effect in the streets. Mr. Fontana said that there were stores of dynamite known to be hidden, but that Uskub was a less dangerous place than Monastir.

On the next day, I made an expedition with Mr. Fontana to a well-known Mussulman monastery at Kalkanderen in Albania. We were accompanied by mounted Zaptiehs,²⁵³ the day was fine and the country attractive, with beautiful views of the Albanian mountains in the distance.

There were plenty of people on the road, mostly unarmed, and the houses were of a greatly superior type to those mostly seen in Turkey, being built of stone and suitable for defence. The monastery was a most attractive place, consisting of various buildings in the Turkish style surrounded by a charming garden, with well-kept lawns and flowering shrubs. The establishment consisted of a Mussulman Abbot and about 30 or 40 Dervishes, and everything was very superior to the Bulgarian monasteries. It belonged to the Bektash sect, which is

²⁵³ Turkish Police Officers (*dictionary.reference.com*)

CHAPTER XII

liberal in its views, and the Abbot was extremely civil and hospitable. He spoke no European language, but had been in Egypt and told us that he had greatly admired our administration there. We had an excellent dinner “a la turque,” using no knives or forks, and had clean divans on which to sleep, quite free of vermin. Altogether, it was a most agreeable experience.

On the next day, I left for Vienna, and whilst there gave several interviews to Press correspondents. My remarks gave considerable offence in high Russian and Austrian circles, but all those who really knew the facts said that I was quite right.

I found on getting back that the National Service League was showing signs of activity, and went down myself to speak at Warrington, St. Helen’s and other places in Lancashire. People were beginning to show some interest in the movement. Meetings were well attended, and the audiences apparently sympathetic: but the Press, for the most part, left us severely alone, and most people were terrified of committing themselves. Nevertheless, some M.P.s had the courage to support us openly, amongst them Mr. Pilkington, M.P. for the Newton Division, who was a Volunteer Colonel.

London, May 16. My cousin, Ernest Troubridge,²⁵⁴ who has been for two years Naval Attaché at Tokyo, dined here. He is just back

Page 131 COMPULSION PROPOSALS RESISTED [1904]

from Japan, and says that the Japanese decided upon war last October, when their new ships had arrived. He was on board one of their ships during various recent fights and full of admiration for the extra-ordinary skill and courage of the Japanese. He thought the Russian Baltic Squadron might never reach Japan.

May, 1904. The Report of the Norfolk Commission on the Auxiliary Forces, published towards the end of May, contained a definite proposal of extreme importance. It stated that an army capable of protecting this country against invasion could be raised and maintained only on the principle that it was the duty of every citizen of military age and sound physique to be trained for the national defence, and to take part in it should emergency arise.

As might be expected, this recommendation was at once rejected by both political parties, each endeavouring to be the first to do so. Royal Commissions are frequently appointed for the purpose of delaying unwelcome changes, and both Parties felt that this particular Royal Commission had not been playing the game. The Press mostly ignored or derided it. Oddly enough, compulsory service never received, in those days, much support from soldiers themselves. Many of the generals who had returned home after the South African war seemed to have missed the main lesson it taught, namely, that we were quite unprepared to fight against a powerful enemy under modern conditions. Most of them assured the country that all that was needed for war was a rifle and a broad-brimmed hat, combined with miniature rifle clubs, and some of them were apt to impress upon their audiences that they had always been at the bottom of their class when at school. It never seemed to occur to anyone that if they had been at the top instead of the bottom the war might perhaps have finished earlier. All this was, of course, exactly what the public wanted.

²⁵⁴ Sir Ernest Charles Thomas Troubridge (1862-1926) was an officer of the Royal Navy who served during the First World War, later rising to the rank of admiral. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XII

The Norfolk Commission's report, naturally, was of great assistance to the National Service League, but the Duke of Norfolk²⁵⁵ himself showed much reluctance to follow up his recommendation, and it was only by strategy that I manoeuvred him into committing himself in Parliament.

Woburn,²⁵⁶ June 19. First visit here. A very remarkable place, quite unique, and of a type which will not last much longer. Big park is turned into an immense open-air Zoo, and contains all kinds of animals and birds, which live either completely or partially free.

Was greatly struck with the Caucasian deer, and believe that the Woburn collection of deer is the most complete anywhere. House large and imposing, but not containing any specially fine rooms. Beautiful picture collection. Was especially interested in a Dutch portrait of Mary Tudor and Philip II of Spain, painted in London, after their marriage. Subsequently surprised to find a replica of this picture at Greenwich.

The mention of Royal portraits recalls to me an entertaining story told to me by the late Lord Darnley, whose veracity was unimpeachable. In the gallery of his home, Cobham, there was a portrait of Mary of Modena, and when a Royal visitor once inspected it Lord Darnley²⁵⁷ pointed out the picture to him, remarking: "There, Sir, is one of your ancestresses." "Really," replied the distinguished visitor; "how very interesting! I never realised before that the Stuart family and the Virgin Mary were related to each other." Evidently Modena and Madonna were to him synonymous.

²⁵⁵ Henry Fitzalan-Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk (1847-1917), styled Baron Maltravers until 1856 and Earl of Arundel and Surrey between 1856 and 1860, was a British Unionist politician and philanthropist. He served as Postmaster General between 1895 and 1900, but is best remembered for his philanthropic work, which concentrated on Roman Catholic causes and the city of Sheffield. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁵⁶ The seat of the Duke of Bedford.

²⁵⁷ Ivo Francis Walter Bligh, 8th Earl of Darnley (1859-1927), styled Hon. Ivo Bligh until 1900, was a parliamentarian and cricketer. He captained the England and MCC team in the first ever Test cricket series against Australia with The Ashes at stake in 1882/83. Later in life, he inherited the earldom of Darnley and sat at Westminster as an elected Irish representative peer. (*Wikipedia*)

INDIA. 1904-1905

JUNE 23, 1904. Went with F. Bentinck, who is an expert, to look at some Persian carpets which had just arrived at the docks, and bought a number of rugs, fabulously cheap, which covered the staircase and corridors at Lyme. This was a wonderful bargain.

June 27. Initiated debate on Norfolk recommendations, in which the Duke took part and made a valuable contribution. Very little notice taken of the discussion.

London, June 30. Clinton Dawkins dined. Said that Curzon told him that the Russians had intended to declare a Protectorate over Thibet just before the Japanese war. Curzon had also said that it was impossible to get a definite cabinet policy because A. J. B. exercised no control over individual ministers.

Lyme, November 1. Shown by a Cabinet Minister a letter from St. Petersburg giving the Emperor's views on the recent North Sea outrage by the Russian Fleet,²⁵⁸ in which he complained of the aggressive attitude of the British Press and gave assurances that strict inquiries were being made and that any culprits would be severely dealt with. He had also made the astonishing statement that the Russian Government had previously received trustworthy information that there were Japanese torpedo boats in the North Sea.

It seemed probable that we should arrive at a peaceful settlement, but the real danger was a firm belief in influential Russian circles that an invasion of India was an easy operation and that the opportunity should not be missed.

Thoresby²⁵⁹ November 8. Fished in lake in morning and in very short time caught eight pike, the largest about 14 lb. Fish taking very freely.

A SHOOTING CAMP [1904]

In the afternoon, Lady Manvers took us over to Welbeck,²⁶⁰ the occupants being away. Drove through beautiful park scenery. Wing of house recently burnt seems to have been admirably restored. Many fine things in the house. Thought the underground rooms singularly unattractive and rather surprised that they have not been abolished.

December 1. Started for India, Lamington,²⁶¹ then Governor of Bombay, having kindly invited me to pay him a visit this winter and accompany him on a tour.

December 19. Arrived at Karachi and after spending a night there went on to Hyderabad. Karachi appeared very busy: lots of ships in the port and grain trade said to be increasing.

²⁵⁸ Lord Newton's footnote: The Dogger Bank incident of October 21, 1904, in which some British trawlers were fired upon by the Russian Baltic fleet. It was finally settled by arbitration.

²⁵⁹ Charles William Sydney Pierrepont, 4th Earl Manvers (1854–1926), known as Viscount Newark from 1860 to 1900, a Conservative Party politician. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁶⁰ Welbeck Abbey, home of the Duke of Portland.

²⁶¹ Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Cochrane-Baillie, 2nd Baron Lamington (1860–1940), was a politician and colonial administrator who was Governor of Queensland from 1896 to 1901, and Governor of Bombay from 1903 to 1907. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIII

The country between Karachi and Hyderabad reminded me of Egypt, there being a great prevalence of sand and the Indus not unlike the Nile.

At Hyderabad, I had my first experience of a durbar, which was held in a large and very crowded hall, many wearing brilliant costumes. The audience very attentive. Was impressed with the demeanour of all the British officials towards the natives: they were perfectly civil and friendly, but not much inclined to encourage familiarity. The town seemed to be clean and well kept, although the municipality was said to be very lax. There were various other functions besides the durbar, including a display of Mussulman religious relics much like those I had seen elsewhere.

Governor's Camp, Omarcote. Arrived here in the evening after a long drive over a sandy plain, barren except where irrigated. Astonished at the luxury of the camp: everything had been brought from Bombay and nothing that fancy could suggest had been omitted, from pier glasses and wardrobes for the ladies (of whom there were four) down to button-hole bouquets for the men. The servants, too, appeared to resemble automatic machines, to whom it was not necessary to give orders. Incidentally, the luxurious camp was pitched in a desert.

The next three or four days were devoted to sport. On the first we set out on camels for some ground flooded by irrigation, where butts had been constructed for the guns. The arrangements were admirable, and there were many beaters, who waded into the shallow water to recover dead and wounded birds. The ducks were in thousands, and many geese, pelicans and other birds were also on the water. When the first shot was fired the noise made by their in-

Page 135

KHAIPUR [1904-05]

numerable wings might almost have been mistaken for a clap of thunder. I killed many myself, having a good place, but found the light very trying at first and in the middle of the day the heat was extreme.

Khaipur, December 29. Came on here after about a week in the camp, where we killed a vast number of duck and other birds.

Khaipur, a small native State of the old type, governed by a Mir, who is very friendly and provides us with a camp almost as luxurious as that which we had left. The drawing-room tent contains solid silver furniture. The Mir is said to care about nothing but shooting, and has several sons who seem to be no good. But there is an excellent Wazir,²⁶² who does all the work and is very loyal to the English. We are taken to an enclosed jungle, full of deer and pigs, and placed in erections resembling opera boxes, commanding the narrow rides which intersect it. We killed some deer and pigs but it was not the kind of sport which appealed to me.

In the afternoon, the Wazir, being anxious to display his activity, took us round the town, which is quite small but indistinguishable in appearance from a British-ruled city. The Wazir showed us jails, factories and schools of various kinds, and so anxious was he, apparently, for social uplift that he actually subsidised the boys who attended the secondary and technical

²⁶² Vizier or minister. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIII

schools. On the next day, the sporting function again took place, and in the afternoon there was a durbar and other ceremonies.

Before we left Khaipur a national fete took place, with hawking, ram fighting and dancing, in the presence of a large crowd. It was impossible not to realise the pleasure which these people, no doubt just as kindly as others, took in watching the destruction of the victims. It looked like an irresistible thirst for blood. The Mir dined with us at the banquet provided by himself, and the principal dish was a whole roast calf, carried round on a kind of bedstead. A fine display of fireworks concluded the proceedings and we left after three or four days of princely hospitality. I could not help, however, suspecting that, if Curzon ever chanced to visit Khaipur, there would be a heavy reduction in the number of shikaris²⁶³ and falconers and restriction of game preserves.

Larkhana, January 1, 1905. Stopped here for a partridge drive which had been organised for the Governor, and the master of the ceremonies apologised profusely for the fact that there had not been enough red cloth to decorate all the shooting butts. We had an

Page 135

ON THE AFGHAN FRONTIER [1905]

excellent day: partridges both black and grey, and a number of hares, smaller than ours, but moving much more quickly.

Sukkur, January 2. A very hot place, there being only three inches of rain in an average year. Visited the Lansdowne Bridge over the Indus, and was reminded of Philae. Then by boat to a mosque containing a much-venerated hair of Mahomet's beard. The hair was enveloped in a multitude of wrappers, each of which was removed with much ceremony and growing excitement, which culminated in a frenzy when the hair was eventually exposed. The effect, however, was marred by a clamorous demand for baksheesh²⁶⁴ which followed. At Sukkur, the Governor was received with much enthusiasm, and it was said to be a place exceptionally appreciative of British rule.

Shikarpur, January 5. Formerly the centre of the pearl trade, which has now gone elsewhere. Many good houses with beautifully decorated fronts. Durbar and other ceremonies. Went to the prison and saw the strange spectacle of prisoners making ropes out of their own hair. One rope was at least an inch in diameter and many of the natives here look much like apostles.

Quetta, January 6. Here, if it were not for the native costumes, one might imagine oneself in Switzerland or northern Italy. Broad, well-kept streets, poplars along the roads and high mountains close at hand. Quetta is, of course, essentially military, the climate bracing and at this time of the year quite cold. The late Sir Horace Smith Dorrien,²⁶⁵ who was Commander-in-Chief, appeared to be a most active and capable officer, who did his best to make plain to us the necessary preparations against a possible invasion.

²⁶³ Professional hunting guide (*dictionary.reference.com*)

²⁶⁴ Payment of tips. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁶⁵ General Sir Horace Lockwood Smith-Dorrien (1858-1930) was a soldier. One of the few British survivors of the Battle of Isandlwana as a young officer, he also distinguished himself in the Second Boer War. He held senior commands in the British Expeditionary Force during the First World War. He commanded the British II Corps at the Battle of Mons.

CHAPTER XIII

Chaman, January 9. Arrived here with the General and others, travelling partly by train and partly on troop horses. Chaman on the actual frontier of Afghanistan and therefore of barbarism. Surprised to find how well our people, including ladies, have adapted themselves to the situation. Rode out to the pillar in an arid plain marking the actual frontier, and told that Afghans never lose an opportunity of shooting if one occurs. Preparations made here in case of attack, and materials for railway construction available. Our forces here, Pathans, look very tough, but not numerous.

Jacobabad,²⁶⁶ January 12. Travelled here by the extraordinary Chappa Rift railway, running through the wildest mountain country, destitute, apparently, of water. Find the climate here an agreeable change from the cold of Quetta. Am living in a tent pitched in a delightful compound which is full of interest. Many varieties of birds, gazelles,

Page 137

PESHAWAR AND THE KHYBER PASS [1905]

cows, buffaloes with insect-eating birds upon their backs, goats, water wheels, fountains and numerous natives engaged upon all kinds of occupations. The town is a military station with both British and native troops and is a great horse centre.

We passed several very pleasant days here and I had my first experience of pig-sticking,²⁶⁷ and came to the conclusion that it was more exciting than even steeple-chasing, as the ground was much harder and there is always the chance of being mauled by a pig.

Visiting a cavalry barracks I was struck by the enormous proportion of camp followers in both British and Native regiments. In conversation with officers I found general agreement that our forces in the North-West were far too small for adequate protection, and that there was a continually increasing difficulty in finding native recruits, owing to the greater work expected from them and the increased cost of living. The difficulties, they said, had greatly increased as the result of experiences in the Boer War.

At Jacobabad, I parted from Lamington and his staff, with great regret. They were returning to Bombay and I was going on to Peshawar. All had shown me the greatest kindness and hospitality, which I shall always remember with gratitude.

Peshawar, January 17. Staying here with General Sir G. Barrow,²⁶⁸ a very distinguished officer who, unlike most soldiers, enjoyed the confidence of Curzon.

Quetta had reminded me of Europe, but Peshawar struck me as being an Asiatic city, judging by the types of inhabitants. Like every other tourist, I hurried off to the Khyber Pass, it being one of the two days in the week on which it was open, and I drove up through the wild and forbidding region which has so often been described, as far as Ali Musjid, beyond which it was not possible for ordinary travellers to proceed. I met, however, a number of camel caravans, chiefly conveying cotton goods, and at all points commanding the road there were armed guards. On the way back, I stopped at Jamrood, at the entrance to the Pass, where I had observed a camp of Afghans, and the British officer in command kindly allowed me to visit it. The Afghans consisted of soldiers and camp followers, who were on their way back

²⁶⁶ City in the Sindh province of Pakistan

²⁶⁷ Hunting wild boar on horseback with a spear.

²⁶⁸ General Sir Edmund George Barrow (1852–1934) was a senior British Army officer who went on to be Military Secretary to the India Office. (*Wikipedia*)

to Cabul after accompanying Royal Personages to India and were engaged upon an excellent meal provided by the Government of India. There were both cavalry and infantry, with two guns manufactured at Cabul. They wore a hybrid Russo-English uniform and were not unlike Turks in appearance, but quite devoid of the Turks'

Page 138

GENERAL STOESSEL. DELHI AND JAIPUR [1905]

good manners. They were, in fact, distinctly offensive, showing no appreciation whatever of the hospitality they had received and maintaining a surly and insolent demeanour. Only one officer, apparently, could speak a foreign language.

Peshawar, January 18. Lady Barrow kindly took me round the town and outwardly there was no sign of the fanaticism which was said to exist, but in some ways I was reminded of Turkey, for crimes of violence were frequent and there were elaborate preparations to guard against surprise attacks on a small scale.

In the afternoon, there arrived an Afghan Prince on his way back to Cabul; a loutish young man, very badly dressed in European clothes, who paid little or no attention to the smart military guard of honour. I got the impression, from what I had observed, that the Afghans were detestable people.

Whilst we were in Peshawar the news of the fall of Port Arthur arrived and General Barrow said that when he was in China in 1900 he had formed the lowest opinion of General Stoessel,²⁶⁹ the Russian Commander, and believed him to be an impostor. When Port Arthur surrendered, General Stoessel was for some obscure reason considered to be a hero, and monarchs, the German Emperor included, showered honours upon him. It became evident soon after, however, that General Barrow's opinion was correct, as, when the facts became known, he was deprived of his command and imprisoned. Apparently, his great forte was his drinking power. The late Sir Valentine Chirol,²⁷⁰ the well-known journalist, once told me that when in China he had seen Stoessel drink off a whole bottle of champagne at a single draught.

Peshawar struck me as a far more interesting and attractive place than Quetta, all the European quarter having been well laid out, but a banker whom I had occasion to see said that Peshawar had no commercial future, as it was a mere place of transit, and that the Khyber Pass could not provide more than two days' traffic in the week. He was confident, however, that a railway through it would be made.

Delhi, January 20. Very cold and no sun. Spent a few days here in the usual tourist fashion, in company with my cousin, Colonel Hugh Pearse,²⁷¹ and his wife.

Jaipur, January 26. Another tourist resort. Found it extremely interesting and attractive, and more in accordance with my anticipations of India than anything I had seen yet. A native

²⁶⁹ Anatoly Mikhaylovich Stessel (1848-1915) was a Russian baron of German descent, military leader, and the general responsible for the fall of Port Arthur to the Japanese on January 2, 1905. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁷⁰ Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol (1852-1929) was a British journalist, prolific author, historian and diplomat. He was a passionate imperialist. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁷¹ Hugh Wodehouse Pearse (1855-1919) Colonel in the British Army; East Surrey Regiment; served (1875-1911), including Afghan and Boer Wars. He was an author of military history including the history of the East Sussex Regiment (*Wikisource.org*)

CHAPTER XIII

State, very well administered. The Maharajah, said to be very loyal, appeared to possess a great number of big palaces and about 60 elephants. Visited

Page 139

AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA [1905]

Ambar and other places of interest. Before I left, the Maharajah sent me out with a cheetah, which killed a black buck. Weather cold.

Agra, January 27. Spent several days here and came to conclusion that it is a far more attractive place than Delhi. The Taj one of the masterpieces that come up to expectation. From Agra, I went on to Lucknow and Benares. Not at all favourably impressed by the latter place, which swarms with Hindoo religious zealots worshipping in crowded temples polluted by numerous cows. Funeral ceremonies on river bank also repellent.

Although I had purposely not told Curzon that I was coming to India, because I felt sure that he would be overwhelmed with visitors, I had received a very cordial invitation by telegram, when I was at Jaipur, to come and stay at Calcutta as long as I liked, and I was, of course, delighted to accept.

Government House, Calcutta, February 8. Arrived early and much struck by the size and dignity of the building.

Curzon, who received me with much friendliness, gave me some information about myself which was something of a surprise. He told me that when the post of Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the India Office became vacant, just as I was starting for India, the Government decided to offer it to Lord Bath²⁷² or to myself, and that he had confidently anticipated my selection. Lord Bath, however, had been chosen, for reasons which to me were obvious. I had had no knowledge of this, but had I received the offer, while appreciating the compliment, I should certainly have declined it, for two reasons: first, that I was not disposed to join any Government which refused to adopt the principle of compulsory Home Service, and, secondly, because I believed that the present Government was already moribund. I had therefore no sense of disappointment at all.

There was a very large staff at Government House, but only one lady, Lady Ulrica Baring,²⁷³ the wife of the Military Secretary, who was taking the place of Lady Curzon, absent in England.

Curzon, who looked well and appeared to be in high spirits, drove me out in a phaeton around the town, of which he showed a complete knowledge. He had introduced various improvements, put up memorials, restored places of historical interest, and had already left his mark upon the city, whereas his predecessors had never shown much interest in the place and their example had been followed by the British residents, who, according to Curzon, always went home when they had made enough money.

²⁷² Thomas Henry Thynne, 5th Marquess of Bath (1862 –1946), styled Viscount Weymouth until 1896, was a landowner and Conservative politician. He held ministerial office as Under-Secretary of State for India in 1905 and Master of the Horse between 1922 and 1924. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁷³ Lady Ulrica Duncombe Baring, daughter of the 1st Earl of Feversham, who married Brigadier General the Honorable Everard Baring in 1904. He was Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India between 1899 and 1905 (*www.gettyimages.co.uk and Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIII

He complained that Brodrick was a

Page 140

CURZON AND THE HOME GOVERNMENT [1905]

difficult Secretary of State to deal with, as he wanted to govern India entirely from London, and that the concessions recently made with regard to Thibet were due to a hopeless policy of appeasing Russia in order to obviate trouble in Egypt. He said Kitchener was very imperious and would not stand any opposition; that he could not argue but insisted, and that Generals were obliged to give way as their fate was in his hands. He personally, he said, got on well with Kitchener, but apparently, he did not think very highly of him. He also said he was much surprised at Lansdowne's statement about the Persian Gulf²⁷⁴ nearly two years before, and had been quite unprepared for it. Altogether, a disquieting conversation.

Barrackpore, February 4. Came here with Viceroy and staff to pass the week-end. Weather very bad. Great number of jute mills along the river, said to be doing well. Curzon said that, according to Kitchener, no good would be done in South Africa until Milner went, because all the Dutch hated him.

February 11. With Curzon to a function at Calcutta University at which he made an important speech which aroused much criticism subsequently. In it he deplored the prevalence of inaccurate and exaggerated statements in India. I thought the address admirable and quite devoid of anything offensive, but it aroused great indignation amongst Hindoos.

I spent about ten days at Government House, with much enjoyment. All the staff were most friendly and obliging, and although they must have been severely tried by a succession of tourist visitors they never showed any sign of being bored. The establishment was colossal: 300 indoor domestics and 200 outside; everything admirably arranged.

I tried hard to get one of the staff to go with me on a short visit to Burmah, but the younger members, who had very little to do, could not be persuaded to abandon the insipid pleasure of watching polo.

Rangoon, February 15. Arrived here early morning in dull and cold weather. The Governor, Sir Hugh Barnes²⁷⁵, kindly offered to put me up, but I thought it better to go on at once to Mandalay and avail myself of his hospitality on the way back.

Burmah struck me at once as a delightful contrast in some ways to India. In India, as far as appearances were concerned, the poorer part of the population seemed to be grave, silent and frequently depressed.

Page 141

MANDALAY [1905]

Here it was exactly the reverse: they were dressed in beautiful, variegated silk costumes, laughing and chattering like holiday-makers, most of the younger women were extremely pretty and looked intelligent, and the men, who obviously thought a great deal about their

²⁷⁴ Lord Newton footnote: In the House of Lords on May 5, 1903, Lord Lansdowne had said: "We should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal."

²⁷⁵ Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes (1853–1940) was an administrator in British India. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIII

appearance, were friendly and jovial. It seemed inconceivable that these gay and careless people could ever become seditious and hostile. The luxuriant vegetation, too, was a contrast to India.

Mandalay, February 16. Arrived early, after journey through flat country with much rice cultivation, and forests containing beautiful flowering trees. Lodged in Club, thanks to a travelling companion, which was formerly part of King Theebaw's²⁷⁶ palace. Weather here much hotter than anything experienced in India. The natives, who pass through the club all day without any restriction, are even more attractive-looking than those at Rangoon, but hear from commercial men that the Burmans are in reality not much good and that most of the work is done by Chinese, of whom there are many here. The buildings seem to consist chiefly of isolated and brightly coloured wooden houses, which have a strange resemblance to Scandinavian edifices, although in the Chinese style. Dined with a business man, who was loud in praise of the Burmese qualities and said that everyone who had lived in Burmah always wished to return. Admitted that life in Burmah was rather more expensive than in India.

February 17. In club heard much praise of the Chinese here, who are said to be very hard-working and well behaved, the Burmese women preferring them as husbands to their own countrymen. Theebaw's former palace very Chinese in style and structure; much of the woodwork painted a bright red. Watched some young Burmans playing a kind of football with much skill, kicking a wicker ball with the heel instead of the toe.

February 18. Embarked on river steamer for Rangoon. River Irrawaddy now at its lowest and scenery not interesting. Large numbers of duck and teal, as well as ruddy sheldrakes. Tied up at 4 p.m. and went ashore. Visited a native house, partly built over the river. It was constructed almost entirely of bamboo and contained no furniture except some mats. Survey officer on board says that he finds natives so unreliable that he has to import Hindoos.

Elephants for his work cost about £200 each and can easily carry 1,000 lb. on flat ground.

Government House, Rangoon, February 21. Find the Duke of the Abruzzi²⁷⁷ and some Italian naval officers staying here. Latter, who were

Page 142

AN EXAMPLE OF SUMMARY JUSTICE [1905]

lately in China, say that the Russians made a very poor show against the Japanese Fleet. Visited the big Pagoda and principal sights. Town seems to be increasing rapidly. Everyone praising the Chinese, who may eventually replace the Burmans everywhere. Went with other visitors to look at elephants working in a neighbouring timber yard. They showed much intelligence and one of them was able to raise a weight of half a ton. The work is considered to be economical.

²⁷⁶ King Theebaw (1859–1916) was the last king of the Konbaung Dynasty of Burma (Myanmar) and also the last in Burmese history. His reign ended when Burma was defeated by the forces of the British Empire in the Third Anglo-Burmese War, on 29 November 1885, prior to its official annexation on 1 January 1886. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁷⁷ Prince Luigi Amedeo, Duke of the Abruzzi (1873-1933) was an Italian mountaineer and explorer, member of the royal House of Savoy and cousin of the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III. He is known for his Arctic explorations and for his mountaineering expeditions, particularly to Mount Saint Elias (Alaska–Yukon) and K2 (Pakistan–China). He also served as an Italian admiral during World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIII

February 23. On British India steamship. Weather very hot and oppressive, much like a heat wave in London. Temperature about 90. Boat an inferior one, with bad food and poor accommodation. A crowd of deck passengers and the smell of hot onions penetrating everywhere. Told by passengers that the B.I., being a Scotch concern, will never employ any except Scotsmen, if they can help it.

Told by an officer in the elephant service that elephants can work for 15 years, and that Rajahs are always willing to buy them for about £200 apiece. He said they were very delicate animals and extremely susceptible to the sun. Agreed with others that Burmans were very useless and unreliable people.

On leaving the ship and while waiting for a train to take me to Calcutta, I was assaulted on the platform by a very big, drunken Eurasian, and broke a stick upon his head, which had little effect as it was not a heavy stick. However, he was mastered with some difficulty and his name and address taken. Immediately upon my arrival, in the late evening, I reported the incident to the police official attached to the Viceroy, and, much to my surprise, early next morning I was asked to go to the office of the well-known firm where my assailant was employed as cashier. I was confronted with him and he admitted that he was drunk and practically had no defence. His employers asked me if I would settle the matter privately, instead of having recourse to the law. To this I, of course, readily agreed, and the man was thereupon ordered to pay £10 to a local hospital and publish an apology in the Press. When I reached England, I found that this had already been done, and read his apology in a Calcutta paper explaining that he had "great pleasure" in sending the gift to the hospital. This rather trifling incident was an illustration of the rapidity with which things were done in Curzon's day.

Calcutta, February 27. In talk with Curzon he expressed the opinion that the Governorships of Bombay and Madras were anachronisms which ought to be abolished, but that the Home Government refused to entertain the idea. He said he was dead against Arthur

Page 143

CURZON AND HIS ENEMIES [1905]

Balfour and the Blue Water School, who thought of nothing but the defence of England and would leave India to look after itself instead of maintaining a strong military force, ready for all emergencies. He added that his faith in naval judgment had been much shaken by the Wei-hai-wei experience.²⁷⁸

February 28. Left for Bombay.

My visit to Calcutta will always be a vivid recollection. Curzon had many enemies and detractors, but he stood out amongst so-called statesmen and politicians as a real man, brilliant, resolute and almost incredibly industrious. I could not, however, resist a foreboding that before long he would be in serious trouble not only with Kitchener but with H.M. Government as well.

²⁷⁸ Lord Newton's footnote states: Wei-hai-wei was leased from China in 1898 as a counter-move to the occupation of Port Arthur by Russia, but was found unsuitable for use as a naval base.

CHAPTER XIII

S. S. Macedonia, March 4. After two days in Bombay started homeward. Ship very full, and find several acquaintances on board, including Neville Chamberlain,²⁷⁹ whom I had not met before. Found him a most agreeable companion and thought him very intelligent, feeling sure that if he ever went into Parliament he would rise very high. We became quite intimate before the end of the voyage, and it was always a matter of great regret to me that I subsequently saw very little of him.

March 19. Arrived in London.

²⁷⁹ Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) was a Conservative politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from May 1937 to May 1940. He first became an MP in 1919. He was the son of Joseph Chamberlain and half-brother of Austen Chamberlain. (*Wikipedia*)

**LORD ROBERTS AND COMPULSORY SERVICE:
UNIONIST ELECTION COLLAPSE. 1905-1906**

APRIL 4, 1905. Received letter from Roberts, who wished to talk to me about the National Service League.²⁸⁰

He was now a free man, as his post of Commander-in-Chief had been abolished and he was therefore now able to speak his mind. In the N.S.L. there was great hope that he would join and advocate the principle of compulsory home service, because his great reputation could not fail to convince the nation that it was not an idea of misguided cranks but supported by the most distinguished military authority in the country.

I had never met Lord Roberts before and was charmed with his amiability and modesty, but I was greatly disappointed with his views. He apparently thought that all subsequent wars would resemble the Boer War and that therefore training in the use of the rifle was far more important than anything else. Holding this view, he considered that what we especially required were rifle clubs, with the King at the head of them, and supplemented by military instruction for boys. This opinion I found discouraging, and I was still more discouraged when I got a letter from him on the following day in which he urged the amalgamation of all the various bodies connected with Army reform and deprecated strongly any attempt to advocate compulsion.

Lord Roberts now embarked upon the patriotic task of pointing out our military weakness to the country and made speeches, both in Parliament and elsewhere, to which little attention was paid by the Press, in spite of the grave warnings which they contained. On August 1, however, he addressed a very large and influential meeting at the Guildhall, in which his words could only be interpreted as signifying the necessity of compulsion. Immediately after his speech, various members of the N.S.L., including myself, approached him

urging that he should consent to become our President. He agreed to do so, and I thought everything was now settled and telegraphed to Raglan,²⁸¹ asking him to resign the Presidency in favour of Roberts. In the Lords afterwards, I met the latter again, and he repeated his assurances of sympathy and support, adding that he could obtain lots of adherents and much money. About half an hour later I received a message that he wanted to see me, and he then explained that he had changed his mind, because he was afraid of compulsion and wanted it eliminated from our programme before he could join. Arguments were quite unavailing and it was plain that he had been talked over by Rosebery and others, who had prophesied unpopularity. This, of course, caused a deadlock for the time being.

August 10. Dined at Lansdowne House, to meet a large selection of French naval officers who had come over to celebrate the new Anglo-French Entente.

²⁸⁰ The National Service League was a pressure group founded in February 1902 to alert the country to the inadequacy of the British Army to fight a major war and to propose the solution of national service. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁸¹ George FitzRoy Henry Somerset, 3rd Baron Raglan (1857-1921), styled The Honourable George Somerset until 1884, was a British soldier and Conservative politician. He served as Under-Secretary of State for War from 1900 to 1902 and was Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man from 1902 to 1919. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIV

There were also many British naval officers, and it was interesting to note how superior the British physique was to that of the French. The latter appeared to be highly pleased with their reception, and the only person I was acquainted with who disapproved the Entente was Rosebery. He told me that when he was in power we had twice nearly gone to war with France, and this was probably the reason for his attitude.

Lyme, November 19. Hear that Roberts has given in and agreed to accept N.S.L. scheme.

Islay, December 4. Heard of death of Clinton Dawkins at age of only 46. He was a personal friend and a man of great capacity and industry, whose loss is deplorable.

Lyme, December 30. Over to Newton for adoption of Conservative candidate, Pilkington. Those present at the meeting very enthusiastic, and local officials calculate that we shall have a majority of about 1,300. Feel considerable doubt myself, as gather from reliable informant that we are likely to lose every one of the Manchester seats, owing to the Free Trade fanatics in both parties.

The General Election had now started,²⁸² the new Liberal Government having been formed. The Unionist Party began the contest under the gloomiest auspices, having continually lost seats all over the country, and the division in the Party growing wider every week. Opportunities to dissolve earlier had not been taken advantage of,

Page 146

ARTHUR BALFOUR AT LYME [1906]

valuable men had been lost and replaced by comparatively unknown and inferior substitutes, and, worst of all, no one could definitely defend Arthur Balfour's policy. In spite of all this the Party wire-pullers predicted a reduced Unionist majority. Personally, I was quite unable to share their views and estimated that we should finish with a majority of at least 100 against us, composed of Liberals and Labour and Irish members.

Lyme, January 8, 1906. Manchester with Lansdowne, who is staying here, and has been sent down to make a big speech there as being the least blemished Minister in the Party flock. Good attendance, but thought the proceedings dull and listless. Much puzzled by loud cries of "Icks, Icks," during some of the speeches. The mystery was eventually explained by the appearance of Mr. Joynson Hicks,²⁸³ one of the Conservative candidates; finally, assuming an air of surprise, he moved to the front and made a speech in the true platform style, which evoked much applause.

Lyme, January 13. Disastrous start of election; much worse than had been expected. Amongst others, all the Manchester seats lost, including astonishing defeat of A. J. B. by 2,000.

Lyme, January 14. Arthur Balfour and Miss Balfour arrived from Manchester in the morning, and this was the first occasion on which I had ever seen him seriously upset. He asked for a book which I, fortunately, possessed, and he retired with it to bed, reappearing at

²⁸² The General Election in 1906 took place over the period from 12 January to 8 February so the results emerged only gradually.

²⁸³ William Joynson-Hicks, 1st Viscount Brentford (1865-1932), known as Sir William Joynson-Hicks, from 1919 to 1929 was an English solicitor and Conservative Party politician, best known as a long-serving and controversial Home Secretary from 1924 to 1929. (*Wikipedia*)

luncheon quite restored and cheerful. In the afternoon, we played golf and he thoroughly enjoyed himself, having apparently forgotten Manchester like a bad dream, but was speedily recalled to reality by the sudden appearance of a party from Nottingham, headed by Henry Bentinck, who implored him to attend a meeting at Nottingham on the following day. At first he expressed genuine surprise that they should wish for his appearance at all, in view of his defeat. He consulted me on the subject, and although I should have preferred him to remain I advised him to go, as it had been announced that he would attend. Ultimately, he assented with reluctance.

In conversation with me afterwards he said that the recent contest was quite different from any previous one as the audiences refused to listen to argument, and that Free Trade had very little to do with the result, which was due partly to the rise of Labour and partly to the continuous presence in office of one party for ten years. He said he had wanted to dissolve in October, but that the rank and file had

Page 147

ARTHUR BALFOUR ON THE UNIONIST DEFEAT [1906]

objected, and that it had been impossible to dissolve in July, on account of the Japanese Treaty. He thought that all the members of the late Cabinet would lose their seats, and as for himself he had formed no plans but would refuse to stand for a county or borough division²⁸⁴. Said he would willingly retire from leadership of the Party in favour of Chamberlain²⁸⁵ if he thought that the Party would follow the latter, whose success at Birmingham was due to the immense amount of personal work which he had done there. He added that he would not have advised the King to send for Lord Spencer, even had he been sufficiently capable, because Campbell-Bannerman was evidently the man whom the Commons wanted. The Duke of Devonshire and Lord Hugh Cecil²⁸⁶ had done him a lot of harm: the former was slow-witted and had good judgment, but never originated anything. He himself had made a great mistake, he said, in setting Curzon and Brodrick to work together, but had thought that, as they were personal friends and contemporaries, at school and at Oxford, they would get on quite amicably.

A. J. B. left the following afternoon for Nottingham, after playing a round of golf in a gale. He said that he had received a very friendly letter from Chamberlain and showed no curiosity regarding the election results, not even looking at a newspaper. When he left, he was still wondering why the people at Nottingham wanted to hear him.

We were now in process of being submerged by a flood of disasters, and when the borough elections were followed by those of the counties there were no signs of improvement. I could not see that we should number more than about 150 in the new House of Commons. In the Newton Division, where I had won in 1895 with a majority of over 1,500, that majority was converted into a minority of over 500, although Pilkington was an excellent candidate with

²⁸⁴ With the election spread over such a long period, it was possible for candidate defeated in one seat to stand in another with a later date.

²⁸⁵ This was Austen Chamberlain (1863-1937) half-brother of Neville Chamberlain. He was one of the leading candidates to succeed as Conservative leader, even though he was still technically a member of the Liberal Unionist wing of the coalition (the two parties merged formally in 1912). Chamberlain was opposed by Canadian-born Andrew Bonar Law, Walter Long and the Irish Unionist Sir Edward Carson. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁸⁶ Hugh Richard Heathcote Gascoyne-Cecil, 1st Baron Quickswood (1869-1956), styled Lord Hugh Cecil until 1941, was a Conservative Party politician. Cecil was the eighth and youngest child of Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, three times Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and a first cousin of Prime Minister Arthur Balfour. (*Wikipedia*)

everything in his favour, being a man of high character, a big employer of labour, a much-respected man and an industrious M.P. I could not help feeling that I should not have polled as many votes as he did.

In Cheshire, which had been a predominantly a Conservative county, we lost every seat, and amongst them Macclesfield, which had been represented by my brother-in-law, W. Bromley Davenport, for ten years. For two years he had been Financial Secretary at the War Office, and enjoyed great personal popularity. His defeat was not merely a personal loss but a loss to the Conservative Party, as he had scarcely any superiors either as a Parliamentary or a platform speaker,

Page 148

BALFOUR AND CHAMBERLAIN [1906]

and nothing could have prevented him from becoming one of the principal Party leaders. He would have been invaluable in opposition, for he possessed the fighting spirit and also far more ability than most of the Front Bench occupants. But in the General Election of 1906 personalities had really ceased to count, as was shown by the defeats of Balfour and other eminent politicians. Arguments also had ceased to count, and although our defeat was attributed chiefly to two causes, the Little Loaf²⁸⁷ and Chinese Slavery, it is impossible to believe that any sensible people were taken in by these bogies, and the plain truth was that most of the voters were firmly bent upon a change, having a vague idea that a change of men would bring about a general improvement.

The election ended with a reduction of the Unionist forces to a remnant of about 150, and these exiguous survivors were crippled by internal dissension.

Gosford, January 31. Arrived early morning and went shooting with Lord Wemyss (now aged 87). Find no one staying here except some of family and Arthur Balfour.

In conversation, the latter said that he was feeling very uncomfortable in view of Chamberlain's hurry, and was much afraid of further complications as the result. He said that he was going up to London at once to try and settle matters privately with Chamberlain, and that he particularly wished to avoid a Party meeting. He was apparently still opposed to tariffs. Incidentally, he said that Austen Chamberlain²⁸⁸ was extremely sensible and had more capacity than people realised.

February 5. According to Evan Charteris²⁸⁹ a real crisis on, Balfour and Chamberlain not being able to agree. Latter alleged to be contemplating a scheme which would eliminate Free Traders from Unionist Party. Looks as if a Party meeting at present time is impossible.

The activity of Lord Wemyss was quite amazing. I remember once staying with him when he was already nearer ninety than eighty, and he started one day by going to Edinburgh in the morning (about an hour's drive) to attend a meeting, returning for luncheon. He then played

²⁸⁷ Conservative Party and their Liberal Unionist allies, were split over the issue of free trade (Joseph Chamberlain had resigned from government in September 1903 in order to campaign for Tariff Reform, which would allow 'preferential tariffs'). Many working-class people saw this as a threat to the price of food, hence the debate was nicknamed 'Big Loaf, Little Loaf'. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁸⁸ Sir Joseph Austen Chamberlain (1863-1937) was a British statesman, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, and half-brother of Neville Chamberlain. He was the eldest son of Joseph Chamberlain. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁸⁹ The Hon. Sir Evan Edward Charteris (1864-1940), was an English biographer, barrister and arts administrator. He was the youngest child of Earl Wemyss. (*Wikipedia*)

a round of 18 holes with me, and immediately afterwards he painted a small landscape in oils, which he invited me to accept. In the evening, as we sat in the hall, someone began to play dance music and one of his grand-daughters proceeded to try some valse steps without a partner. Lord Wemyss complained that she was

Page 149

LORD WEMYSS [1906]

setting about it in the wrong way, and undertook to put her right. He danced a few steps with her and then slipped and fell on the back of his head with a crash that must have been heard over the whole house. Nevertheless, he seemed to be quite unaffected, appeared at dinner as usual, and played billiards with me afterwards until a late hour.

He was born early enough to take part in the celebrated Eglinton Tournament,²⁹⁰ and according to tradition had fought a duel, while it was proceeding, with the late Emperor Napoleon III, who was then living as a private gentleman in England. Lord Wemyss, however, assured me that there was no truth in the story and that he and the late Emperor had always been on the most friendly terms. I used sometimes to endeavour to persuade him to tell me about his early life, but he was always far more interested in discussing the iniquities of Keir Hardie²⁹¹ or John Burns²⁹².

He was a remarkably handsome man, very tall and powerful, who ate very little and drank even less; and he always maintained, probably with accuracy, that far more people died from over-eating than over-drinking.

London, February 13. Went to the House of Commons to see election of James Lowther²⁹³ as Speaker. He had already shown that he possessed all the qualities necessary for success. The members of the new House showed little difference in appearance from their predecessors and there were very few in unconventional dress.

Lyme, February 17. Went to Conservative Association meeting at Newton, and it was plain that seat had been lost here because a number of working men who had previously voted Conservative had now gone over to Labour.

Knocklofty, March 14. Staying with the Donoughmores²⁹⁴ for salmon fishing, but have been here for a week without being able to put a line in the water owing to floods, and am leaving to-day. According to Donoughmore, the people here (Clonmel) are prosperous and take little interest in politics.

²⁹⁰ Lord Newton's footnote: A revival held at Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, in August, 1839.

²⁹¹ James Keir Hardie (1856-1915), was a Scottish socialist, and labour leader, and was the first independent Labour M.P. Hardie is regarded as one of the primary founders of the Independent Labour Party as well as the Labour Party of which it was later a part. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹² John Elliot Burns (1858-1943) was an English trade unionist and politician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was a socialist and then a Liberal Member of Parliament and Minister. When the Liberal cabinet made a decision for war on August 2, 1914, he resigned and played no further role in politics. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹³ James William Lowther, 1st Viscount Ullswater (1855-1949), was a Conservative politician. He served as Speaker of the House of Commons between 1905 and 1921. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹⁴ Richard Walter Hely-Hutchinson, 6th Earl of Donoughmore (1875-1948), styled Viscount Suirdale until 1900, was an Irish peer and Conservative politician. He served as Under-Secretary of State for War under Arthur Balfour between 1903 and 1905. His father had died in 1900. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIV

Amsterdam, March 30. Came over here to join the F. Bentincks and go with them to Frankfurt to look for a crammer for our respective sons. Went to Alknaar, Zaandam and other places and a great number of arsenal workers came on board the boat on the way back. Thought that their manners compared favourably with those of a similar class in England.

Page 150

PROGRESS OF N.S.L. [1906]

Frankfurt, April I. Came on here with Mrs. F. Bentinck and her elder son, and we visited the establishment of Mr. Geidt, an Englishman, which appeared to be satisfactory. Spent the rest of the day in looking for suitable family where the boys could live.

I decided to remove my eldest son from Eton, as he was 17 and evidently not doing much good there, and send him to Mr. Geidt's establishment in the autumn. Of course, I knew that I should be heavily denounced, but I never had reason to regret my decision. Mrs. F. B. left her son at Frankfurt and we returned to London, staying a day at Brussels.

At Brussels I found my old companion, Arthur Hardinge, installed there as Minister, and he said that it was an agreeable change from Teheran, which had been his last post. Arthur Hardinge was one of the cleverest men in the Diplomatic Service, and had not met with as much success as he deserved, owing probably to his unconventional habits. He said that the Belgians were beginning to get very nervous with regard to possible German aggression, and I think that this was the first time that I had heard that view expressed by a responsible official.

May 8. N.S.L. meeting, and informed that Roberts now says that he will have nothing more to do with compulsion, although he proposes to retain chairmanship of the League. Unless he changes his mind, we shall therefore have to decide to get rid of him.

Of course, he had to give way, and before long was preaching Compulsion with such vigour that most people assumed that he had originated the whole movement.

The N.S.L. had, in the meanwhile, considerably improved its position. We now had some thousands of members, branches were being started in the country, and money was coming in. Also, we had gained some very valuable recruits: Curzon and Milner amongst them.

Milner was a great asset he knew his own mind, and had no predilection for half-measures, such as rifle clubs and miniature rifle ranges, and as a friend of Roberts could be trusted to work with him and manage him. Sir Coleridge Grove,²⁹⁵ who had joined us at the outset and who had been for many years Military Secretary to Wolseley, was one of the most intelligent soldiers I ever met, and of invaluable assistance in many ways. It was always a wonder to me why the War Office had ever parted with him.

Woburn,²⁹⁶ June 16. Down here with Evelyn for the week-end. Find

²⁹⁵ Major-General Sir Coleridge Grove (1839–1920) was a British Army officer (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹⁶ Woburn is the seat of the Duke of Bedford.

the only other guests are the Lansdownes. Drove round the park on grass tracks to look at animals and birds. All looked in good condition, and the many unpinioned cranes and other birds flying over the lakes a beautiful sight.

June 17. Shown carefully over house again, and found it extremely interesting, especially the pictures and manuscripts, and everything kept with much care. In the afternoon, a sudden and quite unexpected irruption of a party of 16, both men and women, brought over by the American Ambassador, Mr. Whitelaw Reid,²⁹⁷ from Wrest Park.

This visit was all the more surprising because no place was defended against social intrusion so closely as Woburn, and even a Prime Minister had been once refused admittance. An unexpected visit of 16 ultra-fashionable persons might have caused some confusion in most establishments, but in this case, there was no agitation whatever and all sorts of delicacies appeared, as if by magic, instantaneously. I had always felt that there was a touch of the Arabian Nights about Woburn and its occupants.

Lyme, October 8. Curzon here and seems in fairly good spirits on the whole. Very appreciative of this place, which he had never seen before, and extremely contemptuous about Balfour election collapse. Said he had been strongly urged by Goschen to stand at election, as A. J. B. and his friends were sure to be beaten.

October 10. Vicary Gibbs²⁹⁸ here, who is an important person in the City. He said that when Curzon was interviewed with reference to his standing for the City he was not chosen because he was not sufficiently keen for Tariff Reform.

October 20. A. J. B. and Miss Balfour, Harry White²⁹⁹ (United States Ambassador in Rome) and Ernest Troubridge here. A. J. B. has to make various speeches in Manchester, but says that he has not thought about them yet.

October 21. Golf with A. J. B. - raining all the time. He said Motley had recently been going out of his way to extol Campbell-Bannerman to him, presumably with the view of discrediting Asquith. In talking with E. Troubridge he showed considerable knowledge of naval history: views about the army evidently unsound.

October 22. Manchester with A. J. B. after golf. He said that Lords ought undoubtedly to throw out Plural Voting Bill if it comes up. Presided at luncheon to him at Conservative Club and he had

²⁹⁷ Whitelaw Reid (1837-1912) was an American politician and newspaper editor. As a famous voice of the Republican Party, he was honoured with appointments as ambassador to France (1889) and Great Britain (1905). He died on service in the UK in 1912. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹⁸ The Hon. Vicary Gibbs (1853-1932) was a barrister, merchant and Conservative Party politician. He sat in the House of Commons from 1892 to 1904. (*Wikipedia*)

²⁹⁹ Henry White (1850-1927) was a prominent U.S. diplomat during the 1890s and 1900s, and one of the signers of the Treaty of Versailles. (*Wikipedia*)

very good reception and crowded audience. Dined alone with him before a big meeting at Belle Vue, which was a somewhat undignified performance, consisting of a huge tea with lots of women and several very tiresome speakers. He made a good speech, dealing with various subjects.

London, November 1. Caused much hilarity in Lords by discovering that various peers had incurred heavy penalties by having voted before taking the oath. The principal offender was Grimthorpe,³⁰⁰ who had lately ratted to the Liberals and with the proverbial zeal of a convert had run up a bill which I calculated to be £17,000.

Again approached by Leo Maxse, who wants me to write an article on the House of Lords and its mismanagement by the Conservative wire-pullers.

Longleat, November 19. Drove here with Evelyn and found large shooting party, Bath having so much ground to cover that he is obliged to have a continual succession of these gatherings throughout the winter months. Have never been here before, and greatly struck with the extreme beauty of the exterior of the house and of the surrounding scenery. Interior decoration, which is comparatively recent, seemed to me somewhat heavy. Took the opportunity to go to Wells before leaving.

Deal Castle, November 30. Down here to play golf with (Lord) George Hamilton, who was until recently a great admirer of A. Balfour but now thinks less of him.

He said that in spite of differences of opinion between them Chamberlain had always been a straight colleague. At the beginning of the war, Wolseley at the War Office had been strongly opposed to sending British troops from India to South Africa, and this step had been taken by the Cabinet. The ultimate dispatch of Roberts was decided by A. Balfour and Lansdowne. He added that the King now interfered in everything; that the peerages of Harmsworth³⁰¹ and Stern³⁰² were due to him and that the political parties got nothing out of either of them.

Lyme, December 8. Milner here. His friends had been constantly urging that he should return to public life, and he himself was not unwilling. I succeeded in persuading him that Manchester would be a suitable place for his reappearance (it was full of pro-Boers), and he

agreed to be the guest of the Conservative Party at a banquet there. I took the chair and the function was a great success, there being a crowded audience and much enthusiasm. Although not an attractive speaker, no one could fail to recognise his ability, determination

³⁰⁰ Ernest William Beckett, 2nd Baron Grimthorpe (1856-1917), born Ernest William Denison, was a British banker and Conservative politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1885 until 1905 when he inherited the Grimthorpe peerage. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁰¹ Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Northcliffe (1865-1922), was a British newspaper and publishing magnate. As owner of the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror, he exercised vast influence over British popular opinion. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁰² Sir Herbert Stern (1851-1919) became 1st Baron Michelham on December 1905. He was a banker, businessman and philanthropist.

CHAPTER XIV

and independence. On the following day, the whole of the Press commented upon his speech and some Liberal organs even welcomed his reappearance.

**HOUSE OF LORDS REFORM:
N.S.L. VISIT SWISS MANOEUVRES: VANITY FAIR. 1907-1909**

1907. The article upon the House of Lords and its misuse by Conservative Governments which Leo Maxse had pressed me to write for the *National Review* appeared in the December (1906) number, and I was greatly surprised by the interest which it evoked, which was no doubt due to the fact that this particular question had not been raised for about 40 years. I was agreeably surprised, too, by the wide approval shown on all sides towards my proposals, which possessed no originality and merely repeated arguments used in the past.

The fact was that the constitution of the House of Lords positively invited attack. It was overgrown, containing rather more than 600 members,³⁰³ unrepresentative, and had a huge Conservative majority permanently encamped there, which justified the complaint that it could not be an impartial assembly, although it is true that it has occasionally shown itself more liberal and tolerant than the House of Commons. The treatment, however, of this Tory stronghold by successive Conservative Governments was often both narrow and foolish. When they were in office they showed little but contempt for it; very seldom originated any Bills there, and constantly sent other Bills up with orders to pass them punctually, practically without discussion; and when in Opposition they left to the peers the thankless task of throwing out Liberal Bills regardless of the consequences. If, instead of using the House of Lords as a registry office, or alternatively as a political incinerator, the Unionist leaders between 1895 and 1905 had made certain simple changes, such as the limitation of the grotesque numbers, the creation of life peers, and some modification of the hereditary principle, they would have done really useful work.

As it was clear that there was a desire for reform not only outside Parliament but amongst important peers, I decided upon bringing in a

Bill. When the text was published, there was great perturbation in Conservative official circles. I realised that the Whips were horrified at the prospect that their main source of supply of Party funds might disappear. Efforts were immediately made to induce me either to abandon the Bill or to substitute for it a resolution. These views were usually communicated to me by Lansdowne, but I withstood all pressure, being assured of support by influential friends. From all opponents, I was continually met with the word "inopportune." It certainly would have been more opportune some years earlier, but if 1907 was inopportune, clearly 1909 was still more inopportune.³⁰⁴

After many pleadings for delay and proposals of compromise the discussion of the Bill was postponed until after the Easter recess.

March 20. Started for Madrid, spending two nights at Barcelona.

³⁰³ Lord Newton's footnote states: "The present House of Lords has nearly 800 members." (i.e. in about 1940.)

³⁰⁴ Lord Newton's footnote: "The year of the constitutional crisis", i.e. when the Lords blocked the Lloyd George Budget.

CHAPTER XV

Barcelona, March 22. Expedition to Monserrat. A fine day and beautiful views from the monastery, which reminded me in some ways of Rilo and Meteora.³⁰⁵ Few people about and no tourists yet.

Saragossa, March 25. Country between here and Barcelona very bleak and bare, giving impression of great want of water. Find no one to talk to here, and see no foreigners about. Most of the inhabitants, both men and women, wearing national dress, but not much colour, as we are in Lent. Although a town of about 100,000, conditions seem to be primitive. Only one telegraph office, and its staff consists of two clerks only. Told that wages are incredibly low and that women domestics only get 7½ pesetas a month; and that the low wages of women generally are responsible for much immorality. Great crowds attending Mass and the church officials wearing 18th-century costumes with powdered wigs. All the people seemed to be very friendly and polite, and there was no staring at a foreigner.

British Embassy, Madrid, March 27. Arrived after sleepless night owing to the presence of four women in compartment who started talking at 9 p.m. and never stopped until 8.30 a.m., except for an hour and a half spent in loud prayers. Their volubility was stupefying. Find my friend, Sir Maurice de Bunsen, as Ambassador here, he being an old Paris colleague. The new Embassy just open, and I am the first visitor. M. de B. says that the Spaniards are very anxious to be on good terms with us, as they are much frightened of the French and fear trouble with them over Morocco. Spain, he says, is still full of religious fanaticism and if the present King falls out with the Pope there will undoubtedly be a revolution.

Page 156

TANGIER [1907]

March 28. With Lady de Bunsen³⁰⁶ and the staff to see the Foot Washing ceremony at the Palace: a curious spectacle, attended by all the most important functionaries and grandees; all the ladies wearing mantillas. Twelve blind men were brought up, seated at a table, and waited upon by the King³⁰⁷ and the grandees. Various courses were served, but all were removed before being tasted. The King appeared to regard the whole ceremony, including the actual washing of the feet, as a joke, and I thought that he showed a want of dignity. I had not seen the Royal Palace before and was greatly struck with its beauty, and especially with the tapestries.

Algeciras, March 28. Left Madrid early, with Bigham, who had arrived there, and we spent most of the day at Cordova. Weather luckily fine and, it being Good Friday, many people about and a wooden clapper being used instead of a bell in the beautiful cathedral.

After a few days at Algeciras, during which we saw a second-rate bull-fight at Linea and went to Tarifa and other places, we left for Tangier, where I was the guest of another old Paris colleague, Gerard Lowther. He and Mrs. Lowther were kind enough to drive me all around the city and the neighbouring country. It seemed to me charming, with all the interest attaching to a meeting place between East and West. The future, however, of the city was obscure and eternal wrangles were going on between the various Powers as to its administration.

³⁰⁵ Meteora is a Greek Orthodox Monastery. Rilo probably means The Monastery of Saint Ivan of Rila, better known as the Rila Monastery, which is in Bulgaria and mentioned above on pages 41 & 42. (*Wikipedia*).

³⁰⁶ Wife of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, see page 15.

³⁰⁷ Alfonso XIII. (1886-1941) was King of Spain from 1886 until 1931. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XV

I met the well-known Times Correspondent, Mr. Walter Harris,³⁰⁸ at the Legation, and found him an extraordinarily amusing and entertaining man, with a profound knowledge not only of Morocco but of other countries as well.

Tangier, April 3. Went for a ride with Harris to visit his villa on the seashore a few miles on the East side of the town. The air along the seashore was delightful, and the villa most attractive, with a beautiful garden, but filled with soldiers, it being too dangerous to live there unattended on account of the brigand Raisuli.³⁰⁹ Coming home, I thought that I should be killed, for my horse bolted with me in a narrow lane, and collided at full speed with a native riding a heavily-laden mule. By some extraordinary chance neither of us was damaged, but on the next occasion that my horse was ridden he bolted into the sea, and had to be disposed of.

Tangier, April 3. Called on various people, including Kaid Maclean, a Scotsman in the service of the Sultan, who will not admit

Page 157

DEBATE ON LORDS REFORM BILL [1907]

that there is anything wrong with the Moorish Government and is opposed to all changes. (Not long afterwards he was captured by Raisuli.)

At dinner at the Legation I met various members of the Diplomatic Corps, including the German Minister, Dr. Rosen,³¹⁰ with whom I had a long talk. Dr. Rosen, who had started as a protégé of Lord Dufferin at Calcutta, afterwards entered the German diplomatic service, and, as was usually the case with his countrymen, knew a great deal about the country to which he was accredited. He had no belief whatever in the future of Morocco, and made no secret of the fact that Germany would oppose the French as much as possible. Dr. Rosen, who was an absolutely perfect English scholar, eventually became the German Foreign Minister in 1921 and was holding that office when I had occasion to visit Berlin in that year. When I saw him again in 1933 he was violently opposed to Hitler.

Seville, April 7. Attended Mass at Cathedral. Crowds of tourists, chiefly English, French and American. Afternoon to big bull-fight: weather luckily very fine. Saw ten horses killed and six bulls. In spite of the extreme, and probably quite unnecessary, cruelty to the horses, one cannot help admiring the extraordinary skill, grace and courage of the men. In some respects a bull-fight crowd compares favourably with a British racecourse crowd.

London, April 12. Arrived with Biggam. Immense number of people travelling and difficult to find room on train and boat.

After much private discussion, it was finally decided that I should move the Second Reading of the Lords Reform Bill on May 6, and on arriving at the House I found a much larger collection of peers and more ladies in the Gallery than I had ever seen before, many of them,

³⁰⁸ Walter Burton Harris (1866-1933) was a journalist, writer, traveller and socialite who achieved fame for his writings on Morocco, where he worked for many years as special correspondent for The Times. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁰⁹ Mulai Ahmed er Raisuni known as Raisuli to most English speakers, was a Sharif (descendant of the Islamic prophet Muhammad) and a leader of the Jebala tribal confederacy in Morocco at the turn of the 20th Century. While regarded by foreigners and the Moroccan government as a brigand, some Moroccans, especially among the Jbala, considered him a heroic figure, fighting a repressive, corrupt government. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁰ Friedrich Rosen or Fritz Rosen (1856-1935) was a German Orientalist, diplomat and politician. From May to October 1921 he was the Foreign Minister of Germany. He died in Beijing. (*Wikipedia*)

no doubt, being under the impression that this might be the last opportunity of appearing there.

The task of pointing out its deficiencies to any assembly is not an agreeable one, nor is it easy to do so without giving offence, but whatever its faults the House of Lords is the most good-natured audience that exists, and as I avoided dogmatism and undue solemnity I obtained a better hearing than I had expected and, although conscious of a latent hostility, finished with what might be regarded as a success. I was followed by Lord Cawdor,³¹¹ who had been put up by the official Unionist leaders to move a friendly amendment to refer the Bill, together with other similar proposals, to a Committee. It was

Page 158

REFORM INQUIRY AGREED TO [1907]

instructive to listen to his speech because he obviously hated the whole thing, but had been instructed to offer it a tepid welcome. The debate lasted for two days and nearly all the most important members of the House took part in it, including Rosebery, Lansdowne and the Archbishop of Canterbury.³¹² The Liberal peers had been directed to abstain, and there was no direct opposition except from Halsbury³¹³. When the division took place 198 voted for the inquiry and only 46 against it, the minority being composed of Halsbury's followers and a number of Liberals.

This decision was regarded as a considerable success, more especially since previous attempts had been summarily defeated at an early stage, and I was very warmly congratulated. The Press, too, was almost unanimous in welcoming the apparent willingness of the Lords to agree to Reform. As for myself, I had few illusions on the subject, realising that nothing much was likely to happen as long as the wirepullers were secretly hostile.

It is curious to reflect that only two years later those who had denounced Reform in 1907 accepted the much more drastic proposals brought forward suddenly in 1909.

The principle of inquiry having been accepted, it was now necessary to form a committee. Twenty-five peers were nominated, of whom I was one, and at the first meeting Rosebery was proposed as chairman by Lansdowne and agreed to act, after some hesitation, saying that he was prepared to go further than the proposals contained in my Bill.

Hever Castle,³¹⁴ June 24. Down here with Evelyn. A large party, including the Lansdownes. Immense amount of money spent on improvements here and large trees imported and planted by side of lake. Many beautiful things, but thought the annex to the Castle perhaps unnecessary, and rather difficult to resist the feeling of being in an hotel deluxe. Lansdowne, naturally, worried about political prospects.

London, August 19. Dined with Rosebery, who was in pessimistic mood and saying that Unionists have ruined their cause by taking up Tariff Reform, and puts the blame upon Arthur Balfour.

³¹¹ Hugh Frederick Vaughan Campbell, 4th Earl Cawdor (1870–1914) (*Wikipedia*)

³¹² Randall Thomas Davidson, 1st Baron Davidson of Lambeth (1848-1930), was an Anglican bishop of Scottish origin who served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1903 to 1928. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹³ Hardinge Stanley Giffard, 1st Earl of Halsbury (1823-1921), was a leading barrister, politician and government minister. He served three times as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁴ Lord Astor's house.

Not for the first time, he expressed great admiration for Lord St. Aldwyn³¹⁵ and said that he had adapted himself at once to the House of Lords, whereas Lord Beaconsfield,³¹⁶ he considered, had been very ineffective there. Speaking of Bismarck, he denied that he had ever

Page 159

THE N.S.L. IN SWITZERLAND [1907]

been unfriendly to us as a nation. Bismarck had refused to see Gladstone on the last occasion when the latter passed through Germany. As Rosebery was intimate with Herbert Bismarck,³¹⁷ and had also stayed with his father, his statements must have been well founded.

The Swiss military authorities had most kindly invited the National Service League to attend their manoeuvres, and we were, of course, grateful for the opportunity. Lord Amptill³¹⁸ and I agreed to go out as representing the committee, and we heard that various Labour M.P.s were anxious to go, too. This was arranged without difficulty as the opportunity of converting them to the democratic principle of compulsory home service was obviously desirable. On September 7, the party started. It consisted of about 23 persons, including various Press representatives, Liberal and Labour M.P.s and a few members of the N.S.L. Most of the members of the party were strongly opposed to any kind of compulsion, but they were all civil and amiable. We arrived at Basle early the following morning and were met by Colonel Delmé Radcliffe,³¹⁹ our Military Attaché at Rome and at Berne, who accompanied us throughout the tour and was most helpful. Incidentally, he informed me that the Swiss Army was superior to the Italian, although strongly pro-Italian in sympathy himself.

At Basle, we witnessed all kinds of military displays, which occupied the whole of the day, and then passed on to Berne. From here we proceeded to Thun and other places in the manoeuvres area, finishing up in Freiburg, where a review and sham fight took place which marked the conclusion of the manoeuvres period. At the review, foreign officers were present and expressed considerable admiration for the appearance and efficiency of the troops.

Even without possessing any real military knowledge it was easy to grasp the efficiency of the Swiss military system. The so-called army was in reality a civilian force, undergoing only a few days' training annually after the first year, and the only professional soldiers were the instructors of these civilians. But what was, perhaps, more noticeable than anything else

³¹⁵ Michael Edward Hicks Beach, 1st Earl St Aldwyn (1837-1916), known as Sir Michael Hicks Beach, from 1854 to 1906 and subsequently as The Viscount St Aldwyn, was a Conservative politician. Known as "Black Michael", he notably served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1885 to 1886 and again from 1895 to 1902 and also led the Conservative Party in the House of Commons from 1885 to 1886. He was Father of the House from 1901 to 1906, when he took his peerage. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁶ Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881), was a British politician and writer who twice served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He played a central role in the creation of the modern Conservative Party. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁷ Herbert, Prince of Bismarck (1849-1904), was a German politician, who served as Foreign Secretary from 1886 to 1890. His political career was closely tied to that of his father, Otto von Bismarck, and he left office a few days after his father's dismissal. He succeeded his father as the 2nd Prince of Bismarck in 1898. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁸ (Arthur) Oliver Villiers Russell, 2nd Baron Amptill (1869-1935), was a British peer, rower and administrator who served as the Governor of Madras from October 1900 to February 1906 and acted as the Viceroy of India from April to December 1904. He was a great grandson of George Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford. (*Wikipedia*)

³¹⁹ Colonel Charles Delmé-Radcliffe, Military Attaché (General Staff Officer, 2nd Grade) Rome and Berne appointed Commander of the Order of the Bath, Military Division. (*Wikipedia article on Birthday Honours, 1910.*)

was the spirit displayed by these temporary soldiers. Far from grumbling at having to undergo military training, they looked upon it as a privilege and considered it a disgrace to be exempted from it. They cheerfully undertook the hardest work ; I never saw anyone the worse for drink, and the general intelligence was remarkable. The officers, who were all business men, were modest, keen and highly educated.

During the tour, Ampthill had been invaluable. He was a keen

Page 160

COMPULSION: DIVIDED OPINIONS [1907-08]

militia man himself and could therefore appreciate what he saw, and as he was a first-rate German scholar I left him to do all the talking at the numerous functions where we were entertained when in the German-speaking cantons. Being, too, a man of exceptionally fine physique, he always made an imposing appearance.

The disappointment was the attitude of those whom we had brought with us in the hope of converting them to our views. With scarcely an exception they persisted in rejecting any system of compulsion, while admitting that the results in Switzerland were satisfactory. Amongst those who took this misguided view was the late Mr. Harold Cox, M.P.,³²⁰ with whom I subsequently found myself constantly in agreement. He was an exceptionally clever man and a most useful M.P., but his independent views brought him into trouble with the Party machine and he lost his seat.

But, although the main object of the visit had not been attained, the experience had been an interesting one and everyone appreciated the courtesy and generous hospitality of the Swiss authorities.

Lyme, October 30. L. J. Maxse here for N.S.L. meeting which we addressed at Disley.

L. J. M., however, who made an excellent speech, gave great offence to some of the audience by saying that solicitors ought to serve because they "knew how to charge." Such are the perils which platform speakers encounter.

November 1. Engagement announced of my eldest daughter, Lettice, to John Egerton-Warburton,³²¹ Lieutenant in Scots Guards, eldest son of Mr. Piers Egerton-Warburton, of Arley. Much satisfaction expressed on all sides. They had first become acquainted when acting in the private theatricals which always took place at Lyme and Capesthorpe at Christmas.

London, November 27. Hear Campbell-Bannerman in very bad way and that he wants Birrell³²² to be his successor. Met Carson,³²³ who says that the successor is sure to be Asquith. Said that he found it impossible now to find anyone taking any interest in Ireland.

³²⁰ Harold Cox (1859-1936) was a Liberal MP for Preston from 1906 to 1909.

³²¹ Capt. John Egerton-Warburton (1883 to 30 August 1915) died of wounds sustained in the Great War and was buried at Great Budworth. (https://www.myheritage.com/names/john_egerton-warburton and <http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/fallen-alumni/captain-john-egerton-warburton>)

³²² Augustine Birrell (1850-1933) was an English politician, barrister, academic and author. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1907 to 1916, resigning in the immediate aftermath of the Easter Rising. (*Wikipedia*)

³²³ Edward Henry Carson, Baron Carson (1854-1935), known as Lord Carson, and from 1900 to 1921 called Sir Edward Carson, was an Irish unionist politician, barrister and judge.

February 4, 1908. Meeting of Lords Reform Committee, Rosebery in chair. Was not at all impressed, as he indulges in soliloquies and allows speakers to talk irrelevantly without any check. Somehow, I got the impression that he was not comfortable when presiding over men of more or less his own calibre, and wondered whether he had kept order in his own Cabinet. First speech by Curzon in Lords. His speaking is so infinitely

Page 161

BERESFORD AND FISHER [1908]

superior to that of the ordinary peer that it is quite difficult to believe that he is ever in the wrong.

Met J. Sandars (A. Balfour's secretary) at dinner and he said that A. J. B. found the present House of Commons much more interesting than the last!

February 11. Long walk with Rosebery, who wanted to talk to me about Reform Committee and its prospects. He wanted to get a Report out this session. Told him that in that case he must sit at least twice a week and not listen to any objections. Think he is inclined to try and do too much. Wants practically an elected Senate of about 300. He thought that this was the only barrier to Socialism and that Tariff Reform had destroyed any chance of the Unionist Party returning to power.

February 26. Visit from Lord Charles Beresford,³²⁴ who is in trouble with the Admiralty over a dispute between him and Captain Scott, R.N.³²⁵ According to C. B. this officer, who was under his command, had behaved with insolence and in an insubordinate manner. He was under the protection of Admiral Fisher,³²⁶ and Fisher, who was an open enemy of C. B., had prevented the Admiralty from taking any steps in the matter. I said that I regretted that I could not intervene, partly because I knew nothing about the Navy and partly because I felt that a Parliamentary debate would have a deplorable effect upon the public.

March 3. Lords Reform Committee meeting, and proceedings more satisfactory; most of the talking done by Curzon, Midleton and Northumberland.³²⁷ The two former appear to be generally in agreement, but they still do not speak to each other and I am occasionally called in as a kind of interpreter or shock absorber.

March 17. Presided at big meeting at Cannon Street Hotel, organised by railway companies and business men, against Miners' Eight Hours Bill. Some opposition, which I managed to quell summarily, much to satisfaction of most of the audience.

Deal Castle, April 2. Down here to see big golf match between British and French champions, the former (Vardon) winning easily.

³²⁴ Charles William de la Poer Beresford, 1st Baron Beresford (1846-1919), styled Lord Charles Beresford between 1859 and 1916, was a British admiral and Member of Parliament. He had an affair with Daisy Greville, Countess of Warwick, who was also a mistress of Edward VII. (*Wikipedia on Beresford and Countess of Warwick.*)

³²⁵ Admiral Sir Percy Moreton Scott, 1st Baronet (1853-1924) was a British Royal Navy officer and a pioneer in modern naval gunnery. (*Wikipedia*)

³²⁶ Admiral of the Fleet John Arbuthnot "Jacky" Fisher, 1st Baron Fisher (1841-1920), was a British admiral known for his efforts at naval reform. He had a huge influence on the Royal Navy in a career spanning more than 60 years. He was First Sea Lord at this period. (*Wikipedia*)

³²⁷ Henry George Percy, 7th Duke of Northumberland (1846-1918), styled Lord Lovaine between 1865 and 1867 and Earl Percy between 1867 and 1899, was a Conservative politician. (*Wikipedia*)

George Hamilton, who was originally one of Beaconsfield's favourite young men, said that the only law officer for whom Beaconsfield had any respect was Lord Cairns.³²⁸

Page 162

GERMAN INVASION SCHEME. DELCASSÉ [1908]

Told by a big man in the City that the Lord Mayor of London is obliged to spend over £3,500 on champagne alone during his period of office.

May 8. Visit from Spring Rice,³²⁹ who is one of the ablest of our diplomatists. He said that he had lately been in Germany and that there was no doubt whatever as to German invasion scheme, but that they did not anticipate moving until 1915. Lots of German officers were here spying, and their Quartermaster-General lately spent two months between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Haldane³³⁰ and Loreburn³³¹ formed the Potsdam party in the Cabinet and were worked by Metternich: meanwhile the Germans would do all they could to keep on good terms with us. He said that the King considered C. Hardinge³³² too independent and would like to replace him by Esher,³³³ who is more pliable. Spring Rice is not an alarmist and what he says is probably correct.

June 11. Wedding of my eldest daughter, Lettice, to John Warburton, at St. Peter's, Eaton Square. A big crowd of friends and relatives, everything passing off most satisfactorily. No young couple ever started more auspiciously or received more enthusiastic congratulations, but I was unable to resist a feeling of dejection later on. The first break in a family must always be something of a tragedy.

June 25. Luncheon with the Speaker and met Delcassé.³³⁴ Was asked to take him to the House of Lords and found him dull and unattractive. A debate on some minor subject was in progress and Lansdowne was making a long speech of a technical character. Delcassé was standing beside me on the steps of the throne, and thinking that he must be greatly bored I suggested that we should try the House of Commons. "Non," said Delcassé; "*je préfère rester ici écouter Lord Lansdowne.*" As he could not speak a word of English this seemed remarkable, but fortunately I was able to transfer him to the charge of an M.P.

³²⁸ Hugh McCalmont Cairns, 1st Earl Cairns (1819-1885) was a British statesman who served as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain during the first two ministries of Benjamin Disraeli. He was one of the most prominent Conservative statesmen in the House of Lords during this period. (*Wikipedia*)

³²⁹ Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice (1859-1918) was a British diplomat who served as British Ambassador to the United States from 1912 to 1918. In this role, he was responsible for leading British efforts to end American neutrality during the First World War. He is best known as the writer of the lyrics of the patriotic hymn, "I Vow to Thee, My Country". (*Wikipedia*)

³³⁰ Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane (1856-1928), was an influential British Liberal Imperialist and later Labour politician, lawyer and philosopher. He was Secretary of State for War between 1905 and 1912 during which time the "Haldane Reforms" were implemented. He was Lord Chancellor between 1912 and 1915, when he was forced to resign because of his supposed and unproven German sympathies. (*Wikipedia*)

³³¹ Robert Threshie Reid, 1st Earl Loreburn (1846-1923) was a lawyer, judge and Liberal politician. He served as Lord Chancellor between 1905 and 1912. (*Wikipedia*)

³³² Lord Newton notes: Then Permanent Under-Secretary, Foreign Office.

³³³ Reginald Baliol Brett, 2nd Viscount Esher (1852-1930) was a historian and Liberal politician in the United Kingdom, although his period of greatest influence over military and foreign affairs was as a courtier, member of public committees and behind-the-scenes "fixer". (*Wikipedia*)

³³⁴ Théophile Delcassé (1852-1923) was a French statesman. (*Wikipedia*)

In my life of Lord Lansdowne, I commented upon the extraordinary action of King Edward, who telegraphed to Delcassé urging him to remain in office when the crisis came,³³⁵ but this action seems to have

Page 163

A VANITY FAIR SKETCH [1908]

always escaped notice. I wonder what we should have done had the French President ever intervened to prevent the resignation of our Foreign Secretary.

July 13. Visit from Mr. Frank Harris,³³⁶ now proprietor of Vanity Fair, which he has taken over from Mr. Gibson Bowles, M.P.³³⁷

He wanted an interview with regard to a cartoon of me which he proposed to publish. Somehow, we were quite unable to make anything of each other, and it was decided, upon my suggestion, to ask Mr. A. A. Baumann to write the appreciation, without any prompting from myself. He accordingly wrote the following:

“Tom Legh,” as he was called by his contemporaries at Eton and Oxford, entered the House of Commons in 1886 after some years spent in the Diplomatic Service. As Mr. Legh he was merely an item there. As Lord Newton, he is a power, a recognised power, in the House of Lords. This fact may seem strange to the outsider who thinks that if a man enters the House of Commons with brains, birth and wealth, his success is assured. But it cannot surprise anyone acquainted with the internal economy of the Conservative Party, for independence of mind is the one deadly sin in the eyes of the managers of that body. Tom Legh was not at all the sort of young man to humour the saturnine stupidity of Akers Douglas or to pay court to that “faux bonhomme,” the Rt. Honble. Jack Sandars; and so, in company with half a dozen clever colleagues, he was ignored in the distribution of offices and had to content himself with putting a few informative questions on Foreign Affairs, and with making one or two personal speeches on the Foreign Office vote.

As soon as he escaped from the paralysing influence of the Whips and the Olympian indifference of Mr. Balfour, Lord Newton opened a new career for himself in the House of Lords. Having learnt in the House of Commons that most men in high places are there by accident or intrigue, Lord Newton determined to pursue his course without reference to his leaders. His success has astonished all but the few who knew his quite rare qualities. A rather sleepy appearance is a foil to a clear and alert intelligence which takes nothing on trust and has a humorous contempt for the solemnities of the world. Lord Newton has strong views about the Army, believing that every young and healthy citizen should learn to defend his country; and he has drafted a Bill for reforming the House of Lords by a process of selection. Wit and humour are powerful aids to the critical faculty and Lord Newton’s directness and simplicity of style are irresistible.

³³⁵ Lord Newton’s footnote: Delcasse, who had been Foreign Minister since 1898, resigned on June 6, 1905, when Rouvier, the Prime Minister, acceded to a German demand that the Moroccan question be submitted to an international conference.

³³⁶ Frank Harris (1856-1931) was an editor, journalist and publisher. (*Wikipedia*)

³³⁷ Thomas Gibson “Tommy” Bowles (1841-1922) was the founder of the magazines *The Lady* and the *English Vanity Fair*, a sailor and the maternal grandfather of the Mitford sisters. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XV

Socially, Lord Newton has the exceedingly rare gift of listening and the still rarer gift of perceiving that some other people besides himself are amusing; and as a friend he will, without making any professions, take a great deal of trouble to do a good turn.”

To anyone acquainted with me this notice may appear unduly flattering, but Baumann was a very clever man with much experience of Parliament, and a notable writer on politics, although his Parliamentary

Page 164

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION [1908]

career was unlucky, which is not surprising in view of his opinion of the party officials.

As for Frank Harris, I fancy that he became a violent pro-German, and *Vanity Fair*, which had been a most humorous publication under Bowles, came to an inglorious end. Mr. Leslie Ward,³³⁸ the cartoonist, surprised me by saying that in his experience men were much vainer than women.

July 14. Reform Committee. Discussion on draft Report brought up by Rosebery. Proceedings enlivened by a violent attack by Halsbury on whole principle of Reform. Curious that he should have joined the Committee.

July 24. News of amazing revolution in Turkey, started by army, which looks as if anything might happen in the Near East.

Lyme, August 24. Curzon, Gleichen³³⁹ and others staying here. Curzon, who when last here found fault with a very substantial but necessary tower on top of the house, containing bedrooms, which had been built about 100 years ago, was quite surprised to find that I had not removed it.

Gleichen says that all the foreign gendarmerie officers in Macedonia will be removed, as the Young Turks object to their presence. The latter, he says, have shown themselves very clever.

Lyme, December 4. Lords Reform Committee Report published, this action being disapproved of by many members of the Committee, myself included, who considered that it would be better to wait until the spring, in view of the strong animosity now prevailing between Government and Opposition.

As we predicted, the Report fell almost completely flat. This seemed strange, in view of the interest shown previously, but both parties were evidently now considering the present rather than the future. The Report contained, in principle, all the proposals made in the Bill recently introduced, but in fact all House of Lords Reform projects have a strong similarity.

³³⁸ Sir Leslie Matthew Ward (1851-1922 London) was a British portrait artist and caricaturist who over four decades painted 1,325 portraits which were regularly published by *Vanity Fair*, under the pseudonyms “Spy” and “Drawl”. (*Wikipedia*)

³³⁹ Major-General Lord Albert Edward Wilfred Gleichen (1863-1937) was a British courtier and soldier. Born Count Albert Edward Wilfred Gleichen, he was the only son of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg (a half-nephew of Queen Victoria) and his wife, Laura Williamina (a sister of the 5th Marquess of Hertford).

CHAPTER XV

December 15. The Miners' Eight Hours Bill had passed through the Commons and came up this day for Second Reading in the Lords. After considerable discussion, it had been agreed with the opponents that I should move the rejection, *pro forma*, and without the intention of throwing out the Bill, which would have been a reckless proceeding. I accordingly did so and had a curious experience. The Bill was so obviously a vote-catching measure, and the proposal to fix a



Cartoon of the Author, by Spy, published in *Vanity Fair*, 1908

Page 165

TOO GOOD A SPEECH! [1908-09]

rigid time limit, instead of adhering to an elastic system, would so obviously send up the price of coal and cause extreme difficulty in certain districts, that anyone could have made a strong case against it, but as I spoke I felt that the audience was listening with unusual attention. When I had finished, I was approached by much-flustered friends who said that there were a number of peers who did not usually attend and who had been so moved by my arguments that they intended to try to throw out the Bill. This would never have done, for this was an important Government measure, and it would have been extreme folly to force a fight with the whole of the Trade Union movement. I therefore persuaded these would-be supporters to abstain, or else to vote against me, and eventually the Second Reading was carried with the assistance of all the Liberal peers. This was the only occasion on which I was ever charged with having made too good a speech.

1909. For a considerable time we had been searching for a candidate to fight the next election in the Newton division, and I had, with some difficulty, produced several gentlemen who seemed suitable, but they were rejected on various grounds: one because he had figured in a divorce case, and a second who was a Roman Catholic, while financial difficulties made others unacceptable. It was not possible to find a local candidate, for all those who had

CHAPTER XV

sufficient means had left the district, but eventually I found Lord Wolmer.³⁴⁰ I took him over to introduce him to the local leaders, and on January 16 he was enthusiastically adopted as candidate. He made an excellent impression and delivered a remarkably good speech, afterwards showing that he was fully capable of dealing with any heckler. Although only 22 he was exceptionally well acquainted with all the current political questions.

³⁴⁰ Roundell Cecil Palmer, 3rd Earl of Selborne (1887-1971), styled Viscount Wolmer from 1895 to 1941, was a British administrator, intelligence officer and Conservative politician. Priscilla Warburton the daughter of Captain John Egerton Warburton and Lord Newton's eldest daughter Lettice married his son Major William Matthew Palmer, Viscount Wolmer. Her second husband was her cousin, Peter Legh, 4th Baron Newton. (*Wikipedia*)

**THE YOUNG TURKS AND MACEDONIA: COMPULSION IN THE LORDS:
REJECTION OF LLOYD GEORGE BUDGET : REFORM AGAIN. 1909-1910**

JANUARY 21, 1909. Started for Constantinople, having been urged by Gerard Lowther and others to come out and see the Young Turks at work. Stopped at Freiburg to deposit Piers, my second son, with Mr. Adams's establishment where boys are coached for the British Army examination. Apparently satisfactory, and Freiburg an attractive town, with resources for boys. Travelled to Vienna with an Austrian, who said that the terrible earthquake which had just occurred at Messina was looked upon as a providential event which would keep the Italians quiet for a time.

British Embassy, Constantinople, January 26. Find the Lowthers alone here, and he is not at all optimistic about the future. He says there is no money and much confusion. Afternoon with Lady Lowther to St. Sophia. See very little change in appearance of people and the streets since I was last here, except that there are more Turks wearing shoddy European clothes and the street dogs have disappeared. Fitzmaurice³⁴¹ (the chief Dragoman) dined. He is a first-class authority on Turkey and it is easy to see that he, like the Ambassador, has little confidence in the future.

I spent nearly a fortnight in Constantinople and soon realised the truth of Lowther's statement about the general confusion that existed. There were many who believed in the Young Turks, and many who thought them no better than their predecessors. There were also many who predicted that a war with Bulgaria was inevitable, and just as many who denied it. I was constantly assured that salaries were now paid regularly, and yet met people who said that salaries were hopelessly in arrears. There was the same contradiction with regard to the national finances. I visited the new Parliament and was not much impressed: it appeared rather squalid, with people smoking all over

the place, but the Deputies themselves were very self-confident and loquacious. One of the manifest changes for the better was that the ubiquitous Sultan's spies had disappeared, and one heard very little about the Sultan himself. In his palmy days, Abdul Hamid frequently entertained diplomatists and their wives at lavish banquets in the Yildiz Palace, and, as is not unusual at gatherings of Mussulmans and Christians, it frequently happened that conversation languished and silences followed. On one such occasion a lady asked Abdul Hamid what he thought of "The Inner Life," this being the title of a metaphysical work which had had considerable success in London society. No reply came for a long time, but at length the Imperial interpreter announced, with much solemnity: "His Majesty the Sultan considers that hot milk taken just before going to bed is an excellent thing for "the inner life."

He was now not in a position to entertain lavishly, as his household retinue and income had been severely reduced. However, he invited the Ambassador and myself to the Palace after

³⁴¹ *Gerald Fitzmaurice (1865-1939), Chief Dragoman of the British Embassy in Turkey.* This is the title of a book found on Google Books. It is by Geoff Berridge

the Selamlık³⁴² had taken place. I found him little changed, and his manners still excellent, and I got the impression that he would have liked to talk to me confidentially had I been alone; but I had been told that he now refused to talk politics to anyone but an Ambassador. However, after the usual banalities which generally inaugurate Royal audiences I cheered him up greatly by reminding him that every nation now, except China, had to put up with a Parliament, and that, having had a fairly long Parliamentary experience, I had come to the conclusion that the value of rhetoric was much exaggerated. I could see that he was longing to say that Parliamentary Government in Turkey had already resulted in the loss of two provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but he restrained himself. We did not get much out of him, and the occasion must have been one of the last when he received a travelling visitor, for not long afterwards he was transported to Salonika.

A curious feature in this incident was that a heavy snowstorm was raging and it was necessary to wade through about a foot of snow which lay on the steps leading up to the main door of the Palace, as no one had troubled to remove it.

One of the important personages whom I visited was the German Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein, whom I had met on a former occasion. The Germans were said to have been much upset by the Young Turk revolution, but he put a bold face upon it. He said that the boycott of Austria by Turkey would soon be settled, that the

Page 168

A VISIT TO DRAMA [1909]

Bulgars were the real danger, and that he had always predicted that European intervention in Macedonia would fail; that, whatever happened, the Turks would never start a war, that the German military instructors had never been given a chance, that the Sultan was not the man he had been, and failed because he had neglected the Army, and that although the financial position was deplorable he remained an optimist.

About this time, Sir Ernest Cassel³⁴³ arrived in connection with a proposed loan, and various entertainments were given in connection with the visit. At some of these gatherings I made the acquaintance of two men who subsequently achieved notoriety: one was Enver,³⁴⁴ then a modest, good-looking officer; the other Djavid Bey,³⁴⁵ a conceited but very intelligent Salonika Jew, who was eventually hanged by Mustapha Kemal³⁴⁶ for alleged treason. I also paid a visit to Prinkipo, an attractive island which looked highly prosperous when compared with Constantinople, and witnessed some interesting religious functions; one the Persian atonement festival, when they cut and beat themselves while working up a frenzy, and the

³⁴² The selamlık was the portion of a Ottoman palace or house reserved for men; as contrasted with the seraglio, which is reserved for women and forbidden to men. Selamlık was also a portion of the household reserved for the guests. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁴³ Sir Ernest Joseph Cassel (1852-1921) was a German-born British merchant banker. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁴⁴ Ismail Enver Pasha (1881-1922), commonly known as Enver Pasha, was an Ottoman military officer and a leader of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. He was the main leader of the Ottoman Empire in both Balkan Wars and World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁴⁵ Mehmet Cavit Bey, Mehmed Cavid Bey or Mehmed Djavid Bey (1875–1926) was an Ottoman economist, newspaper editor and leading politician during the last period of the Ottoman Empire. A member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), he was part of the Young Turks and had positions in government after the constitution was established. In the beginning of the Republican period, he was executed for alleged involvement in an assassination attempt against Mustafa Kemal. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁴⁶ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) was a Turkish army officer, reformist statesman, and the first President of Turkey. He is credited with being the founder of the Republic of Turkey. His surname, Atatürk (meaning "Father of the Turks"), was granted to him in 1934. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVI

other a performance at Scutari by high-class Howling Dervishes, which was unlike the usual display and not without dignity.

Left Constantinople feeling that, notwithstanding the general welcome accorded to the Young Turks, especially by this country, there was no real settlement yet, and that Lowther, who had been blamed for not showing sufficient enthusiasm, was quite justified in his restraint.

Drama, February 9. Staying here with Colonel Bonham, who commands the British Gendarmerie. This small town is in the Cavalla district, where the best tobacco is grown. Situation here confused and complicated, as the foreign gendarmerie officers have been dismissed and have technically no powers. No hostile bands, however, operating now, as Turks, Bulgars, Greeks and Serbians have all sworn eternal friendship.

When the revolutionary Bulgarians (who were the most formidable of the three) came into the town to swear peace, Bonham³⁴⁷ said, they greatly resembled in appearance the Boer commanders who surrendered after the armistice in South Africa. Drama had never given much trouble and the British officers had got on very well with both the Mussulman and Christian inhabitants. The officers said that their men, chiefly Anatolians, were very stupid but well-behaved and reliable. I spent a few days here in very cold weather, paying

Page 169

SALONIKA AND BELGRADE [1909]

numerous visits and acquiring some knowledge of what our officers had done, and after being entertained with them at a banquet organised in our honour by the local authorities, passed on to Serres.

Serres, February 13. A quiet place, much like Drama. Foreign officers (French) about to leave. Heard that Greeks are giving a great deal of trouble. The Turkish general in command of the place very civil and took me to the military hospital, which was crowded with patients. It seems that the unfortunate Turkish soldiers, who come mostly from warm regions, are unable to stand the severe winter here.

Salonika, February 16. Arrived here to find myself again in an international atmosphere of intrigue and suspicion. Taken by Graves to see the principal authorities and some of the consuls, and did not find any of them hopeful. The Turks make no secret of the fact that they mean to get rid of all foreign officials, as well as gendarmes, and replace them with natives.

Belgrade, February 18. Arrived here five hours late, and, presumably trying to make up for lost time, the train collided with the station buffers and everyone upset. No one, however, seriously hurt. Decided to pass a night here and found Mr. Lionel James, the well-known war correspondent, and Colonel Du Cane, our Military Attaché, staying in the hotel. Weather very cold, and little to do. Met Count Forgatsch, the Austrian Minister here, and had long talk with him.

³⁴⁷ Major George Lionel Bonham, 1st or Grenadier Guards, served in South Africa, 1900-2 and was severely wounded in action at Biddulphsberg. He died in his country's service as Colonel Commanding the British Section of the Turkish Gendarmerie, 23 January 1910 age 36. (Details from a memorial shown on an Imperial War Museum site: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/48549>)

CHAPTER XVI

I had already known him in St. Petersburg. He professed to be quite unperturbed and said there would be no war, and that Aerenthal's³⁴⁸ policy had been quite right, but admitted that the Turkish boycott of Austria had been more or less successful. Forgatsch subsequently obtained a somewhat sinister notoriety in connection with Austro-Serbian relations. Most of the persons whom I met disbelieved in war and said that differences were much exaggerated by the Press.

I was obliged to remain several days in Belgrade, as the trains were all delayed by snow, and I found the city rather devoid of resources. There was, however, an Irish lady, married to a Serb, who was full of information about the country, and a Minister one day enlightened me by producing some newly-arrived Austrian deserters who had escaped over the ice in the river. He said that 600 had already come in. At length, a train for western Europe arrived and I was back in London on March 3. My tour had left on me the impression that the tremendous enthusiasm which had been created in this country by the Turkish Revolution would be followed before long by disenchantment,

Page 170

A WEMYSS PRESENTATION. SUFFRAGETTES [1909]

and that the struggle between the Turks and the Balkan States was only postponed and might break out sooner than was generally supposed.

March 8. Went to F.O., by request, to see E. Grey, who has, of course, no personal knowledge of Turkey or, in fact, of any country on the European continent. Find that he has no more confidence in the Young Turks than I, believing their rule to be a mere military dictatorship. Thinks that the next danger will come from the Greeks, who want to seize Crete, which the Turks will fight for. Said he found Young Turks very unpractical when over here, and objecting strongly to any money compromise. Thought Austrians had acted in very clumsy manner.

Garswood, March 12. Only Lady Gerard here. Came down for meeting at Ashton addressed by Wolmer. A very crowded audience and much interest shown. Wolmer made excellent speech, but thought it slightly aggressive. Proceedings far more strenuous than in my day and felt thankful that I had no seat in House of Commons.

April 5. Presentation to Lord Wemyss of his portrait by Sargent, and meeting at 23, St. James's Place.

Rosebery had asked me to act as treasurer of the fund, a task which I was glad to undertake. I collected over £500 in the House of Lords without trouble, and could have got much more had it been necessary, for Lord Wemyss was an extraordinarily popular man, with great charm. The occasion was his 90th birthday, and the only sign of physical weakness that he showed was deafness. Rosebery, at my request, made the presentation, with the grace and eloquence which he always displayed on similar occasions, and the only other speaker was Lord Wemyss himself. The portrait is now in the Tate Gallery and is one of Sargent's most striking productions.

³⁴⁸ Count Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal (1854-1912) was an Austrian diplomat. He pressed ahead with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire in 1908 on the basis of a secret agreement with Russian foreign minister Alexander Izvolsky. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVI

June 29. Suffragist demonstration at Westminster. Waited at entrance to see what would happen. A deputation of eight women arrived, with a communication which they insisted upon presenting in person to the Prime Minister. When told that this could not be done, Mrs. Pankhurst³⁴⁹ slapped an inspector hard on the face and was arrested, without any undue force. The other Amazons were also arrested without any unnecessary violence. The sympathies of the crowd seemed to be with the police. Mrs. Pankhurst, who for a long time resided in our village (Disley), was in private life a refined and highly intelligent lady.

June 30. Presided at National Service League annual meeting. A large attendance,

Page 171

COMPULSION NARROWLY DEFEATED [1909]

and the League now has about 70,000 members. Much enthusiasm at the dinner, where the chief guest was George Wyndham,³⁵⁰ a very valuable convert, as he had been a member of the Cabinet and Undersecretary of State for War.

July 12. I had always been anxious to get a definite opinion in the Lords on the question of compulsory service, and the best method of doing so was by means of a Bill. The Committee prepared a Bill, drawn by skilled military experts, and also prepared an excellent speech for Roberts, which he delivered on this day. The debate aroused considerable interest, both in Parliament and in the country. There was a very large attendance, and it was an indication of the complete want of vision of the official Conservatives that they actually issued a Whip against the Bill, whereas, had they allowed the peers a free vote, the effect of the decision, in whichever way it went, would have been far greater. The debate lasted for two full days, and was marked by some excellent speeches from Curzon and Milner. I could not resist making a short contribution myself, in which I pointed out that the official politicians on both sides, who had for the last few years cited Roberts as an absolutely infallible military authority, were now treating him as if he were an obscure militia major with an imaginary grievance. It was the fact that some of the minor official henchmen were insinuating that he was now out of date. The Bill, with the assistance of the Liberals, was defeated by 123 to 103. The extraordinary feature was that military peers who had had war experience voted against Roberts. Nevertheless, the result of the division showed that the principle of compulsory home defence was not merely the dream of isolated cranks.

July 25. Channel flown by Bleriot.³⁵¹ Personally, I felt that it was a black day for Britain, and have never wavered in the belief that the invention of flying was, on balance, a curse to the civilised world.

³⁴⁹ Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) was a political activist and leader of the suffragette movement who helped women win the right to vote. She was born in Mosside in Manchester. In 1903, five years after her husband died, Pankhurst founded the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), an all-women suffrage advocacy organization. With the advent of the First World War, Mrs. Pankhurst's daughters Emmeline and Christabel called an immediate halt to militant suffrage activism in support of the British government's stand against the "German Peril." (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁰ George Wyndham (1863-1913) was a Conservative politician, statesman and man of letters, noted for his elegance. In 1887 Wyndham became private secretary to Arthur Balfour. In 1889, he was elected unopposed to the House of Commons as Member of Parliament for Dover and retained the seat until his death. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵¹ Louis Charles Joseph Blériot (1872-1936) was a French aviator, inventor and engineer. In 1909 he became world famous for making the first flight across the English Channel in a heavier than air aircraft, winning the prize of £1,000 offered by the *Daily Mail* newspaper. (*Wikipedia*)

July 29. First meeting of Dramatic Censorship Committee. This was a joint committee of Lords and Commons, of which I was a member. It had been set up in deference to the complaints of those writers who alleged that their masterpieces were mutilated by a soulless bureaucrat who understood nothing about art. It was a great opportunity for recognised and unrecognised geniuses to air their views, and it was seized with avidity. Most of the witnesses were the dissatisfied writers, dramatists and critics, and included, amongst

Page 172

DRAMATIC CENSORSHIP COMMITTEE [1909]

others, Galsworthy,³⁵² Housman,³⁵³ Granville Barker,³⁵⁴ Chesterton,³⁵⁵ Walkley, Bernard Shaw³⁵⁶ and many others who were distinguished figures in the literary and dramatic world. Shaw, however, encountered a heavy rebuff, for, entirely owing to his own fault, he was not allowed by the Committee (presided over by the present Lord Samuel³⁵⁷) to complete his evidence. All these eminent persons were more or less anti-censor in their views. On the other side, the witnesses were less spectacular and the Censor himself cut a rather poor figure. Amongst these were the Speaker (Lord Ullswater), who had much experience of the stage, and Sir W. S. Gilbert.³⁵⁸ Both of them expressed the view that if a censor existed he ought to act vigorously. Gilbert, whose work may outlast that of many other famous dramatists, said that he had never had difficulties with the Censor (although he was known to be of a cantankerous disposition), and that he considered that the opponents of censorship were taken much too seriously. This was exactly what I felt myself, and I was much denounced for agreeing with him.

The inquiry lasted for some months and aroused a good deal of interest. I could not help feeling, however, that the importance of the question was much exaggerated. The intellectuals were inclined to make a tremendous grievance over trivialities, but I could sympathise with their view that it was ridiculous to sanction immorality and indecency in farce and stamp relentlessly upon any such tendency in high comedy and tragedy. Almost everyone was convinced that some form of censorship was necessary, and the Report recommended a compromise which, on the whole, seems to have given satisfaction, for during recent years we have heard little about it.

³⁵² John Galsworthy (1867-1933) was an English novelist and playwright. Notable works include *The Forsyte Saga* (1906–1921) and its sequels, *A Modern Comedy* and *End of the Chapter*. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1932. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵³ Alfred Edward Housman (1859-1936), usually known as A. E. Housman, was an English classical scholar and poet, best known to the general public for his cycle of poems *A Shropshire Lad*. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁴ Harley Granville-Barker (born Harley Granville Barker; stage name, Granville Barker; hyphenated surname adopted later; (1877-1946) was an English actor-manager, director, producer, critic and playwright. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁵ Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1936), better known as G. K. Chesterton, was an English writer, lay theologian, poet, philosopher, dramatist, journalist, orator, literary and art critic, biographer, and Christian apologist. Chesterton is well known for his fictional priest-detective *Father Brown*, and for his reasoned apologetics. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁶ George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) was an Anglo-Irish playwright, critic, and polemicist whose influence on Western theatre, culture, and politics extended from the 1880s to his death and beyond. He wrote more than sixty plays, including major works such as *Man and Superman* (1903), *Pygmalion* (1913), and *Saint Joan* (1923). Shaw became the leading dramatist of his generation, and in 1925 was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁷ Herbert Louis Samuel, 1st Viscount Samuel (1870-1963) was a British Liberal politician who was the party leader from 1931-35. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁵⁸ Sir William Schwenck Gilbert (1836-1911) was an English dramatist, librettist, poet and illustrator best known for the fourteen comic operas (known as the Savoy operas) produced in collaboration with the composer Sir Arthur Sullivan. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVI

Lyme, September 21. Grand Duke Michael³⁵⁹ and wife, Willoughby de Broke,³⁶⁰ G. Lowther, Maxse and others staying here. According to Grand Duke every member of the Russian Royal Family has £20,000 a year (which is difficult to believe).

Over at Poynton for Vernon's coming of age festivities.³⁶¹ No less than £4,000 being spent upon them. Had to attend at a dinner of 1,800 tenants and their wives: champagne for everyone and two cigars and a memento plate for each man.

Lyme, November 16. A. Balfour, Miss Balfour, J. Sandars and Maxse here. A. J. B. said that he always thought that Lords would have to reject the Budget.

G. Lowther, also here, says the Sultan had nothing to do with the reactionary movement in Constantinople, or with the massacres of

Page 173

BUDGET DEBATE [1909]

Armenians in Asia Minor, and that he behaved with dignity when deposed and taken to Salonika. He was not being badly treated, but would have been killed had he not got £800,000 in a German bank which the Young Turks could not get hold of. Things not going well, and Committee of Union and Progress still ran everything.

November 17. Manchester with A. J. B.: never saw a better meeting or more enthusiasm. A. J. B.'s speech the best platform address I have heard him deliver. Struck by much greater enthusiasm for Tariff Reform than for anything else. Afterwards to club, where there appeared to be strong feeling in favour of throwing out Budget.

Throughout all the autumn the fate of the Budget had been almost the only subject of political talk, and opinion in the Party was divided on the subject. When I was approached by the Chief Whip some weeks previously, I said that my inclination was in favour of accepting it but that I would follow the official decision of the Party.

My reasons for allowing the Budget to pass were purely tactical. I considered that if we fought we should fight on singularly unfavourable ground. Apart from the Constitutional objection, about which no one really cared, it would be perfectly easy for the Government to contend that the Peers, who represented the capitalists, were fighting against bearing their fair share of taxation, and there was every probability that extra taxation of the rich would receive wide and general support. It was also quite obvious that the Government were anxious to fight on this question, and it is, as a rule, very inadvisable to play into the enemy's hand. It always seemed to me that our leaders could not make up their minds for a long time, and that then the Tariff Reformers, who wanted a fight, had finally carried the day.

³⁵⁹ It is not clear from the text or the index but this must be Grand Duke Michael Mikhailovich of Russia (1861-1929). His father, Grand Duke Michael Nikolaevich of Russia (1832-18 December 1909) was the fourth son of Tsar Nicholas I of Russia but died only a few weeks after Lord Newton's diary entry. Moreover, his wife had died in 1891. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁶⁰ Richard Greville Verney, 19th Baron Willoughby de Broke (1869-1923) was a Conservative politician. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁶¹ George Francis Augustus Venables-Vernon, 8th Baron Vernon (1888-1915) who died in the Great War to be succeeded by his brother, Francis Lawrance William Venables-Vernon, 9th Baron Vernon (1889-1963) Their father, the 7th Baron, had died in 1898 aged 44. (*Wikipedia article on Barons Vernon*)

CHAPTER XVI

The debate on the Budget³⁶² began on November 22, and there was a huge attendance of peers and a large collection of women and other spectators. Amongst the peers were many who were quite unknown and had never attended before. The debate was opened by Lansdowne³⁶³ in a gifted speech, and lasted for six days, the public interest being so great that, if I am not mistaken, *The Times* printed a verbatim report of the proceedings and afterwards reprinted the whole debate in a special pamphlet. I spoke myself and was not very happy about my contribution, which was somewhat flippant. But sometimes one is mistaken about oneself: I was much surprised to receive

Page 174

ELECTION CAMPAIGN [1909-10]

many congratulations, both oral and written, and the speech was circulated in a special leaflet. I was pressed to address numerous meetings and became, temporarily, a favourite of the half-penny Press. This last distinction seemed to me ominous, as these publications were usually in the wrong. Finally, the Budget was rejected by 350 to 75, but I could not help thinking that the Conservative managers were unwise in digging up a number of peers who had never shown any interest in politics.

The political decks were now cleared for action, and both sides were full of confidence. The Liberals had such an enormous majority that they could hardly fail to be returned again, and on the other side the Tariff Reformers were eagerly awaiting another opportunity to try their luck. The contests began about the middle of December, and, much as I disliked the prospect, I volunteered to go and spout at meetings whenever possible.

One of the earlier meetings was at Chester, the Duke of Westminster³⁶⁴ presiding and George Wyndham and I being the principal speakers. I stayed at Eaton³⁶⁵ and found several sportsmen there, including a peer, who had never attended a political meeting before and were quite interested in this novel entertainment.

At this period, there were no less than 58 gardeners employed at Eaton, and the general expenditure on upkeep was stupendous.

After a strenuous spell of platform speaking I went to Manchester on January 10, 1910, to hear the first results of the polls. Here I found Ian Malcolm³⁶⁶ and other Conservative candidates full of confidence and predicting that every seat in Manchester would be won except the Exchange Division. We adjourned to the Town Hall later on and met with a terrible disillusion, for all the seats were lost, with the exception of one where there had been a three-cornered fight. The Manchester results boded ill for the neighbouring county constituencies, and a defeat at Newton seemed more than probable. These fears, unfortunately, were well founded. Wolmer, who actually polled more votes than any Conservative candidate had received before, was defeated by 750, and Bromley Davenport lost Macclesfield by a very small margin. This was an especially bitter blow, as he had been

³⁶² Lord Newton's footnote: Second Reading of the Finance Bill.

³⁶³ Lord Newton's footnote: He moved an amendment to withhold consent until the Bill had been submitted to the country.

³⁶⁴ Hugh Richard Arthur Grosvenor, 2nd Duke of Westminster (1879-1953), was a British landowner and one of the wealthiest men in the world. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁶⁵ The Duke of Westminster's estate near Chester.

³⁶⁶ Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm, 17th Laird of Poltalloch (1868-1944), was a Conservative Member of Parliament and Chieftain of the Clan Malcolm/MacCallum. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVI

an excellent M.P. from 1885 to 1906 and had distinguished himself in various ways, and also had been a member of the late Government. Before the end of January, the election had ended in a gain of 105

Page 175

WEAKNESS OF LIBERAL MAJORITY [1910]

seats by the Unionists, although in our part of the country we had done badly. The loss of seats in Lancashire and Cheshire was generally attributed to the power of the Free Trade fetish which prevailed at Manchester and in the cotton districts. In reality, however, where there was a gain of Liberal seats it was due, as in the 1906 election, to the fact that Labour was now in the ascendant but was still voting Liberal because the Party machinery had not yet been fully developed.

From an official Conservative publication, I gathered that I had spoken at more meetings than any other peer. Probably this statement was incorrect, but in any case, I was thankful when this hectic period came to an end, although it was less disagreeable than I had anticipated. I never failed to get a hearing, was usually treated with civility by opponents, and received the impression that peers were by no means as unpopular as was generally believed.

In the early part of 1910 there was considerable confusion in both Parties. The Liberals, deprived of their huge, solid majority, were now dependent upon the Irish vote and were much disquieted regarding the prospects of their new Budget. They were also in disagreement as to how the House of Lords should now be attacked. Already there were frequent baseless rumours that another general election was a possibility in the near future. On the Conservative side, there was also internal dissension, more especially on the question of House of Lords Reform, and the Lords themselves were much divided on the subject. Some, like Rosebery, Curzon and Milner, were anxious for a drastic scheme: others, represented by Lansdowne and Cawdor, were opposed to anything of a drastic nature and were evidently anxious to delay action as long as possible, and, finally, there were the out and out opponents, headed by Halsbury, who were definitely opposed to any change whatever—generally described as “Backwoodsmen.” After much discussion and delay it was at length agreed that Rosebery should move a Resolution on Reform, and this took place on March 14. He made a long and eloquent speech of nearly two hours’ duration, and the debate lasted for two days, Lansdowne and his supporters making it fairly clear that they were not in favour of any immediate action and talking about “inopportunity.”

March 23. Told by W. Peel, M.P.,³⁶⁷ that, while listening to a Lords’ Debate at the Bar, when I was speaking, a Labour M.P. asked him: “Who is this chap? He talks like anyone else: the other chaps all talk as if they were addressing their tenants.”

Page 176

A MYSTERY EXPLAINED [1910]

It is not a very high compliment to be told that one “talks like anyone else,” but I could now claim that the House paid some attention to what I said. This modest achievement was inexplicable to many people, and the Westminster Gazette, an excellent Liberal evening paper, with no affection for the House of Lords, explained the enigma in an amusing article:

³⁶⁷ William Robert Wellesley Peel, 1st Earl Peel (1867–1937) created Earl Peel in 1929. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVI

“Wherein lies Lord Newton’s power? Close and careful observation has revealed it to be a very simple secret. It is the human touch in an altogether inhuman assembly. Peers may be as frankly flesh and blood as they like outside the House, but tradition squeezes the soul from the body with historical precision at first contact with the crimson benches inside. A moral cataclysm has enabled Lord Newton to overcome this hereditary obstacle. Failing to take himself seriously — the highest intellectual plane to which man can aspire — he fails to take his brother peers seriously either. They feel instinctively that he has no more respect for them and for their idiosyncrasies than for his own, and that it is idle to keep up pretences which are seen through at once; and so, they become natural without conscious effort, sit at their ease while he talks to them, move their limbs freely, laugh loudly and, if need be, uproariously, and are living, breathing, human beings.”

Fifty years ago, Parliamentary matters were much more fully dealt with by the Press, and many interesting and entertaining articles used to appear until the advent of Northcliffe and the sensational era put an end to this practice.

The futile negotiations concerning Lords’ Reform between Rosebery and Lansdowne factions continued without much progress being made until, about the middle of April, a well authenticated rumour stated that Asquith was about to ask the King to create a sufficient number of peers to overcome the Conservative resistance, and Rosebery agreed to suspend action for the time being.

In the meanwhile, we decided to pay a visit to Italy, having been urged to do so by Delmé Radcliffe, who was our Military Attaché there. Before starting I happened to meet General Sir George Higginson,³⁶⁸ a very well-known and popular ex-Guardsman, who lived to be over 100, and he told me an entertaining story of his own experience while paying a visit to Rome some years previously. Wolseley, who at the time was Commander-in-Chief, asked him to find out what he could about the new Italian rifle, the British War Office having completely failed to obtain any information whatsoever. General Higginson conscientiously set to work in the orthodox manner, interviewed innumerable soldiers and ministers, wrote numerous letters and passed many hours in official ante-rooms without

Page 177

A MILITARY SECRET. ITALY [1910]

any success. On the evening previous to his departure for home, he went to a dance and there met the Austrian Military Attaché. Without expecting any reply of value, he asked the officer if he knew anything about the rifle. “Oh, yes,” was the reply; “we know all about it, and do not think much of it.” “How on earth,” said Higginson, “did you get your information?” “It was the simplest thing in the world,” said the Austrian; “I found a sentry, gave him five lire, he lent me his rifle and I took it home and took it to pieces myself.” This story, which was perfectly true, may perhaps throw some light upon the present Italian military failure.

Rome, May 2. Find Rome enormously changed since I last stayed here in 1877. General air of prosperity. Rodd³⁶⁹ thinks that we do not cultivate the Italians sufficiently: they are very

³⁶⁸ General Sir George Wentworth Alexander Higginson (1826-1927) was a British general and Crimean War hero who served more than 30 years in the Grenadier Guards. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁶⁹ James Rennell Rodd, 1st Baron Rennell (1858–1941), known as Sir Rennell Rodd before 1933, was a British diplomat, poet and politician. He served as British Ambassador to Italy during the First World War.

CHAPTER XVI

well disposed towards England. Also saw Sonnino,³⁷⁰ former Prime Minister, who struck me as an able man. He maintained that financial condition of Italy was sound, although the taking over of the railways by the State was not remunerative: and said that 600,000 emigrants left Italy every year but 40 per cent, of them returned. He deplored the political changes in England, especially the grant of Old Age Pensions, which, he thought, would do harm on the Continent.

We passed a very pleasant ten days in Rome, sightseeing and visiting the neighbouring country at its best, and stopped at Florence on the way back. Here we were fully occupied in sightseeing but also found various acquaintances. Amongst these was Labouchère, who had established himself in Michelangelo's house. I went to see him and found him as entertaining as ever, and, much to my surprise, he seemed genuinely anxious for House of Lords Reform, maintaining that if we got rid of the hereditary principle we should easily defeat the Liberals. It was easy to see that he had modified his former extreme views, although he did not admit it openly. He was contemptuous about Asquith's apparent vacillations, and also about the ignominious surrender of Asquith and Grey to Campbell-Bannerman. The death of the King, which had just occurred, would, he thought, be to the advantage of the Conservatives, because it meant that there would be delay.

London, May 18. Arrived to-day, crossing with a large number of distinguished strangers who proposed to attend the funeral of King Edward VII, many of them, no doubt, hoping to secure a decoration as well.

Page 178

THE KAISER AND ROOSEVELT [1910]

Among these visitors was the German Kaiser. The ex-President of the United States, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt,³⁷¹ happened to be in England at this time, on his way back to America after his visit to Egypt. The Kaiser always treated Roosevelt with extreme deference, and my friend, the late Mr. Henry White, the well-known American diplomatist, who was an extremely intimate friend of Roosevelt, told me a quaint story illustrative of this deference. When the Kaiser learnt that Roosevelt was in London, he sent an urgent message imploring him to call at Buckingham Palace for the purpose of an audience. The ex-President assented, but intimated that he "could only spare twenty minutes for the purpose." This somewhat ungracious concession was, however, received by the Imperial supplicant with much gratitude.

May 22. Saw the funeral procession from a house in Carlton House Terrace, and thought it a really impressive sight, the appearance of all the troops being excellent. The procession lasted for an hour and a quarter.

Sturry, June 13. Staying with Milner for the Parliamentary Golf Handicap, at Sandwich. Milner said that he had been offered the Colonial Office by Balfour in 1902, but refused it because he wished to finish his work in South Africa. King Edward had been very indignant with him. In 1905 he had been offered the Viceroyalty of India, but had refused on the ground of health. On this occasion the King was very lukewarm.

³⁷⁰ Baron Sidney Costantino Sonnino (11 March 1847-24 November 1922) was an Italian politician. He twice served briefly as Prime Minister, in 1906 and again from 1909-1910, and was the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs during the First World War, representing his country at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

³⁷¹ Theodore "T.R." Roosevelt, Jr. (1858-1919) was an American Republican politician, author, naturalist, soldier, explorer, and historian who served as the 26th President of the United States from 1901 to 1909.

CHAPTER XVI

June 10. Lords Reform Committee decided to do nothing more for the present, in view of the conference of the two parties.

**PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA: THE VETO CONFERENCE—A MISSED
OPPORTUNITY: FUTURE OF THE LORDS:
A PARTY MEETING: THE PARLIAMENT BILL. 1910-1911**

LYME, September 13, 1910. A large party here, consisting chiefly of relatives and young people, for the belated celebration of the coming of age of my elder son, Richard.

Elaborate preparations had been made, and a special train brought over the tenants from the Newton estate. For reasons of convenience it had been decided that the festivities should be confined to one day, and the old custom of inviting tenants and workers separately was wisely abandoned. Everything, therefore, depended upon the weather on a particular day, and there was fortunately no rain, although the temperature would have been more appropriate in November. A large tent had been erected in which over 800 partook of a meal accompanied by oratory. Amongst the guests was Curzon, who, as usual, made a first-rate speech, which was loudly denounced in the Liberal Press. There were also speeches by W. Bromley Davenport and my son, who made a much better appearance than I had some thirty years earlier, and presentations accompanied by many friendly demonstrations from all quarters. In the afternoon and evening there were entertainments, which were habitual at similar celebrations, and everything ended satisfactorily.

These coming of age festivities were still conscientiously celebrated on most estates and were no doubt productive of good feeling, but they caused considerable expense, and at the present moment it does not, unhappily, seem likely that it will be possible to continue them in the future.

Powis Castle, September 19. Arrived here to find a large shooting party and amongst the guests Prince Henry of Prussia,³⁷² accompanied by four or five uninteresting Germans.

Page 180

PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA [1910]

He seemed amiable and fairly intelligent, and I invited him to come to Lyme for a few days' shooting in the near future. He evidently was anxious to accept, but said that he must get permission first from the Emperor. I made him telegraph at once, and the necessary permit was obtained. But he asked if I would entertain all his suite as well. As I was not prepared to do so I suggested that they should be offered a holiday. This was an idea which never seems to have suggested itself to him, and it was received by his staff with much enthusiasm.

Lyme, September 26. Prince Henry arrived, bringing with him only Prince Alexander Munster,³⁷³ who was a personal friend of mine. As I thought it advisable that he should be

³⁷² Prinz Albert Wilhelm Heinrich von Preußen, or Prince Henry of Prussia (1862-1929), was the younger brother of German Emperor William II. He was a grandson of Queen Victoria and a cousin of King George V. A career naval officer, he held various commands in the Imperial German Navy and eventually rose to the rank of Grand Admiral. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁷³ This may be Count Alexander Otto Munster (1858-1922), mentioned in a family tree on <http://www.theweald.org/N10.asp?Nid=1843>. He is mentioned with the same dates as Alexander Otto Hugo Wladimir, prince Münster von Derneburg on another site: <http://geneall.net/en/name/1813639/alexander-otto-hugo-wladimir-prince-munster-von-derneburg/>

CHAPTER XVII

given the opportunity of learning something about British politicians, I collected Crewe,³⁷⁴ Curzon, Willoughby de Broke and various ladies for his edification. I very soon saw, however, that there was not much to be got out of him, as he was evidently not behind the scenes. He struck me as a pleasant and well-educated man, with no pomposity, and of an extremely simple nature. He began, for instance, at once by telling the company that he was not a spy and that he was animated by the most friendly sentiments towards England. He had recently returned from a voyage to the Far East and America, where he had been sent by the Emperor with the object of creating more friendly relations between Germany and the United States, and he declared quite frankly that he strongly disliked both Japan and America. He spoke bitterly of the treatment of his mother (the Empress Victoria³⁷⁵) by Bismarck, and said that he detested Herbert Bismarck. Neither did he conceal his aversion for the French. With regard to Russia he said that the Kaiser was always pointing out to the Czar the corruption and incompetence of his advisers, but that the Czar was incapable of doing anything. He was evidently in awe of his Imperial brother, and said nothing disrespectful about him. He listened with respect to a kind of lecture from Curzon on Anglo-German relations.

Altogether he struck me as a frank and honest sailor, perhaps not very well adapted for the highest commands but probably an excellent captain. He was certainly a good mechanic, knew everything about motor cars and was also a good and keen sportsman. As an instance of his extreme simplicity, I remember that he remarked to me, somewhat apologetically, that the silk hangings in his bedroom were in a very poor condition, but that he was not responsible for this. As they dated from the time of Charles II this was not surprising.

Lyme, September 30. Willoughby de Broke being anxious to

Page 181

A MISSED OPPORTUNITY [1910]

extend his knowledge of agriculture, we went to the farm, and, meeting a boy carrying pigwash, W. de B. asked him what the contents were. "Thirds," was the reply. "What are thirds?"—"Toppings."—"What are toppings?"—"Sackings."—"What are sackings?"—"Stuff we give to the pigs." This did not convey much information, and when Willoughby de Broke returned home he made the same inquiry from his own people and received precisely the same reply.

Lyme, November 11. Officially announced that the Veto Conference has definitely broken down, followed by statement that Asquith has gone to Sandringham, obviously for the purpose of persuading the King to make the additional peers required. This is news which will please only the extremists, for they are the only people who will welcome another general election.

This breakdown was even more disastrous than it appeared, for Lloyd George, in his own Memoirs, has mentioned that he made an offer to co-operate with the Conservatives in solving the problems of the Second Chamber, Home Rule, agricultural development, National Training for Defence, the remedying of social evils and an inquiry into the fiscal system.

³⁷⁴ Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe-Milnes, 1st Marquess of Crewe (1858-1945), known as The Lord Houghton from 1885 to 1895 and as The Earl of Crewe from 1895 to 1911, was a British statesman and writer. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁷⁵ Victoria, Princess Royal (Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa; (1840-1901) was German Empress and Queen of Prussia by marriage to German Emperor Frederick III. She was the eldest child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, and was created Princess Royal in 1841. She was the mother of Wilhelm II, German Emperor and Prince Henry of Prussia. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVII

These proposals were quite unknown to the public at the time, but they were not received in any hostile spirit by the Conservative party leaders, except Londonderry³⁷⁶ and Akers-Douglas,³⁷⁷ whom Lloyd George quotes as opposed to the plan. Had it materialised, there would in his opinion have been in existence, by 1914, a body of trained young men aggregating between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000, fit for incorporation in our armies shortly after the declaration of war, and rifles and other equipment for them which it took us over 18 months to manufacture.

At this particular moment, the House of Lords did not show to advantage. The process of a death-bed repentance had already begun, and many stalwarts who had hitherto opposed the Rosebery programme hurriedly assented to his proposals. There was much confusion in the Conservative ranks, and the only certainty was that we should shortly be plunged into another hateful fight in which it seemed to me that we had the poorest chance of success.

Lyme, November 25. Travelled down with Emmott, M.P.,³⁷⁸ a shrewd and capable member of the Liberal Government, who thought the election would not make any important changes.

Page 182

ELECTION DISAPPOINTMENTS. [1910]

Chatsworth, November 28. Find a very large shooting party here, including the German and Austrian Ambassadors, who were probably informing their respective Governments that the English were election mad. I had promised to assist Kerry,³⁷⁹ who was the local member, and was glad to accept an invitation to make Chatsworth my headquarters during the election, as it was conveniently situated for reaching various places at which I had undertaken to speak.

Chatsworth and Lyme were both partly built by the same architect, Leoni, the modern part of Lyme corresponding with the old portion of Chatsworth.

I attended many meetings in various places and got the impression that the contest was less bitter than on the last occasion, which was rather surprising in view of the persistent endeavours that had been made by certain politicians to work up a class hatred. As the struggle progressed the Unionist wire-pullers grew more optimistic, and it was widely believed that in the Lancashire and Cheshire district there would be a considerable turnover of votes. When I went to Manchester on December 3 to hear the polling result I found all our candidates as full of confidence as on the last occasion. Again there was woeful disappointment, for the position in Manchester remained unchanged, although the Liberal majorities had been diminished and there were several welcome gains in Lancashire boroughs. The total results all over the country were by no means satisfactory.

³⁷⁶ Charles Stewart Vane-Tempest-Stewart, 6th Marquess of Londonderry (1852-1915), styled Viscount Castlereagh between 1872 and 1884, was a Conservative politician, landowner and benefactor, who served in various capacities in the Conservative administrations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He voted against the Parliament Act of 1911. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁷⁷ Aretas Akers-Douglas, 1st Viscount Chilston GBE PC (21 October 1851-15 January 1926), born Aretas Akers and known as Aretas Akers-Douglas between 1875 and 1911, was a Conservative statesman and politician who sat in the House of Commons from 1880 until he was raised to the peerage in 1911. He notably served as Home Secretary under Arthur Balfour between 1902 and 1905. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁷⁸ Alfred Emmott, 1st Baron Emmott (1858-1926) was a businessman and Liberal Party politician. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁷⁹ Lieutenant-Colonel Henry William Edmund Petty-Fitzmaurice, 6th Marquess of Lansdowne (1872-1936), styled Earl of Kerry until 1927, was a British soldier and politician. He was the son of the 5th Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927) (*Wikipedia*)

Lyme, December 7. Received glorious news that Wolmer had been returned at Newton. This was a really wonderful win, considering that he had no local connection whatever, and he had won by sheer pertinacity and hard work. By this time the elections were nearly over and the net result was that the Unionists lost one or two seats. It was curious that in our part of the country we did fairly well, winning back quite a number of seats, whereas in the previous election we had done very badly. This encouraged the belief that Lancashire was beginning to lose confidence in Free Trade.

Melbury,³⁸⁰ December 9. Passing through London met Chief Whip, Acland Hood,³⁸¹ who said that London had been the great disappointment in the election. Travelled down here with Walter Long,

Page 183

PARTY TACTICS IN THE LORDS [1910-11]

who blamed our party officials for not having realised soon that an election was imminent.

December 10. A wonderful shoot, 418 pheasants and 640 coots, the latter flying very well. In the little church here is a beautiful Chantrey monument.

Holkham,³⁸² February 5, 1911. Came down here for N.S.L. meeting at Norwich. Much impressed with beauty of this house and with its contents: pictures, books, manuscripts, statuary and so on. A very large amount now being spent on redecoration. All doors and chimney pieces elaborately finished in best taste. Outside of house, however, impaired by being built in brick instead of stone.

London, February 10. Decided, in view of financial difficulties, chiefly caused by increased taxation, to try and sell this house (6, Belgrave Square) and also to make economies at Lyme.

I found it very hard to discover a possible purchaser, although I heard that some sanguine people were still buying big houses.

February 20. Went to see Lansdowne, who wanted to have my opinion about introducing a Lords Reform Bill now. I said that I thought this action was much too late and that it would have very little effect, but that we ought to do it in order to help the Unionist M.P.s and candidates who were pledged to the principle.

March 6. Met Kitchener for the first time at a dinner. He said that the Japanese had made a great fuss about him and that he could not see what benefit they had derived from the alliance with us: a somewhat surprising statement.

Hear the King has given way about creation of peers.

³⁸⁰ Seat of the Earl of Ilchester. The 5th Earl had died in 1905 so this must be Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, 6th Earl of Ilchester (1874-1959), styled Lord Stavordale until 1905, who was a British peer and philanthropist. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁸¹ Alexander Fuller-Acland-Hood, 1st Baron St Audries (1853-1917), known as Sir Alexander Fuller-Acland-Hood, until 1911, was a Conservative Party politician. He served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury (Chief Whip) under Arthur Balfour from 1902 to 1905. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁸² The seat of the Earl of Leicester. The 2nd Earl of the 7th creation of the title had died in 1909 and the 3rd Earl was Thomas William Coke, 3rd Earl of Leicester (1848-1941), known as Viscount Coke until 1909. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVII

During the spring one heard a great deal about the future of the Lords, and the intentions of the Government with respect to it became fairly plain. The peers were still divided into the three sections of wholehearted reformers, moderate reformers and opponents of any change whatever. The first two sections were represented by Rosebery and Lansdowne, respectively, and they were never in complete agreement: in June both the Resolutions of the former and the Bill of the latter were introduced and passed. Neither of these two actions aroused much interest in the country, and they were debated without any heat in the House. The proceedings were conducted in the usual atmosphere of correctness which characterised the Assembly. The unfortunate backwoodsmen, who had not been consulted nor given

Page 184

INDECISIVE LEADERSHIP [1911]

an opportunity to defend themselves, behaved with dignity, and submitted to their proposed fate with a calmness which they would not have shown a few years earlier. But the proceedings were little more than a solemn farce, for the Government refused to take any part in the discussions and made it clear that they meant to deal with the House in their own way, whether it was reformed or not. Everyone probably realised that the proceedings in which they were taking part were a sham, but reality returned when the Parliament Bill made its appearance. Even then there was no sign of disorder or ill-temper, for it had been arranged that the preliminary stages of the Bill would be unopposed, and opposition reserved for the Committee stage. When the Lansdowne amendment was moved there was no opposition, as the Government took no part in the debate.

All this time the breach between the Lansdowne followers and those who were now generally known as Diehards continued to widen, and, although the country obviously took much less interest in the constitutional struggle than Parliamentarians, there were plenty of people in the Unionist party who were ready to blame their leaders and to say that all the trouble was due to Arthur Balfour. It was thought advisable to call a party meeting.

July 21. Meeting of party at Lansdowne House, and fatal announcement, which I had always expected, that the King had agreed to make as many peers as were required. About 200 peers present.

In spite of the great regard and admiration which I had for Lansdowne it was impossible not to feel that he failed to show the qualities of good leadership on this occasion. His mind was already made up, but instead of saying so and threatening to resign if he were not obeyed, he gave no lead at all and requested those who were present to give him their opinions. Of course, the chance was not lost, and the malcontents seized the opportunity to declare against him, inaugurating their campaign with a banquet to Halsbury.

July 25. Rung up by Curzon, saying that A. J. B. is issuing a manifesto to the party and proposing to make it an open letter to me, I having been selected, presumably, as being thought to be comparatively independent.

Of course, I had no objection to appearing as the earnest seeker for information, and a very long letter, which I then saw for the first time, was published in the papers on the following day. The gist of it was contained in the sentence: "With Lansdowne I stand and am ready if need be to fall."

Upon the whole, this determination seemed quite sound. As soon as it became known officially that the King's consent to the creation of peers had been given, it certainly looked as if further opposition to the Parliament Bill was, in principle, quite hopeless, and what weighed chiefly with me was the possibility of yet another election. We had been twice defeated, and how could any sensible person expect a complete reversal of opinion on the question of adding to the number of peers? The country, in reality, did not care in the least whether there were 600 or 6,000 peers, and we should have had to fight the combination of Liberal and Labour parties as well as the Crown itself. I was, therefore, only too glad to assist the Balfour-Lansdowne combination in their fight against the Diehards. It was difficult to ascertain the numbers of the latter, and as the two principal Conservative Whips had deserted to them the task was no easy one.

Amongst the so-called Diehards there were not many outstanding political figures beyond Halsbury, Milner and Selborne, but they discovered a very useful supporter in Willoughby de Broke. He was not a man of very high ability but possessed the qualities which ensure popularity and was an excellent platform speaker. A few years earlier I had strongly urged Lansdowne to make him the Chief Whip, and had this advice been taken I believe that the cleavage of the party over the Parliament Bill would never have arisen. As it was difficult to estimate the probable number of Diehards, precautions had to be taken to secure the promise of a certain number of self-sacrificing Unionist peers who would be prepared to save the Bill, if necessary, and these people, who really showed more courage than anyone else, we discovered with some difficulty.

August 9. The Parliament Bill, which had in the meanwhile been returned from the Commons, was again discussed in the Lords, and the debate was far more interesting and exciting than any other which had taken place hitherto. As a rule, House of Lords debates are foregone conclusions, and the unexpected occurs most infrequently. As a rule, too, it is generally known with accuracy what will be said and how people will vote. A cold and impassive demeanour characterises most speakers, and the utmost decorum and courtesy are observed. But on this occasion everything was quite different. The element of uncertainty added zest to the proceedings; no one could predict authoritatively how they would end, and above all peers had abandoned their usual formality and behaved like ordinary human beings, even indulging, in some instances, in personal altercations.

When I rose to speak after dinner I experienced a sense of responsibility which I had never felt before. The atmosphere of the House was electric: it was one of those rare occasions on which much might turn upon a speech, or even upon a phrase or a word, and an incautious expression might produce an explosion. Still, I felt strongly the danger that we were running and did not hesitate to say so, although aware that I was wounding the feelings of some of my best friends. Fortunately, I averted giving serious offence, and had afterwards the satisfaction to learn that I had actually turned some votes.

CHAPTER XVII

The late Lord Kilbracken,³⁸³ who was for many years private secretary to Gladstone, was present during the debate and was quite unknown to me, described my intervention as follows:—

“Lord Newton gave one rather the impression of a country gentleman addressing a local meeting. There was nothing about his opening to raise one’s expectations; he hesitated between his sentences and delivered them with a grave and impassive countenance. But before he had spoken for two minutes it was evident that he was talking remarkably good common sense and then there came a humorous and unexpected phrase - the House laughed: very soon another, and another; at each the laughter became louder and louder; and at last the merriment grew so long and loud that he had to stand silent for a considerable time: and then, and not till then, he suddenly smiled, and he looked round the House. Then the noise subsided, and he went on, as grave as before. It was a very effective performance, and it seemed to suit his audience exactly.”

August 10. Debate continued, and a good deal of bitterness shown, a speech by Curzon arousing a good deal of hostility, and various altercations taking place, quite out of keeping with usual procedure; also a somewhat theatrical declaration by Rosebery that he would vote for the Bill but would never enter the House again. The division was taken late at night and the majority for the Bill was 17 (131-114). There were many abstentions on the Unionist side. The division itself was attended by much excitement, there being great uncertainty how it would go, and the announcement of the result was received with great relief by most people. The majority was due to about 25 Unionist peers having voted for the Bill. The minority, numbering 114, was composed largely of men who had not much experience of politics and there were even some who were voting for the first time.

On the whole, the defeat was taken well, but on going afterwards to the Carlton Club I found indignant M.P.s who were especially

Page 187

PUBLIC APATHY [1911]

incensed against those Unionist peers who had voted in the majority, whereas this action was in reality more satisfactory than that of the great mass of peers, like myself, who had abstained.

A great dock strike had broken out in the East End, and when I went to Tower Hill on the following morning I was struck by the fact that the Constitutional crisis over which we had been so much concerned seemed to have aroused no attention whatever. Even the Press had not very much to say about it, and there was no evidence anywhere that it had agitated the country. It was, in fact, one of the events which appeal to the politician rather than to the ordinary citizen. All public interest centred in the strike, which threatened to become general, and it looked for a short time as if there was a real danger of a social revolution. The dispute was finally settled by Government concessions, and on August 29 I left Liverpool for Canada with Lord Clinton.³⁸⁴ He had considerable interests in Canada and I was anxious to try to make some money, as many others seemed to have been able to do recently.

³⁸³ John Arthur Godley, 1st Baron Kilbracken (1847-1932), was a civil servant and the longest serving, and probably the most influential, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁸⁴ Charles John Robert Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis, 21st Baron Clinton (1863-1957). One of his two daughters, Hon. Fenella (1889-1966), married Hon. John Bowes-Lyon, the brother of Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon

CHAPTER XVII

who married the future George VI. John and Fenella had five children. Two of their daughters were born mentally handicapped and institutionalized in Earlswood Hospital; they were Nerissa Bowes-Lyon (1919–1986) and Katherine Bowes-Lyon (1926–2014). These two cousins of Queen Elizabeth were shown as being dead in Burke's Peerage from the 1963 edition, leading to accusations of a cover up. Lord Clinton's second daughter, the Hon Harriet (1887-1958) married Maj. Henry Nevile Fane and had seven children, of which three mentally handicapped daughters were sent to Earlswood Hospital. (*Wikipedia articles on Baron Clinton and John Bowes-Lyon.*)

**CANADA: VISIT TO BAKU AND PERSIA:
OUTBREAK OF BALKAN WAR. 1911-1912**

QUEBEC, September 5, 1911. Arrived here early morning, after rough voyage. Situation of city very fine, reminding me of Belgrade, but better. No appearance of much activity or wealth here, and streets seem comparatively empty. Saw the principal sights and went on to Montreal, which was a contrast to Quebec, being busy and crowded. Some fine buildings, too, but a slight impression of want of finish which is not unusual in the western hemisphere. Spent a few days here and attended some political meetings, a general election being in operation. Meetings much like our own and little excitement shown.

Another 48 hours' journey took us to Winnipeg, and after a day or two there we went on to Saskatoon. The train journeys, which are usually of great length, pass mostly through uninteresting and uncultivated flat country, and there were crowds of travellers all the time.

Saskatoon, September 13. A newly-built and bustling town, with many foreigners, including Chinese and Japanese. Of the two latter, the Chinese were much preferred.

Here I began financial operations. The hotel was so crowded that only one bed was available, and, feeling convinced that there must be a demand for more accommodation before long, I thought that I was doing quite a clever thing in investing some money in an hotel that was being built. Unfortunately, as soon as it was completed Temperance legislation was introduced, which proved fatal.

From Saskatoon, we made expeditions by car to the virgin prairie country in the province. On this tour, we had plenty of opportunities of observing life on the farms. Since the introduction of motor cars conditions had greatly changed, and one could only marvel at the courage and enterprise which must have animated the original settlers.

From Saskatoon we again started west and, traversing the Canadian Rocky mountains, arrived at Vancouver on September 19. Here we were in what appeared to be quite a new country with a delightful climate; a great contrast to the bleak wheat lands of Saskatchewan. Vancouver seemed more attractive than the other cities that I had seen and its situation is magnificent. Few places, too, can boast a finer combination of sea, cliffs and forests. We pushed on to Victoria, Canada's principal residential resort, and from there made our way to Port Alberni, a small place on the western shore of Vancouver Island which it was thought might become the western seaport of one of the big Canadian railways. Here we spent several days, as I had always been anxious to try the sea fishing for salmon which is to be found on the British Columbian coast, while Clinton expected to do some business there.

Alberni was a charming spot, and the accommodation consisted of a little inn which was an agreeable change from the crowded and noisy hotels which we had hitherto met with. The scenery was enchanting and resembled an improved fjord of Norway, with high, snow-capped mountains on the far side of a wide inlet and a luxuriant primeval forest stretching down to the water's edge. Many of the Douglas firs were of great size, and Clinton, who was an expert, estimated the diameter of some of the trunks at over 10 feet. But these were

pygmies when compared with a cypress I saw subsequently in Mexico, the diameter of which, 10 feet above the ground, was no less than 17 yards.

The Sound was full of salmon on their way up to spawn in a neighbouring river, but although we fished hard we caught few. I did secure one fish of 44 lb., which was said to be the biggest caught up till then. The extraordinary thing was that the Indians, who were using precisely the same boats, baits and lines as we, were continually catching fish, whilst we could do no good. Even when we employed Indians to row us we were almost completely unsuccessful. Incidentally, these Indians seemed to be remarkably unintelligent. I went one day to a mission school, and, having been invited to question them, was quite amazed at their stupidity.

Port Albemi was the farthest point that we reached, and, after buying some town lots there which eventually turned out a dead loss, we retraced our steps and returned east via Vancouver.

At Banff, I left the train and spent a day or two there, being anxious to see something of the mountains. I thought the scenery quite equal

Page 190

UNFORTUNATE FINANCIAL RESULTS [1911]

to Switzerland and possessing more colour. At Winnipeg I rejoined Clinton and met, amongst others, the Duke of Sutherland, who had bought much land in the province, and Charles Beresford. The latter was making a platform-speaking tour, which he appeared to be enjoying enormously. The Canadians at that time seemed to have a curious craving for after-lunch and after-dinner oratory. After Winnipeg, where I made an unfortunate investment, Clinton and I went on to Toronto and then to Niagara and New York. Niagara quite came up to my expectations and there was a prodigious crowd of visitors. I was informed that they frequently arrived at the rate of 10,000 a day.

We spent two days in New York and arrived home on October 28. I had found Clinton an ideal travelling companion, and this was the beginning of an intimate friendship both with him and Lady Clinton which I cannot value too highly.

From the financial point of view, however, the Canadian tour was a failure. The first purchases which we made after arrival were successful, and on my return, I had made quite a substantial amount, on paper, but unfortunately we had started at the top of the Canadian boom and presently the slump began and continued to get worse. I had been chiefly influenced by the advice and action of persons whom I considered much more competent in business than myself, but no one can compete successfully with a persistent slump.

Bowood,³⁸⁵ November 10. Opinion here is that neither Walter Long nor Austen Chamberlain will offer himself as successor to A. J. B., who resigned leadership on November 8. Expected that Bonar Law³⁸⁶ will be chosen. Middleton, who is here, says that he never heard anything about A. J. B.'s intention of resigning. Met (Sir Edward) Carson before coming down here, and found him extremely bitter against Curzon over Parliament Bill.

³⁸⁵ The seat of Lord Lansdowne

³⁸⁶ Andrew Bonar Law (1858-1923), commonly called Bonar Law, was a Conservative Party statesman and Prime Minister. Born in the colony of New Brunswick (now in Canada), he is the only Prime Minister to have been born outside the British Isles. He was Prime Minister from 23 October 1922-22 May 1923. (*Wikipedia*).

CHAPTER XVIII

London, November 26. Met Imperiali,³⁸⁷ Italian Ambassador here, who begged me to say something in Parliament in favour of Italian action in Tripoli. I told him that I considered that they had behaved so badly that no one could defend them.

The Italian action in Tripoli was, in fact, the most shameless aggression that had happened for some time, and there was no sort of excuse; but no one remonstrated with them, all the Powers, presumably, having guilty consciences.

December 13. (The Duke of) Norfolk having, after much hesitation, consented

Page 191 HALDANE MISSION TO BERLIN [1911-12]

to my writing the life of his uncle, Lord Lyons, I went to St. James's Square to have a look at the papers, and was horrified at the enormous mass of correspondence, there being seven big boxes of private letters alone and a huge collection of official documents. Arranged for a young man to make a preliminary examination of them.

Arundel Castle, January 26, 1912. Came down here with Norfolk, partly to speak at an N.S.L. meeting and partly to hunt for more missing Lyons papers. No one else here, and deep snow. Castle is immense and park and surroundings beautiful, but castles as residences do not appeal to me, especially in winter. N. says that he calculates that his successor will have to pay a duty of at least £300,000, and must be regretting the vast amount that has been spent on restoration here.

London, January 29. Hear from Lady X, who ought to know, that the King never talks to anyone but Knollys³⁸⁸ on politics. Latter is a strong Liberal and is believed to have had to do with the Parliament Bill negotiations.

Informed by my relative, Lord Erroll,³⁸⁹ who is chairman of "Bovril," that they spend no less than £100,000 a year in advertising.

February 8. Haldane gone to Berlin to try to come to some agreement about warship-building and other matters. Haldane, a very clever and kindly man, had, like many other people before him, conceived the impression that personality might succeed where orthodox official communications had failed. He had been educated in Germany, had a great admiration for non-military Germany and was well-equipped for the task. When in Berlin he had long and intimate conversations with the Emperor and the principal ministers concerned, but his mission was a complete failure, for all that he was offered was that the building of one ship would be postponed if we agreed to certain impossible proposals in the event of a European war breaking out.

February 27. Growing alarm over coal strike, which has been going on ever since the beginning of the year.

³⁸⁷ The Marquis Guglielmo Imperiali (1858-1944) was an Italian nobleman and diplomat. His most important position was as the Italian ambassador in London during the First World War (*Wikipedia*).

³⁸⁸ Sir Francis Knollys, 1st Viscount Knollys (1837-1924), was Private Secretary to King Edward VII as Prince of Wales and monarch. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁸⁹ Charles Gore Hay, 20th Earl of Erroll (1852-1927), styled Lord Hay until 1891, was a Scottish soldier and Conservative politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVIII

Went to the Pavilion with Lady Brassey³⁹⁰ to hear the wild women.³⁹¹ Whenever I hear them am struck with their eloquent speeches combined with foolish behaviour.

Being anxious to see something of what is going on in Northern Ireland I went over there in April and stayed with the Shaftesburys³⁹² at Belfast.

Page 192

IN NORTHERN IRELAND [1912]

Belfast Castle, April 9. Day of great Loyalist demonstration. The demonstration an imposing sight: a huge procession with bands and banners started about mid-day and directed its course towards Lady Londonderry, who sat at the apex of a triangular stand in the Balmoral Park.

I calculated that about 80,000 passed during two hours, but this may be an under-statement. As soon as the procession ended speeches were made from a large number of platforms, the principal orator being Bonar Law, assisted by many Unionist M.P.s who had come over from England. There was great enthusiasm and it was impossible not to recognise the determined spirit which prevailed. Perfect order was maintained, and there was no sign of drunkenness. Nor was there any sign of frivolity, everyone appearing to be in grim earnest. It was stated in the Press next day that 200,000 people were present, but this number may have been exaggerated. One striking fact was that there were no police and no disturbances.

Shaftesbury, who accompanied Lipton³⁹³ on his last attempt to regain the yachting championship in America, said that Lipton spent no less than £600,000 on his three visits, and that all the arrangements had been excellent.

Mount Stewart, April 12. Find the Londonderrys alone. A very pretty place and apparently a charming climate. Taken over by Lady L.³⁹⁴ to see Lady Dunleath's³⁹⁵ collection of birds, amongst which were cranes, in which I am interested.

I spent three or four days very agreeably here, my host being good enough to take me about the neighbourhood. I went one day with Londonderry to the Antrim Hunt steeplechases, and met a great number of the local land gentry: everyone excessively keen about the sport and in a cheerful mood. Saw no drunkenness whatever. L., who is immensely popular in the district, was received almost like a Royal personage. Lady L. took me to see various neighbours, including the Dowager Lady Dufferin, and out sailing in her boat. This was, I believe, regarded by her friends as a somewhat adventurous pleasure, and I fancied that I detected

³⁹⁰ Lady Brassey was Lady Sybil de Vere Capell, daughter of Arthur Capell, Viscount Malden, and sister of George Capell, 7th Earl of Essex, in 1890. She was Lord Brassey's second wife (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹¹ Suffragettes.

³⁹² Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 9th Earl of Shaftesbury (1869-1961). In 1899, he married Lady Constance Sibell Grosvenor (1875-1957), the daughter of Earl Grosvenor (son and heir of Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1st Duke of Westminster). (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹³ Sir Thomas Johnstone Lipton, 1st Baronet (1848-1931), was a Scotsman of Ulster-Scots parentage who was a self-made man, merchant, and yachtsman. He created the Lipton tea brand and was the most persistent challenger in the history of the America's Cup. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹⁴ The 6th Marquess of Londonderry married Lady Theresa Susey Helen Talbot, daughter of Charles Chetwynd-Talbot, 19th Earl of Shrewsbury, at the private chapel of Alton Towers in 1875. Like her husband, she was a leading Unionist campaigner, and President of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹⁵ Henry Lyle Mulholland, 2nd Baron Dunleath (1854-1931), was an Irish Conservative Member of Parliament for Londonderry North from 1885 until 1895, when he succeeded his father in the barony. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XVIII

some signs of anxiety on the part of the boatman, but she was a lady of much determination in addition to possessing the qualities of the perfect hostess.

London, June 11. Haldane becomes Lord Chancellor.

General strike declared, but not yet known what the response is.

Page 193

BERLIN [1912]

July 10. Visit from E. Goschen.³⁹⁶ Says that Kaiser counts for much less in Germany than is believed here. Bethmann-Hollweg³⁹⁷ not unfriendly but much wanting in experience. Goschen does not believe that the Germans had any intention of going to war last year, and says that they are trying hard to keep on good terms with the Russians as they have always done.

Lyme, August 17. Visit from A. Nicolson³⁹⁸ accompanied by Princess Victoria, from Buxton. Latter firmly convinced that Prince Henry of Prussia (her second son) was here as a spy, and quite unconvinced by my argument that, for obvious reasons, he would never have been used in that capacity.

Nicolson very keen for an alliance with Russia and France. Says that former have behaved very well to us lately and are very anxious to wreck the German Baghdad railway project. Thinks that Austria will come to grief in the Balkans before long, and that it is hardly probable that Bulgaria and Montenegro will declare war on Turkey. Has no belief in the future of the Young Turks, whilst full of optimism as regards the Russian future.

After having made inquiries from various people whose opinion I respected, and who had invested in Norton Griffiths enterprises, I copied their example and put some money into a Baku scheme, and I thought it would be both interesting and useful to go out there and see how it was progressing. Colonel Delmé Radcliffe, who was also slightly interested, agreed to go with me and the first place that we stopped at was Berlin. It happened to be Sedan Day, and an immense military review was held in the early morning. We were too late to see the review itself, but repaired to Unter den Linden to watch the return of the troops. The sight made a deep impression upon me. Amongst the seemingly unending column of troops rode the Emperor, greeted by cheers from the spectators, the bands played martial airs and Zeppelins and aeroplanes boomed and circled overhead. It was a spectacle of military might which looked to be irresistible, and one could only wonder at which country this awe-inspiring machine would first be directed.

I dined with some of the Embassy secretaries in the evening and, although they had no complaints to make, it was plain that they would welcome a change of posts.

Our next stop was at Moscow, where it was necessary to change

³⁹⁶ Sir William Edward Goschen, 1st Baronet (1847-1924) was British Ambassador to Berlin from 1908-1914 (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹⁷ Theobald Theodor Friedrich Alfred von Bethmann Hollweg (1856-1921) was a German politician and statesman who served as Chancellor of the German Empire from 1909 to 1917. (*Wikipedia*)

³⁹⁸ Arthur Nicolson, 1st Baron Carnock (1849-1928), known as Sir Arthur Nicolson, 11th Baronet, from 1899 to 1916, was a British diplomat and politician during the last quarter of the 19th century to the middle of World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

trains, and I found the city considerably modernised since my previous visit, but still very few people who could talk anything but Russian.

In another two days we were at Sebastopol, which made a pleasing impression. We were anxious to visit the Crimean³⁹⁹ battlefields, but much to our surprise found that there was no guide to be obtained and that everyone seemed to have completely forgotten all about the war. We made our way, however, to Balaclava, which was now a much-frequented bathing resort, and made out with difficulty some of the historic spots. The area of hostilities was extraordinarily small, and it was difficult to understand why our transport arrangements had been so defective.

On the next day, there was a naval and military review at Sebastopol, where the authorities showed us much civility, and we were struck with the splendid physique and smartness of both sailors and soldiers. Many of these, however, not long afterwards were shot or sent to Siberia for mutiny.

In the afternoon, we left by sea for Novo Rossisk and thence reached Vladikavkaz by train: a charming town on the rushing river Terek, with splendid views of the Caucasus mountains. From here we drove by the well-known military road to Tiflis, the mountain scenery not being very remarkable except at Kasbek. Stayed a day at Tiflis, which is a very attractive place with a large variety of inhabitants, most of the men wearing wonderful clothes which showed slender male waists to great advantage.

Baku, September 14. Not by any means an attractive place like Tiflis, but interesting. A much mixed population, composed of Western Europeans, Russians, Turks, Armenians, Persians and many oriental nationalities. Presence of oil here very perceptible. Visited the wells, which are close to the town, and went to inspect the Norton Griffiths enterprises, which are connected with the water supply of the city. Difficult to understand the position, but gather that considerable delay is caused by the intervention of Russian officials, nominally with respect to the rights of native workmen employed, but, in reality, a method of extorting blackmail. A vast number of employees and workmen of various nationalities. Not encouraged at hearing that native employers, chiefly Tartars and Armenians, are much more successful in business here, as a rule, than British or Americans, although some of the local millionaires were unable to read or write. The business men of Baku seemed to lead a strange, hectic life, turning day into night, eating enormous meals, and most of them, accompanied

by their families, used to repair in the evening to an immense restaurant on the edge of the Caspian Sea, and several hundreds of yards in length, where everyone played lotto until any hour in the morning, the numbers being announced by a man with a magnificent bass voice.

We spent several days at Baku, but I did not derive much encouragement and decided to go on to Teheran. The journey was more uncomfortable than I had anticipated. First we

³⁹⁹ Lord Newton's father, William John Legh, 1st Lord Newton (1828-1892), took part in the Crimean War as a captain in the Royal Scots Fusileers and had been at the Battle of Inkerman. (*NT booklet on Lyme Park*)

CHAPTER XVIII

embarked on a crowded boat and landed at Enzeh. A carriage road ran from here to Teheran, but motor cars were not permitted to ply and we spent between 50 and 60 hours on the way, in a small carriage, inconvenienced by the presence of a boy, belonging to a good Persian family, whom we undertook to deposit at Teheran on condition that he acted as interpreter. He proved perfectly useless and was not a favourable specimen of European education (a mission school), as he could not use either knife or fork. The country was at first almost tropical in character with wild vines climbing 50 feet up big trees, but presently gave way to barren and dusty wastes. There were continual camel caravans and progress was very slow, partly because so-called Government conveyances enjoyed priority and partly owing to want of post-horses. There were a few miserable rest houses, which were usually full, and it was a wonder that so many European ladies made the journey successfully.

Gulahec, September 20. After driving continuously for over 50 hours we arrived here in the evening and were most hospitably received at the Legation by Sir Walter and Lady Susan⁴⁰⁰ Townley. Gulahec is the station in the hills, a few miles from Teheran, where the Diplomatic Corps spend the summer months, and once again I was dimly reminded of Berne.

At this period the condition of Persia was really pitiable, the strenuous efforts of Mr. Schuster, the American finance expert, to meet the financial crisis having been completely destroyed by foreign intrigue. In every Persian town that I passed through the most conspicuous object was a huge gallows. The country was now practically governed by the Russian and British Ministers,⁴⁰¹ and there was no doubt in the minds of everyone that the former was predominant. There were plenty of people, among them English, who did not hesitate to say that British influence was almost at an end and that the country must inevitably become Russian before long. In Gulahec there was much social gaiety and entertainment in the charming gardens which, being walled in and well irrigated, seemed to me the

Page 196

OUTBREAK OF BALKAN WAR [1912]

chief attraction of Northern Persia; a very numerous attended race meeting, and a garden party at the Russian Legation, where the so-called Persian Cossacks band played delightfully. Amongst these soldiers, I discovered a corporal who had been a Field-Marshal in the Persian Army. When, however, I pointed out to him that he exemplified the truth of Napoleon's famous dictum⁴⁰² it was quite lost upon him.

Upon one thing everyone was agreed. They all expressed the opinion that the Persians, who had many good qualities, were at the same time so inefficient that Persia had no political future.

We repeated our tedious journey to Baku, after having greatly appreciated the kindness of Sir Walter and Lady Susan, and proceeded to Batoum via Baku and Tiflis.

October 2. Arrived early morning at Batoum, which Russians seem to have developed very well since they acquired it in 1878. Our Consul, a very intelligent man, says that all British

⁴⁰⁰ In 1896 Walter Townley married Lady Susan Keppel, daughter of William Keppel, 7th Earl of Albemarle. She published *My Chinese note book* (Methuen, London, 1904) and a volume of reminiscences, *Indiscretions' of Lady Susan* (Thornton Butterworth, London, 1922).

⁴⁰¹ "Minister" was the term used before Ambassador

⁴⁰² "Every French soldier carries a Field-Marshal's baton in his knapsack."

CHAPTER XVIII

enterprises in this part of the world are very badly managed and that the Norton Griffiths venture is sure to come to grief.

Trebizond, October 3. Spent the day here. A beautiful town and much cleaner and more prosperous-looking than most Turkish towns. It being the Sultan's birthday, the Consul took us to the Governor's reception, where the consular corps were assembled and many alarming rumours were circulating. The Governor said that he had been instructed to call up all the reserves.

A constant influx of passengers now began; amongst them officers and men who had been called up, and also pilgrims. At each place where we touched we heard that the Balkan States had declared war on Turkey. The ship was soon packed and all available space occupied; food grew short, and deck passengers showed signs of trouble, and it was with much relief that we arrived at Constantinople after an uncomfortable voyage.

British Embassy, Constantinople, October 8. Gerard Lowther was kind enough to put me up and I found my elder son⁴⁰³ working here as an honorary attaché. The situation was alarming: peace was not yet arranged with Italy, and, although there had been no actual declaration of war, Turkey had been attacked by Bulgaria and Montenegro, whilst Serbia and Greece were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to join them. Everything seemed to be in confusion and the Ministers whom I saw seemed unable to grasp the gravity of the

Page 197

ATTITUDE OF THE TURKS [1912]

situation. When, for instance, I visited the Foreign Minister and suggested that the first thing that should be done was to make peace with Italy, he replied: "Not at all: it is quite true that the Balkan States have gone to war with us, but that is comparatively unimportant. The really important step to take is to hold a General Election!" A General Election in a country where the illiterates must have numbered much over 90 per cent! I had always believed that the Turks would be beaten if the Balkan States combined against them, and now I felt certain of it.

Still, in spite of their incapacity and failure to recognise facts, there was a strange dignity and chivalrous spirit which characterised the Turks in a desperate crisis. One saw the troops starting off for the front, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, and bidding farewell to their families and friends without a trace of emotion: and there were no displays whatever of public enthusiasm. Nor did they appear to entertain any feelings of hatred for their enemies. During the long Italian war, no Italians in Turkey had suffered, and now Serbs, Bulgars, Montenegrins and Greeks were living their ordinary lives without any molestation. Even the most Christian country might well have profited by this example of toleration.

With some trouble, I found room in a Rumanian boat and arrived in London on October 16, after looking up my youngest daughter, Phyllis,⁴⁰⁴ who was studying in Paris. At the time, I felt convinced that I had seen the last of Turkey in Europe, and was not far wrong, as very little was left after 1912.

⁴⁰³ Richard William Davenport Legh, 3rd Lord Newton (1888-1960) gave Lyme to the National Trust in 1946 (*National Trust handbook on Lyme Park*)

⁴⁰⁴ Hon. Phyllis Elinor Legh was born on 9 December 1895 and married Henry Gerard Walter Sandeman, on 31 January 1918. He was from the Sandeman drinks company. (<http://www.thepeerage.com/p16121.htm>)

**BALKAN PEACE: PUBLICATION OF *LORD LYONS*: KIPLING AND THE
REWARDS OF TALENT: THE GREAT WAR: GENERAL JOFFRE: STAFF MEMO,
ON ALARMING POSITION OF B.E.F. 1912-1915**

LYME, October 22, 1912. Big N.S.L. meeting in Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Curzon and Roberts principal speakers. Latter nearly inaudible but very well received: very large audience, Derby⁴⁰⁵ and Bishop Welldon⁴⁰⁶ amongst them. Meeting a very hopeful sign, there being no opposition.

November 8. Letter from my son, Dick, saying that Turkish resistance has practically collapsed and that Bulgars are expected to enter Constantinople almost any day.

London, November 20. Met Glenconner,⁴⁰⁷ who has been obliged to close his picture gallery in consequence of the Suffragettes. Said that Asquith, who is his brother-in-law, is having an awful time of it with them and cannot walk about anywhere without molestation.

London, January 20, 1913. Down with Grenfell to attend an N.S.L. meeting at Slough. G. said that King George, when at Berlin soon after the Kaiser's accession, was told by Bismarck that he was sure to be dismissed in three years. This was too optimistic, as he only lasted for two.

February 6. Passed through all its stages a Betting Bill which I had introduced earlier in the session, and which enjoyed the support both of the Anti-Gamblers and important members of the Jockey Club and was directed against tipsters' advertisements in the Press. It was, in fact, quite a useful measure, but the sporting Press managed to obstruct it successfully in the Commons.

March 3. Went with Evelyn and Hilda to a very select dance, in the small dance room at Buckingham Palace, got up for the Prince of Wales, who still looked extremely boyish. Thought everything

remarkably well done and there was no stiffness, but heard opinion expressed that it might be unfavourably criticised.

March 7. Esher (2nd Viscount Esher) here about publication of Queen Victoria's letters in my *Life of Lord Lyons*, which is not finished. Said he thought that the dance at the Palace was a mistake, as the experiment of small private dances had been tried during the previous reign and had not been a success.

⁴⁰⁵ Edward George Villiers Stanley, 17th Earl of Derby (1865-1948), styled The Honourable Edward Stanley until 1893 and Lord Stanley from 1893 to 1908, who was a soldier, Conservative politician, diplomat and racehorse owner. He was twice Secretary of State for War and also served as British Ambassador to France. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁰⁶ James Edward Cowell Welldon (1854-1937) was an English clergyman and scholar. He was Bishop of Calcutta from 1898 to 1902, Dean of Manchester Cathedral from 1906 to 1918, and Dean of Durham Cathedral from 1918 to 1933. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁰⁷ Edward Priaulx Tennant, 1st Baron Glenconner (1859-1920), known as Sir Edward Tennant, 2nd Baronet, from 1906 to 1911, was a Scottish Liberal politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

March 14. Having been much importuned we had agreed to give a big Unionist evening party, chiefly in honour of Bonar Law, and this date had been carefully chosen by the party managers, but an inept Court official arranged a Buckingham Palace party for the same evening. A political entertainment of this kind is not of much use unless the social and political magnates are present, and these, of course, had all been invited, or rather commanded, to the Palace. However, all these important personages behaved remarkably well and either obtained leave to absent themselves from the Royal entertainment altogether or left it at a very early hour to come on to us; so no harm was done.

Althorp, March 20. Stopped here on my way north to pay a short visit to Bobby Spencer.⁴⁰⁸ Stupendous picture collection. He said it had been valued by one expert at £700,000 and by another at £300,000. He does not hunt himself, but says that the damages to fences on the estate cost £1,400 a year. House fine, but country, as is usual in hunting districts, not very attractive. Visited Holmby House.

Lyme, March 27. Went over to Knowsley,⁴⁰⁹ which, oddly enough, I had never seen before, in order to get permission to publish letters written by the 15th Earl of Derby, who was Foreign Minister in the 'sixties and 'seventies.

He was a man of peculiar habits, and I was shown an iron box with a slit in it, through which he constantly inserted a sovereign. When he died, the box was found to contain no less than £11,000. I was much interested to see the MS. of the 14th Lord Derby's⁴¹⁰ poetical translation of the Iliad, which I have always greatly admired. Knowsley was still kept up in the old style, and there were 37 keepers.

April 15, 1913. A peace conference between the Balkan States and the Turks met in London on this day and lasted until May 30. The late Sir Eyre Crowe told me afterwards that the delegates were all so

Page 200

A MONEYLENDERS BILL [1913]

dilatory and obstinate that he went to Grey and said that he must close it as soon as possible. Grey agreed to do so, and, knowing no French, learnt three words by heart and summoned the delegates one by one to see him. As each delegate entered the room he received the curt instruction: "Signez ou allez!" This pregnant phrase proved to be quite sufficient for the purpose, and the Treaty of Peace was signed.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Charles Robert Spencer, 6th Earl Spencer (1857-1922), styled The Honourable Charles Spencer until 1905 and known as The Viscount Althorp between 1905 and 1910, was a Liberal politician. An MP from 1880 to 1895 and again from 1900 to 1905, he served as Vice-Chamberlain of the Household from 1892 to 1895. Ennobled as Viscount Althorp in 1905, he was Lord Chamberlain from 1905 to 1912 in the Liberal administrations headed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and H. H. Asquith. In 1910, he succeeded his half-brother in the earldom of Spencer. He was married to Margaret Baring, a member of the Baring family. They were the great-grandparents of Diana, Princess of Wales. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁰⁹ The seat of the Earls of Derby, located near Prescott in Lancashire. (Ed.)

⁴¹⁰ Edward George Geoffrey Smith-Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby (1799-1869) was three times Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and to date the longest serving leader of the Conservative Party. He was known before 1834 as Edward Stanley, and from 1834 to 1851 as Lord Stanley. His record was unusual, since he is one of only four British Prime Ministers to have three or more separate periods in office. However his ministries all lasted less than two years, and totalled 3 years 280 days. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹¹ The First Balkan War broke out when the Balkan League of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia attacked the Ottoman Empire on 8 October 1912 and was ended seven months later by the Treaty of London. The Second Balkan War broke out on 16 June 1913. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

London, May 5. I had introduced another Betting Bill similar to that brought in last session, and it passed through all its stages to-day. There was so much support for it in both parties that the Government were asked to take it up in the Commons. This was refused, after some hesitation, and the few cranks and interested parties who opposed the Bill were able to obstruct it successfully. Some of its provisions have since become law.

May 29. Early in the month my daughter, Hilda, who was not yet 21, received a moneylender's letter from a firm trading under the majestic designation of "Harmsworth and Co." I immediately took steps to find out if I could prosecute them with success. Everyone whom I consulted, from the family solicitor to Law Lords and an ex-Lord Chancellor, told me that there was no chance of a conviction. As, however, the object of the relevant Act seemed plain I ignored their advice and insisted on fighting the case. It was heard to-day at Bow Street, and, my daughter and I having given evidence, Harmsworth and Co. (in reality Levens by name) were fined £12 and costs. Very wide publicity was given to this in the Press, which had probably a salutary effect. This was not the only occasion on which I found the judgment of an uninformed layman to be better than that of the most distinguished and experienced legal authorities.

By a curious coincidence, and without any reference to the above case, I had already prepared a Moneylenders Bill, of a very simple nature, which merely enacted that a moneylender should give his own name as well as his pseudonym on his circulars, and that no circulars offering loans should be sent to any persons except those who asked for them. I pointed out, as an illustration, that there was nothing to prevent Cohen and Levi trading under the names of Crewe and Lansdowne. There was no opposition, even from the lawyers, and the Bill was received with such a chorus of approval from every quarter, and was so unanimously supported by the Press, that again an attempt was made to induce the Government to adopt it in the Commons. I knew enough of politics, however, by this time, to realise that a Government will never take up a private member's Bill

Page 201

A LIFE OF LORD LYONS [1913]

unless convinced that there are votes in it, and was quite right, for after many professions of sympathy the request was rejected and another of the useful measures sent down by the Lords was successfully stifled. As in the case of the Betting Bill, its provisions were ultimately adopted. This incident provided material for an admirable cartoon which appeared in Punch, showing Crewe and Lansdowne, disguised as Jews, fleecing a clergyman.

July 1. Much gratified to hear from A. Nicolson (Sir Arthur Nicolson) that the F.O. are quite ready to trust to my discretion with respect to the Lyons Life, and do not propose to exercise any censorship. This is a compliment which I did not anticipate.

July 7. Much argument with publishers for and against closed pages. I am strongly opposed to the latter, as it would be a humiliation to find that a friend had never read the book at all. Ultimately, I got my way, and am quite sure that I was right from the writer's point of view.

CHAPTER XIX

July 29. Dined with Maurice de Bunsen and his sister (Baroness Deichmann), the German Ambassador, Lichnovsky,⁴¹² and wife, and the Spanish Ambassador, amongst others. The Spanish Ambassador was late, owing to some accident, and I was horrified at the behaviour of the Lichnovsky couple because they were kept waiting. It was incredible.

In September, I went on a tour in France with Bigham, starting from Chartres, and visited Lyons, Toulouse and Provence, returned via Narbonne, Carcassonne and Limoges, and finished up with a short visit to some friends of mine in Touraine, who took us to some of the Loire chateaux. Much of the charming French provinces is quite unknown to British and American tourists, and we saw few of them. The weather was delightful, and the people with whom we talked politics seemed quite confident that they had little to fear from Germany.

Early in October my book on Lord Lyons⁴¹³ was published and was received with much more favour than I anticipated, for I feared that the public knew little about Lord Lyons, although he was correctly described by Rosebery as the best British Ambassador of his time. The book had an excellent Press, and was reviewed at great length in some of the Quarterlies by Lord Cromer and others. Besides these appreciations, I also received many complimentary letters from persons distinguished in politics and literature, of which perhaps the most valuable was a communication from Mr. J. A. Bodley,⁴¹⁴ the great

Page 202

A VISIT FROM QUEEN MARY [1913]

authority on France, who said that it was the most valuable history of France from 1867 to 1887 that had yet appeared, and that it was much superior to that of M. Hanotaux. He added that he was greatly struck with my accuracy, but this, it must be confessed, was more due to Lord Lyons than to myself. It was also a welcome surprise to find that the book made an excellent impression in America. I had feared that the part relating to the Civil War might cause offence, but it was evident that the absolute impartiality and straightforwardness of Lord Lyons's letters and dispatches were of deep interest to them, and, besides providing an impartial statement of events, it also did much to clear away suspicion of the British attitude. When the Life of Mr. Page,⁴¹⁵ the U.S. Ambassador in London, appeared, I was interested to see that he had more than once strongly urged President Wilson⁴¹⁶ to read the book, but whether that extremely superior person ever did so I do not know.

On looking at this book after many years I realise that it was too long. The chief fault of biographers is prolixity and, as it was my first effort, it is not surprising that I committed this error. Had I compressed it into one volume it would have been more readable and would

⁴¹² Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky (German: Karl Max Fürst von Lichnowsky) (1860-1928) was a German diplomat who served as Ambassador to Britain during the July Crisis and who was the author of a noted pamphlet of 1916 that deplored German diplomacy in mid-1914 that, he argued, directly caused the outbreak of the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹³ *Lord Lyons—A Record of British Diplomacy* (E. Arnold & Co.).

⁴¹⁴ I have found no reference to J. A. Bodley but Wikipedia records John Edward Courtenay Bodley (1853-1925) who was an English civil servant, known for his writings on France. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹⁵ Walter Hines Page (1855-1918) was an American journalist, publisher, and diplomat. He was the United States ambassador to the United Kingdom during World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹⁶ Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was an American politician and academic who served as the 28th President of the United States from 1913 to 1921. He put forward 14 points for consideration by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and proposed the League of Nation, which the United States never joined as Wilson could not get ratification of the Treaty of Versailles through the Senate. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

have sold much better. In 1916 a cheap edition for propaganda purposes was published by Nelson's and had a good sale in America.

Lyme, December 11. Queen Mary,⁴¹⁷ who is staying at Chatsworth, came over for luncheon, accompanied by the Duchesses of Devonshire⁴¹⁸ and Portland,⁴¹⁹ and some other members of the Chatsworth house party. The weather was cloudy and threatening, but fortunately the rain held off. Queen Mary made a close examination of the house and garden and expressed much appreciation of what she saw.

The Chief Constable had been perturbed over this visit as he feared suffragist activity, but there was no disturbance of any kind.

Shortly before coming to Lyme, the Queen had visited Kedleston, Curzon's place in Derbyshire, and I was amused at hearing of the contrast between Curzon and myself which she had drawn. "Lord Curzon," she was said to have remarked, "has a great admiration for all his belongings and is fond of expatiating upon their beauty, whereas Lord Newton seems to take pleasure in disparaging his own possessions." In other words, Curzon's geese were all swans, and all my swans were geese.

Banchory, December 22. Up here to see my second son, Piers, who, after joining the Grenadier Guards a few months ago, has been

Page 203

A MUSIC-HALL INCIDENT [1913-14]

pronounced unfit for duty, owing to signs of tuberculosis, and ordered to undergo a year's treatment in a sanatorium. We decided to try this place in preference to Switzerland and it seems to be satisfactory in many ways, being a pretty place with sporting resources. The case is fortunately reported not to be serious, but the prospect of spending a year in complete idleness is a dismal one for a young man, and it is obvious that unless strict regulations are enforced there is always a chance of trouble where the young of both sexes are confined under these circumstances. It turned out eventually that we were right in choosing Banchory.

London, January 28, 1914. Wedding of my elder son⁴²⁰ to Helen Meysey-Thompson, daughter of Lord Knaresborough,⁴²¹ at St. Peter's, Eaton Square. A very good-looking couple, and the bride was immensely admired. This was a typical pre-war function, with many smart people and a great show of presents.

⁴¹⁷ Mary of Teck (1867-1953) was Queen of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions and Empress of India as the wife of King-Emperor George V. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹⁸ Evelyn Emily Mary Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1870-1960) was the wife of Victor Cavendish, 9th Duke of Devonshire. She was born the elder daughter of the politician Henry Petty-FitzMaurice, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne and grew up amidst public life. Evelyn became Duchess of Devonshire in 1908. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴¹⁹ Winifred Anna Cavendish-Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (1863-1954) was a British humanitarian and animal rights activist. Her husband, William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish-Bentinck, 6th Duke of Portland (1857-1943), known as William Cavendish-Bentinck until inherited to the Dukedom from his cousin in 1879. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²⁰ Richard William Davenport Legh (1888-1960) became 3rd Baron Newton in 1942. He gave Lyme to the National Trust in 1946. He married Helen Meysey Thompson in 1914. She died in 1958.

⁴²¹ Henry Meysey Meysey-Thompson, 1st Baron Knaresborough (1845-1929) was a Liberal (and later Liberal Unionist) politician who sat in the House of Commons variously between 1880 and 1905 when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Knaresborough. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

February 2. Went to the Hippodrome with some of my family, and was so disgusted with the vulgarity and offensiveness of one of the turns, which exposed certain members of the audience to ridicule, that I wrote and expostulated with the management. They replied that the manager was abroad and that they would consult him on the subject when he returned. I then intimated that I was not prepared to wait until this gentleman returned, and that I should go to the Lord Chamberlain unless the turn was immediately withdrawn. They then capitulated at once. This little incident showed that objectionable exhibitions can be stopped by private individuals if they take the trouble to act.



The Masked Money Lenders, reproduced by permission of the proprietors of *Punch*

February 26. Lunch with Gosse,⁴²² to meet Max Beerbohm.⁴²³ I was delighted to make his acquaintance, as he has given me more pleasure and amusement than almost any writer that I can think of. I found him most unassuming and pleasant. He also gratified my vanity by saying that he had read my book and approved of it.

In March, Willoughby de Broke introduced a kind of “noblesse oblige” military Bill, upon which I cast ridicule, and in the course of the debate I spoke disparagingly of Mr. Rudyard Kipling’s⁴²⁴ poem, *The Absent-minded Beggar*, which I described as being admirable in sentiment but deplorable poetry, with its “Duke’s son, cook’s son, son of a belted earl. ...” I was greatly surprised to receive, a few days later, a letter from Mr. Kipling, complaining that “his friends”

⁴²² Afterwards Sir Edmund Gosse (Librarian of the House of Lords). (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²³ Sir Henry Maximilian “Max” Beerbohm (1872-1956) was an English essayist, parodist, and caricaturist best known today for his 1911 novel *Zuleika Dobson*. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²⁴ Joseph Rudyard Kipling (1865-18 January 1936) was an English journalist, short-story writer, poet, and novelist whose works included *The Jungle Book* (1894), *Kim* (1901), and many short stories, including *The Man Who Would Be King* (1888) (*Wikipedia*)

deplored my remarks and that, so far from being ashamed of the poem, he felt very proud to think that it had helped to bring in over a quarter of a million pounds for the soldiers in South Africa. I might have replied that large money rewards are not by any means a proof of literary merit, that Milton received only £10 for *Paradise Lost* and that, in any case, Sir Arthur Sullivan, who wrote the music for the songs, was clearly entitled to half of the proceeds. Instead, I wrote and said that he had over-estimated the importance of my criticism and that, while I fully recognised his patriotic sentiments, I confessed that I was not an admirer of all his poetry. I also regretted having hurt the feelings of himself and "his friends." I thought that, on the whole, I had behaved handsomely, but suffered another surprise when a second letter arrived, saying that his friends were still dissatisfied. To this I made no reply, as there is no law, written or unwritten, which compels one to admire poetry which is distasteful.

The rewards of talent, unless the latter is supported by publicity or fashion, are usually most inadequate. Thus, it is related in his memoirs by Sir W. Rothenstein⁴²⁵ that Lawrence of Arabia, whilst in receipt of fabulous sums from America for his work, used to amuse himself by writing unsigned articles for magazines which he priced at £2. Much to his amusement, in no single instance was one of these accepted.

More than 60 years ago the late Lord Dunmore⁴²⁶ and the late Lord Mount Edgcumbe⁴²⁷ made a bet as to which of them could earn the most money by their respective talents within 12 hours. Lord Dunmore was a good violinist: Lord Mount Edgcumbe an excellent water-colour artist. Lord Dunmore presented himself at Covent Garden and offered to play in the orchestra. He was rejected at sight, and then proceeded to try one musical establishment after another unsuccessfully and finished up by playing his violin outside a theatre and collected three shillings. Lord Mount Edgcumbe took six drawings to a high-class picture shop and, having failed there, repaired to humbler establishments with no better success, until one shopman offered him 6d. each for them. The bet therefore had resulted in a draw. The sensational Press, unfortunately for them but fortunately for the world in general, was not yet in existence; otherwise the spectacle of two earls, one fiddling in the gutter and the other hawking water-colour drawings at the price of race cards, would have provided material for a stupendous scoop.

For some months, political attention had been almost entirely concentrated upon Female Suffrage and Ireland. In Ireland, the situation

⁴²⁵ Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945) was an English painter, printmaker, draughtsman and writer on art. He is best known for his work as a war artist in both world wars and as a portrait artist. More than 200 of his portraits of famous people are in the National Portrait Gallery collection. Rothenstein was a Principal at the Royal College of Art from 1920 to 1935 and was knighted in 1931. . (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²⁶ He is not included in the index but from the date of Lord Newton's writing the late Lord Dunmore was probably Charles Adolphus Murray, 7th Earl of Dunmore (1841-1907), styled Viscount Fincastle from birth until 1845, a Scottish peer and Conservative politician. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²⁷ This must be William Henry Edgcumbe, 4th Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1833-1917), styled Viscount Valletort between 1839 and 1861, was a British courtier and Conservative politician as the 5th Earl did not die until 1944, i.e. after the death of Lord Newton. (*Wikipedia*)

had become so confused and alarming, owing to the attitude of the Government, that great indignation was aroused: Colonel Seely, M.P.,⁴²⁸ the new War Secretary, was compelled to resign and party animosity rose to such a pitch that for the first time in my experience social intercourse between Liberals and Unionists became extremely strained and was occasionally suspended.

The Duke of Abercorn,⁴²⁹ a very important personage in Ulster, had invited me to visit Baronscourt, which was the Ulster military headquarters, and, being anxious to see what was going on, I went there with Lord Percy⁴³⁰ early in June. The Ulster force was encamped in the beautiful park in tents, and everything was essentially military. The men, under strict discipline and numbering about 1,000, looked exactly like regular soldiers, wore khaki uniforms and were armed with the point 303 rifle. The men came from all classes, the church included, and their behaviour was stated to be excellent: officers and men were provided with the same food. Whilst we were there Carson and other leaders arrived for an inspection, and upon leaving I received the impression that the Ulstermen were in earnest and that, if necessary, they were ready to fight.

July 16, 1914. Went with Aubrey Herbert⁴³¹ to big prize-fight at Olympia between Carpentier⁴³² and Gunboat Smith,⁴³³ which had been much advertised. This was the first important fight that I had ever attended and I was disagreeably struck by the large number of women amongst the audience. A prize-fight can hardly be described as an elevating performance, and, although the courage, skill and endurance of the combatants cannot fail to impress during the early stages of the contest, the last stages frequently present a deplorable spectacle. How any woman can enjoy watching a beaten and exhausted man, barely able to stand, battered almost to pulp, half-blinded and staggering helplessly about, covered with sweat and blood, is to me inexplicable. The obvious deduction is that human nature remains unchanged and that the patronesses of prize-fights to-day possess the same tastes as the Roman ladies who turned down their thumbs in the Colosseum two thousand years ago.

In this particular case, however, there was no brutality. Carpentier, a good-looking, medium-sized man, beautifully built, was a contrast to his opponent—a very tall and ungainly American, with loose limbs

⁴²⁸ John Edward Bernard Seely, 1st Baron Mottistone (1868-1947), was a soldier and politician. He was a Conservative M.P. from 1900-1904 and a Liberal M.P. from 1904-1922 and from 1923-1924. He was Secretary of State for War for the two years prior to World War I, before being forced to resign as a result of the Curragh Incident. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴²⁹ James Albert Edward Hamilton, 3rd Duke of Abercorn (1869-1953), styled Marquess of Hamilton between 1885 and 1913, was a Unionist politician. He was the first Governor of Northern Ireland, a post he held between 1922 and 1945. He was a great-grandfather of Diana, Princess of Wales. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³⁰ Alan Ian Percy, 8th Duke of Northumberland (1880-1930). His father, Henry Percy, 7th Duke of Northumberland (1846-1918), was still the duke in 1914. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³¹ Aubrey Nigel Henry Molyneux Herbert (1880-1923) was a British diplomat, traveller, and intelligence officer associated with Albanian independence. Twice he was offered the throne of Albania. From 1911 until his death, he was a Conservative M.P. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³² Georges Carpentier (1894-1975) was a French boxer, actor and World War I pilot. He fought mainly as a light heavyweight and heavyweight in a career lasting from 1908 to 1926. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³³ Edward "Gunboat" Smith (1887-1974) was an Irish American boxer and later a boxing referee. Among the all-time greats he faced were the legendary Jack Dempsey, Harry Greb, Sam Langford, and Georges Carpentier. (*Wikipedia*)

and a long reach. Smith looked to me the more powerful of the two and, during the few rounds which took place, seemed to be having the best of it. Presently, he knocked Carpentier down. The latter rose at once, but before he was actually erect Smith, who must have temporarily lost his head, either flicked or tapped him lightly, and Carpentier's second instantly claimed a foul. The fight was stopped, and, after a short discussion, the referee announced that a foul had occurred and Carpentier was proclaimed the winner. The decision was received with mingled exultation and indignation, and it certainly seemed to me that Smith was very unlucky, but the din eventually subsided and other fights took place which partly placated the audience.

Amongst the audience close to the ring was a very well-known sporting authority who was a friend of mine. I asked him, shortly afterwards, if he approved the decision, and which man would have won had the foul been disallowed. "The foul," he said, "had nothing to do with the result. Carpentier was the better man and would undoubtedly have won in any case."

A year or two later, I met my friend again, and, the subject of fights having cropped up, I asked him if he remembered the Carpentier-Gunboat Smith fight. "Certainly I do," he replied; "I remember it as distinctly as if it had taken place last night. I was close to the men all the time." "Which man," I asked, "would have won had there been no foul?" "There cannot be any possible doubt about that Gunboat Smith was winning easily; the so-called foul was a little flick which had no effect at all, and, had I been the referee, I should have ordered them to fight on!"

Even the Delphic oracles can hardly have so perplexed an anxious inquirer.

London, July 14. Visit from Spring Rice, our Ambassador at Washington, who came to tell me that he had found the American portion of my Lyons book very useful in the States. He said that civil war in Ireland would cause great difficulties between ourselves and the U.S.A. and might easily bring about a war, as opportunity might be taken to pick a quarrel. Our present relations were unsatisfactory, and he did not intend to make any speeches himself and said that Page would have to be very careful if he made any speeches here. He was also very despondent about the European situation, and convinced that Austria would attack Serbia.

The murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand,⁴³⁴ which is now a

landmark in the world's history, made very little sensation here and was temporarily obliterated by the events in Ireland, but towards the end of July we were sharply brought back to realities by the Austrian Note to Serbia. During the last week of July I was staying at Campsea Ashe with the Speaker, and amongst the guests was Bonar Law, and even he admitted to me that he thought that the European crisis overshadowed the Irish danger. During the remaining days of July tension increased and the chances of war and peace oscillated until the war actually broke out between Austria and Serbia. Even then this country seemed strangely quiet and unperturbed, and when I travelled up to London from

⁴³⁴ Franz Ferdinand (1863-28 June 1914) was an Archduke of Austria-Este, Royal Prince of Hungary and of Bohemia, and from 1896, heir presumptive to the Austro-Hungarian throne. His assassination in Sarajevo precipitated Austria-Hungary's declaration of war against Serbia and thence the Great War. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

Corfe Castle, on the historic day of August 4, trains were running as usual and the only sign of war was a very young soldier, little more than a child, guarding a bridge. He was, to my mind, emblematic of our land-war preparedness. The great question now was whether we were involved or not, and this was solved by Grey's speech in Parliament, which was followed by the resignations of Morley and John Burns.⁴³⁵ Most people were convinced that both honour and self-preservation made our intervention inevitable, but there was more to be said for these two Ministers than was generally realised. The famous talks between the British and French military authorities had started as far back as 1906, but the secret had been so well kept that only Grey, Haldane and Asquith knew of them, Campbell-Bannerman and the rest of his colleagues being quite uninformed until the Morocco crisis of 1911. This may sound almost incredible, and the facts only became known later, but the Liberal Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, used frequently to assure me that he had never been told anything.

When the war actually started, I did much the same thing as my contemporaries. As I was approaching 60 and my very inferior sight would certainly have disqualified me for military service, I went home and occupied myself with local affairs; took over the duties of the Lord Lieutenant,⁴³⁶ who had gone to France, joined numerous committees connected with war work, attended in Parliament when it sat, and spent much time taking part in recruiting meetings, at which I had the opportunity of meeting Labour members and of hearing their views. These recruiting meetings were to me extremely distasteful: it is not a congenial task to urge others to do what one cannot do oneself,

Page 208

VISIT TO FRENCH G.H.Q. [1914]

and it seemed to me humiliating and discreditable that we as a nation should, in the hour of trial, expend our energies upon this effort to persuade a patriotic minority to undertake what ought to be a universal duty. I never have been able to understand why Kitchener, who prophesied a war of four years, did not insist upon a policy of universal service when he took office, instead of relying upon an obsolete voluntary system, suitable only for the 18th century. I believe that he always contended that this was a question which ought to be left to the politicians, but the latter were only too glad to shelter themselves behind him.

Lyme, August 21. My second son, Piers, who had left Banchory and immediately re-joined his battalion, the Grenadier Guards, broke down again in a short time and was ordered to undergo a further tuberculosis treatment. At this moment, however, the Duke of Connaught,⁴³⁷ then Viceroy of Canada, wanted an A.D.C. and agreed to take him. It was thought that the climate of Canada might suit him, and he proceeded there at once. This was a great stroke of luck from the health point of view.

Paris, October 23. Came over here for a few days, partly to try to arrange for a French translation of *Lord Lyons*, and partly with a vague idea that I might find some definite

⁴³⁵ John Elliot Burns (1858-1943) was an English trade unionist and politician of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly associated with London politics. He was a socialist and then a Liberal Member of Parliament and Minister. When the Liberal cabinet made a decision for war on 2 August 1914, he resigned and played no further role in politics. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³⁶ Previously held by the Duke of Westminster

⁴³⁷ Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn (Arthur William Patrick Albert; 1850-1942) was the third son of Queen Victoria, who served as the Governor General of Canada, the 10th since Canadian Confederation. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

employment. A far more pronounced war atmosphere here than in London. Everyone seems occupied, and not at all easy to get about and see anything.

By great good luck I happened to make the acquaintance of Colonel Sir Thomas Cuninghame,⁴³⁸ a liaison officer, who, to my inexpressible delight, offered to take me to both the French and the British G.H.Q. Even in those early days of the war it was usually very difficult to visit the front, and the locality of the G.H.Q. was kept a secret.

Romilly, (French GHQ) October 26. Arrived here in about two hours from Paris. A remarkably quiet and peaceful place, with nothing to suggest war about it, except many officers, whose quiet and studious demeanour suggested a gathering of professors examining a scientific problem. They were all extremely civil, but as I was the only person in civilian clothes they probably regarded me with some suspicion until I had a long interview, *coram publico*, with the Commander-in-Chief. The only other strangers were a couple of Japanese officers and some Belgians. The meals were extremely simple and, contrary to French habits, were quickly over.

Page 209

GENERAL JOFFRE'S OPTIMISM [1914]

Cuninghame introduced me to General Joffre,⁴³⁹ and I conversed with him in the doorway of his house. General Joffre was not very military in appearance, he was unshaven and looked rather like a countryman who had borrowed a uniform for the occasion, nor was there much distinction about him, but he had a good-humoured face and a very friendly manner. I found him quite easy to talk to and left him to sustain most of the conversation, which left me in a state of some surprise. General Joffre was an optimist—in fact, a strenuous optimist. He insisted that the Germans were weakening, that the present Germans were much inferior to those of 1870: he enlarged at length on the case of a French soldier who, he assured me, had been crucified by the enemy, and predicted that there would be a great change for the better in the campaign within a fortnight or less. I said that all this sounded very satisfactory, and asked him how our Russian Allies were getting on. “Nothing could be better,” he replied; “I think it very likely that they will be in Berlin in about three weeks.” Tannenberg⁴⁴⁰ had apparently made no impression upon him.

When he asked me about the British attitude towards the war I could not refrain from saying that there were many people who did not take the war seriously enough, and that a Zeppelin raid would undoubtedly raise the general morale of the public, a remark which appeared to amuse him greatly.

General Joffre gave me the impression of being thoroughly candid and friendly, but his optimism almost stupefied me, and if I had been a journalist and had reported what he said it

⁴³⁸ Sir Thomas Andrew Alexander Montgomery-Cuninghame of Corsehill, 10th Baronet (1877–1945) was educated at Eton College and the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst and served in the Second Boer War with The Rifle Brigade with distinction, for which he received the Distinguished Service Order. He rose to the rank of Colonel and was the British Military Representative to Austria (1919–20). (*Wikipedia*)

⁴³⁹ Marshal Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre (1852-1931), was a French general who served as Commander-in-Chief of French forces on the Western Front from the start of World War I until the end of 1916. He is best known for regrouping the retreating allied armies to defeat the Germans at the strategically decisive First Battle of the Marne in September 1914.

⁴⁴⁰ The Battle of Tannenberg was fought between Russia and Germany from 26–30 August 1914, during the first month of World War I. The battle resulted in the almost complete destruction of the Russian Second Army and the suicide of its commanding general, Alexander Samsonov.

CHAPTER XIX

would probably have excited much ridicule. On the following day, we paid an interesting visit to Rheims and then went on to St. Omer, passing through a district much ravaged by war.

St. Omer, (British G.H.Q.) October 29. On leaving my billet early the next morning I met Percy,⁴⁴¹ who was in the Intelligence section, and General Sir Henry Wilson.⁴⁴² Percy introduced me to the latter, who, evidently labouring under a very intelligible excitement, proceeded to address me in a very vigorous fashion, saying that as I was in Parliament, and on my way home, it was my duty to point out the critical position of the British forces and the urgent necessity for immediate reinforcements. I felt sure that he was right, but pointed out that no one would be in the least likely to pay any attention to me, as I was not a qualified authority. Nevertheless, he and others were so persistent that I

Page 210

PRECARIOUS POSITION OF B.E.F. [1914]

finally suggested that a memorandum should be drawn up by the staff at once, and that I should take it to London and show it to the Defence Committee and other influential personages. The suggestion was agreed to and a memorandum prepared. I believe that this document, which is one of considerable importance, was written mainly by Percy, who was a very clever man and competent officer, but others may have assisted him whose names I do not know.

The memorandum stated that the British troops were in danger of being annihilated, because there were not enough of them and they were worn out. Their losses, particularly in officers, had never been made good, and there was no General Reserve and very few local reserves, so that they had to spend days and nights on end in the firing line and could not be regularly relieved. The trenches were under perpetual bombardment by howitzers and machine guns, to which we could not reply effectively for want of guns. The enemy was constantly throwing in fresh troops, regardless of losses, and if he brought them up in masses our army would be in the greatest danger.

The views of the General Staff were summed up as follows:—

“We do not want new units or new brigades and divisions. We want good men and officers as drafts to make good the losses in existing units. Infantry and heavy guns are especially required. The German new formations are certainly no better than our Territorials, if as good. If Territorials could be sent out they would be infinitely preferable to the Special Reservists. The folly of sending out completely new formations is proved by what has happened to a very fine Regular Division, the 7th, which, owing to mistakes in entrenching, is, for the time being at any rate, of very little use.

⁴⁴¹ The identity of Percy is not clear from the text or the index; the latter has a reference only to Lord Percy, later Duke of Northumberland on page 127. However, the fact that Lord Newton refers to him by surname only would be consistent with him being Lord Percy. (Ed.)

⁴⁴² Field Marshal Sir Henry Hughes Wilson, 1st Baronet (1864-1922) was one of the most senior British Army staff officers of the First World War and was briefly an Irish Unionist politician. In 1914 as Sub Chief of Staff to the BEF, Wilson was Sir John French's most important advisor during the 1914. In 1918 Wilson served as Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He was assassinated on his own doorstep in 1922 by two IRA gunmen whilst returning home from unveiling a war memorial at Liverpool Street station. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XIX

“There are regiments which have only 10 or 12 officers, half of whom are Special Reservists. The pity of the present situation is that the Germans are also exhausted and a few fresh troops on this front would achieve a decisive victory. We have over a million men at home, not one bit inferior to the German Ersatz men, who might, if sent out here and pushed forward gradually into the fighting line, not only relieve a very awkward situation but win a victory.”

Having settled this business, I endeavoured to see something of the fighting, but the weather was foggy, the days were short and visibility very poor. It did not require much knowledge, however, to recognise the danger of the situation, and I believe, in fact, that October 30, 1914, has been described by experts as the most critical day of the war.

I arrived in London on the night of October 30 and went early next morning to the Defence Committee, where I found Esher and Hankey.⁴⁴³ They read the memorandum and agreed that it was most

Page 211

PROPAGANDA IN U.S.A. [1914]

important and that Kitchener ought certainly to see it without delay, as it was more alarming than anything which had hitherto been received. Esher undertook to show it to him and informed me by letter afterwards that, as the result of reading it, he decided to go off that evening to St. Omer. I also communicated the contents of the memorandum to Arthur Balfour, Curzon and Lord Roberts. Curzon, of course, grasped its gravity at once, but Lord Roberts, in a letter on November 3, said that as we had only one regular division left here it would not be safe to send it, and that there were no other troops really fit to go. The desperate situation was saved at the last moment by the arrival of French reinforcements, but the lesson of this particular incident was that the theory of the so-called Blue Water School⁴⁴⁴ was unsound. We had always been told by authorities like Lord Fisher to “sleep quietly in our beds” and not to listen to the empty threat of invasion, and now in the hour of peril it was admitted that we could not run the risk of sending troops abroad.

At this period the attitude of Turkey towards the war was causing a good deal of anxiety, and, meeting Nicolson, I inquired how matters were proceeding. He said that he had recently seen Tewfik, the Turkish Ambassador, and that the latter had told him that he had not received any communication whatever from Constantinople for more than a fortnight and he was completely ignorant as to what was happening! This was probably quite true, as he was not in sympathy with the people now in power.

In the course of the day I managed to attend the trial of Lodi, the famous German spy, and whilst I was in court he broke down momentarily while refusing to answer a particular question concerning his superiors. It was a pathetic spectacle, as Lodi made a very favourable impression. The trial seemed to be conducted by the military in a very fair and honourable spirit.

⁴⁴³ Maurice Pascal Alers Hankey, 1st Baron Hankey (1877-1963) was a civil servant who gained prominence as the first Cabinet Secretary and who later made the rare transition from the civil service to ministerial office. He is best known as the highly efficient top aide to Prime Minister, David Lloyd George and the War Cabinet that directed Britain in the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁴⁴ Those who believed that Britain did not require a large army as it was an island and could not be invaded while it had naval pre-eminence. (Ed.)

CHAPTER XIX

I was not at all satisfied with the somewhat purposeless life at home and had therefore written to Spring Rice to say that if I could be of any use I was willing to go to America and join propaganda spouters in the States, much as I disliked platform speaking. An answer arrived in November, explaining that it was quite unnecessary for me to come, as Bemstorff⁴⁴⁵ was doing our work for us: "About 90 per cent, of the English-speaking people," he wrote, "and half the Irish are on the side of the Allies, and in the glorious annals of German achievement nothing is so remarkable as the fact that Germany has

Page 212

H.M.G. AND COMPULSION [1914-1915]

almost made England popular in America." I received various other letters from him to the same effect. He evidently had little faith in the value of propaganda oratory and thought that much better results could be obtained by private intercourse. He thought that the Americans resented attempts to proselytise them, and much preferred to form their own opinion. Probably his view was correct, for he was a very clever man and, in any case, it was a relief to me, as the prospect of addressing strange audiences night after night was far from attractive.

November 5. Heard from Percy, giving figures of the appalling losses we have suffered, some of the Divisions having been reduced to 2,000 or 3,000 men and some batteries commanded by N.C.O.s.

He said that Sir John French⁴⁴⁶ was furious about my action and had severely blamed Cuninghame for taking me to G.H.Q. As a matter of fact he had no justification for blaming me, as I had not obtruded my own opinion and had merely conveyed a report of his own staff to the Home authorities.

November 11. Parliament met. Told by Lord Rothschild⁴⁴⁷ that about three years ago he had an opportunity to buy *The Times*, but that just before coming to an agreement he was thrown over by Mr. Arthur Walter and it was sold to Northcliffe, on the understanding that he did not interfere with the management.

This was a misfortune for the reading public, but it has always struck me as one of the triumphs of *The Times* that it survived the Northcliffe regime successfully.

Lyme, December 19. Four wounded Belgian officers arrived as our guests and remained for several months.

London, February 4, 1915. Met Glenconner, who says that the Government are still strongly opposed to compulsion and that Kitchener agrees with them. This amazing statement probably correct, for G. is Asquith's brother-in-law.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ German Ambassador at Washington.

⁴⁴⁶ Field Marshal John Denton Pinkstone French, 1st Earl of Ypres (1852-1925), known as The Viscount French between 1916 and 1922. As Sir John French, he was the leader of the British Expeditionary Force in France in 1914 for the first year and a half. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁴⁷ Nathan Mayer Rothschild, 1st Baron Rothschild (1840-1915), was a British banker and politician from the international Rothschild financial dynasty. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁴⁸ Asquith's wife was Margot Tennant. Lord Glenconner was Edward Prialux Tennant (Ed.)

CHAPTER XIX

March 17. Visited prisoners of war camp at Handforth, where about 10,000 men were confined in a bleaching mill, the great majority being military. Talked to a good many and found that they had practically no complaints to make except about parcels. Found them respectful and well-mannered on the whole, and there were certain old men and others in bad health who, it seemed to me, might well be got rid of. Whilst going over the building I saw that some simple repairs were going on and that the workmen were British.

Upon inquiry, I found, to my indignation, that these men had been

Page 213

DISAGREEMENT WITH ADMIRALTY [1915]

brought from Hull and that they were being paid at the highest trade union rate. When I asked the prisoners if they were prepared to do the work themselves they replied that they would be delighted to take it on at a nominal wage. This opened my eyes to the scandalous action of the Trade Union leaders, and subsequently I was in a position to help in breaking down this absurd practice, which was due to official timidity.

May 17. (Viscount) Esher here. Found him much depressed about everything and he thinks that the Government cannot last much longer as there is internal trouble and Asquith does not exercise sufficient control.

May 21. Told by P. (who must know) that Fisher and W. Churchill⁴⁴⁹ are on very bad terms at the Admiralty and that each is equally unpopular as neither would tell the Board what was going on. It seems that Fisher quite recently resigned suddenly on some trumpery question and was on his way to Scotland when he was stopped at the railway station by an order from Asquith.

⁴⁴⁹ Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (1874-1965) was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955. In 1914 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. (*Wikipedia*)

**IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT: DIFFICULTIES OF OFFICIAL
SPOKESMEN: TRANSFER TO FOREIGN OFFICE AS CONTROLLER OF
PRISONERS-OF-WAR AND NEWS DEPARTMENTS. 1915-1916**

AT this time, there was much dissatisfaction in the country with the Government, and it was clear to all except a few obstinate partisans that it had become necessary to form a coalition. On May 26, 1916, the names of the new coalition ministers were announced.

On June 4, I met (Marquess of) Lansdowne by chance, in the street, and had some conversation with him, during which he showed signs of having been suddenly struck by a new idea. Shortly afterwards I received a note from him asking me if I would care to join the new Government as Paymaster-General, and saying that if I agreed I should be asked to represent an important Department in the House. At first I felt rather doubtful, as I had determined not to join any administration which refused to adopt universal service, but I consulted Curzon, who was in the same position as myself and had already joined the Cabinet, and he assured me that the principle would be adopted very shortly. I therefore agreed to accept office and was overjoyed to have at last found definite occupation. I said that I was prepared to accept any work that might be offered, and rather to my surprise was asked to represent the War Office in Parliament whenever the Secretary of State was unable to attend. I considered that I had been very lucky in being selected for such interesting work, but this illusion was very soon shattered, for when I went to the War Office they made it quite clear that they wished to see as little as possible of me, refused me a room or even a table or chair, and condescended only to give me very scanty information, which was supplied at the eleventh hour by an overworked official whose duty it was to compile enigmatic answers to Parliamentary questions. As, however, I was extremely anxious to be employed, I thought it better to make no protest. The Paymaster-

General has no salary and no duties, except that of attending the weekly pensions meetings at Chelsea Hospital. I therefore had very little to do, as Parliament did not sit regularly, and it was quite a long time before I first spoke from the Front Bench.

June 16. Buckingham Palace, to be sworn in as member of Privy Council: an unimportant ceremony, performed in private.

June 23. Met Percy at War Office. He says there is no soldier here of sufficient ability or standing to compete with Kitchener; all competent soldiers now abroad, campaign generally being carried on in unmethodical manner, and Kitchener not equal to coping with it by himself. Both he and French have really been in disagreement for a long time. French has been complaining for months about want of munitions, and men also.

June 29. Received message from Kitchener, who wanted to see me. On arrival at War Office, found that it was only about some unimportant question concerning the Territorial Force, and I soon realised that he had some other motive. Seated at a big table completely free from any kind of document, he sent for some of the principal officials in turn and closely questioned each one on the work of his Department, obviously for my edification. Some of

them showed signs of nervousness, and it was evident that he had complete control over his subordinates. These examinations lasted for a considerable time, and after they were finished he talked to me about labour troubles and recruiting difficulties, and told me that he habitually used the *Daily Mail* for the purpose of misleading the Germans.

July 24. Had to reply to awkward question about the non-publication of dispatches regarding the fighting on the Suez Canal which Kitchener ought to have answered himself.

He instructed me not to extol the success of our operations, because in his opinion it ought to have been much greater and it deserved little attention. This did not make my task easier and I thought that my reply was far from convincing. Crewe, however, who was acting as Leader at the time, complimented me warmly upon what he termed a model Parliamentary statement, a compliment which was of special interest to me, as I disagreed with almost every statement that I had been instructed to make. Kitchener was usually opposed to the publication of any military news, and I was informed by one important Cabinet Minister that he was always very obstinate on this point, although in reality much afraid of public opinion.

As it was my official duty to speak for the War Office in Parliament,

Page 216

A DOMESTIC TRAGEDY [1915]

it seemed to me obvious that I ought to go to France and try to learn something practical about the war. This suggestion was not met with much enthusiasm by the War Office, but having, after some difficulty, extracted a permit from them I went on August 28 to stay with my friend, Gleichen, who was in command of the 37th Division, whose headquarters were at Doullens. Here I met various other friends and received from everyone much kindness and hospitality. The brigade occupied a fairly quiet section of the line and there was no difficulty in visiting the trenches—which was to me a novel experience—but I was suddenly called home by a telegram announcing that John Warburton, who had married my eldest daughter, Lettice, was in a precarious state, arising from a wound received earlier in the war. I left at once, but before reaching Lyme received the dreadful news that he was dead. This was all the more tragic because it had been understood that he was making a steady recovery. It was a shattering blow to my poor daughter, whom I found inert, tearless and seemingly dead to the outside world, and suffering from pneumonia. For some agonising days, to which even now I can hardly bear to refer, we watched, and eventually she rallied to a certain extent, and when the child was born, she, with much courage and common sense, determined to set up a new life and joined the French Red Cross, working until nearly the end of the war in the Abbeville district.

John Warburton, to whom I was almost as much attached as if he had been my son, was a man who possessed all the qualities necessary for success and had a charming personality. He was intelligent, industrious, artistic, and proficient in sports and games. He had a strong sense of duty, and was one of those enviable persons who could find an interest everywhere. As a soldier, he was particularly proficient and would, if spared, doubtless have attained high rank. His loss was more than merely personal.

London, September 17. Met some young American diplomatists who have come from Berlin. They say that life there is much the same as usual: trams, trains, and so forth, all running and lots of able-bodied men about. Said that there were about 27,000 British military

CHAPTER XX

prisoners in Germany, 1,000,000 Russian and over 100,000 French. Thought that the Germans had lost about 400,000 killed and 1,200,000 wounded.

November 16. Whilst I was sitting alone upon the front bench, before proceedings had formally started and when there were scarcely any peers present and no reporters in the Press Gallery, Fisher suddenly

Page 217

PARLIAMENTARY OUTBURST FROM FISHER [1915]

rose from the cross benches and read out in stentorian tones and in the best blood-and-thunder style a statement to the effect that his patience was exhausted and that he meant to take the gloves off and have it out with Winston Churchill. This, I thought, promised a really interesting encounter, but when I looked at the Hansard a few days later I was astonished to find a totally different statement, to the effect that the present was no time for personal quarrels. The explanation of this remarkable transformation was that, during the war, Lords Debates were not published daily, and that there was therefore an opportunity to alter a speech completely without much fear of detection. The practice of daily reports now makes action of this kind impossible.

December 2. Kitchener back at the War Office after his expedition to the East. Many people surprised, and some disappointed, as it was generally believed that he would be employed in some other capacity.

December 7. Saw Piers off on his way to France. He had always been trying to get back to his regiment, and had never rested until he left Canada. The Duke of Connaught had been extremely kind and considerate, and put no obstacles in his way. On arrival here in October, he had been frequently examined, and although he was pronounced to be unfit for regimental work he was passed for staff employment and was lucky enough to become an A.D.C. to Lord Cavan. He looked very ill, Canada having done him no good, and I fully expected that he would break down at once.

Lyme, December 11. Buckler and Cresson, two American diplomatists, staying for the purpose of an official inspection of the Handforth Prisoners' camp. Buckler, who is married to an English lady, lives here, and Cresson is a secretary at the U.S. Embassy in St. Petersburg. Both expressed warm approval of the camp, and said that it was the best that they had seen. Cresson, who had lately visited the war prisoners' camp in Russia, was greatly struck with the contrast. The Handforth prisoners had practically no complaints to make, but were still kept in complete idleness.

As the appointment of Paymaster-General was a sinecure, with no pay and no departmental duties, it was not surprising that I was frequently called upon to answer for other Departments as well as the War Office. I had been warned that this would happen to me, and that some of them showed very little consideration for those who were deputed to speak for them in Parliament. Everyone agreed that the worst offender was the Home Office, and my experience tended to show that this was correct, for on the few occasions on which I had

Page 218

TRANSFER TO THE F.O. [1915-16]

to speak for them I do not remember having had an interview with any official and merely received an inferior brief at the last moment.

CHAPTER XX

Early in December I was informed by the Cabinet that a highly-complicated Munitions Bill was coming up to the Lords in a day or two, and that I was expected to get it through all its stages in a single sitting. Of course, I knew nothing about the Bill and was fully aware of the ignominious figure which I should cut if exposed to expert criticism, but the House of Lords is extraordinarily good-natured and I managed to get through the task, largely assisted by the kindness of peers who were well acquainted with the subject.

It is one of the weaknesses of the House of Lords that peers with no political experience are frequently deputed to deal with important and complicated questions of which they know nothing, but it is difficult to prescribe a remedy, owing to the natural persistence of the Commons in retaining a preponderance of representatives in the machinery of administration.

1916. Before Parliament reassembled I took the opportunity to pay a visit to the Front and again stayed with Gleichen, still in command of a Division, and Henry Wilson, now a Corps Commander in the neighbourhood of Arras. On this occasion, I got some general insight into the military situation. Everyone was most friendly and hospitable and instead of being bored with an obligatory visitor took the greatest trouble to show me everything. I returned with a favourable impression, as all were cheerful, we were on good terms with the French, and the arrangements made for the treatment and comfort of the rank and file appeared to be satisfactory; but no one seemed to entertain any hope that there would be any decisive success for a long time to come.

On February 24, a welcome change in my political duties took place, for I received a private letter from Grey offering me important work at the Foreign Office. I went to see him, and he received me in the most friendly manner. He invited me to take charge of two Departments, one dealing with foreign propaganda (technically described as the News Department) and the other dealing with the question of Prisoners-of-War. If I accepted I should rank as an Assistant Under-Secretary, with a salary of £1,200 a year. The salary I firmly refused, as I had always felt strongly that those who were in a position to do so ought to serve the country, in time of war, without pay. He objected to this, but I remained firm, and, of course, I was only too pleased to accept the offer, for instead of undertaking the

Page 219

WORK AT THE F.O. [1916]

somewhat thankless work of a Parliamentary "odd man" I should now be at the head of two Departments and engaged upon interesting work with former friends. My new appointment was welcome, too, for another reason, for I had received recently some flattering invitations from other Departments which I was now debarred from accepting, and on the whole I did not much regret my departure from the War Office. Soon after I had been gazetted to the F.O. I was sent for by King George V, who was extremely kind and congratulatory, but he had been a fairly frequent attendant at House of Lords debates and warned me that as I had been, in the past, a severe critic of Ministers, I should now suffer from criticism myself. To this I replied that I had no illusions whatever about myself, that I did not think that any man could make a success out of the two jobs allotted to me and that I was quite prepared to be reviled.

My work in the F.O. was carried on under the most pleasant conditions imaginable. My old friends seemed quite pleased to see me again, and all the members of the two departments which I controlled were not only competent and industrious but congenial as well. In the

Prisoners-of-War Department my chief assistant was the late Sir Horace Rumbold, who remained until he was appointed Minister at Berne and was a most competent and experienced official. In the News Department, there was a galaxy of talent which included Sir Miles Lampson,⁴⁵⁰ Sir Hubert Montgomery,⁴⁵¹ Alfred Noyes⁴⁵² (the poet), John Buchan,⁴⁵³ Pelham Warner (the cricketer),⁴⁵⁴ Sir Stephen Gaselee⁴⁵⁵ (now chief librarian at the F.O.) and other well-known men. The chief difficulty was that both Departments had to work concurrently with other bodies: thus, in the matter of Prisoners-of-War, the War Office, Admiralty, Home Office and Colonial Office all claimed equal rights with the F.O., and in case of disagreement it was necessary to refer the matter to the Cabinet, for, although I was officially described as "Controller," I had no power to over-rule any of these parties. The same difficulty existed in the case of the other Department, as at that time several of the Ministries were running their own propaganda and declined to be interfered with. It was, in fact, rather surprising that we got on at all, especially since there were frequent differences with the Press.

March 10. Audience with the King, who wanted information about a particular prisoner.

Page 220

EMPLOYMENT OF PRISONERS-OF-WAR [1916]

In the course of conversation, he expressed indignation at the non-employment of German prisoners-of-war here, said that he had been much impressed with the efficiency of the women gardeners whom he had been persuaded to employ, and was full of admiration for parlour maids, of whom he had little experience before the war.

The exchange of prisoners was one of the most important questions which occupied the Prisoners-of-War Department. I found that, before this was formed, Kitchener frequently endeavoured to effect individual exchanges, and that much trouble resulted. It seemed to me that a system of individual exchanges was quite wrong in principle, as the inevitable result would be that all who had a social or political "pull" would be released and that others would be ignored. I therefore approached the Cabinet and induced them to lay down a regulation that no negotiations should be entered upon for an individual exchange unless a Government Department urged release on the ground of public service. This new regulation simplified our action considerably.

March 31. Saw Selborne (2nd Earl, Minister of Agriculture) about the employment of Germans on the land, where labour was much required. He said that it was the first time that anyone had made this particular suggestion, and that he would see if it could be done.

Saw E. Grey about a scheme introduced by Kitchener, who wanted to send a number of our German prisoners to work in France, alleging that no one would employ them here. He had made this proposal without consulting either the Foreign Office or the Americans (who were responsible for the treatment of the prisoners as the Protecting Power). Grey said that K. was

⁴⁵⁰ Miles Wedderburn Lampson, 1st Baron Killearn (1880-1964) was a British diplomat. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵¹ Sir Charles Hubert Montgomery (1876-1942) was a British civil servant and diplomat. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵² Alfred Noyes (16 September 1880-25 June 1958) was an English poet, short-story writer and playwright, best known for his ballads, *The Highwayman* and *The Barrel-Organ*. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵³ John Buchan, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir (1875-1940) was a Scottish novelist, historian and Unionist politician who served as Governor General of Canada, the 15th since Canadian Confederation (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵⁴ Sir Pelham Francis Warner (1873-1963), affectionately and better known as Plum Warner or "the Grand Old Man" of English cricket, was a Test cricketer. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵⁵ Stephen Gaselee (1882-1943) was a British diplomat, writer and librarian. (*Wikipedia*)

hopeless to work with, and that he would protest strongly against this action. Grey was perfectly right. The German Government knew quite well that we treated prisoners much better than the French and, had Kitchener been allowed to have his way, would undoubtedly have retaliated brutally upon the British prisoners in Germany.

Although, strictly speaking, the employment of enemy prisoners was not a question which immediately concerned my Department, I continued to urge it whenever I got the chance, whether in Parliament or outside.

April 14. Piers back for a few days' leave. Astonished to see how much better he looks than when he first went out.

I found my work at the F.O. extraordinarily interesting. When I took over the News Department I invited all the owners or editors of

Page 221

THE NEWS DEPARTMENT [1916]

the big newspapers to call upon me and give me their views as to propaganda. Nearly every one responded and all, with very few exceptions, were friendly and practical. Besides these journalistic authorities, I used to see every kind of person, ranging from Ambassadors, Generals and other magnates down to escaped prisoners.

I was also in close touch with Brigadier-General John Charteris,⁴⁵⁶ the Head of the Intelligence Branch at G.H.Q., and, being a Foreign Office official myself, saw all the confidential correspondence. I infinitely preferred my work at the F.O. to the answering of Parliamentary questions, and realised for the first time the serious interruption of business caused by these inquiries. Although I had done a good deal of Parliamentary speaking and had managed to master some of the artifices resorted to by hard-pressed Ministers, I must admit that I never felt quite at ease on the Front Bench, where one cannot indulge in the frank expression of opinion which is the privilege of the private member.

At Easter, the Irish Rebellion broke out: a number of British officers were murdered in cold blood in Dublin, and the traitor Casement⁴⁵⁷ was caught on the West coast. In the evening of April 25, the Editor of *The Times*, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson,⁴⁵⁸ suddenly arrived and, urging that it was my duty as head of the F.O. propaganda department to act, begged me to approach the Cabinet at once in order to obtain leave for the Press to go to Dublin, so that the news should be made known in America. I agreed entirely with him and we set off at once in search of Ministers, but, the Easter holidays having begun, we were only able to discover Arthur Balfour and (Augustine) Birrell. Both of these agreed, and so did the F.O., but we heard that

⁴⁵⁶ Brigadier General John Charteris (1877–1946) was a British general during the First World War. He was Sir Douglas Haig's Chief of Intelligence Officer at the British Expeditionary Force's headquarters from 1915 to 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵⁷ Roger David Casement (1864-3 August 1916)-known as Sir Roger Casement between 1911 and shortly before his execution for treason, when he was stripped of his knighthood-was an Anglo-Irish diplomat for the United Kingdom, a humanitarian activist, Irish nationalist and a poet. Described as the "father of twentieth-century human rights investigations," he was awarded honours in 1905 for the Casement Report on the Congo and knighted in 1911 for his important investigations of human rights abuses in Peru. He then made efforts during World War I to gain German military aid for the 1916 Easter Rising which sought to gain Irish independence. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁵⁸ George Geoffrey Dawson (1874-1944) was editor of *The Times* from 1912 to 1919 and again from 1923 until 1941. His original last name was Robinson, but he changed it in 1917. (*Wikipedia*)

the War Office, as usual, made difficulties. Eventually I rounded up Kitchener at York House late at night, but he objected to giving a decision at once and said that he would do so next morning. Accordingly, I left the Cabinet to deal with him and the Press went to Dublin on the following day.

April 27. Went down to Windsor with reference to a projected consultation with Prince Max of Baden,⁴⁵⁹ in which the King and Queen were interested, about the exchange of prisoners, and had a long conversation with both of them, and do not expect that the scheme will have much result. Had luncheon with them, no one else being present except a Maharajah, who knew very little English, and three children who never uttered a word. At luncheon, much open talk about the general situation, and the King reminiscent about House of

Page 222

H.O. AND A GERMAN ANGLOPHILE [1916]

Lords debates and scenes. On returning to London heard from Crewe, now at the Foreign Office in Grey's absence, of the fall of Kut.⁴⁶⁰

May 6. Letter from Hardinge, asking me to introduce him when he takes his seat in House of Lords. Says that he is resuming his old post at the F.O. and means to remain there until the Paris Embassy becomes vacant.

May 21, 1916. With H. Rumbold to visit two internment camps: one at Stratford and the other at Islington; the former a deplorable old building, dark and inconvenient, where internees were kept pending departure by sea. Islington much more satisfactory and nothing to complain of except some want of room.

Here I was approached by Baron von Bissing⁴⁶¹, a former resident at Brighton, who had been the object of many attacks in the Press. He explained that he was very fond of bathing and would be extremely grateful if he could be permitted to go to some public swimming bath, accompanied by a policeman, whom he would pay for himself. I said that I had no power to give him permission, but would communicate with the Home Office. I did so, but was informed that they were afraid of the Harmsworth and Bottomley Press,⁴⁶² who would be sure to make an outcry if the fact became known. Bissing, who had the misfortune to be the brother of a notorious German general and was perpetually denounced in the sensational Press as a dangerous enemy, was in reality a strong Anglophile, who, when he died a few

⁴⁵⁹ Maximilian Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm Margrave of Baden (1867-1929), also known as Max von Baden, was a German prince and politician. He was heir to the Grand Duchy of Baden and in October and November 1918 briefly served as Chancellor of the German Empire. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶⁰ Kut, in modern day Iraq, but then in the Turkish Ottoman Empire, was the scene of a fierce battles during World War I. The British Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, led by General Townshend, marched north from Basra in September 1915 in what became known as the Mesopotamian Campaign. They reached Kut on September 26, where after three days of fighting they drove the Ottoman forces from the town. On December 7, 1915, the Turks, under their commander, the German Field Marshal Baron von der Goltz, arrived at Kut and began a siege. Some 23,000 British and Indian soldiers died in the attempts to retake it and Townshend was forced to submit on April 29, 1916. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶¹ Possibly Mr. Walter von Bissing, a half-brother of the late German Governor of Belgium who is mentioned in Hansard as being naturalised in Britain in 1906, but interned on the 20th September, 1915. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶² Horatio William Bottomley (1860-1933) was an English financier, journalist, editor, newspaper proprietor, swindler, and Member of Parliament. He is best known for his editorship of the popular magazine *John Bull*, and for his patriotic oratory during the First World War. His career came to a sudden end when, in 1922, he was convicted of fraud and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. (*Wikipedia*)

years later, left all his considerable property to English people and English institutions, nothing whatever going to Germany.

June 2. Stupefying news of naval battle off Jutland. Whilst listening at the F.O. to the list of ships lost, telephoned from the Admiralty, I thought it the worst disaster that we had ever suffered. On the next morning, however, a fresh Admiralty statement threw a new light upon the result. It was one of our difficulties during the war that the Germans, being centrally placed, could almost always give their version of engagements earlier than we.

June 6. Death of Kitchener. He was a world figure and his name will live in history, but it is given to few to pass unscathed through the flames of war and, great though Kitchener was, it is idle to deny that confidence in him began to fail. No soldier since the Duke of Wellington ever captured so completely the confidence of the country, and it is no exaggeration to state that, at the beginning of the war, the country would have

Page 223

NEWS DEPARTMENT AND G.H.Q. [1916]

trusted him blindly and accepted any decision that he chose to make. He was generally believed to be of a dictatorial and secretive character, which made it difficult to work with him, but during my limited experience of him I found him quite friendly.

Montreuil, June 8. General Charteris, the Intelligence director, had urged me to come out to G.H.Q. in order to discuss various matters in which our respective Departments were concerned, and also to inspect the arrangements, and I arrived to-day, bringing with me Miles Lampson.

G.H.Q. was a very different place from what it had been in 1914 at St. Omer. It buzzed with activity, and mushroom cities already abounded in its neighbourhood: nor was there any sign of the drone-like existence which figured in the imagination of some ignorant critics. We found all the Intelligence officers most obliging and anxious to co-operate with our Department; they showed us everything, down to the last confidential detail, and when we paid a visit to the camp of the journalists permanently accommodated at G.H.Q. these made no complaint. Furthermore, they promised every facility to the visitors, both official and private, whom we constantly sent to them, and only stipulated that no foreign journalists should be sent, for the present. It was obvious, although they did not say so openly, that a big attack was in preparation. General Charteris, who in 1917 was sacrificed as a scapegoat after Cambrai, always struck me as a very active and capable officer whose only weakness appeared to be a tendency to optimism.

We passed on to La Lovie (Headquarters of the 8th Corps), a big and hideous chateau in the neighbourhood of Poperinghe. The district seemed highly unattractive, the soil being partly waterlogged and the atmosphere liable to constant fogs. Here I found my son, Piers, in improved health, but still forbidden to go to the trenches. On the staff also was the present Duke of Windsor,⁴⁶³ then an undeveloped youth with pleasant and unassuming manners, but unable to undertake any important staff work because he could not be induced to read. He really preferred regimental work, and had shown that he had plenty of courage. I had never met him before, although the younger royal children were not infrequently in our house, as

⁴⁶³ Edward VIII (Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David; 1894-1972) was the eldest son of King George V and Queen Mary. He was King from 20 January 1936 until his abdication on 11 December the same year and then had the title of Duke of Windsor. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XX

my youngest daughter was a friend of Princess Mary,⁴⁶⁴ with whom she used to study at the Palace. As the result of being associated together on the staff, the Duke of Windsor, after the war, invited my son to become his equerry, and the latter remained with him in this capacity

Page 224

A VISIT TO PARIS [1916]

until the abdication took place, and subsequently was appointed equerry to the present King. Whilst at La Lovie, Lampson and I took advantage of Cavan's temporary absence to go to Ypres, that city being forbidden to visitors. It was a depressing spectacle, nearly every building having been demolished. Whilst we were going round the town a very heavy bombardment began; shells fell quite near to us, and we had to take shelter under the old Vauban ramparts, which, to my uninstructed eye, seemed to constitute the really vital defence of the Salient. When we emerged, I could not help feeling ashamed of our idle curiosity, and if a casualty had occurred we should have had only ourselves to blame.

Our next stop was at the H.Q. of the 7th Corps, and there I met my elder son, who had recently had a very fortunate escape, for a German sniper had fired five shots at him from quite a short distance whilst he was on observation work in No-Man's-Land. We were now in the Somme district, which is much more attractive than the Ypres Salient, and it was quite evident, although regarded as a secret, that a big attack was preparing and, according to rumours, it would take place about July 1. Amongst other signs of attack I was shown a 15-inch howitzer which had actually made the voyage to Gallipoli and back and which discharged a shell weighing 1,400 lb. Everyone was in good spirits, although owning that the Germans were far better equipped than we.

Paris, June 14. Called on my old office chief, Frank Bertie, now Ambassador here. He received me with the remark which he addressed to every visitor who arrived: "What is that fellow Esher doing here?" Of course, I could not say, as Esher had no definite appointment, as far as I knew, and Bertie was always suspecting that he wanted to become Ambassador himself. Bertie was very severe on Grey's policy and said that the French had never been in favour of giving Constantinople to the Russians. He also assured me that the French were quite resolved to fight to the bitter end. Found Bigham installed as head of a counter-spy office, which he was considered to be running very well. Visited the Maison de la Presse (French propaganda organisation) and attended war lecture at the Sorbonne.

Met Repington,⁴⁶⁵ who says the French propose to use only ten divisions in the coming joint attack, which is not nearly sufficient, and that we ought to attack along whole line, as Germans now very weak in numbers. Also that we ought to withdraw from Salonika, as soon

Page 225

LORD CRAWFORD. LADY TOWNSHEND [1916]

as possible: the whole expedition a ghastly mistake, forced upon Joffre, who did not want it, by politicians.

⁴⁶⁴ Mary, Princess Royal and Countess of Harewood (1897-1965) was the third child and only daughter of King George V and Queen Mary. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶⁵ Mentioned in Lord Newton's index as Colonel a'C Repington this must be Charles à Court Repington (1858-1925), a British soldier who gained renown during the First World War as a journalist, exposing the so-called 'shell scandal' in 1915 as quoted on <http://www.firstworldwar.com/bio/repington.htm>

CHAPTER XX

London, June 19. Visit from Stamfordham,⁴⁶⁶ who says that the King wishes to extend the system of exchange of prisoners and wants to get rid of Belfield.⁴⁶⁷

It was quite natural to be dissatisfied with the slow progress of exchange, but this was not the fault of Belfield, who, being a very conscientious official, never acted without having consulted the superior authorities in the War Office, and it was always difficult to make the public and Parliament realise that, as it was the business of the War Office to win the war, they could hardly be expected to welcome any scheme which seemed likely to prolong it. General Belfield was the official with whom I came most into contact. He had a very complete knowledge of all that concerned his department, and, although we occasionally differed in opinion, I always found him a loyal and highly efficient colleague.

June 28. G.H.Q. had asked us to send out someone who could take charge of the foreign journalists whom it had been decided to establish there, and Crawford,⁴⁶⁸ who had been a Whip in the House of Commons, seemed a suitable person. He had been serving as an N.C.O. in the R.A.M.C. in France, and I asked him to come over to see me, and after much discussion succeeded in persuading him that he would be more useful in this position than stretcher-bearing. Thereupon I implored him to return to France immediately, otherwise, if he were to remain here, he would be discovered and immediately transformed into a minister. My apprehension was unfortunately justified, for someone saw him a day or two later and he was at once appointed Minister of Agriculture.

July 22. Stormy interview with Lady Townshend, wife of General Townshend,⁴⁶⁹ who wants to go out and join him at Prinkipo.⁴⁷⁰

Apparently, she had squared Lansdowne, Walter Long and others, but I explained, much to her indignation, that they had no authority over me, that the War Office had strong objections in principle to such visits, and that there was no justification for making an exception in her favour, since her husband was being treated by the Turks as a kind of honoured guest. I advised her to apply to the War Office, and said I should be governed by their decision.

Page 226

THE CASEMENT CASE AND AMERICA [1916]

Interesting talk with Basil Thomson,⁴⁷¹ chiefly about Casement. He said that there was considerable difference of opinion in the Government on the subject, and that there was a

⁴⁶⁶ Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur John Bigge, 1st Baron Stamfordham (1849-1931) was a British soldier and courtier. He was Private Secretary to Queen Victoria during the last few years of her reign, and to George V during most of his reign. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶⁷ Major-General Sir H. Belfield, Director of Prisoners-of-War Department, War Office.

⁴⁶⁸ David Alexander Edward Lindsay, 27th Earl of Crawford and 10th Earl of Balcarres (1871-1940), styled Lord Balcarres or Lord Balniel between 1880 and 1913, was a Conservative politician and art connoisseur. In July 1916, Crawford was appointed President of the Board of Agriculture, with a seat in the cabinet, in the coalition government of H. H. Asquith. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁶⁹ Major General Sir Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend (1861 –1924) was a British Army officer who led the ultimately disastrous first British Expedition against Baghdad during the First World War, and was later elected to Parliament. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁷⁰ *Prinkipos* or *Prinkipo* is the largest of the nine so-called Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmara, near Istanbul. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁷¹ This is probably Sir Basil Home Thomson (1861-1939), a British intelligence officer, police officer, prison governor, colonial administrator, and writer. In June 1913, Thomson was appointed Assistant Commissioner "C" (Crime) of the Metropolitan Police, which made him the head of the Criminal Investigation Department

CHAPTER XX

danger of his escaping due punishment on account of the persistent fear of irritating opinion in America. I had already seen the Casement diary, an incredibly vile and obscene record, quite impossible to publish.

The Casement case offered a remarkable illustration of the hysteria which occasionally afflicts a section of our population. Casement was, perhaps, the most obvious traitor that had appeared for a generation. As a colonial official, he had done some useful work, and, at his own urgent request, was given a high decoration. When the war came, he offered his services to the Germans and added to his offence by trying to induce Irish prisoners-of-war to join the German army. His morals were on a par with his treachery, and it is generally believed that the Germans were so scandalised at his conduct that they offered him the alternative of imprisonment or the organisation of a rebellion in Ireland. He chose the latter, and was, fortunately, captured, tried and condemned to death. Never, probably, has there been a clearer case, but nevertheless there were to be found many people who regarded him as an injured patriot, and some newspapers even urged that he should be accorded a free pardon. It was also urged that resentment in America would be caused if he were treated with undue severity, and the Government, actuated by this fear, hesitated to act until the full facts were made known to the American Government. It was eventually decided by the Cabinet that certain information should be sent to America, but as there was some dissension on the subject action was postponed. The papers were in the custody of my Department, and, when the time came for the dispatch of the diplomatic bag, without waiting for further instructions from the Government I took the responsibility of sending the necessary documents to America. After their receipt, nothing more was heard of the pro-Casement agitation.

(CID) at New Scotland Yard. When World War I broke, the CID found itself acting as the enforcement arm for Britain's military intelligence apparatus. (*Wikipedia*)

**PRISONER PROBLEMS: ANGLO-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS.
1916-1917**

August 21, 1916. Visit from Captain Beith,⁴⁷² (Ian Hay), who had been wounded. Being favourably impressed, I invited him to take charge of a travelling war exhibition which we were sending to America to illustrate our war effort. He accepted the invitation, and the experiment was a great success.

Lyme, September 7. Received from Nelson's a copy of new, cheap edition of *Lord Lyons* which is going to U.S.A. for propaganda use. Seems extraordinary that they should have been able to compress nearly all of it into one small volume (price about 1s. 3d.).

Went to visit camp of German military prisoners at Leigh, which is considered to be a very good one. Everything apparently satisfactory and practically no complaints. Told that conduct of the men was very good. There was apparently no lack of food parcels arriving from Germany, and I even saw one containing butter. Many of the prisoners were fine-looking men and were dressed in new, smart uniforms which had arrived recently from Germany. No sign, so far, of the alleged want of everything stated to exist now in Germany.

London, September 17. Returned here to find much trouble over question of exchanges of civilian prisoners, both War Office and Admiralty obstructing action. Consultation with Grey and R. Cecil⁴⁷³ on the subject, and agreement that we should be prepared to exchange all civilians over 45, with the exception of 20 on each side whom it might be desirable to retain. This proposal was so favourable to the Germans as regards numbers that it was thought that they would willingly accept it, but we knew that both War Office and Admiralty would object, as they only counted heads and looked upon every released civilian as an addition to the German army. But the Germans for a long time refused agreement,

and this ought to have convinced War Office and Admiralty that they did not want to get back these useless men. It took some months before this exchange was effected, and Grey was so dissatisfied with the War Office and Admiralty that he threatened to withdraw all F.O. participation in prisoners-of-war questions.

October 3. Meeting of Privy Council at Buckingham Palace and received afterwards by the King, who was extremely gracious and friendly. He said he would like to see me head of a Prisoners-of-War Committee with power to over-rule War Office and Admiralty, subject to

⁴⁷² In the index of Lord Newton's book, the words Captain Beith are followed by (John Hay). He must be Major General John Hay Beith (1876-1952), a British schoolmaster and soldier, best remembered as a novelist, playwright, essayist and historian who wrote under the pen name **Ian Hay**. During the First World War, Beith served as an officer in the army in France. His good-humoured account of army life, *The First Hundred Thousand*, published in 1915, was a best-seller. On the strength of this, he was sent to work in the information section of the British War Mission in Washington, D.C. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁷³ Hugh Richard Heathcote Gascoyne-Cecil, 1st Baron Quickwood (1869-1956), styled Lord Hugh Cecil until 1941, was a British Conservative Party politician. Cecil was the eighth and youngest child of Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, three times Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and was the first cousin of Arthur Balfour, Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXI

an appeal from them to the Cabinet. Replied that this was very flattering but not likely to recommend itself to these two Departments.

Afterwards to attend a meeting of the Cabinet to discuss the difficulties raised by the War Office and Admiralty with reference to the proposed exchange of civilians. Not at all impressed with the proceedings: more than 20 people sitting in the Cabinet room, with various assistants; Asquith presiding, and proceedings characterised by confusion and indecision. Most of the talking done by Lloyd George.

Advanced G.H.Q., October 13. Came over in a hurry with John Buchan, having been urgently requested by Charteris, to discuss various difficulties. Germans complain of our employing prisoners near the lines and threaten retaliation. On the way was able to stop for a short time at Abbeville and saw (my daughter) Lettice, who is working there and seems fully occupied and comparatively cheerful. On arrival here (a muddy village in the Arras neighbourhood), went to the prisoners' camps and could see no justification for complaint: men quite contented and so well treated that our own men would resent it if they knew.

Saw General Trenchard⁴⁷⁴ about the German allegation that our airmen were using explosive bullets and again threatening retaliation. Drew up, in the consultation with him, statement for the use of our airmen. Dined with Haig,⁴⁷⁵ whom I had never met before. Found him very friendly and obliging. Afterwards had talk with him which was not encouraging. He evidently does not expect to make much more progress this year. He was very outspoken and said that Lloyd George's recent visit had had bad effect and that General French had been sent to the French army for some mysterious reason. French figures as to prisoners taken were not reliable. Did not expect to take Bapaume this year.

Page 229

PRISONER QUESTIONS [1916]

A big battle had been announced for October 12, but, in the foggy weather, though there was a deafening din, nothing was to be seen of it after midday but an endless stream of tired and muddy men returning to their quarters, and I was struck with the great numbers wearing the kilt. Nothing could exceed the depression of the scene: a flat country enveloped in fog and soaked with rain; practically every house destroyed; trees without branches, and the ground so pitted with shell-holes that there was sometimes barely standing room between them. Mud everywhere.

During my return journey, I paid a short visit to the 14th Corps, where my son (Richard) and the Prince of Wales were serving. The latter had greatly improved in every respect and we visited the scene of a recent battle, where there were many grim reminders of the struggle.

Back in London, I found the situation with regard to my own Department much complicated owing to differences of opinion between the War Office and Admiralty on one side and the

⁴⁷⁴ Marshal of the Royal Air Force Hugh Montague Trenchard, 1st Viscount Trenchard (1873-1956) was a British officer who was instrumental in establishing the Royal Air Force. He held several senior positions in the Royal Flying Corps during World War I, serving as the commander of the Royal Flying Corps in France from 1915 to 1917. In 1918, he briefly served as the first Chief of the Air Staff. He returned as Chief of the Air Staff under Winston Churchill in 1919. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁷⁵ Field Marshal Douglas Haig, 1st Earl Haig (1861-1928), was a British senior officer during the First World War. He commanded the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) from 1915 to the end of the war. He was commander during the Battle of the Somme, the Third Battle of Ypres and the Hundred Days Offensive, which led to the armistice in 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXI

F.O., the Cabinet and Grey on the other. A nebulous decision was finally arrived at that the F.O. was to be no longer responsible, except where American protection was concerned, that the War Office should be the responsible authority, but that I personally would be permitted to act independently of it, I answering Parliamentary questions in the Lords and Mr. Fitzalan Hope⁴⁷⁶ in the Commons. All this sounded unintelligible, but it was the product of the most eminent members of the Cabinet and we had to make the best of it.

November 7. Hear from Military Intelligence official that of the 13 spies executed the only German was Lodi, the others being neutrals, chiefly Dutch and Swedes. Have always believed myself that native Germans are less dangerous than neutrals.

November 14. Made speech in Lords on subject of employment of prisoners, and was told afterwards that I must have forgotten that I was a member of the Government. Find it difficult to speak with patience of the manner in which the question has been managed. Expect I shall have trouble with the trade unions.

November 23. War Office now threatening to wreck whole scheme of over-45 exchange, because the Germans are enforcing universal conscription. Cannot believe that they will persist, but if they do I shall probably have to go.

November 30. Cabinet War Committee about civilian exchange

Page 230

ASQUITH'S RETIREMENT [1916]

which War Office threaten to wreck. Happened to meet Lloyd George outside and settled the whole thing with him in about two minutes, he giving way without any difficulty. So far satisfactory.

Hear from Commander of Aliens' Camp in Isle of Man that there would undoubtedly be severe trouble and mutiny if the exchange were held up. Says that we ought to exchange all civilians.

December 2. Violent attack in Harmsworth Press and *The Times*, urging that Grey ought to go. Thought probable that Asquith will manage to remain, but obvious that there will be important changes.

December 6. Asquith resignation. Bonar Law with the King and unable to form a Government, and Lloyd George trying.

December 7. Lloyd George more successful than was expected and is joined by Balfour, Milner, Carson, Bonar Law and Curzon, besides various Labour M.P.s.

Dined with (Sir Edmund) Gosse, who had invited a small party to meet Asquith, who at first seemed surprisingly cheerful.

Perhaps because I was the only person present connected with Parliament, he addressed himself principally to me, and asked some rather embarrassing questions as to what I thought of the situation. Before long, however, it became painfully evident that he was suffering

⁴⁷⁶ James Fitzalan Hope, 1st Baron Rankeillour (1870-1949), was a British Conservative politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXI

from an incipient nervous breakdown, which was not surprising in view of his recent misfortunes, and before leaving the poor man completely collapsed. I felt sincerely sorry for him, for although I disapproved generally of his policy he had fallen not so much from the action of his political enemies as by that of his own followers. Whatever may have been the cause of his resignation Asquith bore it with dignity and, unlike many others who had suffered the same fate, never complained nor made attacks upon those who were responsible for his downfall.

December 8. Informed by Hardinge that Balfour is coming to F.O. Expect that he is relieved not to have Curzon. Wonder how the Harmsworth organs will take this appointment, as they have lately been denouncing him as a "lazy septuagenarian."

Hear from Bishop Bury,⁴⁷⁷ who was recently at Ruhleben, that he has had a letter from General Friedrich, Head of the German Prisoners-of-War Department, saying that he would much like to meet a British representative in order to discuss matters. Admitted that we had treated prisoners better than any other Government. He suggested meeting at The Hague, and should much like to go myself from Switzerland next week, but this would horrify our people too much.

Page 231

INTERNEES IN SWITZERLAND [1917]

British Legation, Berne, January 1, 1917. Arrived here early morning after very uncomfortable journey via Havre, Paris and Pontarlier. Out with Horace Rumbold in afternoon and find the town astonishingly changed since 1883, it being now three times as big. R. says that Swiss are very pleased at the change of Government in England, but that, of course, only applies to a portion of the population. At dinner in evening met a number of interned officers, including Colonel Max Earle. Gather that there is a considerable amount of friction and a great want of employment for the men. (George) Wyndham, our Military Attaché, wants me to go to the Italian Army next week, but do not feel justified in doing so, much as I should like it. Spent quite a lot of time leaving cards on people whom I shall probably never see, but who would complain if I omitted to do so.

I passed several days at Berne as the guest of the Rumbolds, who were most obliging and hospitable, visiting numerous Swiss officials connected with the internment, and such British internees as were within reach, and was rather surprised to find a good many men who made little or no complaint about their treatment in Germany. On the other hand, there were many tales of extreme brutality. Accompanied by an interned Scottish major, I went to Montreux and from there visited the mountain health resorts, where the tuberculous cases were sent. The lodging of these men seemed to be excellent: good rooms, with hot and cold water laid on, which must have been a great contrast to their accommodation in Germany. Yet some of them did not seem to show much gratification at the change and complained that the food was too "foreign."

Chateau d'Oex, January 5. A number of both officers and men here. Accommodation seems good, and thought that the food which the men were eating at dinner was quite satisfactory. This, however, was not the view of the men, many of them objecting to soup. Attempts had been made here to find occupation for them, but without much success. The officers also

⁴⁷⁷ This is possibly Herbert Bury (1854-1933), who was an Anglican bishop in the first decades of the 20th century and an eminent author. He was appointed Bishop of Honduras in 1908, a post he held for three years. He was Bishop for Northern Europe from then until 1926.

CHAPTER XXI

were not very contented, complaining of some of the Swiss, and some accused the doctors of detaining them in hospital unnecessarily. Altogether the tone was not too pleasant and seemed to me to be due to two causes: lack of employment and the fact that the Swiss officers, being chiefly hotel keepers or business men, did not amalgamate readily with the professional British officers.

Miirren, January 6. Visited Interlaken and other places on the way, where there were British interned. Here 600 or 700 men, and a good

Page 232

EFFECT OF INTERNMENT [1917]

deal more employment than at Chateau d'Oex, but still not nearly enough. Went over various hotels and heard few complaints about food or anything else. The men looked very well and were snow-shoeing. Slight friction between Swiss and British officers. Disposed to think that the nerves of the latter may be partly responsible. In evening dined at officers' mess, where there were about 40 or 50: talked to many of them and glad to find that some, especially of those taken on the Somme, had no complaints against the German treatment. Both officers and men seemed to be in good health.

After a visit to Geneva, returned to Berne and on January 9 witnessed arrival of 500 French prisoners from Germany. They did not look too bad.

On the whole, the Swiss experiment in internment was of the greatest value from the physical point of view, and undoubtedly saved the lives of many combatants. On the other hand, the moral effect was slightly disappointing, for it was the fact that the relations between the British and the Swiss were not quite so cordial as might have been expected, and this was probably due in some measure to the disastrous effect on the nerves of long imprisonment.

London, January 14. Arrived here after flying visit to Advanced G.H.Q., where Charteris wanted to see me about various matters. Says we have got about 1,750,000 men in France. Incidentally, taken to a curious place near Arras within 20 yards of the German lines, where talking was only conducted *sotto voce*, grenades all ready at hand, but neither side, apparently, anxious to begin throwing them.

London, January 18. Letter from Gerard⁴⁷⁸) saying that exchange of men over 45 years is a god-send. Germans at present amiable.

January 27. Hear ultimatum on its way from the Germans about our employment of prisoners near the line. Have been expecting it for long time and hope War Office are prepared with their answer.

January 30. Cromer dead. About the best specimen of a public man in the country and would have been an irreparable loss a few years ago. He made the mistake of taking up too many subjects, however, and consequently lost some of his influence. Had a great regard for him personally and always found him most friendly and obliging. His industry was prodigious and in some ways he used to remind me of Lord Lyons. In his time, he had refused several great posts.

⁴⁷⁸ James Watson Gerard (1867-1951) was a United States lawyer and diplomat and was the US ambassador to Berlin from 29 October 1913 to 5 February 1917. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXI

February 1. Announcement by Germans of super-frightfulness on a large scale. Hear that French have replied to German ultimatum

Page 233

ILLUSIONS ABOUT RUSSIA [1917]

saying that they will withdraw their prisoner camps to 12 miles behind the line instead of 19 as demanded by Germans. Presume that we shall do the same. A much mismanaged business by War Office.

February 13. With Page (U.S. Ambassador) and the Swiss Minister to try to persuade the British ladies who had hitherto been working for prisoners-of-war under the American Ambassador to consent to continue the work under the Swiss, who were taking it up as the Americans were about to enter the war.

This was an example of that want of logic which occasionally characterises the feminine sex, and it was not until they had listened to impassioned appeals from Page, the Swiss Ministers and myself that they consented to continue their work.

February 14. Interesting talk with H. R., who has just arrived from Berlin and has seen Gerard. Latter says that American attitude is a great surprise to the Germans. Ludendorff⁴⁷⁹ now in control of everything and Hindenburg,⁴⁸⁰ Bethmann-Hollweg⁴⁸¹ and the Emperor merely dummies. Has seen the Emperor only once during the war. Germans say that they will be able to come to terms with the Russians and Japanese, and that the peace terms, if they offer them, will be quite impossible to accept. Everything now depending upon the success of submarines.

My diary, in the spring of 1917, contains many entries regarding the exhilaration which was caused here by the fall of the Russian Emperor, Tsar Nicholas II. In this country, there are, or were, many millions who believe implicitly that if autocratic government is changed into a representative system an instantaneous general improvement in the State will follow, and the example of the Turkish Revolution, which merely substituted one despotism for another, had not opened their eyes. Consequently, when the Czar's Government came to an end, we at once constructed a fool's paradise in which we luxuriated for a brief period. We fondly imagined that the real reason for Russian inefficiency was treason and stupidity in high places, and airily assumed that the new, constitutional administration would put out all its strength into a real effort to win the war. What we had failed to realise was that the Russians had never been wholehearted and were now only too glad to find an excuse for retreat and eventual collapse. The awakening was bitter, and worse still the discovery that Russia, our former Ally, would in all probability shortly become an open enemy.

⁴⁷⁹ Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff (1865-1937) was a German general, victor of Liège and of the Battle of Tannenberg. From August 1916, his appointment as Quartermaster general made him joint head (with Paul von Hindenburg), and chief engineer behind the management of Germany's effort in World War I until his resignation in October 1918. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁸⁰ Paul Ludwig Hans Anton von Beneckendorff und von Hindenburg, known universally as Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934) was a German Generalfeldmarschall, statesman, and politician, and served as the second President of Germany (1925-34). (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁸¹ Theobald Theodor Friedrich Alfred von Bethmann Hollweg (29 November 1856-1 January 1921) was a German politician and statesman who served as Chancellor of the German Empire from 1909 to 1917. (*Wikipedia*)

March 2. Went to Home Office and, after talk with Cave,⁴⁸² agreeably

Page 234

QUESTION OF REPRISALS [1917]

surprised to find that he will not make difficulties about releasing civilian aliens for work, provided they are employees and not employers. Said he had always been in favour of it, although no doubt there would be opposition.

Evelyn's (i.e. Lady Newton's) book, *The House of Lyme*, published to-day. The book, in spite of the unfavourable conditions prevailing, immediately met with great success. It was at once recognised as a valuable work from the historical and antiquarian knowledge which it displayed, but also as showing a deep sympathy and love of her home and everyone and everything connected with it. It was admirably produced, with excellent illustrations, by the late Mr. Heinemann, who, together with the writer, had benefited greatly from advice given by our friend, Sir Edmund Gosse. The book had a wonderful Press and was read by all classes. Even now it is frequently in request.

March 29. Made speech in House on employment of alien civilians and new Home Office action, which was very well received. Intelligent people now becoming convinced of advantage.

March 30. The French throw us completely over on question of employing prisoners behind the lines and mean to give way to the Germans. Should be a lesson to our Government not to insist upon acting in conjunction with them on prisoner questions.

Conference, with Curzon in chair, on reprisals, Jellicoe,⁴⁸³ Jackson,⁴⁸⁴ Macdonogh,⁴⁸⁵ Belfield and various overseas representatives present. Finally decided that the only practical form of reprisal was bombardment of open towns, all other schemes, such as putting Germans on board hospital ships, considered futile. Jellicoe admitted that hospital ships were constantly crossing and that, as it was impossible to protect all of them, Germans could sink them indiscriminately.

April 7. Long interview with Captain Campbell (Suffolk regiment), recently escaped from Friedberg. His statement quite different from that of many others. Says parcels arrive quite regularly; the morale of the officers taken in 1914 very good, and few would consent to go to Switzerland; attempts to escape punished very lightly. Halle the worst camp he was in. Treatment of British prisoners now much better, and all the Germans who had been to the

⁴⁸² George Cave, 1st Viscount Cave (1856-1928) was a lawyer and Conservative politician. He was Home Secretary under David Lloyd George from 1916 to 1919 and served as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain from 1922 to 1924 and again from 1924 to 1928.

⁴⁸³ Admiral of the Fleet John Rushworth Jellicoe, 1st Earl Jellicoe (1859-1935), was the Royal Navy officer who commanded the Grand Fleet at the Battle of Jutland in May 1916 during World War I. His handling of the fleet at that battle was controversial: he made no serious mistakes and the German High Seas Fleet retreated to port-at a time when defeat would have been catastrophic for Britain. However, at the time the British public were disappointed that the Royal Navy had not won a victory on the scale of the Battle of Trafalgar. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁸⁴ Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Bradwardine Jackson (1855-1929) was the Third Sea Lord from 1905 to 1908.

⁴⁸⁵ Lieutenant General Sir George Mark Watson Macdonogh (1865-1942) was a British Army general officer. After early service in the Royal Engineers, he became a staff officer prior to the outbreak of the First World War. His main role in the war was as Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office from 1916-18. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXI

front were preferable to the others. Germans encourage officers to drink and spend money, giving proper exchange. Great scarcity of food in the district.

These statements were corroborated by Captain Godsall, who escaped at the same time.

Page 235

BALFOUR IN AMERICA [1917]

April 10. Summoned for sixth time to Cabinet and again told not wanted. There was much waste of time at these meetings, where the agenda constantly contained questions which were never dealt with.

Hear that A. Balfour is going to America to-morrow. Must have been decided in a great hurry, as he was engaged to speak at a Pilgrims' dinner on the 12th. Crewe and Tyrrell⁴⁸⁶ consider this a mistake. R. Cecil to take his place as Foreign Secretary during absence in U.S.

May 29. Hear from Heinemann that he has managed to get enough paper to publish another edition of *The House of Lyme*.

May 30. Heard from Hohler⁴⁸⁷ (Washington), who says that our mission is much more successful than the French, and that Balfour had done extraordinarily well.

⁴⁸⁶ William George Tyrrell, 1st Baron Tyrrell (1866-1947) was a British civil servant and diplomat. He was Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1925 and 1928 and British Ambassador to France from 1928 to 1934. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁸⁷ Sir Thomas Beaumont Hohler (1871-1946) was a British diplomat. During World War I, he was head of the British delegation to Mexico, in Mexico City, and was involved in the interception of the German Zimmermann Telegram that was used to promote the entry of the United States into the war. Although acting anonymously at the time, he later identified himself as the mysterious "Mr. H" responsible for intercepting the inflammatory telegram. (*Wikipedia*)

**THE HAGUE PRISONERS-OF-WAR CONFERENCE: AGREEMENT WITH THE
GERMANS: ANGLO-TURKISH NEGOTIATIONS AT BERNE. 1917**

JUNE, 1917. I had heard from various sources that the Germans were anxious to discuss prisoner questions with us at The Hague, and in view of continual delays, disputes and threats of retaliation on both sides, was much disposed to try the experiment of personal contact. I had an idea that if I were permitted by the Cabinet to take with me an English general who was fully acquainted with the facts it might be easier to arrive at some reasonable agreement, rather than by the continual exchange of recriminatory notes. I was, of course, aware that this proposal would meet with violent objection in many quarters, but the experiment seemed to me to be worth trying. There were Ministers upon whom I thought that I could count, but I felt very doubtful of agreement when I attended the Cabinet. Much to my relief, however, Lloyd George, Curzon, Milner, Bonar Law and others expressed approval at once and the only doubtful one was R. Cecil, who thought that the meeting might be suspected to be a peace mission. Afterwards went to see Belfield and broke the news to him, and he was much less hostile than I had feared.

June 14. The French, having been foolishly consulted about Hague meeting, say that they object strongly, as it may lead to a false impression.

This might not unfairly be described as impudence, as I knew that, without any consultation with us, they had recently met the Germans at Berne and in order to save face had conversed by telephone. However, I succeeded in convincing M. Cambon⁴⁸⁸ that we had no intention whatever of talking peace, the French objections were withdrawn and the delegation was formed. It was composed of three delegates:

myself, General Belfield and Sir Robert Younger,⁴⁸⁹ a distinguished judge, who had done valuable work in connection with the reports on prisoner camps in Germany; and three assistants: Mr. Louis Waller, of the Home Office, Mr. Vernon Gattie, of the War Office, and Mrs. Livingstone⁴⁹⁰. This lady, an American by birth, was a very active worker for the Red Cross, and had succeeded in establishing a kind of miniature department of her own which dealt chiefly with escaped and repatriated prisoners. Her activity was so great and successful that it was occasionally resented in my department, and I had been urged to curb her, but always declined to do so because she appeared able to extract valuable information more successfully than anyone else. She now figured as the assistant of Sir Robert Younger and proved to be invaluable, being not only highly efficient but a perfect French and German scholar.

⁴⁸⁸ The French Ambassador in London in Lord Newton's footnote. Wikipedia mentions two Cambon brothers one of whom was the diplomat Jules-Martin Cambon (1845-1935). He is mentioned as French ambassador to Washington in 1897, to Madrid in 1902 and to Berlin in 1907. His brother was Pierre Paul Cambon (1843-1924). In 1886 Pierre Paul Cambon became French ambassador to Madrid; was transferred to Constantinople in 1890, and in 1898 to London, where he served until 1920.

⁴⁸⁹ Robert Younger, Baron Blanesburgh (1861-1946) was a Scottish barrister and judge. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁹⁰ Dame Adelaide Livingstone, née Stickney (1881-1970). According to her US passport application dated 28 October 1914, Adelaide Lord Stickney was born in Fall River, Massachusetts on 19 January 1881. She married William Henry Darley Livingstone, 39, in London on 14 May 1915. (<http://1914-1918.invisionzone.com/forums/index.php?/topic/226085-dame-adelaide-livingstone/>)

CHAPTER XXIII

After some delay and various checks caused by the difficulty of sea transport, we eventually started from Harwich in an old and crowded boat which was one of a convoy proceeding to Holland, and arrived without incident at the Hook on the following morning. Rooms had been engaged for us at an hotel at The Hague, and presently I received a visit from Jonkheer van Vredenburg, the Dutch diplomatist who had been appointed chairman of the conference. Previously he had been one of the officials whose duty it was to visit the British prisoner camps in Germany and he appeared to me an excellent selection for the task, as he had a very pleasing personality, a knowledge of the subject, and, like many of his fellow-countrymen, was an excellent linguist. Vredenburg, for some unknown reason, was looked upon by some of his British acquaintances as being pro-German, but he always struck me as being fair and impartial. I conceived a great liking for him and there were many occasions upon which his friendly advice was invaluable.

The Hague, June 24. The town shows little sign of war: streets full and animated, all shops open and everything very comfortable at hotel; only shortage seems to be in bread. In spite of the great interest caused by our conference we were not worried by reporters or photographers, no doubt in consequence of official action.

June 25. Attended at Foreign Office in morning and taken to Conference Room: Loudon,⁴⁹¹ the Foreign Secretary, presiding at meeting, and the two delegations placed either side of a big table.

In order to prevent awkward incidents, the Dutch authorities had

Page 238

START OF CONFERENCE [1917]

arranged that our respective entrances should be by separate doors and staircases. The German delegates were distinctly bourgeois in appearance: General Friedrich, a Württemberger, looked somewhat bucolic and not particularly fierce, and there was nothing remarkable about his colleagues, one military and the other a civilian. They, like us, had three assistants. After the Foreign Minister had made the customary speech of welcome, Friedrich and I replied on behalf of our delegations, the Foreign Minister retired, Vredenburg took his place at the head of the table and business began.

It had been wisely agreed that the delegates should speak in their own language, and that, in case of misunderstanding, the chairman should use French. This is obviously the best method of conducting a conference, unless both parties are quite perfect in French. Many misunderstandings had arisen during the earlier period of the war when British and French leaders conferred, and both sides used occasionally to come away quite convinced that they were in full agreement, whereas in fact neither had understood the other, and Lloyd George was credited with the remark that he only understood French when it was spoken by Bonar Law. We succeeded, therefore, in overcoming this difficulty, but I remember one or two occasions upon which there was a complete deadlock over a complicated phrase which was only removed by the superior perspicacity of the lady.

The discussion opened over the question as to which British ports should be utilised for the purpose of exchanges. For some reason which we could never fathom, the Germans refused

⁴⁹¹ M. J. Loudon, Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs. (*From British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Vol. XI: The Outbreak of War: Foreign Office Documents June 28th-August 4th, 1914*)

all ports in the Thames, and for an equally inscrutable reason wanted to use Southwold, which was a thoroughly unsuitable place. The only alternative port suggested (by the Admiralty) was Holyhead, equally unacceptable. We debated this question until nearly midnight without arriving at a decision, but no ill-feeling was shown, and this particular question was adjourned. It was not a very promising start, but on the following day we agreed in principle upon the cruelty of retaliation upon helpless prisoners and the infliction of heavy punishments, Friedrich making rather prolix and oleaginous speeches in favour of humanity. This, however, did lead eventually to some very beneficial relaxations.

The next few days were spent in discussing the various grievances of which we had to complain and the attitude of the Germans was not unsympathetic. It was evident that Belfield was much better acquainted with all facts relating to prison camps than the Germans,

Page 239

WELCOME DUTCH OFFER [1917]

and the explanation was simple. The Germans had on their hands about 3,000,000 prisoners, whose arrival in such numbers was quite unexpected. It was not surprising, therefore, that many of the camp commanders were quite unfit for their posts, and in addition the camps were controlled by Army Corps commanders who were practically independent of the Berlin War Office, the reverse being the case in England. The German delegates, who appeared to be, on the whole, personally reasonable and humane, undertook to look into all these complaints.

June 28. Informed by Vredenburg that Friedrich will have to go to Berlin in a day or two for a short visit. It was most important to prevent this if possible, as it would mean great delay, and Vredenburg suggested that the best means of doing so would be for me to ask for an audience of the Queen of Holland⁴⁹², in which case Friedrich would certainly ask for an audience too. Although reluctant to trouble the Queen, who would probably be much bored with myself and my colleagues, I agreed, and the result was quite successful.

June 29. A welcome surprise. Sent for by Loudon, who told me that he was empowered to offer to intern 12,000 prisoners-of-war, the places to be equally divided between British and Germans. Thanked him warmly and took the precaution of making him write it down, so as to be clear about equal division. Then went to the Legation to consult Townley, who raised no objection, so telegraphed to War Cabinet, urging acceptance. Belfield not enthusiastic, and says W.O. will probably raise objections. Fear that their narrow views may prevail. Afterwards informed by Vredenburg that Loudon must have made a mistake, as Germans would never have agreed to an equal division of places. Chances are, however, that Loudon may have consulted them first.

June 30. Greatly surprised the Germans by producing Loudon's written promise to divide numbers equally. Eventually Dutch consented to increase total number up to 16,000. Much discussion as to qualifications, etc.

In evening received in audience by the Queen, together with Belfield and Younger. The Queen, who was evidently well disposed to us, said that she had heard that we had reached some useful results and hoped that we should allow Holland to import food for the interned

⁴⁹² Wilhelmina Helena Pauline Maria (1880-1962) was Queen of the Kingdom of the Netherlands from 1890 until her abdication in 1948. She was the only child of King William III. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIII

men. She also caused me some embarrassment by asking if Belfield and Younger always accompanied me, and I endeavoured to

Page 240

“DID YOU SHAKE HANDS?” [1917]

explain that in normal times they were much more important personages than I.

July 1. Much relieved to receive telegram from War Cabinet approving the internment in Holland.

July 2. Meeting in afternoon at Foreign Office to close proceedings. Much delay owing to squabbles over various small matters. When these were at last settled Louden appeared, and the same procedure followed as at the opening: Speeches by Louden, Friedrich and myself, in congratulatory vein, and parted with formal bows.

Before starting on this mission, I had said to myself that most people, when I returned, would be much more interested to learn whether I had shaken hands with the Germans than they would be in the terms of the agreement, and I had taken the precaution to ask Vredenburg to tell the Germans that, although I had no objection whatever to them personally, difficulties might arise if it became known that we had shaken hands. The Germans took this message in a friendly spirit, being on the whole sensible men. My premonition proved to be quite correct, for the first question which everyone asked me, from the King downwards, was: “Did you shake hands with them?”

All things considered we had nothing to complain of as regards the German delegates. Their behaviour had been quite correct, and although there were numerous occasions when acute differences of opinion arose there was never any personal ill-feeling and we were always polite to each other. I have always retained the impression that these delegates were really anxious to improve matters and to fulfil honestly the engagements which they had entered into, but that they were not sufficiently powerful to control the high military authorities. I heard afterwards that General Friedrich—who, although liable to occasional outbursts, was a humane and sensible man—had expressed great appreciation of our attitude.

There was nothing spectacular or sensational about the Agreement itself. It did, however, offer a prospect of improving substantially the position of the unfortunate prisoners. Perhaps the most important provision was the arrangement under which about 16,000 prisoners were to be transferred to Holland, but various other advantages were secured. The process of exchanges was extended and facilitated. Greater facilities for the release of invalids or for their internment in a neutral country were adopted: retaliation was deprecated and immediately stopped, with a provision that it should not be resorted to again without a long preliminary notice; all existing punishments were at

Page 241

AGREEMENT FAVOURABLY RECEIVED [1917]

once remitted, and all future venial offences, such as attempts to escape, were to be more leniently treated. Further, it was agreed that fresh steps would be taken to ensure the safe and prompt delivery of parcels, acceleration of posts and many modifications in the general administration of the camps. This may not sound very impressive, but the fact remained that in ten days' personal contact we had achieved as much as nearly three years' interchange of Notes had effected; and I felt considerable satisfaction that my pertinacity in pressing for

CHAPTER XXIII

personal communication had been justified. Neither party had gained any special advantage over the other, and the people who had benefited were the prisoners themselves.

When we returned home we found that our agreement had been received both by Parliament and the public with an approval verging almost upon enthusiasm, for few had expected so favourable a result. Even the hostile critics who had denounced us as traitors were temporarily silent, and as my name was prominently associated with the enterprise I tasted, for the first and last time, the sweets of popularity. But I never entertained the slightest illusion on the subject. I knew perfectly well that all the many people who had relatives and friends among the prisoners in Germany would expect either that their conditions would be radically changed or that they would be immediately exchanged, and that any delay would cause disappointment and exasperation. Unfortunately, my forebodings subsequently turned out to be quite correct.

July 9. Went to see Carson at Admiralty, to try to settle upon port where escaped prisoners could be landed or embarked. Found him very sensible and said he constantly had difficulties over such questions.

I suggested Hull, and he sent for Jellicoe, who raised objections, saying that the prisoners would be able to see the defences. Pointed out to him that any neutrals, who were probably more dangerous, could do so whenever they chose, and he was forced to agree. Carson, however, being a politician, realised that Parliament and the public were really interested in this question and overruled him. So far, so good, and Carson said that I could count upon Hull.

London, July 10. Found, on returning, that advantage had been taken of my absence to turn Department and myself out of the F.O. Went to see Hardinge about it and found him in much the same position, with his papers, etc., already packed, as it had been decided that he should be one of the scapegoats for Mesopotamia. Said

Page 242

THANKS OF WAR CABINET [1917]

Curzon had advised him to resign. I, on the contrary, urged him to sit tight, and he eventually was left unmolested.

I was particularly anxious to remain in the F.O., for many reasons, but, although I enlisted many supporters, my remonstrances were unavailing.

Received many congratulations upon safe return here, people being, apparently, under impression that we were in personal danger.

July 11. War Cabinet, with Belfield. Ministers most congratulatory, and also equally surprised at our success.

Being asked to explain the reason for it, I said that I attributed it largely to Belfield, whose thorough knowledge of the question and obvious sincerity and frankness had made a great impression on the Germans, who, I felt convinced, would be sure to pay attention to a military man. This was quite true, but there was another reason. The Germans must have realised that their excesses had so shocked the world that they were regarded in many quarters as being unfit for normal intercourse, and the fact that we met them on equal terms at

CHAPTER XXIII

The Hague had given them an opportunity to show that they could still act like reasonable human beings if necessary.

On the following day, I received a letter from the War Cabinet formally thanking us for our services at The Hague.

July 18. Long audience with the King, who wanted to hear about The Hague and whether we had shaken hands with the enemy. Said his visit to France had been very interesting, and that he had received abusive letters charging him with having lowered his flag and hidden in the cellars of the Palace in order to avoid air raids. Sounded him about new Ministerial appointments, and he said that the Prime Minister had represented that he must have people in the Government whose speeches would be read by the public, and that no one would ever read Curzon's because he was over the heads of the public. Is more anti-German than ever.

July 31. Germans having at last signified agreement, made full statement in House which was very well received.

August 8. Much disconcerted to hear that Germans now object to Hull. Impossible to understand their motive, but we shall presumably have to find another port.

August 21. On hearing that Germans definitely refuse Hull, went to Admiralty and suggested Boston to Oliver,⁴⁹³ who consented to my sending a telegram to Townley to that effect. Some people here

Page 243

MORE EXCHANGE DIFFICULTIES [1917]

already welcoming this hitch as a sign that The Hague agreement will be wrecked.

September 1. An air raid in middle of night and bombs dropped on Embankment.

Heard at last that the Germans agree to Boston as exchange port "temporarily." All arrangements going very slowly: probably some concealed obstruction on both sides.

Lyme, September 19. Heinemann, who is staying here, says that the Daily Telegraph paid Gerard no less than £5,000 for a few articles written after he left the Berlin Embassy. Publisher who has taken on his book cannot possibly make it pay unless he sells 24,000 copies.

Find that the enemy aliens whom I obtained from the Isle of Man are working on the farm here quite satisfactorily. Tenants, however, still obstinately refusing to employ any aliens at present.

London, October 8. Sent for by War Cabinet to discuss question of prisoners-of-war in Turkey. Asked by Prime Minister to give my opinion, said I thought that the most practical course was to arrange a conference as soon as possible and, if the Turks would not agree, to threaten drastic action. Lloyd George, Milner and Curzon all agreed that a meeting should be brought about as soon as possible. Accordingly telegraphed to Townley and Rumbold, asking for definite answer immediately.

⁴⁹³ Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Oliver (1865-1965), then Chief of Admiralty War Staff. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIII

Disappointed at discovery that Belfield considers that the question of an exchange port has not yet been settled and has consequently made no preparations at Boston. Told him that he would therefore have to bear the blame if necessary.

October 10. Germans again trying for Southwold and Flushing. Luckily, they were told at The Hague that the idea could not be entertained, and it was finally abandoned.

Saw Belfield with various grievances in connection with intended visit from Dutch doctors who, he says, are not required.

October 12. Kaufman, a civilian internee, arrived, newly escaped from Ruhleben. Looks quite well and said he was never ill. Says men over 45 have given up all hope as they say the Germans will never fulfil The Hague agreement. Few complaints, and guards can easily be bribed: parcels regular, food impossible; many attempted escapes in consequence of The Hague agreement on the subject. Thinks that about 100 might decide to remain in Germany : too young, however, to speak with much authority.

Page 244

ANGLO-TURKISH MEETING ARRANGED [1917]

October 29. Prince of Wales and Piers arrived unexpectedly and start in a day or two with Cavan's Corps for Italy, in consequence of the Caporetto⁴⁹⁴ disaster. P. says that it is not likely that we shall do much on the French front for some time.

November 8. Caporetto disaster even worse than believed at first. Evident that heavy British and French reinforcements required. Italian Government afraid to disclose real state of things. Germans claim to have taken over 250,000 prisoners. Cadorna⁴⁹⁵ and his staff dismissed and a revolution seems quite probable.

Meanwhile extreme party installed in Petrograd who mean to proclaim peace, as well as confiscation of land and private property.

With Derby at War Office to receive various deputations of M.P.s concerning prisoners in Turkey. They wanted H.M. Government to offer to bribe everyone all round in order to get them out.

November 16. Audience with the King after a Privy Council. Was very friendly and spoke very kindly of Piers. Said that there was no intention of allowing our force to be sacrificed because the Italians would not fight.

Blatant answer by Northcliffe declining the Air Ministry. Is now giving himself intolerable airs and no one appears to have sufficient courage to stand up to him.

November 17. Telegram from Rumbold saying that the Turks have suddenly agreed to send delegates to Berne and that he has promised that I shall be there on the 28th. Saw Belfield and impressed upon him that we must go.

⁴⁹⁴ Kobarid known in Italian as Caporetto, is a settlement in Slovenia, the administrative centre of the Municipality of Kobarid. It is known for the 1917 Battle of Caporetto, where the Italian retreat was documented by Ernest Hemingway in his novel *A Farewell to Arms*. (*Wikipedia*)

⁴⁹⁵ Marshal of Italy Luigi Cadorna (1850-1928) was an Italian General and Marshal of Italy, most famous for being the Chief of Staff of the Italian Army during the first part of World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIII

This telegram also contained an impudent suggestion from the Turkish Military Attaché at Berne, who was one of the delegates, that no one superior to him in rank should be sent out. This, of course, we ignored completely.

November 27. Started for Berne after having succeeded in obtaining seats for myself, Belfield and our two assistants, Mr. O'Reilly of the F.O. and Mr. Vernon Gattie, in the special train and steamer which had been ordered for the conveyance of British Ministers on a mission to Paris under Mr. Lloyd George.

There were no less than 106 persons taking part in this mission, although they were only expected to be in Paris for a few days, the object of the conference being the consideration of the position in Italy. The arrangements might have been described as luxurious, and we travelled in much comfort as far as Paris, where we had to take

Page 245

PRISONERS OF WAR IN EUROPE [1917]

our chance of getting on to Berne. During the journey between Calais and Paris I received several messages from the Prime Minister, saying that he wanted to speak to me about the Turks, but as he was never disengaged I had to fall back upon Arthur Balfour and try to get instructions as to what I should say if the Turks approached me with peace proposals. He was, however, somewhat vague and did not appear to have given the question much thought. It should be explained that when I had last seen the War Cabinet they had intimated to me that if the Turks raised the question of peace I was to listen to what they said, and not to refuse out of hand.

Berne, November 28. Arrived here in evening, having passed most of the day between here and Geneva. Received by Rumbold and Military Attaché at station, latter in uniform. Berne very crowded, and secured four rooms with difficulty. As I had expected, no Turks arrived here yet.

The next two days were passed chiefly in visiting Swiss officials connected with internment, to whom I was conducted by Rumbold, who also took me to see the French Ambassador, apparently a sensible man, with no suspicions about my mission. Hear that the Turks are actually on their way here.

Lansdowne Peace letter appeared in Press.

On November 30 saw number of British internees from Mürren who were being repatriated. Looked quite well, and rather difficult to understand why this had been done. Went over the Berne Bread Bureau, which seems to be very well managed.

December 1. Made acquaintance of Slatin Pasha⁴⁹⁶ (who was now a Red Cross official). He gave me some interesting figures respecting the numbers of prisoners-of-war in the combatant countries which ran into several millions. The most tragic case of all seemed to be that of Austrian prisoners in Serbia, only 17,000 of the original 70,000 being now alive. This terrible figure was presumably due to the hardships undergone during the Serbian retreat to the Adriatic.

⁴⁹⁶ Lord Newton's footnote states: Sir Rudolf von Slatin, G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., Anglo-Austrian soldier and administrator in the Sudan, once prisoner of the Mahdi for over 11 years, afterwards serving as staff officer in final campaign against Omdurman.

CHAPTER XXIII

With Belfield and Colonel Picot⁴⁹⁷ to visit a carpet factory near Interlaken where British and French prisoners are working together. Also visited various small parties of British internees. Upon this occasion, there were very few complaints.

December 3. Turks at last arrived, and we met them in the afternoon

Page 246 NEGOTIATION WITH THE TURKS [1917]

at the Foreign Office. They are five, and appear to be outwardly Europeanised, speaking French more or less fluently, civil in manner, but not very sympathetic and showing little of the dignity and courtesy of the old Turks. The leader, Mukhtar Bey, struck me as somewhat supercilious and self-satisfied. It was agreed that French should be the language used at the meetings.

December 4. First meeting with the Turks, a Swiss official presiding and three other Swiss, who were quite unnecessary, attending. Fortunately, getting bored, these soon disappeared.

The proceedings opened gloomily, with a discussion on exchanges. In an endeavour to lighten it I remarked pleasantly that the first exchange had been successfully effected, one of the Turks having inadvertently taken away Belfield's overcoat and then returned it, with many apologies. This well-intentioned jest, however, was received with stony silence on both sides, and Belfield subsequently complained that such an incident could never have occurred at the British War Office.

It very soon became apparent that only one Turkish delegate had any knowledge of the question that they had come to discuss, and he was a Red Crescent official who was not considered to be reliable. It also soon became evident that they were actuated by quite different motives from ours; for whilst we were endeavouring to benefit all prisoners, irrespective of rank, they were only concerned with the cases of certain individuals. Obviously they could not understand why we were concerned over the fate of the British and Indian rank and file who had been taken at Kut, and under the impression that our main object was to secure the liberty of General Townshend. For some reason not known to us they were bent upon securing the release of a certain Eyoub Sabri, who was confined at Malta, and as soon as we discovered this we determined not to part with him, as he was obviously a valuable card in our hands when it came to bargaining.

December 6. Lunch at French Embassy. Franco-German prisoner negotiations also going on here, with not much prospect of success, as the French decline to meet them directly.

In evening went with Belfield to meet Friedrich, who is here. Professed himself delighted to see us. We raised question of the starting of Dutch exchange ships and the difficulties which have arisen. Promised to put them right and evidently did not realise the points himself. Hear that he has been saying that it is much easier to do business with us than with the French and that we behaved well.

⁴⁹⁷ Emile Yves Picot was infantry colonel and a French politician (1862-1938). At the outbreak of World War I he was a battalion commander in the 57th Infantry Regiment at Libourne. He participated in the Battle of the Marne in September 1914.

Hear Russia is out of the war.

December 8. Meeting with Turks in morning. Talked to Izzet afterwards and tried to make him understand what we wanted. Had to refuse to shake hands with him, as people were watching us. Is intelligent and is the only one who knows anything about his job; although even he cannot say how many British prisoners there are. Instructed X. to explain to Izzet that he will be remunerated if satisfactory exchange is arranged.

December 10. In evening, during dinner, received news of the fall of Jerusalem, and took opportunity to inform head waiter, so that he might give this intelligence to the numerous Germans and Austrians who were dining at the other end of the room.

The Hotel Bellevue, where I was staying, was an entertaining place in those days, and was patronised by both sides, amongst the visitors being persons of importance in the political and social world, and prominent among them Austrian and Hungarian ladies of extreme elegance. There were also many neutrals, including Americans, and many mysterious personages whose movements and occupations were unknown. It was also generally believed that there were many spies, but, as far as I was concerned, I never experienced any loss nor detected any attempt to search my possessions, in spite of laying alluring traps. When, as frequently happened, we accidentally came into contact with enemies who had been personal friends, we exchanged frigid bows and avoided conversation, and there were no open quarrels.

As soon as the Turks arrived in Berne it had been made clear that negotiations would be slow. First the Swiss intimated that they objected to work on Saturdays: the Turks, who, presumably, were freethinkers, then intimated that religious scruples prevented them from working on Fridays, and Sunday was regarded by all parties as a *dies non*. This at once cut off three days of the week, and in view of the dilatoriness of the Turks and the fact that they were drawing a large subsistence allowance—which was, no doubt, punctually paid, as they were closely connected with the Enver-Talaat⁴⁹⁸ gang in power at Constantinople—it seemed probable that they would endeavour to delay business as much as possible. As an example of their slovenly habits I may mention that upon one occasion they expressed a great desire for a memorandum on a particular subject, and we sent it to them in an hour or two. More than a week later they asked, with some indignation, why they had not yet received it. We insisted

upon a search being made, and the document was discovered, un-opened, under the bed of one of the delegates. This incident they considered an excellent joke.

Basle, December 14. As, owing to the week-end, there was nothing to do at Berne, came here with Dr. Vischer, who is one of the Swiss doctors who has been inspecting the various Turkish camps where our men are detained. Vischer, who was a native of Basle, did the honours of the place and I was entertained at a large gathering of his relatives and taken to see the principal sights of the town. Everyone extremely friendly and apparently pro-Ally. Owing to coal shortage all were living in much limited number of rooms.

⁴⁹⁸ Lord Newton's footnote: Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha, leaders of the Young Turks.

CHAPTER XXIII

Berne, December 16. Much time was now spent in futile talk over schedules, categories and quotas, and case of Eyoub Sabri again referred to. Told them plainly that we should refuse to consider this until some definite progress had been made with a general system of exchange. They agreed to our proposals about the visits of mixed commissions of doctors to examine invalid prisoners, but suddenly raised the question of retaliation, this being a subject which, apparently, interested them considerably. In reality they had nothing to complain of, but they had some ostensible justification in their protest, for whereas we had interned, without much discrimination, a number of civilian Turkish subjects, the Turkish Government, displaying that toleration which I have previously commented on, had left nearly all British subjects in Turkey unmolested.

By this time, I had quite made up my mind that all the talk about schedules, quotas and categories was futile and that, although the Turks might agree to any thing on paper, much simpler methods were required, and I found that Vischer was also of the same opinion. I therefore felt no hesitation in giving confidential assurances that financial rewards would be forthcoming if exchanges and better treatment were effected. It seemed to me that money could not be better spent than in saving the lives of these unfortunate prisoners.

Before leaving London for Berne I had looked forward to the mission with much eager anticipation, as the War Cabinet had authorised me to sound the Turks on the subject of peace, and I had expected to receive many approaches, as Berne was full of secret agents, but these expectations were not fully realised. I had a certain number of surreptitious meetings in back premises with official and private agents, who all talked vaguely and gave me the impression that they were without any real power. Also, they were obviously

Page 249

AGREEMENT CONCLUDED. PARIS [1917]

carefully watched. Nor did any advance come from the delegates themselves, who were the creatures of Enver and Talaat and therefore completely under German control.

Berne, December 28. Agreement at length signed and farewell speeches of usual character. Took opportunity to urge importance of fulfilling it without delay.

This agreement followed more or less the lines of the agreement with the Germans, but contained one clause illustrative of Turkish ignorance. The clause stipulates that in a certain Indian camp a substitute will be put up in place of the present barbed wire fence. The explanation is that the Turks, having heard of "barbed wire disease" (a term signifying nervous affection), conceived the idea that the prisoners in this camp had contracted this malady from coming into contact with this particular fence. As we were anxious to obtain assent to an important proposal of our own in connection with another matter, we agreed to this proviso and so exposed the Turkish delegation to widespread derision, even amongst their own people. This is perhaps the only instance of a practical joke appearing in an international document.

December 30. Left Berne in morning, having been seen off by Rumbold, who said that he thought that we had done well and created a good impression.

At Geneva met Parodi, the Consul, who said he had seen Mukhtar and that the latter had made the strange statement that he had been so much impressed by Belfield and myself that he could no longer look upon us as enemies and would do his utmost to get the London

CHAPTER XXIII

Embassy. Arranged with Parodi that five shillings a head should be paid for the first 5,000 prisoners embarked on the exchange ship, if it ever started.

Paris, December 31. Long talk with Esher. Says that the Lansdowne letter is very popular in the army and trenches, and that they are all in favour of making peace if there is an opportunity. Whole thing depends upon the Americans. Says they have about 100,000 men here and that they are very modest and very slow, quite the opposite of what we expected. Will not have more than 500,000 by July, in which case they will be too late to exercise decisive influence in 1918. Cambrai a case of searching for scapegoats: question at one time of Haig going. Seems they wanted to have a Parliamentary Committee over Cambrai, but that Derby, fortunately, threatened to resign. Appalling how Northcliffe constantly gets his way: seems to be entirely his doing that Jellicoe had to go.

**SECOND MEETING WITH THE GERMANS AT THE HAGUE:
SECRET PEACE OVERTURES: END OF WAR. 1918-1919**

LONDON, January 15, 1918. War Cabinet, to report about Berne agreement. Lloyd George very complimentary. Subsequently, however, conversation drifted into discussion between him and A. J. B., Carson and others as to whether people ever read their speeches with any attention. I remarked that people did not get much opportunity to do so, as the New Journalism cut down Parliamentary reports to a minimum and confined itself chiefly to headlines and summaries.

January 16. Privy Council meeting at Palace and audience with King, who congratulated me over the Berne agreement and strongly denounced the Turks.

January 18. Two destroyers wrecked, with all hands lost. Hardly noticed, we being now so used to these disasters. A mine explosion, in which over 150 were killed, scarcely commented upon.

January 20. Went to the railway station to see prisoners who had been landed at Boston. Nearly all military, and many looked very bad, and was told that they looked much worse than the previous party. About 300 altogether. Arrangements seem to have been good and men cheerful in spite of their condition.

January 22. Carson resignation. Violent attack in Harmsworth Press on the Staff and War Office; evidently want to get rid of Robertson,⁴⁹⁹ Derby and probably Haig, too. State of things becoming intolerable. Esher thought that the best thing that could be done would be to lock Northcliffe up.

January 23. Buchanan⁵⁰⁰ says that Empress⁵⁰¹ was not really pro-German but unintelligent and autocratic. Henderson⁵⁰² a failure at

Petrograd and the Russians, who were much better educated, thought nothing of him. Hear that a large number of our men who have gone to Holland are not really N.C.O.s but privates who have managed to hoodwink the Germans. Difficult to know what to do as they have blocked a lot of places for legitimate occupants. Really a War Office question.

⁴⁹⁹ Field Marshal Sir William Robert Robertson, 1st Baronet (1860-1933), a British Army officer who served as Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the professional head of the British Army, from 1916 to 1918 during the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰⁰ Sir George William Buchanan (1854-1924) was a British diplomat and was the Ambassador in Petrograd at this time. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰¹ Alexandra Feodorovna (1872-17 July 1918) was Empress of Russia as the spouse of Nicholas II, the last ruler of the Russian Empire. She was a granddaughter of Queen Victoria (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰² Lord Newton's footnote states: Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Labour representative in the War Cabinet, with whose authority he went to Russia, after the revolution, to establish relations with the Russian Socialists. He disclosed later that he had instructions, if he thought fit, to supersede the Ambassador and take his place. Wikipedia notes: Arthur Henderson (1863-1935) was a British iron moulder and Labour politician. He was the first Labour cabinet minister, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934 and, uniquely, served three separate terms as Leader of the Labour Party in three different decades.

CHAPTER XXIII

January 31. Wedding of my youngest daughter, Phyllis, to Gerard Sandeman,⁵⁰³ Grenadier Guards. He had joined up as a private in 1914 and eventually became a lieutenant; having been gassed and buried in the trenches was now on sick leave. Very thick fog, but about 100 people attended at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and came on here afterwards. The bride looked remarkably well and was much admired.

February 7. Piers back from Italy with Prince of Wales. Says things very quiet: big river between us and enemy and very little fighting. French express great contempt for Italians and say that they have learnt very little in the war. Six British and eight French divisions in Italy. Italian Flying Corps the best part of the Italian Army. Inhabitants so far are friendly and our men like the country.

February 13. Prince of Wales and Princess Mary here at luncheon, unattended, and no other guests. Found the Prince much improved and developed and has extremely nice manners. The Princess very amiable, but still shy.

February 18. Waterloo, to meet prisoners arrived from Turkey, the first of those taken at Kut. All had been in hospital but did not look so ill as had expected. Most of them had lost limbs.

February 21. Claud Hamilton⁵⁰⁴ here from Italian front. Says Czechs opposite us would willingly surrender to us if they could.

March 6. Much concern over alarming report by Geddes on shipping losses, and no wonder. Not surprising that French should object to our publishing figures, as suggested.

War Cabinet to-day decided not to agree to total exchange of civilian prisoners. Argument that French would object. Shall have to explain matters in House to-morrow as best I can.

At this period the position in Russia was causing much uneasiness here and division of opinion. Buchanan, who is over here, mentions that we can expect no help from them and that we ought not to recognise them. Bruce Lockhart,⁵⁰⁵ on the contrary, who was Consul in Moscow, is quite convinced that they are the only people worth

Page 252

CRISIS ON WESTERN FRONT [1918]

backing, and says that everyone in Russia hates the Japanese more than Britain. He is convinced that the Bolsheviks will fight on.

⁵⁰³ Henry Gerard Walter Sandeman (1885-1953) son of Albert George Sandeman, married Phyllis Elinor Legh, and was father of Chloë Sandeman. There is no mention of him in Wikipedia, but in an article on Joseph (Joe) Lloyd, the golfer, it states that Fleetwood Sandeman was the first Captain in 1883 at Hayling Golf Club in Hampshire, where the Sandeman family had a summer house. It is known that Lord Newton and his family went on holiday to Hayling Island. (<https://www.geni.com/people/Henry-Gerard-Walter-Sandeman/6000000021542986244>).

⁵⁰⁴ Lord Claud Nigel Hamilton (1889-1975) was a British Army officer. He was the youngest son of James Hamilton, 2nd Duke of Abercorn. In 1907, he joined the 3rd Battalion (Lothian Regiment) of the Scots Guards as a Second Lieutenant and transferred to the Grenadier Guards in 1909. In 1919 he was employed as an equerry to Edward, Prince of Wales. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰⁵ Sir Robert Hamilton ("R.H.") Bruce Lockhart (1887-1970) was a British diplomat (Moscow, Prague), journalist, author, secret agent and footballer. His 1932 book, *Memoirs of a British Agent*, became an international best-seller, and brought him to the world's attention. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIII

This turned out to be quite erroneous. The sympathies of Lloyd George were pro-Bolshevist, although the Bolsheviks have never, until recently, shown any sign of friendliness towards this country.

March 7. Debate in Lords on wholesale exchange of civilians and had to conceal my personal opinion. All the speakers in favour of it and expect that War Office and Admiralty will eventually have to give way.

March 14. Hear we are again negotiating with the Austrians through P. Kerr,⁵⁰⁶ who has gone out to meet them at Berne, and that prospects are promising; cannot believe this, as the Austrians are much too tightly held by the Germans.

March 18. Accompanied Lloyd George to a deputation of peers and M.P.s who want a wholesale exchange of civilians, irrespective of numbers. The deputation had been foolish enough to select as principal spokesman for the prisoners a burly, healthy-looking man who had been a champion professional sculler. As health was the principal consideration urged, Lloyd George had no difficulty whatever in disposing of them.

March 21. Met Imperiali⁵⁰⁷ at the Lowthers, and he told me that Lichnovsky on the day before leaving, had said to Benckendorff⁵⁰⁸: “*Dieser Krieg ist ein Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit*”: which shows that he was not in the confidence of his Government.

March 25. Another day of great anxiety. German wireless reports taking of Bapaume and 45,000 prisoners. Nevertheless, our military authorities still profess confidence. See little sign of nervousness on part of public. Want of imagination sometimes a good thing.

March 27. Met Percy, who is one of the few men whose opinions on military questions inspire confidence. He said situation on the 24th was really alarming, that the Germans had broken through owing to the Fifth Army having apparently given way, but that since then things had improved. Says the next two days will be very critical, and then we should be all right.

March 31. Very depressing news in morning. In the afternoon, everyone much encouraged by success both of ourselves and the

Page 253

CONTINUED ANXIETY [1918]

French. Ground recovered and about 1,000 prisoners taken. King back after 48 hours near Amiens and hear that he is very pleased.

Shown letter from Haig's secretary (P. Sassoon), saying that Haig was quite confident, although 125,000 fewer men in France than a year ago, owing to interference of politicians. Hear War Office quite satisfied, although Germans within ten miles of Amiens.

⁵⁰⁶ Philip Henry Kerr, 11th Marquess of Lothian (1882-1940), known as Philip Kerr until 1930, was a politician, diplomat and newspaper editor. He was private secretary to Prime Minister David Lloyd George between 1916 and 1921. He played a major role in the drafting of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰⁷ The Marquis Guglielmo Imperiali (1858-1944) was an Italian nobleman and diplomat. His most important position was as the Italian ambassador in London during the First World War (1914-18). (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁰⁸ Lichnovsky had been the German ambassador in London and Benckendorff was the Russian Ambassador in London in 1914. The translation given by Lord Newton is: “This war is a crime against humanity.”

CHAPTER XXIII

April 6. More heavy fighting and continued advance of Germans towards Amiens. Our people still maintaining that everything is all right and told so by Derby, who was at big Mansion House luncheon to celebrate anniversary of American entry into the war. A great many people, and thought meal much too luxurious, considering the circumstances—turtle soup, salmon, champagne, etc. Speeches spoilt by being read in several cases.

April 9. Feel greater anxiety than ever, and can see that War Office feel so too. Went to Commons to hear an Irish debate and thought Lloyd George looked very anxious: did not, in fact, pretend to be anything else. Reported that a whole Portuguese division has disappeared; Germans attacking near La Bassée and penetrating line.

April 18. Derby leaving War Office and Milner taking his place. Another surprise is that A. Chamberlain is taken into War Cabinet, in spite of violent attack on him by the Harmsworth Press.

April 19. Hear from Percy that situation was thought to be so bad a week ago that the Embassy wanted to move the archives from Paris, but were forbidden to do so from here.

Telegram from Berne says that the French and Germans have made an agreement involving exchange of 150,000 to 200,000 men on each side, without informing us. If true this must mean that the French are convinced that the war will end this year.

April 20. Agreeable surprise: hear that Turks have unexpectedly ratified our Berne agreement. This should have a reassuring effect for the present.

Windsor Castle, April 22. Came down in evening with Evelyn and Hilda on a “family” visit of two days. No other guest except Soveral, the former Portuguese Minister in London. Both King and Queen very kind and agreeable. No wine nor spirits at dinner, which was a very light and short repast. Afterwards had long talk with the King, who had recently returned from the Front. Seems fairly cheerful and says that we have greater number of divisions in the line than the Germans, but that latter have the initiative.

Page 254

STOLIDITY OF THE PUBLIC [1918]

April 23. Shown round the castle by the Queen, who took a great deal of trouble and showed considerable knowledge. Greatly struck with immense number of valuable possessions. In her bedroom I was much interested to see a portrait of George IV as a young man, by Beechey, which was a replica of a portrait at Lyme. Then to the Library, which was under the control of J. Fortescue.⁵⁰⁹ After luncheon, taken by the Queen to see the Round Tower, now adapted for bachelor use, and so vast is the castle that it must take many minutes to reach the royal apartments. Even in wartime the castle establishment was about 200 servants of one kind or another, and in spite of there being few guests dinner was being prepared for 400 that evening.

⁵⁰⁹ Lord Newton's footnote: says The Hon. Sir John Fortescue.

CHAPTER XXIII

Went to Frogmore with F. Ponsonby⁵¹⁰ and amazed at vast amount of glass. Mausoleum better than had expected but spoilt by too much colour.

King told me in evening that we had used over 120,000,000 shells already.

King George, who always treated me with much kindness and consideration, was keenly interested in the condition of prisoners of war, and honoured me with his confidence during a trying time when I was assailed with great bitterness in the Press and in other quarters. He was always good enough to take my side in private, and used to assure those prisoners whom he saw that I had been a good friend to them. This, presumably, may have produced some effect.

Those who, like myself, had some opportunity of realising from behind the scenes the real situation must retain a vivid memory of March and April, 1918. It was a period of sickening suspense, with our fate at its crisis. Day by day we seemed to be struggling for our life and only escaping disaster by the narrowest of margins. What impressed me most was the attitude of the general public: they seemed to be unperturbed, went on with their work and amusements as usual, and their stolidity was almost irritating. There was no outcry for scapegoats—not even against those who were responsible for the depletion of our forces in France; no recriminations against the optimistic generals who had said that they would welcome a German invasion of France; nothing, in short, but a fixed, illogical belief that things would, somehow or other, come right in the end, and that there

Page 255

PRESS ATTACKS [1918]

was no occasion for worry. They were right, but by how slight a margin!

It was not until May that we could feel that the crisis was over, and even then the tentacles of the German octopus held France in a grip which it seemed impossible to loosen.

In the spring of 1918, difficulties in connection with prisoners-of-war questions began to accumulate. There were cases of complaint on both sides: delay of exchanges; scarcity of food; alleged cruelties committed in camps near the lines, where it was stated that the British were undergoing terrible hardships; the internment of Germans in China at our instigation, and other matters. A fresh complication, too, had occurred in consequence of the huge exchange of French and German combatants undertaken by the French without any consultation with us. The Germans were already clamouring for another meeting at The Hague in order to discuss matters. The completion of the Franco-German exchange plan gave the Harmsworth Press an opportunity for attacking the Government on the general prisoners-of-war policy and, unfortunately for me, I was selected for especial attack in view of my titular position as Controller of the Prisoners-of-War Department.

The main attack was based upon the fact that we had not taken the same steps as the French and had been ignorant of their intention, and it was of no use to point out that the French had carefully kept us in ignorance. This charge developed into one of general incapacity and indifference, and *The Times* and *Daily Mail*, which had been almost ecstatic in praise of our

⁵¹⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Gaspard Ponsonby, 2nd Baron Sysonby (1903-1956), was an officer of the British Army and a member of the House of Lords. (Wikipedia). Lord Newton's footnote describes him as Keeper of the Privy Purse.

CHAPTER XXIII

work at The Hague, now peremptorily demanded that neither Belfield nor I should be allowed to go as delegates to the now contemplated new conference.

On May 29, there was an important debate on the subject of civilian exchanges in the House of Lords, and I could not resist the opportunity of dealing faithfully with the Harmsworth Press: declined to be bullied by it into resignation, and derided the portentous pretensions of the egregious Northcliffe, who, whilst continually finding fault, was never able to suggest any practical alternative. This was much to the taste of the House, as people are frequently apt to encourage a fight when they are not likely to be involved themselves, but to fall out with the Press is a risky proceeding and I had committed the unforgivable sin of standing up to Northcliffe. Consequently, for the next six months I became the object of especial attack. In dealing with the Germans there were only two alternatives: one

Page 256

THE TWO ALTERNATIVES [1918]

to negotiate, the other to retaliate. In all my experience, I cannot remember a single officer or man who had been a prisoner advocating retaliation. They one and all agreed that in a competition of brutality we should undoubtedly get the worst of it, and in the few instances in which it had been tried it had failed completely. When British officers had been subjected to it the outcry of their friends and relations in Parliament had caused its abandonment, and in the case of the men it had been equally unsuccessful. When, for instance, we became aware that a number of our men were being employed under appalling conditions in salt and coal mines, I asked the War Office why they did not send Germans to work underground in our coal mines. The reply was that the miners' leaders had intimated that if a single German were sent underground they would order a general strike.

As to the general charge that H.M. Government had shown less consideration for British prisoners than the French or any other Government, the Germans themselves had stated more than once that we had shown more solicitude than anyone else, and this was corroborated by the Americans, who were acting as the protecting Power in our case and had every opportunity of studying the facts.

May 31. Sent for by Bonar Law, who told me that it had been decided to send Cave, myself and Belfield as delegates to The Hague. The agitation had been so great that the Government had determined to send a Cabinet Minister and, according to Bonar Law, Cave had proposed himself.

Boston, June 5. After many delays and much talk, arranged that we should start to-day, and arrived here at noon. The convoy to which we have been allotted consists of three ships, which have no passengers aboard except prisoners. Our party consists of ten persons, there being, besides three delegates, various assistants from the Home Office, Admiralty and Foreign Office. Parting shot at Belfield and myself in *The Times* this morning.

Rotterdam, June 6. Whilst having luncheon, heard tremendous thud, and on going on deck saw that one of the three ships, the *Koningin Regentes*, which was about 150 yards from us, was sinking, and boats being got ready. I had taken the time when I heard the thud, and within five minutes the ship had completely disappeared with the exception of part of a mast with the Dutch flag hanging from it. So quickly had the Dutch crews acted that within the five minutes, all on board the *Koningin Regentes* had been rescued and were on their way to the other two ships. Fortunately, there were no passengers on

board, but some of the crew were killed and some of the survivors had been wounded and eventually died. This event naturally created much excitement, and it was declared by some of the *Koningin Regentes* crew that they had actually seen a torpedo. I felt convinced, however, that it must have been a mine, as the sea was so smooth at the time that the smallest disturbance in the water would have been detected. Our arrival at Rotterdam was naturally delayed, and as, of course, the news had spread that it was our ship that had been sunk, the first message I received was from an old friend, Baroness Daisy de Brienen,⁵¹¹ offering to fit me out with pyjamas. There was much speculation over the cause of the sinking, and eventually an International Commission was formed and elaborate arrangements made to investigate the whole thing, but when they set to work the mast and flag had disappeared and the exact spot was never discovered. The Germans, who were not quite devoid of humour, had their own explanation. They sent me a German newspaper which stated that the Harmsworth Press disliked me so much that they had engineered the attack.

The Hague, June 7. Find Mrs. Livingstone, who is attached to the delegates, and Vredenburg here. V. says that the Germans are much exercised over Cave's appointment, and in order to be represented by a man of equal official rank have sent Prince Hermann Hatzfeldt, son of the former German Ambassador in London. They also have a larger number of delegates than on the last occasion, and it includes various military, civil and naval representatives; Friedrich, as before, to be the chief delegate. Called on the Foreign Minister, Loudon, and then to Clingendaal, now the property of Daisy de Brienen, which had been turned into a convalescent hospital, for which it seemed admirably adapted, and was a rendezvous for many interned British officers, who greatly appreciated it.

Amongst these officers was Captain Fraser,⁵¹² who had set a fine example to his companions by learning both German and Dutch, besides acquiring a practical knowledge of agriculture and other matters.

June 8. Met the Germans for first time, at the Binnenhof, Loudon presiding. Speeches by Loudon, Friedrich (in German), and long written oration read in French, with an atrocious accent, by Cave: an entirely unnecessary effort, as each side is presumed to speak its own language. Attitude of Cave, who, presumably, is unaccustomed to dealing with foreigners, seems liable to cause trouble, as he appears to

be one of those people who labour under the illusion that any demands made to the Germans will be immediately accepted.

⁵¹¹ The only reference I have found to this lady is an article on her home at Huys Clingendael in Holland. Baron Arnoud van Brienen, merged Clingendael with the neighbouring estate of Oosterbeek. Arnoud's unmarried daughter Margu rite, was known as Lady Daisy. (*Wikipedia*). There is an article in Dutch on Baron Arnoud van Brienen.

⁵¹² Lord Newton's footnote states "Now Lord Saltoun." The index to the book describes him as the 19th Lord Saltoun. However, Alexander William Frederick Fraser, 19th Lord Saltoun (1851-1933), would have had that title from when his father died in 1886. It is possible that the reference should be to Alexander Arthur Fraser, 20th Lord Saltoun (1886-1979), who would have succeeded in 1933.

CHAPTER XXIII

June 10. Morning meeting with Germans postponed, as they practically refuse to accept a memorandum which we have put forward, in view of its terms. Vredenburg much agitated. Our memorandum was concerned with the employment of prisoners behind the lines. Another meeting in the afternoon: rather unpleasant, and do not much approve of Cave's attitude. Long and diffuse speeches by Friedrich, who is as garrulous as ever. Germans smoke during the meeting, but we abstain. Consultation in evening: Cave much too confident about getting his way. Talks of one combatant for every civilian, which is clearly out of the question. Hear we are likely to have much trouble over submarine prisoners and German prisoners in the Colonies, but he will not believe it.

June 11. Much wrangling over small points: Cave very uncompromising. Afternoon visited several Y.M.C.A. establishments: they seem to be quite successful. Appearance of our men smart and good; they complain, however, of scarce food.

June 12. Conference in morning only, chiefly on exchanges. Odd request of the Germans, conveyed by Vredenburg, that we should occasionally speak some German, as they consider that English is employed too much. Efforts made to comply with this childish complaint by Belfield and myself, we reading long, irrelevant extracts from German newspapers, and this had the desired effect.

Belfield agrees with me in thinking that we are asking too much, and so increasing bad feeling.

June 13. Discussed exchange proposals, which were surprisingly well received: this must mean that they want to get their men back.

Dined with J. Coke and Ashton, and met several other interned officers who had made vigorous complaints, but found them friendly. Afterwards went to station to meet party of 300 British prisoners from Germany: looked better than had expected and much more lively than those whom I had met in Switzerland. Speech by Cave. Many people present and shown considerable attention by Dutch and English reception committee.

June 15. Bombshell in afternoon, the Germans being very indignant over Cave's speech to the British prisoners and his references to Germany. Meeting consequently postponed, and agreed that an explanatory *communiqué* shall be issued to the Press. A somewhat humiliating incident.

Page 259

THE GRONINGEN CAMP [1918]

After a good deal of time had been wasted in discussions in "plenum,"⁵¹³ we adopted the more sensible course of forming subcommittees and more progress began to be made. We were too large a party to do business quickly, there being a combined representation of over 20, and amongst them various persons with aggressive propensities whom it was difficult to control when allowed to speak. One of the most aggressive was a naval officer, who made little effort to disguise his Anglophobe opinions, and we experienced a slight humiliation when, in an attempt to express accurately the translation of a complicated German phrase, we had to acknowledge that his English was better than our own. In general, however, the discussions in the sub-committees were not unfriendly in tone and were practical.

⁵¹³ Full sitting of both delegations.

CHAPTER XXIII

June 20. Commission investigating the *Koningin Regentes* sinking, and matters not improved by a violent communiqué from British Admiralty.

Plenum in morning and Friedrich blustering over colonies and civilians. Made, however, fairly reasonable proposal about these later.

Dined with Vredenburg, who seems hopeful about result of negotiations but says that Friedrich is now unwell and not the man he was last year.

June 28. Friedrich having been summoned to Berlin, and not much going on, took the opportunity to visit our men interned at Leewarden and Groningen. The Groningen internees were the men who had been driven over the Dutch frontier at the time of the Antwerp expedition, and had been in confinement for over three years. Our Naval Attaché in Holland accompanied me and introduced me to the Commandant, Captain Henderson, R.N. Thought the camp rather untidy, but appearance of the men better than I had expected, judging by the reports. All allowed a month's leave in England, and evidently a great want of employment. Complained of food shortage. Men said to have great success with the ladies of the town, and as evidence of this I noticed that every girl carried a small cane, following the example of our men. I had also observed the prevalence of this silly habit in The Hague.

The commandant was extremely anxious that I should address the men, and they were manifestly waiting eagerly to hear what was going to happen to them. It was, in fact, almost the only occasion upon which I found an audience who were really anxious to hear me.

Page 260

AGREEMENT SIGNED [1918]

I was very reluctant to say anything, because the fate of the men had not yet been settled and I could not, therefore, enlighten them. However, much to my satisfaction, I made a speech of such a cryptic nature that there was general disagreement as to its meaning.

Afterwards shown round the town by Henderson. An entirely commercial centre, producing an enormous amount of cardboard.

The Hague, June 29. Arrived late at night, having visited the camp at Leewarden on the way: only officers there and they seemed to be satisfied with conditions.

June 30. Sudden recall of Cave to London, as he is wanted at the Home Office. Do not regret it, as he and the Germans had a mutually strong antipathy to each other and I found him very unwilling to incur any responsibility without previously consulting the War Cabinet, who had far too much work to do to attend seriously to our proceedings. Germans, however, may take offence and refuse to continue negotiations.

Cave left in evening, after I had with much difficulty persuaded him to write to Vredenburg and announce his departure. He feared, apparently, that the latter would inform the Germans and that his ship would be attacked.

July 4. Interview with Bulgarian Minister, who wanted to see me about prisoners. Was evidently extremely nervous and anxious to avoid observation. Was told afterwards that two detectives had been specially sent with him from Berlin for fear that he might start a peace talk with us.

CHAPTER XXIII

The next ten days were spent in continual discussions and disputes on what I considered to be unimportant points, and I could not resist the feeling that we were occasionally in the wrong. Thus, for instance, the Home Office contended that all children born of German parents in Great Britain were British subjects, and therefore insisted upon retaining them after their parents had been deported, but as no one shared my opinion this callous decision was not rescinded until subsequently the War Cabinet reversed it. Belfield and the other British delegates were, I thought, much too prone to fight over what seemed to me trivial points, and it was seldom that the former could be induced to give a decision without previously consulting the War Office. Ultimately a patched-up agreement was signed on July 13, the Germans making reservations on the questions of the internment of German civilians in China, the treatment of U-boat prisoners and the retention of the children of German parents.

Page 261

SECRET GERMAN PEACE FEELERS [1918]

July 13. There were the usual farewell speeches by Loudon, Friedrich and myself, Friedrich eulogising Belfield and me as "*ritterlich*" probably with object of decrying Cave.

The agreement was an imposing document, and most impressive on paper, and included an elaborate list of regulations destined for the benefit of future prisoners.

But, although the work of our delegation had been to some extent disappointing, I had during our stay made a discovery that was at once important and unexpected, for we had not been there long when it came to my knowledge that the Germans were acutely, almost passionately, anxious to enter upon peace negotiations. We had been directed to confine ourselves to our own immediate business, but if two parties are in constant close communication for about six weeks it is a practical certainty that each side will learn something about the plans and intentions of the other. The information came to me as a complete surprise, for there was no indication of a German collapse. Their position, in fact, seemed to be unassailable. They were so firmly established in France that it seemed impossible to dislodge them: they were causing us enormous damage on the sea: the American effort was bound to be slow, and, although it was true that Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria were all in a bad way, the German stranglehold was apparently strong enough to prevent them from breaking away. Conditions, in fact, seemed so stabilised that our ministers and military authorities were airily assuring us that we must be prepared for at least another year of war, and reports of unrest and famine in Germany were discredited.

The information which reached me tended to show that the Germans were ready to put forward more reasonable proposals than we had ever expected. Shortly stated, their argument in favour of peace was as follows: They said that they knew quite well that they could beat France: that they did not know whether they could beat us, but felt that we could not beat them: nor did they know what the Americans wanted, or why they had come into the war: that Russia had been knocked out, that Japan could easily be dealt with subsequently, and that Austria and Italy would arrange matters amicably with each other when peace came. As an earnest of good intentions, it was intimated that they were willing to evacuate Belgium and to pay an indemnity, and that there was no intention of retaining territory in Alsace and Lorraine.

"What," they said, with some justification, "is the sense of going

on fighting for the benefit of the Russian Bolsheviks, who will be the only people to benefit?"

Whether my information was perfectly correct or not, the important fact was that the Germans obviously realised that they were going to lose the war, otherwise they would never have made any such approach. I determined to keep my information secret until I could convey it personally to the Prime Minister.

After spending several days at the Hook, being detained by submarine threats, we left in a convoy and arrived in London on July 20, but I did not succeed in seeing the Prime Minister until the 25th.

London, July 25. Interview with Lloyd George, and gave him my news. He told me that I had acted quite rightly, and was greatly interested, saying that it was the first attempt to approach us directly, and thoroughly realising its importance. After a long conversation, he said that he would consult some of his colleagues on the subject. Whether he did so I never heard, but looking back after 23 years, I cannot help thinking that it would, perhaps, have been wiser, in the long run, to take advantage of the opportunity and agree to the principle of a negotiated peace. Had we taken this course, some of the disastrous decisions at Versailles would have been avoided. We could have squeezed the Germans as much as was required, since, although there was no outward sign, they were now in fact incapable of resisting effectively: there would probably have been no continuous truckling to France on our part, no Ruhr occupation and consequently no Hitler, while, on the other hand, we should have saved many thousands of lives, several hundred millions in money and a large proportion of our shipping. All these advantages were, however, swept aside in deference to the demand for the knock-out blow.

As a matter of fact, the opportunity of making a negotiated peace was far more favourable than when this had been suggested by Lansdowne in November, 1917, for the German situation was now much weaker, although this does not appear to have been realised in high quarters.

At the end of August and beginning of September I was in the country, and found everything most unsatisfactory. Most of my male employees had been called up or had taken more profitable occupations, and those who remained were continually clamouring for increased pay. The farmers seemed to be doing well, but there was much disorganisation, and strikes everywhere, either actually started or threatened. In fact, a general unrest and the prospects very unpleasant.

Lyme, September 5. Heard of the death of General Friedrich.

I had no very great liking for him, but upon the whole think that he meant well and that he was less arrogant than most German staff officers. I was told afterwards that before he died he spoke with much pleasure of his dealings with Belfield and myself, whom he again referred to as *ritterlich*, and said that these talks had been very beneficial and that between us we had done really good work for prisoners. "But," he had added, "there was a lady there

CHAPTER XXIII

who knew more about the subject than all the men put together.” This, of course, meant Mrs. Livingstone, and it was no surprise to me, but would have been a grave shock to my colleagues, had they learnt it.

London, September 26. War Office, and there heard fateful news that the Bulgarians have asked for an armistice. Although never an optimist, I look upon this as the beginning of the end and think that the war will shortly finish. This, however, does not seem to be the general opinion, and news appears to cause little excitement.

October 13. Both H.M. Government and the German Government had hitherto refused to ratify our Hague agreement and sent each other ultimatums on the subject, but as the Germans announced to-day that they were willing to negotiate on the basis of Wilson’s 14 points it seemed to me quite immaterial whether it was ratified or not. It seemed to me clear that in any case the prisoners would be liberated shortly. F.O. information is that Hindenburg and Ludendorff are just as keen for peace as everybody else.

The events which took place in October showed unmistakably that the end of the war was close at hand. Early in the month Austria collapsed completely. Turkey and Bulgaria had already gone, and the Germans, after suffering many military reverses, a mutiny in the fleet, and severe privations due to the blockade, signed an armistice containing terms of extreme severity on November 11. When the news arrived in London at 11 a.m. the proceedings were not impressive, for we do not show at our best in the moment of victory. Work stopped at once, and in London the streets were filled with innumerable lorries, packed with shouting men and women, rushing about aimlessly. Even in this hour of exhilaration and release from the danger which had so long threatened us, I could not resist the feeling that before long we should be regretting that we had not made an earlier peace, on a sure foundation created by negotiation.

November 26. Asked by F.O. if I would be disposed to go as British Commissioner, either to Warsaw or Prague, and replied that

Page 264

DECISION TO SUE DAILY MAIL [1918]

I was willing to go to either, the work at the Prisoners-of-War Department having, of course, been greatly curtailed in consequence of the armistice. Nothing, however, came of this, as the War Office had demanded that these two places should be reserved for their control. I therefore remained where I was, answering such questions as were asked about the Department in Parliament, and also occasionally replying for the F.O., where I ranked as an Assistant Under-Secretary.

December 2. In an article upon the constitution of the new Government which would shortly be coming into being, as the result of the General Election, the *Daily Mail* asked if I, “who had joked about prisoners’ sufferings,” would be included in it. This paper had been attacking me almost daily for several months and, although it is unwise as a rule to take proceedings against newspapers, I thought that I saw an opportunity of giving a lesson to this organ, as any jokes that I had made in speeches referred to Northcliffe and his Press. Before taking proceedings, however, I consulted my legal friends, who included ex-Lord Chancellors and other high legal authorities, besides less distinguished experts. Their opinion was almost unanimous in advising against an action. The words, they admitted, were technically libellous, but was it worthwhile to fight? If, they said, I had the luck to be tried before a

favourable judge, and if I made a favourable impression upon the jury, which was improbable, I might perhaps obtain a verdict for forty shillings. The only person who encouraged me to fight was my brother-in-law, the late Sir Edward Ridley,⁵¹⁴ who was a judge and a much abler man than was generally recognised. In spite of the very discouraging general advice which I had received I instructed my solicitor, the late Sir Charles Russell,⁵¹⁵ to acquaint the *Daily Mail* of my intention. To this intimation the paper responded with a pompous statement that they would continue to defend prisoners-of-war fearlessly, even under pressure of threats.

December 7. Seventy thousand British prisoners already back, a much higher proportion than the French have obtained.

Hear that candidates at Election are all vying with each other as to what Germany is to be made to pay. Our share alone to be eight thousand million pounds! Poll generally expected to be very small, as not much interest shown.

December 23. Hear from Milner that Northcliffe is furious at not being appointed a Peace Delegate at Paris, but that Lloyd George is so angry at the line that he has taken over the General Election that he will certainly refuse to take him.

Page 265

THE LUSITANIA MEDAL [1918-19]

December 28. Election results more decisive than expected, and pacifists being wiped out. Unionists will apparently have a majority, and much jubilation in Carlton Club.

January 6, 1919. Letter from Prince of Wales, saying that he would like to take Piers as equerry, but that latter is hesitating about acceptance. Wrote to Piers at once, pointing out that it was a unique opportunity which ought on no account to be lost.

Shortly afterwards the appointment was gazetted, and Piers remained with the Prince, accompanying him on all his tours, until the abdication, when he became equerry to the present King.

After the Germans had sunk the Lusitania, in 1915, we ascertained that they had struck a commemorative medal, and succeeded in obtaining a facsimile. When I was in charge of the News Department at the F.O. it seemed to me that this might be useful as propaganda, and I asked Mr. Gordon Selfridge⁵¹⁶ if he would be disposed to undertake the distribution of the medal in neutral countries, and especially in America. Mr. Selfridge thought that it was a good idea and agreed to undertake the work. He met with great difficulties, especially in America, where the Jewish traders and the strong German element put every obstacle in his way, and for a long time he was quite unsuccessful, but with much determination he finally succeeded, and on January 16 this year he informed me that he had made a profit of £2,500 which he proposed to hand over to St. Dunstan's. Mr. Selfridge had shown throughout this

⁵¹⁴ Sir Edward Ridley (1843-1928) was a British barrister, judge and Conservative Politician, MP for South Northumberland from 1878-80. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵¹⁵ Sir Charles Russell, 1st Baronet (1863-1928), was an English lawyer. Russell was the son of Charles Russell, Baron Russell of Killowen. In 1891, he started the firm that became Charles Russell LLP. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵¹⁶ Harry Gordon Selfridge, Sr. (1858-1947) was an American retail magnate who founded the London-based department store Selfridges. His 20-year leadership of Selfridges led to his becoming one of the most respected and wealthy retail magnates in the United Kingdom. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIII

business a splendid public spirit, and the result proved that propaganda could sometimes be accompanied by financial profit.

February 5. Visit from van Bommel, a Dutch doctor lately in Constantinople. Said he had been much struck by the great solicitude shown by H.M. Government for British prisoners, as compared with the attitude of the Russian and French Governments, for whom he had worked, towards theirs. He added that the British and French were not getting on well together.

February 6. Wedding of my eldest daughter, Lettice, to Lieutenant-Colonel Dallas Waters, D.S.O.,⁵¹⁷ who had served in the same battalion as her first husband. Is an Irish Roman Catholic and a barrister by profession. Reported to be very industrious and capable, and was very popular in his battalion. The service took place in the Oratory, in thick fog, and they left for Brighton in spite of the railway strike.

Page 266

POST-WAR SOCIAL UNREST [1919]

The home situation was extremely threatening at this time. Not only was a railway strike imminent but another coal strike was contemplated, accompanied by demands on all sides for increased wages and shorter hours - and if the conditions in England were unsatisfactory they were far worse in many European countries. Peace, instead of restoring order and prosperity, seemed, on the contrary, to have inaugurated a new era of strife, sedition and bankruptcy. There were few who were inclined to take a hopeful view of the future, more especially in consequence of the action of the Powers in Paris. On February 11, when Parliament met, the King's Speech was very ominous and announced that huge additional expenditure was inevitable.

March 20. Attended funeral service for Lady Londonderry.⁵¹⁸ A very large crowd. She had played a great part in society and done a great deal to help the Conservative party, and was probably the best hostess of her time, having a special talent for receiving.

Hear that the Government have squared the Transport and Railway people, but miners ready to strike in spite of the concessions offered.

⁵¹⁷ Lord Newton's footnote states: Now C.B. and Registrar of the Privy Council. A *Wikipedia* article on the 1936 Birthday Honours shows him listed under the Civil Division as Lieutenant-Colonel John Dallas Waters, DSO JP, Secretary of Commissions of the Peace, Lord Chancellor's Department. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1936_Birthday_Honours)

⁵¹⁸ Widow of the 6th Marquess



Facsimile of the *Lusitania* Medal, circulated in 1916

LIBEL ACTION AGAINST *THE DAILY MAIL*: A VISIT TO GERMANY: PRIVATE MEMBER AGAIN: ALIENS RESTRICTION BILL IN THE LORDS: STRIKING DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND HOUSE OF COMMONS. 1919

MARCH 24, 1919. Interesting debate in Lords on proposal to deport all aliens who have been interned. Have persuaded the Archbishop of Canterbury⁵¹⁹ to take this up, and put him into communication with Sir R. Younger. All the speakers in the debate agreed that the proposal was most unjust and urged that the right of appeal should be granted to all who asked for it. The Home Office appear to have got rid of all but 6,000, and will deport these, too, unless interfered with quickly. Whole agitation, out of which the Lord Chancellor comes badly, a disgraceful surrender to Bottomley⁵²⁰ and the sensational Press.

March 25. Received, at last, *Daily Mail* defence. They say that the allegation is true in fact and substance and quote a number of passages from my speeches which appear to be quite irrelevant. Russell thought it was weak and Younger said that he thought that it looked like a withdrawal.

April 3. Dined alone with Lansdowne. Takes depressing view of everything, and no wonder. Thinks Asquith, with whom he is on friendly terms, is unfit for real heavy work, and difficult to get him to come to a decision. Said that Ian Hamilton⁵²¹ had been let down by Kitchener over the Dardanelles campaign: Wolseley quite past his work in the Boer War, and that it would have been better to have sent E. Wood⁵²² instead of Buller to South Africa. Offered to come and give evidence for me against the *Daily Mail*.

April 4. Letter from Rappard,⁵²³ who is in Berlin. Is very emphatic about the danger of Bolshevism getting the upper hand in Germany, and says that the Government are really doing all they can to put it down but fears they may not succeed.

April 6. Visited Alexandra Palace and Islington with Rees, M.P.,⁵²⁴ who is officially connected with enemy alien civilians. About 3,300 at the former, most of them having been there during the whole war; now, apparently, only getting horseflesh for meat. Their

⁵¹⁹ William Cosmo Gordon Lang, 1st Baron Lang of Lambeth (1864-1945), known as Cosmo Gordon Lang, was a Scottish Anglican prelate who served as Archbishop of York (1908–1928) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1928–1942). As Archbishop of Canterbury during the abdication crisis of 1936, he took a strong moral stance, and his comments in a subsequent broadcast were widely condemned as uncharitable towards the departed king. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²⁰ Horatio William Bottomley (1860-1933) was an English financier, journalist, editor, newspaper proprietor, swindler, and Member of Parliament. He is best known for his editorship of the popular magazine *John Bull*, and for his patriotic oratory during the First World War. His career came to a sudden end when, in 1922, he was convicted of fraud and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²¹ General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton (1853-1947) was most notable for commanding the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force during the Gallipoli Campaign. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²² Field Marshal Sir Henry Evelyn Wood, VC (1838-1919). After an early career in the Royal Navy, Wood joined the British Army. He served in several major conflicts including the Indian Mutiny where, as a lieutenant, he was awarded the Victoria Cross. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²³ Lord Newton's footnote: One of the Dutch diplomatists who acted for us with regard to prisoners.

⁵²⁴ Sir John David Rees, 1st Baronet (1854-1922), was a colonial administrator in British India and subsequently a Member of Parliament. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

demeanour quite satisfactory and the commandant said that they gave no trouble. All, practically, had English-born children and wished to remain. Islington conditions better. Wives allowed to visit both places once a week.

There being little business at the office I went to Ireland and paid a visit to Donoughmore.

Knocklofty, April 16. Find a large party here: mostly fishing for salmon, with very little success, there being plenty of fish in the Suir but it does not seem to be a good taking river.

Amongst the guests is General Marshall,⁵²⁵ the conqueror of Mesopotamia, a very modest and unassuming man. Ireland being one of the few countries that have benefited by the war, hear that all the labourers now get twice as much as they received formerly. Surprised to find that one of D.'s prominent employees was an active Sinn Feiner.

Desart, April 23. Drove over here with Desart's agent. Country pleasing and houses looked to be of rather superior character. Find Desart⁵²⁶ alone here. As he is a former Public Prosecutor, asked his opinion about the *Daily Mail* defence statement, and he said that it looked to him as if they might climb down.

April 24. With Desart to Kilkenny and had luncheon with the Bishop of Ossory. It seems that there is a project to put up a war memorial in Kilkenny, but that it is impossible to persuade Catholics and Protestants to co-operate. As an instance of Irish mentality on this particular subject, I remember General [Sir Neville] Lyttelton,⁵²⁷ who was a near relative of the Gladstones, telling me that one of the family was extremely anxious to put up statues of the statesman in various cities, but that when he proposed to erect one in Ireland he was told that it would inevitably be destroyed at once, in whatever town might be selected.

Afterwards to Kilkenny Castle and was shown the muniments and picture gallery, also some fine tapestries, but castles seldom appeal to me as residences. Kilkenny said to be a rich town, but the houses mostly of poor appearance.

Page 269

DANGEROUS PEACE TERMS [1919]

Desart, who has sold most of his property outside the demesne, seems to think that the political situation is not too bad and that there will not be trouble in the neighbourhood—but his house was burnt in the general holocaust not long afterwards.

Incidentally, during my visit to Ireland I do not remember seeing a single pig, and was given to understand that the cost of feeding was prohibitive. On every occasion that I have been in Ireland I have come away feeling that I understand the country less, and I never cease to

⁵²⁵ Lieutenant General Sir William Raine Marshall (1865-1939) in November 1917 succeeded Sir Frederick Stanley Maude (upon the latter's death from cholera) as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Mesopotamia. He kept that position until the end of the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²⁶ Hamilton John Agmondesham Cuffe, 5th Earl of Desart (1848-1934), an Irish peer and barrister. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²⁷ General Sir Neville Gerald Lyttelton (1845-1931) was a British Army officer who served against the Fenian Raids, and in the Anglo-Egyptian War, the Mahdist War and the Second Boer War. He was Chief of the General Staff at the time of the Haldane Reforms and then became Commander-in-Chief, Ireland. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

wonder why we tolerate the persistent hostility of De Valera,⁵²⁸ as if we were in a perfectly helpless position.

London, May 2. Heard the dreadful news that my nephew, Peter Legh, had been killed while testing a new aeroplane. He was 22, and had shown a remarkable aptitude for flying and was actually receiving a high salary as tester of new machines. Part of the tragedy was that he had served in the latter stages of the war without accident and had a brilliant future before him, was entirely engrossed in aviation and very highly considered. Apart from this he had a very attractive nature and was the only son of my brother, by whom he was idolised, as he was also by his mother, who had, however, other children by a previous marriage. The loss was an unspeakable tragedy, but both parents bore it with courage and resignation. I had always hated flying, knowing well enough that it must inevitably end in disaster, if continually practised, and a fatal ending for this poor boy.

May 8. Peace terms published: seem to be generally approved, although so stiff that the Germans can hardly accept them, and there can be little chance of the financial part being eventually carried out. Looks as if far too much were being given to Poland; and Königsberg district literally cut off from the rest of Germany. Nevertheless, the Germans are expected to sign.

May 12. Feel convinced that we are all wrong in our peace terms and that they will never be carried out, whether accepted or not. See no sign, however, that here they are considered too hard.

See that Smyrna is to be secretly occupied, in a great hurry, by the Greeks. Italy, apparently, not having been consulted, there will probably be another big dispute.

Generally believed that peace will be a Lloyd George and Clemenceau⁵²⁹ settlement, with very little Wilson⁵³⁰ about it.

May 14. Long talk with Russell, who says he feels confident, and talks of £500 damages; that the *Daily Mail* is sure to fight and that

Page 270

HORNE ON LABOUR TROUBLES [1919]

Simon⁵³¹ will appear for them. Thinks that Darling will probably try the case.

⁵²⁸ Éamon de Valera (1882-1975) was a prominent politician and statesman in twentieth-century Ireland. His political career spanned over half a century, from 1917 to 1973; he served several terms as head of government and head of state. He also led the introduction of the Constitution of Ireland. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵²⁹ Georges Benjamin Clemenceau (1841-1929) was a French politician, physician, and journalist who served as Prime Minister of France during the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³⁰ Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), better known as Woodrow Wilson, was an American politician and academic who served as the 28th President of the United States from 1913 to 1921. He put forward a 14 point peace plan on January 8, 1918 which included democracy and self-determination-privileges not available to Afro-Americans for another half century.

⁵³¹ Lord Newton's footnote: "Sir John (now Viscount) Simon, K.C." Viscount Simon, of Stackpole Elidor in the County of Pembroke. The title was created in 1940 for the Liberal politician Sir John Simon. He was Home Secretary from 1915 to 1916 and 1935 to 1937, Foreign Secretary from 1931 to 1935, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1937 to 1940 and Lord Chancellor from 1940 to 1945. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

June 22. German warships scuttled at Scapa. Looks like act of treachery. French furious and will probably say that we connived.

June 28. Peace announced in afternoon, but few signs of excitement.

Three hours, on *Daily Mail* case, with Russell, who says that he can get much more out of Mrs. Livingstone than anyone else. She certainly seems to have made out a much better case for me with him than I was able to do myself.

July 10. Went by appointment to see Horne⁵³² about question of education grant for civilian prisoners. Long talk about industrial position which left me still more depressed. Thinks it more than likely that there will be a strike next month over the nationalisation of coal and that the triple labour alliance will stand together. Smillie⁵³³ an honest fanatic who cannot be squared. Said Lloyd George had not arrived at any decision about nationalisation of mines, but was sure that the House of Commons would reject it; that the selection of owners on the Sankey Commission was inconceivably bad, and that labour representatives are now always much better informed about their case. He said that the miners had come worse out of the war than any other class, and that the Government felt that in February, had they not given way, peace negotiations would have become impossible. The strength of the miners consists in the fact that their labour cannot be replaced.

July 16. After innumerable delays caused by technical applications by the *Daily Mail*, which gave me a good idea of the difficulties encountered by an impecunious litigant against a rich newspaper, my case at length was taken. It was tried before Lord Reading⁵³⁴ and started in the afternoon, which was entirely occupied by an able speech by my Counsel, Mr. Douglas Hogg, K.C.,⁵³⁵ which was not concluded until the following day, and there was no opportunity of forming an opinion of its effect. It was known, however, that the *Daily Mail* had withdrawn any imputation upon my efficiency, and that they were not going to call any witnesses, as those who, like Joynson Hicks⁵³⁶ and other critics, had persistently denounced me were afraid to give evidence: which seemed a hopeful sign.

Page 271

THE *DAILY MAIL* LIBEL CASE [1919]

Later in afternoon had to answer for F.O. on the subject of the allocation of the Trentino, under the Peace Treaty, to Italy, and never felt more ashamed, as it was a scandalous action which it was practically impossible to defend.

⁵³² Lord Newton's footnote: "Sir Robert (afterwards Viscount) Horne, Minister of Labour." Robert Stevenson Horne, 1st Viscount Horne of Slamannan (1871–1940) was a Scottish businessman, advocate and Unionist politician. He served under David Lloyd George as Minister of Labour between 1919 and 1920. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³³ Lord Newton's footnote: "Miners' MP."

⁵³⁴ Marquess of Reading was created in 1926 for Rufus Isaacs, 1st Earl of Reading, the former Viceroy of India and Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales. He had already been created Baron Reading, of Erleigh in the County of Berkshire, in 1914, Viscount Reading, of Erleigh in the County of Berkshire, in 1916, and Viscount Erleigh, of Erleigh in the County of Berkshire, and Earl of Reading, in 1917. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³⁵ Douglas McGarel Hogg, 1st Baron Hailsham (1872-1950). In 1928, he became Lord Chancellor in Stanley Baldwin's government, and was created Baron Hailsham. He became Viscount Hailsham, in 1929. He was a lawyer and Conservative politician who twice served as Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³⁶ William Joynson-Hicks, 1st Viscount Brentford (1865-1932), known as Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bt, from 1919 to 1929 was an English solicitor and Conservative Party politician, best known as a long-serving and controversial Home Secretary from 1924 to 1929. (*Wikipedia*)

July 17. Hogg having finished his speech, I went into the box and was subjected to a cross-examination by Simon which lasted for two and a half hours. I had often wondered how people felt under similar conditions and how I should acquit myself, and now the moment had come. There were many people in court, as the case had aroused considerable interest in spite of more important events, and a cross-examination by Sir John Simon was believed to be a very formidable experience. The knowledge, too, that any mistake on my part might ruin my case was not calculated to inspire confidence. I can, however, claim unhesitatingly that during a long cross-examination Sir John Simon extracted from me nothing of value. As the allegation of inefficiency had been withdrawn he was obliged to confine himself to a charge of levity, and it was not difficult to show that my levity, such as it was, was directed against Northcliffe and his organs, and not against the prisoners. Further, I refused to show any repentance and, in reply to a challenge, said that I should be quite prepared to repeat what I had said, if necessary. There was no indication whatever of the impression I had produced on the jury.

I had an imposing list of witnesses, amongst whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Robert Cecil, who was acting as Foreign Secretary, Sir Robert Younger,⁵³⁷ Lord Devonport,⁵³⁸ who had, in the past, been a hostile critic but had now changed his views, Sir Horace Rumbold, Mrs. Livingstone and others. Many other prominent men, such as Crewe and Lansdowne, had offered to come, but it was thought unnecessary to trouble them. Oddly enough, my solicitor thought that there was no object in calling the archbishop, but I insisted, rightly calculating that, occupying such a position, if he chose to intervene his evidence could not be regarded as unimportant, apart from the fact that he had always shown an interest in the question. The jury, too, were no doubt considerably impressed by the appearance of Sir Robert Younger, who was brought straight from a neighbouring court where he was presiding.

Lord Reading's summing up did not appear to me particularly favourable, and my friends expressed considerable doubt as to the result; nor was my confidence increased when, after a bell had suddenly rung, my junior Counsel observed that that probably meant

Page 272

VERDICT AGAINST DAILY MAIL [1919]

the dismissal of the case. However, when the jury eventually returned, their verdict exceeded our wildest expectations. They awarded me £5,000 and costs, and it would have been an additional discomfiture to my opponents had they realised that I had made more out of them than if I had consented to take a salary during my period of service.

I have already said that I was quite unaware whether or not I had made a favourable impression on the jury, but, rightly or wrongly, I formed the opinion that in a case of this kind nearly everything depends upon the individual himself. If he is convinced that he is in the right and is able to answer all questions satisfactorily, that seems to be far more convincing than the oratory of the most accomplished advocate. No special intelligence is required to fulfil this condition, and I have often wondered why so many people do not defend themselves against unjustified Press attacks. With regard to the substantial damages awarded to me, I do not flatter myself that the large sum was due to excessive sympathy for me, since I

⁵³⁷ Robert Younger, Baron Blanesburgh (1861-1946) was a Scottish barrister and judge. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵³⁸ Hudson Ewanke Kearley, 1st Viscount Devonport (1856-1934), styled Lord Devonport between 1910 and 1917, served as Minister of Food Control during World War I. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

had suffered no pecuniary loss. It seemed to me absolutely clear that the award was meant to signify resentment against the policy of man-hunting.

This legal success brought me innumerable congratulations from all quarters and all classes, for almost everyone was delighted to see the arch-journalistic bully rebuffed.

July 19. Went to Belgrave Square to see procession of Allies. A remarkably fine and moving spectacle, especially interesting in consequence of number of foreign countries represented. Our people made much the best show, the Americans being the only ones comparable. Foch⁵³⁹ had very good reception, to which he apparently paid no attention, whereas the Italian was highly effusive. Thought that the soldiers had even warmer reception than the sailors: the first contingent of the latter, and the marines, looked, perhaps, better than anyone else. Enthusiasm greater than had expected: huge crowds everywhere. Wet in afternoon, but not bad enough to interfere with fireworks.

Daily Mail and *The Times* have no reference to yesterday's proceedings, but Liberal Press exulting over Northcliffe defeat.

July 21. On going to House of Lords found everyone, from Lord Chancellor down to the most obscure peers, absolutely delighted with the result of my case: also a mass of congratulations from unknown correspondents. As these, obviously, could have had no personal liking for me, their action seemed to show that they

Page 273 THE NEW HALFPENNY PRESS [1919]

had a strong dislike of Northcliffe which apparently extended to all classes.

July 30. Privy Council meeting and audience with King, who wanted to hear about the case. Was much entertained at discomfiture of Northcliffe. Discussed approaching tour of Prince of Wales in Canada and spoke very kindly of Piers, who goes with him. Complained of being overworked.

July 31. Met John Burns and asked him if he really had personally conducted over half a million Colonial and American soldiers over the Westminster Palace and the Abbey. Said that he had actually conducted over 600,000, since the beginning of the war, averaging about 8,000 a week, and that on the previous Sunday he took round 3,500 American soldiers. This appeared to me a very remarkable achievement, but he was thoroughly well qualified to undertake it.

John Burns, who detested the Harmsworth Press, was delighted with my legal success. There were many severe critics of this combination twenty or thirty years ago, and apparently those responsible for its management were not particularly proud of it, for the late Lord Burnham,⁵⁴⁰ the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, told me that Mr. Kennedy Jones, M.P.,⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Marshal Ferdinand Jean Marie Foch (1851-1929) was a French general and Marshal of France, Great Britain and Poland, a military theorist and the Supreme Allied Commander during the First World War. Foch came from the aggressive, even reckless commander at the First Marne, Flanders, and Artois campaigns of 1914-1916 to the Allied Commander-in-Chief who, in 1918, successfully coordinated the French, British, American, and Italian efforts into a coherent whole, deftly handling his strategic reserves, that defeated Germany. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴⁰ Edward Levy-Lawson, 1st Baron Burnham (1916), known as Sir Edward Levy-Lawson, 1st Baronet, from 1892 to 1903. His father had acquired the *Daily Telegraph* in 1855. Levy-Lawson was editor and in control of

CHAPTER XXIV

at one time editor of the Daily Mail, had stated that the newer halfpenny journals had been instituted in order to cater for those who could not think, while the halfpenny illustrated papers were intended for those who could not read. This is derogatory, but we all know that many a true word is spoken in jest.

General Haldane,⁵⁴² who had an important command at Cologne, had invited me to pay him a visit, and I was very glad of the opportunity, but, although a member of the Government and therefore, presumably, innocuous, I experienced great difficulty in obtaining a pass from the War Office. However, I eventually succeeded and travelled in a military train and boat to Boulogne, where I had to spend the night of August 2.

Cologne, August 3. Travelled here from Boulogne in military train which started four hours late because the French had no engine ready. Train manned entirely by British and find myself the only male civilian. A good deal of destruction in neighbourhood of Charleroi and onwards; country, however, quite normal again about Namur. Curious to see British soldiers, together with untidy French and Belgians, running the German frontier station, in place of the resplendent green and blue clad German officials who formerly used

Page 274

ALLIES ON THE RHINE [1919]

to lord it over tourists. Also strange to see notices in colloquial language, emanating from American military authorities. Our men to be seen at all stations along the route. Told by various officers that there are very few N.C.O.s left who are competent: privates practically all boys without any war service, and there is very little to do. As they draw 70 or 80 marks a week, and everything found, they are in a very favourable position. Many of the officers said to be quite useless. Hear that there are no difficulties with the Germans, who are quite friendly and submissive—too much so, in fact—to the soldiers.

Arrived about five and find Haldane established near the Lindenthal quarter. Not expected, my letter having miscarried, but everyone very hospitable and room available. Haldane says that our force is eventually to be cut down to one brigade. The French want to get us and the Americans out and to occupy the whole country themselves, while getting their army trained and kept up at the expense of the Germans.

August 4. With Haldane to Leave Club, which seems admirably managed. Then to G.H.Q., where met General Hutchison,⁵⁴³ who was kind enough to say that he would at once make arrangements for me to go to Berlin and held out hopes of my being able to fly back to England. Visited Cathedral, Museum, etc.: many British soldiers about, who drive in trams without payment.

Town quite prosperous and no sign of want in the shops. Streets very busy-looking: prices high, and I was charged 30 marks for an inferior pair of gloves, the exchange being 74 marks to the pound. Afternoon motor drive with Haldane to Bensberg and the neighbourhood.

the paper long before his father's death in 1888 and from 1885 he was managing proprietor and sole controller, becoming even more influential than his father on Fleet Street. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴¹ (William) Kennedy Jones (1865-1921) was a journalist, editor, and newspaper manager.

⁵⁴² General Sir James Aylmer Lowthorpe Haldane (1862-1950) was a senior British Army officer. He fought in World War I, initially as General Officer Commanding 3rd Division, which was then part of the British Expeditionary Force. He was given command of 6th Army Corps in France in 1916. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴³ Major General Robert Hutchison, 1st Baron Hutchison of Montrose (1873-1950), was a Scottish soldier and Liberal politician. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

Country pretty and looks prosperous. All Germans obsequiously civil. In evening, tattoo by Haldane's corps in the public park. A very pretty sight, and a crowd of spectators, most of them being Germans. Cologne shows signs already of becoming rather like an Indian garrison town, with eternal cricket and polo and lots of English women.

August 5. Motor expedition with an A.D.C. to Coblenz, garrisoned by Americans. The soldiers look just as young as ours. Then lunch at Ems, not up to much: no milk or butter, but not asked for food card. Shown over Ehrenbreitstein by intelligent American N.C.O. Stopped at Bonn on way back. In evening dined with Robertson.⁵⁴⁴

Page 275

BERLIN [1919]

Big party, including women. R. not at all in favour of an early reduction of our force here. Said he had had to cashier about one officer a day, chiefly for drunkenness, but no difficulty in replacing them. On the whole, our troops were behaving very well.

August 6. Review in Domplatz in honour of General Gouraud:⁵⁴⁵ a very good show. Mixed force, including sailors, and all looking remarkably well. Afterwards to see Clive,⁵⁴⁶ Acting Governor here: says he settles all labour disputes and that the Germans now have great confidence in our fairness. Conditions in districts outside occupied area much worse than here, food situation here being far more satisfactory. Afterwards to Remount Officer, who said that the mules which we originally bought for £15 can now be sold for £50; also that good prices are paid for our horses.

Berlin, August 8. Arrived here early morning by comfortable sleeping train provided gratis by German Government. At our Military Mission found Neill Malcolm⁵⁴⁷ in charge and had luncheon with him in the Embassy mess. Called on Rappard, who was much surprised to see me and said that he had very little to do now with prisoners. Afterwards went to Ruhleben, being curious to see the place of which I had heard so much. The horse boxes struck me as being rather less objectionable than the lofts, but everything in such disorder, owing to the place having recently been occupied by Russians, that it is rather difficult to form a correct opinion. The one official still there was very civil. Afternoon drove to Havel Lakes and Potsdam. Dined in evening with Rappard at the Bristol and found it crowded with smart-looking people. No sign of poverty, although lower classes said to be in great want of food. Rappard strong on desirability of our doing what we can for the Germans, who look upon us now as their chief hope and believe in our fairness. Most of the old officers gone, as they will not serve under the present Government.

This, in fact, meant that the Germans realised that their outrages in France had produced a desire for revenge from which they hoped that we should protect them.

⁵⁴⁴ Lord Newton's footnote: General (afterwards Field-Marshal) Sir William Robertson, Commander-in-Chief, Army of the Rhine. See also footnote on page 250.

⁵⁴⁵ Henri Joseph Eugène Gouraud (1867-1946) was a French general, best known for his leadership of the French Fourth Army at the end of the First World War. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴⁶ Lieutenant-General Sir George Sidney Clive (1874-1959) was a British Army officer who subsequently became Military Secretary. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴⁷ Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm (1869-1953) served as Chief of Staff to 5th Army in the Great War. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

Berlin, August 9. Drove out with an English and a tame German officer to visit camp at Brandenburg, which had acquired a deplorable notoriety during the war. A horrid place, smelling and overcrowded. Russians now occupying huts, neither properly warmed nor lighted,

Page 276

DISSIPATION IN BERLIN [1919]

with triple tiers of dirty bunks. Conditions due to relaxation of discipline and filthy habits of the Russian prisoners. Dined with Malcolm and met a Russian officer who had been a prisoner at Cassel. He said that out of 18,000 Russian prisoners there 9,000 had died.

Find that Manager at my hotel (Esplanade), formerly a civilian prisoner, knows all about me and is very civil. Gratified to hear from him that he had been very well treated at Knockaloe. Says that eight-hour day is very difficult to work and that he cannot dismiss anyone without permission of the union. Money now being poured out like water and immense amount spent in gambling, racing and pleasure generally.

Berlin, August 11. War Office, with Captain Mynors, who is engaged in the search for missing men. Seems that no other Government troubles about this. Germans not going to make any inquiries themselves, and French are only doing so pro forma. Afternoon out to Münchenburg, another bad camp, full of Russians. Much the same sort of place as Brandenburg. In evening went to Palais de Danse, where German sweet champagne cost 51 marks a bottle and evidently much fraternisation between ourselves and the Germans.

Berlin, August 12. Went out with a British and a Russian officer to Zossen, a very good camp with good huts. Oriental prisoners had been confined there and a great deal of trouble taken to impress them. A big and elaborate mosque put up for their benefit.

Whilst I was in Berlin the Hindenburg statue was still standing, and I could not help being struck with it as being so extraordinarily typical of Prussia. Nevertheless, thought it a striking work of art, Hindenburg's features being calculated to convey a sense of tremendous force. Berlin must possess an enormous number of statues and most of them seem to aim at the deification of physical force.

August 13. Travelling back from Berlin, just before arriving at Dusseldorf saw all Germans hustled out of the train and their papers examined by a semi-illiterate British private. English passengers not compelled to leave the train at all. Germans appeared to be quite submissive.

After a couple of days in Cologne, where, amongst other places, I visited a former poison gas factory, flew back to London. This was my first experience of a real flight, and what struck me most was the astonishing fact that we had crossed the Channel in about ten minutes. Like other people, I occasionally fly, but I see no attraction in it except convenience. From the scenic point of view, it is disappointing. I

Page 277

ALIEN RESTRICTION BILL [1919]

remain of opinion that the world would have been much better without it.

Lyme, October 6. Announcement that railway strike, which has been in progress for some time, off and on, is about to be settled. Men claim a victory, although this is not the case. The most satisfactory feature in the dispute has been the attitude of the general public.

CHAPTER XXIV

November 7. Letter from Younger. Says that Aliens Bill has been ruined by the Government's fear of fanatics. Press more depressing than ever: troubles threatening everywhere, and Bolshevists apparently winning on all fronts. Wants me to come up and consult with Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject.

London, November 27. After consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Buckmaster,⁵⁴⁸ Younger⁵⁴⁹ and others interested in the question, it was settled that I should move the amendment to the Aliens Restriction Bill which was considered advisable, and take the principal part in the attack. The Archbishop and Buckmaster, as an ex-Lord Chancellor, were obviously more important personages than I, but I had had a valuable experience during my tenure of office, and there was no particular desire on the part of anyone to take up an attitude which might be extremely unpopular. I agreed somewhat reluctantly, and when the Bill, which had already passed through the Commons, came up for Second Reading, I spoke immediately after the opening speech of the Minister who represented the Home Office.

I argued that we had no objection to the principle of the Bill. We had been far too lax in the past in admitting swarms of undesirable aliens, who had given a great deal of trouble and had engaged in seditious activities. But, in its passage through the Commons, the Bill had been utilised for the purpose of persecuting a number of people, of both sexes, who had mostly lived for a long time in this country, against whom no sort of allegation had been made, and who had not even been interned during the war. It was now proposed to divide them into categories and to deport all who failed to qualify, quite irrespective of their past and character. They were mostly people in humble circumstances—domestic servants, waiters, teachers and small shopkeepers—and if deported they would be not only ruined but exposed to ill-treatment on their return to Germany or Austria, on the ground that they were Anglophile. I did not hesitate to attribute this vindictive action to the prompting of certain organs of the Press and to the violence of civilians who had taken no part in the fighting, in contrast with the attitude of professional sailors and

Page 278

ALIENS BILL IN COMMITTEE [1919]

soldiers, who showed no sign of vindictiveness. There were seven or eight speakers in the debate, all of whom agreed with my arguments, with the exception of one peer who called himself a Liberal. The Bill was read a second time, without a division, and I intimated that I should move an important amendment in Committee.

December 1. Piers back from America with Prince of Wales. Said that the Prince had had a considerable personal success, although there had been some doubt about his reception there. President Wilson in a bad way, both politically and physically. In evening present, at Buckingham Palace, at dinner to celebrate Prince's return. About 50 people: speeches by both King and Prince. Latter spoke remarkably well, considering the difficulty of addressing a large collection of important personages. Dinner very good, but proceedings somewhat stiff. Full dress worn, and discovered one man who, like myself, had no decoration. It was the American Ambassador, but when I reminded him of the famous remark made at the Congress of Vienna on the subject of decorations he did not seem at all pleased.

⁵⁴⁸ Stanley Owen Buckmaster, 1st Viscount Buckmaster (1861-1934), was a lawyer and Liberal Party politician. He was a Member of Parliament for most of the years from 1906 to 1915, when he was elevated to the peerage and served as Lord Chancellor under H. H. Asquith from 1915 to 1916. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁴⁹ Younger is not covered in the index but a later passage indicates that he was a lawyer.

CHAPTER XXIV

December 9. Aliens Bill in Committee. Buckmaster, Younger and other lawyers had prepared an excellent amendment, which was entrusted to me. The substance of it was that no alien should be interfered with unless some definite charge was made against him or her, as the case might be.

The question had now excited a great deal of interest, and opinion was sharply divided. When I had made my speech in moving the amendment, I could form no opinion as to whether the reception was favourable or not. It was a Government measure, and therefore the bulk of the Conservatives would be disposed to accept it: furthermore, the Lord Chancellor (Birkenhead⁵⁵⁰) was in a somewhat truculent mood and painted the dangers arising from aliens in our midst in lurid colours. Admirable speeches, however, in favour of the amendment were delivered by the Archbishop and Buckmaster. The latter, who was regarded by some as the best speaker in the House, was extraordinarily eloquent and convincing. There were various other speeches, chiefly by Liberals, but most of the Conservatives sat silent and apparently unimpressed. When, however, the question was put, to our mingled astonishment and delight, the opponents of the amendment, in spite of the pressure of the Government, declined to challenge a division and we had won the day.

December 11. Having been asked by Minister of Health

Page 279

VICTORY FOR THE LORDS [1919]

(Addison⁵⁵¹) to take chairmanship of newly reconstituted Smoke Abatement Committee, agreed to do so, and recommended that a woman should be put upon it.

December 17. Went to House of Commons to hear debate on our amendment to Aliens Bill. Came in just as Butcher, K.C.,⁵⁵² was making a vigorous personal attack upon me, but to my disappointment he was soon pulled up by the Speaker and made to desist. Commons refused to accept our amendment, as expected.

December 18. Aliens Bill back from Commons, and announced by Government that they would agree with the Commons amendment, whereupon I intimated at once that I should move to disagree and take a division on it. Supported by Buckmaster, in excellent speech, Crewe, Archbishop, Salisbury⁵⁵³ and others, all urging that we should disagree with the Commons. When the time came the Government again refused to face a division, and the Bill therefore returned again to the Commons. Upon this occasion, much to the general surprise, they decided to agree with us and our object was gained.

This victory was, in reality, a historic event. The occasions on which the Lords had defeated the Commons were few, and there had been little but futile contests between the two Houses

⁵⁵⁰ Frederick Edwin Smith, 1st Earl of Birkenhead (1872-1930), known as F. E. Smith, was a Conservative politician and barrister who attained high office in the early 20th century, in particular as Lord Chancellor. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁵¹ Christopher Addison, 1st Viscount Addison (1869-1951), was a medical doctor and politician. By turns Liberal and Labour, he served as Minister of Munitions during the First World War, and was later Minister of Health under David Lloyd George and Leader of the House of Lords under Clement Attlee. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁵² John George Butcher, 1st Baron Danesfort QC (1853-1935), known as Sir John Butcher, between 1918 and 1924, was a barrister and Conservative Party politician. (*Wikipedia*)

⁵⁵³ James Edward Hubert Gascoyne-Cecil, 4th Marquess of Salisbury (1861-1947), known as Viscount Cranborne from 1868 to 1903, was a British statesman. He was the eldest son of the 3rd Marquess of Salisbury first mentioned on page 15. (*Wikipedia*)

CHAPTER XXIV

since the Home Rule Bill was rejected in 1893. But this had been a contest on a non-party issue, where party spirit was not concerned. It was a moral issue, although not one of the highest importance, and the action of the House of Lords did more to enhance its position than anything which had occurred for a long time, for it demonstrated that that Assembly could take a more liberal and humane view of a non-political question than the representative House of Commons, and personally I regarded my share in this contest as the most creditable incident in my modest Parliamentary career.

In the meanwhile, two circumstances had brought about a change in my mode of life. One was the termination of my official career, as the work of my department was over, and as I was in my sixty-third year it was not likely that any attractive offer would be made to me in the future.

The other and more important circumstance was that I no longer found it possible to go on living at Lyme, owing to the rise of taxation, accompanied by higher wages. I had done my best to economise,

Page 280

RETROSPECT [1919]

and had taken advantage of the increase in the value of land to sell a considerable amount of agricultural property, but the gap was too wide to fill, and the house, for various reasons, was practically impossible to let and was equally unsaleable. I therefore chose the only practical alternative and resolved to pass the property on to my elder son, as otherwise the duties payable on my death would have been so crushing that he could not live there. I had complete confidence in him, and it has been fully justified, and I have never regretted my action. The abandonment of a beautiful home must cause anyone a pang, but the loss of a home is much more bitter to a woman than to a man: a man can generally discover fresh interests and activities, whereas the roots of a woman's attachment to it are much deeper, and my wife never reconciled herself to the loss of the place which she adored.

The melancholy fact that I had now reached a fresh stage in my long and uneventful life seems an opportune moment for closing these promiscuous reminiscences, at all events for the present, more especially since most readers must already have had as much of them as they can stand. In the highly improbable event, however, of a continuation becoming advisable, the material is at hand and might be utilised if rapidly increasing physical infirmities permit this form of activity.

These recollections contain little that is sensational. Many of them are trivial, and most people who have written memoirs, if they are like myself, must find much to regret and to reproach themselves with, while, on the other hand, they are revived by the recall of happy days passed in a happier epoch than that in which we are now living.

The chief merit which I claim for this record is that it is veracious. The conclusions, prophecies and speculations may be wrong, but the facts, to the best of my belief, are accurate, and perhaps the main value of the book will be that it depicts a kind of life which is never likely to be repeated in the future.

INDEX

A

Abbeystead, 111
Abdul Hamid II, Sultan, 12, 25, 26, 125-27, 167, 172, 173
Abercorn, 3rd Duke of, 205
Abruzzi, H.R.H. Duke of, 141
Adams, Sir F. O., 21
Addison, Lord, 279
Adrianople, 127, 128
Agra, 139
Airlie, 10th Earl of, 4
Albemi, Port, 189
Aldeburgh, 79
Aldershot, 38
Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria, 43, 44
Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia, 250
Alexandra, Queen, 110, 117, 127
Alexandretta, 96
Alfonso XIII, King, 156
Algeciras, 156
Allendale, 1st Viscount, 54
Althorp, 199
Amiens, 253
Ampthill, 2nd Lord, 159
Amsterdam, 149
Anglesey, Marchioness of, 123
Aosta, Princess Helene d'Orleans, H.R.H. Duchess of, 48
Arabi, 19
Arras, 218
Arundel Castle, 191
Asquith, Mrs, 123 (née Margot Tennant)
Athens, 93, 97

B

Baalbec, 96
Baden, Prince Max of, 221
Baden-Powell, Gen. R., Lord, 107
Baku, 194 Balaclava, 194
Balfour, A. J., 1st Earl of, 37, 51, 68, 79, 89, 117, 121-23, 133, 143, 146-48, 151, 152, 158, 161, 163, 172, 173, 178, 184, 190, 211, 221, 230, 235, 245, 250
Balfour, 2nd Earl of, 122
Balfour, Miss Alice, 146, 151, 172
Balfour of Burleigh, 6th Lord, 121

Banchory, 202, 208
Banff, 189
Bapaume, 228, 252
Barcelona, 155
Baring, Lady Ulrica, 139
Baring, Thomas, 89
Barnes, Sir Hugh, 140
Baronscourt, 205
Barrackpore, 140
Barrington, Hon. Sir William, 16
Barrow, General Sir G., 137, 138
Barrow, Lady, 138
Barrymore, Lord [A. Smith Barry], 50, 51, 112
Basle, 159, 248
Bath, 4th Marquess of, 4
Bath, 5th Marquess, 139, 152
Batoum, 196
Baumann, A. A., 163
Beaconsfield, Earl of, 158, 161
Beckett, Ernest William, 2nd Baron Grimthorpe, 152
Bedford, 9th Duke of, 60
Beerbohm, Max, 203
Beith, Major John Hay, 227
Belfast Castle, 192
Belfield, Major-Gen. Sir H., 225, 234, 236-39, 242-46, 249, 255, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263 Belgrade, 169, 188
Bentinck, Frederick Cavendish, 77, 100, 133, 149
Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, 56, 57, 146
Beresford, Admiral Lord Charles, 161, 190
Berlin, 157, 191, 193, 198, 216, 233, 239, 259, 260, 267, 275, 276
Berne, 21, 22, 41, 159, 219, 231, 232, 236, 244-49, 252, 253
Bertie of Thame, Frank, 1st Viscount, 9, 10, 224
Bethlehem, 97
Bethmann-Holweg, Herr von, 193
Bieberstein, Marschall von, 125, 167
Bilek, 58
Birkenhead, 1st Earl of, 278
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine, 160, 221
Bismarck, Otto, Prince von, 18, 19, 28, 31, 32, 43, 104, 158, 180, 198
Bismarck, Count Herbert, 159, 180

INDEX

- Bissing, Baron von, 222
Blackwood, Lady Helen, 25
Blanesburgh, Lord [Sir R. Younger], 237, 239, 267, 271, 277, 278
Bleriot, Monsieur, 171
Blunt, Lady Anne, 53
Blund, Wilfrid Scawen, 53, 54, 61
Bodley, J. A., 201
Bombay, 143
Bonar Law, Rt. Hon. A., 190, 192, 199, 207, 230, 236, 238, 256
Bonham, Colonel G. L., 168
Boston, 256
Boulanger, General, 33
Bowood, 190
Brabourne, 2nd Lord, 54
Brailsford, H. M., 129
Brassey, Sybil, Countess, 191
Brentford, Viscount, 146
Brienen, Baroness Daisy de, 257
Brighton, 4
Broadlands, 116
Bromley-Davenport, W., 12, 27
Bromley-Davenport, Brig.-Gen. Sir William, 28, 29, 36, 111, 121, 147, 174, 179
Broussa, 26 Brussels, 150
Bryce, James, Viscount, 68, 69
Buchan, John, 219
Buchanan, Sir George, 250, 251
Buckingham Palace, 215, 228, 250, 278
Buckle, George Earle, 100
Buckmaster, 1st Viscount, 277-79
Budapest, 44
Buller, Sir Redvers, 48
Bunsen, Sir Maurice de, 15, 155, 201
Bunsen, Lady de, 156
Burmah, 140
Burns, Rt. Hon. John, 149, 207, 273
Bury, Herbert, Bishop, 230
Bute, 3rd Marquess of, 63
- C
- Cadogan, 5th Earl, 112
Cairns, 1st Earl, 161
Cairo, 52-54
Calcutta, 139, 140, 142, 143
Cambon, Monsieur, 236
Cambrai, 223, 249
Cambridge, George, Duke of, 47, 48
Campbell, Captain, 234
Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry, 77, 147, 151, 160, 177, 207
Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of, 267, 271, 277-79
Canterbury, Randall Davidson, Archbishop of, 158
Cardiff Castle, 63
Carnock, 1st Lord, 193, 201, 211
Carpentier, Georges, 205
Carson, Sir Edward, Lord, 160, 190, 205, 230, 241, 250
Carthage, 119
Casement, Sir Roger, 221, 226
Cassel, Sir Ernest, 168
Castle Menzies, 48
Castletown, 2nd Lord, 79
Cavan, 10th Earl of, 217, 224
Cave, Viscount, 233, 256-58, 260, 261
Cawdor, 4th Earl, 157, 175
Cecil, Lord Hugh, Lord Quickswood, 147
Cecil, Lord Robert, Viscount, 227, 235, 236, 271
Cettinje, 58, 59, 74, 102
Challemel-Lacour, Monsieur, 20
Chaman, 136
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Sir Austen, 148, 190, 253
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, 37, 69, 80, 81, 121, 147, 148, 152
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Neville, 143
Chanzy, General, 20
Charteris, Hon. Sir Evan, 148
Charteris, Brig.-Gen. J., 221, 223, 232
Chartres, H.R.H. Duchesse de, 33
Chartres, H.R.H. Duc de, 48
Chateau d'Oex, 231
Chatsworth, 182, 202
Chilston, 1st Viscount, 181
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 37, 38, 48
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston, 213, 217
Clemenceau, Monsieur, 269
Clementine, Princess of Saxe-Coburg, 55
Cleveland, President, 79, 80
Clinton, 21st Lord, 187, 189, 190
Clinton, Lady, 190
Clive, Lt.-Gen. Sir S., 275
Clune, 61
Cobham, 8th Viscount, 124

INDEX

Cologne, 273, 274, 276
Connaught, H.R.H. Arthur, Duke of, 113, 208, 217
Connaught, Prince Arthur of, 117
Constantinople, 11, 12, 25-27, 54, 55, 98, 125-127, 166-168, 172, 196, 198, 211, 224
Cordova, 156
Corfe Castle, 100, 207
Corfu, 120
Cork, 50
Cox, Harold, 160
Crawford and Balcarres, 27th Earl of, 225
Crete, 170
Crewe, Marquess of, 180, 215, 222, 235, 271, 279
Cromer, 1st Earl of, Sir Evelyn Baring, 53, 54, 81, 201, 232
Cross, Richard, 1st Viscount, 35
Crowe, Sir Eyre, 15, 199
Crowe, Sir Joseph, 15
Cumming, Sir W. Gordon, 61
Cunninghame, Colonel Sir T., 208, 209, 212
Currie, Sir Philip, Lord, 8-10, 34
Curzon, George, Marquess, 94, 116, 133, 135, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 147, 150, 151, 160, 161, 164, 171, 175, 179, 180, 184, 186, 190, 198, 202, 211, 214, 230, 234, 236, 242, 243
Cust, Harry, 123
Custance, Colonel, 112

D

D'Abernon [Sir Edgar Vincent], Viscount, 4
Damascus, 96
Darnley, 8th Earl of, 132
Dartrey, 2nd Earl of, 112
Dasent, Sir George, 32
Dawkins, Sir Clinton, 115, 124, 133, 145
Dawson, Geoffrey, 221
Day, Mr. Justice, 48
Deal, 100
Deal Castle, 152, 161
Deichmann, Baroness, 201
Delcasse, Monsieur, 162 Delhi, 138, 139
Derby, 17th Earl of, 198, 244, 249, 250, 255
Desart, 5th Earl of, 268

De Valera, Aemon, 269
Devonshire, 7th Duke of, 1
Devonshire, 8th Duke of, 37, 121, 147
Devonshire, Evelyn, Duchess of, 202
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, 79
Djavid Bey, 168
Dodgson, C. L., 7
Donoughmore, 6th Earl of, 149, 268
d'Orleans, H.R.H. Due, 107
Doullens, 216
Downham of Fulham, Lord, 70
Drama, 168, 169
Dresden, 6
Dublin, 112, 221
Du Cane, Colonel, 169
Dudley, 1st Earl of, 123, 124
Dufferin and Ava, 1st Marquess of, 25
Dufferin, Marchioness of, 25, 26

E

Eaton, 104, 174
Edhem Pasha, Field Marshal, 90
Edward VII, King, 20, 39, 61, 93, 94, 110, 112, 116-18, 123, 124, 126, 147, 162, 176-78
Edward VIII, King, Duke of Windsor, 198, 223, 229, 244, 251, 265, 273, 278
Egerton, Sir Edwin, 93
Egerton-Warburton, Capt. John, 160, 216
Elcho, Lord, afterwards 11th Earl of Wemyss, 123
Elizabeth, Empress of Austria, 7
Elliot, Hon. Arthur, 121
Emmott, Lord, 181
Enver Pasha, 168, 247, 249
Esher, 2nd Viscount, 162, 199, 210, 211, 213, 224, 249, 250
Eton, 4-6, 150
Eugenie, Empress, 18

F

Fairhill, 124
Ferdinand, King of Bulgaria, 41, 43, 55
Ferriferes, 31
Ferry, Monsieur Jules, 23
Fisher, Admiral of the Fleet, Lord, 161, 211, 213, 216
Fitzmaurice, Gerald, 166

INDEX

Florence, 177
Foch, Marechal, 272
Fontana, R. A., 129, 130
Forgatsch, Count, 169
Fortescue, Hon. Sir John, 254
Fota, 50, 51, 112
Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 7, 118
Frankfurt, 150
Franz Ferdinand, Archduke, 206
Frederick, German Emperor, 39
Freeman, Henry S., 56-57, 74
Freiburg, 159, 166
Freycinet, Monsieur de, 19, 20
Friedrich, General, 230, 238-40, 246, 257-59, 261-263

G

Gambetta, Monsieur, 19, 20
Garibaldi, G., 1
Garswood, 64, 170
Gaselee, Sir Stephen, 219
Gattie, Vernon, 237, 244
Geneva, 232, 245, 249
George I, King of the Hellenes, 93
George V, King, 181, 183-85, 191, 198, 219-21, 225, 228, 230, 240, 242, 244, 250, 253, 254, 266, 273, 278
George VI, H.M. King, 224, 265
Gerard, J. W., 232, 233, 243
Gerard, 2nd Lord, 64, 66, 78, 81, 106
Gerard, Lady, 170
Gibbs, Hon. Vicary, 151
Giffen, Sir George, 116
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E., 32, 36, 37, 48, 51, 66, 67, 69, 70, 74, 76, 159, 186
Glamis, 63
Gleichen, Major-Gen. Lord Edward, 164, 216, 218
Glenconner, 1st Lord, 198, 212
Glen Tana, 61
Godsal, Captain, 234
Goschen, Sir Edward, 193
Goschen, 1st Viscount, 11, 38, 151
Gosford, 122, 123, 148
Gosse, Sir Edmund, 203, 230, 234
Gouraud, General, 275
Granby, Marchioness of, later Duchess of Rutland, 123
Granville, 2nd Earl, 1, 12, 13, 21, 29, 60, 61

Graves, Sir Robert, 43, 128, 169
Grenfell, Sir Francis, afterwards Field Marshal Lord, 53, 119, 198
Grevy, President, 20
Grey of Falloden, Viscount, 170, 177, 207, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227-30
Grove, Major-Gen. Sir Coleridge, 150
Gulahec, 195

H

Hague, The, 27, 236, 237, 242, 243, 255, 256, 259
Haig, Sir Douglas, afterwards 1st Earl, 228, 249, 250, 253
Hailsham, 1st Viscount, 270, 271
Haldane, Viscount, 162, 191, 192, 207
Haldane, General, Sir J. A. L., 273, 274
Halsbury, 1st Earl of, 158, 164, 175, 184, 185
Hamilton, Capt. Lord Claud, 251
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George, 121, 152, 161
Hamilton, Gen. Sir Ian, 267
Hankey, Lord, 210
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W., 76, 79-81, 89
Hardie, Keir, 149
Hardinge, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur, 10, 117, 150
Hardinge of Penshurst, 1st Lord [Sir Charles Hardinge], 9, 41, 43, 162, 222, 241
Hare, Augustus, 111
Harris, Sir Augustus, 89
Harris, F., 163, 164
Harris, Walter, 156
Harrison, Frederick, 116
Hatzfeldt, Prince Hermann, 257
Hayling Island, 64
Healy, Timothy, 37, 99
Henderson, Rt. Hon. Arthur, 250
Henderson, Captain, R.N., 259, 260
Henry, Prince, of Battenberg, 61-63
Henry, Prince, of Prussia, 179, 180, 193
Herbert, Hon. Aubrey, 205
Herbert, Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Henry, 16
Hereford, Dr. Percival, Bishop of, 113
Herschell, 1st Lord, 60
Hever Castle, 158
Higginson, General Sir G., 176, 177

INDEX

Hilmi Pasha, 126, 128
Hindenburg, Field Marshal von, 233, 263
Hitler, Adolf, 19, 119, 157, 262
Hohenlohe, Prince, 32
Hohler, Sir T., 235
Holkham, 183 Hopwood, E., 109
Home, Sir Robert, afterwards Viscount, 270
Hopwood, Edward, 109
Hugo, Victor, 29
Humbert, King of Italy, 103
Hutchison, Lord, 274
Hyderabad, 134

I

Imperiali, Marquis Guglielmo, 190, 252
Inglewood, 78
Islay, 145
Ismid, 95

J

Jackson, Admiral Sir Henry B., 234
Jacobabad, 136
Jaipur, 138
Jaitza, 56
James, Rev. C. C., 5
James, Lionel, 169
Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet, Earl, 234, 241, 249
Jerusalem, 96, 247
Joffre, Marechal, 209, 225
Johnstone, Hon Sir Alan, 40
Jowett, Dr., 7

K

Kalambaka, 91, 92
Kalamita Bay, 2
Kane, Captain, R.N., 28
Karachi, 134
Kemal, Mustapha, 168
Khaipur, 135
Kilbracken, 1st Lord, 186
Kimberley, J. Wodehouse, 1st Earl, 8
Kinloch, Brig.-Gen. Sir David, 121 122
Kipling, Rudyard, 203

Kitchener, H. H., 1st Earl, 53, 105, 140, 143, 183, 208, 210, 212, 215, 217, 220-22, 267 Knocklofty, 149, 268
Konieh, 95
Kozanlik, 44
Kruger, President, 80, 108, 110

L

Labouchère, Henry, 40, 77, 99, 177
Laidlay, J., 122
La Lovie, 223, 224
Lamington, 2nd Lord, 134-37
Lampson, Sir Miles, 219, 223, 224
Langford, William Chambré Rowley, Lord, 51, 52
Lansdowne, 5th Marquess of, 1, 111, 118, 140, 146, 150, 152, 155, 158, 162, 173, 175, 176. 183-85, 214, 225, 262, 267, 271
Lansdowne, 6th Marquess of, 182
Larkhana, 135
Lascelles, Sir Frank, 104
Lathom, 75
Legh, Major Hon. Gilbert, 2, 3, 10, 28, 77
Legh, Hon. Hilda, 25, 65, 198, 200, 253
Legh, Hon. Lettice, Mrs. Egerton-Warburton, afterwards Mrs. J. D. Waters, 31, 88, 160, 162, 216, 228, 265.
Legh, Hon. Mabel, Lady Langford, 2, 3, 46, 51
Legh, Peter, 269
Legh, Hon. Phyllis, Mrs. Sandeman, 197, 251
Legh, Lt.-Col. Hon. Piers W., 6, 60, 166, 202, 208, 217, 220, 22;, 229, 244, 251, 265. 273. 278
Legh, Capt. Hon. Richard W. D., 6, 50, 88, 100, 150, 179, 196, 198, 203, 224
Legh, Hon. Sybil, 2, 3, 46
Lichnovsky, Prince, 201
Liddell, Dean, 7
Lipton, Sir Thomas, 192
Lister, Sir Villiers, 9
Littlestone, 67
Liverpool, 38, 47
Livingstone, Dame Adelaide, 237, 257, 263, 270, 271
Lloyd George, Rt. Hon. David, 45, 181, 228, 230, 236, 238, 242-45, 250, 252, 253, 262, 264, 269, 270

INDEX

Lockhart, Bruce, 251
Lodi, 211, 229
Lom Palanka, 44
Londonderry, 6th Marquess of, 181
Londonderry, Marchioness of, 192
Londonderry, Theresa, Marchioness of, 266
Long of Wraxall, Walter, 1st Viscount, 8, 182, 190, 225
Longleat, 152
Loreburn [Sir R. Reid, Earl], 162, 207
Lothian, 11th Marquess of, 252
Louden, M. J., 237, 239, 240, 257, 261
Lowther, Sir Gerard, 15, 156, 166-68, 172, 196
Lowther, Lady, 156, 166
Ludendorff, Field Marshal von, 233, 263
Lyme, 3, 45, 46, 49, 107, 109, 112, 113, 117, 121, 133, 145, 146, 149, 151, 160, 164, 172, 179, 180-83, 193, 198, 199, 202, 208, 212, 216, 217, 227, 243, 254, 263, 277, 279
Lyons, R. B., Earl, 14-17, 21, 23, 29-31, 34, 191, 201, 232

M

Macclesfield, 111, 121, 174
Macdonogh, Sir George, 234
Maclean, Kaid, 156
Madrid, 155, 156
Malcolm, Major-Gen. Sir N., 275
Malcolm, Sir Ian, 174
Malet, Sir E., 19, 28
Malta, 119, 120, 124
Mandalay, 141
Manvers, Countess, 134
Marshall, General, 268
Mary, H.M. Queen, 202, 221, 253, 254
Mary, H.R.H. Princess Royal, 223, 251
Maunsell, Colonel, 127
Maxse, L., 117, 152, 154, 160, 172
Maybrick, Mrs., 112
Melbury, 182
Menabrea, General, 60
Mersey, Clive, 2nd Viscount, 82, 87, 88, 90-97, 112, 156, 157, 201, 224
Mersina, 95, 96
Meyses-Thompson, Hon. Helen, Mrs. Richard Legh, 203

Michael, Grand Duke, 172
Michelham, 1st Lord, 152
Midleton, 1st Earl of, 94, 123, 139, 147, 161, 190
Milner, Viscount, 124, 140, 150, 152, 171, 175, 178, 185, 230, 236, 243, 253, 264
Minim, Monsieur, 83-85
Monastir, 129
Monserrat, 155
Montebello, Marquis de, 81, 86
Montgomery, Sir Hubert, 219
Montreal, 188
Montreuil, 223
Montreux, 231
Morier, Sir Robert, 30, 31
Morley, John, Viscount, 37, 48, 151, 207
Moscow, 86, 193
Mostar, 57
Mottistone, Lord, 205
Mount Stewart, 192
Muir, Captain Ramsay, 2
Mukhtar Bey, 246, 249
Münster, Alexander, Prince, 32, 180
Murray, Charles Adolphus, Lord Dunmore, 204
Mürren, 231, 245
Mynors, Captain, 276

N

Napoleon III, Emperor, 149 (his wife Eugenie, 49)
Newton, Emily, Lady, 3, 46, 111
Newton, Evelyn, Lady, 3, 12, 14, 17, 21, 25, 32, 39, 55, 102, 112, 150, 152, 158, 198, 234, 253, 280
Newton, Thomas Legh, 2nd Lord, *passim*
Newton, William J. Legh, 1st Lord, 2, 3, 32, 47, 49, 67, 98
New York, 190
Niagara, 190
Nicholas II, Czar of Russia, 87, 180, 233
Nicholas, Prince, afterwards King of Montenegro, 59, 74, 102
Norfolk, 15th Duke of, 131, 133, 190, 191
Northcliffe, Viscount, 152, 176, 212, 244, 249, 250, 255, 264, 271-73
Northumberland, 7th Duke of, 161
Northumberland, 8th Duke of, 205, 209, 210, 212, 215, 252, 253

INDEX

Noyes, Alfred, 219

O

O'Connor, Sir Nicholas, 15, 40, 41, 55, 81, 87, 94, 125, 126, 129

Oliver, Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Henry, 242.

Omarcote, 134

O'Reilly, W. E., 244

Osborne, 111

Ostrog, 71

Oxford, 7, 8

Oxford and Asquith, 1st Earl of, 75, 151, 160, 170, 176, 177, 181, 198, 207, 213, 228, 230, 267

Oxford, Countess of, 123

P

Page, Walter, 202, 206, 233

Paget, Captain George, 72

Palmerston, Viscount, 37

Pankhurst, Mrs., 170

Paris, 14-21, 23-25, 27-29, 32-34, 44, 120, 208, 224, 244, 249

Paris, H.R.H. Comte de, 48

Paris, H.R.H. Comtesse de, 48, 49

Parnell, C. S., 37, 38, 60, 63, 64

Patti, Madame Adelina, 62, 63

Pau, 68

Pauncefote, Sir Julian, afterwards Lord, 9

Pearse, Colonel Hugh, 138

Peel, W., 1st Earl, 175

Peel, 1st Viscount, 66, 70

Peking, 108, 109

Percy, Earl, 127

Perry, Harold, 6

Persia, Shah of, 117

Peshawar, 137, 138

Philippopolis, 43, 44

Picot, Colonel, 245

Pilkington, Colonel Richard, 99, 100, 130, 145, 147

Plymouth, 1st Earl of, 63

Podgoritza, 71, 102

Portland, Duchess of, 202

Portsmouth, 6th Earl of, 5

Powis Castle, 179

Pretyman, Ernest, 124

Prinkipo, 168, 225

Q

Quebec, 188 Quetta, 136, 137

R

Radcliffe, Sir C. Delme, 159, 176, 193

Raglan, 3rd Lord, 145

Ragusa, 58, 103

Rangoon, 140, 141

Rankeillour, 1st Lord, 229

Ratcliffe-Ellis, Sir T., 75

Reading, 1st Marquess of, 270, 271

Redesdale, 1st Lord, 70

Rees, Sir John, 268

Reid, Whitelaw, 151

Rennell, Sir R. Rodd, 1st Lord, 177

Repington, Colonel a'C., 224

Rheims, 209

Rhodes, Cecil, 8, 80, 81, 106

Ribblesdale, Lady, 123

Ridley, Hon. Sir E., 27, 264

Ridley, 1st Viscount, 66, 77, 88, 112

Rilo, 41, 155

Ripon, Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of, 39

Ritchie, 1st Lord, 121

Roberts, Frederick, Earl, 105, 108, 115, 144, 150, 152, 171, 198, 211

Robertson, Field Marshal Sir W., 250, 274

Roche, Monsieur, 2

Rome, 177

Romilly, 208

Romsdal Valley, 28, 29

Roosevelt, Theodore, 178

Rosebery, 5th Earl of, 75-78, 113, 117, 124, 125, 145, 158-61, 164, 170, 175, 176, 181, 183, 186, 201

Rosen, Herr von, 157

Rothschild, 1st Lord, 212

Rotterdam, 257

Rumbold, Sir Horace, 117, 118, 219, 222, 231, 233, 243-45, 249, 271

Russell, Hon. Sir Charles, 264, 267, 269, 270

Russell, T. W., Rt. Hon., 50

INDEX

S

St. Aldwyn, 1st Earl, 158
St. Audries, 1st Lord [Sir Acland Hood], 182
St. Omer, 209, 211, 223
St. Petersburg, 81-87, 169
Salisbury, 3rd Marquess of, 15, 19, 29, 34, 37, 47, 55, 65, 75, 78, 80, 100, 116
Salisbury, 4th Marquess of, 279
Salonika, 90, 101, 128, 167, 169, 173, 224
Saltoun, 19th Lord, 257
Salzkammergut, 6, 7
Samuel, Sir Herbert, 1st Viscount, 172
Sandars, Rt. Hon. J., 161, 172
Sandeman, Gerard W., 251
Sanderson, Lord, 9, 10, 60
Sandringham, 181
Sandwich, 79, 178
Saragossa, 155
Sargent, J. S., 24, 170
Saskatoon, 188
Schlüsselburg, 83
Scott, Admiral Sir Percy, 161
Scutari, 72, 73, 168
Sebastopol, 194
Seely, John Edward Bernard Seely, 1st Baron Mottistone, 205
Sefton, 4th Earl of, 68, 89
Selborne, 2nd Earl of, 124, 185, 220
Selby, 1st Viscount, 77, 89, no
Selfridge, Gordon, 265
Serajevo, 56
Serres, 169
Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet, Sir E., 108
Shaftesbury, 9th Earl of, 192
Sheffield, George, 15, 16, 20
Shikarpur, 136
Shipka Pass, 44
Simon, Sir John, Viscount, 270, 271
Slatin, Sir Rudolf von, 245
Smith, Gunboat, 205, 206
Smith, Rt. Hon. W. H., 38, 60, 63
Smith-Dorrien, Gen. Sir H., 136
Snow, Rev. Herbert, 5
Sofia, 40-44
Sonnino, Signor, 177
Southfield, 121
Southport, 93, 106
Spencer, 5th Earl, 78, 147

Spencer, 6th Earl, 199
Spring Rice, Sir Cecil, 162, 206, 211
Stambuloff, Monsieur, 41, 55
Stamfordham, Lord, 225
Stoessel, General, 138
Stolatz, 57
Sturry, 178
Sukkur, 136
Sutherland, 4th Duke of, 27, 190
Sysonby [Sir F. Ponsonby], Lord, 254

T

Tangier, 156
Tanner, Dr., 79
Taylor, George, 71, 72, 74
Teheran, 195
Tenterden, 3rd Lord, 9
Tewfik, The Khedive, 54
Therapia, 94
Thessaly, 90, 92, 93
Thomson, Sir Basil, 226
Thoresby, 133
Thorneyhole, 49
Thun, 159
Tiflis, 194
Toronto, 190
Touraine, 201
Townley, Sir Walter, 49, 195, 239, 243
Townshend, Lady, 225
Trenchard, Viscount, 228
Trieste, 103
Tripoli, 96, 190
Trotter, Colonel, 26
Troubridge, Admiral Sir Ernest, 130, 151
Tunis, 19, 119
Tweedsmuir, 1st Lord, 219, 228
Tyrrell, Sir W., Lord, 235

U

Ullswater, 1st Viscount, 5, 149, 162, 172, 207
Uskub, 129, 130

V

Vancouver, 189
Velestino, 91
Victoria, 189

INDEX

Victoria, Queen, 29, 36, 39, 51, 76, 79, 88, 89, 107, 112
Victoria, German Empress, 180, 193
Vienna, 44, 98, 130, 166
Villiers, Colonel Hon. George, 77
Villiers, Hon. Mrs. G., [Mrs. Gilbert Legh], 77
Vivian, Graham, 61, 62
Vladikavkaz, 194
Volo, 90, 91
Vredenburg, Jonkheer van, 237, 239, 240, 257-60

W

Waddington, Monsieur, 18, 31, 67
Wagram, Prince de, 28, 48, 49
Waller, Louis, 237
Walmer, 160
Walsham, Sir John, 30
Wantage, Lord, 90, 93
Ward, Leslie, 164
Warner, Sir Pelham, 219
Warsaw, 87
Waters, Lt.-Col. J. Dallas, 265
Weardale, Philip Stanhope, Lord, 49, 51, 77
Welbeck, 134
Wellton, J. E., Bishop, 115, 198
Wellington, 4th Duke of, 115, 121
Wemyss, 10th Earl of, 123, 148, 149, 170

Wemyss, 11th Earl of, see Elcho
Wentworth, Judith, Baroness, 53
Westminster, 1st Duke of, 46, 90
Westminster, 2nd Duke of, 174, 207
White, Henry, 151, 178
White, Rt. Hon. Sir William, 55
Whittingehame, 122
Wilhelmina, H.M. Queen, 239
William II, German Emperor, 80, 89, 104, 110, 118, 178, 180, 191, 193, 233
Willoughby de Broke, 19th Lord, 172, 180, 181, 183, 203
Wilson, Field Marshal Sir Henry, 209, 218
Wilson, President, 269, 278
Windsor Castle, 221, 253, 254,
Winnipeg, 188, 190
Woburn, 131, 150
Wodehouse, Charles, Canon, 3
Wodehouse, Lady Jane, 3
Wolmer, Viscount, 165, 170, 174, 182
Wolseley, Field Marshal, Viscount, 20, 30, 104, 109, 110, 150, 152, 176, 267
Wood, Field Marshal Sir E., 267
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George, 171, 174

Y

Ypres, 224
Ypres [Sir J. French, 1st Earl of], 212, 215, 228