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The Public Career Of Lewis Harcourt (first Viscount) 1905-1916

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2015-03-05
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69. Harcourt at Straits Settlements Dinner at the Hôtel Metropole. The Times, 10/12/1912. The Settlements also contributed over £200 000 towards the costs of maintenance of the Imperial troops there.

70. Asquith to Harcourt, 15/09/1912. HAP 421, 183.

71. Borden to Harcourt, 22/01/1913. HAP 462, 119.

72. See Churchill to Botha, 30/07/1912. HAP 462, 238-39. In a letter from one 'friend' to another, as the First Lord put it, he unofficially suggested the construction of a squadrom of small, fast cruisers capable of about 25 knots with 46" guns, costing about £400-500 000 apiece. The ships would protect the Cape/UK trade estimated at over £90 000 000; Richard Solomon to Hopwood, 02/12/19 [13] to Hopwood, about the speeches of Smartt, who had replaced Jameson as leader of the Opposition, against South African naval contributions. Ibid, 310.

73. J. Masterton Smith (on Churchill's behalf) to senior clerk Frederic Butler, 15/02/1913. HAP 462, 325.

74. Churchill to Borden, 06/03/1914. HAP 462, 325.

75. Harcourt to Churchill, 14/07/1914. Ibid, 329.

76. Reply by Harcourt to a note by Butler on the eve of Jellicoe's departure, 15/07/1914. Ibid, 330.

77. Borden to Churchill, 05/06/1913. HAP 462, 284.

78. On Harcourt's reaction to Churchill's naval proposals, Wilson, op. cit, 50.

79. Robbins, K. 'Foreign Secretary, Cabinet, Parliament and Parties', in Hinsley, op.cit, 15.

80. Churchill argued that if the tunnel could be destroyed by warships it did not matter if France were, or became, hostile. Harcourt asked if this proviso about destruction by naval gunfire was new, and the

First Lord replied that it had been made to conform to the principle that the Navy should in *all* circumstances be able to prevent an invasion.

81. But, as Asquith noted, it was unlikely that there would be enough traffic to make even one tunnel sufficiently profitable to justify construction. As in 1907, it was agreed to leave the question in abeyance. CID meeting 125, 03/03/1914. HAP 511, 514. (Only recently has it been decided, by mutual Anglo-French agreement, to start work on a two-lane tunnel.)

82. The fifth cable between West Africa and Brazil was left alone initially, because it was largely American-owned. But discreet appeals to Eastern Telegraph solved the problem a few weeks later. Tuchman, B. The Zimmerman Telegram (1970), 8-9.

83. Proceedings of Cabinet sub-committee on trade with the enemy, with enclosed report by Professor Oppenheim on international legal aspects provided by Hankey to Harcourt, 14/08/1914. HAP 467, 217-218.

84. Kendle, op.cit, 215.

85. This accounted for the similar lack of progress on these issues since the Colonial Conference of 1907. See eg. resolution XXIV on Uniformity of Law as to Alien Immigration Exclusion, which was to have been dealt with by the Royal Commission set up by resolution XX of the 1911 Conference. The issue had been 'left in abeyance' since 1911, at the request of the Dominions Governments. (Document in HAP 503, 95 on implementation of the resolutions of the 1911 Conference.) See also Huttenback, R.A. 'The British Empire as a "White Man's Country" - Racial Attitudes and Immigration legislation in the colonies of white settlement'. JBS Vol. 13, No 1 (Nov 1973), 108-37

86. The study referred to is Yudelman,D. The Emergence of Modern South Africa (Cape Town, 1984), 18-19.

87. Internal memorandum on 'native' policy. HAP 502, 39.

88. The name of a 1903 poem by Rudyard Kipling:

Take up the White Man's Burden
Send forth the best you bred -
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need ...
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

89. The main difference was over Chinese 'slave' labour in the Transvaal. Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey ensured this foreign policy continuity from 1905-1 4, and was supported by influential members of the Cabinet. Matthew, The Liberal Imperialists 195-98.

90. Koch,H.W. "Social Darwinism as a factor in the 'New Imperialism'", in Koch H W (Ed) The Origins of the First World War (1972), 349-50.

91. For example, the argument by the leading German industrialist Walther Rathenau in 1913, that for the sake of the 'general welfare' the world was

not big and rich enough to allow the luxury
of autonomous semi-civilizations to exist to
the detriment of world production.

Van der Pijl, K. The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class (1984), 54-55.

In Britain the 'efficiency' argument also received support from the Left. In his chapter on 'Imperialism and the Lower Races', Hobson maintained that avoidance of colonization was 'ethically indefensable' and should be the duty of 'civilized humanity'. See Hobson, J.A. Imperialism : A Study (1902), 223-84 (1954 Allen & Unwin Edition).

92. Carland, op.cit, chapter seven: The search for petroleum in Southern Nigeria, 1906-14, 184-98. The search was made urgent by the British navy's switch from coal to oil. From the outset of his appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty, Churchill was preoccupied by the subject. Morgan, Churchill, 349 and 360-61. Oil was not found in Nigeria prior to the Great War. The major deposits were found only much later. By 1960 Port Harcourt alone was yielding about 60 000 barrels a day. Mitchison, L. Nigeria : Newest Nation (1960), 76.

93. On 27 June 1912 Harcourt spoke in the Commons for hours, describing plans for future development of the Crown Colonies.

94. Letter from J.S.McCall to Harcourt from Lomba,Nyasaland, 06/08/1915, thanking him for his support of agriculture. HAP 462, 106.

95. Note by Sir John Anderson to Harcourt on West Africa land policy, 15/03/1913, in HAP 477.

96. Hyam,R. The Failure of South African Expansion 1908-1948 (1972), 79.

97. This was no secret. In July 1914 Harcourt informed the Commons that the Act was based on a Commission appointed by Lord Milner, and presided over by Sir Godfrey Lagden, the Commissioner of Native Affairs.

98. Gladstone to Harcourt, 10/06/1913. HAP 486, 178-81.

99. Hyam, op. cit, 83-84.

100. Ibid, 88.

101. See Hyam, 'African Interests and the South Africa Act, 1908-1910', HJ, XIII, 1 (1970), 85-105. According to Allan Booth in 'Lord Selborne and the British Protectorates, 1908-10', JAH, X, 1 (1969), 1[illegible] for exclusion came from Selborne, but it [illegible] credit should go to Crewe. Harcourt himself considered Selborne's mind to be 'small and not very effective'. Hyam, 'African Interests ...', 93.

102. Even within the SANNC. Its president objected to an Act which seemed to force Africans into service to whites. But he did not object to the 'principle' of segregation 'fairly and practically' carried out. Petition from John Dube to General Botha, 14/02/1914, published in the Cape Argus. Cited in Karis,T. & Carter,G.M. From Protest to Challenge (4 Vols, Stanford, 1974-77), I, 85-86.

103. C O 879/114, Nos 119 and 122. Apart from SANNC president John Dube, other members included SANNC vice-president Walter Rubusana, secretary Solomon Plaatje, Saul Msane and Thomas Mapikela.

104. For Plaatje's description of the interview, see Willan B. Sol Plaatje : A Biography (Johannesburg, 1984), 178. (Willan describes the Colonial Secretary as 'Lord' Harcourt, but he was not awarded a peerage until 1917.)

105. C O 879/114 No 193. Colonial Office to Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 13/07/1914.

106. The immigration issue, and other Indian grievances, are examined in Keiser, R. The South African Governor General, 1910-19, Chapter V, 'The Indian Challenge', 181 -212. (Unpublished D.Phil. Oxford, 1975); a condensed version is in SAHJ 12 (1981), 78-95; see also Swan,M. Gandhi - The South African Experience (Johannesburg, 1985), 234-56. (In fact, Harcourt *did* have doubts about the finality of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914, and his non-publicized scepticism turned out to be justified.)

107. To acquire land outside the Cape, Africans had to appeal to the Governor General. In his reply to the SANNC petition in January 1914, Botha had stated that the Union Government would deal with 'individual cases' of hardship brought to its attention. For Africans appealing against loss of land, the tortuous process of litigation was discouraging.

108. See Platt,D.C.M. Finance, Trade and Politics. British Foreign Policy 1815-1914. (OUP 1968).

109. Harcourt supported the 'principle' of 99-year leases with revision of rent because he expected the East African Protectorate to become a self-governing colony eventually, and he did not want the settlers to find that all Crown lands had been alienated. Colonial Office memorandum on East African land policy, 30/04/1913. HAP 495, 22.

110. In August 1912 a delegation of Greek Cypriots arrived at the Colonial Office to confer with Harcourt over the possibility of greater Greek representation on the Island's legislative council. They argued that the existing Greco/Turk composition of the council was unrepresentative of the Greek majority. Also wanted was the abolition of the annual tribute of £42 000 to Turkey, an enormous burden on the

Greek community. The Times, 08/08/1912, 6. Harcourt promised to give the matter 'serious consideration' but nothing was done before the Great War. Some Cabinet ministers, Charles Hobhouse for one, were not enthusiastic about ceding Cyprus to Greece, as Russia suggested. Hobhouse Diaries, 124. Entry dated 08/01/1913. After the Great War Cyprus became a British Crown Colony. But this did not reduce Greco/Turkish tension on the island, previously under Turkish sovereignty, although administered by Britain.

111. Carland, The Colonial Office and Nigeria, 6-7.

112. Hopkins, A.G. An Economic History of West Africa (1973), 211.

113. Wilson, C. The History of Unilever (2 Vols, 1954), I, 146-8 and 167.

114. The local population was in decline, and also tended to lose interest in plantation employment after workers had obtained the luxury imported goods they wanted. Wilson, op.cit, 163.

115. Balfour of Burleigh to Harcourt, 20/07/1912. HAP 466, 11-12.

116. Letter by John Anderson to Pacific Phosphate Co. Ltd, 14/03/1913. HAP 500, 61.

117. Memorandum by 'A.B.H.', 15/11/19[3?] Ibid, 12-14.

118. Wilson, op.cit, 164.

119. See note 92; also Gareth Jones, G. 'The British Government and the Oil Companies : The Search for an Oil Policy', HJ 20, 3 (1977), 647-72.

120. Mosley, P. 'Agricultural Development and Government policy in Settler Economies: The Case of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1900-60', in EHR Vol 35 No 3 (Aug 1982), 390-408.' The text cites pg 398.

121. See below, 202-03.

122. C O 879/114, No 97. After spending some time in a British prison after the Raid named after him, Jameson went into politics, and became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Defeated in the election of 1908, he was later elected president of the BSAC, in February 1913.

123. Ibid, no 26. Harcourt to Gladstone, 01/01/1914; Colvin,I. Life of Jameson (2 Vols 1922), II, 309-12.

124. Extract from a letter by Moffat in miscellaneous 1916 correspondence in box 447 of the Harcourt papers. HAP 447, 114. Dated 10 November 1916.

125. BPD (1912) Vol 39, 04/06, 114

126. Byles to Harcourt with enclosures, 16/01/1912. HAP 497, 7 and 9-11. One of the later letters had a Swiss (!?) postmark.

127. Harcourt to Byles, 19/01 /1912. Ibid, 12-13.

128. Harcourt to the Governor of the East African Protectorate, 03/11/1911. Ibid, 3-4.

129. Harcourt to Davies, 30/09/1911. Ibid, 33.

130. Galbraith Cole, one of the settlers, shot a young African whom he found trying to steal some of his livestock. A (white) jury acquitted him. Harcourt had Cole deported to, as he explained to Churchill, (who knew of the Kenyan problems from his own experience as Colonial Under-Secretary) 'teach these gentry a sharp lesson'. Harcourt-Churchill correspondence on this in HAP 462, 232-3 and 235. Also note 27 above.

131. MacDonald to Harcourt, 22/01/1912, HAP 497 36-37. (MacDonald had signed a petition to Harcourt requesting the deportation.)

132. Harcourt to Wedgwood, 19/01/1912. Ibid, 44.

133. Wedgwood to Harcourt, 21/01/1912. Ibid, 46. Much later, Wedgwood referred implicitly to the low priority given to Masai grievances. In the Commons, on 21 March 1938, he complained about the indecisiveness of British policy in Palestine:

> Suppose Palestine were Kenya, can we conceive the Government calling a conference of insurgent Kikuyu

or Masai to sit around a table and discuss terms of settlement?

Cited in Thornton, A.P. Imperialism in the Twentieth Century (Minneapolis, 1977 / London, 1978), 137.

134. During 1914 the Office informed applicants that it did not see land becoming available until early 1915. Land claims which the Office was bound to honour, via pre-a912 *informal* agreements by officials were still being processed - those agreements involved over 200 000 acres. This did not endear Kenyan officials to the Office. (See Office memorandum on Laikip ia, 29/04/1913. HAP 497, 53-56; C O 879/115, East Africa, no. 29.)

135. As pointed out in Gregory, R.G. India and East Africa (Oxford, 1971), 92-93. Like the indigenous Africans, the relatively small Indian population had no leverage in the conflict over land allocation, and white settlers' interests came first.

136. The Times, 29/07/1914, 13

137. Nabudere, D. Imperialism in East Africa (2 Vols, 1981), I, 54.

138. Harcourt to Richard von Kühlmann, 14 and 16/11/1912. HAP 442, 85 and 94.

139. The Times, 09/05/191 3.

140. Harcourt to Stead (not to be confused with William Stead, who went down with the Titanic on 14 April 1912), 05/09/1913. HAP 467, 192-93.

141. Canada's limit on Japanese immigrants was a total of 400 per annum. New Zealand was also opposed to allowing the entry of Indians. Before returning to the Colonial Office, Alfred Emmott reported this interview (during his stint as a member of the Dominions Commission - note 143) with premier W.F. Massey and Colonel J.Allen (Minister of Defence): It was asked if New Zealand would 'get into difficulties' about refusing to allow British subjects - Indian 'coolies' - to enter via Fiji. Massey: 'to put it mildly, New Zealand does not

want them ... public opinion is entirely against them.
Emmott: 'In this matter you are masters in your own house'.
HAP 480, 125. (1913 letters, July-November.)

142. Spring-Rice to Harcourt, 07/07/1913. HAP 465, 160 and 162. By 'fighting' he referred presumably to the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, the first major success of the Japanese militarists over a 'first-rate' European power.

143. The Commission was investigating the trade, commerce and natural resources of the Empire as per its brief from one of the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1911.

144. Commissioners' report on the New Hebrides labour question, 07/07/1914. HAP 468, 205-6.

145. Sweet-Escott to Harcourt, 27/10/1912, and reply in HAP 481, 1 and 7.

146. Cabinet memorandum, kept in HAP 468, 211.

147. The lucrative Cape trade has already been referred to in note 72. And as one of the life-lines of the Empire, the Cape sea-route to India was important for both economic and strategical reasons. In the Union itself, the British stake was far from negligible, although in *total* British foreign investment largely bypassed Africa. See Cain,P. 'J.A. Hobson, Financial Capitalism and Imperialism in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', in JICH Vol 13. No 3 (1985), 1-20.

148. See below 265-66; on the Imperial Government's attitude to the Union's foreign policy, See Keiser, The South African Governor-General, 1910-19 chapter six.

149. Figures supplied to Harcourt by Major H.Wilson, Secretary of Overseas Defence Committee, 14/07/1913. (Compiled from monthly returns of regimental strengths of British Army.) HAP 497, 108.

150. Keiser, op.cit, 98-99.

151. Ibid, 101. cf The similar argument by Harcourt at CID meeting number 117 on 4 July 1912. ASP 132, 129.

152. Supporters of the Defence Act stressed its utility against the 'natural enemy, the native'. Lewsen,P. John X Merriman (Johannesburg, 1982), 356. Yet compare the motivation suggested by Smuts to General Sir Ian Hamilton - several of whose ideas were embodied in the Defence Act-during the latter's visit to South Africa:

> I do not like the international outlook ... [and] am therefore all the more anxious that we in South Africa should put our house in order without unnecessary delay.

Smuts to Hamilton, 27/11/1911. HAP 462, 195.

153. Keiser, op.cit, 100.

154. This nearly had fatal consequences for Prime Minister Louis Botha:

> Botha and Smuts did admirably. They took a great risk. One man came up and threatened Botha with a revolver. Don't be foolish, he said ... Hart! Poor dear old fellow. *Hopelessly* incompetent to understand the position, talkative, inconsequent - only able to suggest that he should take over the Govt. under martial law. Damn the W.O. ... Fortunately he has competent men with him and the soldiers have cooperated admirably with the [white] civilians.

Gladstone to Harcourt, 07/07/1913. HAP 462, 213-14.

155. Mallet, Sir C. Herbert Gladstone. A Memoir (1932), 258-59.

156. For example, Harcourt read the following remarks in the pro-Unionist Morning Post:

> But ... at least it may be taken into account that the strikers were admittedly preaching a general strike, to include the railwaymen, which if it had succeeded would

> have paralysed trade, cut off the food supplies, and placed the Rand especially in a very dangerous position. For we have to remember that 200 000 natives, unemployed and without food, alarmed by the violence about them and armed, if even only with steel drills and knobkerries, form a potential danger which the Government would have to take into account.

Clipping from The Morning Post, 10/07/1913, kept in HAP 497, 103

An indirect consequence of the 1913 strike was that it led Gladstone to recommend the extension of the 'model' Kimberley closed compound system to the Witwatersrand. Thus he unwittingly served the interests of the Randlords, quite convinced that this new compound system would be in the best interest of Africans, to 'protect' them from cheap liquor and women, and militant white workers. See Gladstone to Harcourt, 28/07/1913. HAP 486, 227-30.

157. Explanatory notes provided to Harcourt on Colonial Office jurisdiction over use of Imperial troops. HAP 497, 109.

158. On the 1914 strike, and its aftermath, See Keiser, op.cit, 88-95 and 108-109.

159. See Appendix Two.

160. Harcourt to Gladstone, 18/01/1914:

> Your views of martial law seem to be extensive (I forbear to say peculiar) but you have won through, and I shall stick to you all in any troubles which arise in the H of C.

HAP 487, 217. On South African reaction to the deportations, see Hancock,K. Smuts (2 Vols, CUP 1962-68), I (1962), 368-373.

161. Keiser, op.cit, 90-91.

162. At Jagersfontein, on 8 January 1914. This time it was to protect whites from blacks, and so attracted less controversy due to wide-

spread white belief in, and fear of, the 'black peril' - see Keiser, op.cit, 93.

163. Harcourt to Gladstone, 27/02/1914. HAP

164. Stead to Harcourt, 19/02/1914. HAP 467, 204.

165. Professor H.E.Fremantle to Harcourt, 14/02/1914; Harcourt to Fremantle, 11/03/1914. HAP 467, 196 and 198.

166. Keiser, op.cit, 107.

167. Notes by Sydney Buxton on a conversation with Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons on 9 July 1914. HAP 462, 177-78.

168. Keiser, op.cit, 115.

169. Ibid, 102.

170. Hobhouse Diaries, 202.

171. Ibid, 202 and 205. (If necessary, Churchill noted at the Cabinet meeting of 30 October, Cape Town could be protected for the duration of the war, and the interior regained at leisure afterwards.)

172. Gokhale thought Gandhi's task was over as well: 'You must return to India within twelve months, and I will not have any of your excuses'. Gandhi,M.K. Gokhale - My Political Guru (Ahmedabad, 1955), 26.

173. Swan, Gandhi, 235-36; despite free living quarters and free medical attention, £3 was a large sum for workers whose wages went up from 10s during first indenture to a maximum of 14s. See Bradlow,E. 'Indentured Indians in Natal and the £3 tax', in SAHJ No. 2 (Nov 1970), 38-53.

174. Harcourt to Gladstone, about the Colonial Secretary's interview with Gokhale, 20/08/1913. HAP 487, 36-37.

175. Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa (Madras, 1928), 410. The speech also made a 'good impression' on others. When another SANNC dele-

gation met Prime Minister Lloyd George in November 1919, Solomon Plaatje cited Hardinge's stance and called for a similarly firm British declaration on behalf of Africans. However, despite Lloyd George's sympathy, this delegation achieved no more success than its predecessor in 1914. Willan, Sol Plaatje, 243 and 245-46.

176. Eg. The Spectator, 27/11/1913, 897. Hardinge drew unflattering comparisons with the situation in the Union and other 'civilized' countries. After the speech, Indians in the UK approached Harcourt to ask if he would receive a deputation. They were 'much dissatisfied with the reply'. Cape Times, 27/11/1913, 7.

177. Harcourt to Crewe, 27/11/1913. HAP 488, 84. Much to Harcourt's relief, Botha was fairly easily mollified.

178. Anderson to Harcourt, 28/11/1913. Ibid, 89-91.

179. This meant that there was little hope of ending the renewed harassment of non-indentured Indians during the Great War. See Keiser, op cit, 206-11 for the events after Gandhi's return to India on 18 July 1914.

180. At the Nakuru High Court, three Africans were condemned to death for murdering another African, but had no legal defence provided for them. The issue was raised in the Commons, and Harcourt undertook to prevent similar occurences in future. BPD (1911) Vol 39, 1823. 20/06/1911.

181. The accused spoke no English, and the defence turned up at the last minute. Gladstone also took into account that the youth was very drunk at the time, and had caused no serious injuries to his victim, Mrs Bessie Cromer. Up to the eve of his departure from South Africa Gladstone continued to make representations on behalf of the prisoner, but Harcourt opposed any further intervention. See Gladstone to Harcourt, 06/03/1912, in HAP 484. Gladstone to Burns-Begg, May 1914 in VGP MS 46479, 330-31, on the possibility of a ten-year reduction of sentence.

182. Gladstone to Harcourt, 16/01/1911. HAP 484, 38-39. Another mass

meeting was held at Bulawayo on 23 January, passing a unanimous resolution protesting ' His Excellency's interference with the law' VGP MS 46479, 13.

183. Clippings kept in HAP 484: Cape Times 10/02/1911, 'A Whitehall Gloss'; Pretoria News, 11/02/1911, 'A Timely Rebuke'; Cape Argus, 10/02/1911, 'Native and other Outrages'.

184. Extract from material relating to the case, VGP MS 46479, 305; Stanley to Gladstone, 16/06/1911, 203. For a fuller discussion of the 'Black Peril' phenomenon see Van Onselen,C. Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 (2 Vols, Johannesburg, 1983), II, 28, 45-6 and 49-54.

185. Rand Daily Mail, 04/02/1911. 'The Black Peril'. Kept in HAP 484, 140-41.

186. Gladstone to Harcourt, 25/04/1911. Ibid.

187. As Sir Arthur Bigge, the King's Private Secretary, explained to Harcourt at some length during a talk at Windsor, George V was not impressed by Gladstone's act of clemency. Bigge (later Lord Stanfordham) to Harcourt, 07/03/1911. HAP 462, 70. See also note 257 below, for an earlier instance of when Gladstone incurred Royal displeasure.

188. Sam Lewis was informed by his two daughters that Titus, a servant, had said obscene things to them. Lewis summoned the man to his room and shot him. Colonel Burns-Begg, the administrator, reported that public response in Bulaway w as such that within four hours of the shooting and arrest £10 000 bail had been guaranteed to Lewis! Writing to Burns-Begg some time later, Harcourt observed that some moderation seemed to be returning after the Umtali case 'though I am afraid that the enthusiastic acquittal of Sam Lewis does not show that the feeling is very deep-seated'. Burns-Begg to Harcourt, 18/05/1911; Harcourt to Burns-Begg, 22/08/1911. HAP 462, 26 and 32-33.

189. Hyam, Failure of South African Expansion, 21.

190. Burns-Begg to Harcourt, 18/05/1911. HAP 462, 26. On the unpopularity of the Imperial Government in Southern Rhodesia, see also Gladstone to Harcourt, 22/01/1911 and 30/01/1911. HAP 484, 41 and 49.

191. The renewal of the BSAC's Charter due to the exigencies of war gave the Company a further, brief respite. The final failure of British hopes came with Rhodesian rejection of incorporation by the Union in the referendum of 6 November 1922. This now meant that Bechuanaland became the focus of continued British designs in the subcontinent. See Hyam, Failure ... 47-71; Hyam, R. & Martin, G. Reappraisals in British Imperial History (1975), 193; Warhurst, P.R. 'Rhodesian - South African Relations 1900-23', SAHJ 3 (1971), 91-107.

192. ... I have ... warned the Chartered Company privately that whatever happens at Beira, we shall protect British interests and that in no case is the Company to make any move. If they did so I should be prepared to cancel the Charter.

Harcourt to Gladstone, 03/08/1911. HAP 484, 179.

193. Harcourt to Burns-Begg, 13/12/1911. HAP 462, 39. Southern Rhodesia did put its judicial house in order, by introducing a system of 'special' juries.

194. The Nation, 24/06/1911.

195. Harcourt requested Gladstone to lobby discreetly for the withdrawal of a South African resolution to discuss the issue, and thus the subsequent retraction by the Union Government did not appear to have been influenced by him. Harcourt to Gladstone, 07/02/1911; Gladstone to Harcourt, reporting success, 15/02/1911. HAP 484, 59, 75 and 89.

196. Harcourt to Denman, 29/08/1912. HAP 478, 73.

197. The text is in HAP 463, 63-64; for the full text of Harcourt's letter to Wallace Carter dated 06/09/1910, ibid, 65. Because the reciprocity agreement was perceived as a threat to protection

there were rumours of 'big money' being placed at the disposal of Sir Robert Borden's Conservative Opposition by sympathizers in both England and the United States, who evidently represented vested interests which feared reciprocity. Canadian Governor-General Lord Grey to Bryce, 02/07/1911. BRP 32 (US), 87-89.

198. The debate in the Canadian parliament over ratification of the treaty dragged on throughout early 1911, and a disgusted Liberal press looked forward to the coming Canadian general election to settle the issue. Eg. The Nation , 29/07/1911.

199. Harcourt to Lord Grey, 13/02/1911. HAP 478, 178.

200. Mary Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, 23/01/1911. HAP 648, 54-55.

201. Laurier to Harcourt, 24/10/1911. HAP 643, 83-84.

202. Harcourt to Laurier, 23/09/1911. HAP 647,20. Lord Grey had also recently been replaced, by the Duke of Connaught, and Harcourt was worried by the future with a Governor-General and Prime Minister (Robert Borden) 'both untrained and untried'.

203 Taft to Bryce, 30/08/1911. BRP 32(US), 181. According to the Duke of Connaught the election result did not embitter Canadian/US relations. Connaught to Harcourt, 12/02/1912. HAP 475, 60. The aspect which troubled Sir Edward Grey was the effect the results would have on Anglo-American relations, and the negotiations over an arbitration treaty. Robbins, K. Sir Edward Grey (1971), 235-36.

204. According to the Commission, West Indian production was considerable, but still small in global terms. Apart from the US sphere, in the Far East Japan, Britain's ally, was beginning to come into her own as a major producer and exporter since the acquisition of Formosa from China in 1895. West Indian sugar had limited outlets available.

205. Memorandum on the Canadian/West Indian Reciprocity Agreement, kept in HAP 500, 204-15. See The Times, 18/06/1913 for Harcourt's speech at the Hotel Cecil on the advantages of the agreement.

206. This was existing legislation - Acts dating from 1898 - concerning direct imports of raw sugar from British colonies or possessions.

207. Minute to Harcourt, dated 04/03/1914. HAP 500, 127.

208. Note from secretary J.C.C.Davidson to Harcourt, 31/07/1912. Ibid, 121-129 for full text. In the enclosed comments Cowell noted that in 1910 Cuban cane sugar imports totalled 80 000 tons, more than that of the West Indies (45000 tons) and British Guiana (30 000 tons) combined. Britain withdrew from what Churchill had described as the 'insane' Brussels Convention in 1913, but beet sugar continued to dominate the British market. It accounted for 62% of world sugar production by 1890 and peaked at 78% by 1919/20. See Blume, H. Geography of Sugar Cane (Berlin, 1985), 3-4.

209. As argued in Carland, op.cit, 7 examining the case of Nigeria.

210. For a résumé of the affair see the memorandum sent to Harcourt, dated 29/05/1914. HAP 499, 191-99.

211. Hall, H.L. The Colonial Office, 1937, 181.

212. Jama Hirsi, chief of the Habr Yunis, was deported from Berbera to Mombasa in February 1912 in the hope that this would stop raids by his people. Any 'troublemakers' could be deported in terms of the Political Removal of Natives Ordinance of 1910. Hirsi escaped a few months later, boarding an Indian steamer *en route* to Somaliland via Port Said. Hirsi was regarded as politically dangerous, particularly because of the letters he wrote to his people, urging them to continue their resistance. Harcourt berated the embarrassed Provincial Commissioner and Chief of Police, and ordered Hirsi's recapture, but he evaded the net. See C O 879/110, Africa No. 987, Nos 47 & 49.

213. CO 879/111, Africa no 987, no 7. Colonial Office to Admiralty 29/01/1912.

214. Ibid, no 27. Admiralty to Colonial Office, 27/03/1912, protesting the inconvenience, although agreeing to keep HMS Espiègle at Aden from 20 February to 4 March.

215. Ibid, no 141. Admiralty to Colonial Office, 10/03/1913.

216. The India Office did not want to pay for the reassignment of ships patrolling the waters off India, and wanted costs defrayed from Imperial revenues.

217. CO 879/111, 142. Colonial Office to Foreign Office, 12/03/1913. Harcourt requested Sir Edward Grey to maintain pressure on the French Government for its allegedly unscrupulous exploitation of the unrest in the interior, but nothing came of it.

218. See Office memorandum on the situation in Somaliland in HAP 496, 127-36.

219. Yet, with the British penchant for honouring the architects of such defeats, a Corfield Monument Committee was formed. In October 1913 it was notified that Harcourt had no objection to the erection of a monument to Corfield in Berbera.

220. Prior British attempts to bring him to bay were unsuccessful. Eg. Commissioner G.J. Archer to Harcourt, 07/05/1915 in HAP 469, about the difficulty of attacking the Mullah without aid from Aden or Egypt, and with the onset of the monsoon imminent (Archer estimated total dervish strength as not less than 3 000).

221. Note by G.V. Fiddes, 09/12/1910. HAP 467, 67.

222. Hall, The Colonial Office, 67.

223. See Sir Walter Egerton to Harcourt, 14/02/1913 about the need for a railway to the south and the port of Manaos, 'which would certainly be the making of the colony'. Harcourt to Egerton, 10/10/1914, about the state of British finances, which made it 'useless' for him to ask for an Imperial subsidy for a railway. HAP 477, 188 and 212. See also HAP 498, 59-60 and 70-76 on this issue.

224. Harcourt to Clifford, 18/12/1913. HAP 476, 3.

225. During the Edwardian period British taxpayers did not as yet have to dig deeply into their pockets for distant regions they would be

be unlikely to visit - if they had ever heard of them. As the late Imperial historian John Gallagher remarked in one of his lectures, few people object to possessing an empire if they don't have to pay for it. The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire (1980), 83.

226. Harcourt to Chalmers about the Kottawa Forest, 08/12/1913. HAP 475, 31.

227. Speech by Harcourt at the Hotel Cecil, reviewing Crown Colony progress. The Times, 18/06/1913; see also The Times, 08/04/1914; on Harcourt's anti-extermination stance in the Commons, BPD (1912) Vol 35, 1084-85. The Committee decided to use colonial funds to cover the costs of the various enquiries and experiments. See 'Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Sleeping Sickness' Cd. 7349 in HAP 498, dated May 1914.

228. Harcourt may have been referring to Lever, although in context, the allusion was not as pejorative as Hyam suggests:

> Sierra Leone was proving the old adage that cleanliness was not next to godliness, for the work of the missionaries had been succeeded by the activities of the soap boilers (laughter).

Harcourt at Hotel Cecil, 15th Annual Dinner of the Corona Club. The Times, 19/06/1914, 7.

229. Clifford to Harcourt, 29/05/1915. HAP 476, 48-49.

230. Kubicek, Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, 146.

231. Via his wife - a stroke had paralysed him in 1906. Mary Chamberlain to Harcourt, 21/04/1914, HAP 444, 91.

232. CO 879/105. No 138: on 'Colonial Education in the Mother Country' memorandum in HAP 504, 76-77; on the functions of Kew Gardens, Brockway, L. 'Plant Imperialism', HT vol 33 (1983), 31-36.

233. See text, 178-179 above.

234. Harcourt to Harris, 11/03/1913. HAP 466, 285-86.

235. Harris to Harcourt, 14/03/1913. Ibid, 287.

236. Curtin,P.D. Imperialism (1972), 237.

237. On the grounds that colonial officials, and their wives and families, would have no confidence in them. Thornton, Imperialism in the Twentieth Century, 89.

238. Harcourt at Devonshire House 13/06/1912. The Times 14/06/1912, 4. (Present were Princess Henry of Battenberg, patroness of the Association, the Duchess of Devonshire, Mary Chamberlain and Mary Harcourt.)

239. This questionable contention was made by Sir Edward Merewether, the Governor of Sierra Leone. See CO 879/112, No 133 (Medical/Sanitary affairs in West Africa). Sir Hugh Clifford (Governor Gold Coast) was in favour of more use of African doctors - a lone voice.

240. Fiddes, Sir G.V. The Dominions and Colonial Offices (London/New York 1926), 93-94.

241. Williams to Harcourt, 27/01/1914. HAP 467, 283 and 286-87.

242. See eg. Gregory, India and East Africa, 185-97 on the post-war segregation policy of Lord Milner, who became Colonial Secretary in 1919.

243. CO 879/112, Africa no 997, no 83. Governor Gold Coast to the Colonial Office, 08/03/1915 and 01/05/1913.

244. CO 879/113, Africa no 9008. Gold Coast segregation no 43. Harcourt to the Governor of the Gold Coast, 28/07/1913.

245. For example, a loan application for £250 000 by the East African Protectorate in February 1911 for 'urgently needed' public works - including a tramway from Nairobi to the Thika river, and a deep-water pier at Kilindini.

246. Eg. Parkinson, The Colonial Office from Within, 43-44. Colonial secretaries did not take bribes, but there were certain 'perks'. Even before his tenure, Harcourt was meticulously correct about accepting gifts. However, he was sent all manner of goods, ranging from a crate of Australian port wine, plants and shrubs for Nuneham, and various exotic birds, including even a Falklands penguin!

247. Applications by Charles Mallet, dated 07/07 and 10/07/1914. HAP 506, 63-64 and 65-66. In response to Harcourt's reply to his first letter, Mallet asked for the Governorship of Tasmania. Harcourt agreed to place him on the waiting list.

248. Stanfordham to Harcourt, 1 5/03/1913. HAP 476, 121. The King agreed with Harcourt that the request should not be allowed to become the subject of controversy.

249. Dudley to Crewe, 08/10/1910. HAP 477, 199-20.

250. Harcourt to Bigge (Stanfordham), 14/02/1911. HAP 462, 60-61.

251. Bigge to Harcourt, 1 6/02/1 911. Ibid, 62-63.

252. These were as follows: (1) Denman was married (2) was a peer (3) had some business acumen (4) had broad views and was capable of getting on with a Labour ministry (5) had the means to spend £10-12 000 a year beyond his salary, and *more* in years of festivities and celebrations (6) was willing to expatriate himself for at least 5 years. Harcourt to Bigge, 22/02/1911. Ibid, 64-65.

253. While struggling to retain his residence, Denman explained to Harcourt that Prime Minister Fisher's Labour Government did not want to interfere in what was a matter of local government. With the federal elections imminent, Fisher and his ministers did not want to cause any dissension in the New South Wales Labour Party. When Denman was evicted, he left Sydney, where the feeling against England was

> far worse than in any other State capital and possibly than in any other part of Australia.

Denman to Harcourt, 16/10/1912. HAP 478, 81.

254. Denman to Harcourt, 24/09/1912. Ibid, 78-80. (The 'hostile forces' he enumerated as State government, Labour politicians, disloyalty, republicanism and a scurrilous press.)

255. Harcourt to Denman, 28/10/1912. Ibid, 85. In effect, the Opposition led by Sir Joseph Cook, took over in 1913.

256. However Lord Denman was not entirely wrong about the effects of regionalism. When he presided over the ceremonial laying of the foundation stones for Canberra (the new Commonwealth capital) on 12 March 1913, attendance was poor. Sydney Morning Herald, 13/03/1913.

257. This involved a Catholic procession to take place in the centre of London. Gladstone, then Home Secretary, was warned of the possibility of a riot due to 'anti- ritualist' opposition, but procrastinated and did not impose a ban o n the march until the very last moment. Lord Ripon, the only Catholic in the Cabinet, resigned over the affair, to the regret of Harcourt, who considered him one of the few of the Cabinet's experts on foreign policy. See Rowland, Last Liberal Governments, I, 162-64; Wolf, Life of Ripon, II , 305.

258. The status of Governor-Generals set them above the hurly-burly of party politics. Harcourt similarly vetoed a request by Lord Denman to attend debates on the grounds that this would create an undesirable and 'dangerous' precedent. Harcourt to Denman, 10/03/1914. HAP 478, 180.

259. See Keiser, op.cit, 1 09-113. Buxton was selected as Gladstone's successor as early as November 1913.

260. See Flint,J.E. 'Nigeria: The Colonial Experience from 1880-1914' 220-59 in Gann,L.H.& Duignan,P. Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 (2 vols, CUP, 1969), I.

261. The Great War further fuelled ethnic and nationalist aspirations. See Osuntokun,A. Nigeria in the First World War, (1979) esp. 69-94 'The Educated Elite and the War'. However the evolution of *coordi-*

nated political protest was a post-war phenomenon e.g. Kilson,M. 'The National Congress of British West Africa 1918-35' in Rotberg,R.I. and Mazrui,A.A. Protest and Power in Black Africa (OUP, 1970), 571-89.

262. Nicolson,I.F. The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960, (OUP, 1969), 183-84, 233-4 and 236 in particular.

263. Egerton to Harcourt, /01/1912. HAP 477, 187. Eventually the Treasury agreed to a grant-in-aid of £156 000. However, Sir Walter had gloated too soon; via massive over-spending. Southern Nigeria *also* found itself with a massive deficit for 1912-13!

264. Harcourt to Lugard, 12/09/1911. HAP 489, 291.

265. Not that Lugard , by his own admission, thought that he had introduced model government there. See Thomson,A.A.and Middleton D, Lugard in Africa (1959), 70.

266. Perham,M. Lugard: The Years of Authority (1960), 616-22. In terms of the 'continuous administration' scheme, unique in Colonial Office history, Lugard spent six months of the year in England with his wife, and the other half in Nigeria. Harcourt allowed no other Governor-General such privileges.

267. Perham, op.cit, 622. At the time, Flora Lugard was almost sixty. From Perham's descriptions (see Appendix 3) a psycho-historian **might** speculate that in Mrs Lugard Harcourt sought a mother he never knew.

268. Note by Anderson, 01/06/191 2. HAP 496.

269. Flint, op.cit, 257.

270. Memorandum by Sir E Sneed, with attached note by Lugard dated 29/06/1914. HAP 496, 64-67 and 69. See also Kirke-Greene,A.H.M. (Ed) Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria (1968), 259-61.

271. Crowder, M. 'Lugard and Colonial Nigeria - Towards an Identity?' in HT Vol. 36 (1986), 23-29.

272. Harcourt was bemused by the way Lugard reacted to any curbs on his authority, despite the latitude allowed him. The Colonial Secretary should not have been surprised, in view of his previous knowledge of Lugard's autocratic tendencies - as in the case of his harsh corporal punishment legislation in Hong Kong, which Harcourt forced him to modify. Perham, op.cit, 358 and 617.

273. Lugard to Harcourt, 15/07/1914. HAP 487, 315-16.

274. Harcourt to Lugard. Ibid, 309 (same date).

275. Kirk-Greene, op.cit, 272.

276. This period is examined by Peter Rowland in his second volume on The Last Liberal Governments - Unfinished Business 1911-14 (1971).

277. Emy, 'The Impact of Financial Policy...', 129-30.

278. The agreement was that the Royal Nav y would protect the North Sea and the Channel from the German fleet In the Mediterranean France would provide protection against the Austrian and Italian navies. Britain retained only three capital ships in the Mediterranean. Without such arrangements Britain would not have been a worthwhile *entente* partner, and such compromises conformed to balance-of-power theory. Layne,G. 'British Naval Strategy, 1900-1939', 313-14 in JSS Vol. 2 (Dec 1979), No. 3, 303-334.

279. Wilson,K. The Policy of the Entente, 10, citing Grey's indifference to having Germany as a neighbour in Africa.

280. Harcourt to Crawshawbooth, at the annual meeting of the Rossedale Liberal Council. The Times, 05/05/1913, 6c.

281. Steiner, Z. Britain and the Origins of the First World War (1977), 145.

282. For an analysis of the December election, see Blewett, The Peers, the Parties and the People,

283. Dutton, Austen Chamberlain, 75.

284. Harcourt to Lord Grey, 21/11/1910. HAP 483, 119-20.

285. Mary Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, 03/12/1910:

> The Drs say that had Loulou attempted the campaign he ran the risk of killing himself. They find him very feeble ... he is very depressed & seems to think that the Dr doubts his being able to stand the strain of the H of C ...

HAP 648, 50 and 57.

286. Mary Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, ibid:

> It is simply awful but there is asking for it but just to set one's teeth and go through with it. They are very lenient but I am much ashamed of my efforts. I cannot imagine why they want a person who can't speak to address them...

287. The window was broken by Dr Ethel Smyth, a suffragette. Circumstantial evidence later - erroneously - linked her to the attempt to burn down Nuneham on 13 July 1912. See below, 238-39.

288. Harcourt to Gladstone, 16/12/1910. HAP 484, 23-24.

289. Ramsden,J. The Age of Balfour and Baldwin 1902-1940 (1978), 169.

290. On Lansdowne's proposals see Rowland, op cit, 24-25. Harcourt commented that Rosebery had had the Unionists on to formulate their own reform schemes, and then denounced them - just as in 1909 he had urged them to reject the Budget in his Glasgow speech 'then, as usual ran away ...' Harcourt to Lord Grey, March 1911. HAP 483, 212-13.

291. Fraser, The Evolution of the British Welfare State, 156.

292. Harcourt to Gladstone, 27/1 1/1911. HAP 485, 74. See also Harcourt to Denman, HAP 478, 28-29.

293. Sir Harold Lincoln Tangye to Harcourt, 13/07/1912. HAP 443, 6-7.

294. Ilbert (clerk of the Commons) to Bryce, 12/08/1911. BRP 14, 32-33.

295. Harcourt to Gladstone, 03/08/1911. HAP 484, 183. (The elderly Halsbury, an ex-Lord Chancellor, led the Unionist die-hards in the Upper Chamber in opposition to the Bill.)

296. Grigg, J. Lloyd George: From Peace to War 1912-1916 (1985), 17-18.

297. Pope-Hennessy,Crewe, 90-91; Harcourt to Grey, late March 1911, HAP 483, 212-13; Harcourt to Denman, 13/12/1911. HAP 478, 29; Harcourt to Islington, (Governor of New Zealand) 13/12/1911. HAP 489, 231.

298. Pugh, Electoral Reform in War and Peace, 37.

299. Blewett,N. 'The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885-1918', chapter one, note 90.

300. According to the calculation of Unionist Party agents in 1907 the abolition of the plural vote would have cost the Opposition over 30 seats in December 1910 and manhood suffrage another 103 seats. Close,D.M. 'The Collapse of Resistance to Democracy : Conservatives, Adult Suffrage and Second Chamber Reform 1911-1928', HJ Vol 20 No 4 (1977), 893-918.

301. In July 1909 Harcourt attended one of the Commission's sittings at the Treasury offices, and stated in his private capacity, his objections. In this instance he sided with Disraeli's view that proportional representation would lead to 'stagnant' representation and a weak executive. Strong majorities, he believed, were essential to strong governments. He also objected to the introduction to Parliament, via proportional representation, of 'cliques' of independent members who were generally 'cranks'. The Times, 07/09/1909, 3.

302. Pugh, Electoral Reform ..., 33.

303. Harcourt to Islington, 14/05/1912. HAP 489, 245. It seems that Harcourt also sought ideas by studying the American voting system.

Among his papers there is a ballot paper for Multnomah county, Oregon, dated 8 November 1910. Kept in HAP 421, 165.

304. The venue of the Liberal Party's organization offices. See eg. draft text sent to Harcourt on 8 March 1911 for a meeting scheduled for the following Thursday (14 March). HAP 442, 138-41.

305. Pugh, op.cit, 37-38; Harcourt's contribution to the final version of the Financial Bill was possibly considerable: eg. Mrs Elsa Pease to Harcourt, 31/01 /1913. HAP 443, 136-37.

306. Rosen A. Rise Up, Women!, 150-51.

307. Harcourt to Grey, 22/12/1911. Robbins, Grey, 248.

308. A 'thorny', anti-suffrage speech might, Harcourt wrote give offence, and he felt obli ged to denounce votes for women. Harcourt to Crook, 11/01/1912. HAP 442, 1 60-64.

309. Daily Chronicle, 11/01 /191 2, 'The Cabinet, The House and the Women', HAP 442, 169; Donald to Harcourt, 11/01/1912; Harcourt to Donald, 12/01/1912, ibid, 168- 70, including the clipping.

310. Throughout his speech Harcourt was interrupted. As he was leaving one woman shouted 'You are going from Rossendale next time and we shall do all in our power to make your life miserable'. The Times, 27/01/1912.

311. Pugh, op.cit, 39.

312. Hobhouse replaced Pease as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster on 23 October.

313. Loreburn to Harcourt, 17/02/1912. HAP 442, 182-83.

314. Harcourt to Fuller, 13/02/1912; Fuller to Harcourt, 11/07/191 3? . HAP 482, 90 and 196-97. Even at the time, Fuller's statements about the negligible effect of women's suffrage in Australia (and New Zealand) were confirmed by contemporary analysis. See memorandum in HAP 504, 92-93.

315. For the text of this telegram, despatched to the WSPU just before the Albert Hall meeting, see The Times, 25/02/1912.

316. Mary Harcourt to Lady Harcourt, 03/03/1912. HAP 648, 64.

317. See The Times, 29/02/1912 for an account of the Mansion House incident, and for the text of the subsequent Albert Hall speeches.

318. Fulford,R. Votes for Women (1957), 248. But the window-breaking was not, as he states, the day *after* the Albert Hall meeting. 1912 was a leap year. See also Koss,S.Asquith (1976), 102.

319. The Nation, 09/03/191 2. Militancy drove away potential supporters like the Unionist Free Trader Robert Cecil. Cecil,R. A Great Experiment (1941), 37. The anti-suffrage convictions of ministers like Samuel were only strengthened. Samuel,H. Memoirs (1941), 129-130.

320. Harcourt to Gladstone, 04/03/1912. HAP 485, 164; also, Harcourt to Gladstone, 13/03/1 912. HAP 484, 166-67. Harcourt's expectation of another attack was an accurate one.

321. Harcourt to Fuller, 29/08/1 912. HAP 482, 145.

322. Chamberlain, Politics from Inside, 447.

323. Harcourt to Lord Denman, 12/09/1911. HAP 478, 10.

324. See Economic Review XII No. 3 (July 1912), 303-312.

325. The Foreign Secretary wrote to Bryce about the 'very serious' strike, expressing his hope that moderation and common sense would win the day. He concluded fatalistically that:

> There is a good deal of madness in the world just now, and there is of course always the chance of something untoward happening.

Grey to Bryce, 11/03/1912. BRP (US) 33, 130.

326. In what Harcourt's notes refer to as a 'mad attack', the First Lord urged no surrender to 'syndicalism'.

327. A plan drawn up by Lloyd George's friend Sir George Riddell, the newspaper magnate, and Vernon Hartshorn, the President of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

328. Notes by Harcourt, 16/03/1912. HAP 442, 227.

329. Middlemas,K. Politics in Industrial Society: The Experience of the British System since 1911 (1979), 61. Cited in Cronin,J.E.&Schnear,J. Social Conflict and the Political Order in Modern Britain (1982), White,J. '1910-191 4 Reconsidered', 73-95.

330. Blewett, 'The Franchi se in the United Kingdom', 30. The seven types of franchise were: university, freemen, property, occupation, household, lodger and service.

331. Eg. Henry Allgood (Treasurer and Honorary Secretary of the Society of Welsh Liberal Agents) to Harcourt, 16/02/1912. HAP 442, 179-81.

332. On the basis that local authorities would curb spending if they knew that they could not count on full re-imbursement from the Treasury. See Pease to Chalmers, 13/08/1912. HAP 443, 51-4. (Sent to Harcourt, with covering letter, via Lionel Earle on 8 October.)

333. See Pease to Harcourt, 11/10/1912. HAP 443, 65-67. Pease also asked for Harcourt's assistance at a meeting with party agents, to be held at the Offices of the Board of Education the following Tuesday, 15 October.

334 Compare Pankhurst,S. The Suffragette Movement, 428 stating that Harcourt and Churchill threatened to resign. (But although Churchill opposed the suffrage amendments he did not want to lose the Franchise Bill.)

335. Eg. The Nation , which took the stories of 'ministerial dissensions' with a pinch of salt. It conceded that there was Cabinet disagreement, but that it was open - 'an agreement to differ, and it has disclosed none of those acute personal discords which break up a Ministry'. The Nation, 21/01/1912, 643. The Hobhouse Diaries,

130, paint a very different picture.

336. The Times, 15/08/1912; 21/10/1912.

337. The Times, 24/07/1912; 29/07/1912.

338. As Robert Harcourt pointed out, he knew the layout of the house better than Hardie did. The Times, 19/03/1913.

339. See page 121, note 148 above.

340. In a strange, rambling letter to The Times published some time earlier, Wright, a prominent bacteriologist, inveighed against the fitness of women for politics in a way which showed that he was out of his depth when not writing about his speciality.

341. Fulford, Votes for Women, 277; Blewett, 'The Franchise in the United Kingdom', 54; for the text of Harcourt's speech BPD (1913) Vol 47, 890-97 and The Times, 25/01/1913.

342. Riddell, G.A. More Pages from My Diary (1934), 118-119.

343. Ilbert to Bryce, 30/11/191 1. BRP 14, 36.

344. Lowther, J.W. A Speaker's Commentaries (2 Vols 1925), II, 137.

345. BPD (1913). Vol 17, 1092; Hobhouse Diaries, 131.

346. As noted by Pugh in Electoral Reform ... - the Pease Papers provide proof of the genuineness of Government intentions.

347. The Times, 27/01/1912. Robert Harcourt wrote this before he knew of Lowther's ruling; on the resignations from the Reform Club, The Times, 06/01/191 3.

348. In a letter to Asquith, Harcourt noted that 'for once' Garvin had written a 'sensible article' in the Observer: namely, that the only way to stop militancy was to have suffragists from both sides - Grey, Haldane, Llo yd George, Bonar Law, Lyttelton *et al* - announce that while it continued they would not support votes

for women. Harcourt offered to make this proposal at the next Cabinet meeting, but it seems Asquith did not approve the proposal. Harcourt to Asquith, 23/02/1913. HAP 421, 197-98.

349. Pugh, Electoral Reform ..., 43.

350. Rowland, Last Liberal Governments, II, 202.

351. Sir Frederick Banbury, representing the City, argued that ownership should not be privileged . Austen Chamberlain contended that constituency representation was the basis of the electoral system. The Unionist free trader Lord Hugh Cecil cited a Proportional Representation Societ y pamphlet which stated that if the Commons were elected on a proportional basis the Liberal majority would have been 38. BPD (1 91 3), Vol 63, 813.

352. Pugh, op.cit, 43-44.

353. Pease to Harcourt, 15/1 1/1915. HAP 445, 279-80. By this time, Harcourt was back at t he Office of Works.

354. Sir Edward Carson, the representative of the Ulster Unionists, also addressed the crowd . He warned that the Ulstermen would not passively allow the enactment of Home Rule, and were prepared to take the consequences of their actions, whatever the cost. The Times, 29/07/1912.

355. Blake, R. The Unknown Prime Minister (1955), 134.

356. Harcourt to Islington, 1 4/05/1912, and to Denman (same date). Respectively: HAP 489, 246 and HAP 478, 51.

357. Apart from Birrell this Committee had comprised Churchill, Loreburn, Samuel, Grey, Haldane and Lloyd George. See: Jalland, P. 'A Liberal Chief Secretary and the Irish Question: Augustine Birrell, 1907-1914', HJ 19, No 2 (1976), 421-51; and papers collated for the Cabinet Committee considering the Home Rule question forwarded by Birrell with covering letter (24/02/1911) in HAP 442, 11-124.

358. The Times, 06/11/1911.

359. Harcourt at Bacup. The Times, 26/01/1912. Harcourt was presumably referring to executions by Orangeman.

360. The Times, 06/05/1912.

361. See text above, page 218.

362. Harcourt to Islington, 1 4/05/1912. HAP 489, 246.

363. Bebbington, The Nonconformist Conscience, chapter two on Disestablishment, and chapter nine on the end of the 'conscience'. Nonconformist influence on British politics was clearly diminishing, as seen in the general electi on of December 1910, compared to 1906.

364. Rowland, op.cit, 213 on the Unionist overtures to George V on this subject in late 1913.

365. Ramsden,J. Real Old Tory Politics (1984), 52. After this, the Unionist back-bencher Sanders noted gleefully in his diary, no other Liberal minister tried to speak.

366. Ilbert to Bryce, 15/11 /191 2. BRP 14, 70. After it became clear that no Cabinet Ministers would be allowed to speak,Lowther adjourned the Commons and Ilbert left with him, so did not see the ensuing 'disagraceful scenes'.(In which Ronald McNeill, an Ulsterman, seized a bound volume of standing orders from the ledge of the Speaker's chair and hurled it at Churchill, striking the First Lord in the face. McNeill subsequently apologised and they became friends.)

367. Simon, Recollections, 91. Hostile weeklies like the Outlook and Eye-Witness came clos e to libellious accusation and in the National Review Leo Maxse w as not far behind them.

368. On the Marconi affair see Grigg, From Peace to War, 48-66.

369. Ilbert to Bryce, 06/06/1913, that the Liberal Party had plumbed 'the lowest depths of depression'. BRP 14, 92-93.

370. On the West Indian island of St.Vincent, Gideon Murray was faced with allegations of having purchased American Mexican Eagle oil shares for personal profit. G Murray to Harcourt, 15/08/1913. HAP 462, 234-5.

371. Harcourt to Murray, ibid, 236.

372. Spender H. 'Will the Government Survive?' Contemporary Review (July 1913) No 571, 1-10. (Copy kept in HAP 499,54.)

373. Riddell, op.cit, 64.

374. Letter from Peter Wright of Radical Plutocracy Enquiry to Harcourt, dated 28/10/1913. Harcourt prepared his reply in pencilled notes on this letter. Of his work force at Nuneham, Stanton Harcourt and Hinksey, 30 had farms, and 65 were employed in his gardens at Nuneham Park. HAP 443, 190.

375. Offer, Property and Politics, 389; see op cit, 371-83 and 384-400 on the rural and urban campaigns respectively; also, Emy,H.V. 'The land campaign: Lloyd George as a social reformer 1906-14' in Taylor,A.J.P. (Ed). Lloyd George: Twelve Essays (1971), 35-68.

376. Offer, op.cit, 378-79; 382.

377. See Jalland, P. The Liberals and Ireland. The Ulster Question in British Politics to 1914 (1980).

378. Harcourt to Gladstone, 16/03/1 913. HAP 488, 34-35.

379. 'Historic' Ulster was comprised of nine counties, in addition to the core counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry which might be excluded.

380. Hobhouse Diaries, 147; also Curzon's later comments to Bonar Law about Harcourt's 'impertinence' - Curzon to Law, 10/12/1913, cited in Blake, op.cit, 167.

381. Esher, Journals and Letters , III (1938), 131. (11/09/1913).

382. Ibid, 134. Esher to Balfour, 13/09/1913.

383. Reginald Brett (Esher) to Maurice Brett from Balmoral, 15/09/1913. Ibid, 137. Harcourt also made amends by inviting the King to Nuneham in October for grouse shooting. Answering that he was looking forward to it 'immensely', the King added:

> I am afraid I am not at all worthy of shooting grouse with you as I am an abominably bad shot and never hit anything; so I hope you will put me on the outside where I shan't interfere.

George V to Harcourt, 28/09/1913. HAP 443, 185-186.

384. Jalland, op.cit, 161 ; Rose,K. King George V (1983), 139.

385. Because of the timing of the proclamation: the Ulster Volunteers had been allowed about two years of unfettered action prior to the formation of the Irish Volunteers. See Rowland, Last Liberal Governments, II, 217 and 232 and 233.

386. Esher, op.cit, 145-46. Esher to Stanfordham, 03/12/1913.

387. A full account is provided in Ferguson,Sir J. The Curragh Incident (1964).

388. Jalland, op.cit, 216.

389. Hazlehurst, 'Asquith as Prime Minister ...', 527; Morris, A.J.A. C.P. Trevelyan: Portrait of a Radical (Belfast, 1977), 97.

390. Mary Harcourt to her husband, 24/04/1914. Cited in Jalland, op.cit, 236.

391. Robertshaw to Harcourt, 25/03/1914. HAP 444, 73. Harcourt to Robertshaw, 28/03/191 4. Ibid, 77.

392. Jalland, op.cit, 247 and 250; 393 and 850.

393. As late as 5 August 1914, when Britain found itself at war with Germany, Harcourt received a joint letter from anxious members of the Reform Club like Nuttall and the Radical Plutocrat Sir John Brunner urging the Government to stand firm against Carson and the Ulstermen, and not to speedily place a Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book before Parliament was prorogued. J.Brunner, J.Nuttall, *et al* to Harcourt, 05/08/1914 (11 pm) HAP 444, 124-25.

394. Asquith proposed that Gladstone take over the new Irish Government in the summer or autumn of 1914. General Botha, the Prime Minister and Harcourt, the latter wrote to Gladstone felt that his 'name, his capacity and his experience' at the Home Office fitted him 'admirably' for the task. Harcourt also pointed out that this would give Gladstone the chance of putting the finishing touch on the policy established by his father: 'it would be a romantic and delightful incident'. However Gladstone declined, citing his need to return to England for a rest after almost fifteen years of various responsible offices. Harcourt to Gladstone, 05/08/1913. HAP 488, 51-52; Gladstone to Harcourt 01/09/1913, Ibid, 54-56.

395. Eg. the following statement by Sir Edward Grey:

> If the Government were to recommend the King to give the Royal assent to their measure for the better government of Ireland and the King were to consent it is my conviction that a civil war would be precipitated, which would rend not only the United Kingdom, but the Empire in twain.

If civil war did break out, Grey added, he would consider it his political duty to join the ranks of those opposed to the Government. Grey to Harcourt, 14/06/1914. HAP 444, 108-109.

396. See Morris, Radicalism Against War, 224-5, 325-26 and 330-31.

397. Notes on Cabinet meeting of 29/02/1912. HAP 442, 190.

398. Rowland, op.cit, 122.

399. McKenna,S. Reginald McKenna, 102.

400. Dockrill,M.L. 'David Lloyd George and Foreign Policy Before 1914', 21 in Taylor, Lloyd George: Twelve Essays, 3-31.

401. Fry, Lloyd George and Foreign Policy, 159. The Anglo-German talks of 1912 are discussed below, in the next section.

402. Wiemann, F.W. 'Lloyd George and the Struggle for the Navy Estimates of 1914', 76 in Taylor, op cit, 69-91.

403. Namely, that Britain and Germany agree to hold back construction for a year of four and two Dreadnoughts respectively. The proposal was not taken up. Wiermann, op cit, 75-76.

404. Rowland, op.cit, 272.

405. At first, McKenna just provided technical information for Churchill's Cabinet critics. Riddell, More Pages from My Diary, 189.

406. Ibid, 190.

407. See above, 176.

408. Koss,S. Fleet Street Radical (1973), 144; Rowland, op.cit, 277-78.

409. Riddell, op.cit, 196.

410. Hobhouse to Harcourt, 15/01 /1914. HAP 444, 3-5.

411. Morgan, Churchill, 403.

412. Hobhouse Diaries, 155-56.

413. Jalland, op.cit, 189; Morgan, op.cit, 404.

414. Morgan, Churchill, 404-05.

415. It is argued by Howard Weinroth that Radical opposition to armaments, and naval construction in particular, had been undermined well before 1914 by social, economic and international factors, as

well as political expediency. Weinroth,H. 'Left-Wing Opposition to Naval Armaments in Britain before 1914', JCH Vol 6 No 4 (1971), 93-120.

416. Robbins, Grey, 135.

417. Hinsley, F.H. (Ed) British Foreign Policy under Sir Edward Grey. (CUP, 1977), 13.

418. Harcourt to Anderson, 23/12/1911 and 24/12/1911. HAP 496, 173-74 and 175-76.

419. Harcourt to Gladstone, 04/01/1911. HAP 484, 33-35.

420. W. Langley (on behalf of Harcourt) reporting on information provided by Sir F. de Villiers, the British Ambassador at Lisbon. Report dated 20/01/1911; 'Show to FO' instruction dated 01/02/1911. HAP 484, 64.

421. Gladstone to McKenna, 22/04/1911. MAP 32, 15.

422. Gladstone to Harcourt, 12/04/1911. HAP 484, 117.

423. See Keiser, The South African Governor General, 231-38.

424. Only a few months later an attempt - ultimately unsuccessful - was made to raise an Anglo- German loan, so the negotiations were not as 'academic' as Grey wanted the French Ambassador Paul Cambon to believe. See Grey to Bertie, 03/05/1912 FO Western Europe Secret Series [19274] No 218 in HAP 588.

425. See Anderson to Harcourt, 27/12/1911. HAP 496, 176-77.

426. In March 1914 Britain accepted completion of the German-funded Baghdad Railway as far as Basrah, in return for German acceptance of British control over the Mesopotamian rivers.

427. Robbins, Grey, 270. Balfour to Grey, 10/12/1913.

428. Barraclough, G. From Agadir to Armageddon (1982), 152-53.

429. Hatton, P.H.S., 'Harcourt and Solf: the Search for an Anglo-German understanding through Africa, 1 14', European Studies Review, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1971), 123-48.

430. Gooch & Temperley, British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914, Vol X (1936), 443.

431. Williamson, The Politics of Grand Strategy, 253.

432. FO 4803 No 7, Hardinge to Grey, 29/01/1912. Kept in HAP 587.

433. The Nation, 27/01/1912, 679 and 682-83.

434. As early as March 1911 Harcourt had to write to the Foreign Secretary to deny allegati ons by Foreign Office officials about his would-be generosity to the French:

> My CO have derived the impression that your FO think I am more inclined towards the possibility of the cession of the Gambia than I was when I last spoke to you on this matter. This is not the case. I think it would raise trouble here quite out of all proportion to its value. I strongly deprecate the discussion of its cession as a possibility.

Harcourt to Grey, 07/03/1911. HAP 463, 114.

435. Koss, S. Lord Haldane - Scapegoat for Liberalism (London/Toronto 1969), 82-83; Haldane's visit only made him more unpopular as an apparent pro-German 'sell-out' in the eyes of the pro-Unionist press, and aslo attracted hostile Liberal comment. His claim to have gone on a private visit did not deceive informed observers. Morris, The Scaremongers, 312-313.

436. Gooch and Temperley, Vol VI (1930), 735. Bertie to Nicolson, 01/04/1912.

437. Note by Harcourt, 04/03/1912. HAP 442, 212. French suspicion of the

438. Nish,I. Alliance in Decline (1972), 6-7.

439. Grey to MacDonald, 20/03/1912. FO Western Europe Secret Series [12203] No 47, kept in HAP 588.

440. Smith,W.D. 'The Ideology of German Colonialism', JMH Vol 46, No 4 (December 1974), 640-661.

441. Steiner, Britain and the Origins of the First World War, 106.

442. The expression 'terminological inexactitude' was actually Churchill's, when the latter had denied in the Commons in 1906 that the Liberals had used the term 'slavery' to describe the use of indentured Chinese labour. The Colonial Under Secretary was ridiculed for months afterwards for using this euphemism for 'lie'. Morgan, Churchill, 206.

443. Dockrill & Lowe, The Mirage of Power, I, 121.

444. Kennedy, The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914 (1980), 414.

445. Eisendecher to Harcourt, 13/03/1914. (From Karlsruhe, marked 'Quite Private') HAP 444, 70-71.

446. Vincent-Smith,T. 'The Anglo-German Negotiations over the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, 1911-14', HJ 17, 3 (1974), 620-29, esp. 625-27.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. As argued in Zara Steiner's Britain and the Origins of the First World War, 237.

2. Wilson, The Policy of the Entente, 135-47.

3. Morris, Radicalism Against War, 300.

4. Another record that has survived is Harcourt's notes on Foreign Office telegrams circulated to the Cabinet prior to the meetings. These annotations for the meetings of 29 and 31 July have confirmed, as a cross-check, the accuracy of the Pease diary. See Wilson, K. 'Sir Lewis Harcourt and the Foreign Office Telegrams July 1914. Notes of a non-interventionist', in The Historian No 12 (Autumn 1986), 10-12. Only in December 191 6 did Lloyd George set up a secretariat to keep minutes of Cabinet meetings.

5. Hazlehurst, Politicians at War, 60.

6. Wilson, op.cit, 141.

7. Owen, Tempestuous Journey, 267.

8. Bentley Gilbert's argument in 'Pacifist to Interventionist: David Lloyd George in 1911 and 1914. Was Belgium an Issue?', HJ, 28, 4 (1985), 863-885.

9. Robbins, Grey, 291-2.

10. Morris, op.cit, 389.

11. Ibid, 390.

12. Exchange of notes between Churchill and Lloyd George [1 August], cited in Owen, op.cit, 265.

13. The note was undated, but this was at the 2 August meeting. Cited in Hazlehurst, op.cit, 113. Grey still wanted to preserve British freedom of action, as he told Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador, on 1 August. He was still considering English neutrality in the event of Russian hostilities, as distinct from German attack on France. It seems, as Young argues, that both sides chose to misunderstand each other over the Russo-German factor. Young, F.H. 'The Misunderstanding of August 1, 1914', JMH (1976) No 4 644-65.

14. Steiner, op.cit, 234.

15. Grigg, Lloyd George : From Peace to War, 142.

16. Fry, Lloyd George and Foreign Policy, 194-95.

17. Asquith's impression of Lloyd George's solidarity with Harcourt and Morley on intervention. Grigg, ibid.

18. Fry, op.cit, 200. Harcourt would not have been amongst this trio presumably.

19. Ibid, 195.

20. Undated Cabinet note, probably 2 August, from Harcourt to Pease. Hazlehurst, op.cit, 95.

21. Wilson, op.cit, 104.

22. Esher, Journals and Letters, III, 206.

23. Cited in Morris, op.cit, 402; Dockrill, 'Lloyd George and Foreign Policy Before 1914', in Lloyd George: Twelve Essays, 28-29.

24. Gilbert, op.cit, 884-85; Dockrill, op.cit, 30.

25. Morris, op.cit, 401.

26. Hazlehurst, op.cit, 112.

27. Loreburn to Harcourt, 01 /08/1914. HAP 444, 119-20.

28. Hazlehurst, 'Asquith as Prime Minister',
Royle,T. The Kitchener Enigma (1985), 254-55.

29. Harcourt to Sir William Rees-Davies (Chief Justice of Hong Kong), 05/07/1915. HAP 465, 61. It was perhaps an indication of Harcourt's belief that he made Nuneham available to the Oxfordshire branch of the Red Cross as a convalescent hospital - The Times, 11/08/1914.

30. Marsh to Harcourt, 05/08/1914; Buxton to Harcourt 06/08/1914, accepting Harcourt's 'clear and emphatic' order. HAP 444, 123 and 132-33 respectively.

31. Flora Lugard to Harcourt, 05/08/1914; reply by Harcourt, same date. Ibid, 126-7 and 128.

32. Harcourt to R.E.Stubbs, 07/10/1914. [A British official in Ceylon?] HAP 465, 216.

33. Harcourt to Sir Walter Davidson, 08/12/1914. HAP 477, 104-5.

34. Hazlehurst, op.cit, 166.

35. King George Tubou II of the Tonga Islands declared his neutrality and allegedly - he had not - asked for an honorary KCMG. 'Honours', Harcourt informed Fijian governor Sweet-Escott, 'must be reserved, for the present, for allies rather than neutrals', drily adding 'even when the neutral is of gargantuan proportions'. Harcourt to Sweet-Escott, 18/09/1914. HAP 481 (This referred to the fact that Tubou weighed 20 stone, with a sixty inch waist.)

36. Such as those expressed by Austen Chamberlain about Canada in particular, in which he thought French Canadians would not enlist in substantial numbers unless a special appeal was made to 'their sentiment'. Austen Chamberlain to Harcourt, 10/08/1914. HAP 444, 140.

37. Sweet-Escott to Harcourt, 01/01/1915. HAP 481, 61. On the Newfoundland contingent, see Davidson to Harcourt, 20/08/1914 and 17/11/1914. HAP 477, 92 and 102-03 respectively.

38. Hazlehurst, op cit, 167; for the text of Harcourt's speech see The Times, 27/01/1915.

39. One exception was the mayor of Adelaide, who reproached Harcourt for not mentioning the men and money the third city of Australia had contributed to the war effort. A.Simpson to Harcourt, 23/04/1915. HAP 467, 173-74.

40. The League set up a special Publications Committee, and 1 000 000 pamphlets were sold for ½d to 2d or distributed free. Sir Edward Cook's pamphlet 'Why Britain is at war' was translated into nine languages. Mackenzie, J.M. Propaganda and Empire (Manchester, 1984), 152-53.

41. COVIC was a unique attempt to provide visual propaganda, via lectures accompanied by lantern slides. (In 1908 the idea of using a cine camera or bioscope had been ruled out.) Set up in 1902, COVIC was not financed by the Government, and so relied on private donations and aristocratic patronage as well as colonial monies. On Harcourt's support of COVIC, Mackenzie, op.cit, 165.

42. Parsons,N. A New History of Southern Africa (1982), 233. Even much later in the war this remained a problem. Governor-General Sydney Buxton, Gladstone's successor, reported a conversation with Richard Burton (*de facto* Minister of Defence in the absence of Smuts in German SWA) about the danger of sending Transvaal and Orange Free State troops to East Africa after the South West Africa campaign. There were 10 000 Indian troops serving in East Africa, and the Union troops were known to have 'very narrow views on the subject of colour'. Buxton to Harcourt, 05/05/1915. HAP 472, 236-37.

43. At least one prominent German commentator, the renowned sociologist Max Weber pointed to the Entente powers' use of 'barbarian' troops as an incentive for last ditch defence of the fatherland:

> it would be better to keep repeating just one thing: that Germany fights for her life against an army in which Africans, Gurkhas and all kinds of other barbarians from the most forsaken corners of the world stand poised at the frontiers ready to devastate our country ...

Weber,M. Economy and Society (in appendix), (UCLA, 1978).

44. Sir John Anderson to Harcourt, 21/01/1915. HAP 445, 12-13; additional note by Anderson, 22/01/1915 suggesting placing a half battalion of territorials on standby at Port Said. Ibid, 14-15.

45. Gregory, India and East Africa, 147-48.

46. Martin G. 'The Influence of Racial Attitudes on British Policy Towards India during the First World War', JICH Vol 14 (1986), 91-113 and 92-97 on the issue of Indian troops' hospitals.

47. Harcourt to Connaught 23/12/1914. HAP 476, 197-8.

48. Harcourt to Kitchener, 17/11 /1914. HAP 464, 50.

49. Apart from overestimation of the efficacy of naval bombardment, one of the miscalculations was underestimation of the fighting ability of the Turks - very analogous to that of Hitler's later comment *apropos* Soviet Russia that it would only need a single kick to bring the 'rotten' structure tumbling down. This proved to be a costly mistake. See French,D. 'The Origins of the Dardanelles Campaign Reconsidered', History Vol.68 (1983), 210-24. In March 1915 Harcourt confided to Buxton his conviction that Britain would soon be in possession of Constantinople, preferably by surrender or internal rebellion rather than be bombardment and assault. 'Ultimately' he expected Russia to take control of Constantinople. Harcourt to Buxton, 1 7/03/1 915. HAP 474, 35.

50. Kennedy,P. The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 463; Battenberg to Harcourt from Kent house, Isle of Wight, thanking him for his sympathy. 10/11/1914 HAP 444, 194-95; cf also Buxton to Harcourt, 15/05/1915 *re* the spontaneous anti-German riots in Johannesburg and Cape Town following the sinking of the Lusitania. HAP 473, 232.

51. Hobhouse Diaries (1977), 206.

52. Reply to Olympic Oil Co, dated 02/11/1914. HAP 444, 181.

53. John Hinds (on behalf of G.Randell Higgins) to Harcourt, 12/05/1915. (Abingdon was only a few minutes away from Nuneham by boat); Harcourt to Hinds, 13/05/1915. Of a total population of 300 in the village, Harcourt wrote,fifty-three men had joined up, and nine volunteers turned down. He did not think he had a single able-bodied man left on his estate. HAP 445, 162 and 164, 165. On the attacks on Haldane, see Koss,S. Haldane:Scapegoat for Liberalism, 130.

54. F.G.A.Butler to Sir Hesketh Bell, 29/03/1915. HAP 470, 91-92.

55. See below, note 56. The delayed demobilization after the war led to more than grumbles. In January 1919 it was reported that 'the Australians had broken loose' at the great permanent camp at Larkhill, and were 'smashing everything up'. Rothstein,A. The Soldiers' Strikes of 1919 (1985), 56.

56. Wilfred Ashley, 20th (Service) Battalion to Harcourt, 17/03/1915; Harcourt to Ashley, 18/03/1 915. HAP 445, 54-55.

57. Harcourt to Sir John Anderson and Sir George Vandeleur Fiddes, 27/11/1914. HAP 464, 57- 58.

58. Although Harcourt linked this (to him) distressing development with the enfranchisement of national service men/women. Harrison, Separate Spheres, 98 and 207 , quoting a secret Cabinet memorandum of 20/07/1916.

59. Kitchener appointed Lawrence as a 'special commissioner' for Indian hospitals in England and France on 1 November 1914. See Martin article 'The influence of Racial Attitudes on British Policy ...', 94.

60. Bigge (Lord Stanfordham) to Harcourt, 13/10/1914, accepting on the Royal behalf Harcourt's invitation to inspect the Canadian and Newfoundland contingents.

61. Chalmers to Harcourt, 22/10/1914. HAP 475, 107-8.

62. Note from Harcourt to Anders on, 15/11/1914. Ibid, 111.

63. Harcourt to Churchill, 05/02 and 10/02/1915; Churchill to Harcourt, 05/02/1915. Ibid, 116-120.

64. Churchill to Harcourt, 19/02/1915. Ibid, 123.

65. Chalmers to Harcourt, 05/01 and 01/07/1915. Ibid, 127-28, 150. (This psalm reads: What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?)

66. The French had imported labour from Java, despite British wishes.

See FO [33608] No 489,1. Grey to Bertie, 21/07/1914, in HAP 589; Harcourt to Emmott, 07/08/1914. HAP 463, 21; Chapter three, 193-195 on the New Hebrides labour question.

67. The suspicion was mutual, despite the *Entente*. When Repington (military correspondent of The Times) went to Paris on behalf of the War Office with an Anglo-French war plan directed against Germany, he found French strategists devising plans for the invasion of Britain! Cited in Ekoko,E. 'British Military Plans against France in West Africa, 1898-1906' in JSS Vol 4, No 3 (September 1981), 285-95.

68. Ekoko,E. 'British War Plans Against Germany in West Africa, 1903-14', 453 in JSS Vol 7 No 4 (December 1984), 441-456.

69. Nish, Alliance in Decline, 30-31; Hobhouse Diaries, 181.

70. Beer,G.L. Questions at the Paris Peace Conference (New York, 1923), 454-5. (The United States was held to have no right to the island.)

71. Churchill to Harcourt, 18/10/191 4. HAP 462, 357. This passage is quoted in Lowe,P. Great Britain and Japan, 1911-1915 (1969), 204, but there the word 'we' has been substituted for 'you' - an important difference.

72. Harcourt to Munro-Ferguson, 23/02/1915, and 24/03/1915. HAP 495, 125-26; HAP 479, 293-94 respectively.

73. Nish, op.cit, 127-28. Right up to World War Two, Japan maintained a 'vested interest' i n the region.

74. Dobell to Harcourt, 08/10/1914. HAP 463, 7.

75. Harcourt to Lugard, 29/09/1914. HAP 467, 325-6.

76. Lugard to Harcourt, 29/10/1914 and 30/11/1914. Ibid, 329, 331.

77. Clifford to Harcourt, 30/10/1914, on the costs of Togoland expedition; also memorandum by Clifford on the possible future of Togoland, circulated by Harcourt to Anderson, Fiddes and Lord Islington

(covering note dated 17/11/1914) HAP 476, 15-36 and 38.

78. Note 49 above.

79. The influential 'Cabinet within a Cabinet' which effectively took over control of the running of the war from early 1915 onwards. See below, 298-99.

80. Wedgwood to Harcourt, on the Inkosi, off Tenedos,02/04/1915 and 11/04/1915. HAP 444.110 and 141-2. (Churchill had obtained him a post as Lt-Commander.) See also Wedgwood,J.V. Memoirs of a Fighting Life (1940), 98-108.

81. Liddell-Hart,B.H. History of the First World War (1930, 1972 edition), 169; Terraine, J. The First World War 1914-1918 (1965, 1984 edition), 70-71. When the Allied forces were bogged down again at Anzio almost a generation later, Churchill complained to Smuts: 'instead of hurling a wild cat on the shore all we got was a stranded whale and Suvla Bay all over again'. Gilbert, M. Road to Victory (1986), 667. The severely wounded Wedgwood was sent to England to recuperate.

82. Party-political differences over post-war policy were revealed by the reactions of Bonar Law and Lord Lansdowne: they refused to give Harcourt their opinion of 'The Spoils'. Rothwell, V.H. British War Aims and Peace Diplomacy 1914-1918 (Oxford, 1971), 20.

83. 'The Spoils'. Cabinet memorandum by Harcourt, 20/03/1915, 9, 10 and 11.

84. 'The Spoils', 1 and 12.

85. Ibid, 14, 15 (a) (b). (Harcourt's concluding suggestion was to return to China, with or without payment, the 'costly folly' of Wei-hai-wei.)

86. Harcourt to Dobell, 14/05/1915. HAP 463, 15.

87. The British expedition fell into a trap where 'anybody outside a madhouse would have expected to meet with opposition'. Report to Colonial Office, 29/12/1914. HAP 366-67. The force of 5 000 men lost 800 killed and missing, and 1 000 rifles. In the House of Lords, Curzon

launched an attack on the Office - and its chief - for the 'undue reticence' about this serious reverse. BPD (Lords) Vol. 18, No. 8, 06/01/1915; see also Hobhouse Diaries, 206.

88. French,D. British Economic and Strategic Planning 1905-1915 (1982), 124-137.

89. Harcourt pointed out that co tton could not be given preferential treatment' it was only *one* of many products also faced with a terrible slump in prices. If cotton were bailed out, similar action would have to be taken for cocoa, oil nuts, copra, cloves and many other products of British tropical colonies. Report by F. G.A.Butler on conversation with Macara, 09/09/1914; Macara to Harcourt, 16/09/1914; Harcourt to Macara, 17/09/1914. HAP 464, 137-38, 142 and 146 respectively.

90. Roberts had ended his four month tour at Glasgow, where he told his audience that conscripti on was 'one of the greatest and most necessary' reforms the country needed. Harcourt never accepted this argument.

91. French, op.cit, 130-131 .

92. Robbins K.G. 'Foreign policy, Government structure and public opinion', in Hinsley, op.cit, 534.

93. Blake, The Unknown Prime Minister, 238-39.

94. As it turned out, Arthur Henderson got the Board of Education, after his party narrowly voted in favour of his acceptance of a Cabinet post. At the time of coalition on 25 May 1915, Ramsay MacDonald, Labour's leading figure, had fallen out with the parliamentary Labour Party over conscription. Marquard, Ramsay MacDonald, 175.

95. Hobhouse Diaries, 233.

96. Harcourt to Lloyd George, 09/12/1914. HAP 467, 251.

97. Harcourt to Munro-Ferguson, 24/03/1915. HAP 479, 293.

98. Lancelot Smith to Harcourt, 22/01/1915. HAP 445, 16-17. Perhaps the reason was both the violation of Belgian neutrality and what Roosevelt described to Smith with horror as the 'Prussians' attitude of mind'. Part of the British report subsequently issued on German atrocities in Belgium was fabrication, but it was accepted at face value in America and caused anti-German riots in England.

99. Harcourt to Buxton, 17/03/1915. HAP 474, 36.

100. Cecil Spring-Rice to Harcourt, 13/07/1914. The British ambassador at Washington was conveying the Lodges' thanks for their 'quite delightful' visit. HAP 444, 118.

101. Croly subsequently contributed to the Republican press pressure on the US Government's passive defence policy, and was convinced that Wilson would have to be replaced. Link,A.S. Woodrow Wilson, (5 Vols, Princeton,(1949-56)), IV,44. Of course, however, there is no means of proving that Harcourt influenced that stance.

102. Harcourt to Willard Straight, 22/04/1915, about Croly's visit; Straight to Harcourt, 05/05/1915. HAP 444, 114 and 153.

103. Asquith to Stanfordham (Bigge), 17/05/1915. ASP 27, 162-63.

104. The considerations are fully examined by Peter Fraser in 'British War Policy and the Crisis o f Liberalism in May 1915', JMH 54, No 1 (March 1982), 1-26.

105. Morgan, Churchill, 575.

106. Ibid, 570.

107. Koss, Haldane, 203-4.

108. Reverend Nelson to Harcourt, 16/11/1914:

> I have talked with Liberals from Cornwall to Orkney and if you are (happily) not always in the limelight

you are at least strongly entrenched in their affections. HAP 444, 203-4.

109. Emmott to Asquith, 20/05/1915. ASP 27 176-77.

110. For example, Law's request for a meeting prior to the start of the Colonial Office debate in July 1913.

111. Harcourt to Davidson, 07/06/1915. HAP 477, 108.

112. Harcourt to Buxton, 03/06/1915. HAP 474, 312-3.

113. The Radical Liberal MP Charles Trevelyan to Ponsonby, 27/05/1915, about his fears of what a coalition would mean, in particular the loss of influence of ministers - like Harcourt - who favoured an early peace. Morris, Trevelyan, 135.

114. The Times, 26/05/1915.

115. The Nation, 22/10/1915, 241 . The next issue again complained of certain 'mal-adjustments'. Should Churchill have been included at all? Was any national gain going to be derived from replacing Samuel by Walter Long, or Harcourt by Bonar Law?. Ibid, 29/10/1915, 277.

116. Furse to Harcourt, (undated), HAP 452, 159; J C C Davidson to Harcourt, 18/05/1915. HAP 445, 173.

117. J.C.C.Davidson to Harcourt, 24/02/1916. HAP 446, 36-38.

118. Butler to Harcourt, 05/12/1 915. HAP 467, 302.

119. Simon to Harcourt, 01/06/1 915, 186; Harcourt to Simon, 02/06/1915, 188, in HAP 445.

120. 'You ... have already done so much to assist its development that I feel it could not be in better hands'. Law to Harcourt, 11/06/1915. HAP 467, 300.

121. Harcourt to Major H. Wilson, 15/06/1915. HAP 465, 259. (Wilson was a member of the Over-Seas Defence Committee, serving on the Western Front); Harcourt to Lord Liverpool, 04/09/1915. HAP 489, 351.

122. Harcourt to Buxton, 01/12/1915. HAP 474, 335.

123. Harcourt at Rawtenstall (Rossendale), The Times, 15/05/1915.

124. Fraser,'British War Policy ...', 9-10.

125. F.G.A.Butler to Captain Greenwood, 30/11/1914. HAP 444, 218-19.

126. Derby to Harcourt, 09/10/1915. HAP 445, 251-52.

127. J W. Gulland, Chairman of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, to Harcourt, 18/10/1915: 'We confidently invite your enccuragement and cooperation in your constituency - we know this will materially help to make the effort a success'. Ibid, 253.

128. Full text lifted from Manchester Guardian, appearing in The Times, 15/09/1915. Harcourt at Rawtenstall recruitment meeting.

129. The Liberals had allowed the register to grow 'stale', but Harcourt felt (in March 1915) that it was better not to tamper with the Parliament Act, via postponement, so early in its life. Hobhouse Diaries, 233.

130. Court circular, Windsor Castle, 01/09/1915. The Times, 02/09/1915.

131. The Times, 30/12/1915.

132. Pease to Harcourt, 06/10/1915, thanking him for the grouse-shooting. HAP 445, 250; The Times announcement of the trusteeship, 20/04/1916.

133. The Times, 31/05/1916; Harcourt to Liverpool, 06/06/1916, 377.

134. For the comments on Harcourt, see The Times, 05/05 and 09/05/1916.

135. Smith,G. 'The British Government and the Disposition of the German Colonies in Africa, 1914-1918', in Gifford & Roger Louis (Eds) Britain and Germany in Africa, 275-287.

136. Asquith to Harcourt, 26/02/1916. HAP 421, 208.

137. This is what the French ambassador Paul Cambon had been told. Grey to Bertie, 24/02/1916. HAP 446, 39; Robbins, Grey, 312.

138. Harcourt to Balfour, 28/02/1916. HAP 446, 49.

139. Cabinet memorandum by Harcourt on The Cameroons, 01/03/1916. Ibid, 54-55.

140. Islington to Harcourt, 07/03/1916. Ibid, 84.

141. Interestingly, he received an enquiry about these negotiations as late as December 1916, when Robert Donald of the Daily Chronicle wrote to him about an article which had appeared in the Philadelphia Public Ledger. Harcourt replied that he knew nothing about the agreement with Germany over the Baghdad railway. As for the accuracy of the article's account of the negotiations over African Portuguese colonies in 1913, the Anglo-German treaty dated from 1898, and hence dealt with 'existing facts'. But Harcourt emphasized that this information was *not* to be made public. See Donald to Harcourt, 03/12/1916; Harcourt to Donald, 07/12/1916, HAP 447, 126 and 127.

142. The cruiser was on its way to Russia when it struck a mine, and sank rapidly off the Orkney coast. Kitchener was not among the few survivors.

143. Grigg, Lloyd George: From Peace to War, 461-62 and 465-66. During the power struggle Grey, McKenna, Runciman and Harcourt urged Asquith to stand firm and exclude Lloyd George from a reconstituted administration. See eg Churchill, R S. Lord Derby."King of Lancashire" (1959), 231.

144. Hazlehurst, 'Asquith as Prime Minister ...', 507.

145. Grigg, op.cit, 469-70.

146. David,E. 'The Liberal Party Divided 1916-18', HJ Vol. 13, 3 (1970), 509-53 esp. 527-32; Grigg, op.cit, 473.

147. Harcourt to Maden, 16/12/1916. HAP 447, 135-36. This letter was printed in The Times on 22 December. The reasons Harcourt cited for inability to continue were the prolongation of the life of the Parliament, the heavy burden of war work and anxiety, and renewed warnings that he was close to overstraining himself once again.

148. Harcourt to Munro-Ferguson, 14/03/1917. HAP 478, 3.

149. Ernest H.Bright to Harcourt, 14/12/1916. HAP 447, 131; Monks to Harcourt, 21/11/1916, Ibid 117. Blake, op.cit, 348.

POSTSCRIPT

1. Bentley, M. The Liberal Mind (CUP, 1977), 64 and 75.

2. In a speech at Berlin i n mid-1917, Kühlmann declared Germany could not end the war by military means alone, which hinted at the start of peace negotiations. Cooper, D. Haig (2 Vols. 1936), II, 314.

3. Harcourt at Rawtenstall(Rossendale). The Times, 27/05/1916.

4. The Permanent Under-Secretary was complaining about Harcourt's eagerness to negotiate a revision of the secret Anglo-German treaty of 1898. Lowe & Dockrill, The Mirage of Power, I, 52.

5. Bryce to Dr Charles Elio t, 19/11/1920 BRP (US) 2, 224. (The 1918 Act only gave the vote to qualified women over 30.)

6. Harcourt to Lord Liverpool, 07/09/1915. HAP 489, 351.

7. The Nonconformist commitment to liberalism persisted, but the overall decline of the religious factor was emphasized by the decline in church-going, a phenomenon not unique to Britain's industrial society. See Bebbington,D.W. 'Nonconformity and Electoral Sociology, 1867-1918', HJ, 27,3. (September 1984), 633-56; Luckman,T. 'The decline of Church-orientated religion', in Robertson,R. Sociology of Religion (1969), 141-151.

8. On 23 February 1922. See Appendix Four 'Death by Misadventure'.

9. The electoral decline was accompanied by *ideological* disintegration. See Freeden,M. Liberalism Divided (Oxford,1986).

10. CTarke,P. 'Liberalism', HT (March 1983), 42-45.

11. See Harrison,P. Inside the Inner City. Life Under the Cutting Edge (1983).

12. Franklin,M.N. 'How the Decline of Class Voting Opened the Way to Radical Change in British Politics', British Journal of Political Science, Vol 14 No.4 (October 1984), 483-508.

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Author Desvaux de Marigny G
Name of thesis The public career of Lewis Harcourt (first Viscount) 1905-1916 1987

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
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