



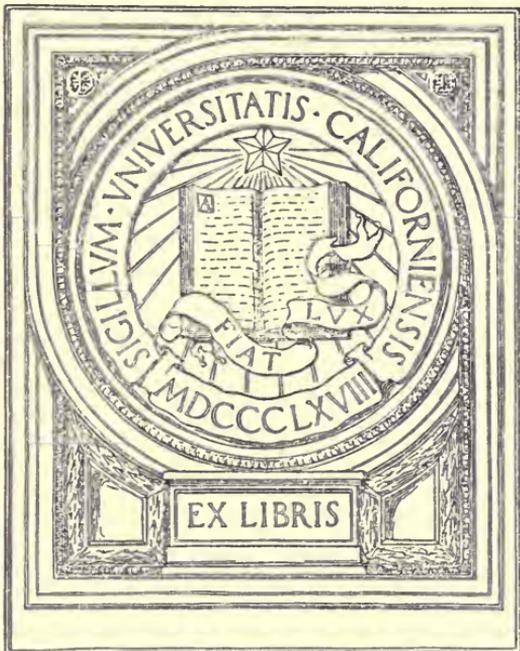
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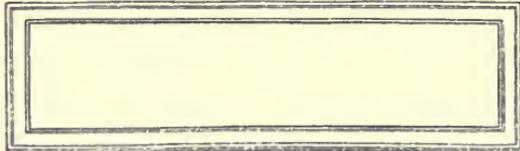
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T.A.B.

A MEMOIR OF THOMAS ALLNUTT  
2ND EARL BRASSEY



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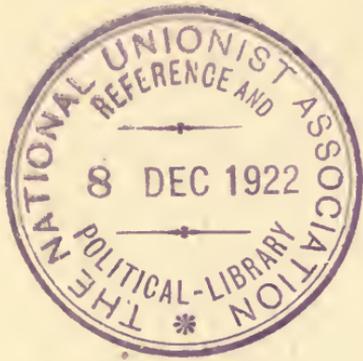




T.A.B., 1919.

[Lafayette]





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## FOREWORD

BY VISCOUNT MILNER, K.G.

THE following pages contain a record of the multifarious activities of Thomas Allnutt, second Earl Brassey. In these few lines I shall merely try to give some impression of his remarkable personality, as it lives in the memory of a very old friend.

He was in the broadest and truest sense of the word a patriot. Public service was the very breath of life to him. I never knew any man in whom the corporate sense was so strong. He was always desperately keen about something or other—but something impersonal. He was a tremendous worker—no man ever taxed his physical and mental resources more mercilessly—but not for himself. It was always some Body, small or great, of which he was a member—his school, his college, his club, his county, his territorial regiment, his country, the Empire—for which he was slaving. Many of his friends will remember the extraordinary energy which he threw into the task of raising a special fund for Balliol—a poor college despite all its intellectual eminence—and another for the University of Oxford. A munificent donor himself to both these objects, he was unsparing in his efforts to get other men of wealth to do their share, and the result in either case was a remarkable tribute to his compelling power. Even in the conduct of his private business—for he was a genuine “captain of industry”—it was the social side which chiefly interested him. He loved to feel that he was building up a business which would give a large amount of employment and raise the standard of living throughout a whole district. For he had the right conception of the *rôle* of the employer. The head of a great industrial enterprise was

the commander of an army. He was bound to maintain discipline and was entitled to a reasonable reward. But he was not morally justified in absorbing all the material benefits of success. The prosperity of the enterprise should redound to the advantage of all ranks of those engaged in it.

Next to his marvellous public spirit, I think what I admired most in him was his will-power. Whatever he put his hand to, he did it with all his might, and if he achieved excellence, as he frequently did, it was by sheer determination rather than by any exceptional natural gifts. Though anything but a strong man physically, he gained by doggedness and pluck an honourable place as an athlete and a sportsman. Solid rather than brilliant in mental endowment, he worked so hard and so methodically, that he became a real authority on many public questions. What lent weight to his opinions was the fact that they were always based on a thorough study of the subject, and that they were never second-hand. He simply could not accept any political dogma without thinking it out for himself. Indeed he carried independence of mind almost to excessive lengths—certainly too far for his success as a politician. Enlightened and progressive in his social views, an Imperialist of the best type, *i.e.* a fervent believer in the British Commonwealth of free nations, he was hopeless as a party man. And perhaps it was fortunate for him that he never succeeded in winning an election. No man would have been less happy as a Member of Parliament—or as a Minister. The compromises, the makeshifts, the opportunism, the slop-work, the pretence—all the shady side of politics and administration would have been pain and grief to one of his strong convictions, relentless logic and blunt directness of speech. As it was he worried himself excessively over our national habit of “muddling through;” indeed I think he took rather too gloomy a view of it, especially in later years. Had he perforce found himself among the muddlers-in-chief his life would have been one of constant discomfort and self-reproach.

It must be admitted that even to his best friends he was something of a gad-fly. Unsparring of himself, he made great demands upon others, and was slow to admit excuses, even if they were sound ones, for refusal to join him in any of his crusades. And indeed it was hard to refuse anything to one who was visibly wearing himself out in the service of his

fellow-men. That service was given constantly, unobtrusively, instinctively, without any consciousness on his part that there was something unusual in such devotion, or the faintest assumption of superior virtue. And he got little thanks for it—not that he ever wanted any. He was never a popular figure, nor did he seek popularity. Except by a comparatively small circle his sterling worth and work were never fully appreciated. But to those who knew him well his perfect sincerity and straightforwardness, his independence of mind, his force of character, his selflessness and public spirit will always remain an inspiring memory.



## AUTHOR'S NOTE

IN the midst of a busy life such as Lord Brassey himself loved, in hours snatched from intervals of leisure all too short, these reminiscences have been compiled from a great store of material.

I have to express my gratitude to members of the family for their generous assistance in providing information; to Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Salisbury, and others, for the use of letters; and in particular to Lord Selborne for his kindness in reading through the manuscript and making valuable suggestions. I am grateful also to Mr. James Potter, for many years the private secretary of the 1st Lord Brassey, who has given me much help in the reading of proofs.

My task has been accomplished in the hope that a magnificent example of unalloyed patriotism may be an inspiration to young men to emulate its disinterestedness of public service, and that the recollection of what T.A.B. was and did may prove an encouragement to his friends in dark places and in difficult days.

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# T.A.B.

## A MEMOIR OF THOMAS ALLNUTT 2ND EARL BRASSEY

### CHAPTER I

“WHAT he says that he will do, he will do ; and what he says that he will not do, he will not do.” In these words, conceived with all the felicity and simplicity of expression of which he was so great a master, Lord Rosebery summed up to an enthusiastic assembly the outstanding characteristic of “T.A.B.” Brassey as a young man. The audience to which they were uttered was a remarkable one, gathered to introduce him to political life, as a tyro for the suffrages of the free and unbiassed electorate of Epsom. That audience included Mr. Asquith, Lord Herschell, Sir Charles Russell, and many other members of the Liberal party who were afterwards famous ; it received the statement with a burst of cheering, and the words may fittingly form the introduction to the life-history of a man who won the reputation of being more courageous than the most courageous public men of the last generation. Through great or little success, through many fortunes and set-backs, in good report or ill report, friend and enemy alike tested the truth of that penetrating criticism. T.A.B. Brassey stood the test. What he said that he would do, he was found to do, and when he said that he would not do a thing, like his famous grandfather he was as good as his word.

Other traits and other characteristics he had, and many of them were strongly marked, for he was fashioned on large and generous lines, rough hewn, with delicacy of treatment super-added as an afterthought, and almost out of place ;

but this characteristic of trueness to himself and steadfast honesty of self-interpretation was always the dominating principle of his personality.

Of the other marked characteristics, by which he was so well known, more must presently be said. Some of them must be allowed to display themselves, as the story of his work is told, without any detailed description. All of them bear the mark of liberality, generosity and largeness of conception. There is among them nothing narrow or small, nothing mean or contemptible, nothing, which, even if it deserves censure, can be said to be tainted with self-interest or unworthiness of motive. The breeze of great and compelling leadership bloweth where it listeth; when T.A.B. took the field it was always a blowing. The reasons are not far to seek.

The call to public service is always finely inspiring. When that call is constantly reiterated in all the associations of family and early environment, it cannot be gainsaid or disregarded. It was a force which was bred in the very marrow of T.A.B.'s bones. Family, parents, home, early associations combined in a wholly unusual degree to direct his thoughts into those paths of duty and devotion to the public welfare, which have been so freely and magnificently trodden by England's sons. So his steps turned, as of second nature, into unselfish and self-denying paths. Of all these influences a few words must first be said, before the tale of his after life is told.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the family of Brassey was settled at Bulkeley in Cheshire. They traced their name to a Norman origin, a de Bracey or de Bresci having been one of the noble cadets who followed the fortunes of William of Normandy. In the days of the Norman kings constant and unending warfare had to be waged on the marches of Wales and in the neighbourhood of Chester against the attacks of the descendants of the expelled British. The Brassey home lay in a land where life was only less uncertain than on the Scottish border, and in it the clang of arms was incessant. The Brassseys took an honourable and prominent part in the story of their day.

In the reign of the first Edward, one Robert Bressy, the head of the family, twice occupied the position of High Sheriff, an office which was no sinecure in the troublous days when the Crown was in conflict with the Principality, and the heavy ground-swell of local disorder followed the great tempest of the conquest of Wales. In the reign of the third Edward, when affairs were more settled and the Welsh menáce was less ominous, John, son of William de Brescy, acquired an estate at Wistanston, to which he made additions as the years passed. The deeds relating to this property are still in existence, the earliest of them being indeed undated, but apparently of the period of the third Edward. In a document of slightly later date, William Malbank, Baron of Nantwich, gives notice that he has received of Robert de Bracy, his "black nephew," the homage and service of three knights' fees for Wistanston. The Brescis subsequently acquired a moiety of the whole manor of that name.

In the reign of Henry VII. and of the succeeding monarch, Hugh Egerton and John Egerton were holding lands in Wistanston, and amongst them they held by fealty from the Brescis this same moiety of the manor and advowson of Wistanston.

For many generations the family continued, with varying fortune, to occupy a prominent county position, and collateral branches appeared in various parts of the Chester district, and notably at Bressie Green in the township of Teverton. Of the Bressie Green line came Dr. Robert Brassey of Banbury, in the county of Cheshire, who as Provost of King's College, Cambridge, died in 1558 and was buried on the south side of King's College Chapel, after playing a man's part in the troublous days of the Reformation settlement. This line became extinct on the male side at the end of the eighteenth century, when the daughter of the last Brassie of Teverton married one Garnet, to whom she carried the family mansion and estate, wherein she is recorded to be settled in 1804. But the chief of all these branches, with which we are now mainly concerned, was settled at Bulkeley.

In a work entitled "Contemporary Records of the County of Cheshire," compiled in 1596 by William Webb, which is

preserved in the Bodleian Library, there is recorded the rebuilding of the house which was for centuries the family home. The chronicle runs:—

Next to Bickerton lies Bulkeley the lordship of the Lady Cholmondeley as part of the inheritance of Holforde, where there is a fair house and demesne that belong to the house of Sir George Calveley late of Lee, before mentioned, and a fair new house of Thomas Brassey gentleman of an ancient descent.

This estate of Bulkeley had passed from Roger de Bulkeley through the Hadleighs to Hamon de Bresci. He and his descendants had lived there as county gentlemen for over 250 years, when in 1663, the head of the family, being then only twenty-eight years of age, entered his pedigree in Sir William Dugdale's Visitation. The family retained the bulk of this property down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, but in the course of time had become impoverished. The head of the family in the middle of that century was Mr. Richard Brassey, of Cotton Abbots, grandson of Richard Brassey, owner of the Bressie estate at Bulkeley.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the property was in the possession of John Brassey of Bulkeley, who was father of Thomas Brassey and great-grandfather of the subject of this present memoir. Thomas Brassey was born on November 7th, 1805. His father, John Brassey, was then farming his own patrimonial estate, as a man of sufficiently ample means, and held in much respect in the county. He sent his son to a good school at Chester, and "Tom" received the ordinary commercial education of the day. He had always shown an aptitude for drawing, and on leaving school at the age of seventeen, he was accordingly apprenticed to a Mr. Lawson, a local surveyor of good standing, by whom at the close of his apprenticeship he was received into partnership.

In order to complete the record of the Bulkeley and Brassey Green houses, a letter written by Thomas Brassey's brother, Robert, may perhaps be quoted here. The letter is addressed to his nephew, who had by this time become Sir Thomas Brassey and T.A.B.'s father.

The Grange, Bulkeley,  
December 2nd, 1882.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

On looking over some old papers I found the enclosed written by the late Dr. Bate and thought you might be pleased to see it ; will you kindly return it when done with ? I happened to be driving a friend yesterday to Brassey Green and thought it strange that I should meet with this the same day. It is a nice old black and white house, about two miles from Beeston Station right opposite the old castle.

Ever

Your affectionate Uncle,  
ROB. BRASSEY.

The heart of every man beats a little more quickly when, after many years of absence, he revisits the house of his birth, but it is those of ancient family, for centuries settled in the same house, who can best understand the way in which the lives and deeds of forbears, the atmosphere and the lines of the old house, the books and possessions of the family, the *noblesse oblige* of a long history drag a man on to great adventure. Such links with an honourable past refuse to allow him to sink, except he be really nothing, into the common rut, or the way of shame. Only to near friends ever disclosed, and only in the casual references of unguarded moments, they make the path of duty the more rigidly trod and the code of honour the more strictly observed. T.A.B. proved that he had a double portion of the spirit.

The modern history of the family begins with the life work of Thomas Brassey, T.A.B.'s grandfather. After his marriage, which took place soon after the completion of his apprenticeship, he was encouraged by his wife to take interest in the new and much-debated railroads. Fortunes are made by foresight, and Thomas Brassey made what was an unexampled fortune through the foresight which saw in the railroad the dominant factor of nineteenth-century developments. A man and his wife are one. Maria Brassey never claimed any great share in her husband's achievement, but it should be said of her that she did much to fortify, to sustain and to cheer him in the enterprises in dark, difficult,

and doubtful times. Hers was the foresight and his the practical and acute brain which utilised it.

The first really important work upon which young Brassey was engaged was a survey of the road from Machynleth to Aberdovey, which runs along the valley of the Dovey.

He did this so well that in 1835 Joseph Locke, engineer of the Grand Junction Railway (from Liverpool to Birmingham) entrusted to him a length of ten miles of that line, known as the Stafford Contract. Having thus gained Locke's complete confidence, he was entrusted by him with the construction of the railway from Paris to Rouen. After this time he never looked back. Between 1844 and 1848 he contracted for five other French railways; and undertook, in whole or in part, the works for three lines in Scotland, and two lines in England and Wales. At this period Thomas Brassey had in his employ no less than 75,000 men; and his weekly payments in wages amounted to between £150,000 and £200,000. The capital involved in the various contracts in which he was engaged was some £36,000,000 sterling—an unprecedented sum for those days.

He completed the Great Northern Railway in 1851, and in the same year began works in Shropshire, in Somersetshire, and in the county of Inverness. In 1852, he undertook in Belgium, in Holland, in Prussia, in Spain and in Italy, the several lines of the Sambre and Meuse, the Dutch Rhenish, the Barcelona and Mataro, and the Maria Antonio Railways. In partnership with Messrs. Peto and Betts, he constructed the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, a line upwards of 1100 miles long, which crosses the St. Lawrence by the largest and most expensive bridge which had hitherto been anywhere erected. Between 1853 and 1857 he constructed six more railways in France, as many in Italy, and the very difficult Bilbao and Miranda line in Spain. He further undertook contracts in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland. He constructed the temporary railway over the Mont Cenis Pass of the Alps, a line which the opening of the Mont Cenis tunnel superseded. He also undertook contracts in Turkey. In India he constructed the greater part of the East India Railway, the Calcutta and South-Eastern, and other works. In Australia he

constructed several hundred miles of railway. He contracted for the first railway projected in South America; and one of his last undertakings was a contract for docks at Callao, amounting to more than half a million sterling, which was completed by his executors. He constructed the Barrow Docks and the important Runcorn Viaduct.

The subsidiary or private undertakings, by means of which he provided his enormous plant, and ministered to his home and foreign contracts, were in themselves enough to overpower the capacity of any ordinary man. Coal mines, iron works, dockyards, the great establishment on the margin of Wallasey Pool at Birkenhead, and "Nacada Works," where the Victoria Bridge for the St. Lawrence was constructed, all owed their existence to his energy. The railway contracts on which he embarked between 1848 and 1861 extended over 2,374 miles, and involved a total expenditure of £28,000,000.

It is not to be supposed that no reverses occurred. Thomas Brassey met loss with composure, and without attempting to throw it upon others. In 1846 the Barentin Viaduct, on the Rouen and Havre Railway, 100 ft. high, and consisting of twenty-seven arches of 50 ft. span, fell like a house of cards. The responsibility of a failure of this kind rests, rightly, on the engineer of the works. Thomas Brassey spared the engineer any annoyance. He quickly rebuilt the great bridge at his own expense—an expense of some £300,000. In doing it he made use of the famous expression, "It shall never be said that Thomas Brassey was not as good as his word."

The nature of the relation which subsisted between the engineer of a public company and the contractors who undertook the execution of the works, was, at the commencement of Thomas Brassey's career, very unsatisfactory. The early contractors seemed to regard a contract as something that the contractor should set his wits to work to make the most of. This was to be done, on the one hand, by grinding the labourers, and on the other hand, by "scamping" the work. Against this system of scamping and of grinding, Thomas Brassey always made a very firm stand. It was his plan to do his work fairly and

faithfully, and to render inspection superfluous, which led to the attainment of such a character for reliability in the performance of work as proved to be the main element of his extraordinary success.

Emphasis is laid here upon Thomas Brassey's achievements and integrity because his grandson's work was so similar in conception and method. From his grandfather T.A.B. inherited both tenacity of purpose and capacity for undertaking great enterprises and bringing them, as a result of careful attention to detail, to successful issues. The character of the grandfather, being what we have described, is to be reckoned as among the great influences in T.A.B.'s education and in the course of his whole life. Long years afterwards, in the midst of the Great War at the embassy in Rome, testimony was offered to this trait in T.A.B.'s character, when Italian business men told Sir Rennell Rodd that they wanted no written contract with Lord Brassey.

Thomas Brassey had three sons: Thomas, Henry and Albert. His eldest son married first, Anna, daughter of John Allnutt, and by her had five children—one son and four daughters—one of whom died in childhood. He married second, in 1890, the Hon. Sibyl de Vere, daughter of Viscount Malden, and had one daughter, Helen. He had a long and distinguished public career, serving as Member of Parliament for the borough of Hastings for over twenty years, and discharging many public duties with conspicuous ability. On relinquishing his seat in the House of Commons he was made Baron Brassey of Bulkeley in 1886. He was renowned for his great public generosity and philanthropy, and became successively a baronet, a baron of the United Kingdom, and an earl. His five surviving children were T.A.B., the subject of this biography, Mabelle, who became the wife of C. A. Egerton, Muriel, the wife of the Earl de la Warr, Marie Adelaide, the wife of Lord Willingdon of Ratton, and Helen, wife of Lieut.-Colonel John Murray.

T.A.B.'s mother, Anna Allnutt, was a Londoner, and in her childhood lived a lonely life in her father's houses on Clapham Common and in Charles St., Mayfair. She was a

woman of much intellectual distinction, and became famous through her power of recording in an arresting and charming way the incidents of the voyages which she and her husband took in the *Meteor* and the *Sunbeam*. The "Voyage of the *Sunbeam*" occupies a great position amongst English books of travel. She wrote it as a diary, sitting up in bed every morning and recording the events of the previous day. She had an extensive acquaintance with the best literature in English, French, and Italian, and her powers, which were not only above the average, but remarkable, she transmitted in full measure to her son. From her he undoubtedly inherited the power of terse expression, which was so outstanding a feature of his literary and controversial output.

When a petition was presented against the return of her husband for the borough of Hastings, her general mental capacity was well displayed in her cross-examination, which lasted for upwards of an hour. An account of this is given in the "Memoirs of Sergeant Ballantyne," wherein it is explained that after putting to her one or two questions, he handed her over to counsel for the petitioners. She was by him cross-examined at great length. In the contest of wits which followed, counsel had very much the worst of it, greatly to the enjoyment of Mr. Justice Blackburn, who was trying the case, and of a large assembly of spectators who were keenly interested in the trial of strength between counsel and witness.

She was a great rider to hounds, famous for her pluck and skill. The sick and the suffering found in her a real friend, and she was the keenest of workers for the St. John Ambulance Association. She took a great delight in establishing and carrying on Working Men's and Social Clubs in every part of the country to which her husband's interests drew her.

So in both parents T.A.B. was particularly fortunate. But there is still much more to say. Each of them had the highest conception of the duty of a parent. Throughout his life Thomas Brassey was in the habit of giving his son, not only verbally, but also in letters sent to him at school and at the University, the advice and help which every

father should try to give his son. The character of that advice is best seen in some of the letters which he so wrote.

Off the Burlings.

MY DEAREST T.A.B.,

Writing to you on the first Sunday after our most regrettable separation, I am reminded that we have had no talks of late on religious matters. Do not suppose that because I have been silent, I have failed to observe that you are not indifferent to these things. Balliol used to be a place of free discussions of dogmatic theology. It may or may not be so still. If you are brought in contact with Controversialists on the subject, my advice would be not to engage in such discussions. We cannot claim for the religion which we profess that it rests on evidence of an absolute kind: but at least it supplies us with the highest rules of conduct, illustrated by a noble example. It gives us a hope of an after life to which we instinctively cling, and it assures us that we have a merciful Father in heaven. The philosopher accepts a first cause, and our idea of that first cause, figurative and inexact as it may be, is very suited to our human needs.

*History.*—In addition to your regular reading for the Law I would strongly recommend you to keep before you the later periods in history, so as to bring down your knowledge of the subject from the period you took up for the schools to the present time.

*Political Economy and Social Science.*—Every man who contemplates a public career should be well read in Adam Smith and Mill, completing the theoretical principles with the application to modern facts as given in Farrar, and the numerous valuable brochures published by the Cobden Club.

*Blue Books.*—All the pressing subjects of the day are most exhaustively treated in the Blue Books published by the Royal Commissions and Select Committees of the two Houses. Take the land question in Ireland; the three great authorities are the Devon, Bessborough and Cowper Commissions. I made my first success in the House of Commons by reading the four bulky volumes published by the Royal Commission on Trade Unions. All my work on the Maritime problem has been founded on Parliamentary literature. Practice in wading through reports of evidence enables the

reader to do a great deal of skipping without loss of knowledge. The examination-in-chief usually elicits the best that the witness has to offer.

*Languages.*—In these days our education is lamentably imperfect which does not include the power of reading, writing, and speaking at least one modern language in addition to English.

*Politics.*—The test question of the moment is the policy in relation to Ireland. But this test is an extremely vague one. Mr. Gladstone withdrew his scheme and we have no plan before us of local self-government. We may get a good scheme from the present ministry. On the general question I may say that I see no great organic change in the constitution, as for instance disestablishment, which I desire to see carried out. In such an attitude of mind the tendency is to drift to liberal conservatism, and if ever I find myself in office again it will probably be in that connection. On the other hand, I owe a debt of personal loyalty to Mr. Gladstone, and while he remains in politics I should be extremely reluctant to appear in opposition. I have given no vote in the past which I now regret. But I have an instinctive feeling that we are drawing near to another parting of the ways in politics. However this may be you are not bound by the ties which bind me. But you should not appear on the side opposed to mine until you have given full consideration to the situation. There will be ample time for this before the next General Election.

*Hunting.*—I should recommend you to hunt in the first part of the season from Leighton, Weedon or Buckingham. The first two places are comparatively near to London. From Buckingham you can get more easily to Heythrop. At Xmas I hope you will hunt from Normanhurst. After Xmas I should try Leighton. The hunting is first rate, and you can combine it with attendance in chambers. I know some of the people round Leighton. I would suggest Melton for another year.

*Shooting.*—You will continue to look after the shooting and will arrange when I have parties of old friends to stay for shooting.

*Income.*—As you ought for the present to be giving your attention to subjects of wider interest, I do not propose to convey any part of my Sussex property to you this year. After you have been called to the Bar I shall be happy to give you Court Lodge and Buckholt. The house at Park

Gate I will complete and furnish and let for short terms, so as to be available for you whenever you may require it.

Having in view the possibility that you may be led by honest conviction to form a different political connection from my own, and looking to the expenses of hunting, the *Norman*,\* and otherwise, I shall ere long make an addition to your income, being assured that you will make good use of your resources and will save what you do not need to spend. I may probably transfer to you the whole of the Birkenhead property. The policy on which I have insisted of large reductions of rent has given greater steadiness and certainty of income, and I believe a decided increase in the amount.

I do not care to make an assignment of trust funds: because I wish you to be trained in the art of looking after your own affairs.

I confidently rely on your doing your best to help me in Michigan and Pertusola.

To conclude on the question of income, my intention is to put you in a position to act, if necessary, independently of me at the next General Election, which I suppose we may look for in four or five years.

*Matrimony.*—On this momentous and delicate subject I can only speak in the most general terms, and if I say anything it is, as I told you the other day, because you are going to live in London with men who probably entertain widely different views from mine, and whose views differ because their circumstances are different from yours. Rashness and recklessness are in every case to be deprecated. But, while for a man with insufficient means, or who is looking to service in the navy or army, especially in war, the freedom of single life is almost essential, the case is, it seems to me, quite different where means are ample and there are no calls for dangerous and protracted service abroad. As a matter of fact, I and my brothers married early, and we did wisely. Your circumstances are the same as ours. In the circumstances in which I am placed, bereaved of your dear mother, and depending now on my children, it must be obvious how much more you could do, if happily married, for me, for your sisters, and generally to make a good home life at Normanhurst, than is at all possible as a bachelor.

For the career which naturally lies before you the ties

\* T.A.B.'s cutter yacht.

of married life cannot be a hindrance—happy marriage would be a great advantage.

His relationship with his father throughout his life was one of mutual confidence and affection. One of the very last things that the former uttered at the end of his long life was a message of thankfulness to his son that they had always been able to live through diversity of political opinion and through multifarious interests so closely in sympathy with one another's aims and aspirations. What was lacking in the father's character the son supplied, and the polished and diplomatic suavity which some of his contemporaries seemed to find lacking in the son shone up in marked contrast in the character of his father. If often seemed that two different strains of ancestry were making themselves manifest in the two men. In the son were energy, drive, vigour, initiative, and forcefulness, without which the ancient line in its contests with Welsh powers must have been extinguished. In the father were to be found the manners and the urbanity of the courtier, with a kindly spirit and a friendly disposition which were most attractive.

It is not easy to describe the relations of a man with his mother. It would be particularly difficult to describe the influence which Anna Brassey exerted over her son. She was devoted to him, and he to her. In voyages of the *Meteor* and the *Sunbeam* he was constantly her companion, and his constitution, which was not very strong, was fortified and made robust by the life on the sea which he lived with his parents in his early years.

A typical letter from his mother may perhaps be inserted here to show how she thought of him during his life at school:—

*Sunbeam*, R.Y.S., South.  
December 10th.

MY OWN DARLING BOY,

This is probably the last letter you will have from me from the Southern Hemisphere for many years. We expect to cross the line on Friday next. Tahiti is charming, only rather too hot. People, place, scenery, fruit, flowers, manners, customs, all equally delightful. How you would

have enjoyed it! and how I did wish for you, my own pet! I found some relations here, too, some of the chief people in the Islands. I dare say you remember an old Mr. and Mrs. Brancker at the end of the Marina, St. Leonards, with a pretty daughter, whose children you used sometimes to go to play with.

Volcano House, Kilauea, in Hawaii,  
December 24th.

This is a wonderful place at the very brink of the crater. I never saw anything the least like it. Ask M—— to send you Miss Bird's "Six Months in the Sandwich Islands," and you will know all about it. It is very amusing. We have had a rough, quick passage of fourteen days from Tahiti. . . .

A happy Christmas to you, my darling, and many of them. I only wish we were going to spend it together.

When T.A.B. was nine years old he was sent down to Bournemouth to Ascham House School, and the parting—never very easy when the eldest son for the first time leaves home for school—was more than usually distressing. His schoolmaster, Dr. West, describes the assembling on the platform at Waterloo station of the boys, who were to go to Bournemouth at the beginning of term. He was appealed to by the father of one of the new boys to get them on the train as quickly as possible because T.A.B.'s loud sobbings and his mother's tears were having such an effect upon the others "that," said the parent, "if you don't get them aboard very quickly, we shall never get them started off at all."

That same bond of intimate affection was maintained with ever increasing intensity until the day when he wrote down the last words which fell from her lips when she passed away in mid-ocean, eighteen miles from Port Darwin.

Of his life at Ascham House School there is little record. Dr. West describes him as a bright and intelligent little boy. In the following letter he gives some idea of his abilities:—

July 8th, 1875.

TO THOMAS BRASSEY, ESQ., M.P.

I enclose Allnutt's report which is a very good one. He is certainly forward for his age and should you

wish it would be quite competent, I hope, to go in for the Foundation Exam. at Eton when the time comes, just in order to distinguish himself. Perhaps it will be time enough to think of that later on. His weak point is translation, but I think that is owing to his being so young, for readiness in that always comes after everything else.

Dr. West adds the following reminiscences :—

My first recollection is of a small boy in a long overcoat and sailor hat, standing at Waterloo Station clasping his Mother's hand and with tears running down his cheeks. But when we had started he brightened up almost at once and was quite cheerful and good friends with most before we reached Bournemouth. He was a most genial and good-tempered boy and very generous indeed about giving away whenever he had a hamper. He used to come to our boys' cricket field in after years whenever he was in Bournemouth. The first thing which I remember about him soon after he came was finding him at the top of one of the playground fir-trees carefully putting back two baby squirrels who had tumbled out of their nest. When he touched at the Cape in the *Sunbeam* ('87, soon after his Mother's death) he took the trouble to go up to Grahamstown to see my sister who was then in the Sisterhood there, a most nice thing to do. I do not think he took any Prizes, but his work was quite satisfactory, and according to the old list, his best subjects were History, Geography and French—the least good, Mathematics—he was 3rd or 4th in most of his classes, out of 10 or 12. His chief friends were, I think, the two Grant-Duffs and Mallets, whom I think he knew at home. He was with me from 1874/76.

I remember his Father telling me that he had asked him about the School service which we used to have in the afternoon before the Church near us was built. He described the Service and in answer to the question "What does Mr. West preach about?" "Oh, he generally picks a bit out of one of the boys."

It was the Summer Term and a number of boys, headed by Vincent Corbett, started an aviary. They were allowed out for walks in parties of three on Sunday afternoons. One Sunday they brought home a hedgehog and put it into the Aviary without telling me. Next morning it was found to have killed several birds, so in the first break a formal

trial was held with judge, jury and opposing counsel, and the hedgehog was solemnly decapitated with the gardener's spade and I found the corpse on the path. When I asked about it I was told, I think by Allnutt, "Please, Sir, he'd killed a lot of the birds and he had quite a fair trial."

His interests at school are shown in the following letters to his mother :—

March 26th.\*

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

Thanks very much for your letter and Papa's too. You will perhaps be amused with the enclosed from Mr. Bingham, please show it to Mr. Boissier.

The Athletics take place Saturday week. Every one is in a great excitement. We practise now nearly every day. I am going to try for 5 prizes :

*I.e.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, for which I ought to get first.

100 yards, for which I may either get first or second.

Hurdle race, for which I have got the same chance as the 100 yards.

The Junior long jump, for which I ought to get the first prize.

The sack race, which I won last year.

The quarter mile either Bowen, or Bates will win, and the high jump Strange, or E. Grant-Duff or Duffer as we sometimes call him.

Please can you send me an *Oxford* rosette because there is such a hubbub here on the day of the boat race.

I am getting on very well with my work, but not quite so well with my conduct, although the lowest mark is 75 out of a hundred, for work, 92 out of a hundred and 21 tens, which is the highest I have yet got.

Mr. West has gone to London for a few days. Yesterday Mr. Hachisuka came here to see his brother, a Japanese, who is here at school.

We have had fine weather this week, but to-day it has become quite cold. There is a distinguished preacher preaching at Trinity this morning, but I went to St. Peter's where we had a good sermon.

My chief friend here now is a nice boy called Smith, to whom I gave the appropriate name of Raven from his dark hair, and eyes, and his sharp nose ; Cartwright, who sends

\* He rarely inserted the year in any of his letters to the end of his days.

you his kind regards ; Strange, captain of the 11 and 15 ; Walters, the Codfish, and Norris, who came on board the yacht at Portsmouth.

April 30th.

DEAREST MOTHER,

Thanks very much for your letter, I have taken the topsail off the yard and enclose it with the ropes belonging to it.

Please can you send me my hymn-book which was in your room the day I left ?

On Friday I was second in the school for the Grammar Paper, Walters and Cartwright equal, having only 77 to my 76.

We are starting a lawn tennis club here and Mr. West has given us leave to play on the lawn. There are only 14 fellows in it. The entrance fee being 2/6 and three have made up 18/- between them. Mr. West and Captain Butts are going to give something so I daresay our lawn tennis will come off. Please may I have one of the racquets from home, because we had such a lot at Normanhurst ?

I am working hard so as to please you and Papa and answered all the questions in English History last night.

The garden looks perfectly beautiful with all the new plants and I have one or two more here.

The intimate confidence and close affection between the two revealed in these letters are an indication of the influence which T.A.B.'s mother had upon him. That influence was all directed towards public service in its widest and fullest meaning.

His father's estates included the property surrounding Normanhurst, the great house which his grandfather built in a commanding position five miles north of Bexhill. His father and others sadly complained in later years that the whole undertaking had been a huge mistake ; that the grandfather, after having refused to consider the expenditure necessary for the purchase of a country house, involved himself in a much larger expense in a "failure." The failure was the erection of the huge mansion filled with the many wonderful specimens of art gathered from every part of the globe, Besides this estate there was a large property in the north of Ireland, on the banks of Loch Foyle, accepted as payment of an obligation which threatened

to become a bad debt. There were also the mines in Sardinia and the smelting works and shipyard at Spezia in Italy, which must be hereafter described. The fourth and largest estate consisted of some 390,000 acres of land in the United States, commonly called the Michigan Estate, which was situated on the southern bank of Lake Superior.

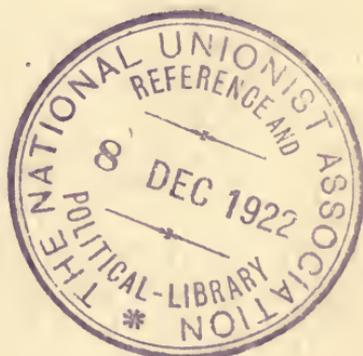
T.A.B. was born at Beauport, near Battle, in 1863, and grew up in the midst of the Sussex atmosphere and tradition. Those who have lived for any length of time in Sussex agree that it is in many ways remarkably tenacious of the purest English spirit. There is in its atmosphere a breath of an ancient chivalry, a whisper of half-forgotten memories of the stern deeds of a stalwart race, a sound of the sweep of the mighty winds over broad uplands. To breast the steep, grassy paths which lead to Butser and Chanctonbury, to gaze from shaded eye southward from Normanhurst far out to the blue haze of the Channel, or northward from Blackcap across the Weald is to revive the sense of a dim past wherein men were born and wrought with iron hammers the mail of their own salvation.

At every turn there is the echo of the men who, in their day, were leaders and counsellors, knights and men of valour in their generations. The peaceful hamlets and the lonely fields are peopled with the men of Sussex who have left their mark on the world and call on the young men of every age to carry on. It was amongst them that T.A.B. spent his early years. He watched the great vane on the stumpy spire of the massive tower of Etchingham Church veer in the wind, and caught the arms of Sir John de Etchingham wrought thereon as the sunbeams played about them, and he too, in fancy, left the jousting field to follow the fortunes of the third Edward on the plains of France. He could look on the white linen vest of the martyred Charles which the Ashburnham of the Commonwealth had carried to his home at Ashburnham, just across the park from Normanhurst, and could be swayed with the great, sweeping thoughts of the way in which men were led by men to victory or to death. From the Outlook, at Rye, he will have conjured up the galleons of the Armada, and the heroism of Drake, and learned to claim him as a Sussex man and no real son of

Devon. The great brass at Warbleton will have spoken to him of the abbots of Battle Abbey, and the wonderful ecclesiastical administrators who built the bulwarks of the State while they edified the Church. At Pevensey, long stretches of marsh will have been covered once more in his fancy by the far-reaching flotillas of the Army of Invasion of the Conqueror as in his enthusiasm he read again the stories of England's naval fame.

From his early days in his Sussex home he learned much that Sussex had to teach and it showed itself in after years in a martial ardour at the first blast of the trumpet of war, an intense love of the seas which Drake first sailed, a keen patriotism which would bind up Irish wounds, a power of leadership which refused the second place.

So T.A.B. was specially gifted in his ancestry, his home, and the influence of his early years. Yet these alone are insufficient to form strength of character. That comes from persistence in overcoming difficulty, patience in bearing hardship, unending struggle to achieve success. Few men have been faced with such a constant sense of failure as T.A.B. ; few men have seen so little result of the travail of their soul. The great principles for which he struggled so much in his life were being recognised at his death, but he did not behold their triumph. He was possessed of much of the good things of life, but did not tarry by the way to enjoy them : by birth he was framed for a life of ease, but was not patient of it ; his delight was in unceasing toil for the public good, and in it he found, as all men find, a real and abiding happiness, and an exceeding great reward.



## CHAPTER II

T.A.B.'s name had been down at Eton for many years, and at the close of his stay at Ascham House, his father displayed a good deal of anxiety as to the place which he would take in the entrance examination. Extra tuition was accordingly arranged for him at Bournemouth, where Mr. C. R. Coulthard acted as his tutor for the greater part of the school holidays of 1876. His father's anxiety and the arrangements made are recorded in the following letter :—

*Dr. West to Thomas Brassey Esq., M.P.*

Oct. 17, 1876.

I was very glad to see Allnutt back again, and am particularly pleased that you care so much about the place which he may take at Eton. I think I may safely answer for its being a *really* good one. I shall certainly be disappointed if he does not get into the Remove, which is as high as a boy can take. He works steadily and pleasantly, and has good abilities, and what is even better, untiring energy. He is considerably forwarder than the last of our boys who entered the Remove, and although the style of his translations is not as good as I should like to see it, yet he is so young that it would really not be fair to expect more finish from him yet. He is having a good deal of special attention from Mr. Coulthard and I will arrange as you wish about his spending part of the holidays here. Nothing is more certain to help him at Eton than his doing so, for a month's good work in the holidays is often worth nearly a whole Term.

I notice that his French had considerably improved during the holidays, both in accent and in grammatical correctness.

On July 1st, 1876, T.A.B. set out with his father, mother, and three sisters for a voyage in the *Sunbeam*. Starting

from Chatham, they reached Cowes on July 5th and finally sailed the next day on the famous excursion described by Lady Brassey, which lasted forty-six weeks, extended over 35,400 miles (of which 20,517 were under sail alone), and carried the voyagers all round the world. T.A.B. had been entered at Tarver's house (Mr. Frank Tarver) at Eton, and returned from Rio by the *Cotopaxi*, on September 4th, in order to be in time for the beginning of term.

The "Voyage of the *Sunbeam*" records the following incidents of the outward journey:—

*July 8th.*—After our 5 o'clock dinner, we very nearly met with a serious accident. . . . Tom was looking at the stern compass, Allnutt being close to him. . . . A new hand was steering, and just at the moment when an unusually big wave overtook us, he unfortunately allowed the vessel to broach-to a little. In a second the sea came pouring over the stern, above Allnutt's head. The boy was nearly washed overboard, but he managed to catch hold of the rail, and with great presence of mind, stuck his knees into the bulwarks. Kindred, our boatswain, seeing his danger, rushed forward to save him, but was knocked down by the return wave, which left him gasping. . . . Happily the children don't know what fear is.

*Rio, September 4th.*—We were all up very early this morning, superintending the preparation for our eldest boy's departure for England. . . . Breakfast was a melancholy meal. . . . After breakfast we went ashore to the market, to get a couple of lion monkeys, which had been kept for us, and which T.A.B. was to take home with him to present to the Zoological Gardens.

It was under such circumstances that T.A.B. went to Eton. Amongst all the influences which make a boy into a man, the influences of home, ancestry, early associations, and the like, many men think as they turn back the pages of life that the influences of school were supreme. It is not necessary in a book written for Englishmen to attempt to describe the indescribable, or to estimate the inestimable, or to explain in any large detail the most essentially English of processes, the evolving of an Englishman by the life and tradition of a public school. The atmosphere of a great

school is a very real thing, and yet elusive and quite intangible. But it is felt in the attitude of the great majority of its sons, and it is entirely that of public service.

A public school is an Empire in microcosm. At the head is a benevolent monarch, whose fiat is sufficient to decide the issues of life and death. In accordance with the strictest code of ethics and rule of justice he allows his subjects to stay or orders them to go. In the administration of his kingdom, to proprætor, to consul, to legate and to prefect, the reins of government are entrusted. From these pupil-officers are demanded the sacrifices of time and effort and self-control, without which no man may rule with success. To them are committed the issues of action, the decisions of daily rule, which elicit powers of leadership and the public spirit which is the essence of corporate life and the vitalising principle of the body politic. One by one the members of the school are, through the lapse of time, in turn entrusted with the reins of office and with authority among their fellows, and presently they go forth into a greater Empire, to a field where the qualities, which they have already acquired, may find a proper sphere for their due expression and fulfilment. In the process of their common life they will have learned loyalty to friends and to principle, respect for authority because they have wielded it, the power of giving hard knocks because they have received them, the value of that frenzy which at the last gasp is still unbeaten. Themselves will have had the opportunity to learn, because it has been their lot to lead others, to look an opponent in the face and feel no fear, to see defeat impending and to triumph over it, to stagger beneath the burden of toil for the public weal and not to fall.

When a character like T.A.B.'s, imbued from the cradle with the ideals of service, is placed in such an atmosphere, it grows and flourishes amazingly. With generous care it may develop into a personality capable of transforming the ideals of a whole people, and able to exert an influence on the destinies of a hemisphere.

Eton is confessedly the greatest of public schools, and amongst public schools is paradoxically *sui generis*.

Whatever its detractors may urge against it on the score of unwieldiness, or of laxness in effort, or of an enervating atmosphere of wealth, . . . there is no place to which more men turn with greater pride and more glowing affection in after days when the work of Empire has called her sons to the ministry of government in far-off lands, under alien skies, in loneliness and hardship, when grit and the memory of Eton alone save from failure and despair.

Eton's work for T.A.B., like her influence on other men, can be estimated by his affection for her. To the end of his days he was proud of his connection with her: he constantly went down on St. Andrew's Day, or the 4th of June, and the spell of the place was always evident when he talked about her.

He carefully preserved all his life, his little diary for the year 1878, which he probably wrote under the influence of his mother's example. A few quotations from it are given here, as an indication of his habits and occupations. They are illuminative of much which has been already, and is to be, said of him.

*Saturday, January 19th.*—I went out shooting. I bagged 7 rabbits, 1 hare, 1 partridge, and 4 pheasants. At 4 o'clock our party commenced. We danced till half-past eight, and had a conjuror in between.

*Thursday, January 31st.*—I went up town after 12. After 4 I went for a paper chase with Marindin's fellows. Eastwood and Kerr were hares. I caught them after we had gone about 2 miles and a half.

*Thursday, February 7th.*—I went out jumping with Wilson, Curtis and Hugessen. At the very beginning I lost my shoe in the mud, and had to go the whole way without it.

*Friday, March 1st.*—After 12 I steered the *Defiance* up in the procession of boats to Surly and back again. I got on much better with steering than I expected.

*Friday, March 22nd.*—I ran in the junior steeplechase. 38 started—Harford was first, Vane-Tempest second, Judwin third, and Farquharson fourth. I came in about ninth.

*Saturday, April 6th.*—We had no early school, but Chapel at 8.30, and confirmation chapel at 11. After 12 I

went up to see Mrs. Denham and after 4 I steered Hawkins' eight in lower eights. We won after an exciting race by barely a length.

*Monday, May 6th.*—We went to Paris, starting at 6 a.m. We drove 26 miles to Newhaven. We then crossed to Dieppe, where we arrived about 3, and then we went on to Paris by train *via* Rouen.

*Wednesday, May 29th.*—I steered in Lower Fours. West's four were first, ours (Mill's) were second, and Croft's last. After 6 I went up as far as the locks in an outrigger. In the evening I played chess with Eastwood.

*Tuesday, June 4th.*—I did nothing particular in the morning, but went to the White Hart to order dinner. At 2.30 Papa and Mamma came down, and I met them at Slough. After 6 o'clock absence I steered the *Dreadnought* in the procession to Surly.

*Friday, July 19th.*—I went to London for the Eton and Harrow match. I was up at Lords most of the day from half past one till seven. Mr. Maudslay drove Sandbach and me back in his carriage. In the evening I went to the theatre with Mabelle.

*Saturday, July 20th.*—Mr. Bingham called about 12, so I went up to Lords with him. It was very hot indeed. Eton was beaten by 20 runs. Lord and Lady Clanmorris, Aunt Maude and Uncle Albert were there. In the evening I came back to Eton.

*Sunday, October 13th.*—In the morning I went out for a walk with Kerr, out round by Hawtrey's. After dinner I went out for a long walk with Hannen, round by old Windsor and the Long Walk.

*Sunday, October 27th.*—Nearly all my dame's had gone for long leave. Harry and Evie Wrench came down to chapel and came to see my room afterwards. Went for a walk with Wilson after dinner to Ditton and Hawtrey's.

*Saturday, November 30th.*—St. Andrew's Day. Very cold and foggy, although fine. I went to see the lower-boy match in the field after 10. Wales' beat Cornish's for the cup. After 12 went with Johnstone to see Tugs *v.* Oppidans on the wall. The collegers won by 7 shies.

*Saturday, December 14th.*—Collections began. Got Medea to Jason for talking in school. Went with Wilson to see the house match in field, Durnford's *v.* James'. Latter won by one goal to nil. Went up town after 4 to get some Christmas cards.

*Sunday, December 15th.*—Went out with Kerr after morning chapel up town, but it came on to snow. Went out with Hannen in the afternoon. Farewell sermon from Joynes.

Three reports from Eton, which were found amongst his papers, will show what his tutors thought of him :—

*BRASSEY.* A most pleasant and amiable little lad, whom one can no more repress than a cork in a bucket. I am on the whole very pleased with his work, and think he deserves a good report. Latin Prose hardly up to the mark of his place in the Remove. I doubt his keeping his place in Trials, but he has a number of able boys round him.

10th of 34.

M. J.

*BRASSEY.* A very good, well-behaved boy, bright address and a very fair average in work. I have been fairly pleased with him ; but he is not up to the two or three best boys in the Division, who reach a really high standard, and his composition is unequal.

11th of 28.

M. JAMES.

One letter, as an example, will show how he confided to his father all his hopes and fears :—

*To his Father.*

Sunday.

The weather here has been atrocious. Rain every day almost. The river has been very high again and is more like a winter torrent than the Thames as it ought to be at this time of year. Boating has been stopped for a long time except for gigs and eight-oars. There has not been such a horrible summer for years and years. I am afraid that I may not steer the eight at Henley but there are still hopes. I gave satisfaction until last Wednesday when Warre said I did not steer well but lost a length and a half. Thursday I thought I steered a great deal better and so did other fellows but Warre said I again lost a length and a half, which I am sure I did not the second night. On Friday they tried another steerer but he steered as badly as he possibly could,

and fouled twice the scratch crew they were racing with. Last night they tried another coxswain but I don't know how he steered yet. It is a great disappointment to me as you may imagine. My friends come and cheer me up.

I hope that I shall steer yet, but am afraid not. It is rather hard lines steering within 4 days of Henley and then being kicked out. Poor Tennant, the fellow who stroked our Trial Eight when we won, has also been kicked out. He is a very good oar and everyone says that he is better than some who are rowing. I have got up a good deal of the work for Trials and am working hard every day. Thank Mamma for the hamper. Don't tell her about this if you can help it until I know for certain. Best love to Mabelle, Mamma, Moonie, Baby, and yourself.

His old school friend, Mr. R. S. de Havilland, writes about his great disappointment in being turned down by Mr. Warre from his place as cox of the Eton Eight of 1880:—

I had a curious bond with Brassey in those days, and that was a bond of misfortune. I was much disappointed in not getting into the Eton Eight of 1880. Brassey was also disappointed in not steering the same eight. Whatever my own merits may have been I am quite certain of his, as a steerer, and always thought that he was hardly treated on that occasion. Those things mean so much at the time, but T.A.B. took it all extremely well. One curious fact is that although he was light enough in those days to be a cox, yet he and another steerer in the boats, Polkington, went in for a pair-oar race called Junior Pulling, open to all but members of the Upper Boats. So well did they do that they were actually second in the final of the whole competition, a wonderful feat, considering the course was 3 miles, half up and half down stream. That was in 1879. I have never forgotten it, for though in for the final of the same race my partner and I did not get home owing to a broken oar.

Many years afterwards, in 1912, Brassey came to see me at Eton, and asked me to get some one to come out in a gig with him. I got hold of a great lad named Boyd, a splendid boy, well over 12 st., a member of the Crew which had just won the Ladies' Plate for us at Henley. I steered the boat and watched the other two row, and I can truthfully say that the heavyweight did not gain a pin's advantage

over the man of 50, or thereabouts, as T.A.B. was then. These seem trifles, but he never spared himself; nature had made him almost tireless, though I think of late years, perhaps, he was beginning to show that 25 and 55 are not absolutely the same. Yet they were, almost, with him. To me his entire selflessness and his extraordinary kindness will be in my mind all my life.

His Eton career is summed up by his tutor in a letter to his father dated April 23rd, 1882:—

*To Sir Thomas Brassey.*

. . . I am very sorry that your son is leaving: he was one of my first pupils and I shall miss him much.

Still, in four or five months he may gain much useful knowledge of French, and thus economise time when he has taken his degree.

I quite agree with you in thinking that there is no reason to be dissatisfied with his Eton career. Though he has not attained to the first place in any one subject yet he has done well in a great many, and leaves the school with a good general education. He always appeared to me to make the best of his life out of school hours, and to choose good and sensible friends. I feel sure that he will see the necessity of reading steadily when he goes up to Oxford. His Scholarship is quite good enough to enable him to do well in "Greats" should you and he, after consultation with the authorities at Balliol, think it advisable for him to take his degree in that school.

He never forgot Eton friends: nor was he unmindful of those who, though unknown to him, had been at Eton and were rather under the weather.

T.A.B. was elected to Pop in 1881, and was, according to all accounts which have been preserved of him, very well liked by his contemporaries. His greatest friends were Tomlin, Hannen and Bourne.

His life at Eton may be summed up in the following extracts from the "Eton College Chronicle":—

1879, March 1st. Cox of *Prince of Wales*.  
Played football for Tarver's.

1880, March 1st.	Cox of <i>Victory</i> .
1881, March 1st.	Rowed in <i>Hibernia</i> .
June 4th.	Rowed in <i>Dreadnought</i> and in Lower Boat choices.
October	Elected to Pop.
1882, Feb. 6th.	Opened a debate, "Is the British Navy in a satisfactory condition?" He spoke in the affirmative and the motion was carried by 3.
March 1st.	Rowed in <i>Prince of Wales</i> . 4th in Final of School Mile.

He left Eton in 1882, and for six months lived in Paris in the house of Monsieur Alexandre Casaubon, with whom he maintained friendly relationships until the end of his days. He was able, as a result, to speak French fluently. In after life, when very much immersed in business relating to the General Election at the end of the South African War, he found time to send copies of his speeches both to Monsieur Casaubon and to another friend, Monsieur Le Sage. When later on he called on the Casaubons during the time of his service in France, he received a letter on the following terms:—

Paris, le 31 Decembre, 1917.

MON CHER AMI,

Je regrette bien d'avoir été absent lors de votre passage à mon bureau. J'étais allé me reposer de mes fatigues dans la Charente chez une tante de ma femme. Je suis revenu complètement remis de mes fatigues, et en bonne santé. J'ai toujours beaucoup de travail, mais je trouve qu'à l'arrière nous n'avons pas le droit de nous plaindre, et devons tout supporter en pensant à l'héroïsme et au dévouement de ceux qui combattent pour nous sur le front. Je pense que 1918 verra avancer le succès de nos armes; il y aura encore beaucoup à souffrir mais nous vaincrons certainement.

Ma femme et ma fille vont bien. Mon fils, toujours mobilisé, a été un peu malade, et est en ce moment encore en convalescence. Ma mère se porte bien. Mon père supporte moins bien le poids des ans; il est vrai qu'il est agé de 87 ans, le médecin l'oblige à se coucher dès qu'il se sent indisposé. La maison de la rue St. Jacques est presque



T.A.B. IN HIS "BOAT'S" DRESS AT ETON.



T.A.B. AT THE WHEEL ON THE "SUNBEAM."



entièrement pleine de Français et surtout d'Américains ; il y a même un Colonel Anglais, homme fort aimable et très gai. Ma belle-sœur et mon plus jeune neveu aident maintenant, beaucoup ma mère par leur présence : le fils qui a passé brillamment ses deux examens de baccalauréat-ès-lettres, est étudiant de la Faculté des Sciences, et veut devenir médecin ; sa mère, excellente pianiste, anime la maison en faisant de la musique avec les pensionnaires. Les occupations font ainsi oublier à ma mère ses chagrins ; elle a l'esprit occupé, ce qui vaut mieux et est en bonne santé ; elle ne pourrait d'ailleurs pas avec son caractère vivre dans l'inaction ; elle ne veut pas absolument s'arrêter, et il lui faut du bruit autour d'elle.

J'espère que M. votre père et tous les membres de votre famille sont en bonne santé.

Je vous souhaite une année meilleure que celle qui est passée. Veuillez présenter mon respectueux souvenir à Lord Brassey, et me croire toujours votre vieil ami,

A. CASAUBON.

Mon neveu, l'ainé, est interprète dans l'armée Américaine ; il parle, trouve-t-on, très bien l'Anglais.

A man is known by the way he clings to the friends of his youth, and they to him. This one letter, chosen from a large number with its assumption that T.A.B. will of course be interested in all the writer's affairs may be taken to be a sufficient indication of T.A.B.'s constancy to the friendships of his youth.

After his six months in Paris and a holiday in England T.A.B. went up to Oxford as a commoner of Balliol in October, 1882. Then began a love which lasted until death. Whatever trait in his character seemed strongest to those who lived near to him in later life, it was plain to every one that he loved Balliol and loved Oxford with a surpassing affection. That it was not merely a superficial or sentimental fancy for an ancient place of learning, where he had spent some happy hours of youth, is testified by many a glowing word, and many a magnificent action which ennobled his later years. Oxford had a strong grip upon him : its needs called forth the effort of every fibre of his being : for its prosperity no sacrifice could be accounted too great.

Other men were and are no doubt equally attached to Oxford, and equally anxious to further the interests of the University, but few have displayed so clearly, in action, the soundness of their attachment. He was one apart, towering head and shoulders above his fellows in the intensity of his feeling for the College of his choice, and the University of which it was a part. But of all this more must be recorded at a later time of his life.

It may, however, be not beside the mark to inquire what was the nature of the force which attracted this young man who was wealthy beyond the dreams of most undergraduates, and absolved from any necessity to struggle for a great place, or to engage in the common toil for livelihood or for riches.

Oxford has been described by many men in many ways ; the devising of clever epigrams has been an amusement and an interlude of her brilliant sons, and a source of unholy glee for her soured detractors : fervid praise and witty reminiscences abound in the literature of many centuries ; but the steady, constant, shining glow of honest enthusiasm, which is the fruit of the honest, English nature, has been less emphasised in either epigram or reminiscence. It would seem to be quite certain that the secret of Oxford's hold upon T.A.B. was its clear-cut message of the duty of public service. That message was so forceful as to rasp upon the least imaginative in such a way as to brook no neglect, and upon his sensitiveness, in particular, with clamant insistency. His nature was already attuned to receive such a message : what home, family, ancestry, early associations, Eton had left unsaid, Balliol uttered with no uncertain voice in his ready ear. Sacrifice for the common good, and with a merry face, he learnt at Oxford and did not forget.

A letter to Lady Brassey from his friend, Mr. Chitty, helps to explain this :—

*To Lady Brassey.*

Little as I had seen of T.A.B. for many years I continued always to think of him as a very dear friend. I had no greater friend than he when we were up at Oxford together,

and the friendship was of that intimate character which produces a lasting impression—something that no subsequent events can alter. . . .

The reference to T.A.B.'s grandfather reminds me of the time when he was attending a weekly lecture on political economy. We had a very gloomy fortnight because twice running the lecturer, a learned Professor, had discoursed upon the ease with which wealth is abused by its owner. The lectures had been copiously illustrated from the lives of wealthy men. Next week, however, T.A.B. returned from the lecture radiantly happy. The Professor had turned to the other side of the picture and quite unaware that T.A.B. was one of his audience, he had taken T.A.B.'s grandfather as his first illustration of what wealth means when it is in the hands of the right man. Perhaps I am merely telling you something that you are quite familiar with, but I am sure that that lecture bore fruits throughout T.A.B.'s life.

. . . All my recollections of him are such happy ones, and what is more they are grateful, for I am keenly conscious of how much I owe to his friendship.

When he entered at Balliol, the lustre which had been shed upon the name of the College by the life work of its greatest of masters—Benjamin Jowett—was bright and glowing. The reforms which he had spent himself in effecting, the high standard of scholarship which he had set for himself and demanded of all his associates, the remarkable traits and influences of his personality, were sufficient to make the tone and the reputation of Balliol unsurpassed and possibly unequalled by any other College of the University. The common room was filled with men of genius and individuality, one of the youngest of whom—a man whose mark was already made—a certain A. L. Smith, destined himself to be Master of Balliol, was T.A.B.'s tutor. Their association was the prelude to a life-long friendship in which each contributed to the equipment of the other, to their great and lasting gain. T.A.B.'s intellectual powers were not above the average: his tutor's were brilliant, and they served to inspire T.A.B.'s practical common-sense with a new vision of service. Amongst men just senior to him, or of his year, were some who attained high positions or made great reputations in their several spheres. These

included Douglas Haig, Frederick Huth Jackson, Cosmo Gordon Lang, Harold Ruggles-Brise, Henry Bowlby, Douglas McLean, Edward Grey, Robert Younger, B. B. Cubitt, J. A. Spender, E. A. Mitchell-Innes, G. R. Benson, and Anthony Hope Hawkins.

T.A.B. was in college for the first two years of his course, and afterwards lived in rooms with "Jacker." His Eton diary has shown his devotion to sports of all kinds. At Oxford he made a great reputation as a runner, and was very successful on the river. He also hunted a great deal with two or three packs of hounds, and particularly with the Heythrop, of which his uncle was Master. When his reading and rowing made more claims on his time, he gave up hunting to a very large extent in order to devote himself more particularly to the river. Though only a lightweight he was a first-rate oar, and in other years many less capable have been awarded their Blues. The great feature about all his sport was that he never knew when he was beaten. A tremendous look of determination set itself hard upon his face, and he would snatch a victory out of the very jaws of defeat with that last gasp of effort which a great many men never learn that they possess. He stroked the College Eight and was Captain of the College Boat Club.

He became a member and joint secretary of the Dervorguilla Club, a society which met usually on Saturday evenings for the discussion of topics of political interest. This club, in 1883, consisted of the following members: F. W. Pember, H. W. Cave, H. Chitty, H. Ruggles-Brise, T. A. Brassey, W. Farrer, W. K. Richardson, H. Vian, C. A. Ionides, W. B. Davenport, D. Waterhouse, J. B. Williamson, L. J. Grant, C. E. Mallett, B. H. Cohen, C. N. Lubbock, H. L. W. Lawson, S. Brearley, R. L. Smith, B. King, W. H. Forbes, A. H. Hawkins, E. C. E. Owen, W. H. Shaw, J. Waley, W. A. Bowen, and R. Younger.

It is named after the Princess Dervorguilla, wife of John de Balliol, founder of the College. The nature of its discussions may be estimated from an account of one of its debates.

On Saturday, March 7th, Mr. Williamson moved "That this House has lost all confidence in the Foreign Policy of

Her Majesty's Ministers, and considers a reconstruction of the Gladstone Cabinet imperatively necessary." To this Mr. Lang moved as an amendment, "That the words after 'Her Majesty's Ministers' be omitted." The Conservatives, however, were too weak to aid Mr. Lang: and the union of Conservatives and bigoted Liberals proved too strong for Mr. Williamson and his free-thinkers: consequently both amendment and motion were lost."

During vacations T.A.B. was much occupied with his cutter, the *Norman*, which he kept in the Thames, and sailed to various places round the coast. Like his father, he loved sculling and rowing, and would get up races with local oarsmen when away on holiday. The Master of Balliol tells how pleased T.A.B. was when, with three amateurs, he beat a four-oar of professionals at Southsea.

He passed the Board of Trade Examination for Master's Certificate in Mercantile Marine in order that, as a yacht owner, he might be allowed to navigate his own vessel.

During 1884, 1885, and 1886 he kept a short diary of his doings, which consists more or less of a record of events, with only occasional comments and criticisms. A fairly accurate summary of his habits can be derived from this diary, showing that shooting, hunting, dancing, running, rowing, and nearly every kind of outdoor sport occupied his spare time. He kept also from day to day a record of the number of hours spent in reading, which shows that he put in a steady average of five to six hours a day.

In January, 1884, he speaks with glee of hounds killing in a kitchen in East Sussex, and of stroking the second "togger" when it swamped. In the College Sports of March of this year he won the Half-Mile Handicap and finished second in the Mile. He ran for Oxford against Cambridge in the Mile.

In April, his sister Mabelle was engaged to Mr. C. A. Egerton, who a few years later was joint-master with T.A.B. of the East Sussex, and his coming of age was celebrated with great magnificence at Normanhurst. His father and mother filled the place to overflowing in honour of the event. The festivities continued for a whole week, and the journalistic chronicler of the time records the way in which

philanthropic work, in which his mother was so greatly interested, was dovetailed into visits to the races, fancy dress balls, illumination of the grounds, paper chases, and entertainments to the tenantry. The sleeping accommodation of the house was quite insufficient to accommodate the hundred guests who came to spend the week, and the large, covered tennis-court, which years afterwards was to be turned into a Red Cross hospital for men wounded in the Great War, was fitted up for the accommodation of the male visitors. Large marquees were erected close by for the men-servants, and the inner drawing-room, looking over towards the sea, was doubled in size by the erection of a temporary terrace upon which a great tent was set.

T.A.B. is reported to have looked "very nice in a fancy boating dress," such as is customarily worn—in the dreadful language of the journalist—"in the Montem (*sic*) festival on the 4th of June, at Eton," and it is said that "his duck trousers and straw hat, and altogether simple but pleasant outfit contrasted very favourably with the elaborate toilettes, rich coloured costumes and brilliant appearance of the large proportion of the guests assembled to do him honour."

The record in the diary for Whit Sunday (June 1st) runs: "Went up the river with Cosmo, James, Ruggles, Roger, Tommy, Tout, and Pemberton." He rowed in the Sculls, beat Andrews in the first heat by four lengths, Vickers in the second by a length and a half, in the third he drew a bye, and was then beaten by Unwin, who had previously beaten the President easily by rather over two lengths. At this he expresses great disappointment. He finished second in the Pairs at the College Regatta, was in the winning Eight, and second in the Cockles.

In August he went to Attadale, where Ruggles-Brise and Monro joined him. During this stay in Scotland, which lasted until the beginning of October, he was constantly reading, using his spare time in fishing, shooting, stalking, and in excursions on the *Sunbeam*. On Sundays he speaks of the services at church, at kirk, or on the yacht. Amongst the guests were the Casaubons, who stayed for some time, Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill, the Lyttons and Colonel Napier.

On Tuesday, September 30th, the party went to the Loch Carron games. The *Viking* swamped going across with eight people in her, including T.A.B. Some were nearly drowned, and a great calamity was only averted by T.A.B.'s courage and presence of mind.

This event, recorded in his diary in language as bald as the most modest of men could make it, may be retold in the account of the award of the Medal of the Royal Humane Society for saving life at sea, which was given to him for his gallantry. The official report to the Society runs thus :—

At about half-past eleven on the 30th of July, as the *Viking* cutter was proceeding from the yacht *Sunbeam* (lying at anchor in Loch Carron, Ross-shire) to the shore, some three-quarters of a mile distant, one of her timbers parted in two, owing to the very heavy sea that was then running. The boat was shortly found to be in a sinking condition, and during a short interval Mr. Brassey, with great coolness, distributed the oars to those of the crew and others who could not swim (six in number) and, divesting himself of his coat, advised the others to do the same, at the same time giving instructions to the non-swimmers what to do. The vessel soon filled and turned over in the rough waves, and in the confusion, several having lost the oars that had been given to them, Mr. Brassey's voice was heard encouraging all. Among them was a lad of 18, named Tinworth, groom to Sir Thomas Brassey. He being observed in a drowning condition, Mr. Brassey swam out, and, without a thought of his own safety, gave him his own oar, and supported him against the heavy waves until the *Sunbeam's* other boat arrived and rescued all. The wind was blowing a heavy gale at the time.

One who was present wrote to him afterwards in the following terms :—

We were delighted last night at seeing in the *Pall Mall* the announcement of the recognition by the Royal Humane Society of your pluck and courage on Loch Carron—and I must write a line of congratulation. It is a fine trophy to have won and thoroughly well deserved. I fully appreciated your performances at the time, but did not say much about them to you because I fancied you rather barred the subject.

At the beginning of the Michaelmas term he was rowing in a four as bow with Hall (str.), Roger (3), Fairfax (2) but the idea of the four had to be given up after a fortnight's strenuous practice, as Roger had developed a heart. The succeeding fortnight was spent in coaching on the river, in running, and rowing bow in trials.

He ran in the 'Varsity Mile Handicap with 75 yards start, winning easily in 4-mins. 32 secs. In the same month he found time to run down to Portsmouth to look after the *Norman*.

He won, also, the Trinity Strangers' Race, a Two-Mile Handicap, with 60 yards start, in 10 mins. 11 secs.

On December 9th he went down from Oxford and attended the Rowing Club Dinner at Hastings, at which he made a speech. Until Christmas he was shooting, mainly with the Ruggles-Brises and L. Harcourt.

The year 1885 opened with him still at Normanhurst with Ruggles-Brise. On January 2nd they went to the St. Leonards ball, which he reported to be crowded and stuffy. Until the 11th there was the usual round of hunting and shooting with a children's fancy ball at the Ebdens on the 10th. On the 12th he went to Canford to stay with the Wimbornes for shooting, and returned to Oxford on the 16th, *via* London. The first week of term he was unwell and not much out. On the 31st he introduced a motion at Dervorguilla on the state of the Navy.

In February he writes much of coaching the "togger," driving over to Heythrop ball with Jacker, which necessitated getting in through Brown's window by a ladder at 5.30 a.m.

On Ash Wednesday he went into training for running. The togger made one bump. He won the Mile and Half-Mile Handicap at the College Sports.

In March he was still hard at work rowing and running, and at the 'Varsity Sports he won the Mile by 1 foot from Holland. This race deserve a longer mention than he gives. The *Oxford University Magazine* tells the story at length :—

Snow was falling on Friday night, and with it the hearts of all who wished to watch, or to take part in the University

Sports on the morrow ; for if there is one thing that can make or mar Sports, it is the weather. Cold and damp are a cheerless prospect for the spectator ; but add to them the thoughts of a wet path and slippery turf, and you have the feelings of the already shivering athlete.

However, Saturday morning broke fine and still, and as the hours wore on the sun came out and left nothing to be desired in the day. The path was a little heavy in places, and the times, therefore, for the Quarter and Mile will probably be faster at Lillie Bridge. The Mile was again this year the closest race on the first day, and few but the judges knew whether Holland or Brassey was first : but strength and pluck had told their tale, and Brassey was pronounced the winner by a few inches.

One Mile—(1) T. A. Brassey, Balliol ; (2) E. R. Holland, Pembroke ; (3) F. E. J. Smith, New College ; E. de L. Collinson, New College ; H. Gordon, New College ; C. J. Lavie, New College ; R. E. Nevill, Lincoln.

Lavie and Nevill led for some distance, but the two Blues, joined by Brassey, gradually worked their way to the front, and between these three the race was evidently to be decided. Coming into the straight Brassey gave Smith the go-by, and followed hard after Holland, who struggled madly to shake off his determined opponent ; but in vain—Brassey passed the tape an inch or two to the good, Smith being close up behind. Time : 4 mins. 37 $\frac{3}{4}$  secs. It is only fair to add that Smith did much better time than this at Lillie Bridge last year, so that all these competitors may be expected to improve much in the coming fortnight. Pratt, last spring, cut himself down 14 secs. in the same period.

In the Three-Mile Race there were many running. (1) J. H. A. Marshall, University ; (2) F. M. Ingram, Magdalen ; (3) T. A. Brassey, Balliol ; (4) H. A. Munro, New College ; G. R. Benson, Balliol ; W. C. Anderson, Oriel ; G. N. Barclay, Magdalen ; A. Y. Dawbarn, Balliol ; A. Douglas, Merton ; W. J. King, Corpus ; W. A. Marshall, Ch. Ch. ; G. G. Timmis, Ch. Ch. ; W. T. Turrell, Turrell's Hall ; P. S. Worthington, Corpus.

Ingram cut out the work, and was still leading at the end of the first mile (5 mins. 2 secs.) and the second (10 mins. 21 secs.). Shortly after this, however, Marshall sent to the front, and going away fast won by 100 yards from Ingram, who was something less than that distance in front of Brassey.

Half way through the race Brassey lost a shoe, which handicapped him not a little. Of the others, Munro alone finished; still the size of the field was most creditable, and the popularity of the race throws great light on the almost unbroken monopoly of this event at Lillie Bridge. Time 15 mins. 25 $\frac{3}{4}$  secs.

Oxford won the Sports on March 27th by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ . He himself ran very badly in the Mile, which resulted: (1) Holland, (2) Waters, (3) Smith, (4) Brassey in 4 mins. 37 $\frac{3}{4}$  secs. Oxford also won the boatrace by 3 lengths. He followed the race on a steamer, his father being with him.

At the end he went down to Birkenhead. He was in the district for a week and visited Chester and other places.

At the end of term he had intended going to Norway, but changed his plans. For the month of July his headquarters were Birkenhead, whence he visited most of the well-known places in North Wales. He spent the whole of August on the *Sunbeam* and the *Norman*.

In accordance with the rule of the College, T.A.B. entered for Honour Moderations, and, in common with most Etonians, in Classics. He met with a disaster which served as a great stimulus to stronger efforts and closer application to study.

The following letters on the subject of his Schools are sufficient explanation of the course of events.

DEAR T.A.B.,

I'm awfully sorry on your Father's account: not so much on yours: you're young and will outlive it, and for all I know you may have a dozen sons—one up if the other's down.

Moreover your gulph sets you free to go straight to work at History—no quarantine. What this cropper—or rather this scramble—proves is, not exactly that you're a fool, as you suggest (for when you came up you were a wretched scholar, nurtured, like most Etonians, on third-rate cribs, and probably without a dictionary in your library) but that yachting and reading don't agree well together.

Here are your marks, or most of them.

Homer *ought* to have been a certainty.

Homer, Aristophanes, 4 (pass, no class) De Corona,  
Latin Prose, Greek Literature, all 3 ———

1 yard,

Virgil 3, Ac., Theocr., Juvenal Unseen, all 2.

That would give you about 8 thirds out of 10 required to put you in the Class List. *Your divinity* was described as resembling Mr. Sawyer's famous jump on Marathon—through is not over: but there was one man who actually described Mary Magdalene as the "Mother of Our Lord." Could it have been Struggles? for he neither got over *nor* through.

Now for the sermon of which all this has been the text. Don't go about whistling to yourself that humbugging tune

O dear me  
What a fool I be!

which is only an excuse for not "trying": but just remember that even genius is only an endless capacity for taking pains: your wits are quite as good as most men start with, and whether people come to call you clever or not is a mere question of time and sticking to it.

Don't forget to ask your Father about the Union: and don't cut me entirely because you've gone on to History!

Ever yours,  
F. de PARAVICINI.

T.A.B. accordingly read for Honours in History, and by dint of great application secured a very good second, which might easily have been a first. His father wrote to him about this from mid-ocean.

17th July, 1886.

MY DEAREST T.A.B.,

I take my earliest opportunity of writing my warmest congratulations on your good class in the History School. I am entirely satisfied. With luck it might have been a first. Without the favouring chances you have taken a most honourable place. I cannot doubt that you would have been in the first class if you had declined to comply with the demands upon you for help in athletics. They take too much out of you, when you are making a serious call on your brains. All this was fully considered when I met Smith and had breakfast in your rooms. The reasons which led you to undertake athletics were good reasons. It is quite unnecessary to regret. You have done thoroughly well. Every friend will be quite delighted.

My dear T.A.B. I earnestly hope that your good beginning at Oxford will be an encouragement to you at the outset

of your career. It can be made a happy, and useful, and creditable one. It is easy to fail.

Begin at home. Be a good son to your dear Mother. You have all her good qualities, her talents in many ways, her pluck, her devotion. Be a help to your sisters, especially to Mabelle.

Take every opportunity of doing what you can for country, the village games, the yeomanry, the Naval Annual, the Colonial Federation Scheme, your journeys; all these are opportunities. In the administration of the property, which I have given to you, much useful experience may be gained. It is always a power to be a man of business.

I have only to say once more how proud I am of your success, how thankful I am that you have had this encouragement to further efforts, and how grateful I am to those who have helped you in your career at Oxford, whether as teachers or as friends.

What a relief it must be to you, my dear son, to have got through your heavy task!

Your most affectionate father,  
(Signed) THOMAS BRASSEY.

The diary for 1886 covers very much the same kind of ground as those of the two previous years. It is to be noted that he was second in the Half-Mile at the College Sports, and that he won the Mile in 4 mins. 53 secs. The Varsity Sports, held on March 16th, were again the occasion of a tremendous contest in which his determination and stamina almost snatched a victory from a much better runner. The contemporary account is as follows:—

The Mile was one of the finest races witnessed on the Oxford path for many a day. At no part of the race did more than a couple of yards separate T. A. Brassey (Balliol) from F. J. K. Cross (New College), and when they entered the straight level the excitement of the onlookers was raised to fever pitch. Fifty yards from home Brassey, to the delight of his friends, got a slight advantage, but at the enclosure they were level again, and, just getting the best of the final effort, the old Harrovian secured the verdict by six inches. A finer exhibition of downright pluck has seldom been witnessed, and had a dead heat resulted it would have been equally as satisfactory. The time, 4 mins.

34 secs., was remarkably good, and unless Brassey gets stale, as he did last year, the winner of the Inter-Varsity Mile will undoubtedly have to do 4 mins. 30 secs.—of course, provided the day is at all favourable.

The finish showed that T.A.B. was game to the very last. Observers say that he was no pretty runner, but that he had about ten times the pluck of most men. In the Three Miles he finished third in 15 mins. 27 secs. In the Inter-University Sports the Mile was run by Cross in 4 mins. 28 $\frac{2}{5}$  secs.

In July there was again a cricket week at Normanhurst when matches were played against the South Saxons, the Parsees and Lambert's XI.

T.A.B. finally went down from Oxford in the middle of the year and set himself at once to the work which he had chosen in life, to the study of which he devoted a considerable part of his Oxford time. This work was the consolidation of the Empire.

The following letter from C. G. Lang (Archbishop of York), who had just won a fellowship at All Souls, is of interest as showing how his contemporaries at Oxford admired the public spirit with which he set himself to work directly after he came down from Oxford:—

All Souls College,  
Oxford.  
Nov. 24th, 1888.

MY DEAR T.A.B.,

Many thanks for your congratulations and the letter which contained them. I only hear of you as a sort of fiery cross touring about from sea-port to sea-port and a sign that you were, after all, the actual T.A.B. was very reassuring. I admire the work you are doing immensely—not that I am a zealot in the cause, I wish I were, but my blood is too cold; not that I understand thoroughly the attitude of the different parts—but it is in these days refreshing to know that somebody has got some definite thing to do and means to do it, not because it is a clever party dodge, but because the country is in need of it.

I am sure you are just the man to show what good work can be done by letting the froth of party and democratic nonsense alone and pegging away at the foundation of patriotism which, in spite of his "demonstrations" and

political gag, poor John Bull really has deep down within him. As for me I am vegetating here this term—by compulsion. It is luxurious vegetating, no doubt, but, I'm afraid, a great waste of time. After Christmas I shall be again in Town—at Palace Chambers—only coming up here casually to keep my days.

The election was an utter surprise to me. I did, as I still think, very inferior work in the exam. ; the result of no reading, for my four months abroad was practically one long holiday. I am only sorry that the brave show of very learned persons who competed should have made such poor use of their learning as to be beaten by an ignorant outsider.

Hoping to see you and have a talk with you sometime,

Yours ever,

C. G. LANG.

The Archbishop writes the following appreciation of T.A.B.'s character and career at Oxford and subsequently :—

Although T.A.B. (for like all his friends I can call him by no other name) was my exact contemporary and intimate friend at Balliol, I cannot recall any special episodes or tell any stories illustrating his career which would be of interest to those who did not share the life which we lived together in those happy days. His forceful personality was simply part of that common life, interwoven with all our memories of it. Few men changed so little in character with the passage of the years. Wide experience of the world, increasing responsibilities, a leading part in industrial and political affairs, these all came to him. But the essential T.A.B. remained the same. When I try to think of him in his Balliol days, the picture which rises most vividly in my memory is the picture of him stroking the College Eight, his head thrown back, his teeth set, putting his whole energy into every stroke. Then as ever, he "endured hardness," hard rowing, hard running, hard riding, and (when it was necessary) hard reading. Then, as ever, he was incapable in himself and impatient in others of any softness of life, or mind, or sport, or speech. Then, as ever, whatsoever his hand found to do he did it with all his might. He often tired others, as I well knew who used sometimes to make the pace for him during his training for his memorable contests in the Inter-Varsity Sports ; but he never seemed

tired himself. Ceaseless energy and outspoken honesty, these were the marks of the undergraduate as of the man. Frank, downright, even blunt, in word and manner, so we remember him ; scornful of all pretence, evasion, compromise. On the cinder-path, the river, the hunting field, as afterwards in the management of business affairs or of the Oxford Endowment Fund, or of the cause of Federalism and Devolution, or of Church Finance, there was to him only one way of going. It was straight ahead through all obstacles. There was only one side to every question. There was only one test of a man's character. Was he simple and straight ? Could you rely on him in a tight place ?

Yet with all this almost grim determination and downrightness he was full of fun ; and in his laugh you felt " the joyful gladness of such as are true-hearted." True-hearted he was in those days as ever afterwards, incapable of anything mean or underhand ; clean, straight, the soul of honour. And warm-hearted also in the love he had for his family and home and in the loyalty he gave to his friends. It is the remembrance of this truth and warmth and loyalty of heart that moves all friends of his Oxford and later days to think of him and to speak of him to one another as " dear old T.A.B."

### CHAPTER III

AFTER Oxford, as the next step in the educational course for those who could compass it, always used to come the grand tour. It may be different now. But in any case, to see the world is to gain quickly a knowledge of affairs and an experience of life. And these two are the crown of education. They are the ocean into which the flood of early achievement pours. School and college join hand in hand to set a man aglow with fine ideals and noble principles. And then in the college days, when personality is afire, the shades of many an ancient brotherhood flit around hoary quadrangles at the birth of lasting friendships. David is kindled with the love of Jonathan, and sings afresh the song of the Bow. Ideals, principles and friendships are placed in their proper setting in the background of the width of outlook which we gain in the journey to the Ultima Thule of our desire and home again. By close observation of many men in many lands exaggeration is moderated and eccentricity ousted. The zealot is not made less zealous, but his zeal is turned into the paths of understanding. The mind comes to the fruition of manhood in the wisdom of knowing that all things are possible to all men, but that only those who seek find. The soul learns to discover, day by day, new things divine in a world of change. Slowly it finds the deeper content, looking with still eyes upon sights of wonder and pain and happiness. In the voyage adventurous the whole being swells into a greater comprehensiveness.

T.A.B. had been down to the sea in ships ever since he was a baby. In the *Albatross*, in the *Meteor*, in the *Sunbeam*, he had travelled from his earliest days, even from before the first day that he could remember, the pathless ways of the deep. In the Mediterranean his eyes had been rocked

to sleep by Euroclydon. The singing of the wind in the rigging, the lash of the spindrift, the gambolling of the dolphin were all part of his life. The lifting of the grey cliff from the green water, as the *Sunbeam* beat in towards the land; the cry of the following bird as it swept the wave in the wake of the gleaming skiff; the setting of Orion in the Northern Sky, and the lifting of the Southern Cross in the starry tropical heaven; the call of the off-shore wind, the steady breath of the Trades, the falling of night athwart a rocky coast; these were all familiar to him. As incidents of childhood and youth he had seen many men and many lands.

But now it was to be different. With a set purpose he was to go forth into the Colonies and into other countries. At Oxford his thoughts had turned steadfastly towards an ideal of Empire. From his father he had learned something of the wider aspects of the growing problem of the Empire: and now amidst the excitements and pleasures of travel, or of big game shooting, he was to learn the secret of the problem's solution. He was to follow that same father's advice to investigate personally the conditions under which men served the State in many places, and he was presently to come to that fineness of enthusiasm which held him in bondage, a willing slave, until the end of his life, for in the midst of his early post-Oxford journeyings there came to the birth his conviction concerning Imperial Unity and Imperial Federation.

The years 1885-8 were almost entirely occupied by travel. T.A.B. published, privately, an account of some of his doings, in a book called "Sixteen Months' Travel," 1886-7, extracts from which will convey much of his doings. The first relates to big game shooting in the Rockies:—

*Monday, October 11th, 1886.*—When we woke up we found an inch of snow over our beds; but it came out fair, and we determined to start. Packing was a tough job. "Coomanchee," our Indian pony, would not let himself be caught. Herbert tried after him for an hour and a half, but we had at last to let him run loose. He followed quietly with the pack train. I took a turn round by myself on the way, but saw nothing but a doe deer. It came on to snow

slightly, so I went into camp for some "chuck" after which off again on "Old Tom" up the gulch, where Barclay and I had been on Saturday. Just as I reached the edge of the live timber I heard an elk squeal, and a little farther on tied up "Old Tom." I had not walked far when up jumped a fair bull right in front of me. I did not shoot, because I could hear some more squealing farther up the gulch, as well as on my right. As I got on I began to realise that the top of the gulch was full of an enormous band of elk. Such a chorus I had never heard before, and don't suppose I ever shall again. Some deep-toned, some shrill like three or four notes on a fife; most of them give three or four grunts after whistling; one was so hoarse that he barked exactly like a dog. Several cows I could see, but no big bulls. I kept on the right and down wind of the main body, hoping to get around on top of the big bulls. Close to the head of the gulch a band of cows and small bulls got right in my way. I got within seventy yards of the nearest cow, when off they went, taking all those round with them, about half the whole lot. I went on, hoping to have a shot at them as they crossed the divide, but when I reached the top they were already two or three hundred yards down the other side. Hearing the big bulls still in the same place I turned back towards them, along the top of the divide. Of course, again, some smallish bulls got in my way. It was just 4 o'clock. A heavy storm was coming on; I had left my coat with "Old Tom"; and after all Child, Barclay, and Sartoris, the "Old Timers," had said to me about the danger of these storms I dared not wait any longer. I went straight to the place where I heard the big bulls, though I did not see them, hoping to get a shot at them as they came over the divide. The small bulls soon began to take the whole band off with them. About two hundred must have passed in front of me some two hundred or two hundred and fifty yards off; last of all, about a hundred yards behind the rest, came three splendid bulls, moving slowly. I had four or five shots at them, but it was no use. I did not expect to hit them, bad shot as I am and in the fading light, but it was a great disappointment, not getting one. Just as I was firing the storm came on; the hail drove perfectly straight across the divide, and I rushed for the shelter of the live timber. I found "Old Tom" all right, after a little hesitation, and was very glad to get back to camp. The hail soon turned to light snow, so I had not such a bad

time as I feared at first. Anyhow, the others thought there had been considerable risk ; they had stayed in camp all day, McLean with rheumatism caught bathing yesterday. (Mem. : Never bathe when you are in camp.) To-night we had both tents up for the first time for a fortnight.

The following letter from the hunter who accompanied him on his shooting tour in the Rockies, is interesting :—

Nov. 24th, 1888.  
Laramie City,  
Wyoming, R.E.R., U.S.A.

Mr. t. a. brassey.

DEAR SIR,

i am living in laramie at present on rail al winter i an family is well i am yet hunting i am engaged to bengough at present to hunt sheep an also to sartoris to hunt elk an deer i killed a terrible good black tail buck the other day while hunting for meat i was chopping wood this morning an come near knocking my right eye out it will lay me of a few days i sent for them coon skins the haf not com yet i live where strit iron lived when you was here there was a reck the other day an strit iron got hurt the trip to idaho was al most a failure.

wel i supose you are hunting an shooting an having a good time i wish i could bee there a few days an talk an hunt with you an that you could bee here to go out with i an sartoris an talk about the deers corn shucking hide but i am in hope that you was wel pleased with your trip an that i an you wil hunt the fesive bair to gather next fal again.

i will close hoping to here from you soon

a. d. laramie

city

Wyoming

ter

U.S.A.

s. e. Lawson.

The labour of writing such a letter will have been greater than much "chopping wood."

In August, 1886, he went, at his father's request, to visit the Michigan estate, in order to advise about projected developments. This estate was nominally in the ownership of a developing company called the Michigan Land Iron Company, but it was almost entirely owned by T.A.B.'s father.

He was accompanied by Mr. Arthur Tapp, son of that Mr. Tapp who had been for so many years the accountant of the vast contracting enterprises of T.A.B.'s grandfather. Mr. Arthur Tapp had previously travelled through Michigan in 1884 and the report which he made on that occasion, of which a summary is now given, gives some indication of the character and extent of this American property. The principal town on it is Marquette, on the banks of Lake Superior. It is traversed by two considerable rivers, the Sturgeon and the Michigamme. At that time one railroad, the Marquette to Houghton Railway, provided a restricted access to some parts of the estate. The lands held in full title amounted to 391,921 acres, and there were mineral rights over an additional 62,000 acres. Mr. Tapp continues :

My descent from Lake Michigamme, the largest and one of the most beautiful of the inland lakes, down the river of the same name, was made in a canoe with a couple of attendants—a Chippewa Indian and a French Canadian.

Most of the rapids were run, but as others were more formidable a landing and a portage were the only means of passing. At night the canoe was drawn up under the bank and the tent pitched under some neighbouring clump of trees. Deer, beaver, marten and chipmuck were seen and the tracks of bear, otter, mink, and snake prove that they also inhabit this country. The streams abound in trout and several fish.

The country is traversed by rocky ledges and narrow valleys running in an easterly and westerly direction. The fallen timber (windfall), swamps, and rocky boulders make travelling through the woods difficult and laborious, the average rate of speed being one mile per hour, which during the summer, is rendered more trying by the attacks of mosquitoes. It is true that it requires more physical exertion to travel 5 miles per day through Lake Superior Windfall than in any other regions east of the Mississippi.

Some extracts from T.A.B.'s diary will give a general idea of what was done on this visit :—

*Saturday, 14th, 1886.*—Met Tapp at Adelphi. Went to Exhibition-models. Mr. Stewart Brown and Miss Birkett saw us off on board at 3 ; did not leave till 7.

*Sunday, 22nd.*—Arrived in dock New York about 1. Lovely entrance—splendid harbour. To Coney Island. Much struck by orderliness of people—in thousands. Good dinner at Olicubal.

*Monday, 23rd.*—On steam yacht (20 m. an hour) with Mr. Forbes, Fairchild. Not much wind. *Puritan* led, *Mayflower*, *Priscilla*, *Atlantic* carried away topmast. Dined University Club, with Fairchild.

*Monday, 6th.*—Very hot journey—found Father and “Ducker” at Brevort House. Called on Mr. J. C. Brown. Went to dine at his house in country, not v. pretty. To see yacht race on *Corsair*. *Mayflower* won easily—13 mins.

*Wednesday, 8th.*—Arrived Chicago 9. Grand Pacific Ry. crowded. Went to base-ball game—Detroit's v. Chicagos. Dined Chicago Club. Left 9 p.m.

*Saturday, 11th.*—Left with White, Jopling, and 2 guides by 7 train. Struck into woods over Indian trail at Durton—5 miles. Shanty comfortable. Lovely river and lake in midst of forest. Out on platform for deer in afternoon. Out jacking at night.

*Sunday, 12th.*—Out again at 4. Back to camp by 7.20. With “Ducker” on stream in canoe. Shot snipe and duck. Ashamed of Sabbath breaking. Back to Marquette.

*Monday, 13th.*—With Father and Tapp to see Witmore and Titan—both surface mines. Accident delayed us 2 hours. But Chicago train made it up in 3. Sorry to leave Marquette.

*Friday, 17th.*—Felt awfully left. Did not ponder what to do. At 10 engaged man with canoe and saddle horses and cook at 10 dollars a day. Allowed he was not to hunt. Bought stoutest tent, etc. Walk out to springs with “Ducker.” Barclay turned up while we were at dinner.

*Saturday, 18th.*—We were both delighted. Squared one man for fifty dollars. Bought outfit, etc. In afternoon drove to out ranch—very comfortable country house. Fred Williams, Dole. Played billiards. Jolly evening.

*Tuesday, 21st.*—Under way 7.30. McLean and self on top of wagon. Into pine forest at 10. Stopped at Mountain house to lunch—good cream, etc. Stopped at Moore's at 3.30. B. and self killed grouse with stones. Good beds and lovely day.

*Tuesday, 23rd.*—Waggon and Harbord went straight up to some Pine Camps. Ducker, B. and self up to a rocky peak after elks thro' forest—very hard work getting down—

fallen timber, etc. Glad to get out and up to Camp—Damfino.

*Saturday, 25th.*—Parked down to other camp. Walked out by myself in afternoon. Saw 5 elk about 1 mile from camp, missed and up thro' timber. Yarns round big camp fire—jolly.

*Monday, 27th.*—Child, Sartoris and self out on horseback to top of mountains to look for sheep above snow. Lovely view over rugged peaks. Saw nothing. Cold wind. 3 elk seen before breakfast. Killed my first.

*Friday, October 1st.*—Out walking. Stalked and shot bulls, etc., very rough; sick, poor head. Sartoris shot a bear 15 yds. off. B. and Child out to prospect road to Savory. B. shot elk and buck deer—views over Snake, etc., lovely.

*Sunday, 3rd.*—A real day of rest. Stayed camp all day reading and writing diary. Lovely view.

*Monday, 11th.*—Moved in night. Everything wet. Packed over to B.'s old Camp—4 miles—snowing. Off at 2 o'clock by self on divide; saw 400 elks, five bulls; got several shots, but snow came on.

*Tuesday, 12th.*—Snowed all night. Slept in tent—snug and warm. Snowing in morning. Went up with B. in gulch; he got an elk, but storm came on and we had to turn back, saw fine buck; black bull in evening. I got 5 elk.

*Sunday, 17th.*—Rode into Rawlins—20 miles; 8 to 12. Just caught freight train to Laramie. Left M. to take waggon, v. hot in cabins. Arrived Laramie 9 o'clock—9 hrs. 136 miles.

*Thursday, 21st.*—Crossed narrows at Detroit in steamer which took dole train—Canada pretty. Splendid view of falls. Left "Ducker" to see them. On alone.

*Saturday, 30th.*—Arrived Queenstown 11. Passage 6 days, 15 hrs. 35.

In the following year he left England for Australia, and visited India and Borneo en route, returning via South Africa. The following narrative is also taken from "Eighteen Months' Travel" and gives in the language of the local Press an incident in his voyage to Australia via India:—

No finer crew than the four passengers of the *Mirzapore* put on to the lake on Saturday was ever seen in Ceylon,

or indeed in the East, and of that there can be no question. It was indeed a treat to see them out for practice on Saturday morning, a treat one seldom sees in Colombo. As soon as the identity of the four gentlemen who had challenged the Colombo men became known their victory was a matter of no doubt. All had obtained considerable distinction as rowing-men at Oxford, and McLean was probably the best man of his year, twice obtaining a seat in the 'Varsity Eight. However, the Colombo men, although stiff and much out of practice, as well as rather past the age for the most effective exhibition of their powers as rowing-men essayed to give them a trial.

Mr. Cull kindly started the crews from a boat moored near the Fort station, and the following was how the crews were constituted:—

<i>Colombo R.C.</i>			<i>Mirzapore.</i>	
T. Twynam	}	<i>vs.</i>	}	J. S. Pemberton
W. R. Charsley				T. A. Brassey
V. A. Julius				D. H. McLean
E. Booth (str.)				H. S. Barton
L. O. Liesching (cox)				G. Loder (cox)

Colombo had the outside station, and when the word "Go" was given both crews struck the water as nearly simultaneously as possible. From the stroke to the conclusion of the race the 'Varsity men had it all their own way: they took hold of the boat, and sent it along in a manner quite hopeless for their opponents to imitate. At the second or third stroke they were moving rapidly off, and before long had shaken themselves clear. At Kew point they led by about a couple of lengths clear, but rowing quite easily. Colombo stuck to their hopeless task most pluckily. After Kew Point had been passed the 'Varsity men eased down a little, and the Colombo men, trying a spurt at the end, reduced the amount by which they were beaten to about a couple of lengths. We believe the Colombo boat went as well and as fast as any boat rowed over the course by a local team. The time and swing of the crew were capital, and the boat travelled well. All availed them nothing, for the Colombo men were completely outclassed and out-matched, and the 'Varsity men might, if they had chosen, have beaten them by a dozen lengths. Still Colombo did their best on a short notice to stretch their redoubtable visitors. Mr. Ewart, the Secretary of the C. R. C. was

judge, and a large number of the *Mirzapore* passengers and others interested in rowing witnessed the race. The crews dined together at the Club afterwards. Our visitors are on a pleasure trip to India, not as rowing-men at all, but about to join Lord Brassey's yacht, the *Sunbeam* now on the Indian coast, Mr. T. A. Brassey who rowed No. 2 in the boat being a son of the well-known owner of the yacht in question.

A third extract is given to show the seriousness of the attention which he was devoting to the problems which are an essential part of the responsibilities of Empire. The essay reveals much of T.A.B.'s character and outlook at this stage of his development: a young man treating himself and his subject with great seriousness, and yet not quite seriously enough. His conclusions are generalisations on conditions which he could not have examined adequately but they are reasonable and forcefully expressed.

It is only in the last few years that Englishmen have begun seriously to ask themselves what share they are prepared to give to the natives of India in the government of their country. It is a question which was brought forcibly before the minds of Englishmen by the policy of Lord Ripon (or of the advisers to whom he listened) and by the loud and universal outcry which the Ilbert Bill excited amongst the European community in India. I went to India without having made up my mind as to whether he was right or wrong. I felt that the only logical outcome of our system of education is to give natives an increased share in the government of their country, and I was inclined to believe that the violence of the storm against the Ilbert Bill was due to the natural prejudice of Anglo-Indians. It was only after I had been two or three months in the country that the conviction began to grow upon me that Lord Ripon's policy had done a vast amount of harm; *i.e.*, that he had forced forward changes which would certainly come in time, but for which India was not yet ripe.

At home we hear a great deal of the demand for self-government on the part of the people of India. It is not till one has travelled to India that one can realise from what an infinitesimal portion of the population this demand really comes. The mass of the people do not care, and in many cases they do not know, whether they are under the

rule of the Queen of England or the Great Mogul. The professional agitator, who is no more absent from India than he is from Ireland, finds his audience amongst the urban population. It is only the inhabitants of the towns, especially of the three large cities, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, that have been touched by our educational system. The educated natives, the baboos, are, for the most part, the sons of traders and shopkeepers. They have learnt a smattering of the principles of the British Constitution and of European ideas of government, and they think that they are qualified to step into our shoes at once and to undertake the task of ruling our complex Indian Empire. The baboos are drawn from the weakest races in India.

The Bengali, from time immemorial, has been celebrated for his astuteness and his power of assimilating knowledge; but he is lacking in the straightforwardness and the force of character that distinguish the races of the North West. Baboos are employed in subordinate positions all over India, as stationmasters, as railway clerks, as clerks in public offices, and they do fairly well, but place them in a position of real responsibility, and they break down. So long as they can act according to rule, according to precedent, all goes well; but should a crisis of unusual nature arise, they are at a loss how to deal with it. This is the reason why natives have hitherto succeeded best in the legal profession; many have attained considerable eminence as judges. There is another great, and, if possible, more important, objection to the baboo. He is, as has been said, drawn usually from the trading classes, *i.e.*, the lower castes of the population. If he is sent as magistrate into a country district, he commands little respect and his influence is *nil*, for it must always be remembered that India is one of the most conservative countries in the world. If this is the case with a baboo in a district in Bengal, it would be ten times more so in a district in Rajpootana or the Punjab; in fact, it would be impossible to send him there.

While the foregoing may be said of the majority of baboos, who are the people who clamour for self-government, there is a certain sprinkling of native gentlemen throughout the country who are as highly educated in the ideas of Western civilisation as we ourselves. These men appreciate the difficulties of governing a country like India, divided not only by race antagonism but by the antagonism between two, not to say three, great religions, and they know that it

will be many years before that Indian nation is formed which the agitators say already exists. These men are few, and do little to decrease the real difficulty in the extension of self-government in India, which is this : The men who have profited by our system of education have no real influence in the country, while the men who do possess that influence have fallen behind in the matter of education. Special facilities have to be given to Mahommedans entering the Civil Service, as they cannot compete with Hindoos in the examinations. The Mahommedans, at any rate through most of India, form the strongest part of the population, and it is only natural that they should become disaffected to our rule if we place them in a subordinate position. Again, higher education has been made cheap for all, with the result that the better classes have been excluded from its benefits. As Sir Alfred Lyall points out, in a country where caste is everything, a gentleman will not send his son to a school where he may sit side by side with the sons of his baker or sweeper. The country gentry, in spite of many blows from the levelling school of politicians, still possess much local influence. They are looked up to and respected by the people amongst whom they live. They are almost untouched by European civilisation ; they have not learnt, as natives so often do, its worse features, without seeing any of its benefits. They are in many ways one of the best classes, and unfortunately they are one with which the traveller, and indeed many Anglo-Indians, never come in contact.

One is led by these considerations to the conclusion that our system of education has been a failure in some important respects. What can be done to remedy it? First, let higher education be made more expensive. Second, assist the native gentry to form colleges and schools for their sons, such as the Chiefs' College at Lahore, and the Mahomedan College at Futtyghur, so that the natural leaders of the people may be fitted to occupy their position. The funds saved by making students pay for the higher branches of education should be expended in increasing the number of primary schools (State education should be for the many, not for the few) and in establishing technical schools. To teach young Indians to become good foresters and good agriculturists, to show them that the material benefits of civilisation are as worthy of their attention as political controversy, is no mean object. By following out the lines

I have indicated in the matter of education, we shall be able to give, without danger, a large and increasing share to natives in the government of their country. The people of India move slowly ; we must not try to force forward changes for which they are not fit. The great danger to India is from well-meaning but ill-informed politicians at home, or, as Baron Hubner says in his excellent *aperçu politique* on India, "the only people whom the English have to fear in India are themselves."

No Englishman can leave India without a feeling of just pride in the splendid fabric which has been created by his countrymen, and a great admiration for the men who have been engaged in the work. We have given peace and good government to a country which for centuries had been the scene of warfare, plundering, and oppression. By throwing men on their own responsibility, which brings out all that is best in them, we have supplied a class of men fit to carry on the task which we have set ourselves. We have undertaken a great responsibility towards India ; let us hope that through our own folly we may not cause our great work, the greatest England has ever accomplished, to tumble to pieces like a pack of cards.

After travelling about Southern India for some weeks he went on to Australia, where he spent some months. One result of his observations there was an article in the *Nineteenth Century* of 1888, in which he deals with the prospects of Australian development. He finds in the great increase of population in the colony and the cry of "Australia for the Australians," two great arguments for increased production by irrigation and conservation of the water supply. The drought of 1882-6 had cost 23,000,000 sheep and had ruined many farmers, and in Queensland nearly all the cattle had died. Irrigation, at that time conducted on a small scale by industrial effort, should be taken over by the Government without delay. He describes the principal physical features of the country, the methods of irrigation possible, advocates storage reservoirs at head waters, the turning of natural depressions into lakes, erection of weirs, diversion of streams and cutting of canals. He then shows, that as a commercial undertaking, it is financially sound, and promises a quick return.

The whole essay displays—as indeed most of his published papers display—a great power of co-ordinating detail, and of making points with pungency and clearness.

The lighter side of his visit is revealed in letters to his friends Mrs. Harvey Combe and D. H. McLean.

*To Mrs. Harvey Combe.*

*Sunbeam, R.Y.S.  
Thursday, Aug. 20th.*

Sussex news has been scanty with me; indeed, I did not hear a word for 5 or 6 months; but perhaps you may care to hear of Australia from my point of view. Till the last 3 weeks I have had a most excellent time here. India was tremendously interesting, especially after working up the history for my degree, but Australia I have certainly enjoyed more. A pal of mine, by name Pemberton, came on with us from India to Australia and we were about a good deal together and apart from my people. For instance, at Adelaide the family stayed at Government House; he and I stayed with the Chief Justice, a most charming bachelor, who had a most comfortable house and took us about to two or three places in the country and taught us an immense deal about the colony. There were a few nice people in Adelaide, but society is so small there that they all fight like cats and dogs. We went to a 4th June dinner with a Mr. Baker, a member of the Legislative Council—at which there were 6 Etonians—the bishop, another parson, and a contemporary of Pemberton's and mine. At Melbourne we had the best time of all. There were no end of dances going on there—everyone was awfully good in asking us, tho' we were strangers; they took such pains to get one partners and made one enjoy oneself; everyone dances well and their dances are not crowded.

Both at Sydney and Melbourne we stayed at the club while my people were at Government House and consequently we saw far more people than we should have done otherwise. The first thing that strikes one is that people are so intensely English. In the club at Melbourne things are discussed just in the same way and from the same points of view as they are at home. We were by no means all the time in the towns. I saw a good deal of the country districts of South Australia and I stayed in two or three stations in Victoria and New South Wales and Queensland too. I took

a tremendous liking to Lord Carrington. Pemberton and I saw a good deal of him as he asked us to join his party at a very big sheep show at Deniliquin in the Riverina district of N.S.W. We had a very good time there and saw a lot of the squatting interest.

Now for something which will probably not interest you but may interest Harvey. Of all the colonies we have seen, Victoria is, I think, in the most healthy condition, politically. Under the Graham Berry Ministry between '77 and '80 democracy was pushed to its lowest depths; all the civil servants were one day dismissed, property was depreciated 50%, and there was a general panic. Since then there has been a reaction, and Victoria now possesses at the head of the Ministry two very good men in Mr. Gillies, the premier, and Deakin, who made such a name for himself at the Imperial Conference.

*To D. H. McLean.*

Montefiore,  
North Adelaide.  
May 29th 1887.

I received your letter from Bourne End 2 or 3 days ago and I have now definitely made up my mind to go home in the *Sunbeam*. I should like much to go out for a month in the Rockies again this year, but I have got on well with the navigation up to now and the more experience I can get the better able I shall be to go in for a Certificate when I get back home.

To learn to take an observation and to work out your position from it is very easy: the important things in navigation are to learn how to correct the error of your compass and chronometer. If I had known how to do the former we should not have gone 30 miles astray in our trip to France two years ago. If you are not intending to go to America yourself, write to Ganty and tell him to dispose of the horses. I am depending on you to do this for it is no use my writing to tell him to dispose of them, if you want them. We had a good time in West Australia, kangaroo hunting, etc. Albany was a very quiet little place, but this of course is a big town and the people have made a great fuss with the *Sunbeam*. The day we anchored off Glenelg, the mayor and a deputation from the Yacht Club came off and presented addresses and when we went round to Port

Adelaide—Adelaide's other port—the same thing happened. The "Cousin" and I have been staying with the Chief Justice since Thursday; the rest of the family are staying with the Governor. The doctor is away on a three days' fishing trip with Judge Brindey, an enthusiastic yachtsman of the South Australian Yacht Club. We have met many nice people and also one or two rather nice young ladies, the first we have seen for a very long time. My heart is intact. I can't answer for the "Cousin's"! Our host is a most charming man and is never tired of telling us something interesting about the colony or its history. He took us up yesterday to a model station he has about 100 miles from here. The house was situated in a little nook in the hills, with a lovely view over a broad, wooded valley. The paddocks at the back of the house were studded with trees and looked exactly like a well-laid-out park. We drove over to see a large station and then some 22 miles by coach back to the railway. We came down a lovely valley thickly populated right along; every house a cottage, substantially built of stone and roofed with corrugated iron and standing in its own garden. It was a charming piece of country, much like parts of England. It feels almost like being back at home here when there is no black population visible and when every one is so essentially English.

In 1888 he was a candidate in the Battle division for the Sussex County Council, but was not elected.

On February 28th, 1889, T.A.B. was married to the Lady Idina Nevill, third daughter of the Marquis of Abergavenny, whose family seat is at Eridge, near Tunbridge Wells, on the northern border of Sussex. His best man was Hannen, his Eton school-friend, and the wedding roused enormous enthusiasm in Kent and Sussex, where bride and bridegroom not only possessed numberless friends, but had also endeared themselves by their kindly and generous ways to all with whom they had to deal.

This union was the beginning of many long and happy years of close companionship, which culminated in the celebration of their Silver Wedding in 1914. Lady Idina was a good horse-woman, a first-rate shot, and extremely fond of all kinds of sport. Together they travelled over much of the Empire, and became more and more closely

united and indispensable to one another as the years passed. In all his enterprises she played a most active part, sharing fully his aspirations, his failures and his successes.

Many a life destined to great public service has been thrice enriched by a happy marriage. T.A.B.'s was one of these.

The honeymoon was spent in Italy, and T.A.B.'s diary shows that they visited all the principal show places of North and Central Italy, where they met Lord William Nevill and his bride, who had been married a fortnight earlier than themselves and had not yet finished their honeymoon. T.A.B.'s own honeymoon had a sad termination, for he contracted typhoid, which showed itself just after his return to England. He lay seriously ill at Normanhurst for a long time. On recovery, he and Lady Idina made a second shooting excursion to the Rockies.

In 1892 he became one of Lord Spencer's private secretaries at the Admiralty, a post which he held for two years. There he gained a considerable insight into the management of naval affairs, and made many lasting friendships among those who were interested in the maintenance of the Navy on an adequate footing. This knowledge and the consequent friendships provided him with the equipment necessary for a task entrusted to him in 1890 by his father who, immersed in other claims, found it no longer possible to continue his editorship of the "Naval Annual," a record of the progress, work and equipment of the navies of the world, which he had begun to publish four years previously. In 1890 T.A.B. accordingly became editor—an office which he retained until his death. The Annual was published every year until 1915, when the war rendered any further issue unnecessary and undesirable until 1919, when it was issued again.

The "Naval Annual" gained a deservedly high reputation amongst naval men. Its general plan, formulated in the early days of T.A.B.'s editorship, was maintained with few variations. The book was divided into four parts. In Part I. a preliminary chapter was usually devoted to a review of the naval situation of the world, and in it the editor

gave a summary account of the principal changes and developments of policy which it was necessary for the student of naval affairs to have at his command. When he was first editor, reviewers directed their criticisms against T.A.B.'s method of presenting his facts on the ground that he was prone to give expression to his own opinions instead of setting forth the facts germane to the position, and leaving his readers to the exercise of their own judgment. It must be confessed that there was reason in the complaint.

Subsequent chapters of Part I., contributed by various selected writers, would deal with various aspects of the naval questions of the day.

Part II., consisted entirely of tables and plans of ships, and was, in the opinion of practical men, one of the most valuable features of the book. No trouble or expense was spared to secure accuracy, and the dozens of plans which were drawn for each issue enabled the reader to grasp at sight the differences between the types in use in various navies, and the gradual changes in form and armament. It was not always possible to secure the information required on all points, and in this connection the following extracts from a letter from Von Tirpitz may be quoted as illustrative of the difficulties which the editor had to meet and overcome :—

*To Lord Brassey.*

Berlin.  
April 6th, 1911.

Many thanks for your letter. . . .

As to the estimates concerning our ships, you will have gathered from the papers that negotiations are pending between the governments about the exchange of information relating to them. I should therefore be anticipating these negotiations by publishing the particulars and therefore I regret that I cannot accede to your request. Your deduction that England was the first to keep her Dreadnought estimates secret is correct. We have simply followed England's example.

Part III. dealt with armour and ordnance, and was always compiled by an ordnance expert. It was generally illustrated, and its value may be estimated in the light of

recent experience of the growth and progress of armaments, which are matters of common knowledge since the outbreak of the war.

Part IV. included the First Lord's Memorandum and the British Navy Estimates in whole, or in part, and summaries of the estimates of all the great navies of the world.

The book was well illustrated, and having, as the first of its kind, many imitators, it maintained always its supremacy over its rivals—a supremacy generously acknowledged by reviewers as the years passed. Produced at considerable expense, it was nevertheless a commercial success, and for many years it realised a considerable profit.

On his return to England after the second expedition to the Rockies, the first active piece of political work which T.A.B. undertook was that of the Naval Volunteer Home Defence Association. A marked feature of his political work consisted in his ability to see ten years ahead of his time. He had a great *flair* of the possibilities underlying what, on the surface, were most ordinary circumstances and events, and he seemed fated always to be engaged in the attempt to convince others of such possibilities. Long after public opinion had pooh-poohed his idea, its value would appear to those who had not hesitated to condemn it in earlier years, and the idea would be put to good use.

The work of the Naval Volunteer Home Defence Association furnishes such an instance. Its main object was to utilise the Volunteer Movement by a naval organisation for the defence of the coast. The inhabitants of any seaside town of sufficient size would, it was thought, provide the funds necessary for the hiring of a vessel, (or vessels), ordinarily engaged in coast traffic, which was to be mounted at the expense of the Government, if the Government agreed, with a gun and manned by the Naval Volunteers who, in their turn, were to receive their equipment and a gratuity from the Government. After prolonged negotiations with the Admiralty the scheme was approved, and a campaign was carried on by T.A.B., Admiral Colomb, and others, to induce the great seaports and seaside towns to lend support to the effort. Many prominent men took part; meetings

were held at Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle, Shields, Sunderland, Hastings, Brighton, and other places, with varying success. At Hastings a ship called *The Lady Brassey*, which was usually employed as a pleasure steamer between Hastings and Brighton, was secured as the guard- and training-ship. A number of drills were put in and the venture successfully launched.

Hull, Sunderland, Newcastle and Leith took up the matter warmly and passed resolutions approving of the scheme and forming local associations. At Newcastle, Lord Armstrong rather scorned the idea that vessels of the kind would be of any value for the purpose of protecting the coast ; and at Liverpool, Sir Robert Gladstone proposed an amendment to the resolution of support referring the whole matter to the Local Defence Committee. *The Liverpool Mercury* commented on this in the following terms :—

The meeting held yesterday in the Liverpool Town Hall, in promotion of the objects of the Naval Volunteer Home Defence Association was by no means a success. It closed abruptly after an expression of opinion unfavourable to the central idea. A majority of the gentlemen present were of opinion that the responsibility rested with the Navy rather than with private individuals. The merchants of the port, if we may judge by yesterday's proceedings, are not well disposed to bear the cost of undertaking its naval defence.

The attitude is in curious contrast to that of Hampden, who objected to ship money on the ground that he was an inhabitant of an inland shire ; it was, however, the attitude of the principal men of Liverpool and it dealt a fatal blow to the schemes of the Association. T.A.B. had not agreed with certain points of Admiral Colomb's propaganda, and the sale of *The Lady Brassey* by the owners on the ground that it was difficult to bring her alongside the Hastings pier, was a local blow to the activities of the Association, which after lingering for some few months, was wound up in 1892.

T.A.B. lived to see carried into effect the plan which he had urged from the platform 30 years before, although for a different purpose. The Government, in 1917, began to fit out the fishing vessels of Hastings with a gun to ward off the

attacks of submarines—though T.A.B.'s suggestion had dealt with small craft of other kinds, as submarines were not, in 1892, a real menace—and to man them with men of the very type that T.A.B. had secured for the Naval Volunteer Home Defence Association. The value for such voluntary service of men of the professional classes, who had had little experience of the sea, has been proved also, at a later day, in the United States. This foresight often appeared to be uncanny, and it led, in many instances, to a reluctance on the part of T.A.B.'s adherents to follow him, because they were unable either to grasp the bearing of his conceptions, or to appreciate the accuracy of his forecasts.

In close connection with his work for the Naval Volunteer Home Defence Association was that which he did for the training of boys for the Navy.

The introduction of steam as a motive power had led to a gradual diminution of the number of sailing vessels at sea, and steamers steadily ousted sailing ships from all parts of the ocean. Many naval authorities of the day were still convinced that seamanship could not be learned in any other way than by apprenticeship in a sailing ship, and the problem of a training ground for seamanship soon became acute. The early steamers were rigged with masts and shrouds, and thus it was at first possible, even on a steamer, to learn a certain amount of seamanship. But gradually these also disappeared, and the naval experts were confronted with a Navy consisting of seamen who knew nothing of seamanship as interpreted by the old standards. A long and furious controversy raged on the subject, as acute and probably as little to the point as the controversy between the value of a "classical" and that of a "modern" education. The supporters of training on sailing ships even asserted that it was as necessary for a seaman to have his training on a sailing ship as it was for a man of culture to have a classical education.

The echoes of this old controversy have long since died away, but the practical minds of T.A.B. and his father set to work in the midst of the controversy to find an immediate solution. They made arrangements with Sir Thomas Devitt to keep at sea for long voyages sailing ships, which should

be largely manned by apprentices, who would thus receive the requisite training in seamanship on a sailing vessel, and could always be drafted into the Navy.

The following correspondence relating to the matter is of more than passing interest :—

*To the Hon. T. A. Brassey.*

Devitt & Moore's Australian Line of Packets,  
39, Fenchurch Street,  
London, E.C.  
30 Nov., 1894.

The total number of boys entered for the *Hesperus* and *Harbinger* since the commencement of the scheme is 113; the number of boys now afloat in the two ships is 51. Of these 113 a small proportion have disappeared after the first voyage, some withdrawn because their friends were not equal to the expense, some on our advice as not suitable for the sea, and one or two dismissed because their conduct was not satisfactory. At the end of the second voyage a further sifting took place somewhat on the lines of the above.

As the ships have only been four voyages each it is only this year that those who completed their time have been able to go up for the Board of Trade examination and those who have done so have passed with great credit and with the commendation of the examiners. The majority have gone to the chief mail lines, especially to the P. & O. and some to the Indian Marine, and by the time a year has passed we shall know what satisfaction they are giving. Of those who have from any of the causes mentioned drifted off in the course of training we have not kept a record.

In our opinion the experiment has been a distinct success and has given a training which was not obtainable elsewhere.

*To Lord Brassey.*

Devitt & Moores Australian Line of Packets,  
12, Fenchurch Buildings,  
London, E.C.  
9th April, 1896.

If you will allow me, I should like to give my personal views on Mr. Hudson's last letter dated 3rd March, 1896. I quite agree with the statement that at present it would be almost impossible to establish such a vessel as our *Conway* or *Worcester* for the exclusive use of young officers for the Victorian Navy. I therefore deal with the next

paragraph in the letter dealing with the *Harbinger* and the *Hesperus*, and note the chief difficulty in the minds of the Colonists is what to do with the lads while the vessel is out of commission in London, the Australian boys not having any homes in this country.

The scheme proposed in Mr. Hudson's letter seems to be:—1st. That the leading schools or colleges should provide special classes for boys who desire to follow the sea as a profession and their studies should be specially directed with that object.

2nd. That at the termination of their school training, arrangements should be made for them to be received on board either the *Harbinger* or *Hesperus* or other vessel similarly equipped with naval instructors.

3rd. That upon their arrival in England and during the time the vessel was out of commission, endeavours be made to have them received on board the *Worcester* so that they would continue their education course under the most favourable possible conditions, and be returned to the vessel when ready to leave.

It is with the last suggestion that I should like to give you my special views. I dare say that it would be possible that the Managers of the *Worcester* would be willing to make some arrangement for receiving these cadets but I am not at all sure that it would be in the best interests of the lads to make this arrangement. First of all, the *Harbinger* and *Hesperus* are at home in the summer time, when probably the *Worcester* boys would be having holidays. Another objection to my mind would be that boys who had been to sea and had seen more of the world than others, would be put with boys who had never been away from the training ship at all, and the mixture of the two classes would hinder, to a great extent, the progress of both sets of lads in their studies.

If I may be allowed to make a suggestion, it would be this:—That Nos. 1 and 2 clauses might be accepted and that in place of that part of No. 3 recommending the boys to be placed on board the *Worcester*, an application should be made to the Admiralty to make special arrangements for the Colonial cadets to be received on board a training ship or man-of-war for each period or periods that they may be in England, and that the rest of their training to be at sea on board the *Harbinger* and *Hesperus* and other vessels if necessary, if the scheme meets with the favour I expect

it will. The advantages of this course would be that naval discipline and drill of all sorts, including gunnery, would be taught the lads in a thoroughly efficient manner, and they would receive a stamp which no amount of training in the Merchant Service could give them in the eyes of Naval Authorities ; and they would receive their practical training at sea in your Lordship's training ships, and thus become better navigators than those exclusively brought up for the Navy.

The present time seems to me to be a good opportunity to approach the authorities on the subject as everything seems to point to the unification of the Empire and any movement to draw the Colonies closer to the Mother Country would be welcomed on both sides of the World. I take it that the object of the Australians generally would be to train up a class of young men born in and belonging to the Colonies, to be their future officers, and my point is that the Admiralty would be quite willing to assist in training these youths in the way I have indicated.

I am glad to see that the fact is recognised that the square-rigged sailing ships are becoming fewer and fewer every year and you will not be surprised to learn that of all the ships classed at Lloyds in 1895, only 6% were sailers of all classes, against 94% of steamers. May I suggest that now is the time to act if any action at all is to be taken before the few remaining sailing vessels are driven out of the Australian trade? We, as you know, have a number of suitable vessels, and others could be acquired if necessary, and we should be disposed to make a study of this business and would hope to satisfy the Governments at each end, if sufficient inducement on the part of the Colonies is offered.

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) THOS. L. DEVITT.

T.A.B. maintained the keenest interest in the Navy until his death. He was in frequent close communication with friends like Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, the holder of the exceptional position of Admiral of the United Kingdom, Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, Admiral Lord Jellicoe, Admiral Lord Beatty, and Sir Eustace Tennyson d'Eyncourt. His position as editor of the "Naval Annual" was always used with much vigour in the direction of maintaining a Navy which

should, in all respects, be sufficient to draw close the bonds of Empire and to maintain them intact. Behind the scenes he did much valuable work, and for the outcome of the war against Germany the country owes very much to the indefatigable labours of himself and others like him, who understood the German menace, and its purport. T.A.B. was a member of the Company of Shipwrights, and in 1920 was to have been Master. He took an active share in every philanthropic undertaking for the benefit of sailors, with whom he delighted to hold converse.

It may be right to note here that after the *Sunbeam* had completed many voyages, she was given to the Government of India during the war for use as a hospital ship, and afterwards to the boys of the Naval College at Pangbourne as a training ship. Thus in her old age she still serves a purpose in which both her owners took the keenest interest, and carries on into another generation the work which they so worthily began.

## CHAPTER IV

WHEN a man loses faith in the cause for which he is fighting he loses grip ; when he loses grip he ceases to be reckoned as a factor in the situation. None who had had any experience of the inner working of T.A.B.'s mind could ever doubt but that throughout the whole of his career he retained the very strong and vivid belief, which he had formed in early days, of the necessity for a thorough reorganisation of our political system. His faith in that reorganisation as a panacea for many other political ills of the time never wavered ; it apparently never even flickered, but burned with a constant and steady light from the time that he began his political career under the influence of Lord Rosebery in the Imperial Federation League, to the time when, as a member of the Speaker's Committee on Devolution, he was hurrying to the House of Commons to discuss some of the questions raised in Committee with Mr. John Hills, another of its members, and was stricken to his untimely end.

The constancy of his faith and the vigour with which he set it forth to the world are outstanding features of his life. He wrote numberless letters to the newspapers, including the *Times* and the principal London dailies as well as the provincial newspapers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, expounding his creed, explaining one aspect or another of the great political machine which he saw becoming rapidly clogged with a mass of uncoordinated detail thrown into it, month after month, in ever-increasing volume. For many years his was " a voice crying in the wilderness." Supporters and fellow-workers like Lord Charnwood and Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald, together with the members of the Imperial Federation League, rallied to his aid in the various campaigns which he organised in different parts of the country between 1889 and 1910, but it was often just a

“one-man job.” Still he never wavered. He lived to welcome a growing volume of support on this vital question, and by an accident of fortune the first measure of partial autonomy granted by way of devolution was granted to the Church of England, in the finance and organisation of which he had so closely interested himself, but where he had least expected to find a materialisation of his political creed. His whole career was coloured by his attitude on this question: he fought three constituencies, Epsom, Christchurch (2) and Devonport, and in every case he insisted on making Federalism, Imperial Federation or Devolution a cardinal principle to be placed before the electorate. He was not successful in any of these contests, but he agreed in 1905 to stand for the Rye Division (Sussex) as an advocate of Tariff Reform. Before the time of election came he retired in favour of Mr. G. L. Courthope. The Rye Division he would doubtless have won. There also he prepared to make his case clear to the electorate on this issue.

His history as a candidate for election to the House of Commons is another proof—if proof be needed—that there is little room in our political system for the independent thinker who cannot make his thoughts square with the party policy. This is not to say that the party politician is not honest or does not think; it is merely to say again, as history has said for many centuries, that the originator of great ideas, or the pioneer in new paths, must court failure and be content to let other men reap the fruit of his labours and his audacity.

Closely bound up with the proposals of Federalism or Devolution is the Irish Question, to which T.A.B. devoted many strenuous days, and in the solution of which it is not unlikely that suggestions made by him will yet be adopted. This subject appealed to him immensely because there is no question in English politics on which so many reputations have been wrecked. To talk of Ireland as an unhappy country is almost a platitude. It is unnecessary here to retail the story of the controversies and struggles for which she herself is not entirely blameless, which have eaten deep into the heart of her people and have set up an attitude

towards England of fierce resentment, which it has seemed almost impossible to allay.

But when T.A.B. entered political life, Home Rule had become the burning question of the day, and the Irish question, in some shape or form, has remained a burning question of the day ever since. Even if he had not been an Irish landowner, T.A.B.'s superfluous energy would have found vent in attempting to bring together the opposing parties which fought so fiercely for the future government of Ireland; because he was an Irish landowner with large property in the heart of Ulster, he was forced, apart from his natural inclination, into close relations with the men who were protagonists in the controversy.

This, then, is no story of an ordinary political candidate, but of a man quite different. It is the story of a man who won his cause while losing elections. He did more to bring about peace in Ireland outside the House of Commons than whole political parties inside the House. All through the long weary years of internecine strife he was struggling to make the warring factions understand one another's point of view. Over and over again, after lengthy personal interviews, he succeeded in herding into his dining-room in Park Lane men of all schools of thought, where at the same hospitable board they might be brought to understand one another's problems. It was a very effective political method, and on more than one occasion he seemed to be within sight of success.

In any just account of T.A.B.'s political faith his own words must be allowed to sum up what should be taken as the basis and extent of his belief. In the following essay, written some years later, he attempted to do this, and it is given because it describes justly the frame of mind in which he embarked on all his political contests :—

Ever since I took part in politics, I have always believed that the Irish question and the government of the Empire were parts of the same problem, and that the solution in each case was to be found through the principle of Federation. I travelled for sixteen months through the Empire in the years 1886-7. I returned with the conviction that the permanent unity of the British Empire rested on two main

principles, a conviction which has only been strengthened by the course of British politics, and by visits paid to Australia, Canada, and South Africa, during the quarter of a century that has since elapsed.

The two principles are—

(1) That every part of the Empire, capable of self-government, has a right to manage its own internal affairs in its own way.

(2) That every part of the Empire which bears its fair share of Imperial burdens has a right to a voice in the control of Imperial expenditure.

The first of these principles is universally recognised as far as outlying Dominions are concerned. The second involves two things—

(a) The creation of an Imperial Council, or Imperial Parliament, in which all parts of the Empire, bearing their share of Imperial burdens, shall be represented ;

(b) The provision of a revenue for Imperial defence, to which all parts of the Empire shall contribute.

My first political work was done as a member of the Imperial Federation League, under Lord Rosebery. The members of the League advocated the establishment of an Imperial Council or Parliament, in which all parts of the Empire should be represented. Some of us believed then that an Imperial authority could be immediately created. Experience has shown that certain preliminary steps were necessary. My conception of the Imperial structure is that it should rest on four pillars, or federations, in the four self-governing portions of the Empire. Twenty-five years ago, only one pillar had been completed—the Canadian Federation. Twelve years ago, the second pillar—the Australian Commonwealth—was set up. Six days ago, the Union Government of South Africa came into existence. As far as the outlying Dominions are concerned, the pillars of the Imperial structure are built. The obstacle to any further advance is in the Mother Country ; and the main purpose of my address to-night is to urge that the establishment of a federal force of government in the United Kingdom is not only a necessity in itself, but is the next step to Imperial unity.

Canada, Australia, South Africa have all been federated on different lines. The Canadian Federation was formed by the creation of the provincial legislatures of Ontario and Quebec—round which other provinces have gradually

grouped themselves. Under the Canadian Constitution the powers of the Provincial Legislatures are defined; all the reserve of power rests with the Dominion Government. The Australian Federation was formed by the surrender of power to the Commonwealth Government by Colonial Legislatures which had long been independent. It is only by degrees and after a hard struggle that the Commonwealth Government is acquiring the power that it is desirable, in the interests of Australia, it should possess. South Africa has gone in for closer union than in the case of Canada. The Union Parliament is omnipotent. The powers of the Provincial Councils are small, and, as time goes on, they will probably have to be increased.

The task before us here is to put the constitutional arrangements of the United Kingdom on the same plane as those of the other self-governing portions of the Empire. Of the three examples we have to choose from, the Canadian is the one which was devised to meet similar conditions to those which existed in the United Kingdom (there was the difficulty between two races in Canada) which has stood the test of time and has undeniably worked well. Under the Canadian Constitution the reserve of power rests with the Dominion or Central Parliament, and British statesmen who have discussed Home Rule are agreed that the same conditions must obtain in the United Kingdom. Federal Government in the United Kingdom must therefore follow on Canadian lines, modified where necessary to suit special conditions.

The first and most important point for anyone who is studying the problem of Imperial Government to grasp—and it is a difficult point to grasp for those who have never travelled in the outlying Dominions—is this. Whereas every Canadian for the past forty years, every Australian for the past eleven years, has lived as every South African henceforward will live, under three Parliaments or Councils, each dealing with a distinct class of business, we, in the Old Country, are attempting to deal in a single legislature with three distinct classes of business—

- (a) The internal affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which in Canada would be dealt with by the Provincial Parliaments of Ontario and Quebec, and in Australia by the Colonial Parliaments of Victoria and New South Wales.
- (b) Questions affecting the United Kingdom as a whole,

which would be dealt with in Canada by the Dominion Parliament and in Australia by the Commonwealth Parliament.

- (c) The Government of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, including within its borders nearly a quarter of the human race.

1. The first and greatest argument in favour of the proposal I am advocating arises from the admitted fact that the attempt to which I have referred has broken down. The business of the country can only be carried on by drastic use of the closure. Ill-considered measures are forced through the House of Commons.

2. For this condition of things, the remedy of the Liberal Party is the destruction, directly or indirectly, of the House of Lords. Universal experience points to the necessity for a second Chamber. If the House of Lords is reformed by the introduction of the elective element, the Second Chamber will be strengthened, and the danger of conflict between the two Houses will be increased. The House of Lords as it exists to-day, has never set itself in opposition to the clearly expressed wishes of the people, and it never will do so. The Liberal proposals as to the House of Lords appear to be absolutely futile as a remedy for the admitted evils of our present constitutional arrangements. But the Conservative Party must, if they are to be successful at the Polls, propose an alternative which will meet the deeply-felt democratic objection to the present powers of the House of Lords. The second great argument in favour of the establishment of subordinate legislatures in the several countries of the United Kingdom is that thereby all purely domestic legislation—legislation affecting the people in their homes—will be removed from the immediate control of the House of Lords. The House of Lords will only exercise an indirect control as a part of the central legislature.

3. The third argument in favour of the policy I am advocating is that it offers the only possible solution of the Irish question. Experience has shown it to be impossible to devise a satisfactory means of self-government for Ireland only. To provide satisfactorily for the position of the Irish members of the Imperial Parliament, three alternatives have been proposed. Under the Bill of 1886, the Irish members were excluded from the Imperial Parliament altogether. Under the Bill of 1893, as originally introduced, the in-and-out plan was proposed, and, in the form in which

the Bill was sent up to the House of Lords, the Irish members were included for all purposes. Under a measure of devolution, applicable to all the countries of the United Kingdom, this difficulty disappears.

4. My fourth argument is one which I used to put in my first Parliamentary campaign. As the result of the last election, a situation has been created which I have long hoped to see. There is a Conservative majority in England, and a Government is in power depending on Irish, Scotch, and Welsh votes. Measures can now be imposed on England by the votes of Scotch, Irish, and Welsh representatives, against the wishes of the majority of England's representatives. Welsh disestablishment has long been an article in the programme of the Liberal Party. If the present Government continues in office, it will shortly become an accomplished fact. A measure to disestablish the Church of England will follow. Is it just that the Church of England in England should be disestablished by the votes of Irish Roman Catholics, Welsh Nonconformists, and Scotch Presbyterians? It is a question which concerns Englishmen alone, and I contend that it is by the votes of Englishmen alone that a question affecting only England should be decided.

To take another line of the same argument. Some of you may be Socialists, and in favour of the programme of the Socialist Party. If you are not, I would ask you to consider the enormous impetus which Socialistic legislation receives under our present constitutional arrangements from the votes of the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh representatives, who are most certainly not Socialists. Everyone who has any acquaintance with Ireland knows that once the political grievance is removed, a considerable proportion of the Irish representatives, whether in the Irish or United Kingdom legislature, would be Conservatives. It is probable that Scotland would send a larger proportion of Conservative representatives to the central legislature if purely Scotch business were dealt with in Scotland. This, however, is not precisely the point we are discussing, viz., the need of Home Rule for England, if Englishmen are not to have their wishes as regards their own affairs overruled by the other portions of the United Kingdom, which is what is taking place at this moment.

5. It is a condition of the successful working of Parliamentary institutions that the issues placed before the

electors should be clear and distinct. This is impossible under our present constitutional arrangements. No one can tell, for instance, whether the Budget or Tariff Reform had the more powerful influence in the results of the last election. If a federal form of government were established in the United Kingdom, and the central legislature were relieved from the duty of dealing with all purely domestic questions, there is not the remotest doubt, in my judgment, that Tariff Reform could be carried at once.

6. Last, but not least, I come to the great danger to which the interests of the Empire are exposed by the continuance of our present system, or rather want of system. There can be no continuity of Imperial policy under present conditions. No part of the Empire has suffered more on this account during the last thirty years than South Africa. At one moment a great Imperial question may be uppermost in the minds of the people, and a Government will be returned to power on that issue. The Election of 1900, during the war in South Africa, is an instance in point.

I speak from many years of experience as a political candidate, and as one who has addressed many working-class audiences, when I say that the basis of the large body of anti-Imperialist opinion which exists in this country is the feeling that the questions which are of vital importance to the people in their homes are too often overshadowed by Imperial questions.

At another moment the attention of the electorate may be concentrated on Education, or some question which, from the Imperial point of view, is unimportant, and a Government may be returned to power which the country would, under other conditions, never trust with the administration of Imperial affairs. This is what happened in 1905.

To avoid misunderstandings, it is as well to state that the line of procedure would be for Parliament to pass an Act establishing subordinate legislatures in the several countries of the United Kingdom. The existing Parliament, with, if you will, a Reformed House of Lords, and with certainly a considerable reduction of members of the House of Commons (in which Ireland is much over represented) would continue to discharge the double function of Parliament for the United Kingdom and Imperial Parliament. Before many years, we may hope to see the establishment of an Imperial Council or Parliament, in which all parts of the Empire are represented; but the time for this is not yet.

On the one hand the various self-governing portions of the Empire must get their respective constitutional arrangements into working order before they are prepared to contemplate a federal union of the Empire. On the other, the outlying Dominions are not yet prepared to contribute their share of Imperial expenditure; too large a proportion of their resources is still required for their own internal development. Personally, I believe that an Imperial revenue can only be raised through Imperial preference; and for that purpose we must carry Tariff Reform in the Mother Country.

If this Empire of ours is to fall, it will be shipwrecked by British party prejudices—the prejudices which make the Conservative Party refuse to consider any measure of devolution, however far removed from the Irish Home Rule proposals which it rightly rejected; and which make the Liberals raise the cry of Protection for party purposes, however far from the truth may be that description of the policy which Tariff Reformers are advocating.

Further explanations and statements are to be found in "Problems of Empire" published in 1910. A great deal of attention was given to this book in the Press, many of the reviews being most laudatory. The most pungent criticism advanced against the collection of essays was, that while some of them were on a very high level and worthy to be retained as permanent contributions to political science, one or two of them were out-of-date and dragged in without any apparent reason. The paper read before the Statistical Society, of which T.A.B. was a member, has been especially commended.

It must be remembered that the natural bent of T.A.B.'s mind was towards a political career. His father had represented the borough of Hastings in the House of Commons uninterruptedly for over twenty years, and amongst the recollections of T.A.B.'s childish years were those of one or two hard-contested elections in Hastings. In later life he was fond of recounting how he regarded himself as the most important supporter of his father, and how he did most to secure his return to the House of Commons. He could remember parading the streets of Hastings in a sailor suit, carrying a banner, mauve in colour, with white letters inscribed upon it "Vote for my Papa." Pop and Dervorguilla and the

Union had given him some forensic power, and after his return from his voyage round the world he was ready, energetically, to throw himself into the stirring political controversies of the day.

The General Election of 1885 had returned the Radicals to the House of Commons in just sufficient numbers to be outvoted by the Tories and the Parnellites combined. Lord Salisbury retained office as Prime Minister, to which he had succeeded in the previous year, and under the circumstances, Mr. Gladstone decided to concede Home Rule in order to conciliate the Parnellites. On December 18th, 1885, an anonymous paragraph appeared stating that if Mr. Gladstone returned to office he was prepared to deal in a liberal spirit with the demand for Home Rule. This promise rallied the Parnellites to his side and the Government were defeated on an amendment to the address in favour of Municipal Allotments. Thus Lord Salisbury resigned and on February 1st, 1886, Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time. On April 8th he brought in his Home Rule Bill. This was thrown out on the second reading, and Mr. Gladstone insisted upon a second election.

The General Election of 1886 resulted in a majority of over 100 for the Conservative Party, and Lord Salisbury resumed office, which he held for nearly six years. This Parliament was dissolved on January 28th, 1892, with Home Rule as the burning question of the day, and the General Election which ensued, resulted in a majority of forty for Home Rule, the Government supporters being composed of Liberals, Labour Members, and the Irish.

Into this arena T.A.B. entered. His father had recently been raised to the peerage in the previous administration of Mr. Gladstone as a reward for his long political services in England and Overseas. It would have been natural for his son to have contested the borough which had for so many years returned his father, but this was not his way. He had higher ideals and a greater energy than would allow him to seek a seat in the House of Commons through the territorial and local influences which he could have exercised in East Sussex, or through that great personal popularity which gained for his father the title of "The Grand Old Man of

Sussex." After much debating he decided to accept an invitation to stand for the Epsom division of Surrey.

The County of Surrey was in those days a stronghold of the Tory Party, and the division which T.A.B. elected to contest had been held in the Tory interest for thirty years previously. It was almost a forlorn hope. But at twenty-nine a forlorn hope is as hopeful as hope itself at fifty. So in 1890 he appeared in the constituency for the first time. A magnificent meeting was held at Epsom, when he was introduced by a platform of all the talents of the Radical Party. Lord Rosebery presided and was supported by Lord Herschell, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Vernon, Earl Compton, M.P., Mr. H. H. Asquith, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Reid, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Haldane, M.P., Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. W. F. Maitland, M.P., Mr. A. Pease, M.P., Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., Mr. McArthur, M.P., Mr. Crawford, M.P., and Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P.

After an eloquent introduction by Lord Rosebery, and other speeches, T.A.B. expounded his political faith. He spoke of his anxiety about the disruption of the Empire, which he would place first in importance, and he described the federal plan. He showed how Home Rule would fit into this, and went on to expound those matters of political and domestic reform which were the official programme of the Radical Party.

T.A.B. was received with great applause and enthusiasm, and this magnificent meeting gave him a great end off in his attempt to capture a stronghold in the Tory fortress of Surrey.

There is no doubt that T.A.B.'s arrival in the more remote parts of the constituency caused great excitement. He found himself in opposition to the Church in certain controversial matters, such as the position of Church schools and the question of Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The more militant clergy and Church laymen therefore denied to him the use of the schools or other Church buildings for his political meetings. That may seem to be a mean and contemptible attitude when regarded in the light of the easy-going ways of our time, but it formed part of the common life of politics of the '90's of the last century. T.A.B. was not to be outdone, and hiring a large marquee he went to

some places very much like a travelling circus, to the amusement of the bucolic mind and the delight of the children of every village which he so visited. It could not be said of him that he was a platform speaker; he had not the kind of power or the light, airy gift of persiflage which capture the popular ear, but he had great enthusiasm, great earnestness of demeanour, and above all things, he had a message. No doubt it may be true that in popular oratory what matters is not so much what a man says as how he says it; a good catch word, or a series of *clichés* no doubt sway the minds of superficial voters during an election; a battle cry has more in it than a mere badge of the party to which one belongs. T.A.B. did not deal in party cries, or in *clichés*, but tried to make his audiences think with him the great, compelling ideas of a vast Empire—ideas which were somewhat foreign to English minds until War made us all Imperialists. He therefore gained the ear of audiences of thoughtful people whenever they assembled.

A journalist of the days says: "It is pleasant to notice what rapid progress the Hon. T. A. Brassey is making as a public speaker; although only a short time has elapsed since he made his first speech for the County Council Election, he has had so much practice in connection with the Home Defence Association that his powers as a speaker are developing rapidly. A recent speech, which we were privileged to hear, was pertinent, well-worded and clear, and his fluency and general delivery show very decided improvement. It is improbable that he will ever make a great orator, but he has the talent of advancing his arguments in a plain, straightforward way which will stand him in good stead."

A notable feature of his Epsom campaign addresses is the way in which he introduces to his audience his interests in spheres other than political. In a speech which he made at Cheam he told his audience how he had just been down to Bethnal Green for a meeting of the Oxford House Committee. He explained to them what the Oxford House was, and what an advantage it was to the country that men of education like Oxford graduates and undergraduates should know, personally, the conditions of life which had to be endured by

their poorer brothers in East-end slums. He described city dens in Whitechapel, as he himself knew them, and told them what Ben Tillett and Tom Mann were doing for the advancement of their fellow-men. In his opinion, organisation of unskilled workmen was just as necessary as organisation of skilled workmen. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the strike of omnibus conductors, which he described. He told the farmers and agricultural labourers, who formed his audiences, how these men had to work 15, 16, and 17 hours a day and could scarcely ever enjoy the comforts of home: they rarely saw their children, and their Sundays off were few and far between.

At another meeting he described a demonstration of laundresses, who were working under conditions which no reasonable men could support. At Ashted he spoke of a visit which he had recently paid to a great factory, and dealt with the question of Child Labour in factories. He described his visit to India and his vision of the time when the people of that land would be sufficiently advanced in the exercise of political rights to take their share in the popular government of their own land. At Epsom, he spoke about co-operative enterprise, in which he was greatly interested. By such means he attracted the interest, attention, and the support of his constituents; but he had, throughout, to fight a losing game. In private letters he complained bitterly that great pressure was brought to bear, locally, on voters to cast their votes for the Tory candidate. He resented strongly the action of property holders in visiting the cottages of their tenants and doing their utmost to extract promises that their votes should be given to that candidate. In his opinion such conduct was impossible without directing a veiled threat at the poor man about the tenure of his cottage.

The *Times* representative, shortly before the date of the election, summed up the situation as follows:—

Mr. Cubitt is retiring from the representation of the Epsom division at the General Election, and the Conservative candidate in his stead will be Mr. Bucknill, Q.C., Recorder of Exeter. The newcomer is naturally at a certain disadvantage, but I do not think that Mr. Cubitt's withdrawal will endanger the seat. Mr. Cubitt has, from the first,

supported Mr. Bucknill in every possible way, and the latter, who is very energetic, is working the constituency well, besides which he is deservedly popular at Epsom, where he resides.

The Liberals did not poll their full strength in 1885 owing to some internal divergency, and Mr. Brassey, the present Gladstonian candidate, having a united party at his back, will probably reduce the Conservative majority somewhat, but he can hardly win the seat.

Mr. Bucknill charged him with being young : an accusation which was perfectly true, but in doing this he exposed himself to Pitt's retort, which was hurled at him with much force.

Shortly before the election T.A.B. was received at a complimentary dinner at Epsom by the local Liberals, and so great was the popularity which he had won by his sporting instincts of fairplay, that the accommodation provided, which was the utmost the town could find, proved totally inadequate for those who wished to be present. On that occasion Lord Rosebery said of him, " I know him well. He has the greatest of all merits ; the merit of youth. He has also the merit, which I believe is not unequal to youth, the merit of honesty." Sir Charles Russell said, " He is not a glib talker of vague political sentiment, nor is he like the American who said to his constituents, ' Gentlemen, these are my views, but if you don't like them they can be changed.' "

The election took place on Monday, July 11th, 1892, and the result was declared as follows :—

Bucknill (Conservative)	..	..	..	5123
Brassey (Liberal)	..	..	..	<u>2723</u>
<i>Conservative majority,</i>				2400

This was the first of T.A.B.'s failures as a candidate for parliamentary honours, and if it be necessary to seek for reasons for the failure, the reason here is not far to seek. A really good election candidate requires, amongst other virtues, two which are closely associated with the platform : he must be able to impress his audiences with his speeches, and he must not be afraid to carry the offensive hard against

his political opponents. Now T.A.B. was not a whole-hearted critic of opponents. Those who take the trouble to read his speeches will find that he constantly gave praise where he thought that praise was due, although in doing so he was helping the party opposed to him. To take only one example; at Epsom he declared his satisfaction at the naval policy of the Government, and declared that Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Forwood had, in the expression of that policy, acted with wisdom and foresight and had conferred lasting benefits upon the country. That was not a vote-winning line on the platform; his opponents could make political capital out of it, and although they would all agree that he was a sporting opponent, a fair-minded man, and a good fellow, they would use (and they did use) such admissions for the purpose of stimulating their own supporters and influencing votes against him.

However engrossing the work which was occupying T.A.B.'s attention at the moment, he always found time to keep fit. He constantly took part in all kinds of games and hunted, shot, or danced with unflinching vigour. His work was the fresher for it. In his early youth he had often gone with his father to Scotland for shooting and fishing (his short diaries are full of accounts of such expeditions); but it was not until the year 1891 that he began the practice of taking a forest for the season. He became a real lover of the hill. Admiral Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, an intimate friend for many years, who himself in his younger days had gained great renown for his feats of walking and endurance, said of him that T.A.B. was the best man on the hill that he had ever known, that he could easily tire out his stalkers and gillies, and that he seemed to revel in the hard wear and tear of stalking. Of all the forests, he liked Letterewe the best; and he used often to talk of his "beloved Letterewe." He took also at different times Glenfermate, Dalnacardoch, Clunie, Glen Doll, Ben Alder, Benmore, Corrou, Black Corries and Benula.

He was not quite a first-class shot, and in later years he was forced to use the left eye for rifle shooting, the stock of his rifle being adapted specially for this purpose. His trophies gave him great pleasure, and the billiard rooms at Park

Gate and at Normanhurst were both filled with them. His game-books were kept with the greatest care, and for many years they record the "guns," the "bag," and the noteworthy incidents of most of his "shoots" and "stalks."

In 1908 the Deer-stalking Book contains many references to the stalking of "Wild Ben," a big 11 pointer, who was clever enough constantly to evade the stalkers.

Many of the party had shots at him, but he always escaped. After adventures lasting the whole of September, T.A.B. records the following:—

*September 30th.*—A long shot at 300 yards at the big 11 pointer.

*October 1st.*—We all had shots and missed.

*October 2nd.*—Stalked the big 11 pointer all day. Had two chances and missed both. Thick mist until evening and very low, but the flats beyond Scron Loch clear and full of hinds with two good stags. One, an 8 pointer driven over rise by a 6 pointer. Duchally party had three shots at him; I had two. Lovely day, but very hot. Rose (*i.e.*, Lady Cottenham) saw Royal, possibly Wild Ben, in Coire Faroch. The glen was full of deer and I had long shot at 8 pointer at Coire Van and another near river. Hit him second shot, in hind leg.

*October 7th.*—I missed a fair chance under Coire Micdhe and spent an afternoon after Wild Ben at whom I got a long shot in the dusk. The wind was in the south-east and it was wet in the afternoon. I missed a long shot at No. 1 and got him after half an hour by stalking nearer.

*October 9th.*—A good 6 pointer in the glen who took his hinds out over the back of Coire Van. A good 10 pointer was also seen, but Wild Ben was probably in the sanctuary.

*October 10th.*—Went up over the edge of the plad after Wild Ben and got a long shot in the dusk and missed him again.

*October 12th.*—I started at 6 a.m. before it was light. There were plenty of stags roaming in the sanctuary but no Wild Ben. I had climbed to the top of Maoll an Armuich by 8 when it was blowing a hurricane. We saw Wild Ben beneath us and several other lots of deer. Some probably got a touch of the wind, anyway the whole of them moved across Coire Van and went over Coire Faroch. We raced down to the Saddle and up to the top of the plad and down

the shoulder of Coire Faroch. Most of the deer had already passed but Wild Ben had turned his hinds in towards the shoulder and was standing about 400 yards out. There were some other deer not 200 yards off, beneath us. We held a hurried consultation as to the next move and McKay was very keen to work down the steep face as far as we could. While we were doing this Wild Ben brought his hinds into the shoulder within 170 yards. This was a sitting shot with a rest against the side of a rock.

"He has got it this time," says McKay, "in the haunch." "He has got it better than that," is the reply of the rifle as the stag, after going about 50 yards staggered, and after about another 20, dropped dead.

Time 9.30 a.m. I ran at full speed to the path, hard back to the lodge, got off in the motor at 11.15 and reached Inverness over 100 miles away at 3.45. A good finish to the season.

The particular record is chosen as an example of the sort of day in which T.A.B. took a huge delight. He had the heaviest physical exertion during the whole morning from daylight, and after travelling 100 miles by motor, set out, without any pause, for London to continue his activities in other spheres at the same headlong speed.

Before the subject of Scotland and of stalking is entirely dismissed, the views of Duncan Robertson (one of his own stalkers) about T.A.B. must be recorded. He says:—

It was my good fortune to be Head Stalker at Corroul during the late Lord Brassey's tenancy of 1919. I had every opportunity of noting the fine qualities of a true sportsman and splendid gentleman. It did not take one long to find that his Lordship was not only a most reliable shot, but also an expert and experienced stalker, who fully appreciated a clever manœuvre in outwitting the deer, or would be the first to console and soothe the feelings of the self-conscious stalker who might err through over eagerness, in fact, would contrive to draw the cause of the mishap upon himself. He loved deer-stalking not only for the sport, but also as a means of satisfying his desire for being out on the hills, and seeing Nature in her different phases and moods. I have seen him halt even in the excitement of a stalk, and gaze with rapture on the ever-changing hues of a glowing

sunset, or draw attention to the cloud effect upon the weatherbeaten heights and beetling crags; everything beautiful appealed to him. Being a good judge of the class of stag to take and time to loose off, it was unnecessary to be up with him when about to shoot. On one occasion, when he moved in for the few yards alone, the selected stag kept moving away stern on, and finally joined the herd about 500 yards off in a corrie, with no cover, plain ground, till close up. Nothing daunted, his Lordship slid, crawled, and pulled himself along in full view and successfully pulled off the most difficult stalk I ever saw, and secured the very stag he first chose. It had a heavy-bore brass cartridge-case in the region of the liver, near the backbone. It puzzled his Lordship how it got there.

An untiring walker, distance was nothing, and we often finished off far from home but the return journey seemed short, due to his intelligent and kindly conversation which was an education, covering a wide field from State Problems to the best way of keeping a road in order; no subject came amiss.

In the grouse butt he had more anxiety that his guests got good shooting than any desire for sport himself. With a keen eye to the carrying out of arrangements, he invariably brought a pleasant day to a close with a kindly word of appreciation, while on the quiet Sabbath mornings, he regularly conducted family worship, with a devotion, reverence, and sincerity that created an elevating influence which will remain ever green in my memory.

The Archbishop of York, who was often on the hill with him, relates the following anecdote of T.A.B.'s determination and endurance :—

After his Oxford days the sport to which he was devoted was deer-stalking. The open air, the glorious scenery, the rough going, the concentration of energy, the comradeship of stalker and gillie, all these strongly appealed to him. In this connection I have a recollection of him so characteristic of the man that it may be worth while to write it. It was a great day on the hill in Ross-shire, in Letterewe Forest, where some of the happiest days of his life were spent. It was September 13th, 1901 (I have the record of it on the horns of the stag which were the trophy of its toil). We set out from one of the lodges at 8.30 a.m. Very soon some

likely stags were sighted on very high and difficult ground. It was a hard stalk. At 11 a.m. we got within range of the herd. T.A.B. marked his stag and fired. It was a difficult shot, and only hit the poor beast in the stomach. He rose, and then, abandoned by the herd, set his face to the wilderness and ran. We set after him along the steep mountain side at a great pace. The stalker called out that we could not overtake the stag, that he would get the dogs next day and find him. But T.A.B. was determined to get his beast and to put him out of pain without delay. For three hours we ran, until we lost the stag in a birch wood by the shores of Loch-na-Shellag. T.A.B. was determined to keep up the chase. We moved hither and thither. Suddenly the stag bounded out of the wood and took to the water. T.A.B. fired again, but the shot only grazed the head; and the stag swam across, about a mile, to the other side. With relentless determination T.A.B. insisted on running six miles to the foot of the Loch, leaving a gillie to keep his eye on the stag. There we found a boat lying. We commandeered it, and rowed against a hard breeze blowing down the Loch. At last we saw the poor beast standing at bay among the bracken, and at 6 p.m. T.A.B. put him out of pain. For nine hours we had been stalking, running and rowing, and we were now sixteen miles of wild rough country from home. It was just midnight when we reached the lodge at Letterewe. But though it had cost fourteen hours of hard going, the longest and hardest day on record in that forest, T.A.B. was satisfied. He had done what he determined to do.

In 1903, Lord Brassey accepted the Chairmanship of the Royal Opium Commission, and T.A.B. went out to India to act as Joint Hon. Secretary of the Commission, which took evidence on the spot. He kept a lengthier diary than usual of this expedition, and has left memoranda of a careful and very technical character of some independent inquiries which he made about industrial and agricultural conditions and collateral matters. He was accompanied by his wife and visited Lucerne, Arena, Milan, Bologna, and other Italian towns, en route. They embarked at Brindisi, and after going ashore at Port Said and Aden, reached Colombo early in November, having passed the *Sunbeam* in the Indian Ocean.

Before the sessions of the Commission began—the *Sunbeam* not having arrived until five days later—they visited the principal places on the island, and were delighted with the glorious flowers and trees which abounded everywhere. The Commission decided to take evidence in Calcutta for a fortnight and then to divide, half going to Burmah and half to Madras ; after Christmas the whole Commission was to go on tour.

A week's extract from the diary is given as an example of the way in which he occupied his time :—

*Saturday, December 2nd.*—To jute mill at Sarampore in steam-launch. Finlay manager to splendid mill, airy and very little dust. Wages run from 6 rupees for mechanics (natives) to 1 or 2 rupees a week for boys and women, over 500 looms, only runs 6 days a week. Native employees go away for a few weeks every year to cultivate their ground, output 40,000 bags a day, saw whole process from raw jute to finished bag. Worked at tables of Home Charges to races in coming. To Thérèse, a most gruesome piece in which hero and heroine murder heroine's husband, are married, and haunted by their crime, commit suicide. Very well played.

*Sunday, December 3rd.*—On board all morning. Wrote and read, prayers at 11.30. To Botanical Gardens after lunch in the launch. There are some nice bamboos, pretty ferns and orchid sheds and a lovely bridal creeper, a perfect mass of white flowers. There is also a nice avenue of palms (royal) from entrance. The palms generally look dry and shabby and the labels in the gardens are sadly neglected.

*Monday, December 4th.*—Read up evidence. Misses Tremmerne, etc., to lunch. To Museum. Interesting collection of arts and manufactures. Heads, except Indian ones, rather poor. Played tennis with Cumbaleges, good court and good game. Mr. Westland, new Finance Minister from New Zealand, Pembertons, Finlays, Lamberts, Playfair, Chairman Chamber of Commerce, dined.

*Thursday, December 7th.*—At work on Father's speech on Navy. Corrected tables of Home Charges. Mr. Slanders came on board after lunch, a very nice old fellow he is. Talks English very fairly. He is Dewan of a place about 25 miles from Ahmedabad. Played tennis at the Ritchies'.

Mrs. Harvey and I and Idina and Capt. Currie, a very good game.

*Friday, December 8th.*—Working on speech on Navy ; at 4 address to Chamber of Commerce, a few native merchants, room full, reception good. Got to Russell Street in time for a game of tennis before dusk.

*Saturday, December 9th.*—Native doctor C.I.E. gave in evidence that he objected to tea, coffee, cocoa, and cocoatina as well as opium and alcohol. On board one of Asiatic steamers, a fine cargo boat, carries 6,500 tons, twin-screws, triple expansion engines, runs only between Calcutta and Bombay touching at 19 intermediate ports. Rowed with Harry. Dined at the Lieutenant-Governor's. Mrs. Verschoyle very pleasant, knew Lady Wiseman. A few words with Colonel House who belonged to the Old Company's engineers.

It is unnecessary to detail at great length T.A.B.'s connection with the various institutions which had for their object the consolidation of the Empire and the maintenance of Imperial interests, but a passing reference must be made to his long and active connection with the Royal Colonial Institute, incorporated in 1882 by Royal Charter. This is a non-party institution designed, amongst other purposes, to provide a place of discussion for those who are engaged in Colonial and Indian affairs. T.A.B. was a constant and generous supporter and a Vice-President for many years.



NORMANHURST.



## CHAPTER V

THE defeat of Lord Rosebery's Government in 1895 on the Cordite vote revealed a great lack of preparedness on the part of the Government for war, and the subsequent election resulted in the return to power of the Conservative Party with the unprecedented majority of 152 votes. T.A.B. had prepared with his customary energy and activity for this election ; he had followed the usual plan of campaign, had taken a house in Bournemouth in order to fight the division of Christchurch, and had thrown himself, heart and soul, into the general life of the town and district. His political views, expounded to the constituency, were very much what we have shown them to be in the Epsom contest. The root and basis of his attitude towards every question was his predominant Imperialism. The Empire, which had been won by the life-blood of Englishmen shed in all parts of the world in the preceding centuries, must at all costs be preserved : it was the joy and the crown of the education of the Englishman. The work of his grandfather had helped in an extraordinary sense to make the Empire possible by making access to its various parts easy, and the chief occupation of his father's life had been the consolidation of the Empire by drawing closer the ties of affection between its varying parts through his constant visits, through the charm of his personality, and through spreading the information which his books and treatises diffused.

The sanctity of the Empire was a thing of which men were thinking but little at the end of the nineteenth century. There were some, whose voices were still heard at the 1895 election, who contended that it would be well if the constituent parts of the Empire had a nominal connection only ; they averred that it would be wise to allow the young and sturdy children of the old Mother to regard themselves as

unconnected in any sense with the ancient home, as destined, in the due order of colonial development, to become independent nations with constitutions not correlated and even not akin to that of the country from which they had sprung. Such an attitude was provocative to T.A.B.'s enthusiasm.

In both the elections which he fought in the division of Christchurch, his voice was raised constantly in the demand for a strong policy for the building up of the Empire. It was most unfortunate for him that the liberal character of his thought, and his consequent general policy in social, industrial, and agricultural matters had joined him to a party whose leaders were, at the best, vacillating and half-hearted Imperialists. Through all the days of the Imperial struggle, which led up to the South African War and the South African settlement, he was being driven slowly, yet surely, towards the inevitable position which the conflicting ideas of his political outlook necessitated. There were two great ideas struggling in his mentality, Imperial Federation, and its necessary prelude, Federal Government for the United Kingdom constituted his first and foremost ambition. But there was also still strong within him another idea, which he had inherited from the family tradition. He longed, through education, through co-operative movements, through increasing freedom of the political machine, to widen the outlook and raise the tone of the working men and women of England. His whole attitude to political questions was, however, coloured by the first of these ideas. Home Rule for Ireland was simply one factor of the Imperial problem. Disestablishment of the Church in Wales should be considered on its merits from the point of view that it was only fair that every nation, small or large, should have the right of self-determination. It was not a matter for Englishmen to decide the domestic policy of Wales, nor for Scotsmen to decide the character of the relationship between the Church of England and the State.

As years passed, he became still more possessed with the idea of Imperial Federation, and he found that other political parties were not barren of liberal movements. The development of the socialistic spirit of class antagonism brought

a restraining influence to bear upon his radicalism. Such influences were driving him slowly, yet steadily and inevitably, into the ranks of the Conservative Party, with which, however, he was not, and never could be, in complete sympathy.

At Bournemouth \* he was a strong candidate. The quiet thoughtfulness and the intellectual pursuits of many of those who resort to the seaside towns of the south coast always ensure a hearing for a man who is at once well-informed, definite, and earnest. A large and influential admixture of the electorate has travelled to the remote parts of the world, either in the Civil Service, or in pursuit of commerce. Such men, and their general conception of the position of England as the hub of a great Empire, provided a fruitful field for the seed which T.A.B. was incessantly sowing. His social position and the fame of his family were an added strength to his cause. His love of sport, the work which he had done at the Admiralty, his reputation as the editor of the "Naval Annual," his blue, his record at Eton and Oxford, all combined to strengthen his candidature in such a constituency. On the other hand, his manner was against him. Facility in platform speaking, which develops in the case of some men through long and continued practice, was not vouchsafed to him. The faculty of light and airy persiflage, which adds such power to the utterances of some men and wins the heart of electors by the laughter which it produces he never gained. The art of conjuring a recalcitrant waverer he would not cultivate. The resolution which he formed in his first electoral contest for the Sussex County Council, he maintained to the end. He explained with success to large audiences, or to small, to individuals or to masses, what his political views were, but he would never personally ask any man for his vote. A man's vote was his own right and he should not be jockeyed into using it as a personal favour to anyone. Morally, to exercise such pressure was as inexcusable as to buy votes. The facts of the case should be told the voter, and he should be left absolutely free to make his decision.

Moreover T.A.B. had not gained the power of saying "no" in such a way as to give as much pleasure as if he had

\* Christchurch.

said "yes." In this, too, he may, perhaps, have been badly served by his political lieutenants, but then he was always a difficult man to keep on the chain. To the end of his days he had the fault of writing letters to inquirers on important matters without taking expert opinion, or making quite certain that he had all the facts before him: this was a dangerous habit at election time, and he never had a political agent to manage him well. It was useless to grumble afterwards at what had been done.

To a quiet and politely worded request that he would submit such matters in future, he was found always to respond readily. His political agents had, perhaps, not that way of doing things. He undoubtedly lost the Christchurch election because of his reply to the Churchmen of Bournemouth on the question of Welsh Disestablishment. Churchmen in those days, when the Liberal Party was making its constant attacks upon the Church in Wales, were strongly federated, and their representatives in Bournemouth inquired of him whether he were in favour of Welsh Disestablishment. His answer was in the following terms:—

DEAR SIR,

I am in favour of the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, as well as that of the Established Church in Scotland.

Your obedient servant,

T. ALLNUTT BRASSEY.

A wiser answer would have been to explain his principle of requiring self-determination for all nationalities, to say that this was, in his opinion, a matter for Wales, and that he regarded it as improper for Englishmen to interfere with Welsh demands in such a matter, as it would be for Welshmen to interfere with English desires with regard to the Church in England. To hurl forth a plain and unvarnished reply in the terms of the letter, which we have quoted, may have given heart to the Liberals, but it assuredly lost him a great many votes.

The election was fought, as all T.A.B.'s elections were fought, with very clean hands on his side. There was a good deal of journalistic abuse of the Eatanswill Gazette character

on both sides, and it is amusing to find him described in the opposition paper in the following terms :—

He seems to be a poor, weak politician, trimming upon the line of a weak-kneed adhesion to the various devices by which Gladstonianism has endeavoured to keep place with power.

In his address to the constituency he speaks of the following reforms as measures to which he is pledged :—

1. Home Rule.
2. Local Option.
3. Land Registration.
4. Payment of Members of Parliament.
5. Reform of the House of Lords.
6. Disestablishment of the Church in Wales.

Amongst these items the reform of the House of Lords was least liked by his supporters because he always insisted upon the necessity of a second and revising Chamber. In spite of the plea of some of his followers, he refused absolutely to be a party to handing over to the House of Commons unlimited power in legislation without a revision by some expert and strong authority, which would safeguard the interests of the country against hasty action.

His position in this matter was made easier by the lucky question of a heckler, which was a godsend to him. He was asked : " How would you wish this second Chamber constituted? I am for total abolition of the Bishops." The gratuitous suggestion in the second clause gave him an answer on the point which became well-known in the division and was always certain to close the subject.

His opponent was Mr. A. H. Smith, the sitting member, and the result of the election was :—

Smith .. .. .	3198
Brassey .. .. .	3114
<i>Majority</i>	84

The result of the 1892 election had been :—

Smith .. .. .	2803
Fletcher .. .. .	2600
<i>Majority</i>	203

The Tory majority was thus reduced by 119 votes at an election when the tide was setting strongly in their favour.

The defeated candidate announced his intention of standing by the constituency and fighting it again when opportunity occurred.

During all this period of his early political campaigns T.A.B. was taking the greatest possible interest in the work of the Oxford House, which was being established in East London. The history of that settlement needs a volume by itself, and no more than a passing reference to his manifold activities on its behalf can here be made.

The Head of the House in those days was a young clergyman of Keble College, by name the Rev. A. F. W. Ingram, whose initials the reporters of the meetings, held on behalf of the House, rarely succeeded in getting right. Those initials are better known now, though, indeed, the initials of a man's name matter little compared with his enthusiasm and power for work. The future Bishop of London had both of these qualities in a pre-eminent degree. He had no difficulty in infusing a double portion of his spirit of enthusiasm into his two righthand men in his enterprise—T.A.B. and Bertram Talbot. Through them, their friends and their agency, the greater part of the money, which was required for the extension and development of the Oxford House in East London, was obtained.

T.A.B.'s interest in the matter did not end in attempts to raise the necessary funds; he constantly visited the House, and year by year he invited large numbers of the boys, who were attached to its organisations, down to Park Gate, where an annual feature on their visit was the dragging of the fish-pond close to Broomham, a farm on the edge of the park which surrounded Normanhurst. The excitement on this occasion at the capture of the large numbers of coarse fish which were to be found there can only be understood by those who have had experience of the East Londoner on the occasion of his very rare visits to the country.

Sports were also organised in which both "blues" took a leading part, and the revellers having roused East Sussex

by the strains of the band, which they usually brought with them, returned home late at night exhausted with pleasure.

In 1896 T.A.B. and Lady Idina travelled round the world. Starting from Liverpool they visited many important centres of the United States and Canada, and stayed at Marquette in order to travel into the Michigan estate and ranches. They passed through British Columbia and crossed the Pacific to Victoria, calling at the Fiji and the Sandwich Islands. They remained with Lord Brassey at Government House, Melbourne, for some time and witnessed the hospitality which he dispensed there, the guests at one garden party in particular numbering over 5000 persons. T.A.B. took much interest in the co-operative and co-partnership movements, which were developing the fruit, the butter, and the milk trade in the colony by leaps and bounds. They returned by way of Ceylon and Suez, the whole voyage having lasted about six months. T.A.B. gave lantern lectures in various places about this tour, some of the slides being made from photographs taken by Lady Idina.

During the next two years T.A.B. continued his political work in the constituency for which he was a candidate, and occupied himself with movements of social reform, including particularly co-partnership and housing, and with general political questions such as Federation and Imperial Defence.

He took a good deal of interest in the Friendly Society movement and in the Old Age Pensions, which were slowly becoming a question of practical politics. In his own home village of Catsfield he took steps to place a Village Friendly Society, actuarially unsound (as such societies must always be) on a sounder footing, and to induce the younger men to join the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows. That eminently democratic institution had the very salutary lesson of being speeded up in its administrative methods with considerable vigour by a scion of the aristocracy, but after the preliminary breeze which their rather leisurely procedure had provoked, the son of the member of the House of Lords himself became a member of the Unity, and for the rest of his days proudly boasted his connexion with it.

The Rector of Brede, a neighbouring village, had corresponded with him on the subject, and elicited, amongst other letters, the following reply :—

*To the Rev. G. E. Frewer.*

14th March, 1904.

I am much obliged for your letter and enclosure, which I have as yet only had time to glance at. The question of these Old Village Societies as well as Old Age Pensions interests me a good deal. Some years ago we made the younger members of the Catsfield Friendly Society into a branch of the Oddfellows. The older members went on with their Society, and I am glad to say it is still in a flourishing condition—thanks, mainly, it is true, to a subscription of £10 a year which I give them. Would it be possible for you to get together the members of your Friendly Society on Thursday evening next? It is the only evening I have this week or next, before I go abroad, when I could come. I should like to discuss the future of the Society, and if possible to induce the members to allow me to get a report on the Society from the Actuaries of the Manchester Unity. I should be prepared to give a liberal donation in order to get the Society on a better footing.

In 1899 the South African War broke out under circumstances which are now a matter of history. T.A.B.'s connection with South Africa, which he had visited in 1888 on his return from his tour in India, Borneo, and Australia, and again in 1899, when he made a lengthy stay, was a peculiarly intimate one, and he maintained to the end of his life a more than casual acquaintanceship with many prominent South Africans. These visits to South Africa and his opinions are clearly set out in a memorandum drafted at the time. It is too long to quote in full, and the more interesting portions are alone given.

When I left England at the end of July, 1899, for Capetown, it was my intention to proceed to Australia, mainly on a matter of business. On arriving at Capetown I found myself in the middle of a most complicated and interesting political situation, the proper solution of which would determine the future of South Africa. I had the opportunity of meeting some of the men on one side or the

other who were exercising a large influence on the course of events, and opinions were so conflicting as to the reality of the grievances of the Uitlanders, the character of the men who were carrying on the Reform agitation in Johannesburg, and the influence of the Capitalists on the movement, that I made up my mind that it was impossible to arrive at a sound and independent judgment except by visiting Johannesburg and inquiring into things for oneself. . . . In Capetown it was repeatedly asserted to me by men whose sympathies were largely with the Transvaal, and who were at any rate opposed to the line taken by the High Commissioner and the British Government, that the laws of the Transvaal were good, the grievances of the Uitlanders were enormously exaggerated, that the Reform movement of 1899 like that of 1895 was an agitation promoted by Mr. Rhodes and other Capitalists for their own purposes, that the Uitlanders were a community which was intent on making money and able to do so, and consisted of the scum of the earth. Now the first hour I spent in Johannesburg, walking about the streets, was sufficient to prove that the last assertion was ridiculous. That Johannesburg has its proportion of disreputable people, illicit liquor dealers, pickpockets, etc., no one will deny, but the impression left on my mind after my visit there is that as a community it is considerably above the average of most large towns. . . . Now as to the character of the men at the head of the Reform movement. I had the opportunity of meeting the Chairman and other members of the Council of the South African League, the Superintendent of the Council of Education, and being especially anxious to find out how far the working miners and artisans sympathised with and took part in the Reform movement, it was kindly arranged that I should meet at the South African League offices some representative working men, amongst whom were Mr. Shanks and Mr. Raitt, the Secretary of the local branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

I can only say that I was pleased with the type of men who are now taking a leading part in the Reform movement in Johannesburg. They belong mainly to the professional classes, barristers, mining engineers, doctors, etc. Some of them have made considerable sacrifices in order to take part in the movement; the President was compelled to give up his position as mining engineer to one of the important companies. Warrants were out for the arrest of

all the leaders at the time we were in Johannesburg, but had not been put into execution. One could not help feeling some admiration for men who did not flinch from advocating their cause with the chance of being thrown into a Boer prison at any moment. I am satisfied that there are none of the corrupting elements about the Reform movement of to-day which tainted the proceedings of the Reform Committee in 1895. The Capitalists, who are always held up as a bugbear, are certainly not taking a leading part, and I do not believe that they are providing any part of the funds for carrying on the agitation. If I am told that I was deceived by appearances, I say in reply, I am quite satisfied that such men as Mr. Wyburgh, Mr. Dodd, or Mr. Raitt would have nothing to do with the movement, if it was financed by the cheques of Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, etc., in the same way as in 1895. . . . The political grievances are serious, but that the mass of the people on the Rand are willing to take part in an active political agitation for their removal, I am not prepared to say. . . .

His opinions are further given in a letter to Mr. Hofmeyr.

*To Mr. Hofmeyr.*

August 19th, 1899.

The more one studies the present political situation in South Africa the more complicated it becomes, and the more difficult it is to see a way which will be reasonably acceptable to all parties. As a Liberal I feel that the policy pursued by Mr. Gladstone in 1881 has been reciprocated by the Government of the South African Republic in a spirit hostile to the interests of the British colonies in South Africa, as well as to British people in the Transvaal ever since. The laws may not be bad in themselves, but that they are badly administered in many respects, no one I think can gainsay. And is not this natural? How could a trained body of administrators be evolved suddenly out of a community of farmers, such as the Transvaal was 15 years ago? If you absolutely decline to entrust the administration of any important part of it to the people who form the vast mass of your immigrants, and who, I think, we Englishmen can fairly claim have shown themselves, in India, in Egypt, and elsewhere, the best administrators in the world; and prefer to put your confidence in strangers

imported into the country for administration purposes alone; who have no real interest in the welfare of the country or the good of South Africa as a whole; the administration was bound to be more or less of a failure. Under such circumstances it is remarkable that it has been carried on as well as it has. The economic grievance I am satisfied from what I have heard here is not very great. The field is so rich that fortunes can be made here now; but it is fairly certain that with a reduction of taxation on the mining industry, whether through the dynamite monopoly or in any other way, the production of the Randt could be doubled if not trebled. The political grievance is, I am satisfied, serious; representation must go with taxation is an old liberal maxim and you cannot govern satisfactorily without it. It is quite untrue to say that the Uitlander population consists of the scum of the earth, as has often been said to me in Capetown during this last week. From what I can see I should say that as a community, they are a good deal above the average of most large towns. The mass of the population belongs certainly to the middle and lower-middle classes.

T.A.B. had been gazetted 2nd Lieutenant in the West Kent Yeomanry on December 22nd, 1888, and had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant on December 19th, 1891, and to that of Captain on January 19th, 1898. He had taken the keenest interest in the regimental work, and as soon as war was declared, he volunteered to raise a company of Yeomanry and proceed to the front. The offer was accepted, and authority was given in the middle of February, 1900, for raising the Sussex Company, after the pick of the material had already been recruited by himself and others for the West Kent, Middlesex, and Hants Companies. With the exception of one Yeoman and a few volunteers, the Company was composed of men with no military experience, many of whom had to be taught either to ride or to shoot. During the three weeks that the Company was being raised at Eastbourne, T.A.B. had not the assistance, as other Companies had, of the Yeomanry staff, and had no officers. The work of training the men was done by one Sergeant of Yeomanry (an ex-soldier) and himself, with the help of a few personal friends. Every man, unless on leave, had two hours or more

in the saddle per day from the time he joined the Company. Within three weeks of the enrolment of the first men, the Company marched by road to Shorncliffe, a distance of about fifty-five miles, in three days, only half the men being mounted, the remainder proceeding on foot. It was only after arriving in Shorncliffe that the assistance of the Adjutant of the West Kent Yeomanry in training the Company was secured. T.A.B. called this a good record. The 69th (Sussex) Company of Imperial Yeomanry sailed from the Royal Albert Dock in the *Delphic* on March 31st, 1900.

The Duke of Norfolk volunteered to serve under T.A.B. as a subaltern, and they went out together in the *Carisbrooke Castle*, accompanied by Lady Idina Brassey and Lady Mabelle Egerton. Thus was laid the foundation of a friendship which lasted for the rest of their lives.

*From the Duke of Norfolk.*

24th March, 1900.

It was only yesterday morning that I learnt you had a Company of Sussex Imperial Yeomanry going to South Africa, and I at once wired to you to ask if you would let me join. I am much obliged to you for the reply, and to Langdale for his letter. I only fear that my application, coming so late, has put you to inconvenience.

I gather, however, that if I could get attached to the Company you would have no objection to my going out in that capacity, and you could decide on arrival at the Cape whether it would be best that I should remain with the Company or find some other berth in the Battalion, which Colonel Brookfield feels could be arranged.

Acting on this belief, which I trust is well grounded, I have consulted Colonel Brookfield, the Imperial Yeomanry Headquarters, and the War Office, and have obtained sanction to join your Company. I am told, however, that the ship in which you go out is already crammed to overflowing, and that I must not go with you, which I greatly regret. I am ordered, therefore, to go out in the mail steamer *Carisbrooke Castle*, which sails from Southampton on the same day as you sail, and I have arranged to take my horse and groom with me. I am only taking my groom as far as the Cape, and I understand there will be no

difficulty in one of the troopers being told off to act as my groom during the campaign.

As time is so very pressing, I have ventured, on the strength of what you and Langdale write, to make these arrangements, and I sincerely hope there is nothing in them in any way disagreeable to you. Should my connection with the Company cause any inconvenience, I quite understand that you will terminate it at any moment, and that I shall then look to Brookfield to keep me somewhere in the Battalion.

Will you allow me to say that I think it very good of you to permit me at the eleventh hour to join at all, and that I should be seriously annoyed and disgusted if my coming in this somewhat irregular way put you in any way in an awkward or difficult position? I also wish to say most emphatically that I of course entirely give up my rank, and wish to take any sort of place into which you can shake me. It is only because I am sure you will thoroughly believe this and accept me on that clear understanding, that I dare to avail myself of the permission you have so kindly given me.

The fortunes of the Company are described in the following diary kept by the C.O. :—

Since we left Capetown on May 4th, we have been completely cut off from the outside world, have not seen a newspaper, or heard a word by wire or letter of our friends. The Sussex Company has been very fortunate. We have come up the country as fast as it is possible to come, have seen the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria, and have been under fire. . . .

We had only orders as far as De Aar, and did not know in the least where we were going from there. Our train was 10 hours late, and we did not reach De Aar till 2 p.m. on the 16th, instead of at 4 a.m. Our two mule drivers for the ammunition waggon bolted the first night, and it was a hard job watering and feeding 160 horses in the trucks, as well as getting food for the men in the time allowed at each station. We crossed the Orange River at midnight, and had 5 hours at Springfontein on the 17th, arriving at Bloemfontein the same evening. Here the Duke of Norfolk, who had left Capetown a week before us, rejoined and we detrained at Smaldeel at 11 a.m. on the 18th. The

horses were so weak after their 93 hours in the train, packed as tight as they could be, that it was quite impossible to move till next day. We marched at 4 p.m. on the 19th, intending to camp about 6 miles on, but when we reached the spot, the water was filthy and dead horses were lying all round.

On the 21st we reached Zand River, where there had been heavy fighting a few days before. Being railhead, there was a big camp, partly of troops, partly of navvies engaged in making the deviation to replace the bridge blown up by the Boers. The Commandant let us have an ox-waggon which enabled us to lighten our horses' loads of the men's blankets and waterproof sheets and to carry a fair amount of forage and rations. We of course left our tents and most of our kits on the rail, and as a rule have done very well without them. . . .

*May 22nd.*—Made a good march of 25 miles to Boschrand. The Duke of Norfolk rode on to Kronstadt to report our arrival to Lord Roberts, but unfortunately found that he had left in the morning. The principal discomfort of our march hitherto was the number of dead horses and oxen lying along the road. To-night the only water we had to drink and wash in was from a dam with two dead horses in it. . . .

*May 24th.*—Three cheers for the Queen at 6 a.m. Told the men that if any part of the Army reached Johannesburg within the week, the Sussex Company would be there. Johannesburg was between 130 and 140 miles distant. Secured a second ox-waggon, which we left at Kronstadt till evening to bring on forage. Made about 16 miles and camped with good grass and water near Holfontein. . . .

*May 25th.*—The ox-waggon caught us up at 7 a.m. but had only brought 360 lbs. of oats, less than a half-a-day's ration for the horses. With the exception of one bag of oats, which we begged off a transport officer at Grootvlei, this was all the forage we had till we got to Johannesburg.

*May 26th.*—After another futile attempt to draw forage, we left the Rhenoster and reached Grootvlei, a 20 miles march, about 4 p.m. There we found a squadron of Kitchener's Horse, who had been engaged with the Boers two days before, about 8 miles east of the railway, and 2 or 3 empty waggon-convoys, waiting to take supplies from Roodeval on to General Ian Hamilton's division, which was moving N.W. to the Vaal. Found a great friend in

Kitchener's Horse, and three of us sat at our camp fire that night, who had made a hunting trip in the Rockies together in 1886.

*May 27th.*—Marched early, leaving one section as rearguard to bring on the waggons. Made Taaishbosch Spruit, where Lord Roberts had slept the night before, at dusk.

We had hardly off-saddled when a message came in from the rearguard to say that a convoy had been attacked about 10 miles back. We were in an indefensible position where we were, so determined to move to the farm a mile further on, where there were cover for the horses, convenient stone kraals and walls for our outposts, as well as wood, water, and grass—the three necessities for a camp, though one has often to make shift without one or the other. Our light waggon upset over a boulder in the dark, just after crossing the drift, and it was 9 o'clock before we had settled in our new quarters. The rearguard came in an hour later with the 2 ox-waggons, to our great relief. By midnight all had had supper and the guards were posted. Went the rounds at 1 o'clock and again at 5. The other officers divided the intervening hours.

*May 28th.*—Major Cochrane, with 3 Boer envoys, camped close to us. An interesting chat with Mr. Malan after breakfast, about the war and its causes. Having heard yesterday from one of the headquarter supply officers that the army was likely to halt for two days on the Vaal, we did not think it necessary to start early after our long march of yesterday. We reached the Vaal with the main body at 10.30 to hear that Lord Roberts had left Verening on the Transvaal side, 3 hours before. From Taaishbosch to the Vaal is only 6 miles, but for the whole of those 6 miles the road is deep sand. It was a terrible job getting the waggons through. The oxen had to be double-spanned and did not reach the Vaal till 2 o'clock, having taken 5 hours on the way. The mule-waggons came in soon after noon. All the teams were more or less exhausted, and it was clear that we must make a push for it if we were to catch the Army up before they entered Johannesburg. A. B. and C. sections crossed the Vaal at 3 p.m., each man carrying his blanket, a day's biscuits, and an emergency ration on his saddle. D. section, under Lieut. McLean were to follow, with the ammunition and light waggons as soon as they had had a bit of lunch. We had 21 miles to do to reach

Klip River, where the Army were to halt to-night. We marched till sundown, passing on the way an artillery convoy in charge of the son of my old Colonel. Gave the horses half-an-hour's grazing, and then went on till 10 o'clock, when we struck the camp of the VIIth Division. The grass fires blazing on every hand were quite magnificent. It seemed as if the Boers were determined to leave us nothing but a blackened country, devoid of grass for horses or oxen. We spent a miserable night, under the shelter of a stone wall. Many of the men, I am glad to say, found good quarters on some oat straw in a barn.

*May 29th.*—Up at 4. Moved at daybreak. Reached Klip River Station at 7 having passed the VIIth Division on the way. Lord Roberts had left an hour before, but I was lucky to run up against the A.A.G. of the XIth Division who knew me, and we were directed down to the bridge over the Klip River. The wheel of one of the 4·7 in. naval guns had just gone through the bridge, delaying the whole of the artillery and waggons of the XIth and VIIth Divisions for 2 hours till a trestle bridge was built by the engineers. As an old friend was in charge of the traffic at the bridge, and there was grand grazing for the horses, the delay was not an unmixed evil. Once across the bridge, we pushed on rapidly till we caught the Headquarter Staff up near Natal Spruit. The Headquarter Staff halted for lunch, and we received orders to move about 4 miles further on, to camp and to join Colonel Henry's Mounted Infantry Brigade next day. At about 4 in the afternoon we came over a high ridge, opposite Jamestown, from which we had a grand view of the Rand, from the suburbs of Johannesburg in the west to beyond Boksburg on the east, 12 miles or more. . . .

*June 2nd.*—Went into Johannesburg and lunched at Heath's Hotel, where we had stayed last year. . . .

*June 3rd.*—Marched from our camp at Orange Grove at 6 a.m. Our brigade moved along to the west of the main Pretoria road, and we had a long, dragging morning while a possible Boer position at Leuwkop was being turned. Camped about 1 o'clock. Putting out grass fires occupied a good deal of the afternoon.

*June 4th.*—To-day we have seen our first battle. Battle of Diamond Hill. We marched at 6 a.m. with orders to seize Six Mile Drift, where it was expected the Boers would make a stand. The four Yeomanry Companies—Sussex, 2 Somersets, and Dorset—covered 1½ miles of front on either

side of the Pretoria road, each company finding its own scouting line, support, and reserves. When we got within threequarters of a mile of the drift a patrol was fired upon, and two of our sections opened the ball by firing on some Boers retreating up the road from the drift at 2500 yards. I, with the other two sections, was sent off to occupy a rocky kopje to the right of the road. We could see men on the top, and it looked as if we might have a ticklish job. But they turned out to be officer's patrol of the 16th Lancers. We stayed there about an hour, when, as there were no Boers to be seen on our side of the spruit and most of the Yeomanry had already crossed and were reaching the top of the brow a mile beyond, I determined to move on, clearing some woods on my way. We crossed the drift, and soon got up to the front, the other sections being dismounted. Colonel Henry, who commands our Mounted Infantry brigade, ordered the C section (Wynn's), with which I was, to occupy a low kopje, about 400 yards away, from which a few Boers were firing. The ground was very bare, and we went ahead with short rushes, one or two bullets striking the ground close to us; but I didn't believe there were more than about six of the enemy on the kopje, and they cleared out before we got within 250 yards. Once on top we had a grand view of the left half of the Boer position, right up to the S.W. Pretoria fort. It was on a high ridge running almost parallel to and completely commanding the main road to Pretoria. We could see from fifty to one hundred Boers on each kopje along the ridge, with their ponies in many cases, building sangars and digging entrenchments. While we were watching them the fort opened fire, and the shells whizzed over our heads and dropped close to the road between us and the led horses—all except one, which fell just between the section and me, as I was talking to some Mounted Infantry a few yards away. We were ordered to retire, mount, and move to the left with the rest of the Yeomanry, leaving our place to be filled by the troops coming up behind. I should have explained that we were in advance of Lord Roberts' main army. Our move to the left was over very rough ground, stony and full of ant-bear holes, which are a cause of many falls. Crossing a hollow, the bullets suddenly began to whistle around us, the ground being commanded from the ridge I have already spoken of, 2000 yards away. My little Basuto horse suddenly fell and rolled over on top of me. I thought he had tripped at first,

but the blood gurgling from the wound soon showed what was the matter. Two or three men had to dismount to lift him off me. I had cut my head a little against a stone, but was otherwise unhurt, and having taken the trumpeter's horse, I overtook the Company within about 400 yards. Half a mile further we were all ordered to dismount in a hollow and extend. The ground was still in great measure commanded from the ridge, which in this part was covered with trees. The bullets flew whistling overhead, and directly we showed near the skyline it seemed to us raw soldiers as if we were under a tremendously hot fire, but I made all the men crawl low, and only one was slightly wounded. We got behind stones and tried to find some one to shoot at, but I could not see the enemy with my glass. After twenty minutes or so of this sort of thing we were ordered to retire and try further to the left. When we got back to the led horses McLean's section and Ashby were missing. I took three sections with me, and meeting the Colonel of Lumsden's Horse, with about thirty men, we arranged to line the ridge as ordered, near one of our pom-poms. However, before we could get into position, orders were sent that the Yeomanry were to stay back in reserve, the result being that our Company saw nothing more of the fight. Some of the other Companies, and McLean's section—who did not get the order to retire—told us later that when our guns got up they made a great mess of the Boer ridge. Towards evening the infantry arrived on the scene, and some of them took our places. We camped about a mile to the rear, but as no waggons had come up and we had had hardly anything to eat all day, matters looked rather gloomy. I met General Bruce Hamilton later in the evening and dined with him. He commands a brigade in General Ian Hamilton's division. It seems that their Mounted Infantry had worked right round the extreme right of the Boer position, and that at nightfall the enemy had retired. The Dorsets got their waggon in the course of the evening and entertained the others, including my men.

*June 5th.*—We started at 6 a.m. and encamped about two o'clock on the outskirts of Pretoria. We are very glad of a day to rest and clean up, and I sincerely hope the business is pretty well over as far as we Yeomanry are concerned. It has been real hard work getting up here, saddling up in the dark with untrained men, and passing three or four nights without waggons, which means very little to eat and

only one blanket to sleep in—no joke in a hard frost, such as we have had frequently lately. I have felt almost like a slave-driver at times, when it has been necessary to urge my tired, hungry men along; but we have attained our object and have seen both Johannesburg and Pretoria taken. It is a great thing to have been under fire too, with only one casualty to the men and two to the horses.

*June 15th.*—Many of our men (69th Company I.Y.) are enlisting in the Transvaal Police. A patrol of ours got in a very tight place a day or two ago. One man dangerously wounded, two horses killed, and three abandoned; but they killed and wounded two or three Boers, so they had the best of it.

*July 1st.*— . . . We have no letters at all from home yet. I expect many of ours were burnt by De Wet at Roodeval, with our tents and heavy baggage. As there is no chance of getting leave just yet I have been doing civil work (nearly all our men having gone into the Police) and have been helping to take over securities left in the various departments of the late Government. I am now going to act as Civil Commissioner of Pretoria—interesting work, as it is his duty to issue all licenses and collect all the revenue.

While acting in this position as Civil Commissioner of Pretoria, T.A.B. received news of the resignation of the Government and the prospect of an immediate election on the war issue. After many doubtings and discussions with his friends, T.A.B. asked for leave to return to fight the Christ-church division. It seemed better to take this course than to fight the division in absence, and he accordingly returned to England in September, 1900. Lady Idina, who had done a good deal of Red Cross work, returned at the same time.

The election address began as follows:—

While all Liberals regret that domestic and social reforms have, in recent years, received so small a share of the attention of the Legislature, a Candidate, who on this account thinks that the Liberal Party can ignore the fact that this country is responsible for the rule of a world-wide Empire, has no claim to a seat in the Imperial Parliament. The time is, in my opinion, rapidly approaching—if it has not already arrived—when a great change in the Constitution

will become necessary. The assistance spontaneously given by the Colonies to the Mother Country in this year of stress and trouble in South Africa and China, points to the necessity of establishing a Federal Parliament in which the Colonies should be represented, and which would deal with all questions affecting the Empire as a whole. On the other hand, it is clear that the House of Commons must be left free to devote more attention in the future than it has given in the past to those matters which directly concern the people of these islands. For ten years I have been an advocate of Imperial Federation, and I believe now, as I believed ten years ago, that the Home Rule problem can only be satisfactorily solved as a part of the larger question.

Now that we are face to face with a General Election, it is time for Liberals to drop difference of opinion as to the War now dragging to a conclusion in South Africa. We cannot undo what has been done. The conduct of South African affairs during the past five years—and more especially in the year following the deplorable Jameson Raid, is open to the severest criticism; but at the present moment it is the duty of every patriotic Liberal to support a firm policy based on securing equal rights and equal privileges for all white men in whatever part of South Africa they may live, and just treatment of the Native Races, and to put an end, once and for all, to any feeling of unrest. The leaders of the Liberal Party have made it clear that a change of Government cannot mean a reversal of the inevitable consequences of the War—the annexation of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

It then dealt with Land Reform, Elementary Education, Veto of the House of Lords, Temperance Reform, and Military Administration.

The result of the election was :—

Balfour	..	..	..	..	3411
Brassey	..	..	..	..	3408
					3
				<i>Majority</i>	

On a recount the majority was increased to eight.

The opinion of many of his friends on the result is well expressed in the following extract from a letter of

his friend "Dukker" McLean then serving in South Africa :—

I see that you have had a very close shave for your election : for you personally I am very sorry, but on broader grounds, with the election coming at the time it did, I cannot regret the result. Any diminution of the Government majority is taken out here to mean condemnation of the war. My one ambition now is to get this job finished and come home. Anybody or anything that tends to put off a final settlement here is a personal enemy of mine.

There was much discontent amongst the men whom T.A.B. took out because of the arrangements made as to their future, and T.A.B. did his best to help them.

Krugersdorp,  
November 29th, 1900.

MY DEAR T.A.B.,

As you may remember the time for which our men enlisted in the Police expired on September 17th. Two or three came out then, but the rest extended their term for another three months.

We at the rest camp were, at the beginning of October, confidently expecting to get orders for home in the course of a fortnight : the I.Y. Headquarters told us that we would all have left before the end of October : the Roughriders came down from Barberton, having given over all equipment, and having been told by the G.O.C. that they were on their way home. Suddenly, on Wednesday, October 10th, we were told that everything was altered : that all our men in the Police were to rejoin and that we were to refit for service and rejoin our battalions. The policemen rejoined on the Saturday, on Monday the Devons and Dorsets left, on Tuesday the Sussex, on Wednesday the W. Somersets. . . .

It is a crying shame that I can get no tents for our Company, the others have a few, but we have none : the wet season is on us, we are having heavy thunderstorms every day almost without exception, and the poor fellows are constantly wet through. As we have to stay out here, we might at least get the same protection from the weather that nearly all the other troops have. I see no prospect of getting home.

Yours ever,  
DOUGLAS H. MCLEAN.

T.A.B. took up the matter with the Secretary of State for War, but it seemed impossible to remedy the state of affairs. Finally the Company returned to England in June, 1901, and were demobilised at Eastbourne. A brass tablet was erected in Battle Church in memory of the officers and men who had fallen. The writer of the letter of protest which called for T.A.B.'s intervention did not live to join in the rejoicings which greeted the return of the Company. He was seized shortly afterwards with a severe attack of colitis, and died in hospital after a short illness.

## CHAPTER VI

ENGLISHMEN are, as a race, practical and reserved. But there is a fine vein of idealism in their reserve. Most Englishmen, consequently, at some time in their lives, have visions of assisting in the establishment of the ideal state, either in England or elsewhere. They will all confess, if confession can be extorted from them, to a stirring of emotion and a quickening of the pulse when they read the passionate words of Blake, or any other lover of England. In all that they do for this ideal state, they seek one thing, and one thing only, the happiness of the greatest number. Few Englishmen, nevertheless, have had, in any real sense, the opportunity of realising such visions. To them Utopia has never been more than Utopian. Their visions, too, have disappeared like a mirage before that general progress along the path of materialism, which comes with the passing of the years and the disillusionment of middle age. So even when opportunity arises, it is missed. When at long last the dim shape of idealism is clothed with some prospect of actual achievement, selfishness or lack of imagination is in the seat of control, and there is no reply nor any that answer. But the long thoughts of youth can sometimes maintain their sway, when memory of them alone remains. This is the Englishman's most cherished birthright. The Empire and the Dominions overseas still remain the crown of their idealism and the concrete expression of the spirit of the public schools and the great family traditions.

Other tribes and other races cannot acquire the Utopian method, which is at once England's glory and their despair, and if men were chary about confessing their success in it to others, they are forced in quiet moments of reflection to acknowledge, however unwillingly, that the work is great and that Utopianism, or the Sermon on the Mount, are

unequaled in their power over men. It is this life-giving spirit of the new Atlantis which lifts a man out of the common rut, with a shaking of the soul asserting itself in the wisdom of supreme folly, to seize the chance of a lifetime. Regardless of all but the common weal, he fares forth to discover the undiscoverable, to attain the inaccessible, to rejoice in the search for the highest pleasure in a great task of public service.

It was characteristic of T.A.B. that he should make his own opportunity and not wait for it to offer itself. It is the mark of genius to see in the commonplace or the forbidding a vividness and a glory of shining truth, and to give fierce or exultant expression to the vision in curt, throbbing phrases, or in mighty deeds. It is not for every man to behold in a humdrum story of a petty King and his three daughters the germ of the tragedy of a Lear. So T.A.B. had a flash of insight really akin to genius when he saw his Utopia in an Italian mining centre, inhabited by semi-civilised, unprepossessing Sardinians. For in Sardinia he found one of the greatest joys of his whole life. From the turmoil of politics, from the quiet and orderly ways of Sussex, from his "beloved Letterewe," he constantly turned to the industrial problems of Italian mining, to find for them new solutions, to devise new panaceas for ancient pains, and in an Italian island in the bosom of the everlasting hills to found yet one more Utopia.

Sardinia, like Cornwall, was known to the Phœnicians. When history was beginning to dawn at the Western end of the Mediterranean, they began to extract the ore from workings which are to-day more productive than ever. Their kinsmen of Carthage surrendered to the Romans, amongst other things, such rights as they possessed in the mines of the island. The shafts which they drove, and the excavations which they made, testify to their activities and their skill. From time to time, as modern workings progress, relics of their occupation are found, and the local museum gives indisputable proof of their occupancy.

There are, in spring-time, few places in the world which are more lovely than some parts of Sardinia. On his first visit, the magnificence of the scenery and the profusion of

flowers appealed intensely to T.A.B.'s love of natural beauty, of which his travels about the world had made him an amateur. In this setting he did all the great work of organisation and social service, which he accomplished when he took over the mines, presently to be described.

There are two ways of approaching Sardinia from the mainland. The longer route is from Leghorn to Cagliari, and involves a journey of thirty-six hours in the boat. The second way is from Civita Vecchia by the boats of the Navigazione Generale to the Golfo Aranci. The conditions are not sufficiently good to admit of any desire for a prolonged sea voyage, and the traveller therefore usually adopts the shorter route and makes acquaintance with Sardinia at the Golfo Aranci in the early hours of the morning. Having left Civita Vecchia late on the previous day, he awakens in a magnificent harbour, the finest at the western end of the Mediterranean, large enough to contain the whole of the British Fleet and to provide, in addition, the necessary accommodation for its gun-laying tests. Around stand the rocky heights of the hills of Sardinia, rising at the summits to a height of 6000 feet and descending to the water's edge by a gentle slope ending in a sandy beach. On landing, the traveller continues his journey by the railway, which runs the length of the island, and after some hours reaches San Gavino, the nearest station to the mines. He must then travel in a car, or on horseback, the remaining distance to the Villa Ginestra at Ingurtosu, which T.A.B. made his headquarters.

In the spring or early summer it will be a glorious journey. Here is a hill covered from foot to summit with rock roses in full bloom ; the hillside is a mass of white flowers, amongst which the red blooms lie like splashes of blood ; by accident the traveller lights on a valley which is a mass of peonies, the gorgeous colours of which are relieved by fields of cyclamen variegated with periwinkle. The countryside is covered with the blue of the rosemary, and the hills with the yellow flower of the ginestra ; the sea lavender, the glorious *pancratium* lilies and the Mediterranean heather provide a feast for the eye which make the journey a perpetual delight.

Presently the traveller passes the gardens at Bau, filled with fruit trees, white with blossom, later to provide, in extravagant abundance, apples and pears, oranges and pomegranates, and all kinds of semi-tropical fruits. The vineyards promise abundance of grapes, and in the autumn arbutus berries cover the landscape with patches of red and gold.

To add to the zest of living, there was always in the days when T.A.B. was beginning his work, and for long years afterwards, the chance of being murdered by brigands, anyone of whom would be content to bargain with your enemy whoever he might be, to remove you from the scene for a little sum of five francs or so. This was the normal charge for a knife in the back, and when T.A.B.'s reforms had induced a more settled state of society in his own part of the island, it became a common form of entertainment for visitors to point out to them a swarthy-looking fellow amongst the workmen at the mines, who had earned his livelihood in other days at this pastime. The Sardinian is, as a rule, it is only fair to say, mild in character, hard-working, simple, and temperate in habits, and at the same time lively and hospitable.

In earlier days it was necessary for T.A.B. and his friends to be accompanied by an escort whenever they took excursions about the countryside. It was sufficiently embarrassing to be followed by a couple of carabinieri, and it did not in the least appeal to our Utopians. T.A.B. used to describe with great glee the alarm of his escort when with Pelham Papillon he successfully "lost" them, and took short cuts home across country. With many gesticulations he was warned of the serious dangers which he had risked. With grave and ominous shakings of the head his imminent passage of the Styx was often prophesied. Those days have passed; Sardinia has entered upon a new era of prosperity and peace; in it T.A.B. had no small share. The contentedness of his villages and the affection with which his men regarded him became a steadying and an elevating influence throughout the island.

There are two large mining centres with which T.A.B. was closely connected, the Gennamari-Ingurtosu and the



VILLA GINESTRA IN SARDINIA.



DISTANT VIEW OF VILLA GINESTRA IN SARDINIA.



Pertusola. The mines in the former are all situated close together, and were taken over from a company which had been unsuccessful in working them. They are amongst the oldest mines in Europe.

The Pertusola undertaking includes mines much more scattered and came into the possession of Mr. Thomas Brassey (T.A.B.'s grandfather) through one of the many partners who helped him in some of his Continental contracts. It embraced four separate and independently conducted businesses: mines at Pertusola, a shipyard at Spezia, smelting works at Spezia, and an accountancy department at Genoa. On his death they passed into the hands of his three sons, and in 1899 the whole of the property, hitherto more or less unproductive through inefficient management, was placed under T.A.B.'s control. As part owner and managing director of a private company, in which all the interests of members of the family were combined, he became responsible for the general development of the undertaking.

The output of the mines is mainly lead ore and zinc ore. The lead ore was smelted chiefly at Spezia, and the zinc ore was either sold or sent to be smelted elsewhere. The largest of the purchasing companies had its chief works at Liège, a fact which led to the first of the complications in connection with the business which the war brought in its train. The smelting of the zinc is a much more complicated and hazardous process than the smelting of the lead. The output of lead from the mines was more than two-thirds of the whole Italian supply of that mineral. The mines are worked by headings which are driven more or less horizontally into the side of a hill. The distance between the headings is roughly thirty metres. At intervals in the workings there are short connecting shafts from one level to another, which shafts are scaled by means of ladders. The common methods of support of workings by means of pit-props are in use. There is little danger from bad air, and although sometimes the lamps will not keep alight while a tunnel is in process of being driven, proper ventilation is soon secured when the connecting tunnel is finished, as it is a simple matter to produce currents of air through the workings. The method of extracting the ore from the

mines is to allow it to slide as much as possible, so as to avoid unnecessary labour, but the greatest care is taken to prevent any possibility of accident. In this respect the Italian Government has taken action in advance of that of many other countries. Its regulations throw all responsibility for accidents upon the engineer in charge of the working in which they take place. Just as by English custom a captain of one of His Majesty's ships is tried by court-martial if she be lost while under his control, whatever the circumstances of the loss may be, so the engineer is brought to trial and required to show that the accident was unavoidable even by the exercise of the greatest prudence and foresight.

T.A.B. now, in the year 1899, became responsible for the happiness and prosperity of thousands of men, who were living under conditions of a very low order of civilisation. The influence of his grandfather was strong upon him. That grandfather's proudest boast had been that, in all his vast enterprises, he had never had a strike amongst his workmen. T.A.B. could say also, after many years of work, that it was never by his fault that his workmen went out on strike. At the same time he had no use for inefficiency; no mercy was shown to the man who had been given a fair trial, and through laziness or vice proved incompetent. Every inducement was given to men to produce of their best; suitable rewards and promotions were provided for merit, a voice in the management of the business was in due course to be offered to all who were engaged. In such ways, and by the exercise of discretion, guided by the best technical advice, a new era in mining in Italy was to be begun.

In such an enterprise it was necessary to get a fair start. Accordingly steps were soon taken to sell the shipyard as no longer of value, but rather a burden to the other departments without rendering any really effective assistance to the main undertaking, and to co-ordinate the relationships of the various heads of departments.

The people of Sardinia live a curiously self-contained life with a narrow outlook. They are a homely and affectionate people, and their family ties are strong. But the level of education is very low, and the standard of living is primitive.

The mines at Gennamari and Ingurtosu required, when fully working, about 8000 workmen, most of whom had families dependent upon them. The numbers were much smaller when T.A.B. began his work and he found the majority of them living in rough wattle booths or wigwams, more like gipsies than a settled people. No provision such as is common in Christian countries was made for their welfare. Schools were almost unknown; hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries were simply non-existent; sanitation was of the Tertiary period; gardens were such as might have been expected amongst a people who were leading practically a nomadic existence; while games and sports, of an unorganised kind, existed by accident. Clubs were unknown. The religious needs of the people were just as seriously neglected, and it was a common matter for people to die without the Sacraments or any ministrations of the priesthood.

The prospect was not very encouraging. But in such conditions the driving force of a powerful personality has a better field and greater prospects of advancement than in a more developed environment. It soon made itself felt. T.A.B.'s extraordinary energy and business capacity had the result of increasing the annual output of the mines from 17,000 tons to 52,000 tons of lead and zinc. He provided modern mills and machinery, organised the transport, and effected economies of working on every hand by reducing to system and to order the chaotic and pre-historic arrangements, which had previously been accepted as inevitable. But beyond and above all such reforms he set himself to improve in every possible way the conditions of life and the habits of his workpeople. He built and gave them good houses at a fair rental, provided them with pure water, increased their wages so that they might obtain decent clothing, established canteens and kitchens where they might obtain good food, and consulted in every possible way their best interests. Thus he improved personnel out of knowledge, and multiplied the productive capacity of his staff, while he made them really happy. His righthand man was Signor Commendatore A. Peloggio, who became more and more devoted to him as he recognised the bearing of his reforms.

He inculcated kindness to animals, hitherto as unknown

in Sardinia as in other parts of Italy, and effected in particular a complete revolution in the treatment by the Sardinians of their yoke animals. At one time covered with innumerable scars from the goads of their drivers, they were after a few months proudly displayed by their admiring attendants as spotless and scarless. So easy is virtue in the light of the influence of a great personality.

Perhaps no more need here be said about the material results of his enterprise and initiative; to the value of his services to Italy at the moment of her trial in 1918, when every ounce of lead was as precious to her as gold, reference must be made hereafter.

He visited Sardinia frequently: it was rare that an interval of six months was allowed to elapse without a prolonged inspection of the mines. With him went Leonard Brassey, Pelham Papillon and many other friends, whose enthusiasm he had aroused—friends of Oxford days, friends from the ends of the earth, business acquaintances, fellow-idealists in political and industrial problems, all went, as well as members of the family. Lady Idina, whose achievements in raising the standard and general tone of the district were second only to his own, was often there. To the untutored mind of the Sardinian workman and his wife both of them appeared as something more than human. If they were not gods, they were at the least divine. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at.

Reforms of a philanthropic character often fail in their object because of the lack of a personal touch between the benefactor and those on whose behalf his efforts are made. That personal touch between T.A.B. and his workmen was never wanting. They admired him because of his strength and endurance. They were astonished at his perseverance and capacity for work. They wondered that he should be so unlike the employers to whom they were accustomed. He taught them to play games, he arranged sports in which he himself took part, and just as he beat his Scotch gillies in endurance, just as he won races against his Sussex tenantry, so he defeated his Italian workmen amongst the Sardinian hills. He proved over and over again that the best method of getting the best work done in the best way was to lead

those who had to share in the task, and not to drive them. Co-operation in industry meant more to him than a platform theory or a trading treaty. For this reason, the overwhelming force of personal influence, he was well served by his workmen because they were well led. His men liked him.

A letter written to him from Italy on the occasion of the death of a Signor Lambert, who had worked for him for many years, showed this relationship. The writer says:—

Lambert was fortunate to have passed some of the best years of his life in your service, and he very much appreciated this. The very morning after you last saw him he came to me, and quite broke down in telling me how very kind you had been to him, and I can assure you positively that this last conversation with you helped very much to make him happier during the last months of his life.

In 1905 his men asked him to become President of the Circolo Operaio (Workmen's Club), the object of which was (i.) to advance education amongst the workmen; (ii.) to prevent useless strikes; (iii.) to establish a Mutual Provident Association. They constantly received from him messages of good wishes at festivals and on such occasions.

While he was constantly devising ways and means of improving the physical and intellectual condition of the men in his employ he was not unmindful of their moral and religious interests. Throughout the latter part of his life it was always a cause of complaint with him that the Church of Rome should have an administrative system which allowed her to spend large sums of money on attempts to proselytise the adherents of other Churches while she neglected, and neglected seriously, the claims of her own children at her own doors. A friend of his once pointed out to him that it was not only the Church of Rome which deserved reproof for such conduct, and that the Church of England was not without blame in the matter, a conclusion which he was forced to accept; but he lost few opportunities of expressing his vehement dissent from the methods adopted in Sardinia and in Italy generally. His workmen and their families received the scantest kind of religious ministrations, and he

accordingly resolved to erect a church and to attempt to provide for them that which they themselves demanded. Many instances were brought to his notice of Roman Catholics who died in sheer terror because of the absence of any provision of the Sacrament. He took up the position that, although as principal employer of the district, it was his duty to contribute liberally towards the building of a church, it was not less the duty of the Church of Rome to make some kind of contribution also. Applications to Rome had little effect. It required something more even than T.A.B.'s resistless energy to move the Vatican. He was not deterred, however, by the failure of a direct onslaught, but finding that his representations were useless he turned to his friend the Duke of Norfolk, who had served in his regiment in South Africa, as we have already described in a previous chapter. A letter from the principal English Roman Catholic received attention, and a promise was made that something should be done. There the matter ended. It required further correspondence, and another letter from the Duke of Norfolk before T.A.B. was informed that the Bishop of Cagliari had instructions to deal with the matter. Would the Viscount Hythe be good enough to call upon him? The Viscount Hythe did call upon His Lordship, only to be informed by a suave Italian servant that that reverend gentleman was unfortunately prevented from seeing him for at least two hours because he was engaged in his daily siesta. That Italian servant will probably remain until the end of his life amongst the number of those who think that the English are incurably mad, because he was straightway informed that if he did not wake the Bishop the Viscount Hythe would wake him himself. This secured the interview in a startled household, and subsequently a contribution to the church, which was duly built, and formed the centre of the religious life of the place.

His own house he set high up on the hillside looking far away to the South, and embowered it with the roses and flowering plants which he loved. There, after a long day spent in the mines, he would come with inexhaustible energy to spend the eventide until dinner in getting a little



THE CHURCH AT GENNAMARI, SARDINIA.



additional exercise. With the great wide prospect before him, with a great expanse of sky about him, he and his coadjutors devised the Sardinian New Model.

This New Model will be best of all described in his own words.

A Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the Italian Government to report upon the condition of mining areas, made investigations in Sardinia as well as in other parts of Italy. For this Committee of Inquiry T.A.B. prepared, in 1908, a statement of his own efforts, intentions and difficulties. This was drawn up in Italian, a language in which he became in course of time proficient, and the translation now given follows the text very closely:—

*History of the Mine.*—The Mine was developed by a German family named Bornemann. In 1899, when we purchased the Mine, the Company had to encounter difficulties owing to the low price of lead and to the excessive bonus exacted by the Belgian founder, to whom the mineral was sold, and who had advanced money to the Company in order to enable them to continue operations. This gentleman did not know this fundamental business principle: "A contract must allow for profit to both parties if it is to last." This bonus would have ruined the Company, as in order to place the mine on a proper footing, it was necessary to expend a great deal of capital. In 9 years we spent two and a half millions on plant. More than half of this expenditure was incurred in the years 1905-7, and up to now it has not been remunerative. This expenditure of outside capital has made it possible to increase fivefold the number of men employed at the Mine, and to improve their conditions of living, as will be seen from the report which follows. It is the reply of a capitalist to those who always talk of capitalist exploiters.

When the management of the mine was taken over, the first thing to be done was to ensure its life, by providing it with the necessary plant, washing installation, railways, etc. Without this plant, the Mine would have been closed and the workmen would have had to seek a living elsewhere. The canteens were overhauled. When we came, the most essential articles of food were lacking. A good hospital was lacking. A good hospital was built. Having provided for work, bread for the workmen and the care of the sick

during the first three years of our management, we were able in 1902 to tackle the problem of improving their conditions of life, which were very similar to those of the population of the poor Irish provinces, which I have repeatedly visited in order to inspect the improvements brought on by the work of the Congested Districts Board. Our workpeople lived in very small houses, often without windows, to be ruled out from the sanitary point of view. Many lived in huts made of branches. Down in the valleys, many were suffering from malaria.

*Workmen's Dwellings.*—What is important, when it is desired to improve the conditions of life of a population, is to provide good dwellings. During five years we have continued the building of workmen's dwellings, which are let to the men who apply for them, at the rate of two lire per room and per month. This small rent, deduction being made of the cost of upkeep and taxes, yields from 2% to 3% on the capital. I believe that the workman who pays a small rent takes a greater interest in his home than the one who pays none at all. The dwellings contain from six to sixteen rooms each, and are erected on high ground to ensure good air, which is more important for the health of the people, and especially of the children, than the proximity of the water. I have another reason for placing the dwellings on high ground. By using quinine, purchased by the mining concerns at a low price from the Government and distributed among the workpeople, and by protecting the windows with wire gauze against the mosquitoes, and by supplying good water, we have to a great extent overcome malaria. At the present time our workpeople at Gennamari suffer more from lung trouble than from malaria. The man who comes out of the gallery and finds his house (whose windows are always closed) near the pit-head, will be more apt to contract the above diseases than the one who is obliged to walk a few hundred yards on coming out and will have breathed a little fresh air before he reaches home.

The houses are spread out for sanitary reasons and to allow each occupier to cultivate a piece of ground.

It would have been useless to provide good dwellings, if means of encouraging cleanliness had not been provided as well. For this purpose, we give prizes each year for the best-kept houses in each section and in the whole of the Mine. The result of this prize-giving has afforded us the greatest satisfaction. The great majority of the workmen's dwellings

are now kept in good condition, and our Manager assures us that this is so during our absence. The prizes are given by my wife, and one of our lady friends. A number of people compete for them. The judging occupies a whole week. It is a well-spent week, and it has an indirect advantage, but an important one. When visiting the houses, the workpeople and their families become acquainted with their employers, and we with our workpeople. We hear their grievances and we see their difficulties.

Many prizes are given for the gardens : we particularly encourage the cultivation of flowers. The care with which the ground is treated and the taste displayed are extraordinary in many cases.

*Accidents and Sickness.*—The law provides for accidents while at work. This is a heavy burden on the Company as it amounts to from 1% to 1½% of the salaries.

For sick men and their families we provide the hospital, the doctor and also the midwife.

Three years ago, the workmen themselves established a Mutual Benefit Society, which now has a membership of about five hundred. It is assisted by a contribution from the Company to the working expenses, at the rate of one lira per member.

*Participation Fund.*—Four years ago, a Participation Fund was established at Gennamari and at the Pertusola Mine, and it is based on the principle that the workman and the capitalist are both entitled to profits. The workman who has served for five years and more receives a percentage of salary in proportion to the interest paid on the capital beyond 5%. For example, if the dividend is 10%, the workman receives 5% of the said salary.

The Participation Fund has various objects : (1) To encourage the workman (he being interested in the profits) to further the interests of the Company by his work ; (2) To create a fund which for a workman who commences work as a boy and leaves at the age of 45, might amount to anything from two to three thousand lire, a small capital which would enable him to acquire a piece of land, etc. ; (3) To induce him to take an old age insurance with the National Provident Fund.

Two great difficulties prevent attempts being made at improving the condition of our workpeople : (1) The lack of education. The number of those who can read and write and understand simple figures, is too small ; (2) The absence

of thrifty habits. I think we may be well satisfied with the progress made in overcoming this latter difficulty and with showing our workpeople the possibility of helping themselves.

As regards the former, as already stated in the reports on the Pertusola Mine, it does not seem just to me that the mining companies should be burdened with the major part of the expense for elementary education. We pay about 15,000 lire to the Commune, while the Commune contributes to the two schools maintained for 5000 inhabitants, the ridiculous sum of 600 lire. When education is given to adult or juvenile working people, this must, of course, be at the expense of the Company. We have already tried evening schools for workmen.

Another difficulty which is very discouraging in our attempts to improve the conditions of life is the dilatoriness of bureaucracy; we will mention two examples:—(1) In 1906 and 1907, we erected many workmen's dwellings on the Bidderdi plateau. We acquired land containing a spring in order to provide these houses with an abundant supply of water; the water mains were to pass under the provincial high road. Several months elapsed before the consent of the Province could be obtained, and the population went through the whole of the summer of 1907 without the necessary water.

(2) The insurance of workmen with the National Provident Fund gives the post office employees a great deal of supplementary work, on account of the many certificates and copies they have to issue. The employees, who are already badly paid for their ordinary work, certainly do not encourage the workmen to join, and it is even very probable that they put obstacles in the way. In many cases, the postal employees have not sufficient education to deal with these formalities. We were obliged to send our postal clerk to Cagliari to receive the necessary instruction.

T.A.B. was always alert for sound developments, and to take one example, he embarked upon a great scheme of afforestation, in which he planted hundreds of thousands of trees, mainly for the purpose of providing the thousands of pit-props which the workings required. He found that wonderful results were obtainable from plantations of the eucalyptus (blue gum) tree, which had originally been

introduced to combat malaria, and he also planted thousands of acacias and pines. He established a model farm and introduced not only the best kinds of stock, but also the best methods of handling it, to the great advantage of the whole island.

The King of Italy bestowed upon him the Order of the Crown of Italy, a distinction of which he was very proud. But a much more honourable distinction was the place which he occupied in the hearts of his people, a place from which death itself could not dislodge him. As soon as the news of their loss reached them, work ceased, and they demanded of their priest a service of commendation for him in his church at Ingurto, which was thronged. They set on foot at once a fund to erect a great cross to his memory, which should stand steadfast, for ever looking out from the cliff top upon those waters which he had so often sailed. And this was the message which some of them sent to Lady Brassey, in their own English, "Deeply sorry for the unexpected and tragical death of our Master well loved Lord Brassey, we beg your Highness to agree our hearty condolences. He was the best Man in our world and we shall always remember him with deep sadness." "The best Man in our world"; let us leave it at that.

From all that has been said, it will be quite clear that it was not only the philanthropic motive which was strong in T.A.B.'s character, but there was also in him, as was perhaps only natural, when one thinks of the history of his family, a very marked vein of sound commonsense and of acute business instinct. While, on the one hand, it is quite certain that in all the projects for the good of his workpeople, which have been described in the early part of this chapter, he was guided by the highest motives, which he had imbibed in the course of his education, he himself would be the first to acknowledge that he had satisfied himself that healthy and sound conditions amongst those who laboured in his undertakings were productive of the best results, and economically were the best methods to be adopted by any commercial undertaking. The soundness of this business capacity of his appears in many other forms and in many other departments of life, not only in Italy, but in London,

and in Sussex. In general, he gained the reputation of being a man who combined in a very high degree the gifts of initiative and soundness of business insight and business keenness. It was this reputation which invariably elicited so good a response to any appeal which he made for contributions to objects in which he was interested. Men felt that here was a man inspired with high motives and noble ideas ; at the same time he could be thoroughly relied upon to see that money was utilised to the best business advantage for the best possible purposes. They knew that he was very wealthy, that his motives were beyond suspicion, and that he had no axe to grind.

In 1905 there had been a suggestion that he should join the Board of a large railway company, but the suggestion did not mature. He accepted, however, a position on the Board of the Powell Duffryn Coal Company ; this position he retained for some years, but he found that his co-directors were out of sympathy with his ideals for the moral and physical improvement of the miners in their employ ; he was filled with anxiety to carry out on their behalf exactly the same processes of co-operative profit-sharing—the value of which he had tested in Sardinia. He prophesied serious disputes and difficulties in the coal area. He foresaw and foretold, to the great annoyance of some of his associates, the ultimate result of the policy pursued by the boards of directors of most of the coal companies. Many who were interested in the trade thought him obsessed with the value of an idea which, though possibly applicable to Italian workmen, was wholly outside the realm of possibility in English trade. They shut their eyes to the fact that they had amongst them a man whose business instincts were keener than their own, whose width of outlook would have led him to adopt willingly any proposal to ameliorate the conditions of life of workpeople which would have obtained the same object as that which he had achieved in Italy. They thought that his proposal of profit-sharing was eccentric, and rejected it after insufficient consideration. He therefore withdrew from the Board because he refused to remain associated with enterprises in which he thought that the elementary principles of Christian Society were violated



T.A.B., WITH THE BISHOP OF ALES AND HIS CHAPLAIN, COMING OUT OF A MINE IN SARDINIA.



and no regard was paid to vital principles of business foresight. It is safe to say that had his proposals been adopted, there would have been one area in which miners would have found themselves satisfied with the conditions of labour. While this is said, it is not sufficient to lay the blame for the failure of his proposals solely upon the directors. The trades unions, or the officials of the trades unions, were strongly opposed to any scheme of profit-sharing such as that which we have outlined in the early part of this chapter. They felt, and felt rightly, that once the workmen were given an interest in the financial prosperity of the mine, once they were given a voice in the direction of its control, once they began to see that increased production and increased output meant higher wages and a greater degree of prosperity for themselves and their families, the trades union would be confronted with a serious competitor, and its power of controlling the aspirations of labour would be even less than it is at the present time. His own account of what took place is contained in the following letter :—

*To the Rt. Hon. Sir W. Runciman, M.P.*

November 23rd, 1916.

The only way of harmonising the interests of the miners and the coalmasters is the plan which I urged on the Directors of the Powell Duffryn Company some four or five years ago. I resigned my position on the Board when they refused to adopt it.

The miners claim a larger share in the profits of the industry, which they consider are far larger than the coal-owners admit, and there is a great deal to be said from their point of view. Huge sums have been reinvested in the South Wales coal pits during the last ten or fifteen years in sinking new pits and other betterments out of profits. The plan I urged on my colleagues of the Powell Duffryn Board, and which I have adopted for the past eight years in my Mines in Sardinia with satisfactory results, is based on the principle that capital has a right to its wages in the same way that the workers have a right to theirs, and that, after the wages of both have been met, both parties are entitled to share in the profits.

The rate of wages on capital being fixed, the worker is entitled to a bonus on wages equivalent to any percentage above the rate fixed for capital distributed to the shareholders. Thus if 5% is agreed upon as the rate of wages of capital, and the profits admit of a dividend of 10%, the worker is entitled to a bonus of 5% on the wages earned by him during the year. In the case of our Mines this bonus is accumulated at interest and can only be withdrawn when the man leaves the Company's service. If the bonus is withdrawable each year it is only looked upon as an addition to the wages and does not have the desired effect, which is to make the workman, by degrees, a capitalist. I went through all our books in Sardinia the other day on the matter, and the plan is working most satisfactory.

If not prevented by military duties I shall be in London to-morrow night or Saturday and I will try and see some of the interested parties on both sides. I am quite sure that the plan of which I have given to you the bare outlines is the only way of harmonising the interests of capital and labour.

There is yet another experience of his business life which remains to be recorded. In the year 1910, he and his life-long friend the Rt. Hon. F. Huth Jackson, who had lived with him in rooms in his Oxford days, and had recently acquired the estate of Possingworth, in Sussex, only a few miles from Normanhurst, had contemplated a close alliance in the large mercantile and banking business of Frederick Huth & Co. of Tokenhouse Yard. T.A.B. went into that office in July and made the acquaintance of the various money-brokers and stockbrokers, who were connected with the firm. The method of his work was left entirely to himself, and the whole staff combined to explain and to help him to understand the business. He thus acquired information on international banking which was of the greatest value to him, and he also formed an opinion of the financial capacity of his old friend, which was, if possible, higher than that in which he had already learned to hold him. Those who knew him well will remember the terms of affection and of high estimation in which he was wont to allude to this friend and to this episode in his career.

In December, 1911, other considerations were pressing

heavily upon him, and he foresaw the time (not then very far distant) when he would be compelled to withdraw entirely from his projected share in the business. He communicated to the partners in the firm this development which he could not conceal from himself, and he offered to them the alternative of allowing him to withdraw forthwith. After long deliberation and much hesitation, they felt that it would be better for the interests of the firm that he should take this course, which was accordingly adopted with the greatest goodwill on both sides and with unbroken continuity of friendship, which, like many other friendships of his, happily remained with him to the end of his life.

The outbreak of war brought great anxieties and difficulties to many English homes. The acute problems of friendship, relationship, finance, and loyalty, which were presented to thousands, are still vivid in the minds of English people. A great chasm was cleft between life in the old days and life in the new. All customs were changed, all conventions abandoned, all barriers broken down in the outburst of enthusiastic service which found spontaneous utterance in the lives of the majority of honest English folk. Afterwards came the gaps in the family circle, the return of men maimed, cruelly injured, and burning with the tales of wickedness. For most of us, time is now reckoned as "before the war" and "after the war." So it was with T.A.B. In another place we must speak of the losses which he had to bear, and now only allude to the serious position in which he found himself by reason of his heavy commitments in Italy. When the ultimatum was despatched to Germany, the attitude to be expected of the Italian Government was to the world at large, uncertain. T.A.B. got into touch at once with his Sardinian manager, and was reassured by the following messages:—

Genova,  
August 8th, 1914.

I can give you the most categorical and positive assurances that both the Government and people of Italy are entirely in sympathy with England in the present conflict, and it is my sincere opinion that there would be a revolution in this country if the military and naval forces were ordered

to act in favour of Austria, of which however, there is no chance.

A. PELOGGIO.

Other troubles came upon his Italian undertakings as a result of hostilities, among them being a strike amongst his workmen, the dislocation of his smelting operations due to the capture of Liège by the enemy, the loss of man-power by the calling of men to the colours, the capital levy of the Italian Government. But T.A.B. was fortunate in that he was not thrown into the overwhelming disaster which would have resulted from a decision by Italy to join Germany, which would have meant for him partial ruin.

A mining congress of all those interested in Italian mines was held in Rome in 1917, at which T.A.B. was the principal speaker. He pointed out that they had tried for some years to impress upon the Italian Government that they must develop lead-smelting and establish zinc-smelting in Italy. The war had enforced the lesson, which applied equally to foodstuffs and to munitions. Germany's resistance had been prolonged because she had learnt the lesson years before. Italy could produce all the lead she wanted, and zinc foundries could be established to the commercial advantage of the country. The difficulty was coal, but it could be surmounted.

The reply of the Hon. Cermenati, member of the House of Deputies, is given in full as disclosing in a way otherwise difficult to convey to the reader the esteem in which the house of Brassey, and T.A.B. in particular, were held in Italy.

I feel sure that I express the wish of all those present at this meeting in tendering to Viscount Hythe a hearty greeting and our best thanks for the most interesting technical information which he has given us, and to which we have listened with great deference. He represents at this meeting the powerful friend of Italy and the great English people who have always been attached to us, and who are to-day our faithful and powerful ally. (Great applause.) Colleagues, let us give to this generous and influential representative of England the homage of our affection and gratitude, returning him all the affection which he has for us and for our beloved country, letting him know that he

is doubly dear to us inasmuch as he had favoured, above the whole of Italy, that part which is the most forgotten and the least known by Italians themselves—our beautiful, patriotic, heroic Sardinia! (Great applause.) These hearty cheers for the English representative and for Sardinia express our frank satisfaction for all that Viscount Hythe has accomplished for the mining industry of Sardinia, and as explained by Comm. Ferraris, all that he has done for Italian industry during the war. Our applause also shows with what interest we mining men follow the fortunes of the great and admirable nation to which Italy has been bound from the time of her political restoration; it expresses, in fact, the solidarity of the Italians and the English and the strength of the links which, in this tragic time, bind the two nations fighting with their allies for justice and civilisation—desiring a victory that will be undoubtedly complete and decisive. (All present stand—prolonged cheers.)

## CHAPTER VII

A FORMER Master of Balliol once said of the College that the loyalty and attachment of its old members were its highest distinction and the one in which the Masters and Fellows took the most pride. That is a statement, made with due deliberation and with the fullest knowledge of all the relative facts, at first sight sufficiently surprising. During the Mastership of the man who made it, Balliol men had obtained 8 out of 10 Ireland Scholarships, 20 out of 27 Craven Scholarships, and 5 out of 10 Hertford Scholarships. The reputation of the College for scholarship, revealed by such statistics, and its position in the University in all those departments of life held of value to a University, were unsurpassed. The most enthusiastic of its Fellows or Tutors could hardly have demanded or secured for the College a greater fame as an institution of learning. In other fields of activity its reputation was honourable and assured. And yet in spite of all this it was to the loyalty and attachment of her sons that the College pointed the finger of justifiable pride.

Nor was this attitude inexplicable. When the record of T.A.B.'s example of loyalty and attachment to the College is stated, it must be admitted that there can be few educational institutions which have been able to inspire such devotion. Another Master, in writing to T.A.B., said that he was regarded as the chief representative of old Balliol men, and the point of the dictum with which this chapter opens becomes clear. When such a spirit as his prevails and is representative of the spirit of Balliol men, then the case for pride needs no apology. T.A.B.'s interest in the College was constant and personal, while his benefactions to it were munificent, delicately conceived, and bestowed with a great heart generously. His advice in financial matters was frequently sought by the College and its members, and never refused ;

to suggestions involving outlay of time or money, he never turned a deaf ear; he had a store of kindly words and pleasant recollections of the College and its members, which he would often recount to his friends.

Balliol held him in high esteem, and in token of its respect and gratitude, it elected him to an Honorary Fellowship in 1907. In conveying to him the news that this honour had been conferred upon him, one of the Fellows wrote: "It is the chief thing in our power to bestow; nor will you undervalue it, especially as it means that we all desire as close and intimate a connection with you as possible." And again, "You have often heard that we are proud of our old members' successes and distinctions, which reflect a kind of credit upon us. But we are more proud still of their loyalty and generosity, and therefore proud of you who embody these things." And again, "The Fellowship you will, I trust, consider as at any rate a recognition of the vast debt which the College owes to you spiritually, even more than materially."

When T.A.B.'s earthly activities for Oxford had ceased, and the members of his College were joined to the great host of those who mourned him because they knew and loved him, the gratitude of Master and Fellows found expression in the Resolution passed at a College meeting by unanimous vote of them all, that the name of Thomas Allnutt, Earl Brassey, should be inserted in the College Bidding Prayer. That Bidding Prayer selects by name a list of twenty-three of the chief benefactors of Balliol from the days of John de Balliol and the Princess Dervorguilla over a period of more than 630 years. It is the highest honour which the College can bestow, and although it can be in no sense a reward for the work which he did, which was its own reward, it is a measure of the love, affection, respect and gratitude which his kindly, generous, virile personality had won in Balliol, as well as a vindication of the character and extent of the benefactions which he had poured upon the College.

The way in which T.A.B.'s passion of public service had been inspired in early days has been made clear. His Utopia in Sardinia was produced not without Oxford and not without Balliol. The present Master of Balliol, who had

been his tutor, and knew much of his inner mind, sympathised always and encouraged always in the great plans and schemes which he devised and developed. It was Sardinia which provided T.A.B. with much of his wealth. Apart from it, he would not have been what he was in later years—a man of unusual wealth. It was, therefore, in accordance with the essential fitness of things that the bread cast upon the waters being found after many days, Oxford and Balliol should alike partake of the store of which they had inspired the provision.

The condition of the finances of Balliol had long been unsatisfactory. The College was by no means insolvent, and there were no great immediate difficulties. But unless some action were taken, it could not hope to maintain its position in the world of scholarship, which it had so honourably gained. The financial margin was very narrow, and consequently many of the Fellows were doing, be it premised with much gladness, a large amount of work for comparatively small pay. They had been attracted to Balliol by considerations of other kinds. But it would have become increasingly difficult to secure the services of men of outstanding ability in the University to staff the College, who would naturally be attracted elsewhere by work equally honourable, where the prospects of a permanently assured income of a more adequate character were certain. The principal need was to supplement the incomes of the Master and Fellows, or to provide that they should be supplemented on vacancies occurring, and to obviate the necessity of any voluntary sacrifices on patriotic grounds by any members of the teaching staff. Increase of fees and increase of numbers of undergraduates were, for many reasons, alike rejected as impossible expedients, and accordingly it was resolved that an appeal of a private character should be made to old Balliol men for the purpose of raising £50,000. This would produce an income sufficient to raise the stipend of the Master to a sum approximating to that of the Heads of some other Colleges in the University, to effect certain running repairs to the College buildings and to provide what was needed for the teaching staff. It was T.A.B. who undertook responsibility for this

appeal, which obviously the Master and Fellows were unable either to suggest or to make on their own behalf.

A meeting of old Balliol men was held in July 1904, at 38, Queen Anne's Gate—Lord Peel in the chair—and an appeal, signed by representative Balliol men, received the assent of all those present. It was announced that £12,000 had already been promised, and some resolutions were adopted, which are given here because they summarise the proceedings:—

1. That a Committee be and is hereby appointed composed of the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Sir Clinton Dawkins, Mr. P. L. Gell, Mr. A. Hall, Sir W. Lawrence, Mr. C. A. Reiss, the Hon. M. Ridley, M.P., Viscount Morpeth, M.P., with power to add to their number, for the purpose of making a private appeal to old Balliol men for contributions to be devoted to augmenting or maintaining the emoluments of the teaching staff (including the Master), while any balance available be applied to the upkeep of the College Buildings.

2. That out of the contributions so raised a Trust Fund be formed to be called the Balliol College (1904) Endowment Fund, the income of which shall be appropriated to the objects recited above.

3. That the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Sir Clinton Dawkins, Lord Morpeth, Mr. C. A. Reiss, and Mr. R. Younger, K.C., be appointed Trustees, with power to add to their number and to elect successors to any vacancies that may occur in their body.

4. That the Trustees shall be at liberty at any time to resign their Trust and to constitute the Master and Fellows for the time being Trustees in their stead under a Trust Deed which shall restrict the application of the Fund to the objects above recited.

The appeal was accordingly made and the amount required was duly collected. The secretaries were T.A.B. and Lord Morpeth, and the result was commensurate with T.A.B.'s extraordinary energy and activity, coupled with a magnificent gift as a lead to others. The moneys raised were invested in securities approved by the best financiers of the day. The Master wrote to the Trustees the grateful acknowledgment of the College for what had been done, and continued: "The delicacy which has prompted you to take on yourselves the arrangements for securing that your gift

shall tend to our direct and personal benefit is in keeping with the generosity of the gift itself."

Lord Milner wrote to T.A.B. his appreciation of what had been done.

It is glorious news about the Balliol Fund. I cannot congratulate you sufficiently upon so brilliant a success. The Fund will indeed make a great difference in the position of the old College, and is far more than I ever expected to see raised.

In 1917 T.A.B. offered to endow a scholarship in the College for the study of Italian—an offer which was gratefully accepted. The important condition attached to it was that the scholar should be required to spend three or four weeks in each year in Italy. The endowment offered produced an annual income of about £50.

At the end of 1918 a summary of possible new departures was drafted and considered by the Trustees, who came to the important conclusion that four Fellowships and two Studentships should be founded at a capital cost of £35,000. Towards this T.A.B. designed to make a great gift, which in the words of an enthusiast, "left the College breathless." His work for the College would doubtless have developed in a thousand ways as opportunity offered, but this was not to be. At the close of the war a movement was set on foot to create some permanent memorial of the Balliol men who had served and fallen in the war, and T.A.B. was, of course, to the fore in this new departure.

The War Memorial Committee passed the following resolution at T.A.B.'s death, and with it the Trustees of the Balliol Endowment Fund associated themselves:—

The Committee and Trustees desire to place on record their profound sense of the irreparable loss which they and the College have sustained through the sudden and tragic death of Earl Brassey.

His death is to them that of a trusted leader, gifted to inspire his followers with something of his own wonderful enthusiasm, endurance and vision, and privileged to enoble every cause with which he associated himself, by his own highmindedness and singular honesty of purpose.

To the College his death is that of a generous benefactor always instant to further its interests, extend its usefulness, and enhance its fame, regardless of effort or trouble to himself, as the Endowment Trustees have special reason to remember through their happy association with him in their Trust during the last fifteen years.

To the Committee and Trustees personally, Lord Brassey's passing is that of a reserved and beloved friend—to most of them one of long standing—whose place in their hearts will never be filled—his memory an abiding possession, his example an inspiration and incentive until the end.

This remarkable tribute of affection and respect is signed by Sir Robt. Younger. None can expect affection except he is prepared to give it. But T.A.B. loved Balliol, and Balliol was not unmindful.

From his friend A. L. Smith T.A.B. had learned, to his astonishment, something of the poverty of the University, and thenceforward had had in mind the possibility of a General Appeal for the University of Oxford. That University was commonly reputed to be the wealthiest in the world, and it was difficult to persuade people that it was not so. The same misconception exists with regard to the Church of England. Some of the constituent parts may be rich, but the general corporation or the entity is almost entirely without moneys of its own. Individual Colleges might stand possessed of great endowments which could be applied to the purposes for which the College was founded, but the University chest might at the same time be empty. There is strength in a loose agglomeration of bodies of varying degrees of wealth allied geographically and not otherwise, but there is inevitable weakness. The weaknesses of the University and its alleged inability to supply higher education in the best possible way, had led to the suggestion of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, but the great majority of those connected with Oxford were averse to such a course, fearing the outcome of the deliberations of a body in the appointment of which political considerations would undoubtedly be allowed to intrude. T.A.B.'s correspondence reveals a general consensus upon this point. On August 5th, 1907, he wrote to Lord Lansdowne:—

I only read yesterday the debate in the House of Lords on the Universities. If I may say so without impertinence, the debate was worthy of the House of Lords, and I am very thankful that the Government have not decided to appoint a Royal Commission for the present. This will give us a chance with the Fund, the existence of which will, I believe, lead directly or indirectly to better utilisation of existing resources.

After a preliminary and informal gathering at A. L. Smith's house in 1903, T.A.B. began to move in the matter and by 1904 he was already in communication with the Chancellor, Lord Goschen, on this subject. Lord Goschen confessed that he had been struck by the difficulty of making both ends meet, and by the shifts rendered necessary in consequence, and that he would be very glad to consult with T.A.B. and take his suggestions on the subject. The time proved unpropitious, and the matter remained for some months. The Bishop of Stepney was, from the outset, a keen supporter and a prudent counsellor. "I shall be keen to hear of your new Varsity scheme when we meet. What a chap you are!" A month or two later he wrote:—

As to the University question I should really like to have a talk with you when you come south again. There is something really magnificent in the way you tackle these big jobs, and you have an energy and persistence which seem not only to deserve, but to command success. I wish you a hearty godspeed in your present enterprise.

By the middle of 1906, T.A.B. had been to Oxford on several visits of investigation, and after consultation with those who understood the needs of the University, he drafted a memorandum which was ready in June. In December, 1906, this was printed and issued with an Introductory Note as the basis of a private appeal to wealthy Oxford men. Before the end of the year T.A.B. had personally approached a large number of people and had secured promises amounting to upwards of £60,000 for the Fund.

The Introductory Note of the Appeal mentions Mr. T. A. Brassey, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Anson, Professor Miers, Professor Osler, as some of those primarily responsible,

and estimates that £250,000 is required. The most urgent needs of the University were stated to be : 1. The Bodleian Library. 2. Science. 3. Additional Buildings. 4. Modern Languages. 5. History.

The objection which had already been made in certain quarters that it was unwise to try to develop scientific teaching at Oxford was countered by the statement that in providing for the endowment of new subjects of a scientific or modern character, the object of the appeal was, while bringing Oxford up to date, not to destroy, but rather to conserve its old traditions as a University pre-eminently of the humane studies and literary culture. These, indeed, must run the risk of being lost if new funds were not forthcoming and the old endowments were diverted to support new and expensive equipments.

Meanwhile a new Chancellor was appointed, who took up the scheme as an official University appeal, and called a public meeting in London in May, 1907. The large theatre at Burlington House was filled to overflowing by a most representative body of people, and the speakers included the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Curzon (the new Chancellor), Mr. Asquith, Lord Milner, Dr. Warren, Sir William Anson, and T.A.B. The Chancellor sketched the history of the present movement, doing justice to the originator, T.A.B., whose name was received with a cordiality which showed that recognition and gratitude do sometimes fall where they are due. The meeting agreed unanimously to a body of nine to twelve trustees, two-thirds of whom were to be non-resident, and to a Committee of eight residents and fifteen non-residents to collect subscriptions. It was laid down that of all the needs of the University the Bodleian stood first, and the Chancellor said that it was a fortunate moment for the University when Mr. Brassey turned his active mind and generous disposition to the matter. He gave £10,000, which he hoped in ten years to increase to £25,000, and many of the leading contributors were relatives and friends of his.

T.A.B. was, from the first, one of the non-resident trustees and struggled hard to get the administration, concerning which there arose certain points of controversy

and some discussion in the Press, settled on lines which would, in his judgment, be satisfactory to the subscribers. By 1913 the Endowment Fund had reached £130,000, and no doubt had T.A.B. been spared for a further period of activity after the war was over, the full sum would have been raised. He left a very large and extensive correspondence on this question, which exhibits his characteristics of pertinacity and dogged determination to secure reasonable ends.

The Fund was to be used primarily for the Bodleian, in which he took the liveliest interest. The chief needs were accommodation for storage, revision of the catalogue, and reading places for staff and visitors. A reference library and facility of access to learned periodicals were also badly wanted. For storage T.A.B. guaranteed £10,000, which was expended upon the two underground bookstores. For the catalogue he gave several donations in consecutive years. He gave also money as it was required for other purposes. He regarded the Bodleian as the paramount consideration and endeavoured to get the Trustees of the Endowment Fund to reserve £20,000 capital for the Catalogue. They actually allocated to the Bodleian £24,000 in all and gave a grant of £300 a year for eight years to be used for revision and general maintenance. At a dinner given in T.A.B.'s honour to himself and the library staff, he was introduced as "the late Sir Thomas Bodley."

He interested himself in all the objects for which grants were made by the trustees, and took a leading part in establishing the Engineering School for which he raised £4000. He supported the movements to establish the Readerships in Japanese and in Military History and in countless ways devoted himself to the prosperity of the University. All this was done in the midst of countless other activities themselves sufficiently absorbing to the entire energies of any ordinary man.

In 1911 the degree of D.C.L. *honoris causâ* was conferred upon him by the University, and the President of Magdalen, in writing to him some years later, gave expression to the general feeling when he said, "Oxford, which was

proud and fond of your father, has certainly good reason to be proud and fond of his son."

After his death a striking tribute to his work was recorded in a memorial sent to Lady Brassey:—

We, the undersigned, comprising original members of the group who first met in 1904 to discuss the project for a re-endowment of the University, resident Trustees of the Endowment Fund, and Vice-Chancellors who have advised as to its allocation, wish to express to the family of the late Earl Brassey that we are well aware that it was due to him more than to anyone that the Fund has such a successful start and had already gone so far before it was taken up vigorously by Lord Curzon. For his action in this matter and for his generosity in many special ways and on several critical occasions, the University is deeply indebted to Lord Brassey, and will cherish the memory of him as a most loyal son, munificent in his donations, and unlimited in his affectionate devotion.

HERBERT WARREN,

*President of Magdalen, Vice-Chancellor, 1906-10.*

C. B. HEBERDEN,

*Principal of Brasenose, Vice-Chancellor, 1910-13.*

THOMAS B. STRONG,

*Dean of Christ Church, Vice-Chancellor, 1913-17.*

REGINALD W. MACAN,

*Master of University.*

WILLIAM OSLER,

*Regius Professor of Medicine.*

ARTHUR L. SMITH,

*Master of Balliol.*

HENRY MIERS,

*Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University.*

At a meeting of Congregation of the University, Dr. Headlam, Regius Professor of Divinity, brought forward a decree to add to the list of benefactors to the University the name of Thomas, second Earl Brassey. Dr. Headlam said that he was one of the most munificent and one of the hardest working of all later benefactors of the University and the decree was unanimously passed.

It is impossible to deal adequately with T.A.B.'s relationship to the University without reference to the great problems of capital and labour in which he was so intensely interested. The present Master of Balliol in this, as in many other things, was a great inspiration to him. In his early years he began by postulating better conditions for labour, and always took an active share in all co-operative movements which came within his range ; and any co-partnership scheme, or efforts like the Hampstead Garden Suburb, or the Garden City at Letchworth, were certain to elicit his help. From this position he advanced to the profit-sharing scheme developed in his Sardinian undertaking. During the last few years of his life he endeavoured to get into close touch with all organisations which had for their object the development of mutual understanding and sympathy between the capitalists and the workers, like that of the Association of Employers and Employed, of which his friend, Mr. F. Huth Jackson, was President. At the basis of all the considerations which were involved in these things he set the religious principle. He felt profoundly that the relations of capital and labour were based on questions of right and wrong : that capitalists would naturally exploit the workers and get every advantage they could, and that the workers would retaliate at every opportunity unless some religious principle were admitted. But as a first step towards a newer spirit, he was convinced that both sides must get to know and to understand one another.

The record of the work which he did in all these fields is far too lengthy to be described here. But mention may be made of two important utterances, the former to the members of the London Chamber of Commerce on December 10th, 1912, when he spoke to a large and influential audience on Industrial Unrest and the Remedies : and the second to the Labour Co-partnership Association, of which he was a Vice-President, on November 26th, 1918, when he discussed Co-partnership in Mining.

It is now necessary to return to T.A.B.'s political activities. In 1901 he was invited by Manchester Liberals, acting with the concurrence of the President of the Liberal Association and the President of the Reform Club, to contest a

Manchester constituency on Liberal Imperialist lines, but he declined. In 1902 he accepted an invitation to stand for a vacancy at Devonport, caused by the death of one of the two Liberal members. His father had been returned for the same constituency in 1865, this being the first time he had been elected to Parliament. In his address T.A.B. laid stress upon the need for a strong Navy, and referred to the special work which he had accomplished on the "Naval Annual" and as Private Secretary to Lord Spencer when he was First Lord. He emphasised the introduction of the Education Bill of 1902 as the dominant issue of the by-election, and asked that he should be given a mandate to try to cut down the extravagant expenditure of the Government which had increased by thirty-five millions per annum while it had been in power. This was mainly due to insufficient control and supervision of Government departments. He advocated Imperial Federation and the principle of Devolution, asking for the speedy establishment of local legislatures for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. "My sympathies are all on the side of freedom."

The campaign was a short one: the Liberal prospects were ruined by acute dissensions in the local Committee, and the result of the election, in which a small proportion only of the electorate went to the poll, was:—

J. Lockie (C.)	..	..	..	3785
Hon. T. A. Brassey (L.)	..	..	..	3757

*Majority*    28

Before the proposals from Devonport and from Manchester T.A.B. had tried to induce the Liberal Party, which had now been out of office for several years and was a ghost of its former self, racked by internal dissensions and wandering without any real leadership into by-paths, to sink what he regarded as the minor issues, and to adopt a "Policy on which All Liberals may Unite." This, briefly, was that which was called the policy of Home Rule All Round. The *Daily Chronicle* pleaded the objections that there was nothing new in this, and that it was not Liberalism, but for all that a memorandum on the subject, signed by T.A.B.

and sent to every Liberal member, agent, and association, attracted much attention. It was not, however, adopted officially by the party, and the work of the Committee which was called into existence to promulgate it was rendered hopeless until the official attitude should change.

After the election, T.A.B. went with Lady Idina to Sicily and Sardinia and afterwards to Canada. They made a pilgrimage to the Victoria Bridge, the great work of Messrs. Peto, Brassey and Betts, and joined Lord Brassey at Montreal for the opening of the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire. T.A.B. spoke for some minutes in the Fiscal Debate, and his speech made a great impression. They visited Sault Ste. Marie, the Michigan estate, and then went on to Winnipeg, where a congress of manufacturers was held. They went subsequently to Boston and other cities in the United States and returned to England in October of the same year.

However, the greater part of the years 1901-3 was occupied in the work of expounding this policy of uniting All Liberals through the Federal Union Committee which consisted of the following :—

Hon. T. A. Brassey (Chairman), Sir H. Gilzean-Reid, Dr. W. L. Jacks (Glasgow), Messrs. J. A. Murray Macdonald, G. R. Benson, H. de R. Walker, A. E. Forster Boulton, Martin Fradd, H. Vivian (Labour Co-partnership Association), B. T. Hall (Working Men's Club and Institute Union), Norman Lamont, G. H. Cox (Liverpool), Edwin Guthrie (Manchester), and Professor Henry Jones (Glasgow).

A very large number of meetings was organised in the great towns of England and particularly of Scotland, most of which T.A.B. addressed. The most important of those in England were held in Manchester, Liverpool, Nottingham, Burnley, and at the National Liberal Club. At Manchester, T.A.B. and Mr. Murray Macdonald were entertained at dinner by the Political Committee of the Reform Club. At Liverpool, a large public meeting attended by 900 persons was also addressed by Mr. Russell Rea, M.P., and T.A.B., and a resolution in favour of Devolution was unanimously carried. Other meetings were held at Bolton, Bradford, Ipswich, Sowerby Bridge, and Stockton-on-Tees. There were many

political gatherings at which the policy advocated by the Committee was discussed, and some deserve special mention.

The winter session of the Royal Colonial Institute was opened with a paper by T.A.B. on "Steps to Imperial Federation," in which he urged that the establishment of a federal form of government for the United Kingdom was an essential preliminary to Imperial Federation. The subsequent discussion was chiefly noteworthy for a speech by Mr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., generally supporting the suggestion made in the paper. About three hundred delegates of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union met on December 3rd, 1902, at 24, Park Lane, by the kind permission of Lord Brassey, and received, very favourably, an address on the policy of the Committee. On January 20th, T.A.B. read a paper before the Fellows of the Royal Statistical Society on "The Finance of Federal Government for the United Kingdom." The President (Major P. G. Craigie, C.B.), Sir Robert Giffen, K.V.B., and Messrs. G. R. Benson, W. M. J. Williams, R. Price Williams, Bernard Holland, Dr. B. W. Ginsburg, F. Faithfull Begg, and J. A. Baines took part in the subsequent discussion. On January 21st, the Master of Trinity presided over a conference of Oxford graduates, summoned at the invitation of members of both political parties. T.A.B. delivered an address on the subject of Federal Government, and numerous questions were asked. The proceedings were private. On January 29th, Mr. G. R. Benson took part in a debate at the Oxford Union, in which a resolution in favour of Federal Union was carried by 44 votes to 22. Mr. H. de R. Walker and Mr. Forster Boulton opened discussions, the former at Toynbee Hall, and the latter at a meeting of the Hardwicke Society.

But for the moment the attention of the country was absorbed by the Irish Land Bill and by Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals, and consequently the question of Home Rule, which was bound up with the scheme of Imperial Devolution, fell somewhat into the background. The Federal Union Committee were careful not to express any opinions about Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. It was perfectly clear that whether they were carried out or not, the necessity for a

large measure of devolution still remained the same. The Irish Land Bill of Mr. George Wyndham which, if given fair play, would have gone very far to provide a satisfactory solution of the Irish difficulty, was before the country, and here again the Federal Union Committee were careful to abstain from committing themselves.

T.A.B. always held that the land question must be dealt with either prior to or concurrently with the establishment of self-government in Ireland.

The character of the meetings organised by the Federal Union Committee is difficult to define. In the early days there was always an aspect of unreality about them as must inevitably be the case with non-party political meetings. The local papers in reporting them invariably dwelt upon the fact that all shades of political opinion are represented upon the platform. In the room there were many prominent Conservatives and many prominent Liberals, and there was a general desire to discuss the question on its merits. Very often the newspaper report goes on to say that the meeting, as one outside the range of party, was not so well attended as the importance of the question warranted. - This constant indication of the lack of interest on the part of the electors in questions concerning which there was no probability of a fight is indicative also of the tremendous *vis inertiae* which had to be moved by the pioneers of this new movement.

It is interesting to note that the Conservative papers as far back as 1895 were claiming the first Lord Brassey as a Tariff Reformer, a man who based his opinions on solid facts and figures; and the second Lord Brassey as getting more and more into touch with Toryism in every speech that he made and more and more out of touch with Radicalism.

## CHAPTER VIII

THERE are very few people who know anything about the finance of the Church of England. And very few people have hitherto cared to know. Those who were of an inquiring turn of mind have been discouraged by those who held control over the handling of the Church's moneys. In parishes and in dioceses alike the power which comes from the management of money has been centred in few hands, and any interference has been vehemently resisted.

There was consequently, until quite recently, a universal ignorance about the matter. This ignorance was exploited by enemies of the Church. The clergy were said to be paid by the State. The coffers of the cathedrals were overflowing with wealth. The ideal of the life of the priest was to secure a fat living. Such fat livings existed everywhere, and the fatness thereof was such as would make many rich if it were shared.

With the ignorance went indifference. To know is often to sympathise. To sympathise is the first step to effort. Effort and work mean increased interest. Thus grows the life of the Church: thus follows the welfare of Christian men.

Ignorance about the Church's needs in the great towns and overseas would have smothered the Church of England had it not been for the earnestness and enthusiasm of a few men who endeavoured from time to time to organise Churchmen for the discharge of their responsibilities.

Such ignorance is being slowly and surely dispelled: and not without necessity. The Church had forgotten almost to act as a body and was lost amidst contending interests. It was hampered at every turn by lack of money: who would contribute when its needs were unknown and its resources magnified through the mystery in which its income was shrouded? The completion of the reform had arrived

when the National Assembly of the Church of England received its authority from Parliament at the close of 1918. T.A.B. was an early worker in the cause, and particularly on the financial side.

Now the problems of Church Finance are as intricate as is the organisation of the Church itself. With the financial question is bound up in the most extraordinary way every conceivable subject about which Church people may differ. Those who set themselves to work to remedy the inefficiency, which is the outcome of the lack of fresh money, soon find out that they have before them a problem of no common kind. For the removal of ignorance is not in itself sufficient to rouse in Church people the desire to take a full share in the life of the Church. Much more than that is wanted. Many begin to make excuse, because they find that the Church authorities are unwilling to engage in schemes which will foster ideals of their own devising. Others make no excuses for their unwillingness to contribute to Church Funds, but struggle to block the way of every reform, and by frequent letters of complaint to the Church and Daily Press, endeavour to enlist as adherents any who are likely to be discontented. Nowhere is this felt so much as in the general finance of the Church.

T.A.B. engaged himself in the early days, when he first came down from Oxford, in Church questions, and as a generous and constant contributor to Church funds, he became gradually immersed in what may well be called the modern maelstrom of Church administration. The attitude which has just been described he found particularly hard to tolerate. He could not understand the tone of mind which would permit those, who presumably were actively interested in the progress of the Church, to indulge in vexatious opposition for such reasons as those which they gave in defence of their conduct. With the same candour of utterance, the same liberality of outlook, the same quixotic tilting at fallacies, which were his marked characteristics in other fields, he engaged in active war against these opponents. When his mind was also occupied with the progress of the great works in Sardinia, with the growing attention secured for a federal solution of Imperial problems,

with the solution of agricultural and industrial questions on a co-operative basis, he joyfully engaged in this huge and intricate subject as an addition to his already heavily burdened life. As usual when he hit, he hit hard; when he organised, he organised well, and he has left his mark on Church finance.

There are several villages on the Normanhurst estate, and on its outskirts lie Hastings, a town which had already reached the height of its development when he succeeded to the estate, as well as St. Leonards and Bexhill, which were both rapidly increasing, and thriving seaside resorts. With Hastings and Bexhill both his father and he maintained most intimate relations, and of the latter borough they acted successively as Mayor. In the villages, T.A.B. found the ordinary questions which emerge from parochial Church finance; questions of the maintenance of the non-provided schools, the repair of Church fabrics, an adequate stipend for the parochial clergy, a pension for such of them as would retire when the work had become too much for them. In the beginning of the twentieth century the growing increase in the cost of living was impressing Churchmen with the responsibility alike of the landowner and of the ordinary Church member for the provision of a living wage for the clergy, and he organised in his own rural deanery a scheme for bringing up every benefice to a net income in perpetuum of £200 per annum with a house. A Committee of five clergymen and ten laymen was formed with himself as chairman, which included such well-known local Churchmen as Pelham Papillon, J. F. Danvers, Harvey Combe, and Edward Mortlock. He headed the list of donations himself and ultimately contributed much more than all other subscribers put together. He was, however, active and energetic in securing gifts and co-operation from his fellow laymen. The method adopted was that now so well known to so many Church people of eliciting grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and Marshall's Trustees to add to local benefactions, the interest of which was secured to the benefice for ever. The work of the Committee lasted from 1907 to 1910.

The function of the layman in the administration of

Church finance had been limited in most dioceses and most parishes: the control of Church finance was still in the hands of the clergy, and it was not until the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1910 that a really new era began. Acting upon representations, which were made to them at the time of that Congress, the Archbishops appointed a special committee "to consider the position, administration and mutual relation of the various funds which are raised for Church purposes by voluntary subscription, whether Diocesan, Provincial, or General, and the most effectual means of using such funds to supplement the endowments of the Church: further, to consider the best means of raising and administering additional funds to supplement those that are now raised: and to present a report thereon to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York." The committee was a most influential one, and was presided over by Lord Barnard. T.A.B. was offered and accepted a place on this committee. It was with much willingness that he accepted this invitation, and he was an active and energetic participant in the deliberations of the committee. A member of that committee has said that he could always be relied upon to support the wide and sensible view, and that he would invariably back up the secretary against attacks. Although he did not fully agree with all the recommendations made by the Committee, he signed the report without reservation, and from that time onwards became one of the most active and energetic reformers that Church finance has seen in recent years.

He would not label himself with any party badge; Societies and Movements were generally too restricted in their outlook, too intent upon a limited objective, to secure his adherence. He was unmoved by the common arguments, whether destructive of the relationship between Church and State, or critical of the slow, careful and steady reform brought about by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or contemptuous of the duty of the Established Church to minister to every person in the nation. So, on some counts he would support proposals for a liberalising movement, on other counts would strongly defend the attitude of conservative bishops, or again would read carefully the official statements

relating to the finance and administration of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by which he satisfied himself of the soundness of their conduct of affairs. In the end he always came back to the very orthodox position—"What is my duty as a layman?" "My duty as a layman is not to interfere in the ministration of the Word and the Sacraments, not to dictate to the Bishops or to the clergy my interpretation of doctrine, but to make their work feasible and possible by clearing the ground for them and providing them with the necessary materials and support for their spiritual work." Having adopted this position he resented any attempt on the part of the clergy to interfere in what he considered to be the layman's province of providing the necessary material and support. An excellent example of this attitude is provided by the following letter which he wrote in the early days of the establishment of the Central Church Fund.

A certain clergyman had made certain statements which could have the effect of damaging the appeal of the Central Church Fund to the laymen of the Church of England. T.A.B.'s retort appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* in the following words:—

*To the Editor of the "Westminster Gazette."*

30.12.18.

DEAR SIR,

My attention has been called to the letter which recently appeared in your columns. It is impossible for an ordinary layman to comprehend the mind which inspired such a letter, and it is not very encouraging to those who are devoting time and money to the effort to place Church finance on a sounder footing to have our motives criticised in the way they are by —.

A Central Church Fund is required to enable the work of the Church to be effectively carried on. The raising and administration of such a fund is mainly a question for the laity. The most urgent needs closely affect the clergy, and are as follows:—

1. The clergy of the Church of England are now some 2000 fewer than they were at the beginning of the war, owing to the fact that the ordination of men fit for military service has been suspended. A large number of candidates

from the Services are now presenting themselves to fill the gaps in the ministry; some may have private means to meet the cost of training, a large proportion will not. It is estimated that at least £200,000 per annum will be required to carry out the Archbishop's pledge that no suitable candidates shall be debarred by lack of means from entering the ministry. A candidate, during his period of training, cannot live upon faith. It is not desirable that entry to the ministry should be confined to the wealthier classes of the community.

2. Even before the war a considerable proportion of the clergy were receiving less than a living wage. Owing to the rise in the cost of living the position is infinitely worse to-day. The clergy, like all others with small, fixed incomes, have been the heaviest sufferers from the war, and a large proportion are now receiving less than the wages of an ordinary artisan.

3. It is urgently necessary to provide pensions to enable incumbents to retire when no longer capable of doing their work, instead of hanging on to their posts to the detriment of their parishes.

It is idle to suggest that these three purposes can be provided for otherwise than by money. Different laymen may subscribe from different motives. Most, I apprehend, subscribe because they consider it their duty to do so. They certainly do not imagine, as —— appears to suggest, that a subscription will buy an entrance into Heaven.

The present condition of things is a disgrace to the laity of the Church of England. It ought to be remedied by us, and we are entitled to ask that clergy in receipt of good emoluments, like —— should not thwart our efforts to help their poorer brethren.

Your obedient servant,

BRASSEY.

At the end of the year 1911, when the report of the Archbishops' Committee was about to appear, he interested himself in the co-ordination of the funds in the Diocese of Chichester. The new Bishop (C. J. Ridgeway), who had come from the Deanery of Carlisle, after a long vicariate at Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, had embarked on the task of raising large additional sums for his diocese, and into this task T.A.B. threw himself with enthusiasm. The two men

were attracted to one another, finding that they had much in common, and being alike men of inexhaustible energy.

The arrival of Bishop Ridgeway in Sussex had been thought to be the prelude to an era of drawing-room Churchmanship, but Church people were soon agreeably surprised. Quite apart from the strong grip in questions of discipline, which the new Bishop immediately displayed, he proved himself an organiser of no mean calibre, and set to work without delay to bring up the organisation of his large and rather unwieldy diocese to a level which it had not reached for the previous quarter of a century. The chief organisation on the financial side was called the Chichester Diocesan Association. This Society had existed for seventy-two years, having been founded by Bishop Otter with the help of Henry Manning, Lord Chichester, and George Courthope of Whiligh. It was subsequently served by two secretaries, the first of whom held office for forty years, and the second for thirty-two years. Its income had fluctuated between £3000 and £4000 per annum for many years, a sum quite insufficient to provide the necessary Church equipment in a diocese the population of which was increasing with greater rapidity than any other rural diocese south of the Trent. From time to time, by special appeals, considerable sums of money were raised and expended, but the normal diocesan income was considerably less than that of many individuals resident in the diocese.

The work of the Association had been managed by quarterly meetings of a general committee elected by the subscribers. The first step towards the quickening of the working of this organisation was the appointment of a Finance Committee. Sussex was nothing if not exclusive. After residence of twenty years in the county, a man was reckoned a new-comer, and therefore to be admitted grudgingly to any participation in Church affairs. The formation of the Finance Committee was accepted under the mistaken notion that it was to be another close association as before. But they reckoned without T.A.B. (now Lord Hythe). When he was approached in the matter, he consented to act as chairman, provided that he was satisfied about administration of funds. At the first meeting of the new committee,

held in one of the rooms at the Pavilion at Brighton, with some heart-burning, he was elected to be chairman.

The first step taken was to put out a budget for the ensuing year, estimated at £8000. An organisation was built up in every parish of the diocese whereby a parish secretary collected subscriptions and the communicants' shillings for the Bishop's Shilling Fund. The Bishop himself made frequent public announcements in all parts of the diocese about the financial needs which he wished to supply. The whole Budget figure, with £300 to spare, was raised in the first twelve months. During this year the report of the Archbishops' Committee was published, and after careful consideration, the Finance Committee proposed that its recommendations should be presented to a special diocesan conference for approval. The Bishop and the Secretary, sometimes with T.A.B. in company, visited all the R.D. conferences in the diocese and explained the bearing of the proposals.

The most startling proposal contained in the report of the Archbishops' Committee was that of the apportionment of parishes. The opponents of the scheme were pleased to call this an assessment and to talk of the methods of the tax-collector and the evils which would follow. It was obvious, however, that there was no real way in which payment of the sum required from each parish could be enforced except by the exercise of the episcopal displeasure which, on other occasions, most of the objectors had declared to have little influence upon them. The atmosphere, however, of the special diocesan conference of 1912 was electric, which had certainly not been characteristic of the gatherings of that body on previous occasions. When the proposal to establish a diocesan board of finance to carry out the principles of the Archbishops' Report was moved, an amendment was proposed by a well-known incumbent to refer the whole matter back for further consideration. It was contended that the matter had never been sufficiently considered by R.D. conferences, though as a matter of fact the proposer of the amendment had attended an R.D. conference called for the very purpose and had spent much of the time to all appearance quietly asleep. There were present some very

noisy supporters of the amendment, who made up by their noise what they lacked in number and in influence.

Churchmen generally were with the Bishop, and the motion was carried by a large majority. It was noted as a rather curious fact that, on this occasion, the opposition came mainly from the Low Church party. After the Diocesan Conference was over, and the matter was settled, wiser councils in that party prevailed. The more active and energetic of the Evangelicals realised that the new finance method was logically effective, and that it had come to stay. With one or two notable exceptions, they gave the scheme a fair trial, and worked it successfully.

T.A.B. was unanimously elected chairman of the first Diocesan Finance Board and engaged whole-heartedly in the multitudinous arrangements for bringing under the one control the many small and overlapping funds which had grown up in the diocese. The various bodies were gradually won over, and before the end of the year the new Bishop of Chichester's Diocesan Fund had been incorporated and the regulations for its procedure formulated.

T.A.B. was insistent upon the method to be chosen from the two courses which might have been followed. It would have been possible to establish the Diocesan Board of Finance as a mere collecting agency, to pay out its money in block grants to a number of small societies, which would administer it. This would have perpetuated the old system, but would have made it more effective because of an increased income.

The second course was to make the Board of Finance, receiving authority from the Diocesan Synod, a controlling body served by six committees who advised as to the expenditure of the diocesan moneys. Their grants were subject to confirmation and revision by the Diocesan Board of Finance, and without its consent no expenditure could be incurred. The second of these methods was adopted.

Subsequent history has proved the soundness of T.A.B.'s judgment in this matter, for dioceses which have in the main adopted the latter alternative have been uniformly successful in their financial arrangements. The degree in which in a diocese the old system has been preserved is often an

indication of the measure of the failure which the Diocesan Board of such dioceses has had to experience.

The way in which T.A.B. controlled this quite complicated organisation was a revelation to those who were associated with him of his capacity for co-ordinating detail and of picking out the important issues from a mass of correlated facts. His life was already fuller than that of most men, and yet until the war claimed a much greater share of his attention, he found time to supervise the whole of the working of the Board. Mainly owing to his exertions and vigour, a Diocesan Church House was established in Brighton, and to this he paid frequent visits. He would also invite the secretary to Normanhurst, where masses of correspondence and large schemes were considered.

He remained chairman of the Chichester Diocesan Board until his death. He was a capable chairman, though some members were at times restive at the way in which he drove the business through. Some of them felt that the business had been settled in advance, and that they were called merely to register the decrees of an inner circle of the Board. But such occasional murmurings apart, the proceedings were characterised by the greatest geniality and the most friendly spirit prevailed. At the end of the first hour's business the chairman would remark with a gleam of anticipation in his eye, "Well, gentlemen, we've done a good hour's work: I think on these occasions it is the privilege of the laity . . ." and out would come a pouch and a workmanlike pipe, to the general satisfaction.

The proceedings were generally enlivened by criticisms of the work and the methods of the Central Board of Finance—a form of relaxation which is not unknown in other dioceses of the provinces of Canterbury and York.

As chairman of the Board, T.A.B. would stand no nonsense. A parish in the diocese felt qualms, or said that it did, about making contributions to a diocesan fund, on the ground that grants were given by the Board to parishes where teaching was given of which it could not approve. But the same parish had received a grant of considerable amount towards an extensive scheme of church repair and restoration from the same fund, and contributions to this fund were of

course received from the parishes to which exception was taken. T.A.B.'s retort was, "If the money you have given is tainted, so also is the money you received, only more so. Return your grant and we will believe your good faith." No more was heard of the objection, and the amount apportioned was raised.

In the same way he condemned emphatically the position of Brighton and Hove, neither of them exactly poor towns, which received in grants much more than they contributed to the fund, and were constantly (the latter at any rate) asking for reduction of apportionments. He told quite bluntly a prominent resident that his contribution was quite insufficient in view of the needs of the Church, which was true enough but perhaps better said in another way. But you always knew where you were with T.A.B.: he never concealed his views.

All this administrative work was preparing his mind and attention for the great central questions of Church Finance. He was much disappointed in what he thought to be the culpable delays in floating the Central Fund of the Church of England. He refused to acknowledge the *raison d'être* of a Central Board of Finance which had no funds to administer. He argued that there was exactly the same relationship between the Church as a whole, and the dioceses, as between a diocese and the parishes which formed it. As the diocese drew the bulk of its income from the parishes, which it apportioned, so the Central Fund should be mainly contributed by the Diocesan Boards of Finance in proportion to the ability of their dioceses to contribute. The argument that it would be well to allow the Diocesan Boards of Finance to establish themselves firmly before any further action was taken, he refused to accept as a reasonable proposal. The Central Board was established in 1913 and incorporated in 1914, on the eve of the outbreak of war, and it was not until 1918 that effective steps began to be taken for making a great appeal to all Churchmen. He had taken much interest in the constitution of the Central Board, and it was very largely owing to his intervention that the method proposed for its formation by nomination of the Representative Church Council was abandoned.

The conception underlying all T.A.B.'s contentions was that the Diocesan Boards are to contribute annually a sum to form an annual central income for the Church. Unfortunately, the conception was missed by many dioceses which declared themselves unable to make any such contribution, and sent representatives to the Central Board who not only abstained from giving assistance in raising the necessary funds, but actually set themselves to thwart the objects of the Board.

The Board was constituted by election by the Diocesan Boards, and after many delays attempts were made to set the Central Fund going. On March 14th, 1917, T.A.B. proposed the following resolution at the Annual Meeting of the Board, which was seconded by the Archdeacon of Doncaster and carried :—

That the Board, while recognising the steps that have so far been taken towards constituting the financial organisation of the Church of England, desires to emphasise its sense of the necessity of completing this organisation.

It is further of opinion that the Central Fund of the Church of England has an urgent claim upon all Churchmen, and that with the view of enabling the richer dioceses to help the poorer, the Central Fund should be reinforced by contributions from the dioceses on a scale fixed by the Central Board, or in default of such arrangement, spontaneously offered by the dioceses: and that the Executive Council be asked to consider the question and report to the Board.

A year later, nothing having been done in the meantime, except to promise to the Central Advisory Council of Training financial assistance for men on active service who desired, after hostilities had ceased, to take Holy Orders, and T.A.B. being absent in Italy, Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. Trustram Eve proposed and carried a resolution committing the Board to an appeal to every Churchman on a fixed date for a personal contribution to a Central Fund.

On his return he proposed that this plan be modified so as to allow for a contribution from Diocesan Boards as well, but the Central Board would not accept this. T.A.B. was very much disinclined to take any share in the scheme

after this decision was reached, but personal appeals by the Archbishops induced him to continue.

An Organisation Committee had been established, and this was divided into two sections, the former presided over by Sir Trustram Eve, dealing with questions of organisation, and the latter under T.A.B. dealing with questions of finance. He secured for this latter many prominent members: Dr. Burge (Bishop of Southwark), Lord Selborne, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Salisbury, Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, Lord Joicey, the Hon. Edward Wood, and not least, two old supporters from Chichester, the Hon. H. B. Portman and Mr. F. A. White. He drew up a document called the Statement of Needs, which was hammered out in the early hours of the day in his room at 24, Park Lane. This was adopted by the committee, prefaced by the Archbishops, signed by a large number of representative men and issued to friends of the committee. The interpretation of this document in terms of figures was a further lengthy process, and when it was completed, it gave rise to an acute controversy with the Executive Council of the Board. The document as originally drafted by T.A.B. showed that (1) a capital sum, and (2) an annual income were required—the exact figures being stated under each head. On the ground that the annual income, as shown, was larger than the capital sum shown, the document was amended to an appeal for a sum of £5,000,000. It was pointed out that serious difficulties were consequent upon this action, unless the whole sum were forthcoming without delay, but the amended document was issued, and events have proved that the original conception was financially the right one.

The acute differences of opinion which were revealed on this and other points made it impossible to continue the work without some readjustment of *personnel*, and T.A.B. on several occasions offered to give way. He was overwhelmed with work, and only a strong sense of duty kept him going. He was much misunderstood; but his friends, who knew him well, backed him to the utmost of their ability, and one or two resignations cleared the air enormously. He was not at his best at times of controversy.

He said and did violent things : said and did them indeed for a purpose, but they were none the less very strong and sometimes difficult to defend. The defence was that the objective could not be reached in any other way, but all were not of this opinion.

He was convinced that the Central Board and the Executive were not sufficiently influential or representative to command public support, and after some further controversy, both were enlarged and reconstituted so as to embrace men whose names gave confidence and whose experience added weight to the administration.

The Appeal was finally launched in November, 1918, by a series of advertisements in the newspapers of the value of which T.A.B. was always doubtful, and to the publication of which he objected in writing. Nearly the whole of the first £100,000 was produced by his personal letters, and he himself promised to contribute £10,000. The Public Appeal was followed by an organised effort on Rogation Sunday, and further steps were well in hand to continue the personal appeal in the winter of 1919, when his untimely end removed from the Central Church Fund its most inspiring personality, and from the Church a son whom it seems almost impossible to replace. The value of his work may be tested by that very fact. Lord Selborne, speaking at the first meeting of the National Assembly in June, 1920, called vigorously upon Churchmen to do what T.A.B. had done. He said that he was occupying T.A.B.'s place as head of the finance of the Central Board, not because he had had any training as a financier, not because he was particularly fitted to do so, but because no great financier of the Church of England could be found or would come forward.

T.A.B. only once offered himself for election on the elected Representative Bodies of the Church. In 1917 he sought a place on the Representative Church Council as an elected member of the Diocese of Chichester, because he was convinced that if the National Assembly should become an actual fact, it was imperative that the control of central finance should be in its hands. He had fought for the insertion of a clause in the scheme of administration of the Central Church Fund to secure this, which he regarded as

fundamental in the interests both of the Assembly and of the Fund. He received the votes of a far larger number of electors than any other candidate, but was second on the poll for the seven vacancies, because of the "plumping" for a party candidate who headed the list.

The future of Church finance is not yet settled, but the main lines along which it must proceed have become clear in the course of the last few years, and with patient, tactful, and energetic efforts, the future will see great developments. The lines are the clearer, and the prospects the brighter for the shrewd common-sense and the self-denying generosity of the second Earl Brassey.

Some extracts from letters are needed to illustrate what has been said:—

*To an Incumbent in Sussex.*

With regard to the article that appeared in the *Eastbourne Chronicle* I cordially agree with the point of view that Romanising practices which are clearly illegal should be made to cease (if possible) by the authority of the Bishops. As Chairman of the Board of Finance I should oppose grants being made to churches where such practices went on, and I believe the other lay members of the Board would take a similar view. It is not, however, the business of laymen to decide whether such practices exist. That is for the Bishop to decide, and I feel certain all we lay members would support his decision. If this is the case, the Diocesan Board of Finance should be a valuable help in securing the object in view, and they ought to support us for this reason.

I am quite opposed to contributions to extra diocesan organisations being treated as if they were contributions to the Diocesan Fund. I shall probably make a public statement after discussing the matter at the Board of Finance, but I let you know my views privately, as I feel you can use a good deal of influence in turning things in the right direction.

(Signed) HYTHER.

*To the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

I have had a square talk with Sir Trustram Eve this morning, and I think we are practically agreed as to what is necessary and how to reach the desired end.

The Central Board must be strengthened by the addition of members who are competent in finance and will carry weight in the country. We must have a number of such people on the Organisation Committee if the appeal is to meet with success.

*To the same.*

I have just been over the replies from dioceses to a circular letter sent out by the Relationship Committee in Jan. 1917—unfortunately two months before the resolution of the Board in favour of the establishment of a Central Fund was passed. From these replies it is clear that many of the Finance Boards considered that the establishment of a Central Fund was urgent. That was a year ago.

No serious attempt has been made to establish a Fund or carry out the purposes for which the Central Board was appointed, and it has now been decided to postpone for another year any such attempt. I have the greatest reluctance to allow my name to be associated with the proceedings that have taken place and that are now going forward and I should prefer you to nominate someone in my place on the Executive Council, with whom the fault lies. It has not carried out the resolution passed by the Board in March of last year.

I regard the whole matter from a very different point of view to — and —. We have been put on the Finance Board to do a certain job, and we are morally responsible for doing it. It seems to me that religion is being used as a cloak for shirking our plain duty.

*To the same.*

Jan. 25th, 1919.

The newly appointed Executive Council and Finance Committee considered the matter you brought before the joint meeting. They were unanimous in thinking that the first effort of the Central Church Fund should be devoted to providing for the training of Service candidates. They passed a resolution authorising the expenditure of £5000 for the immediate requirements, and are prepared to do their utmost to back the proposal you brought forward, of which in its main outlines they approve.

For the proper conduct of the financial business of

the Central Fund it is important that we should have from the Central Council of Training, at an early date, a full and properly considered estimate of the whole requirements for training for the current year, of which the most important will be those for training ex-Service candidates, and I should be grateful if you would use your influence towards having this done.

*To the same.*

As far as I am concerned I have really not got the time to devote to the work. I have to go abroad early next month for several weeks to look after my large business in Italy, I have got the "Naval Annual" to prepare for the Press before I go, and the work on this is very much behindhand owing to the time that I have had to give to Church finance. The situation for me is most difficult, and but for the fact that I feel bound to stand by Lord Selborne I should withdraw from the position, which I do not wish to occupy.

*To the same.*

The result of the Rogation Sunday Appeal has, in my opinion, been disappointing. We have not yet collected the money necessary to meet the liabilities already incurred for this year for Ordination candidates, and we have nothing in hand to meet the liabilities for next year. We are pressing the Service Candidates' Committee not to accept candidates who require large grants for dependants.

I had before me yesterday a proposal for a hostel for candidates at Manchester University. This hostel is, I believe, necessary, but I hesitated to undertake this further liability without any visible means of meeting it.

The situation is serious. If we knew for certain that we should receive, from Government, grants for these candidates the position would be completely altered, but until we do know this we must keep down expenditure as much as possible.

I have a business reputation at stake which I cannot afford to lose, and if you desire to have some one in my position who would take a different view of his responsibility I am quite ready to resign my post.

*To the Secretary of the Chichester Diocesan Board of Finance.*

A further question which it would be well the Board should consider in my absence is the following. I told the Bishop some six months ago that now that I have so much work in connection with the Central Church Fund as chairman of the Executive I think it desirable that I should retire from my position of chairman of the Chichester Board. A further reason for my doing so is that I do not think it desirable for one man to remain too long in office, and Mr. Portman would, I am sure, discharge the duties quite as effectively, if not more effectively than I have been able to do. At the request of the Bishop I held up my resignation until you had got into the saddle, but I think the question should be considered by the Board on Wednesday.

*To the Chairman of a Committee.*

I went through yesterday the new list of grants proposed for University Ordination candidates. I note that in several cases the grants proposed amount to £200 and over, and in one case to £300 per annum.

I do not know what view the Executive Council will take as regards these grants, but I hold a very strong opinion that they are very much too high. It is quite true that the average amount of the grants proposed remains well under the average of £100, but the average is brought down by a certain number of quite small grants which appear to be hardly necessary at all. You cannot justify giving the large grants proposed by the Ordination Candidates' Committee when so many of the existing clergy are still receiving stipends below these figures, and in my opinion it would be a misuse of our funds if we pay them.

I was in Oxford the night before last for the Bodleian dinner and had a long talk both with the Master of Balliol and our bursar as regards students who required assistance, of which we have a certain number at Balliol. These poor students have to do with a good deal less than the figures proposed by the Ordination Candidates' Committee.

What I have said is merely my personal opinion so far, and it remains to be seen next Wednesday what view the Executive Council will take of the matter.

I gather that Partridge has already had some communications on this matter. I sincerely hope that you will use your influence in the right direction. It is useless to take men into the Church who require so much assistance in the period of training for ordination. They must be a continuous burden later on.

*To an official of the Central Fund.*

I am obliged by your letter of the 24th and enclosure. Promises should not be made without the certainty of being able to make good those promises.

What you and everyone concerned must bear in mind is that we have not yet raised for the Central Fund anything like the sum sufficient to meet the liabilities undertaken. There are people on the Board now and holding official positions in connection with the administration who take a much graver view of their responsibility in this matter than has been taken in times past.

## CHAPTER IX

As had been quite clear ever since T.A.B.'s adoption as Gladstonian candidate for the Epsom division, in 1891, the inevitable was bound, sooner or later, to happen. The hour was now ripe. He had contested Epsom, Christchurch, and Devonport. Gamely he had tried to reconcile the irreconcilable; the two great forces were all the time rending him asunder. From his father he had inherited the principles of liberal thought, which made him stand for an increase of popular control in legislature, for the loosening of the grip of the House of Lords, for freeing the land from many of its burdens, for popular control of education, all of which were questions on which he held the strongest opinions. In such matters he was still a Gladstonian. But his loss of confidence in the ability of Democracy to rule, as evidenced by the lack of grasp evinced by the trade union leaders, had to a certain extent weakened his attitude on such questions. No doubt, in some matters, as he grew older, he would have been willing to defer action until Democracy had been educated to a better standard of political wisdom; but by his principles of liberal thought and policy he continued to stand.

But the one great principle for which he stood throughout his career—the Federation of the Empire and the improvement of government and administration by a system of Devolution—outweighed all other considerations. There were in the ranks of the Liberals some few Imperialists who thought as he thought and supported his Imperialistic policy. But the speeches and attitude of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and particularly the Dundee speech of November, 1900, were a crushing blow to his aspirations. The *Manchester Guardian* indeed had said:—

We are glad to find Sir Henry in full agreement with our view, that the proposed party of Liberal Imperialism

is nothing but a sham designed to reduce the opposition to a nullity. The more honest course, we agree, would be for those who make Imperialism their first principle openly to join the Tories. These things needed to be said by the responsible leader of the party, and we are glad that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has spoken out.

The comparative failure of his personal attempt to reunite the Liberal Party on this policy—the policy upon which all Liberals might reunite—had had its effect upon him. He acknowledged sadly to himself that in the Radical Party he never could secure any comprehensive adherence to his proposals, or any real sympathy with Federalism or Devolution. On the other hand, one of the vital principles of Toryism, which in the days when he began his political career was only a spark, had been fanned into a blazing furnace by the upheaval in South Africa and the enthusiasm which had been engendered by the South African War. The Tories, now, were Imperialists in the fullest and broadest sense of the word: they stood for the consolidation of Empire; they stood for unification of all the young nations which were growing up, sturdy and strong, under the Empire's flag. In such a party T.A.B. found on every hand evidence of sympathy with his cherished and life-long hopes. It is true that, as a party, the Tories had not arrived at the stage of demanding either a federated Parliament for the Empire or of extending the application to the United Kingdom of those principles of Federalism which T.A.B. regarded as of primary importance; but the general atmosphere was far different from that chilling blast of indifference which greeted his enthusiastic Imperialist utterances in Liberal circles.

The end had really been in sight for a long time. T.A.B. himself knew it quite well, although he had hoped against hope that some change would come to redeem the Liberal cause. He needed only the final impetus to drive him into the arms of the Tories. That impetus soon came. In May, 1903, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a politician for whom T.A.B. had the greatest possible respect, and the soundness of whose judgment in Imperial affairs he had already learned to recognise,

astonished the world and his own party by declaring that the future of the Empire was in danger through the observance, as guiding principles of policy, of those doctrines which owed their origin to the School of Cobden and Bright. Cobden had preached Free Trade, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. The consequent storm in the country had ensured repeal, and the revolution in the political world, which had resulted from it, had succeeded, but Free Trade throughout the world had proved a chimera. Nation after nation had refused to adopt these principles, and Great Britain was left alone as the one country willing to accept and practise them. A temporary era of cheap living in England had followed, but this would persist only until the other countries had established their own industries on a self-supporting basis, and were no longer compelled to buy the products of English industries with foodstuffs.

Mr. Chamberlain stood for the consolidation of the Empire. He averred that it could only be effected in one way and that was by a system of Imperial Preference, which involved a return in some degree to the methods of Protection. Mr. Chamberlain resigned his seat in the Cabinet in order to press his policy throughout the country.

It is unnecessary in this place to follow the course of the campaign which ensued. The controversy is still a living controversy. The war against Germany has revealed the practical insight of the great statesman who foresaw a cataclysm of the character and magnitude which actually supervened, and wished to make the Empire strong to meet it. The questions of Protection, Imperial Preference, and Tariff Reform have now to be considered anew in the light of the hard-won experience of the last six years.

T.A.B.'s own plan of Tariff Reform was to erect a high tariff wall round the Empire in the hope of developing the mutual interests of the Colonies and Great Britain. He had at once to face the obvious criticism that the facts were against him. It was the Colonies themselves who feared the Mother-country: theirs were the industries which were as yet unformed, struggling, and unable to face competition; theirs were the Governments and theirs were the legislatures

which were demanding preferential tariffs, not merely and not chiefly against Germany, or the United States, or any other country, but against Great Britain—the competitor whom they feared and dreaded most of all. The erection of the tariff wall, which he desired to see, could only be brought about by the co-operation of all the Colonies, and it was not in the least clear that the co-operation could be secured. He was convinced, and argued that it was a mere matter of time for the Colonial Governments to become persuaded of the supreme importance of a compact and consolidated Empire, a consummation which vastly outweighed the mere commercial considerations of the establishment of local industries. He hoped that gradually the inter-colonial jealousies would be broken down, as men saw the value to each individual part of a great corporate body able to act and strike on behalf of the weakest portion of it. The War may perhaps have convinced politicians that he was right. The value of the War may be found to have been in the convincing proof that it must have given to the Colonies of the supreme value of the British Empire as an entity; but T.A.B. had to meet, from the start, this criticism of and grave objection to his proposals.

T.A.B. wrote to Lord Rosebery, who had been his foster-parent in politics, and that statesman's farewell message to one who had been his ardent follower for many years must here be quoted, as well as the letters from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain addressed to him on the same topic.

Lord Rosebery said :—

Aug. 10th, 1903.

So you have taken the plunge and passed into Toryism? Of course, I am sorry, for you have been so staunch in your Liberalism in old days, and have always insisted on its being the true Imperialism. But I do not doubt that you have taken this step from a conviction that Chamberlain's new policy will tend to strengthen the Empire. I wish I could think so, or believe that the raising of this question, before there is any practicable basis, will do anything but harm.

There is only one point on which I venture to suggest a doubt. Are you not somewhat hasty? Are you sure that the policy of the Zollverein is or will be the policy of the Tory Party? On this question I entertain the gravest

doubts. And, if my doubts are well-founded, may you not find Toryism destitute of the very attraction you see in it at present? and certainly without the likelihood of its taking up Federal Home Rule, or the other questions in which you are interested.

However, I have no claim to offer observations. But at this moment, when I am cut off from the prospect of being associated with you in politics, I must write a word of thanks to you for much loyal and friendly support in the past, and another of hope that you may find in your new party the elements and the spirit which seem to you wanting in the old one.

Mr. Chamberlain wrote:—

June 14, 1905.

When I see the avowed selfishness of some English statesmen in regard to all Imperial matters I cannot wonder that the younger country should be equally unmindful of its responsibilities and obligations.

We have much to do before we can consolidate the Empire, and the progress of time makes the task more and not less difficult. This, however, is no reason for our not doing our best in our time.

T.A.B. had sent to Mr. Chamberlain a long letter of explanation and had asked his advice.

July 13th, 1905.

My friend Lord Lawrence has more than once suggested that I should join the Liberal Unionist Organisation. I saw him yesterday and have asked him to consider carefully some papers and speeches which I have sent him and then say whether a person holding the convictions which I do is eligible as a member of your organisation. He may possibly consult you on the matter, and at any rate I should not join unless I knew that I had your approval. It is useless to join and then be told that I have no right to give expression to my convictions while a member of the organisation.

The longer I live the more I am convinced of the impossibility of governing a great Empire, and dealing with the domestic interests of the various countries of the United Kingdom with our present machinery, and that the remedy is that which you suggested in the debates on the Home Rule Bill of '86, and which is treated with little courtesy and less

justice in Morley's "Life of Gladstone," viz. Federal Government for the United Kingdom on Canadian lines, as a preliminary to the Federation of the Empire. The present condition of things is a great danger to the Empire. The election of 1900 was won on a great Imperial issue. At the next election Imperial interests will be swamped by Education, Licensing, and other domestic questions. If the two were separated we could carry Colonial Preference to-morrow and the country would never entrust the government of the Empire to a party led by Campbell-Bannerman. His strength rests on the feeling of a large section of the working classes that their interests are subordinated in Parliament to the interests of the Empire. The spirit of democracy can only be reconciled with the imperial idea through federation. As soon as the Land Purchase Act was introduced, the agitation which I and others conducted from 1900-3 was dropped. Time was needed for Land Purchase to have its effect before taking any considerable step in the direction we had advocated. The policy of the Government in Ireland had my hearty support at the time I was adopted in the Rye Division. But the sacrifice of Wyndham to the threats of the Orange Members and their English friends, and the wholesale condemnation of Dunraven and his friends who had made the Land Purchase Act possible, so disgusted me that I nearly threw up my candidature and politics two months ago. I hesitated because I do not think any one else has much chance of winning the Rye Division for Tariff Reform, and I have deliberately raised the question in the speech of which I enclose a copy. I have asked my chairman to call a meeting of the Association to consider my position as candidate and I am to meet the Executive Committee as a preliminary next Tuesday. If I can tell them that I am considered eligible as a member of the Liberal Unionist Organisation, it will probably have some effect, and if I can further say that you will come and speak in Hastings, the effect will probably be decisive. As regards the former there can, it seems to me, be no breach of the understanding between the Conservative and Liberal Unionist Organisations—since I was adopted as a Tariff Reformer in competition with a Conservative and the Conservative Central Office have refused, not for the first time, to give us any assistance. As regards the latter, I feel that I have some claim on your consideration on the ground that I initiated the movement which gave the T. R. League

a large proportion of the funds by which it has been carried on.

To conclude a rather long story, I do not wish you or anyone else to understand that I commit myself to approval of Dunraven's scheme, but I do sympathise with the lines on which he and other moderate men in Ireland are working. I am quite prepared to be told by you and by any association that there is no place in English politics under existing conditions for people like myself. I shall cheerfully stand aside, though to do so means the closing of an important chapter in one's life.

Mr. Chamberlain wrote :—

July 14, 1905.

I am just leaving for Birmingham and do not return till Tuesday. I agree that your position is a difficult one. You are right, I think, in saying that what you now advocate in regard to Federation was suggested by me in my speeches in 1886, but whether or not these suggestions were reasonable and practicable at the time, I have come to the conclusion that they are quite impossible now and would not be accepted by either party. The result is that in the importance you give to them you practically put yourself in a position of isolation so far as party politics are concerned.

There is, however, no reason that I can see why you should not continue your candidature simply as a Tariff Reformer, sympathising generally with the views of the Unionist Party but with independent views in regard to some other items of their policy. You know, perhaps, that I have always kept a free hand as regards Disestablishment. The question is not one of practical politics and is not likely to come up with any chance of being dealt with during my political lifetime. But, if it did, I should certainly hold myself free to vote for it, if I thought the scheme a fair one. Is not your position with regard to Federation something of the same kind ?

As regards joining the Liberal Unionist Association, I know of nothing in our rules that would prevent it, but I doubt whether it is worth your while. If you feel bound to continue a public propaganda in favour of your opinions on the Irish question you are sure to clash with the present party views. If, however, you agree with me that it is not practical now and are ready to treat it as only a pious opinion, then nobody could, I think, object.

When Mr. Chamberlain had delivered his famous Birmingham speech, T.A.B. at once took sides with him and the Prime Minister (Mr. Arthur Balfour), and characteristically became almost immediately one of the leading spirits of the Tariff Reform League, to which he devoted much time and attention. He wrote to the *Times* a letter defining his estimate of the situation, and shortly afterwards accepted an invitation from Colonel Frewen, the Chairman of the Conservative and Unionist Association of the Rye division of Sussex, to become the candidate of that party at the forthcoming election. T.A.B.'s defection from the ranks of the Liberal Party, of which he had been regarded as one of the staunchest supporters, came as a thunderbolt. He resigned all his positions on Liberal and Radical organisations, and an acute controversy raged in the Press as to his action. His honesty was questioned: his sense of public duty was challenged: some even said that he was so anxious to get into the House of Commons that he would do anything. But if there is one thing which is absolutely clear about T.A.B.—one thing which examination of his career or knowledge of his character makes for ever plain—it is that he was always actuated by sincere, honest, and consistent conviction. It was not the man who had changed, but the political parties: it was not T.A.B.'s opinions which were fluctuating, but the factors of the political situation. There will rarely be found in all the history of British politics a truer and a more honourable manifestation of integrity and honesty in public affairs than in T.A.B.'s treatment of his acceptance of the Rye candidature and his subsequent relinquishment of it.

It meant great pain and anguish of spirit to him. His own father for once did not understand him. The Chairman of his Executive Committee, who was a life-long friend, did not grasp the point in his mind. Other friends could not make out what he was driving at. All this made him appear awkward and constrained and not at his best.

He had told Colonel Frewen that his political associations in the past had been such that he must be allowed to explain to the Executive what he stood for. If, after hearing his creed, and finding that he would vote as they desired on all

the main issues before the country, but was still an independent thinker and not a mere party follower, they subsequently gave him a unanimous invitation, he would accept it. His desire was granted and he told them how he stood with regard to Tariff Reform and Federalism. They adopted him unanimously. But subsequently statements which he made in the division on Federalism were thought heretical, and in order not to prejudice the chances of the party winning the seat, he insisted that the matter should be considered at once, so that they should not run the risk of disagreement on the eve of an election, and asked for a meeting of the whole party. His speech on that occasion was a masterly one. "Pacificus" said of it:—

Your speech is the best statement within short compass which I have ever seen and I agree with it of course on all the main points. . . .

My chief reason for suggesting the printing of your speech is that it is such a convenient form in which to reply to the question, "What do you mean by Federal Home Rule?" Now if I had a few dozen copies of your speech beside me and anyone said to me, "What do you mean by Federal Home Rule? I don't understand," I should say, "Well, a distinguished Liberal has made a memorandum on the subject with which I am bound to say I agree on all essentials. Here it is." . . .

The general trend of the speech and some of the more striking passages are given as an example of real sincerity of conviction allowed to dominate a man's action in public life. Some called him an eccentric. Many begged him to say nothing about Federalism or its application to Ireland. "Just pass it by," said they, "and the election is safe." They little knew their man; they failed completely to fathom the depth of his principles. He would no more accept the votes of his Sussex friends by any *suppressio veri* than he would try to seduce them by false statements. This may be eccentricity, but there have been greater men than T.A.B. willing to be reckoned insane in that they clung to the truth and would not deny it in any wise. So with many headshakings and much searching of heart a meeting of the

whole party was summoned. And T.A.B. spoke his mind after this sort—

He had been adopted unanimously by them as a Tariff Reformer, pledged to support the party led by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, but ever since he had been so adopted there had been an undercurrent of criticism, and he felt that unless they were absolutely united they could not expect to carry the constituency at the election. It was therefore far wiser to discuss the matter forthwith than to leave it to the eve of the election and run the risk of losing the seat.

The Irish question seemed to be at the root of their troubles. Mr. George Wyndham's attack on the proposals made by Lord Dunraven, followed as it had been by the attack made by Mr. Balfour on the policy of devolution, had made it essential that he should explain to the constituency the relationship of the Irish question to the whole policy of Imperial Federation. It was quite clear that the present system of constitutional government in England was no longer possible. Statesman after statesman had confessed that government by the House of Commons was the merest farce. Mr. Balfour, probably the ablest statesman in the country, had been violently attacked for his drastic use of the closure, but Mr. Balfour had been compelled to that line of action by the impossibility of transacting parliamentary business in any other way. He had explained to them before the threefold character of the business which the House of Commons had to transact and how, on the one hand, vast questions of Imperial importance were sacrificed to the needs of domestic legislation, and on the other, how elections fought on questions which affected the British Islands only, such as land valuation or education, placed in power a party quite incapable of understanding or appreciating the great Imperial interests in which both the British Islands and their Dependencies were involved. Could any of them agree that a party led by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, elected for the purpose of bringing into operation some principle of Liberalism which affected England only, could be trusted to renew our treaty with Japan or to safeguard our other interests across the seas? Or why should the Disestablishment of the Church of England

be brought about by the votes of Welsh Dissenters or Scotch Presbyterians? It was clear that the whole of our constitutional fabric must be reformed; and if they were not satisfied that his attitude upon this question together with his pledge to support the Conservative Party on all questions of principle were sufficient grounds to support him unanimously, then he wished to retire in favour of some one who could command their fullest confidence.'

T.A.B. concluded his speech with the following words, which deserve to be recorded in full as one of the finest expressions on record of political honesty in an age when the principles of such honesty are in danger of being forgotten:—

I have placed my resignation as your candidate in the hands of the Chairman. If you want as your candidate, or as your Member, a man who will always say "Ditto" to the party leaders, who places party above all other considerations, it would be folly for you to ask me to withdraw my resignation. If you are not satisfied, after what I have said, of the danger to the Empire through the government falling into the hands of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, that I would give my general support to the Conservative and Unionist party; if you are not satisfied that I would never give a vote that would tend towards the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, or would lead in the direction of the independence which extreme Nationalists claim, and which I am as determined as you to oppose; if you do not think the position I take on Tariff Reform is in the interests of an agricultural constituency, let me stand aside. We cannot hope to win the seat unless we are united. The decision you have to take to-day is of great importance to the constituency; it is of some importance to the Conservative and Unionist party, and it is important to myself. Consider well what you are going to do. A resolution will be proposed in a moment. Let me beg you to express your opinion one way or the other. I shall not reconsider my decision unless 90 per cent. of those present ask me to do so. Many of the Executive Committee of the Association, many of you whom I am addressing, are personal friends whom I have known from boyhood. Do not let your votes be actuated by personal consideration for myself. I made up my mind before I entered political life to give my best energies in the

service of a great cause. I have sacrificed any political prospects I may have had to that end, and I am prepared to be told now that there is no place in British politics for one with my convictions. I shall stand aside, and that cheerfully, because, on the one hand, I am doubtful whether the throat with which I am troubled will stand the atmosphere of the House of Commons, and because much of the work I have in hand can be done as well, or better, outside Parliament than in it. And if your decision to-day closes my political career, at any rate for many years, we can at least part as friends. There will be no bitterness on my part, and any feeling some of you may have as regards myself will, I hope, be tempered by the recollection that you owe to my initiative an organisation which places you in a far better position than you were in two years ago to win the seat with a candidate who has less strong convictions on Imperial questions, and is, therefore, less open to criticism than myself.

At the conclusion of this statement, T.A.B. left the meeting.

The speech was received with round after round of applause, and it was immediately moved that T.A.B. be asked to withdraw his resignation. On the motion being put, one hundred and thirty-one were for it, and thirty-five against. The requisite 90% asked for by T.A.B. not being forthcoming, he stood to his resignation, and Mr. G. L. Courthope of Whiligh, a member of an ancient Sussex family, was soon after adopted in his place. T.A.B. gave Mr. Courthope all the support in his power, and he was duly elected to the House of Commons and has represented the constituency ever since. The relations between T.A.B. and his principal supporters were somewhat strained, as was only natural, but the old order of Sussex friendliness was soon restored.

In 1905 T.A.B. was closely associated with the Irish Reform Association, the general object of which was the development of the country. It had a strong political tendency, even after its policy had been, at Lord Dunraven's request, directed towards social and economic questions. T.A.B. delivered addresses in several towns, including Dublin and Derry, with the idea of inducing a settlement of the Home

Rule question along Federal lines, the Canadian model of Federation being advanced as more suitable to local conditions than the Australian. Col. Sir W. Hutcheson Poë wrote to T.A.B. at the end of the year to tell him of the debt of gratitude which the Reform Association owed to him, and of the attention which his addresses had received.

In 1906 T.A.B. and Lady Idina visited Egypt and also spent five days under canvas in the desert. They travelled *via* Paris, Chambéry, Modane, Rome, Naples, Messina, Port Said, Cairo, Luxor, Wadi Halfa, Berber, Khartum, Fayum, Omdurman and Bisharin. They saw a good deal of the Sirdar and Sir Rudolph Slatin the latter of whom explained the battlefields to them. For the desert they went by train to Bidrashin. Camels met them there and they passed through Memphis to the Libyan Desert, returning after some days to Cairo and Naples, where they joined the *Sunbeam*.<sup>1</sup>

The Council and citizens of Bexhill invited T.A.B. to succeed his father in office as Mayor of Bexhill for 1908-9. He was reluctant to do so, because he felt that he could not give sufficient time to do justice to the work. He was, however, prevailed upon to accept the position on the understanding that he was to be considered more or less a nominal Mayor and that the Deputy-Mayor would carry out the greater part of the work. He was duly installed on November 9th, 1908, and after signing the usual declaration of office, he appointed Mr. J. A. Paton to be his Deputy. Mr. Paton writes :—

I soon found out it was not in his nature to do things in a nominal sense, and indeed that he at once took a keen interest in the business of the Council and in the welfare of the town. Altogether he was a delightful man to work with. He presided over the majority of the Council meetings during his year and often came to the Finance Committee meetings, of which he was chairman, and gave us the benefit of his ripe experience. He liked to have details of all the more important matters discussed in committee so that he might be well versed when these came before Council and if it were impossible for him to attend (Council) he would communicate his opinions to me.

He was an excellent chairman, firm, just, and clear, and though he seldom voted he would sum up at the finish of the debate, and after fairly pointing out the pros and cons, express his opinion with no uncertain voice.

During the mayoralty the Coastguard land at Bexhill was purchased for £2350—which was the first step in a great improvement to the sea front—known as the Central Parade. It linked up the East and West Parades and in the following year the Colonnade was erected there. Previously this part of the front was an eyesore to the town. An Entertainments Association was formed consisting of certain members of the Council with 8 representative citizens co-opted to assist them. The question of a Municipal Golf Links was very fully threshed out, but it was ultimately decided better to leave sport to private enterprise.

Mr. Brassey and the Mayoress (Lady Idina Brassey) attended many functions in the town. They entertained the Council to dinner at Park Gate and during the summer invited a large number of the burgesses to a garden-party in their beautiful grounds.

T.A.B.'s connexion with Hastings was close and intimate though naturally less close than that of his father, who had represented the borough in Parliament for eighteen years. He had made many gifts to it, amongst them a donation towards the erection of a hospital, and a full-length life-size oil painting of his father. His last gift to the town was the famous "Lady Brassey" museum, which had been housed at 24, Park Lane. The principal feature of the museum is the Indian Room with the Durbar Hall, which was one of the exhibits of the Indian Government at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in 1886. It includes curios collected by the first Lady Brassey in all parts of the world during the voyages of the *Sunbeam*. One of the last acts of his life was the acceptance of the Presidency of the Eversfield Chest Hospital in that borough. He had always been interested in hospital work and had taken a leading share in the reform of the administration of the Hastings, St. Leonards and East Sussex hospital of which he was for a time Chairman. He had also been President of the Sussex County hospital in Brighton. Both institutions

have reason to be grateful to him for the energy which he showed in consulting their best interests.

T.A.B. was a good horseman, though not so fine a rider as his sister, Lady de la Warr, and had ridden to hounds ever since his boyhood. From 1899 to 1902 he was joint Master of the East Sussex pack with his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Egerton: from 1902 to 1906 he was sole Master. During the joint-mastership the country was hunted three times a week, and subsequently five times a fortnight, which enabled the principal coverts to be drawn frequently. The records of these seasons show that very many long runs took place, one or two of which are described at length by T.A.B. in letters to his friends. T.A.B. also rode from time to time in the Hunt steeplechases. He was known as a singularly bold and reckless rider, and often took bad tosses. It was one such fall which injured the sight of his right eye, and another which gave him a bad concussion. Only one comment on his Mastership need be quoted: "I am very glad that you have consented to continue the Mastership, and so is every member of the Hunt."



T.A.B. AND HIS FATHER AT RHODES FARM, BULAWAYO, 1910.



## CHAPTER X

THE early part of the year 1914 found T.A.B. engaged in the task of assisting to find some solution of the appalling danger which threatened in Ireland, where civil war appeared imminent. The Ulster Volunteers and the Nationalist Volunteers were being armed, with entire disregard of the inevitable consequences, and every sensible and far-sighted citizen was aghast at the condition into which Irish affairs were rapidly drifting. Engaged with all his characteristic impetuosity in gathering meetings of those politicians who were not so unmindful of responsibility as to be heedless of results, he still found relaxation and pleasure in the work of the Yeomanry. He was now fifty years of age, and had come to the time when he must retire from the command of his regiment of West Kent Yeomanry. This he did with the very greatest regret: he had raised the regiment to a high standard of efficiency, as the report of Colonel H. Clifton-Brown, Commanding the South-Eastern Mounted Brigade, dated the 20th of January shows.

The command of the West Kent Yeomanry will become vacant on March 5th, 1914. Lord Hythe has been a very good and keen commanding officer. His Regiment is up to strength and is as efficient as a Yeomanry Regiment can be. In order to encourage good horsemanship amongst his officers he has always himself ridden in the team of four officers who represent the West Kent Yeomanry in the annual inter-Brigade Point to Point. He is anxious to obtain an extension of his command for one month, till the end of April, to enable him to ride this year. I recommend that this extension may be granted.

One of his last undertakings as C.O. was to arrange another staff ride for his officers from Battle northwards to Maidstone, on March 22nd. The following officers attended: Lord Camden, C. H. B. Marsham, B. Steward, R. C. Simpson, A. R. H. Rycroft, C. E. Ponsonby,

H. A. Christie, R. V. Buxton, G. H. Benson, C. W. S. Whitburn, Colonel Clifton-Brown, and Captain Nixon.

His farewell order to his regiment was issued on April 30th, from Maidstone, in the following terms :—

OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND MEN,

To my deep regret the time has come when, after twenty years' service, I must bid farewell to you and the Regiment. In doing so I desire to thank all ranks for the loyalty and hearty good will with which you have supported my endeavours to improve its efficiency. You have made the days I have passed in command of this Regiment some of the happiest in my life. I beg you to give the same support to my successor as you have done to me. Major Whitburn, as Second in Command, has been of invaluable help to me as Commanding Officer, and I am confident that with your support the Regiment will improve in efficiency under his Command. I hope that the proposals I have put forward for building up a reserve for the Regiment may receive the sanction of the authorities and that many of us may in this way still keep touch with one another and with the Regiment which we love so well. Good-bye.

The zest and vigour which he infused into his later Yeomanry work are well exemplified in a letter which he addressed to Colonel Clifton-Brown at the end of the last training with his regiment in the autumn of 1913. The incident of the manœuvres related in it, which was, so far as could be foreseen, the last event of his military career, was often discussed afterwards. Not many men have the opportunity of claiming that their last military command was "Charge."

*To Colonel H. Clifton-Brown.*

9th June, 1913.

I should like to thank you for all the trouble you have taken to make this—my last—training, instructive. I am afraid you were very much disappointed with the result, and that you have formed a very low opinion of us and especially of my regiment for failing to concentrate as you designed on two occasions. On the first day I do not think we were to blame. I was told to concentrate behind the Sussex,

S. of Up Waltham Hill. The S. of Up Waltham Hill is covered for two or three miles by forest which none of us had ever been in before. If I had been given a definite point I should have been there at the time ordered.

I am perhaps to blame for my dispositions on the day after the bivouac. I gathered from the Brigade-Major that I was to let my enemy over the river and I inferred that we were to put up a fight somewhere on the open Downs for the benefit of the G.O.C. I hid myself in a central position with the intention of attacking the enemy as he debouched from the Burpham woods (if he crossed by Arundel Bridge) and my troop at the Bridge was ordered to draw him in my direction, and of attacking him more or less when I did if he crossed by Amberley Bridge. He certainly could not have got across the latter without artillery, and it is doubtful whether he could have crossed the river at all, if I had wanted to stop him.

Your criticisms on the last day's dispositions everyone appreciated the justice of. I expected to find the whole of the Sussex in reserve near Farm Hill or I should have only put out two squadrons for the six or seven miles of outpost line I was ordered to do.

The final incident of my military career requires a word of explanation. I was told there were one or two troops of the enemy in front of us. I ordered Major Pott to dismount one troop and to get the rest of his squadron into line on the right of the road to gallop them off the ground covered by the fire of his dismounted troop. No one was more surprised than I was to see, as we came to the brow, the squadron of the Sussex not 200 yards off coming straight at us. I gave the word to charge, as the only possible thing to do, or, at any rate, as the least of evils. If we had attempted to wheel, the result would have been ever more disastrous, or, at least, so it seems to the amateur soldier. What a professional M.I. man would have done under the circumstances I do not know. I should rather like to have your opinion on this, my last word of command in the Field.

It has been a very sad two days for me since saying a final good-bye to the regiment in which I have so many friends. I think I leave it better staffed in every way than when I took the command. I have as good a lot of officers as you can wish for in a Yeomanry regiment. Nixon is an excellent adjutant, a hard worker, full of tact, and deservedly popular with all ranks. Our new R.S.M. is an acquisition.

I am especially pleased with my M.G. section. It was a wash-out last year and I promised General Briggs that I would get it right this year. I put my best subaltern in command and though far from perfect yet, the M.G. section has done splendid work on most days we have been fighting. I have never seen our machine guns of much use before.

I wish you could have seen my section competition. I give cups and money prizes for each squadron and for the whole regiment. I have always insisted on my officers and men that if sections are efficient the squadrons will be efficient, and it appears to me that it is most important that we should be able to get on and off our horses quickly and move our led horses well. I began to teach my people to work in half section last year, especially on roads. Our new R.S.M. tells me they were doing this a lot in India.

T.A.B. was so devoted to his military work that he began to urge the formation of a Yeomanry Regimental Reserve, to be attached to each Yeomanry regiment. These Reserves would be of great value, in his opinion, in the event of the outbreak of war, as a Home Defence Force composed of men of experience, and would have the advantage of preserving the spirit of comradeship and *esprit de corps* which their service in the Yeomanry would have created. The proposition was very warmly taken up by the officers of the regiment and commended by others, but was turned down by the Army Council, who were of opinion that it might be of value in the case of the West Kent, but that it might create serious difficulties in other parts of the country where the same favourable conditions were not to be found. Colonel Seely proceeded to inquire of T.A.B. why it was that men would not join the Territorial Force Reserve, and it was pointed out that in spite of the regulation (Paragraph 16 of the Regulations for the Territorial Force Reserve) which provides that "officers, non-commissioned officers and men, who have previously served in the Territorial Force, will, as a rule, be attached to the unit in which they have already served," this was too general to arouse the enthusiasm which the new proposal promised. The scheme, nevertheless, came to nothing. It was quite probably too much dependent upon the personal influence and inspiration of the one man,

and might have proved of little value when the personality which inspired it was removed.

The words of General Grierson, written from Headquarters, Eastern Command, in June, 1913, may be given here as summing up what T.A.B. had done for the regiment.

I am very sorry that I shall not see you again at the head of the West Kent, for I know how the regiment has improved under your command, and how good it is now. I hope that your successor will keep it up, and especially retain the same class and stamp of officers as you have now.

A few months after the last staff ride, the war broke out. T.A.B. volunteered his services on August 1st. He was in his 51st year, but his offer was made before most people had begun to think about the necessity for service. He wrote to the War Office to the effect that he was prepared to take charge of the raising and training of a Reserve for the West Kent Yeomanry and that he was prepared to serve in the field for Home Defence, if required. The O.C., South Eastern Mounted Brigade, reported that T.A.B. was a thoroughly good man of business and a good organiser, and that he was held in great respect in Kent and Sussex. A few days later he volunteered for Foreign Service. After some inevitable delays and the postponement of recruiting until there had been a sufficient response to Kitchener's appeal for 100,000 men, in the effort to raise which he worked vigorously, T.A.B. was appointed to the command of the 2/1 West Kent Yeomanry, and devoted himself almost entirely to the task until the regiment was disbanded at the end of 1916. During this time, in the face of the great difficulties which confronted every such task in those critical days, difficulties of clothing, equipment, horses, instructors, officers and mismanagement, he turned out numbers of well-trained officers and men.

They were in camp first of all at Maidstone, and subsequently at Hounslow, whence they were moved to Sturry near Canterbury, where they remained until disbanded. Everywhere this regiment won golden opinions for its steadiness and good behaviour.

T.A.B. was not a particularly easy person to try tricks

upon, and he had the greatest contempt for inefficiency both during his work in command of the regiment and subsequently in Italy. For this reason, and for his frank and outspoken expressions of opinion, he was not particularly liked by men who were "trying it on." The next letter speaks for itself :—

SIR,

With reference to enclosed I yesterday understood that I was asked to supply 7 men from the Reserve Regiment to take the place of 7 men who had obtained Commissions. It appears from the enclosed that such is not the case and that 6 men are to replace 6 men that the Active Service Regiment do not like.

I have quite enough to do in the training of Officers, N.C.O.s and 300 recruits, practically without a staff, and it is not reasonable that I should be burdened, in addition, with the wasters of the Service Regiment. I fully recognise that it is the business of the Reserve Regiment to supply vacancies, from Commissions, from casualties in the field or from sickness ; but I desire to protest most emphatically against what I am being now asked to do, not for the first time.

I have sent to-day a squadron, fully equipped, including a proportion of foreign service men to fill casualties in the Service regiment and I beg to request that any transfers required take place between the Service regiment and the squadron sent to Sturry.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Hythe, LT. COL.

Commanding Reserve Regiment,

West Kent (Q.O.) Yeomanry.

He was very popular with the officers who served under him and with the men. The interests of all of them he was very ready to serve, and in countless ways, which are hidden in the hearts of those whom he helped as a treasured memory of a good and kindly C.O., he advanced their opportunities for work and development. Extracts from letters to him show by the grateful terms, in which the acknowledgments are expressed, how much his correspondents thought that they were indebted to him.



[H. H. Camburn, Tunbridge Wells.

T.A.B. WITH HIS REGIMENT, 1916.  
Group of Officers, 2nd West Kent Yeomanry.



*From a Staff Officer, Eastern Command.*

I have often thought of the splendid regiment you made the 2/1 West Kent Yeomanry into.

*From a Subaltern.*

If the idea of leaving the regiment was hard, it is infinitely harder now that I have actually gone, and realise more than ever how much I am indebted to you for the unceasing kindness and generosity you have always shewn me and I shall never forget the many happy months spent with the regiment.

*From a N.C.O.*

I could not have spoken to you in leaving your Regiment, and I do want you to know what I feel. I am convinced that there is not a man in the Regiment who does not admire and respect you, and those who have, although distantly, been in closer contact with and understanding of you, have a genuine affection too. I want to thank you for the kind interest you have taken in me, and to assure you that my future conduct in the war will be guided by the knowledge that you have recommended and expect well of me.

He followed the fortunes of the regiment with the keenest interest, and the announcement made to him early in the war that the distinction of being the first to provide an officer of the auxiliary forces to die for the country he prized as the greatest honour to the regiment.

Early in the year 1917, after the disbanding had been completed, T.A.B. was asked whether he would consider the possibility of becoming an Assistant Director of Labour, to take charge of the labour organisation at Headquarters of one of the Armies in France. He found himself unable to do this because of claims made upon him at the moment by Sardinian business.

In April, 1917, T.A.B.'s experience in Italian affairs and his position with the Italian Government were utilised by Lord Milner for the organisation of a new railway route to the East. At the beginning of the year, the activities of German submarines in the Mediterranean had become

such a menace to shipping that it was a matter of the most urgent importance to find a shorter route to Salonika, Egypt and India. Plans were accordingly formulated and arrangements made with the French and Italian authorities for the organisation of a Cherbourg-Milan-Taranto over-land passage, and T.A.B. was sent to Rome to treat with the Italian authorities. He went, in the first instance, as Lord Hythe, but after some two months, he was gazetted under "Commands and Staff" as selected for a special appointment with the style of Lieut.-Colonel Viscount Hythe, Yeo. T.F., graded for purposes of pay as a Staff Captain. This particular arrangement was taken by him and by others to mean that he carried the rank of Staff Captain, a position which, he complained, placed him at a great disadvantage in his negotiations with Major-General Fiastir and other Italian officials. His position was afterwards defined, in a letter from General Ford, as Liaison officer between the British Expeditionary Force, *i.e.* the Q.M.G. and D.G.T., and the Italian authorities, and as such he was to be asked to help in any difficulties, or give any assistance which these two branches might require.

No doubt (wrote General Ford), your services will be of extreme value. On the other hand it should be clearly understood that the G.O.C. Med. L. of C. and the D.G.T. are both supreme on the line, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and that, therefore, should you at any time wish or find it necessary to visit any part of the line, you would notify the G.O.C. Med. L. of C., and keep in touch with Commandants of Bases, through whom all communications with the local Italian Authorities would be conducted. It would be very undesirable that at a place like Taranto you should communicate direct with officials, except through the Base Commandant, and I am sure you will see this point of view.

The fact of your being Liaison officer at Rome, where you are so well known to the Italian officials, will be of enormous help to us, and I am sure we can rely upon your doing everything you can to help the G.O.C. Med. L. of C. to carry out his work, which, but for your knowledge and appointment, might be extremely difficult.

He had also to make important arrangements with the Italian Admiralty to establish a big rest camp for British troops awaiting embarkation at Taranto, and minor arrangements with the Italian War Office for the erection of smaller rest camps and victualling stations along the route between the French border and Taranto. He displayed such energy during a particularly hot summer in Rome that by the middle of September he was able to turn over the work to a junior officer and return to England. He commanded great respect and affection at the War Office in Rome and was always warmly welcomed there on his subsequent visits to the capital.

An appointment to be Liaison officer between two independent British military authorities and the Italian authorities was not exactly calculated to produce clear-cut definitions of relationships. In his communications with the Q.M.G., T.A.B. took the unwise step of sending him a communication marked "Private," which went the round of the War Office, and finally reached G.H.Q. In this account T.A.B. said, "If I had been entrusted with the job you would have had the service going for men two or three months ago," at which the D.G.T. took umbrage and expressed his feelings. This was a little regardless of T.A.B.'s services, but it sheds a side-light on the way we made war.

Extracts from the letters, which he wrote home almost every day during this work, give a general account of his movements.

*April 7th, 1917.*—Lunched with Granet and had a long, interesting talk with him.

*April 8th.*—Colonel Macdonald met us with a car on the quay. I was one of the first off the boat and we were away within five minutes of landing. He had got me my pass before we arrived so I had no bother over that. Barry was meeting someone else and I had a few words with him. He is off in the Verdun direction almost at once. Christopher Heseltine, who was carrying despatches to G.H.Q. and whom I saw on the boat, passed us on the quay. I had a talk with Sir Eric Geddes, the Director-General of Transport, after lunch and went for a ride with him after tea. We are in a chateau, well situated in its own grounds, with all the

railway offices and huts 200 yards away. To-morrow night I go to dine with the C.-in-C. and stay in the guest château, some few miles from where he is.

*April 20th.*—We were hung up at Modane until 4 o'clock. It was snowing when we got there and had snowed all night. The trees were quite lovely with their snow covering. It cleared up in the afternoon and was lovely on the Italian side. No restaurant car after Modane and we reached Genoa at 11.30 where I saw Campbell and Peloggio for a few minutes. I lunched at the Embassy and have seen the Ministry of Marine, the Chief of the Staff of the Navy and the Assistant Director of Military Railways. The former was most affable and had a copy of the "Naval Annual" in his room and was very sorry that it was not to appear this year. I expect we shall go to Taranto on Monday.

*April 22nd.*—It is a lovely day but rather too cool. Went to early service at the American Episcopal Church, which is near the Continental Hotel. A fine church, but only one person at the service besides myself. Peloggio arrived last night. He seems pretty well, but not in the best of form. I shall get over to England for a few days after making my report to Geddes. I am going to lunch at the Embassy and taking the Lambs an excursion to Tivoli this afternoon.

*April 23rd.*—Took Mrs. Lamb and the Morison's boy in a car out to Tivoli and Hadrian's Villa. I was anxious to see Tivoli. The copy of the Turner picture by the conservatory is not very exact. The town is on top of a rock about 400 ft. above a gorge coming out of the Sabine Hills. A fine waterfall, or rather waterfalls. There are willows by the water in their freshest green and a Judas tree in blossom. It is quite the most picturesque view I have seen in Italy, or indeed anywhere. We must certainly go there next time we are in Rome. I am very satisfied with the way I have got on, having practically concluded the important part of my business.

*April 25th.*—Went to Taranto Monday, and back last night, arriving 9.50. I had no breakfast but black coffee and a biscuit at the station. Admiral Mark Kerr sent his motor to meet us. We went first to see the Italian Admiral and his staff and discussed plans. Thence to lunch with our Admiral on the *Queen* which is moored alongside the dockyard. We then went in a launch up the harbour to see the French camp and embarking place. The French

Colonel who went with us was quite charming. A train arrived whilst we were there with French soldiers. A fine looking lot of men, not young. We then went to the opposite side of the harbour where we are to be. A charming place for a camp, with a good view and fine old olive trees. Had tea with my old friend Palladini whom we used to see at Spezia. He is now a commodore and his ship, the *Velta Pisani*.

*May 6th.*—Rome. Have been for a walk with Sir Rennell Rodd this afternoon, after tea at the Embassy. The garden is quite lovely. The irises are at their best and the roses also are full out.

*May 10th.*—I arrived at Taranto yesterday at 10. Lunched on board the *Queen* with the Flag Commander, Pison, whose home is near Cobham.

*May 11th.*—Had a wire saying Pelham would arrive Genoa to-night. Peloggio arrived here last night so we have wired to Pelham to come on here. Dined in a most curious place last night in an old basilica, almost underground.

*May 13th.*—Pelham and I went to church at Via Babuino this morning. Excellent sermon.

*May 14th.*—The Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir James Meston and Sir S. Sinha arrived this morning en route for India. The two latter are dining with me to-night at the Cesare. The Maharajah has asked me to dine with him to-morrow.

*May 15th.*—Had a wonderful talk last night with Meston and Sinha about India, her relation to the empire, the internal problems of India, its desire for Home Rule and Imperial Preference. Sinha had a great breadth of view, very remarkable.

*May 17th.*—Old M. was here yesterday and worried me to death all the afternoon helping to get his contracts translated into Italian for Fiamberti to draft according to Italian custom. 25 M.P.'s turned up yesterday for an International Parliamentary Conference. I am to meet them at a *soirée* to-night.

*May 20th.*—Went to early church at the American Church. Fortunate that I did, as I had to go to the War Office this morning and spent most of the afternoon deciphering telegrams. The Italian D.G.T. was down from the front. We discussed the terms of the Convention from 3.45 to 8 yesterday and failed to come to terms on it this morning, so I have had to wire for instructions. H. E.

agreed with me. The Rodds and the Monsons are dining with me to-night at the Cesare.

*May 23rd.*—Taranto. Very busy day. Interviewed the Admiral Cerci for nearly an hour. Saw the Base Commandant, Chief R.E. Officer and many others. They all seemed to want me to help them in various ways and to settle questions which are really not my business. Poured with rain all the afternoon, and we had a very muddy visit to the camp where the advance party had already arrived. I lunched with my friend Palladini on board the *Vettor Pisani*. He has just become an admiral and may lose his present post, which is a very important one, looking after submarine defences, convoys, etc. Had quite a levee while I was having some dinner at 6. R.E. Officer in charge of camp, R.E. ditto in charge of construction, Base Commandant, Sir Courtauld Thomson of the Red Cross and the Flag Commander all came to talk to me.

*May 24th.*—The discussion on terms is still proceeding. I think we shall ultimately reach something which is fair.

If I can get my business on way to settlement I shall get off to Sardinia for a few days. I had a letter from G.H.Q. which said that my name had been put forward for Liaison Officer after my job for D.G.T. is over.

*May 26th.*—Yours of the 21st reached me last night with enclosure from Foulk. The dear little man's writing is improving. I did not get off a letter to you yesterday, I am sorry to say, as General Strick, the G.O.C. of the route, arrived from Lyon at 9.50. I had to meet him at the Station and spent the whole day with him discussing the terms of the agreement, etc. Took him to lunch at the Cesare restaurant and dined with him at the Station before he left for Taranto. I also had to go to Ministry of War and Ministry of Marine. The Minister of Marine—a Vice-Admiral—is most friendly when I see him and very nice to deal with.

*May 26th.*—Went to church this morn at Via Babuino, the church we generally go to. Quite a nice service. Have just been to see some officers and soldiers who were shipwrecked in the South off from the Station. They were awfully crowded, poor men, as there were heaps of Italian soldiers in the same train.

Admiral Troubridge and his Staff Officer dined with me last night. He is on his way from Salonica to England. He has been with the Serbians for over two years before the Austrians crossed the Danube and was all through the

retreat. He was most interesting. He is a connection of both the De la Warr and the Barclay families—used to know Munie well and stay at Old Lodge.

My negotiations are coming to a crisis in the next 2 or 3 days.

*June 9th, 4 a.m.*—Went to tea at Embassy and had a nice chat with the Ambassador. Lady Rodd very busy over her *fête* next Sunday. It is pretty hot in the day here now. There is a Mining Congress here on Monday, for which Parson, etc. have come over. Peloggio is coming for it, and I shall probably speak.

*June 10th.*—It is hot again to-day, but it is nice and fresh up to 8.30. I get out for a short walk in the morning when I can. The Mining Congress began this morning at 10. An excellent speech from Rayneri the Minister of Agriculture, whom I know. It was over by 10.45 so I got to the service at Via Babuino only a little late.

Galinga Stewart, that nice Italian M.P., who is half English, came to lunch and we had a good talk afterwards about Italian-British relations, the war, etc. The Russians have fairly sold us and unless they pull themselves together the war will last a long time. Our last offensive near Ypres appears to have gone very well.

The Beaumonts and Lambs dined with me at the open-air restaurant last night. It was lovely. My position here has not been regularised yet. I am freer as I am, but it is not satisfactory. In the work I have been doing I ought, at least, to be a full Colonel on the Staff.

Lady Rodd has got another *fête* on at the Embassy this afternoon.

*June 11th.*—I have been at the Mining Association this morning and had quite a triumph. My speech as to a duty on lead and zinc went off well, and the President made the nicest speech afterwards as to my services in Sardinia and as to Italy's relations with England, which was tremendously applauded.

*June 12th.*—I send herewith photo taken at the Castello restaurant last night after our banquet, at which I was given post of honour on the right of the Chairman Cessmonet, M.P., a very able man, to whom much of the success of the Congress is due—he knows the subject and was able to secure unanimous decisions and prevent people flying off at a tangent.

*June 13th.*—I have concluded my convention with the

Minister of Marine this morning. It has required a lot of patience and manœuvring to obtain a reasonably satisfactory result. I think that the authorities at G.H.Q. should be pleased. Lunched with young Biscay and his wife to-day—his father came in afterwards, quite an oldish man. He told me that his father went to my grandfather two months before the latter died and asked him to take the contract for the Sardinian railways.

*June 26th.*—Met General Fiastri at the State Railways at Nion and after one and a half hours' time the Convention had been signed. The General was evidently much gratified and most friendly, gripped my hand on parting for about five minutes and asked me to come and see him at the Front.

*June 30th.*—Have just met General Alfieri, an important man at the War Office, with regard to the Peschiera troubles. We leave to-day for Sardinia. Lunching at the Embassy first.

I dined last night with Mounsey and Wilson, two of the Embassy Staff, Lord and Lady Gerald Wellesley and her sister, married to a Russian officer on the Embassy Staff, whose name I did not catch. We dined on the roof of the Embassy and had good views of the Sabine and Albanian Hills.

*July 8th.*—I felt better towards evening and am all right to-day. Indeed, I am the better for my trip, and my cough is much less troublesome.

The American and the old English churches are closed. I knew about the latter, but tried the former and then went on to a church nearer here. It had begun at 10, so I only came in for the latter part of a good sermon.

Peloggio comes to-night to discuss the Grimaldi business. Campanella arrived this morning. I have a heavy day's correspondence on military matters and Pertusola, memorials to write for Ministers and agreements to draft about the Taranto works. The transport of the men has begun and is going on smoothly so far.

I am thinking of changing my quarters to a less noisy and cooler hotel, but this is very handy to the Ministries and Embassies. It was quite cool in the train yesterday, and Campbell and I had the compartment to ourselves.

*July 11th.*—A General Grey, who has been running transport in Mesopotamia, turned up this morning. He is Deputy D.G.T. for the route, and big changes are in prospect.

I am glad to say that he agrees with the views I have taken all along.

Am just off to see the Minister of Munitions about Pertusola business. The difficulties and anxieties are increasing daily and the financial situation grows more serious. Interesting extracts from German newspapers are published this morning which show that the tone in Germany is changing and that the situation in Austria is getting serious. They may make another effort to get satisfactory peace terms for themselves ere long. Anyway it looks as if peace were a lot nearer.

*July 13th.*—Things, I am glad to say, are shaping well in the new organisation as far as I am concerned, and generally. I shall have a couple of officers under me, one as my understudy and one for work at the Station, plus two sergeants, shorthand writer and orderly for the office, and one sergeant and two orderlies for the Station.

I have had a very interesting lunch with Fiamberti and one of the heads of the Lega Italo-Britannica. He has been much in England and abroad, studying, mainly, agricultural co-operation. He was with Sir H. Plunkett in Dublin when war began. Parliament closes to-day so all these people are leaving Genoa, which is rather unfortunate. I had a nice dinner with the Wrights and Peloggio at the Boston. The view out of the room I propose to take, is one of the most lovely I have ever seen of its kind. I spent most of this morning with my new General and paid a visit to the American Red Cross Commission, from whom we have hopes of getting a good sum for the Consumption Hospital at Cagliari. We asked for 100,000 lire and may get more.

*July 21st.*—I am certainly getting thinner. I had a very jolly motor excursion yesterday afternoon with Larken and the Allatrins, mother and daughter. I sat with the mother behind. She is a nice old lady who knows so many of our Admirals well. They entertained the Fleet a lot at Salonica. I was thinking of father when suddenly she turned and asked me whether I was the son of Lord Brassey, and then said that Sir Michael had given her "A Voyage in the *Sunbeam*."

*July 22nd.*—Who should turn up this morning but Cloudesley Marsham and Harold Lubbock on their way back from Gaza, where they had been in the fighting. They lunched here and it was very nice to have a good yarn about

the old regiment. I am taking Cloudesley out to Tivoli after tea.

*July 23rd.*—Very few official telegrams to deal with to-day. One from General Grey to say that his proposals have been approved and that the work of re-organisation is going forward. He is on his way back here. They are awfully short of food in Sardinia, especially at Carloforte, where the sailors even do not have enough bread.

*July 24th.*—Poor Col. Morgan has just turned up on his way home, very seedy. He has been in bed six days at Taranto with dysentery, a very common complaint there.

I heard yesterday that 50 of our Carloforte sailors had been released so we shall be able to man many more boats, a great help to getting away the ore at Gennamari. The loss at Pertusola Smelting Works was enormous.

*July 25th.*—Made the acquaintance of the new Minister of Marine this morning who was very agreeable. Admiral Wemyss called on his way back from Egypt with his Flag Lieutenant, by name, Neville. He must be a son of Admiral Neville of Australia, I think.

*July 26th.*—The Rodds, the Hoares and Count de Salis, whom I used to scull against at Eton, are coming to-night. Find out whether Corrou is let. It would be nice to go there for a few days and it is easier to get there than anywhere else. I have had rather a worrying time the last two days. The man we have got at Taranto is impossible as regards relations with the Italians.

*July 27th.*—Have just heard that I am appointed A.D.G.T. for Italy and I trust that I shall have the control of all the work in Italy in my hands under the A.D.G.T. for the Service. General Grey has just written me to say his proposals are approved. General Strick arrives to-morrow.

Have just been for a walk with the Ambassador and Lamb, and afterwards had tea in the garden at the Embassy. Lady Rodd is just back from Posilippo where they have bought some ground on which to build a house. She is very full of the situation and the lovely view. I met Lygon this evening who is going to take charge of the Mission here. I shall probably get over to Sardinia on Friday or Saturday to cut down work at the mines. It is a beastly job but the financial situation is getting serious.

*July 28th.*—The new General, I hear, is at Taranto. I suppose we shall see him here on his way back.

*July 29th.*—General Strick turned up this morning

from Lyon to see me and I have been discussing matters with him a good part of the day. I had a few lines from Ashton to-night to say that he was off to the Front in a few days and that Reggie Field was wounded, but not badly.

You will have gathered that I am appointed A.D.G.T., which is a very inferior position, in a way, to that which I have occupied up to now, but the whole organisation is in the melting pot and I do not know quite what will happen.

*July 30th.*—General Strick, Larken, and the Allatrins dined with me last night at the Castello and we drove along the river afterwards. It was very delightful in the moonlight. We paid a brief visit to the Pieta, in front of St. Peter's. The colonnades looked grand.

My staff is growing. I started my R.T.O. at the Station to-day. Generals have been pursuing me the last few days with their journey difficulties.

*August 2nd.*—A lot of officers are now passing through Rome both ways, and we have had 150 nurses through in the last few days, and more arrive to-day.

Your description of Park Gate garden makes my mouth water. The Dorothy Perkins and Delphiniums together must have been lovely.

*August 5th.*—A lovely day. I went to church at 10. A very nice sermon. To the War Office afterwards, and lunched here alone. Colonel Maude, the Purchaser of Supplies for the B.E.F., whose headquarters are in Paris, came in this afternoon and we had an interesting chat about potatoes, etc.

Five sappers, three clerks and two cyclists turned up to-day as an addition to my staff. It is a trouble to get them quarters at a reasonable rate.

*August 6th.*—Whether I shall be able to get away at the end of September remains to be seen. Anyway I shall have a good try and hope to succeed. General Grey has not got back here yet and is not expected till Saturday. I shall not know what my position is until he gets back and whether it means any additional work.

*August 12th.*—I spent a busy morning calling at various offices. I met the new Italian D.G.T. as well as the old one, Gen. Fiastri, who is going to take command of a brigade. At the Ministry of Munitions they told me that they wanted to increase the production of lead in Italy very urgently. This means we shall have to exert ourselves at the mines and at Pertusola and I shall have to give a lot of time and

attention to the matter. I have wired Peloggio to come here.

*August 14th.*—George Peel, who went with us to S. Africa, dined with me last night. He is on his way back from Egypt and we had a very interesting talk about the war and things in general. Lord Gerald Wellesley of the Embassy also dined. You will remember that Peel went with us to South Africa with the Maguires in '99. This Service has passed over to the War Office now and I am offered a very different position to that which I have held. At present I am not inclined to take it. I have done most of the work in which my position in Italy enabled me to be of real assistance. After the work at Taranto is completed the work here will be really routine work, more of an ordinary railwayman's job. I am writing to Milner to ask his advice. If he says stay, I will. I am asking Grey to give me time to get an answer from home. If he will not, I shall refuse to accept the new post, so you may see me home sooner than you expected, but first I may have to put in some real hard work for Pertusola. The Italian Government wants to increase the production of lead, which means a very big effort on our part under present conditions.

T.A.B. was subsequently offered, on terms, the post of A.D.G.T., Rome. This he declined. He wrote to Sir Guy Granet subsequently in the following terms :—

August 15th.

MY DEAR GRANET,

I received last night enclosed.

After giving of my very best here ; after using my personal influence in Italy to the utmost in the service of my country (I was not given the rank for the position and for two and a half months I was not even gazetted) ; and after the treatment I have received, I am naturally disinclined to accept the position offered. At the same time, if I thought it was in my country's interests to do so, I would put my pride in my pocket and accept. But honestly I doubt it. I have done most of the work here for which my special qualifications were of value. The work of A.D.G.T. here will become mere routine work, and a railway man's job, at which I shall be wasting my time.

Then after the recent conference at Paris on the lead position, which is bad, the Italians are very anxious to



QUEI CHE SONO IN UNIFORME SONO  
MUSICI, MOVIE, ADRI  
A FINE, ECCEITATA.  
PAPA PIETREBELLI, MICHAEL, GIANI  
CORPUS PERSO, SAULT  
AN. BOI.  
MDCCCCXCIX, MCXII  
CAITANUS, KOEN ANCTO  
APR. DANSE, DALLE PARE

T.A.B. AND HIS STAFF IN ROME, 1917.



increase the lead production in Italy, and unless I put my back into this they cannot do it. From the war point of view this work seems more important than the other—my business is in a critical position now, money locked up in stocks, rise in costs, etc., etc., and to increase production means more capital.

I have asked Grey for time to consult friends at home before deciding. If I refuse I shall not do so on petty grounds; I want you to know.

In this he took the line which might have been expected on the part of one whose only aim was the public service. The whole incident was closed by the following communication from the Army Council:—

1st October, 1917.

SIR,

I am commanded by the Army Council to convey to you their thanks for the services you have rendered in the negotiations with the Italian Authorities, in connection with the Mediterranean Line of Communication.

The Council are aware that the satisfactory results of these negotiations are largely due to your care and attention.

It has been arranged that your appointment shall be cancelled as you desire.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) B. B. CUBITT.

T.A.B. was, throughout the course of the war, in close and intimate correspondence with prominent statesmen, and the chief military and naval authorities. He wrote frequently on the burning questions of the moment, both to individuals and to the Press, and he has left a very large number of letters, many of them expressing his opinions with much pungency and vigour. The comment made upon them has been that while they display critical acumen, they stop short of any constructive advice, and merely indicate evils with little sense of the underlying causes and the impossibility of rectifying them. This criticism is not quite fair. T.A.B. had a very keen *flair* for abuses: his mission in life was certainly to clear them up, and once he was really

started on a good example of mal-administration, there ensued such a spring-cleaning as raised a great deal of dust, but left a sweet savour behind in the organisation concerned for a long time to come.

A number of letters of interest are here given, some of which will display both the strength and the weakness of his position. They are chosen from a great mass written during the years 1914-1918.

*To the Head Gardener, Normanhurst.*

Aug. 21st, 1914.

EDWARDS.

I am arranging for the luggage car to take into Battle, on every practice night, the men who have joined the Rifle Club at Battle. Every able-bodied man should join the Rifle Club either at Battle or Ninfield. I shall not keep on in my employment any man of the age to go on active service.

The houses will be reduced to what you and one other (probably Allen) can keep going.

(Sgd.) HYTE.

*To Colonel Repington.*

Sept. 24, 1914.

The high authorities have tried to swop horses when crossing the stream, as you put it in the first days of the war, to belittle Yeomanry and Territorials and the splendid Territorial organisation which Lord Haldane had built up, and the result has been a fiasco most discreditable to the country. Lord K.'s army is already described as a phantom army by soldiers, and so it will remain for some time to come. If only Lord K. could be induced to treat the Territorial organisation seriously we should get on to sounder lines, and not have thousands of raw recruits being sent to Aldershot and elsewhere without officers, food, etc.

Ten days ago I was summoned by wire to a special meeting of the Kent Association. We had been asked to lodge, feed, officer, etc., some thousands of the new Army. In three days the thing was arranged by strenuous work. The Secretary of the Association told me to-day that we

were prepared to equip and clothe (the material, including boots, was bought) 5000 men and that he had received intimation that our assistance was not required at present.

A few days ago the 7th and 8th West Kent battalions were at Shoreham Camp with one 2nd Lieutenant and a few N.C.O's. to 2000 men. To go on like this is childish. The W.O. cannot run the show. Why on earth not work through the Territorial Associations in the early stages, and when the men are clothed and equipped and have had some preliminary training under retired officers, pass them on to the divisional camps under the military authorities? The reason, I fear, is prejudice against the Territorial organisation.

As far as my own work is concerned, after completing the West Kent Yeomanry to full strength for foreign service a fortnight ago, I raised the 300 odd men to complete the Reserve Regiment in 8 days and the officers in a few days longer. The Regiment is now under canvas in Mote Park, Maidstone. It is up to strength bar three or four officers and a few artificers, saddlers and shoeing-smiths. The material in the ranks is splendid.

*To Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland.*

Jan. 23rd, 1915.

My friend, Murray Macdonald, told me that the feeling of dissatisfaction with the performances of the Government is almost as strong on his side as on yours. We do not deserve to win this war as long as we permit our affairs to be run, as they are, by the lawyer politicians. We want a man at the top who will lead and govern, instead of drifting along without a policy and allowing himself to be governed by the worst of trades union influences.

I have thought for some time that it would have been better for the country if you and your leaders had not joined the Government, and I think that the time will come ere long, if it has not already arrived, when you will have to tell Asquith & Co. that you can no longer share the responsibility for conducting affairs on their methods.

The financial question alarms me most, and, as far as I can gather from people who ought to know, the Government will not face their liabilities and are living from hand to mouth. L.G. never pretended to discharge the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the commitments he

undertook to Allies in the early days of the war and his extravagance as Minister of Munitions are a serious handicap.

The Government must take stock of the situation and we must cut our coat according to our cloth. We are trying to do more on the military side than our resources will stand without seriously crippling the country, and more than could reasonably be expected of us. The crowning blunder of our foreign policy was Asquith's threat of Nov., 1914, to turn the Turks out of Europe. We have sacrificed tens of thousands of our best from Australia and New Zealand as well as from home, to kill Turks whom it is not our interest to kill. They were and are badly wanted for killing Germans. We have simply been playing Russia's game and we should have confined ourselves to seeking a free passage through the Dardanelles. It is certainly not the interest of the British Empire that the Turkish Empire should be crushed out of existence.

Then again you have got to face the Labour question at home and put those who are working for the Government under military discipline if strikes are threatened. Only yesterday I got a copy of a decree issued by the Italian Government putting all the dock labourers at Carloforte, in Sardinia, under military discipline in the event of a strike. (Our local M.P. was trying to prevent one.) It is not just that men who join the Army should be liable to be shot for dereliction of duty, while men who are working for the Government at munitions etc. for enormous wages, and when refusal to do their duty may equally cause disaster, should be allowed to do as they please.

In spite of all our blunders we shall pull through, thanks mainly to sea power, but we must have a Government with a man at the head.

*To Geoffrey Dawson, Esq.*

January 24th, 1916.

Though mainly occupied with looking after my Regiment I cannot help thinking of bigger things and I am very anxious about the future, chiefly on account of the performances of the Government and its nominal head. I am beginning to doubt whether we shall pull through, unless we replace—and that very soon—our lawyer politicians by men who have no axe to grind and who will lead and govern instead of

allowing themselves to be dominated by trades union influences. I think, now, that it is a pity the Unionists joined the Government, and the time will come ere long, if it has not already come, when they will have to consider seriously whether they will continue to share the responsibility of conducting our affairs as they are now being conducted.

The financial situation is serious as far as I can make out. The Government are making no attempt to face it and they do not even know what their liabilities are. In my judgment we are making a bigger effort on land than our resources will stand and trying to do more than could reasonably be expected of us. I suppose it costs us about three times as much as it costs the Germans to maintain the same number of men in the field.

Our Navy has done splendidly and the soldiers far from badly. It is our politicians who have failed us completely, and this seems to be generally admitted on both sides in Parliament as well as outside. Where is the man who will pull us out of the mess? Would Lord Derby be a possible Head of the Government?

*To Lord Curzon.*

Dec. 6th, 1916.

Whatever may be the composition of the new Government I hope that the essential factors of the situation will be appreciated by its members. (1) Unless the Navy succeed in dealing with the new German submarines and in diminishing the daily toll of shipping that they are destroying, we shall be on our knees in a few months. Mobilising more man-power and our national resources is useless unless we can deal with the submarine menace, which has always been, from the first, the most dangerous feature of the war, as far as we are concerned. I hear that the Navy is hopeful. (2) Unless there is a radical change in our foreign policy and we succeed in inducing Russia to give up her demand for Constantinople and content herself with a free passage through the Dardanelles, and so detaching Turkey from the Central Powers, we shall be beaten on land. We may hold on on the Western Front, but in the East we shall be beaten in detail, with what consequences to Egypt and India it is terrible to contemplate. The crowning blunder of the war is the quarrel with Turkey. We went to war for a noble object, in fulfilment of our treaty obligations to defend

Belgium. When 2 or 3 months later we announced our intention of turning the Turk out of Europe without rhyme or reason, except that Russia wanted this, our noble professions about defending the weaker nations fell to the ground. We put ourselves wrong with Turkey from the first by seizing her two battleships which were completing in England, and refusing to refund the hard cash she had paid for them—a contemptible proceeding. We could have made peace with Turkey long ago by guaranteeing her Constantinople in return for a free passage through the Dardanelles. It will be difficult to detach Turkey from the Central Powers now, but the attempt ought to be made, and the complete change of Government foreshadowed in the papers this morning should make for a radical change of policy.

We are bearing the main burden of the war financially—on the sea—and as the furnishers of munitions and other supplies to all the belligerents on our side. We are entitled to a much bigger voice than we have had at present in the direction of the policy of the Allies, and it is high time we asserted ourselves in a manner worthy of England and the effort her people are making. It is not our interest to crush Turkey out of existence. It is very much our interest to have a buffer state in Turkey, provided German influence is eliminated, which I don't believe would be difficult.

*To the Editor of the "Giornale d'Italia."*

August 15th, 1916.

I am really not competent to give an opinion of value on the recent Italian victories.

It is quite evident that the Italian offensive on the Isonzo has been very well prepared and that the Italian Commander-in-Chief succeeded in misleading the enemy as to the exact direction of his offensive. The success of that offensive is likely to have a very considerable influence on the course of the war.

I do not think that the great service rendered by Italy to the cause of the Allies by declaring her neutrality at the very outbreak of the war has ever been sufficiently recognised. It enabled the French to divert troops from the Italian frontier and undoubtedly contributed to the victory on the Marne.

The military effort put out by Italy since she entered the

war has surprised even her best friends and has been of very great assistance to the Allied cause.

*To Mr. Bonar Law.*

Dec. 8th, 1916.

For many years, as you probably know, my father and I have been in touch with naval matters. I was one of Lord Spencer's private secretaries when he was First Lord of the Admiralty and for over 20 years previous to the outbreak of the war edited the "Naval Annual," so you will, I hope, not consider it an impertinence if I urge that it will be the greatest possible mistake for Mr. Balfour to leave the Admiralty at this crisis. The attacks on his administration in the *Daily Mail* etc.—we all know by whom inspired—have been scandalous and unjustified. Mr. Balfour possesses the confidence of the Navy in a very high degree, and I am told by those in a position to know is considered one of the best First Lords they have ever had. His predecessor was one of the worst. A First Lord must be guided by the opinion of his Naval advisers. On the other hand, to put a Naval Officer into the position of First Lord, as some wish to do, would be a mistake and has always proved so when it has been tried.

The submarine menace is very serious, (it has always been the great danger in this war), and this makes people impatient with the Admiralty. Unless we can find a way of meeting it, whether by the arming of merchant ships, which must take time, or in other ways, we shall be brought to our knees before many months are out. That is one of the essential factors of the situation.

The other is that unless there is a radical change in our foreign policy we shall be beaten on land. We may be able to hold on on the Western Front, but in the Near East we shall be beaten in detail and deservedly. Our diplomatic blunders have been hopeless. We ought never to have quarrelled with Turkey, our traditional friend. To seize her two battleships and refuse to refund the money she had paid for them was contemptible and we put ourselves wrong with her from the start.

We could have settled matters with Turkey a year ago. It will be very difficult to do so now, but it must be done if we want to win. It is not our interest to see Turkey crushed out of existence. England is bearing the

main burden of the war and it is high time we asserted ourselves in the direction of the policy of the Allies.

*To the Editor of the "Times."*

Jan. 4th, 1918.

Did you notice a violent attack on the Diplomatic Service which appeared in one of your evening contemporaries (I think in the *Evening Standard*) the day before yesterday? It seemed to me it was worth your notice in the *Times*.

The attack is certainly absolutely unjustified as far as the British Embassy in Rome is concerned. I have had the greatest assistance from the Embassy and its staff in all the work I have had to do in Italy, not only during the past nine months, but from time to time in my business in the last 20 years, and I know, from visiting the various industrial centres during the last few weeks that the services rendered by the Embassy in these difficult times are most highly appreciated by British traders.

I have seen many attempts during the past nine months to dispense with the services of the Embassy, but they have not been very successful and people have found that they can work much better through the Embassy than on their own.

*To Mr. John Leyland.*

March 30th, 1918.

I am considerably disturbed by what I have heard during the last two or three months of the way things are going on at the Admiralty. A friend of mine told me that in the House of Commons they say that Admiralty officials are treated like plate-layers. I have heard from other quarters that Jellicoe was treated very badly.

I attended the Naval Architects' Annual Meeting and heard there the greatest dissatisfaction expressed with the Shipping Controller's Department of the Admiralty, and I think it is certain that the bad results from the shipyards in January and February were due to the vexatious interference and rough handling on the part of the officials of that Department. I backed Lord Durham's speech in urging that the best results would be obtained from the shipyards by putting it up to the masters and men to do their best, and by interfering as little as possible. Some

control from the Department there must be as regards supplying material and labour to the different yards.

The puff of Harland and Wolff is not fair to the British shipbuilder. Harland and Wolff never built ships for the Navy before the war and all their yard is laid out for mercantile shipbuilding, and their workmen have not been subject to conscription as have the British yards.

You have been keeping in close touch with these matters and I should like to hear from you or better still have a talk with you on the subject. I return to London on Tuesday next and could see you at 24, Park Lane, on Wednesday morning if it would be convenient to you to call about 11 o'clock.

*To Lord Inchcape.*

April 13th, 1918.

I was much struck by what I heard at the Annual Meeting of the Institute of Naval Architects as to the proceedings of the Shipping Controller of the Admiralty and their effects on shipbuilding. I also read your letter in the *Times* with regard to the treatment of the company which had in hand the new shipyard at Chepstow.

I have seen two of my principal collaborators in the "Naval Annual" on whose judgment I rely, and discussed with them, very fully, the proceedings of the Shipping Controller of the Admiralty and I am clear that the shipbuilding business has been very badly handled and that the action of the Shipping Controller has produced much friction and discouragement in the shipyards, with the most serious effect on the output of new ships. For the Government to use material and men which are badly wanted in the existing shipyards for the creation of a new shipyard is all wrong. There is nothing to be said against a private company doing this if they can get the materials and men.

I feel very strongly on the whole matter. The position of this country depends upon sea power, and the foundation of our sea power has been the mercantile marine. Shipyards have suffered enormous losses from enemy submarines and it seems to me that the action of the Government is calculated to prevent them recouping these losses and re-establishing the position of the British Mercantile Marine after the war. In every previous war in which we have been engaged our trade and shipping have increased in spite of

the losses from enemy privateers. In the present war the reverse is the case and that is the real seriousness of the situation.

The question is whether any action can be usefully taken now to put things on a better footing. I understand from the gentlemen I have referred to that things are working more smoothly in the shipyards now, although the result of March is rather a fictitious one, obtained by the rushing off the slips of ships which were barely ready for launching.

I shall be at 24, Park Lane, all next week and shall be glad to hear from you or to see you. As you know I have edited the "Naval Annual" for over 25 years and I feel somewhat responsible in a matter which threatens our sea power.

*To Mr. Bonar Law.*

April 23rd, 1918.

We super-taxpayers would face the budget a good deal more cheerfully if we felt that there was any serious effort being made to control expenditure, but during the three or four months that I have been back in England I have been absolutely aghast at the way money is being squandered, creating new Government Departments, building new Government offices, and employing vast armies of men and women.

The amount that you propose to raise by additional taxation could have been saved by reasonable care in the administration of the Munitions Department alone. The 12½ per cent. which has cost the country something over 70 millions a year, was a monstrous performance and very discreditable to everyone concerned.

I have been making many inquiries into the working of the Shipping Controller's Department of the Admiralty and I am satisfied that it was grossly mismanaged last year, and I am sure it is all wrong to spend public money on starting a national shipbuilding yard in competition with the existing yards. It is not the way to encourage the shipbuilding industry.

If one only felt that there was someone really trying to control the growth of expenditure and the evil spirit of extravagance which permeates most of our public Departments, one would face the additional demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer more willingly.

*To the Italian Consul-General, the Marchese Faa di Bruno.*

May 25th, 1918.

I have received from the British Chamber of Commerce in Italy copy of a letter from a member of the Chamber, Alberto La Maestra dei Santi, of Messina, complaining of the confiscation of 900 cases of agricultural produce despatched by him *via* Gothenburg to Russia in April, 1916, also of the confiscation of 305 cases of oranges at a later date not given.

In the Memorial, a copy of which is attached to this letter, it is stated that the matter has been placed in your hands. Before I bring the matter before the notice of the Board of Trade or other competent British Authority I should be glad to know what action has been taken from your office and whether you are satisfied that the claim put forward is well founded.

T.A.B. did much effective war work along the lines of the development of Italian trade, investigation of the character of the trade in the hands of Germany at the outbreak of war, and the formulation of a policy to capture for the Allies as much as possible in the future.

In September, 1916, at the invitation of Lord Plymouth, he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Economic Branch of the British Italian League, of which Lord Plymouth was President. Though an unofficial body, it contained representatives of the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, as well as of the financial, shipping, and principal industrial concerns interested in Italy.

Subsequently the League was transformed into the British Italian Commercial Association, and after much consultation with Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland and Sir Rennell Rodd, T.A.B. went to Italy in October, 1917, as the representative of this body, charged by the new Government Department for pushing British commercial interests abroad with the duty of inquiring into and reporting upon the best lines on which the work for the development of British trade could be carried on. A new department was also attached to the Embassy at Rome for the same object of developing British trade. The result, after a visit to Milan,

Genoa, Leghorn, Naples and Rome, was an exhaustive summary of Italian manufactures and trade, cast afterwards into the form of an address which was delivered to the Chamber of Commerce in various Italian and English towns. The Report, with an excellent introduction by Mr. Robert Benson, Chairman of the Executive Council of the League, was subsequently published, and has done much to stimulate business between the two countries.

The work which he did for Italian Commerce was recognised by the British Chamber of Commerce for Italy, but the expression of their gratitude was interrupted by his death. The medal intended for him was sent, however, to his widow, with the following inscription :—

*To Idina, Countess Brassey.*

In grateful recognition of great services rendered to Anglo-Italian Commerce by Thomas, 2nd Earl Brassey.

Jan. 1, 1920.

No account of the war work in which T.A.B. was engaged could possibly be complete without a description of the part which his three houses, Normanhurst, Park Gate, and 24, Park Lane played in the great drama. At the outbreak of war Normanhurst became the centre of a large hospital of which Lady Brassey was Commandant. The covered tennis court and adjacent buildings, to which allusion has been made in the account of T.A.B.'s coming of age, were converted into hospital wards, and so used until the end. Nurses, V.A.D.'s, and all kinds of helpers were drawn from the country round : some were lodged in the house, some at Park Gate, and the whole place was a hive of active, bustling workers. Men got well all too soon in the bracing south-country air and passed on with many regrets. There was lots of fun, as was usual in hospital life, and even the chaplain, the rector of the parish, added to the general gaiety by a disappearing trick on the gallery running along one end of the wards which he used as a pulpit and reading-desk combined. It was protected by a solid balustrade 3 feet high, and the

summons to prayer, followed by what was apparently complete annihilation, was too much for his congregation.

The house in Park Lane was lent to the Y.M.C.A. as a Club for Overseas Officers, the Dowager Lady Brassey superintending the arrangements, and most of its beautiful furniture and fittings were left intact. Just before the club was closed Lord and Lady Brassey entertained at dinner H.H. Princess Helena Victoria, and a number of workers and others interested.

Shortly afterwards, T.A.B. was made a Knight of Justice of S. John of Jerusalem. In writing to Mr. Evelyn Cecil, to acknowledge the official intimation, T.A.B. drew attention to the fact that the last effort which his mother made was to push the S. John's Ambulance work on the coast of Queensland before starting on her last voyage.

## CHAPTER XI

IN the last years of T.A.B.'s life the Federal Question became narrowed down to that aspect which bore more particularly upon the problem of Ireland. His energies were directed during the greater part of 1913 and the whole of 1914, and again in 1917 and 1918 to renewed attempts for the conciliation of the warring factions in the Houses of Parliament and in Ireland and to an agreement to settle the long-vexed question by the adoption of the Federal solution in one or other of its forms. Very considerable progress was made in the education of public opinion and in securing the interest of a large number of prominent politicians and men of affairs.

The dangerous moment which had been foreseen many years previously had at last arisen in English politics. A Radical Government had been returned to power, with a minority of direct supporters, as against the Tories. Legislation and tenure of office were only possible by the support of the Irish Nationalists, and Mr. Asquith was compelled to purchase their support by introducing another Home Rule Bill which had passed the House of Commons and was about to become law in spite of the opposition of the House of Peers. The sequence of events is sufficiently familiar to the minds of Englishmen, the resistance of Ulster under Sir Edward Carson, the "running" of the rifles and ammunition, the enrolment of the Ulster and the Nationalist volunteers, the abortive attempt of the Ministry to use the forces of the Crown against the Ulstermen, and the precipitation of acts leading directly to Civil War.

Various attempts to reach a settlement were made, but on the one hand the uncompromising attitude of the Ulstermen and on the other the refusal of the Government in the first instance to make any concession in the form of amend-

ments to their Bill led to a deadlock out of which there seemed no possible escape. The position became very critical in June and July, 1914, and a catastrophe was only averted by the outbreak of war, and an arrangement to suspend the operation of the Home Rule Bill until six months after the signing of the peace treaty. Without any detailed examination of the questions which arose in the course of this protracted political struggle, it is possible to explain T.A.B.'s unremitting attempts to contribute to a peaceful settlement by quotations from his very voluminous correspondence of this period. The general opinion of his work by those who knew what was going on behind the scenes is well summed up in a phrase of Lord Selborne's, written in a letter dated July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1914, in which he deals with T.A.B.'s proposed Conference or Convention. He says, "I do admire your singleminded patriotism more than I can say." Mr. F. S. Oliver, whose articles under the pseudonym of "Pacificus" gained so much attention, wrote to say, "Although I don't believe in the precise course which you advocate I fully believe in the principle and am doing all I can in my own way to help matters."

Lord Lansdowne gave very serious attention to T.A.B.'s proposals, and as T.A.B. said, went out of his way to listen to what he might urge.

*To Lord Lansdowne.*

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1913.

Mr. Bonar Law's speech on Monday of last week was not one whit too strong in its description of the present situation. "Under the conditions under which we are at present working the House of Commons has ceased to be a Legislative Assembly in any sense of the term." The obvious remedy you Unionist leaders are prevented from considering by your loyalty to the Irish Unionists. You are carrying that loyalty too far. . . . Why should every British institution be liable to attack and overthrow by the maintenance of the present log-rolling system of Government? To non-party men like myself the situation is absolutely intolerable. Lloyd George finance is imposed on the country. All sorts of socialistic measures are being carried by the votes of men who are certainly not Socialists. The interests

of the Country, and of the Empire as well as those of the Conservative Party are being sacrificed by the maintenance of the Union in its present form. It is the House of Commons which needs reforming to enable it to transact its business properly far more than the House of Lords. The only way out of the *impasse* is to deal with the Home Rule question on Federal or Conservative lines by the establishment of subordinate legislatures in England and Scotland as well as in Ireland. I am as opposed as any Unionist to the present Home Rule Bill ; but I do urge upon you and other Unionist leaders that while maintaining your opposition to the present Bill you should seriously consider the alternative policy, and that you should tell the Ulstermen that Home Rule in some shape or other has become a necessity ; but that you will resist the inclusion of Ulster with the rest of Ireland unless the people of Ulster desire to be included. I am an Ulster landowner and go there pretty often. I believe that if Ulster were offered a separate show of her own she would probably come in from the first, but would anyway not stand out for long.

In any case no durable and satisfactory solution of the Home Rule question can be reached except by consent ; and the only way to arrive at agreement is to refer the whole Constitutional question to a Convention on the South African model in which all parties and all the nationalities of the United Kingdom should be represented.

I am in hopes that some independent Peer will put forward this suggestion when the Home Rule Bill is debated in the House of Lords'and that, if the suggestion is made, you will treat it sympathetically. It would strengthen the position of the House of Lords very much if they were to point out the solution of the present crisis.

The apathy in the country generally (with the exception of Ulster) is extraordinary. I write strongly because I care.

*To Mr. William O'Brien.*

Jan. 17th, 1914.

Mr. Sheehan will give you his own account of the two gatherings he has attended.

At the dinner at Hythe his speech immensely impressed the Unionists and several went up to him afterwards and said that if that was what Home Rule meant they would be prepared to give Ireland Home Rule to-morrow.

At the meeting at Bexhill, of which I will send you a newspaper account, we had the chairmen of both political parties, Mr. Murray Macdonald as well as Mr. Sheehan, a Conservative farmer, who in supporting the resolution announced that he was in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, and the Archdeacon and the Mayor who moved a vote of thanks and announced themselves in hearty sympathy with the objects of the meeting. I think we made a good start.

Mr. Sheehan will tell you the further ideas I have in my mind. I think it would be well if you would press Mr. Healy to come to Brighton on February 10th. In response to my invitation he writes, "I believe such work as you are engaged on must be beneficial, but it would take long to explain why I am excluded from participation at present." I gather from this that he would come if he knew you approved of his doing so.

*To Lord Curzon.*

22nd Jan. 1914.

I read with the profoundest sorrow and regret your New Year's letter to the Primrose League. It showed that the Unionist leaders had returned to the old position—a general election to be fought on the Ulster ticket. I enclose report of the first meeting of the Peace Campaign, which your letter determined me to undertake, though all my friends say the effort is useless. I do not agree. I lunched with Edward Grey two days ago and I know that the Government are reasonable enough. If you stick to your present line you will put yourselves "out of Court." The interests of England and the Empire cannot be sacrificed to Ulster. Home Rule, in some shape or other, is a necessity to relieve the congestion in the Commons and to restore Parliamentary Government. And we want Home Rule for England if every English Institution is not to be swept away by Irish and Scotch votes. Englishmen are beginning to wake up to the fact that we want Home Rule for England, and once they do, a settlement on Federal lines becomes comparatively simple. Charnwood sent me his proofs of a book on the Federal Solution which he and Murray Macdonald are bringing out at the end of the month. His survey of the whole question, and especially of the Ulster difficulty, is really admirable.

The object I am driving at is a Convention on the South

African model, which must be appointed on the initiative of the Government, which must include representatives of all nationalities and all parties (say 30 or 40) and which should sit with closed doors. The Convention would discuss the amendment of the present Bill or the drafting of a new measure to meet the Ulster difficulty and to make it the first step in a Federal Solution. In such a Convention the Ulstermen would be compelled to state their difficulties. I don't think Home Rule with Ireland split into two Provinces would work, but I admit it may be necessary as a temporary solution, just as you indicated in your speech at Manchester.

*To the Earl of Selborne.*

31st Jan. 1914.

Many thanks for your frank reply to my letter. You put the case from your point of view very clearly.

First, as regards the general question, the comparative advantages of a Federal *v.* a unitary constitution. Surely it is evident that our present Constitution has completely broken down under the strain imposed upon it. Bonar Law said in the House of Commons on Dec. 30th, 1912, "Under the conditions under which we are at present working the House of Commons has ceased to be a Legislative Assembly in any sense of the term." His words were absolutely true and he was only confirming what had been pointed out by Liberal Statesman after Liberal Statesman from Mr. Gladstone onwards. You cannot run a great Empire, do the business of the United Kingdom as a whole, and attend to the separate interests of each nationality of the United Kingdom with the same machinery and one set of men. I spoke of the danger from the Imperial point of view when in Johannesburg, you will remember. Were there no Irish question at all, devolution in some shape or other would be necessary in order to restore the efficiency of Parliamentary Government. Home Rule for England is more needed from the Englishman's point of view (which is one that has been pretty well ignored so far in this controversy) than Home Rule for Ireland. Why should our Churches be disestablished or our land system upset by Irish and Scotch votes? Englishmen are beginning to wake up to this need of controlling their own affairs and to resent the whole question being discussed solely from the point of view of Ireland.

As regards the present Bill I cannot agree with you. The powers, apart from finance (and of that later), which it is proposed to confer on an Irish Legislature under the Bill are those which it would be necessary to confer on subordinate legislatures if established in other parts of the United Kingdom. The finance of the Bill is hopelessly complicated and would lead to endless friction; and constitutes the real objection to making it the step towards Federation. The provision as regards customs is the fatal objection. . . .

I believe that the Bill can be amended to make it the first step in a Federal scheme and possibly also to meet the reasonable objections of Ulstermen on the lines suggested by Edward Grey.

To let this Bill pass with Ulster excluded (which I gather is what you have offered) is the worst possible course. The Bill is a bad one, either wholly as you think, or in part as I think. It ought not to be allowed to pass as it stands while any other course is possible. How can the Government accept your offer and allow the Unionist party to be reinforced by the Ulster Members, while the representation of their friends is cut down?

To divide Ireland into two Provinces, which is another alternative, will make Home Rule well nigh unworkable, but I recognise that it may have to be accepted as a temporary solution of the Ulster difficulty.

The best solution is to insert provisions which will protect the administration in Ulster from being run by Devlin's Tammany Hall organisation which is the curse of the whole situation and does much to justify the Ulster attitude.

Which of these two courses is the better can best be threshed out in a Convention such as you had in South Africa, sitting with closed doors. Much better that the attempt should be made at once before the Bill becomes law, and this is what I am striving to bring about with all the power at my command. The Government must take the initiative, . . . but you must say (as indeed you have already done) that you are prepared to accept the Federal solution which involves subordinate legislatures with executives responsible to them, (the shibboleth in use), provided that the Convention can arrive at agreement as regards the solution of the Ulster difficulty.

At dinner at 24, Park Lane you would meet Charnwood and Murray Macdonald, whose book is just published,

Bernard Holland, F. H. Jackson, Lord Sackville, Laurence Hardy, M.P., and one or two more, probably Professor Adams, Sir Matthew Nathan. I am sure it will be useful for you to thresh out the Federal Solution with people who have really studied it and I hope you will come.

*To Lord Lansdowne.*

(From Sardinia).

April 4th, 1914.

The little meetings of which I told you on Friday week led to a meeting held at my invitation at 24, Park Lane on Friday last at which a basis for settlement was adopted and committees appointed, of an equal number from each side, to carry on the work which I had begun. The lines agreed upon you already know, I expect, ere this, viz., the immediate setting up of a commission for the purpose of devising a federal scheme for the whole of the United Kingdom, and the option to Ulster to stand out to be continued until the establishment of such a scheme by Act of Parliament. The all-important thing is to get the Commission to work, and with you and Edward Grey as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, and reasonable men from both sides and both Houses upon it as well as the Irishmen, a workable scheme would not take long to draft. C. J. Stewart (the Public Trustee) and his small committee have a scheme in draft and they have accumulated a mass of useful material. The scheme is to be published this week. The pamphlet of which I spoke "The Way of Unity and Peace" was only an introduction.

You are full of this Army business. As far as I can judge it was a plot of Winston's and L. George's, using Seely and Paget as their tools, to force the pace so as to be able to raise the Army cry at an election, when it came. Nine officers out of ten would resign if the case were put to them as Paget put it. I should have, certainly. I hope the trouble over this will blow over. It is a disgusting business, but it is a further evidence of the importance of endeavouring to reach a settlement of the Home Rule controversy and saving the country from disaster.

I beg you most earnestly to help forward the movement I have begun. A heavy responsibility will rest on you Unionist leaders if you play the party game too long. I can conceive nothing more disastrous for the country and

the Empire than that, as the result of an election, you should be returned to power on your present policy, the maintenance of the Union in its present form.

In 1914 it was decided to use the word "Devolution" instead of "Federal" in official papers: the reasons for this cause are well summed up in a letter from Lord Salisbury on the subject written four years later.

*From the Marquis of Salisbury.*

June 13th, 1918.

. . . I am particularly glad to read at the end of your letter that in your view Devolution is a more accurate description of what you desire than Federalism. Federalism is a partial integration of sovereign independent States. The old Executives and Legislatures therefore remain, only that instead of keeping their independence they have a limited autonomy. The movement is therefore from disintegration to integration. With us the movement would be in precisely the opposite direction—from integration to disintegration and these semi-autonomous Executives and national independence as a goal are full of peril.

There is indeed no case for semi-autonomous Executives other than the differentiation between the Governments of England, Scotland, and Ireland which already exists. There is, however, a case for Legislative Devolution: that is not on the road to disintegration, rather is it the development of local self-government which is as old as English history.

If I have been fortunate enough to carry you with me in this distinction I think you will find that the evolution of Local Government as we know it is not in the direction of separate parliaments which involve an organic statute prescribing the limitation of powers as between the local and Imperial Legislatures, nor in the direction of separate Executives to the dangers of which I have already referred, but rather in the direction of Provincial Councils which, formed on the models of existing County Councils, import no Executives and require no organic statute as they will be in fact, as well as in name, and in respect of all subjects without exception, subordinate to the Imperial Parliament as we know it.

At any rate I venture to hope that in your action at this particular moment you will not exclude a solution on the lines I have indicated.

To Lord Lansdowne.

June 22nd, 1914.

. . . You will note that the term "Devolution" has been substituted for "Federal." It more accurately describes what we are driving at. We discussed the advisability of dropping the word "Federal" at the conference of M.P.'s which I got together in March, but the balance of opinion there was in favour of sticking to the popular term. However, after discussing the matter with some of the most active in the cause we agreed that it was better now to substitute Devolution. I had a letter in Saturday's *Times* giving the reasons. . . .

You have always asked to see a scheme. I will send you to-morrow the outlines of one, giving the proposed distribution of powers which commend themselves to me. Oliver and the Round Table have also got a scheme I believe, but I have not seen it. You probably have.

I shall be at 5, Aldford Street this week and shall work in the cause of peace till the game is up, which it is by no means yet, if the House of Lords will amend the Amending Bill into a reasonable basis of settlement and urge the appointment of a commission.

ALLOCATION OF POWERS OF LEGISLATION AS BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

CLASS I. Retained by Imperial Parliament as being necessary to Sovereignty.	CLASS II. Retained by Imperial Parliament on ground of convenience.	CLASS III. Delegated outright to Local Legislatures.	CLASS IV. Delegated subject to conditions.
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These are examples only.

Matters relating to—

Empire— Oversea. Dominions. Citizenship— Nationalisation, etc. Army and Navy. Foreign policy. Commerce. Imperial Revenue and Taxation— National Debt. Post Office.	Currency Coin- age. Weights and Measures. Trademarks, Patents. Banking. Merchant Ship- ping. Pilotage and Lighthouses. Marriage and Divorce. Criminal Law as far as regards indictable off- ences.	Private Bills. Local Govt. Legislation. Poor Law. Highways. Licensing. Education. Lunacy. Old Age Pensions. Criminal Law as far as sum- mary jurisdic- tion offences.	Railways and Canals. Industrial Disputes. Employers' Liability. Workmen's Compensation. National Health Insurance.
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It is proposed to specify 1, 3 and 4 (4 to be as limited as possible) Class 2 to be unspecified.

Power to be given to the Local Legislatures to initiate legislation in Imperial Parliament for transfer to them of any subject included in unspecified category.

The following circular was issued after a meeting of members of all parties convened by T.A.B. at 5, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W., on June 30th, 1914:—

After an hour and a half's discussion it was generally agreed that the main thing, if not the only thing, to press for in the House of Lords is the setting up of a Commission or Convention to consider the settlement from the point of view of the United Kingdom as a whole, the Home Rule Bill and Amending Bill being suspended pending the result.

*To Mr. Hazen.\**

July 3rd, 1914.

It may interest you to know something at first hand of the movement going forward here for a settlement which has at least borne fruit in the debate in the House of Lords concluded yesterday.

At the end of March I got together members of both sides in the House of Commons and they came to an agreement on the 27th March at a conference held at my father's house that the immediate setting up of a Commission for the purpose of devising a federal scheme for the United Kingdom as a whole was the only way of reaching a settlement by consent.

At the time of the debate in the House of Commons on the 3rd reading of the Home Rule Bill in May there were over 100 members on each side who were adherents to the proposal. The Prime Minister's reply to Mr. Balfour and Sir Edward Carson knocked this movement on the head for the time and produced much bitterness on the Unionist side. I had to begin work all over again on my return from Sardinia in May.

In June I got up two meetings, one at Oxford and one at Hastings of which I enclose reports. They were attended by leading members of both parties, and on the 30th June, I got the Unionist and Liberal Chairman of the two groups

\* Now Sir John Douglas Hazen, K.C.M.G.

in the House of Commons to meet a few Peers at my house. The result of their deliberations I enclose.

Lord Grey, last week, made his speech and my old College friend, the Archbishop of York, put forward the suggestion of a Convention which was warmly supported from many quarters of the House.

I think we are now on the road to a settlement of this long-standing controversy. That it should have got to the present pitch is a disgrace to British statesmanship.

*To J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P.*

July 20th, 1914.

I am sorry that I just missed you on Friday and still more sorry to hear what you tell me. Charnwood is coming to lunch to-day. I am clear that the time has arrived when we must start an organisation and carry on a campaign in the autumn. Grey has undertaken to do some of the speaking.

I am afraid we are beaten for the moment and unless we keep our flag flying all our work will have been wasted.

You may care to see the enclosed from the Archbishop.

*To Lord Milner.*

Dec. 26th, 1916.

. . . It is a real satisfaction to feel at last that I have not spent in vain the thirty years since I left Oxford. I cannot find the text of the telegram in the *Times* and the *Times* leader is written in ignorance of the precise scope of the invitation. They don't know all you tell me, which has my hearty approval. To have got the Imperial side of the problem of government on right lines is an immense step forward. The next is to tackle the Irish question and Home Rule. To get the Irish question in a fair way to settlement would be an immense gain from the Imperial—the war—and any other point of view. Pending agreement between Ulstermen and Nationalists, the more I think of it, the more I feel that the best thing to do is to put a real strong man in Ireland assisted by a nominated council in which there would be representatives of all parties (but not necessarily politicians) who would pave the way for self-government as you did in South Africa.

The political prisoners have been released. I should extend conscription to Ireland and face the consequences—and above all I should *govern* the country. It is the failure to govern by Birrell & Co., that has produced the present and appalling state of things.

Wilson's note is a dreadful production. His statement that the belligerents both declare they are fighting for the same object deserves all that Garvin says of it in the *Observer*. Garvin has never written anything better. But the note must be dealt with firmly and temperately by the British Government. The *Times* suggestion of getting a prominent British statesman to go over to the States has much to recommend it. Carson is probably the only man who could do what is needed in Ireland.

*To the Master of Balliol.*

Oct. 14th, 1917.

Yours of the 13th with enclosures reached me this morning. It is a gratification to have produced such a letter as Cartwright's by my hastily-formed impression of the *Times* articles. Mr. Cartwright's letter is an admirably well-balanced opinion of the situation and I wish it could be published. I shall take the liberty of sending copies of it to one or two people, Geoffrey Dawson amongst others.

I have been very busy the past week seeing Steel Maitland and others about my job in Italy, where I have given some time to trying to form a sound opinion of the situation. I had an hour on Friday morning with Henry Vivian and an hour in the afternoon with Lansbury, who edits the Socialist newspaper, the *Herald*. I also had a talk with Adams—too brief, but to the point. I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Cartwright's is a much sounder view of the situation than that taken in the *Times* articles. I am rather doubtful whether one ought to be going away from England at this moment when two questions in which one has taken such a great interest are to the fore—viz. Ireland and the relations between capital and labour. One feels one could contribute something to the right solutions of these questions if one was on the spot. The great trouble is that nearly everyone is doing Government work in some form of other and so few people have time to think. I put in my oar in the *Times*

as you saw on Friday on the Federal question, and I should like to have written something on the Labour question, but this would take time and study. It has been very interesting to me to note the South Wales Commission Report and to hear from Milner that the feeling in South Wales towards employers is worse than in any other part of the country. For this, as you know, I think employers are mainly to blame.

*To Sir H. Plunkett.*

Jan. 23rd, 1918.

From what I have heard since I got back from Italy at Xmas there seems little probability of the Convention coming to an agreement. I hold more strongly than I ever did that the only possible solution of the Irish question which will bring the Ulstermen in and keep Ireland united is as part of a general scheme applying also to England and Scotland and possibly to Wales. I gather that Selborne and Oliver worked away last year at a Federal scheme. Whether it was properly put before the Convention or not I do not know. Dunraven told me that he brought the matter up at one of the earlier meetings, that he was in a minority of one and did not pursue the subject. What line Carson is going to take I do not know, but I sincerely trust that he will take the same line as he did in the controversy of 1913-14 and announce that he is prepared to accept Home Rule in a form which will not place Irishmen in a position of inferiority to Englishmen and Scotchmen in their relations to the Parliament at Westminster. Carson was a Federalist then and I hope he is still.

I have been immensely impressed during the few weeks I have been in England by what I hear from all sides of the working of the Government machine. The number of new Departments that have been created is perfectly appalling and there is no adequate control. Devolution is absolutely necessary if any form of parliamentary government is to be preserved and if a commencement is to be made in restoring some sort of order to our Government machinery. If the Irish Convention does not come to an agreement the Government must be prepared with their proposal for settlement of the question, and I am utilising all the influence I can bring to bear to induce the Government to propose an all-round scheme.

There is one important advantage which Home Rule has now which it had not at previous stages of the controversy, viz. that the opposition of the Unionists to Home Rule in any form is gone and gone for ever. Unionists are prepared to accept any reasonable settlement of the long-standing controversy. What you in Ireland are apt to forget is that in any settlement of the Irish question the interests of Great Britain and the United Kingdom must be considered. I am all for Irishmen having control of their own affairs, but I am dead against allowing them to interfere in purely English business. I am not prepared to support any form of Home Rule for Ireland which does not secure that Ireland is treated as a part of the United Kingdom. If conscription is introduced for Great Britain it should also be introduced into Ireland. The feeling against Ireland over this matter—especially in Scotland—is, I hear, becoming exceedingly bitter. I think that Redmond has advised the Government very badly. From what I hear from Ireland conscription could be introduced without much trouble now that America has come in and the young Irishmen who went to the States to avoid conscription have now found themselves roped in by the United States army. . . .

*To Sir Edward Carson.*

Jan. 23rd, 1918.

You may remember the correspondence which passed between us over the Home Rule controversy in 1913-14. I always regret that I have never had the opportunity of talking the question over with you personally. For thirty years, as you are probably aware, I have urged that the only satisfactory solution of the Irish question is as part of a Federal scheme embracing England and Scotland and possibly also Wales.

In the spring of 1914 the "back bench movement" as it was called, which included a large number of members of both sides of the House who were in favour of the Federal solution, was initiated in my office, and I was bitterly disappointed when it led to no result, owing to Mr. Asquith's attitude in the debate which took place in the House of Commons about the end of May in that year. The Home Rule Bill now in suspense I have always thought was a futile attempt at settlement. Home Rule in Ireland is unworkable unless all Ireland is included, and I hold now

more strongly than ever that the only hope of keeping Ireland united and bringing the Ulstermen in is by a settlement on all-round lines which, to use your words, will not place Irishmen in a position of inferiority to Englishmen and Scotchmen in their relations to the Parliament at Westminster.

I was in Italy most of last year and from what I have heard in the few weeks since my return I am more than ever impressed by the necessity for devolution in some shape or other if any form of Parliamentary Government is to be preserved and if any sort of control is to be exercised over the numberless Government Departments which have been created. The Government of the country is in an appalling condition. The strain on the War Cabinet, to which I referred in my letters to the *Times* in the early months of last year, becomes ever greater. Devolution would relieve this strain to some extent, and I think it should be carried into effect now before the vast problems of reconstruction, which will arise after the war, have to be faced.

There is much more that can be said from another point of view, viz., the necessity of separating the control of Imperial from Domestic affairs. A vast number of new electors are going to be placed on the Register. How are they going to vote intelligently when Domestic and Imperial affairs are submitted to them in the same confused issue?

Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference I look upon as more necessary than ever and I was delighted to read what you said at the Colonial Institute a month or two ago. How is it possible to get a verdict on this vital question when it is submitted to the electors along with questions such as Education, Housing, and so forth?

*To Sir Walter Runciman.*

Feb. 5th, 1918.

I hope you will read my letter in the *Times* to-day. There is no more chance of settling the Irish question now than there ever has been by a measure applying to Ireland alone. You could have settled it easily enough in 1914 on Federal lines if you had not submitted to Redmond's dictation. Redmond has been a very bad adviser of Liberal action in many ways. I look upon the last ten years as one of the blackest chapters in England's treatment of

Ireland. Instead of sending to Ireland of our best to build up a sound administration *free from political jobbery* and to pave the way for Home Rule, we sent people like Aberdeen and Birrell who let everything rip, and this is what L.G. has done too. If I were an Irishman I should certainly be a Sinn Feiner or rebel of some kind. No one could more detest England's treatment of Ireland than I do.

As to the course to be taken now, I have no hesitation in confirming what I say in my *Times* letter. Federal Government for the United Kingdom is a necessity from every point of view and it should be introduced at once, whatever the Irishmen say.

The Convention should draw up the Irish part of the scheme within the limits laid down by the Commission; whether they have two Houses or one, for instance, in Ireland does not matter to us.

There is a chance of carrying federation through now, such as there has never been before, and I hope you will pull your powerful oar in the right direction.

*To Mr. Geo. Lansbury.*

Feb. 7th, 1918.

I am very much obliged for your long and interesting letter of which I hope to make some effective use in the quarter we spoke of. I agree with much of what you say. The Labour unrest of which you speak not only requires the conclusion of peace but also the setting of our Constitution in order. Much of the Labour unrest and distrust of representative government and Parliament is due to the fact that Parliament is overweighted. . . . In an English Legislature I conceive that the Labour Party would at once, or very soon, have a majority and have the responsibility of Government. I think that it is most desirable that they should do so. At the same time there are a great many workers in the country who are not comprehended under organised labour and I always feel that the agricultural interest is not understood and too often neglected by trades unionists.

Thirty years ago, when I first had to manage the Normanhurst estate, I was face to face with a great period of agricultural depression owing to the opening up of virgin land in the States, the Argentine and elsewhere, and above all

to the cheapening of the means of communication, which caused a great fall in the prices of agricultural produce. Landowners were hard hit. Farmers were ruined and immense numbers of agricultural labourers were thrown out of employment. These drifted into the towns, aggravating the problem of unemployment already present there ; and what steps were taken to provide a remedy? None. The interest of the consumer was held to be paramount, as it is to-day in the mind of our Food Controller, and the producer was left to take care of himself. In my judgment the producer should stand before the consumer.

These last observations are only by the way, and these are only hurriedly dictated lines in reply to your letter. I hope we may meet again ere long to talk things over. Meantime I am not idle.

*To the Earl of Selborne.*

Dec. 30th, 1918.

The Coalition Government have swept the Board and are now in a position to deal with reconstruction. As far as I am able to judge, we are face to face with the situation which you pointed out might arise in your weighty words at the Deputation to the P.M. Demobilisation, trade, Ireland, etc., etc. are all pressing for attention, and the people at the top are off to Paris for the Peace Conference. Unless there is devolution and decentralisation, unless these numberless Departments are reduced and brought under effective Parliamentary control there will be (if there is not already) confusion and probably disaster.

The first step to reconstruction is to set the Government in order and enable it to carry on its business with some regard to efficiency and economy. If you agree with me, we must press as soon as Parliament meets, for the setting up of a Commission to devise a scheme of devolution.

One of the questions which preoccupies me most is the recovery of our shipping and our trade. We shall do neither unless some of the Government Departments are suppressed or their paralysing activities curbed. I heard yesterday that the Italians have abolished their Ministry of Munitions and transferred its functions to the control of the Treasury. Incidentally this has placed my business in great difficulties, but it was the right step, none the less. . . .

*To the Marquis of Salisbury.*

March 28th, 1919.

I could not manage to get a word with you yesterday. I wanted to tell you that, after consultation with Lord Kintore, I have decided to associate myself with your group of critics of the Government. I think they are beginning to do effective work in the House of Lords.

There are two important matters which I think ought to be discussed, (1) Egypt, (2) Ireland.

As regards Egypt, the *Times* correspondent stated about ten days ago that the Prime Minister of Egypt wanted to come home and interview the Government as to the condition of Egypt, and was told that they had no time to attend to the matter, or something to that effect. One cannot help feeling that the Government are much to blame for the present outbreak in Egypt.

As regards Ireland, the present policy of drift is only letting matters go from bad to worse and is absolutely exasperating to all would-be loyalists. The Government ought to be pressed to take action on the lines suggested in my letter to the *Times* two days ago. . . .

I am going abroad for five weeks on the 12th and I am afraid it is impossible, even if you approved, for me to raise the question of Ireland before then. I am trying to polish off the "Naval Annual" which is to reappear again this year.

*To Mr. C. B. Stanton, M.P.*

June 20th, 1919.

I should like to have the opportunity of a square talk with you as regards the Labour question generally, and especially as affecting the coal mines in which we are both interested.

It seems to me, as I have said in the House of Lords, that it is impossible for various Government Departments to decree advances in wages to coal miners, railwaymen and agricultural labourers quite irrespective of the capacity of the industry to bear them. In my opinion there is no justification for the advance in wages awarded by the Sankey Committee. On the other hand, I think there is every justification for the Government intervening to see that the housing conditions are remedied in those mining districts where they are notoriously bad. I think the

miners have every justification for claiming a substantial share in the profits of the industry and some voice in its control, but as regards the actual management of the pit there can only be one man responsible.

As you know, I urged several years ago on my colleagues on the Powell Duffryn Board that we ought to take far more trouble about the housing of the men we employed and that we ought to give them a substantial share in the profits of the industry. I failed to persuade them to adopt my view and in consequence resigned my position on the Board. I can therefore fairly claim to have shown effectively my sympathy with the men's side of the question.

As far as I am able to judge I believe that the carrying on of the industry by the State will be fatal to all concerned and this is the matter, above all others, which I should like to discuss with you, and would like to talk straight to the miners about if they will listen.

*To Major Leonard Brassey, M.P.*

July 1st, 1919.

Will you please express to the shareholders of the Powell Duffryn Company my great regret that as I have to serve on a Select Committee of the House of Lords to-morrow I cannot attend the meeting as I intended?

I am opposed to the nationalisation of coal mines, which can only be the first step to the nationalisation of other industries, because I believe it will be fatal to the prosperity of the industry as well as to the best interests of the workers themselves.

The carrying on of an industry by the State means, probably, incompetent management and certainly gross extravagance in administration. Wages may be increased and hours of labour reduced quite beyond the capacity of the industry to bear them. Workmen will certainly be far more unreasonable in their demands when they know that the loss, if they are acceded to, will be borne by the State than they would if the loss fell on the firm by which they are employed.

The regulation of wages is not the business of the State. It should be left in the hands of Industrial Councils of the employers and employed in each district. The present situation is very serious, but I have confidence in the good

sense of the vast majority of the workers in every industry, provided that the situation is properly explained to them.

I have always believed that it is possible to harmonise the interests of capital and labour. This can only be done by giving the workers a direct interest in the results of their labour, whether by a bonus system such as I urged on the Board some years ago or whether on the lines put before the coal commission by Lord Gainford on behalf of the Durham coal owners.

One of the main objections urged to the bonus system I proposed is that miners employed in collieries belonging to different companies in the same district, though doing the same work, might in the one case receive a substantial bonus on their wages and in the other case receive nothing. This objection can be overcome by grouping all the collieries in the same district and by giving the workers an equitable share of the profits in some way or other.

I always feel that we coal owners are considerably to blame for the conduct of the industry in the past. We of the Powell Duffryn Company have been dividing large profits, which has naturally created unrest amongst the workers. Labour as well as capital was, in my judgment, entitled to a share in these profits. . . .

In October, 1919, the Government decided to appoint a Devolution Conference, under the chairmanship of the Speaker of the House of Commons to devise a scheme of Devolution which might be applicable to Ireland. The members included T.A.B., Lord Charnwood, Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald, and other convinced Federalists, but did not include many who were obviously qualified to act. The terms of reference were :—

To consider and report upon a Scheme of Legislative and Administrative Devolution within the United Kingdom having regard to—

(1) The need of reserving to the Imperial Parliament the exclusive consideration of

(a) Foreign and Imperial Affairs ; and

(b) Subjects affecting the United Kingdom as a whole.

(2) The allocation of financial powers as between the Imperial Parliament and the subordinate Legislatures, special consideration being given to the need of providing for the effective administration of the allocated powers.

(3) The special needs and characteristics of the component portions of the United Kingdom in which subordinate Legislatures are set up.

This was a great step forward and T.A.B. received many congratulations.

*To Sir Thomas Whittaker.*

October 25th, 1919.

I am exceedingly disappointed that neither you nor Mr. J. W. Wilson nor any member of the Unionist Federal Committee in the House of Commons is on the Federal Devolution Conference, the composition of which has been severely criticised, and not without justice, in the *Times* and other papers. I cannot understand how all this has come about unless the Government wished to make the proceedings of the Devolution Conference as far as possible abortive. There being so few of us in the Conference who are really up in the subject makes our task a difficult one. If there had been, as there ought to have been, ten or fifteen of us who were in favour of the policy and knew what we were driving at, the task of the Conference would have been infinitely easier and much more likely to lead to a successful result.

It is also unfortunate that several members of the House of Lords whom we would have wished to have on the Conference are engaged on the India Commission.

I enclose copy of resolution which Murray Macdonald and I have submitted as to definition of areas. Will you show it to Mr. J. W. Wilson and let me know if it meets with your approval?

I look upon Federal Devolution as infinitely more necessary now than ever before. If we are to get back to Parliamentary methods of government and to avoid labour trying to force its wishes by strikes or threats of strikes, Labour must be given the chance of getting its representatives into Parliament. This they would have under Federal Devolution when domestic issues would be submitted to the electorate separately from Imperial issues.

*To the Earl of Selborne.*

Oct. 29th, 1919.

Though as the *Times* said, we may be an "undistinguished Conference," we have made, I think, a good start. No one is out to wreck the whole proceedings. Even my old friend, Ronald McNeill, who has been a vigorous opponent of the policy in days gone by, is prepared to accept Devolution in some form or other.

The weakness of the Conference is that none of the Unionist Federal Committee and only one of the Liberal Federal Committee in the House of Commons is on it. The final appointment was made from the P.M.'s office. I have no doubt that they threw over the list which was completed for the House of Commons before the end of August, and which must have included many members of the two Federal Committees, and made a list of their own in order to be able to say that the Report has not sufficient weight behind it if that suits their book when the time comes. It is monstrous treatment of the House of Commons and especially of the Speaker, but quite in keeping with the P.M.'s method of government.

I think that it will be necessary to consult the Unionist Federal group in the House of Commons when the time comes for making decisions. One wants to be sure that one has their backing as they are unrepresented on the Conference.

## CHAPTER XII

THE beginning of the year 1919 saw T.A.B. at the height of his influence in the world of politics. The vantage ground which he had gained through his seat in the House of Lords, to which he succeeded on the death of his father, had made him a force to be reckoned with by all serious politicians. The long experience of Imperial matters which he could summon to his aid, and the respect accorded to him by all parties in the House of Commons, with which he had come into close contact in his endeavours to effect a *rapprochement* between back-bench men on the Irish question, lent to his attitude an importance which the Government did not fail to recognise. This feeling found expression in the caustic comment made by a member in the Commons on the announcement that the Government had decided to appoint the Devolution Conference: "Oh, that's to keep Brassey quiet!" The reputation for honesty and for dogged pertinacity which he had won for himself was felt in the attentive hearing which his utterances in the House—forcible rather than eloquent—gained for him on all sides. It was commonly felt that there were other men and other politicians who were eloquent but not candid, pertinacious but self-seeking. T.A.B. lived in quite another world, a world of complete disinterestedness.

A prominent Irish member could say of him :—

A rare type in public life—and a welcome one—though not greatly loved of the time-servers and the opportunists who have their unholy grip upon the political and parliamentary machines. When you hear him speak, you conceive the impression of a man of independent convictions, straight thinking and plain speaking. You may agree or disagree with him, but you are at least sensible of the fact that here is one who thinks for himself and who says things, not

because he seeks popularity, but because he believes in the principles which he expresses.

This estimate was commonly shared by men of all schools of thought, and T.A.B.'s position in opposition in the House of Lords was growing in strength every week.

The war had dragged its length to a close and the country was largely given up to an orgy of amusement and pleasure—the inevitable reaction from the strain which it had endured for many weary months. In the midst of it all T.A.B.'s energy found expression in ever-increasing work. Tilting against Government extravagance, critical with the keen criticism of the successful business man of the methods of departmental amateurs, profoundly convinced of the dangers ahead, he found a wide field for his activities. Conferences and interviews with politicians and journalists, with overseas statesmen and travellers, filled busy days which often ended with a dinner or reception of some kind at 24, Park Lane. Visits to Sardinia and Scotland were worked in with masses of other business, and especially with close oversight of the methods of Church finance and the formulation of all kinds of plans to improve them. In all the undertakings with which he had had any connexion, he was taking the liveliest interest, and everywhere he was making the vigour of his personality felt. His days were filled with the manifold duties which were involved by his Sardinian work at 28, Victoria Street, his church work at 40, Gt. Smith Street, only a stone's throw away, and by the business of the Devolution Conference which, under the chairmanship of the Speaker, was constantly in session in the House of Commons. On November 6th he had been to the office of the Central Church Fund, had gone to 28, Victoria Street, and had left there soon after 5 o'clock on his way to the House. When crossing the busy street between Westminster Hospital and Westminster Abbey he avoided one motor-car, and failed to notice another close by, with which he collided and was thrown heavily to the ground. In the words of one who knew him intimately and was a close observer of the ways of men, "he was probably walking in his usual way with head forward and that long lope of a

stride of his, intent upon nothing so much as the business of reaching his destination and of crumpling up something ahead which deserved it." He was very badly shaken, and was helped into the hospital where he received first-aid. He insisted that he himself was responsible for the accident, and it may be quite safely assumed that this was so, for in spite of his characteristic sportsmanship, he wouldn't have taken blame for the sake of taking it. He was able to walk out to a taxi-cab, and was driven to his sister's flat in Ashley Gardens, where again he was able to walk to his room. He gradually fell into a state of coma, and spoke again only a few words, at intervals. On the fifth day it was decided to operate, and a large clot was removed. His heart failed subsequently to respond to the demands made upon it, and he passed away very quietly and peacefully at about an hour after sunset.

He received the Blessed Sacrament of the Church, of which he was so loyal and devoted a son, a few minutes before the call came, and the words of one of his favourite hymns, "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide," were with him in his last moments. His own outlook upon the new life which so opened out before him as he was called away in the vigour of his physical strength and the prime of his intellectual and administrative powers is best summed up in the words which he wrote a short year before to Mr. Arthur Tapp about his father, "My dear old father was so infirm and suffered such discomfort that no one could have wished his life to be prolonged. He died very peacefully looking forward to service, not rest, in a wider sphere." To that service he himself looked forward also, service fit for a man who was master of himself and therefore able to serve; service in which purity of motive and honesty of purposes must needs be the basis of enrolment.

He was a man much loved of his friends, and his place will long be vacant. He had learned the great secret of swaying the hearts of others—the secret of giving. Gifts of courageous uplifting, gifts of friendly and cheerful intercourse, gifts of the world's goods, gifts of joyful enterprise he showered about him. Of all such things he had received himself in large measure and he gave away with a free hand.

He gave, as he said in a letter which is printed earlier in the book, because he conceived it his duty to give, and he usually was careful to conceal as far as might be possible the nature, the amount, or the purpose of his gifts.

There are many givers in this world. Some give to save themselves annoyance, and some to gain renown. Some there be who give of loose temperament, and some who give not at all. A man gives to the woman he loves because he loves, and a woman to the child she bears because she has borne it. But God gives because giving is in its nature divine. So he who gives because his nature is to give has within him a thing divine, and he is happiest of all. Of such was T.A.B., who gave without stint and without ceasing.

It is always a pleasant thing to leave the description of the tasks which a man performs in the public eye for the more intimate search for the portrait of the man as he was. What manner of man T.A.B. was may, perhaps, have become clear through his work, and with much reticence and reserve it needs only to draw aside the curtain a little way to reveal more of the man in his inner self.

Physically he was immense. He seemed quite tireless. He had the walk of the Red Indian, or the gipsy. It was almost impossible to keep step with him. His long, springy stride went on and on as if it never could stop. The tragedy, which was a comic tragedy, of it was that he never realised that others weren't quite up to the things which he did. "What about walking back?" he would say, without a thought, to someone, who would gasp at the exertion involved. He would leave Scotland or Sardinia for home, travel as rapidly as was possible, and arrive at Normanhurst after exertions which would leave most people tired out. But he would transact business as soon as he arrived, spend the evening with his secretary, and be out in the woods next morning long before other members of the household were stirring.

Mr. A. C. Campbell of Genoa relates the following anecdote illustrative of this: Lord Brassey had been doing a cure for throat trouble at Salso Maggiore. When it was finished his doctor advised him to take a few days' rest before returning to England:—

Lord Brassey's idea of a "rest cure" was very characteristic. He wished me to join him at Salso. We motored next day to Spezia and he inspected his works there in the afternoon. Next day we motored on to Genoa where he was entertained to dinner by the British Chamber of Commerce, and made a long and interesting speech on "Imperial Federation." Next day we motored on to La Dhuille *via* Aosta—went over the Petit S. Bernard on foot, over the Col de Bonhomme in deep snow (we were the first to cross the pass that year) to the valley of Chamonix where we met Lady Brassey.

I returned to Italy, but had a letter a day or two after saying that he had started up Mont Blanc with Lady Brassey—slept at the Grands Mulets, and had only been prevented by bad weather from reaching the summit.

On the occasion of the opening day of the East Sussex Hounds in November, 1900, "Merry Heart" in the *Field* reports the meet at Normanhurst:—

At this moment the Hon. T. A. Brassey arrived on the scene, he having just detrained at Battle after crossing from Belfast the previous night. Surely a leaf out of the Boers' (with whom he has so lately been in touch) text-book for mobility. With his co-M.F.H., Mr. Egerton, matters were soon in shape, and in less than fifteen minutes hounds had found.

This faculty of bodily strength enabled him to do a great deal more work than ordinary men could compass, and he won causes, or directed enterprises in the way he desired by holding out when others were exhausted. Games came easily to him, and he delighted in them all. Tennis, racquets, skating were the same to him; he would turn to them all with eager anticipation: none came amiss. He loved a paper-chase, and many a jolly hour was spent in tearing paper for a run through the country round Normanhurst on a holiday afternoon. He delighted to turn out with axe and bill-hook and cut out thickets in the huge masses of rhododendrons in the park, and to sum all up with a bonfire. In such excursions he was in later years often accompanied by his wife's nephews and niece, who lived

with them, and by Lady Brassey herself. His hands were frequently in a most disreputable condition from indulgence in this pastime: they were cut and bruised in all kinds of ways, to the amusement of his friends, but to his own supreme indifference. The joy of Foulk, his youngest companion, to whom he was greatly attached, was not greater than his own at a successful bonfire.

In the house he always took the lead in after-dinner games. Fives on the billiard-table, in which bruises on the palm of the hands had to be borne with as much indifference as the player could summon to his aid, provoked immense enthusiasm, as, if he were more mathematically inclined, did Tarocchi, a card game much affected at the Sardinian mines. He was extraordinarily successful at such games, and the more so where foresight and judgment were required. On one occasion he was engaged *solus* against a number of adversaries collaborating in a war game, when Colonel Gathorne-Hardy said, "Anyhow, I'll give 10 to 1 on T.A.B." There were no takers.

He had an intense perception of beauty in all its forms. He revelled in the lovely Sussex country which surrounded his home, all the living creatures of which he knew and loved. Trees and flowering shrubs grew there in an endless variety of forms, as planted by himself and his father, and he was always adding, readjusting and retouching. The glorious flaming colours of the masses of azaleas, rhododendrons, and other flowering trees and plants were a magnificent sight, and he gloried in them. When he made his home at Park Gate in 1889, soon after his marriage, he spent many hours in the garden, which was entirely remodelled. Edwards, who became a valued friend, came from the gardens at Eridge Castle to take charge, and to be under T.A.B.'s general orders, director of the alterations. T.A.B. himself did much of the planting of trees and shrubs, and developed an interesting collection of about eighty varieties of rhododendron. He arranged some most effective herbaceous borders from which he secured some wonderful colouring. At Normanhurst, to which he moved in 1911, he improved many of the beautiful trees by making clearings round them, and he developed at the same time the delightful landscape

views, which were being more or less shut in. His old friend Tom Wait, the bailiff, to whom T.A.B. always paid a visit on Sunday morning after church, knew him from childhood, and speaks of his love for natural beauty and for all living things. No one, indeed, could see him walking about the countryside without feeling it in every movement which he made, and in the virtue which seemed to come out of him. The cluster of pines on the skyline like a beautiful eyebrow, or the glittering drops which shimmered on the silver of the birch, or the clear shining after rain which brought Fairlight many miles nearer, or the gleaming of the ploughland as the sea birds dropped at the ploughman's heel—all these and all such things seemed to send a quiver through his observant frame.

Music made the same appeal to him. He was absolutely entranced by it. When someone played or sang in the great hall at Normanhurst he became quite dead to the world and to everything but the power of the music. This trait of his was so marked as to be certain to attract the attention of all who were not used to him, and even to provoke a mirthful comment from others who were familiar with it. He loved pictures, and had many beautiful ones of his own, to which he added from time to time, for no other reason than that he loved them.

He did not laugh very much. But he had a keen sense of humour and delighted in a good story. He did not talk very much. But he listened very attentively to what men could tell him of things concerning which they had expert knowledge. When he was laughing and when he was talking there was always a certain reserve of power, which showed that the man was master of himself, and was a little disconcerting to strangers. A favourite verse of his, which he tried to practise was :—

Keep your face with sunshine lit,  
Laugh a little bit ;  
Gloomy shadows oft will flit,  
If you have the wit and grit,  
Just to laugh a little bit.

He was not what is called a great reader, for he did not take delight in poetry as such or in *belles lettres* or in classical

literature in any language. His favourite poem was "The Sick Stockrider," by Adam Lindsay Gordon, the Australian poet, which gives the reminiscences of the dying man. He would often read this to the wounded men in the Normanhurst hospital, his voice, deep with the reality of the scenes which it conjured up before his eyes :—

The dawn at "moorabinda" was a mist rack dull and dense,  
 The sunrise was a sullen, sluggish lamp ;  
 I was dozing in the gateway at Arbuthnot's bound'ry fence,  
 I was dreaming on the Limestone cattle camp.  
 We crossed the creek at Catricksford, and sharply through the  
 haze  
 And suddenly the sun shot flaming forth ;  
 To southward lay "Katawa," with the sandpeaks all ablaze,  
 And the flush'd fields of Glen Lomond lay to north.

\* \* \* \* \*

I've had my share of pastime, and I've done my share of toil,  
 And life is short—the longest life a span ;  
 I care not now to tarry for the corn or for the oil,  
 Or for the wine that maketh glad the heart of man.  
 For good undone and gifts misspent and resolutions vain,  
 'Tis somewhat late to trouble. This I know—  
 I should live the same life over, if I had to live again ;  
 And the chances are I go where most men go.

But he read steadily books and papers which other people might find stiff and heavy. The latest publications on the economics of agriculture, or a treatise on the housing problem or the summary of Mr. Charles Booth's inquiry into London conditions he would digest carefully, and in this sense he was always reading. He liked to discuss what he had read, and to talk about the solution of the great problems of the day. To one who understood him well, he would say, "Well now, . . . propound us a problem." Then when men had well spoken, "Well, that's enough of that ; now then, another."

He had a generous temperament, and although he was a most relentless adversary, whether in games or in some part of the great game of life, he played the game always. When the contest was over, he was friendly with his adversary. "The straightest man I ever knew." "The most generous man I ever knew." These two tributes from entirely different quarters give a real picture of the man.

He was downright in attitude, when he felt strongly

but men, as men, understood him. He could get along with working men always, partly because of this understanding and partly because of his accessibility. He liked to talk to men about their work and their difficulties, and so long as a man was working, he was sure of sympathy. Gillies and gamekeepers, farmers and shipwrights, miners and parsons were all alike. He could get along with them, so long as they were workers and not talkers.

He used to say that his mission in life was clearing up the muddles of other people. Once, a little bitterly, he commented, "No: they won't want me until something needs clearing up. Then they'll ask me." His look of determination when such processes of clearing up were started was only equalled by his look when stroking the Balliol eight, or that which he has in the photograph taken as with Lady Idina he won the Married Couples race at the sports on his silver wedding day. A cartoon by "Pip" in *Mayfair* exhibits him in a characteristic attitude of determination.

The Brassey family is renowned for its hospitality and T.A.B. lived up to its reputation. He loved to have his house full of friends, to entertain at the Varsity match at Lords, to invite East London or Hastings or village friends to enjoy his house and garden. He was a good friend: and more than one was saved from financial difficulty by his timely intervention. His private benefactions were many and secret: their extent will never be known, because those who know will not tell, for they know that he would be grieved that they should be revealed.

Men to whom it is given to lead great causes, or to undertake great public burdens, or to labour much in the interests of their fellow-men are usually found to be sustained by a strong sense of their own guidance by the hand of God. T.A.B. had such a sense. He was inspired by the religion of a real man, modest and unassuming: he had a firm belief in the protection of the Almighty, and a strong desire to do his duty to his God and to man. He was constant in his prayers: whether at home, or on the high seas, in camp or in London he did not forget them. There is a story of a trooper who accidentally saw him on his knees in his tent,

and burst out in surprise to his fellow with an exclamation not usually associated with devotion, "Why, there's the Colonel saying his prayers!" So, also, he maintained the practice of family prayers in his household, himself reading them day by day. When at home he found his way early each morning into the nursery wing to hear little Foulk Myddleton say his prayers, and he liked to hear him recite the hymns which he himself had learnt as a boy, telling him how good he would find it when he grew up to be able to say hymns by heart. He was a regular communicant, and a regular attendant at the parish church. To each of the rectors who served the parish he gave steady and effective support. At times in his life he had had certain doubts and difficulties about the form of his faith, but experience had healed any wounds, and in the light of his great knowledge of men in all quarters of the earth, his faith had been transfused into a pure and unalloyed trust in his God.

His Bible is a singular revelation of the man. It is marked from end to end. Some passages are scored two or three times, as they burnt themselves in upon him. Passages so marked in the Old Testament are the blessing of Joseph, the song of Moses, the prayer of Solomon, the curse of Job, the Psalms *passim*, and parts of Isaiah, Joel, and Habbakuk. The passage marked most heavily of all is "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." In the New Testament, St. Matthew, St. Peter, St. John, and St. James are the most marked, and generally every passage which speaks of the need of self-denial, of work or of strenuous effort.

He had some close friends, men for the most part of the same stamp: God-fearing, resolute, self-sacrificing, honest. Some of them like Douglas Haig and Alfred Milner have made a great mark upon the Empire of their generation: all have served their country in the vigour of their powers. Beyond and beside these he had made numberless acquaintances in England and in all parts of the earth. The number of them is quite too astonishing. Their verdict upon him and his ways may be varied: but from all there came the greatest respect. To schoolfellows, close acquaintances,

and his relations he was always known affectionately as "dear old T.A.B." The expression itself is in some sort a revelation of the man: when the number of those who used it, and the sense in which they used it are taken into account, the man stands out vivid, respected, beloved.

He had suffered much in the war through loss of friends and relations. The greatest of all his suffering was in the loss of his nephew, Edward Egerton, whom he had regarded as his eldest son, and had appointed to succeed to the estates. He had followed his career with the most intense interest: when Edward went to Eton T.A.B.'s advice to him was: "Work hard, play hard, and never tell a lie." He had been delighted at the happiness of his marriage, which took place only too soon before his death, to Miss (afterwards Lady) Rachel Butler, daughter of the present Marquis of Ormonde, and on the news that Edward had died of wounds received on the Western Front, he wrote to a friend in a burst of anguish just one short sentence, "I am quite heart-broken."

He was brought from his sister's house in Ashley Gardens back to Normanhurst, and was buried on a Sunday afternoon in the churchyard at Catsfield, close to the spot where his father had been laid to rest a few short months before. His own Sussex took on her fairest garb for his going. Snow had fallen in the night with a sharp frost, and the whole earth was white as for a bridal. The sun shone bright in a cloudless sky but could not dispel the frost nor melt the snow. It was as if Nature gave her benediction to one who loved her well. The voice of the priest halted again and again at the morning service as he drew the picture of the worker who would rejoice in the work of a new world when the power of God would make him tireless indeed, and in the afternoon a vast concourse gathered to watch as the Sussex wain with the guardian bearers in their smock-frocks, men all who loved him, wended its way through the silver trees to the upland which looks away to Normanhurst. So he came for the last time to his Sussex home.

The last of the Brasseys of Normanhurst had inherited a great tradition, borne a great name, received a great trust. He had maintained the tradition, had kept the name



THE LAKE AT NORMANHURST.



untarnished, had been faithful to the trust. He had lived a man's life, worked a man's work, played the man. In the midst of human weaknesses, despite human frailties, he had tried to do his duty.

The first Thomas Brassey by his labours made men's paths about the world easy, the second Thomas Brassey by his kindness made men's paths in life happy, the third Thomas Brassey by his public spirit and service made a man's path in life an inspiration.

These were men of great service in their generations, and the last was T.A.B.



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