The Key Characters

**Arthur James Balfour**, first Earl of Balfour, (1848–1930) was a major Conservative politician between 1886 and 1930, and Prime Minister between 1902 and 1905. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1874, he was elected MP for Hertford, and he rose in the Conservative Party, many contemporaries claimed, because he was pushed forward by his ‘Uncle Bob’ – that giant late Victorian Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury. In 1878, he accompanied his uncle to the Congress of Berlin and gained his first experience of international relations, an interest he retained for the rest of his political life. In 1878, he wrote a book entitled *In Defence of Philosophic Doubt*, which established him as an intellectual politician. He held many notable Cabinet posts in the late Victorian age, including, Secretary of State for Ireland, First Lord of the Treasury and Foreign Secretary. After 1892, he acted as Conservative leader in the House of Commons. A popular joke in the late Victorian age suggested anything was possible if ‘Bob’s your uncle’, but in spite of the charge of nepotism, Balfour became highly respected and produced logical and convincing speeches in the House of Commons. In July 1902, he became Prime Minister, but his leadership of the Conservative Party was dogged by internal party disputes, most notably over tariff reform. One notable achievement was the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID) which helped to plan and coordinate British defence policy. In December 1905, Balfour resigned, and the Conservative party suffered a major election defeat in 1906. After two more election defeats in 1910, Balfour's position as leader was greatly weakened, and in 1911, he resigned. He remained an important figure in the Conservative party and British politics. In May 1915, he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, due to his great expertise on naval affairs, in Asquith’s coalition government. He also became Foreign Secretary in Lloyd George's coalition. In 1917, he issued what became known as ‘The Balfour Declaration’ which promised a homeland for Jewish people. He resigned as Foreign Secretary after the Versailles Conference, but remained in the Cabinet as Lord President of the Council until he resigned in 1922, with most of the Conservative leadership, following the revolt that swept Lloyd George from office. In 1925, Baldwin persuaded him to join his government as Lord President of the Council. He died in 1930 and was praised for his major contribution to political life, foreign affairs and national defence.

**Charles William Beresford**, first Baron Beresford (1846–1919), was known as Lord Charles Beresford in the Edwardian era. He became a Conservative MP in
1875 but continued to serve in the Royal Navy. He constantly pushed for greater expenditure on the navy. He was in command of the Mediterranean fleet from 1905 to 1907. He had a long-running battle during the Edwardian era with John Fisher over his modernising naval reforms. Beresford returned to parliament as MP for the naval town of Portsmouth. He retired from the navy in 1911 and was a leading backbench critic of Balfour.

**Sir Joseph Austen Chamberlain** (1863–1937) was a leading Conservative figure who won the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the son of Joseph Chamberlain and was educated at Rugby Public School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He visited Germany and took classes at the University of Berlin. His time in Germany led him to believe German nationalism was a potential danger to the peace of Europe. He was first elected to parliament as a member of his father’s Liberal Unionist Party in 1892. From 1895 to 1900, he was appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty. In 1903, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. After 1906, Chamberlain became the leading Opposition spokesman on economic matters and the standard bearer of the tariff reform wing of the party. In 1911, he was a leading contender to succeed Balfour as Conservative leader, but he lost out to Bonar Law. In 1915, he joined the wartime coalition as Secretary of State for India but resigned in 1917 after the failure of British forces in Mesopotamia. In 1918, he was appointed as Chancellor of the Exchequer again. In 1921, he became leader of the Conservative Party. In 1922, Chamberlain resigned as leader after the backbench revolt that brought Bonar Law to power. He was one of the very few Conservative leaders who never became Prime Minister. From 1924 to 1929 he was Foreign Secretary and helped to negotiate the Locarno treaty, under whose terms the German government accepted the western borders decided upon at the Paris Peace settlement of 1919. For his efforts, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. He returned to office in 1931 as First Lord of the Admiralty in the National Government, but he resigned after being forced to deal with the Invergordon Mutiny. He was very critical, from 1933 until his death, of the National Government’s policy of appeasing Nazi Germany.

**Joseph Chamberlain** (1836–1914) was one of the most influential British political figures of the period 1886–1914. In his early life, he was a successful businessman and a radical Liberal. He was the father of two leading Conservative figures: Neville Chamberlain and Austen Chamberlain. He went to University College School, but never attended university. At eighteen, he joined the family screw-making company in Birmingham, and it is with that city that he is most identified. In 1873, he became Lord Mayor of Birmingham, and as a Liberal reformer he introduced a series of reforms in housing, education, and public and utility services dubbed as ‘gas and water socialism’. In 1876, he became Liberal MP for Birmingham and was then a critic of Disraeli’s jingoistic imperialist policies. In 1880, he was appointed President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone’s Liberal government. In March 1886, he split from the Liberal Party over Gladstone’s plans for Home Rule for
Ireland and joined the Liberal Unionist Association which soon aligned with the Conservative Party to form the Conservative and Unionist Party, often called ‘The Unionist Party’. Most Liberals saw Chamberlain as a traitor. In 1895, he was appointed Colonial Secretary and became involved in the expansionist plans of Cecil Rhodes in southern Africa. In 1895, he supported a bungled attack on the Transvaal (‘The Jameson Raid’) which ended in humiliating failure. He also soured relations with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Britain’s relations with the Boer Republics – as these two countries were known – deteriorated between 1895 and the outbreak of the Second Boer War (1899–1902). Joseph Chamberlain made a number of efforts to improve Anglo-German relations as Colonial Secretary. In March 1898, he opened talks with the German government about the possibility of an Anglo-German understanding on colonial issues, but von Bulow, the German Chancellor rejected this offer suggesting Britain was not a ‘reliable’ potential ally. Later that year, Britain cooperated with Germany over the partition of the Portuguese empire. This agreement prompted Chamberlain to press again for an Anglo-German agreement. In 1899, Britain, Germany and the USA again cooperated over the future of Samoa. In a speech at Windsor Castle in November 1899, with Kaiser Wilhem II in attendance, Chamberlain said he desired an ‘understanding’ between Britain and Germany. The Kaiser responded by saying that although he wanted friendly Anglo-German relations, he did not want to antagonise Russia by openly allying with Britain. When von Bulow heard of this, he said the best way for Britain to have friendly relations was to ensure Germany was spoken of in positive terms by leading politicians and the British press. On 30 November 1899, Chamberlain said in a speech at Leicester that a Triple alliance involving Britain, Germany and the USA would ‘become a potent influence on the future of the world’. But von Bulow poured cold water on such an idea and claimed Britain was a ‘jealous’ and declining power. Even so, Chamberlain continued to press for an Anglo-German agreement. In January 1901, he told the German ambassador that he supported Britain joining the Triple Alliance. During the autumn of 1901, the German government invited Britain to join the Triple alliance, but Lord Salisbury rejected the offer. With the dream of an Anglo-German alliance over, Chamberlain began to look at the prospect of closer Anglo-French relations more favourably. In September 1903, Chamberlain resigned from the Balfour Cabinet and started a campaign for Tariff Reform, which divided the Conservative party, united the Liberals and contributed to three Conservative election defeats in the Edwardian period. After the 1906 defeat, the tariff reform debate dominated the party. In July 1906, Chamberlain suffered a severe stroke, which paralysed his right side and led to difficulties in speaking and writing. Henceforth, his political career was over at a time when the Tariff reform crusade was at its height. On 2 July 1914, his wife Mary read him details of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, and later that very same day he had a severe heart attack and died.

Andrew Bonar Law (1858–1923) was a leading Conservative politician and Prime Minister. He was born in Rexton in New Brunswick, Canada. In 1860,
his mother died, and he later moved to live with his mother's family in Glasgow. The family were rich merchant bankers, and after attending Glasgow High School, he joined the family business. In 1891, he married Annie Robley in 1891, and they had seven children. His financial independence, gained from the family business, allowed him to pursue a career in politics. He became Conservative MP for Glasgow Blackfriars in 1900 and soon became a supporter of tariff reform. He was made parliamentary secretary at the Board of Trade in 1902. After 1906, Law was considered, along with Austen Chamberlain, as one of the most passionate supporters of tariff reform in the Conservative opposition. Law developed a reputation as a blunt and fearless debater and was known for his honesty. He lost his seat in 1906 election but returned to represent Dulwich in a by-election later that year. In 1911, he was elected as Conservative leader, and he focused his attention on tariff reform and fought a bitter opposition to Liberal plans for Home Rule in Ireland. He entered the coalition government as Colonial Secretary in 1915 and served in Lloyd George’s War Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. His two eldest sons were killed in action during the First World War, which added to the sadness he already endured after the death of his beloved wife several years earlier. At the 1918 election, he was elected MP for Glasgow Central. In 1921, ill health forced him to resign as Conservative leader, and he was replaced by Austen Chamberlain. He returned to office as Prime Minister in October 1922 when Conservative MPs forced Lloyd George out of office. In May 1923, he resigned after being diagnosed with throat cancer and was replaced by Stanley Baldwin. He became known as the ‘unknown Prime Minister’ and was the shortest serving Prime Minister of the twentieth century, but he was an extremely important political figure in the early twentieth century.

William St John Fremantle Brodrick, first Earl of Midleton, commonly known as St John Brodrick, (1856–1942) was the Conservative spokesman for army affairs in the House of Lords from 1905 to 1914. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He entered parliament as MP for Surrey West in 1880. He held several ministerial posts related to imperial and foreign affairs and national defence, most notably, Secretary of State for War and Secretary of State for India.

Lord Cawdor, Frederick Archibald Vaughan Campbell, third Earl of Cawdor (1847–1911), was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He married Edith Turnor in 1868, and they had ten children. He served as First Lord of the Admiralty briefly in the 1902–1905 Balfour Government. He was the leading Conservative naval spokesman in the House of Lords from 1905 until his death in 1911.

George Nathaniel Curzon, first Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859–1925), was a leading Conservative politician in the early twentieth century. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford where he was a brilliant student and inspired a poem which contained the lines, ‘My name is George Nathaniel Curzon, I am a most superior person’. He entered parliament in 1886 as
Conservative member for Southport. He was Under-Secretary of State for India (1891–1892) and Foreign Affairs (1895–1898). In 1899, he was appointed Viceroy of India and henceforth was deeply antagonistic towards Russia. He instituted a number of reforms as Viceroy involving administration, education and reform of the police force. In 1904, he decided to partition Bengal which roused bitter opposition and was later revoked in 1912. In 1905, he resigned as Viceroy and returned to England. He spoke on imperial affairs for the Conservatives in the House of Lords from 1905 to 1914. He also took an active part in opposition to the Liberal government’s plans to remove the veto power of the House of Lords. From December 1916, he served in Lloyd George’s War Cabinet as leader of the House of Lords. After the First World War, he became Foreign Secretary, and when Bonar Law retired in May 1923, Curzon was a leading contender to become leader of the Conservative party, but he was beaten in the leadership contest by Stanley Baldwin largely because it was felt it would be an unpopular move to make a rich aristocrat leader of the Conservative Party during an age of mass democracy. When Baldwin became Prime Minister in November 1924, he did not continue with Curzon as Foreign Secretary and made him Lord President of the Council, a post he held until his death in March 1924. It was widely felt that Curzon never fulfilled his brilliant early promise and that he failed in most of the major posts he held in government.

**Lord Esher, Reginald Baliol Brett**, second Viscount Esher (1852–1930), was a leading defence expert in the Edwardian era. In 1901, he became deputy governor of Windsor Castle, and he remained on close terms with the Royal family for the rest of his life. He edited Queen Victoria’s papers and published a book called *The Correspondence of Queen Victoria* in 1907. He was a Liberal and a fervent supporter of the Anglo-French Entente and a close adviser to Balfour between 1905 and 1914.

**John Arbuthnot ‘Jackie’ Fisher**, first Baron Fisher (1841–1920), is the second most well-known naval figures in history, after Lord Nelson, and he was the leading figure in the Edwardian naval administration. He was born in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to an English family. He joined the navy on 1854 and studied at Excellent, the naval gunnery school. From 1876 to 1883, he was the captain of five different Royal naval vessels. He was part of the British fleet that bombarded Alexandria in the Egyptian War of 1882. In October 1905, he was appointed First Sea Lord. In December 1905, he became Admiral of the fleet. Fisher was known as a ‘moderniser’ and reformer, and he was appointed to reform the navy in order to reduce its budget. He sold off 90 obsolete battleships and a further 64 reserve vessels. Fisher believed the Dreadnought, the high-speed big-gun battleship, supported by new high-speed battle cruisers, would allow the Royal Navy to continue to ‘rule the waves’ and keep Britain safe from overseas invasion. He also encouraged the introduction of submarines. He was severely criticised by right-wing sections of the Conservative Party for suggesting Germany had no chance of invading Britain, and he was also opposed to conscription. Not only did Fisher advise
the Liberal government, but he was also a key adviser to A.J. Balfour, as leader of the Opposition. He died of cancer in 1920.

**Sir Edward Grey**, first Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933), was British Foreign Secretary in the Edwardian period. He was educated in Winchester and Balliol College, Oxford. He was elected Liberal MP in 1885. He was parliamentary under-secretary for foreign affairs between 1892 and 1895. He was a strong supporter of the British Empire and was dubbed a ‘Liberal-Imperialist’. In 1905, Grey was appointed as Foreign Secretary: a post he held until 1916 and the longest holder of that office in the twentieth century. Grey’s policy was to ensure that if war came Britain would be allied against Germany, a power he thought was intent on dominating the continent. He signed the Anglo-Russian convention in 1907, and he maintained his support for a bi-partisan or non-partisan approach to foreign affairs with the Conservatives, something he was criticised for by radicals on the left of the Liberal Party. In 1914, Grey played a key role in the events which led to the outbreak of war. He was determined to support France, but in public he used the neutrality of Belgium as the pretext for Britain entering the war, something that did not deter Germany. He is best remembered for a remark he made on hearing of the outbreak of the First World War: ‘The lamps are going out all over Europe: we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime’. After the war, he wrote his memoirs and was a highly regarded elder statesman.

**Lord Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Petty-FitzMaurice**, fifth Marquess of Lansdowne (1845–1927), was a very wealthy Irish peer, who was Foreign Secretary between 1900 and 1905 and the leading Conservative spokesman on foreign affairs between 1905 and 1914. He went to Eton and Oxford. He entered the House of Lords as a Liberal in 1866, and served as Lord of the Treasury in Gladstone’s government from 1869 to 1872 and as Under-Secretary for war between 1872 and 1874. He was Governor-General of Canada between 1883 and 1888, and Viceroy of India from 1888 to 1894. On his return to England, he aligned as a Liberal Unionist with the Conservative Party and was appointed Secretary of State of War in June 1895. As Foreign Secretary, he negotiated the 1904 Anglo-French Entente, and in 1906, he became Conservative leader in the House of Lords. In 1915, he joined the wartime coalition of Herbert Asquith as minister without portfolio, but he was not given a post in Lloyd George’s coalition government formed in 1916, and he never held high office again.

**Arthur Hamilton Lee**, first Viscount Lee of Fareham, (1868–1947) was the leading Conservative spokesman for naval affairs in the House of Commons from 1905 to 1914. He came from humble origins and did not attend university. His wife Ruth was the daughter of a wealthy New York banker, and the couple were prominent in New England society. He was Conservative MP for Fareham in Hampshire between 1900 and 1918. He founded the Courtauld Institute of Art, and he owned the Buckinghamshire estate Chequers which was left in his will to be used as the official retreat of British prime ministers.
Walter Hume Long, first Viscount Long, (1854–1924) was a leading Conservative politician in the Edwardian era. He was educated at Harrow and Christ Church College, Oxford. He served as a Conservative MP from 1880 to 1921. Long held a number of Cabinet posts, most notably, as President of the Board of Agriculture, as Chief Secretary of Ireland during 1905 and First Lord of the Admiralty from 1919 to 1921. Long’s wife and mother had Irish connections, and he was a strong supporter of Irish Unionism throughout his political career. In 1907, he helped to establish the Ulster Unionist Defence League. He sat as an MP for a Dublin constituency from 1905 to 1910. He was one of the few Conservatives who remained sympathetic to free trade in Opposition, and he is best known as a leading candidate to succeed Balfour in 1911, but he lost out to Bonar Law. He played a leading role in the Government of Ireland Act and the establishment of the Irish Free State. He retired from politics in 1921 and died just three years later.

Leopold James Maxse (1864–1932) was a noted right-wing journalist and editor of the National Review from 1893 to 1932. He attended Cambridge University and was made President of the Cambridge Union Society in 1886. Maxse was famous for being pro-French and anti-German during the Edwardian period, and he even wrote a book called ‘Germany on the Brain’ in 1916. He continued to be anti-German after the war and thought the Versailles Treaty was too lenient on Germany. He was also a strong opponent of the League of Nations. At the general election of 1918, he supported the extreme right-wing National Party.

Alfred Milner, first Viscount Milner (1854–1925), was a controversial British imperialist statesman. He was born in Giessen, Hesse-Darmstadt in Germany. He was educated in Germany and then became a scholar at Balliol College, Oxford. He was awarded a first in classics in 1877. He spoke with the trace of a German accent for most of his life, which was a great irony, as he often described himself as a ‘British race patriot’, and he dreamed of an expanded British Empire with its own global imperial parliament. In 1897, Joseph Chamberlain appointed him as High Commissioner of South Africa and Governor of Cape Colony. He was a controversial appointent, having little government experience. He told a friend before his departure that while in South Africa he was determined to ‘teach those bloody Boers a lesson’. He was a leading figure in causing the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). In February 1901, he took over the administration of the Boer states, and it was Milner who was responsible for the concentration camps which housed 27,000 Boer women and children in appalling conditions that produced widespread controversy. After the war he was appointed Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange free state. Suffering from ill health, he resigned in April 1905 and returned to Britain. He became a passionate advocate of tariff reform, the unity of the empire and a strong national defence to meet the German threat during the Edwardian age. In 1910, he founded ‘The Round Table’, which promoted ideas of imperial unity and acted as a policy think-tank on imperial and defence matters. He also became chairman of Rio Tinto.
Zinc and was a strong opponent of attempts to curb the veto powers of the House of Lords. In 1918, Milner was appointed as Secretary of State for War and then Colonial Secretary. He attended the Paris Peace Conference and was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. He died of sleeping sickness after a visit to South Africa in 1925.

**Ernest Pretyman** (1860–1931) was a leading Conservative spokesman on naval affairs from 1908 to 1914. He was educated at Eton and The Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. In 1894, he married Lady Beatrice Adine Bridgeman, the daughter of the fourth Earl of Bradford. He was a Conservative MP for Suffolok (1895–1906) and Chelmsford (1908–1923). He was Civil Lord of the Admiralty from 1900 to 1903 and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty between 1903 and 1906.

**Field Marshal Frederich Sleigh Roberts**, first Earl Roberts (1832–1914), was one of the most famous soldiers of the Victorian era and the President of the National Service League. He was born in Cawnpore, India on 20 September 1832 and educated at Eton and Sandhurst. He had the nickname ‘Bobs’ and played a significant role in several important military campaigns, including the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Second Boer War (1899–1902). He died of pneumonia in 1914 while visiting Indian troops fighting at St. Mar in France in the First World War. Such was his reputation that he was allowed to lie in state at Westminster Hall, an honour only bestowed on one other non-Royal in the twentieth century: Sir Winston Churchill in 1965. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

**Lord Selborne, William Waldegrave Palmer**, second Earl of Selborne (1859–1942) was a leading Conservative figure on Naval affairs during the Edwardian era. He was educated at Winchester and University College, Oxford and gained a first class degree in history. In 1883, he married Lady Maud Cecil, elder daughter of Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury), who later became Prime Minister. He started his political life as the Liberal MP for East Hampshire, but he became a ‘Liberal Unionist’ in 1886 outraged with Gladstone’s proposal for Irish Home Rule. From 1895 to 1900, he was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies under Joseph Chamberlain. From 1900 to 1905, he was First Lord of the Admiralty and supported the introduction of the new Dreadnought class of battleships. From 1905 to 1910 he was High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal. He returned to England in 1910 and became a leading supporter of Tariff Reform and Colonial preference and spoke on naval affairs at Westminster.

**Frederick Edwin Smith**, first Earl of Birkenhead (1872–1930), was a rising star of the Conservative Party during the Edwardian years. He was born in Birkenhead in Cheshire and was educated at Birkenhead School and Wadham College, Oxford. He married Margaret Eleanor Furneaux in April 1901, and they had three children. In 1906, he was elected Conservative MP for the Liverpool constituency of Walton, which was then a Conservative stronghold. He was known as ‘F.E. Smith’ and made his name as skilled lawyer. He was a
hard-drinking, witty character and a brilliant orator. At the outbreak of the First World War, he was put in charge of the Government's Press Bureau. In 1915, he was made Solicitor General, and he then became Attorney General. In 1919, he became Lord Chancellor in Lloyd George's coalition government. Between 1924 and 1928, he was Secretary of State for India. After retiring from politics, he became Director of Tate and Lyle. Margot Asquith once said, 'F.E. Smith is very clever, but sometimes his brains go to his head'.

**George Wyndham** (1863–1913) was the leading Conservative Spokesman on army questions in the House of Commons from 1905 and 1913. In 1887, he married Sibell, Countess Grosvenor (née Lumley), after the death of her first husband, who was the son of the first Duke of Westminster. He was a prolific writer and scholar, noted for his elegance and charm. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1900 to 1905, and he took a keen interest in army questions until his death in 1913.
Notes

Introduction

Notes


23. Ibid., p. 486.


25. Paul Kennedy has claimed what is needed to complement the various studies of the ‘radical right’ pressure group in the Edwardian period is a study of how the Conservative Party as a whole responded to the growth of German power. See Kennedy, ‘The Pre-War Right’, pp. 1–20.
Chapter 1  The Nature and Organisation of Conservative Foreign and Defence Questions at Westminster

12. Ibid., p. 55.
20. Law Papers, 18/2/16, Arnold-Foster to Law, 24 April 1906.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
29. Sandars Papers, c.764, fols. 157–172, a note on Mr. Balfour’s Resignation, 8 November 1911.
31. Sandars Papers, c.764, fol. 47, Balfour to Stamfordham, 18 September 1911.
32. Sandars Papers, c.756, fol. 83, Lansdowne to Sandars, 3 February 1908.
33. Sandars Papers, c.757, fols. 193–195, Cawdor to Sandars, 2 December 1908.
34. Sandars Papers, c.758, fol. 134, Lansdowne to Sandars, 21 March 1909.
35. Selborne Papers, 3/fol. 81, St. John Brodrick to Selborne, 3 October 1908.
38. Sandars Papers, c.757, fols. 207–210, Note by Walter Long on Naval Policy, November 1908.
40. Cawdor Papers, Box 290, Fisher to Cawdor, 11 July 1907.
42. Selborne Papers, 79/fols. 20–21, Lansdowne to Selborne, 4 April 1907.
44. Chamberlain, Politics, p.170.
47. Sandars Papers, c.764, fols. 113–116, Long to Balfour, 29 September 1911.
49. Ibid., p. 131.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., p. 92.
53. Ibid., p. 91.
55. Law Papers, 31/2/68, Beresford to Vesey, 29 January 1914.
56. Sandars Papers, c.757, fols. 207–10, Balfour to Long, 9 November 1908.
57. Chamberlain, Politics, p.159.
58. Selborne Papers, 71/fols. 171–184, Selborne to Pretyman, 13 January 1909.
60. Bonar Law Papers, 31/3/13, Lee to Law, 6 February 1914.
61. The Times, 23 January 1913.
62. Sandars Papers, c.751, fol. 139, Sandars Memorandum, 1906.
64. Williams, Defending the Empire, pp. 145–146.
66. Sandars Papers, c.754, fol. 274, Midleton to Balfour, 16 December 1907.
68. Ibid., p. 182.
71. Hansard, 5 March 1912, col. 209.
72. The Times, 30 April 1909.
Chapter 2  Leadership: (1) A.J. Balfour and Anglo-German Relations

1. Balfour held this post from 1887 to 1891.
2. Many studies of the Conservative Party in Opposition during the period 1905 to 1914 pay no attention at all to foreign, naval or defence matters. For example, see D. Dutton, ‘His Majesty’s Loyal Opposition’: The Unionist Party in Opposition, 1905–1914, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1992.
6. The Times, 11 January 1900.
8. Balfour Papers, 49747, fols. 175–176, Balfour to M. D’Estounelles de Constant, 8 May 1905.
9. Young, Balfour, p. 228.
11. Hansard, 11 May 1905, col. 78.
17. The Anglo-French Entente was signed in April 1904.
18. National Archives, CAB 41/30, Balfour to King Edward VII, 8 June 1905.
22. Young, Balfour, p. 182.
24. Balfour Papers, 49727, fols. 26–27, Balfour to Lansdowne, 12 December 1901.
25. This is not to suggest that Balfour admired German militarism or the style of German diplomacy. In 1905, for example, Balfour stressed that their ‘ill mannered behaviour’ during the Morocco crisis revealed what ‘poor diplomats Germans are’.
27. Mackay, Balfour, p. 31.
28. Young, Balfour, p. 228.
30. Young, Balfour, p. 248.
32. Ibid.
33. Selborne Papers, 3/fols. 5–6, Balfour to Selborne, 5 April 1902.
34. Balfour Papers, 49747, fols. 155–162, Balfour to Lascault, 2 January 1905.
36. Lascault Papers, FO 800/12, fols. 198–202 ‘File on Anglo-German Union Club’.
42. *The Times*, 11 November 1907.
44. *National Review*, June 1906.
45. Balfour Papers, 49703, fol. 27, Clarke to Balfour, 14 September 1906.
47. Sandars Papers, c.754, fols. 274–279, Midleton to Balfour, 16 December 1907.
52. Selborne Papers, 3/fols. 16–18, Selborne to St. John Brodrick, 27 February 1908.
53. Balfour Papers, 49712, Fisher to Balfour, 29 November 1907.
54. Sandars Papers, c.765, fols. 2–4, Balfour to Fisher, 1 January 1908.
56. Sandars Papers, c.756, fols. 151–152, Lord Esher to King Edward VII, 1 January 1909.
58. Balfour told the German Ambassador[Metternich] in 1908 that the Anglo-German naval race was the primary reason for the deterioration of Anglo-German relations. See *Grosse Politik*, vol. 24, no. 8215.
59. Selborne Papers, 3/fol. 12, Lady Selborne to Lord Selborne, 16 September 1908.
62. The Conservative agitation was summed up by George Wyndham’s popular slogan: ‘We want eight and we won’t wait’.
64. Williams, *Defence*, pp. 164–165. In private, Asquith, a committed Liberal Imperialist, supported the building of the eight battleships straight away. He came up with the ‘four now and four later’ in the hope of pacifying the Liberal rank and file, most of whom opposed excessive spending on the navy.

65. The motion of censure stated ‘That in the view of this House the declared policy of His Majesty’s Government respecting the immediate provision of battleships of the newest types does not sufficiently secure the safety of the Empire.’


68. Sandars Papers, c.758, fols. 178–185, Balfour to Esher, 16 April 1909.


70. Selborne Papers, 1/fols. 144–146, Balfour to Selborne, 7 January 1914.

71. The memorandum was sent by Balfour to a number of senior Shadow Cabinet figures in the weeks leading up to the General Election of December 1910.


73. Sandars Papers, c.764, fols. 57–58a, Balfour to Sandars, 21 September 1911.

74. Balfour Papers, 49862, fol. 169, Balfour to Spender, 30 May 1912.

75. Balfour Papers, 49747, fol. 218, Balfour to Mensdorf, 1 May 1913. Balfour and Lansdowne were frequently briefed ‘off the record’ by William Tyrell, Grey’s private secretary, who constantly stressed the German ‘menace’ in conversation with them.

76. Balfour Papers, 49731, fol. 1, Grey to Balfour, 1 June 1912.


78. Balfour Papers, 49747, fol. 213 ‘Anglo-German Relations’, notes and comments on *Nord and Sud* article.

79. ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, July 1912.


81. Balfour insisted on this clause because he was not prepared for Britain to be ‘dragged at her heels into a war for the recovery of Alsace Lorraine’.


89. Balfour Papers, 49731, fols. 17–19, Balfour to Grey, 16 December 1913.
Chapter 3  Leadership: (2) Andrew Bonar Law and Anglo-German Relations

4. The Kidston brothers later became partners in the Clydesdale Bank.
5. The school can also boast Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Prime Minister, as another former pupil.
7. The marriage produced seven children. The untimely death of Bonar Law’s wife in 1909, following a routine gall stone operation, was a shattering blow to Law, because his marriage had provided him with a vital support system from the daily grind of politics.
8. Bonar Law lost his seat in the 1906, but soon gained a seat, following a by-election victory at Dulwich later the same year. Law was defeated in Manchester North West in December 1910, but he won a by-election in Bootle in 1911.
11. Ibid., p. 21.
16. Ibid., col. 287.
27. Ibid., col. 23.
28. Ibid., col. 22.
32. ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, November 1905.
36. Ibid.
42. Law Papers, 24/3/63, Gwynne to Law, 20 November 1911.
44. *Hansard*, 27 November 1911, col. 69.
45. *Hansard*, 27 November 1911, col. 69.
46. Gwynne Papers, 3/dep. 16, Gwynne to Beresford, 3 June 1907.
50. Selborne Papers, 79/fols. 114–120, Selborne to Lansdowne, 29 August 1912.
51. Selborne Papers, 79/fols. 117–118, Lansdowne to Selborne, 4 September 1912.
52. Selborne Papers, 79/fol. 113, Law to Selborne, 2 September 1912.
53. Law Papers, 31/2/68, Beresford to Vasey, 29 January 1914.
55. Law Papers, 25/3/14, Armstrong to Law, 7 March 1912.
57. Law Papers, 18/8/10, Law to Fabian Ware, 8 September 1908.
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35. The issue was highlighted by 64 per cent of Liberal candidates and 80 per cent of Labour candidates. See Blewett, Elections, p. 321.
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52. The seat in question was Everton, Liverpool, which was one of the strongest ‘Orange’ constituencies in the country.
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72. Ibid., p. 137.
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74. This interpretation casts doubt on the view put forward by Fest. See Fest, ‘Xenophobia’, p. 181.
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Chapter 6 Extra Parliamentary Pressure Groups and Germany

4. Nation in Arms, January 1911, p. 3.
5. Ibid.
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24. Searle, ‘Revolt From the Right’, p. 27.
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52. *The Times*, 13 January 1913.
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55. Ibid.
60. *Standard*, 9 November 1907.
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69. Gwynne Papers, 3/dep. 16, Beresford to Gwynne, 22 November 1907.
72. Law Papers, 18/4/53, Gwynne to Law, 11 February 1908. Gwynne worked closely with Charles Beresford to further the cause of the Imperial Maritime League. As Gwynne commented to Beresford about Wyatt’s constant stress on the danger of a German invasion, ‘Mr Wyatt, who is absolutely on our way of thinking’ is ‘fighting the fight on our lines’. See Gwynne Papers, 3/dep. 16, Gwynne to Beresford, 25 May 1907.
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Chapter 7  The Conservative Party and the Decision for War in 1914

2. Balfour Papers, 49832, fol. 21, Balfour to Alice Balfour, 8 August 1914.
4. House of Lords Debates, 27 November 1911, col. 58
8. The offer to form a coalition was made by Churchill to F.E. Smith on 30 July 1914 and was discussed with Law on 31 July 1914. Law told Smith that he would only discuss the question of a coalition with Asquith – not with any intermediaries. See Lord Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, London, Hutchinson, 1916, p. 18.
13. See *Hansard*, 15 September 1914, col. 896.
15. Maxse Papers, 475/335, Beresford to Maxse, 22 September 1918.
16. Balfour Papers, 49748, fols. 3–4, Balfour to Nicolson, 2 August 1914.
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23. A. Chamberlain, *Down the Years*, London, Cassell, pp. 93–95. For details of the reaction of Conservative politicians in the period from 31 July to 4 August 1914, see Austen Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University Library, 14/2/2.
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27. Bonar Law Papers, 37/4/1, Law to Asquith, 2 August 1914.
34. Chamberlain, *Down the Years*, p. 102.
37. Ibid., cols. 1827–1828.
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Conclusion

8. This interpretation casts doubt on the view put forward by Fest, ‘Xenophobia’, p. 181.
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