

Appendix I: Liberal MPs with Military or Naval Experience Sitting in the House of Commons between 1900 and 1914

F. D. Acland
T. C. R. Agar-Robartes
J. S. Ainsworth
C. P. Allen
G. Baring
E. Beauchamp
W. C. B. Beaumont
C. W. Bellairs
E. N. Bennett
W. B. Brocklehurst
H. C. Brodie
C. R. Buxton
N. Buxton
H. W. C. Carr-Gomm
H. T. Cawley
W. L. S. Churchill
G. P. Collins
C. J. Cory
H. J. Craig
E. Crawshay-Williams
Lord Dalmeny
J. P. Dickson-Poynder
C. W. Dilke
D. Davies
E. M. Dunne
R. Farquharson
E. E. Fiennes
F. Freeman-Thomas
M. A. de Forest
J. M. F. Fuller
A. C. Gardner
T. G. Glen-Coats
H. Greenwood
J. W. Greig
C. A. Grenfell
C. H. C. Guest
F. E. Guest
I. C. Guest

H. Havelock-Allan
A. D. Hayter
I. J. C. Herbert
C. E. H. Hobhouse
P. H. Illingworth
G. Kemp
M. Kincaid-Smith
G. Lambert
H. C. Lea
A. L. Lever
D. Lloyd George
H. C. F. Luttrell
C. H. Lyell
G. McMicking
A. B. Markham
R. C. Munro-Ferguson
A. C. Murray
A. W. C. O. Murray
C. W. Norton
C. M. Palmer
T. H. Parry
O. Partington
W. H. M. Pearson
I. Philipps
D. V. Pirie
N. J. A. Primrose
H. H. Raphael
A. L. Renton
G. S. Robertson
C. D. Rose
R. H. St Maur
C. Seale-Hayne
J. E. B. Seely
T. F. C. E. Shaw
J. Sinclair
C. R. Spencer
A. L. Stanley
E. Strachey

J. Tomkinson
W. Waring
T. C. T. Warner
H. Webb
J. C. Wedgwood
P. Williams
C. H. W. Wilson
G. G. Wilson
J. T. Woodhouse
W. Younger

Appendix II: Liberal MPs affiliated to the Navy League before 1914

T. C. R. Agar-Robartes
G. W. Agnew
C. P. Allen*
G. Baring*
E. Beauchamp
A. C. T. Beck
C. W. Bellairs*†
J. Bertram
A. C. F. Boulton
H. C. Brodie
W. L. S. Churchill
W. H. Cowan
H. Cox
A. Cross
D. Davies
A. Dewar
F. Freeman-Thomas*
C. B. Harmsworth
A. G. C. Harvey
A. A. Haworth
R. Hobart
R. D. Holt
T. G. Horridge
G. Kekewich

J. F. Leese
W. H. Lever
H. F. B. Lynch*
A. E. W. Mason*
A. Mond†
E. S. Montagu
H. Myer
T. B. Napier
J. M. Paulton
W. D. Pearson
W. H. M. Pearson
R. W. Perks*
G. H. Pollard
J. D. Rees
A. L. Renton
E. A. Ridsdale
C. D. Rose
J. E. B. Seely*
M. Kincaid-Smith
A. L. Stanley
E. A. Strauss
A. Taylor
J. Ward (Lib-Lab MP)*
J. H. Yoxall†

*Member of the Executive Committee

†Vice-President of the League

Appendix III: Members of the Liberal War Committee by December 1916

G. W. Agnew
R. H. Barran
A. W. Barton
E. Beauchamp
F. H. Booth
J. A. Bryce
H. W. C. Carr-Gomm
F. Cawley
W. L. S. Churchill
E. A. Cornwall
C. J. Cory
W. H. Cowan
J. H. Dalziel
D. Davies
J. H. Edwards
E. E. Fiennes
W. S. Glyn-Jones
H. Greenwood
E. J. Griffith
C. H. C. Guest
F. E. Guest
R. L. Harmsworth
L. Haslam
C. S. Henry

I. J. C. Herbert
T. O. Jacobsen
H. H. Jones
F. G. Kellaway
G. Lambert
A. B. Markham
G. C. Marks
A. M. Mond
L. G. C. Money
A. C. Morton
W. H. M. Pearson
J. W. Pratt
H. H. Raphael
A. M. Scott
R. Vernon-Harcourt
J. Walton
J. Ward
W. D. Ward
W. Waring
J. C. Wason
J. C. Wedgwood
G. G. Wilson
A. W. Yeo
W. Young

Notes

Introduction: Militarism and the Left: Conceptual Problems and the Case of Britain

1. R. C. Lambert, *The Parliamentary History of Conscription in Great Britain* (London, 1917), p. v.
2. H. Quelch, 'Socialism, Militarism, and Mr Haldane's Scheme', *Social Democrat*, vol. XI, no. 4 (April, 1907), p. 200.
3. *Report of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1907), p. 62.
4. See, for example, H. Weinroth, 'Left-wing Opposition to Naval Armaments in Britain before 1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1971), pp. 93–120; A. J. A. Morris, 'The English Radicals' Campaign for Disarmament and The Hague Conference of 1907', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 43, no. 3 (1971), pp. 367–93; A. J. A. Morris, *Radicalism Against War, 1906–1914: The Advocacy of Peace and Retrenchment* (London, 1972); K. Robbins, *The Abolition of War: The 'Peace Movement' in Britain, 1914–1919* (Cardiff, 1976); F. L. Carsten, *War against War: British and German Radical Movements in the First World War* (London, 1982); D. J. Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace, 1889–1914* (Oxford, 1985); B. Millman, *Managing Domestic Dissent in First World War Britain* (London, 2000); P. Laity, *The British Peace Movement, 1870–1914* (Oxford, 2001).
5. A. J. P. Taylor, *Politics in Wartime and other Essays* (London, 1964), pp. 12–13; T. Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914–1935* (London, 1966), pp. 23–4, 28, 30–5, 39, 51; M. W. Hart, 'The Liberals, the War and the Franchise', *English Historical Review*, 97 (1982), pp. 820–32; D. Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party 1900–1918* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 382–3. Even those historians who have regarded the Liberal collapse as resulting from other factors – in particular the expansion of the working-class electorate in 1918 – have not refuted the assertion that the apparent acquiescence of Liberal cabinet ministers in the wartime militarization of Britain damaged their party, but have argued that such considerations were 'only subordinate factors' in the Liberal decline: H. C. G. Matthew, R. I. McKibbin, and J. A. Kay, 'The Franchise Factor in the Rise of the Labour Party', *English Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 361 (1976), pp. 723–52, at p. 736.
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10. R. McKibbin, *Parties and People: England, 1914–1951* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 17–18.

11. H. C. G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Élite* (London, 1973); P. Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism, and the British Left, 1881–1924* (Woodbridge 1998).
12. *Daily Telegraph*, 28 April 1864.
13. V. R. Berghahn, *Militarism: The History of an International Debate, 1861–1979* (Cambridge, 1984); N. Stargardt, *The German Idea of Militarism, 1866–1914* (Cambridge, 1994).
14. A. T. Lauterbach, 'Militarism in the Western World: A Comparative Study', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1944), pp. 446–78 at p. 447.
15. S. Andreski, 'Militarism', in J. Gould and W. Kolb (eds), *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (London, 1964), p. 429.
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17. D. Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904–1914* (Oxford, 1996), p. 40.
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20. Andreski, 'Militarism', p. 430.
21. M. Geyer, 'The Militarization of Europe, 1914–1945', in J. R. Gillis (ed.), *The Militarization of the Western World* (London, 1989), p. 79.
22. Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War*, p. 40.
23. J. R. Gillis, 'Introduction', in Gillis (ed.) *Militarization of the Western World*, p. 1.
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25. J. A. H. Murray (ed.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles: Founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society* (10 vols, Oxford, 1888–1933), vi: pt. ii, p. 438.
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29. Ceadel, *Thinking about Peace and War*, pp. 19–20.
30. C. D. Burns, 'Militarism', in E. R. A., Seligman (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1937), p. 446.
31. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, p. 692.
32. Andreski, 'Militarism', p. 430.
33. A. Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military* (rev. ed., London, 1959), p. 453; Lauterbach, 'Militarism in the Western World', p. 447; Burns, 'Militarism', p. 446.
34. Burns, 'Militarism', p. 448.
35. Vagts, *A History of Militarism*, pp. 13–23.
36. Andreski, 'Militarism', p. 430.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 430.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
39. Berghahn, *Militarism*, p. 7.

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47. P. J. Cain, *Hobson and Imperialism: Radicalism, New Liberalism, and Finance, 1887–1938* (Oxford, 2002), p. 101.
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52. C. E. Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain; an Historical Review* (London, 1928), pp. 125–6.
53. Lauterbach, 'Militarism in the Western World', p. 458.
54. A. Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 2 (Autumn, 1976), pp. 104–23.
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1 Ideological Context: War, Martial Values, and Military Prestige

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2. J. Richards, 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army in Juvenile Literature', in J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 80–108.
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7. M. Ceadel, 'Gladstone and a Liberal Theory of International Relations', in P. Ghosh and L. Goldman (eds), *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain: Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 77–86.
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11. J. St Loe Strachey, *A New Way of Life* (London, 1909), p. 46; J. Gooch, *The Prospect of War: Studies in British Defence Policy, 1847–1942* (London, 1981), pp. 41–3.
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17. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, pp. 197–216.
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- 'Popular Imperialism and the Image of the Army', pp. 80–106; Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp. 7–109.
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 29. H. O. Arnold-Forster, *The Army in 1906, a Policy and a Vindication* (London, 1906), p. 145.
 30. I. F. W. Beckett, *Riflemen Form: A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement, 1859–1908* (Aldershot, 1982), pp. 39–89. The yeomanry, the last element in the Victorian auxiliary forces, was a mounted force which tended to recruit from rural and farming communities.
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 32. R. Edmondson, *John Bull's Army from Within* (London, 1907), p. 3.
 33. *Labour Leader*, 20 May 1910.
 34. R. Palmer (ed.), *The Rambling Soldier: Life in the Lower Ranks, 1750–1900* (Gloucester, 1985), p. 12.
 35. French, *Military Identities*, p. 246.
 36. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15, 237–40.
 37. This disparity was most evident during the first half of the nineteenth century, and had become less pronounced by the late 1880s. See Spiers, *Army and Society*, pp. 48–50.
 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–8, 24–6; French, *Military Identities*, pp. 31–8, 339–40.
 39. *Nation*, 4 April 1908; Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, pp. 59–61; French, *Military Identities*, pp. 208–9; Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, pp. 95–6.
 40. Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre*, ii, p. 102.
 41. T. von Sosnosky, *England's Danger: The Future of British Army Reform*, trans. M. Sinclair, (London, 1901), p. 80.
 42. Gooch, 'Imperialism', in Masterman, (ed.), *The Heart of the Empire*, pp. 318–20.
 43. *Labour Leader*, 3 June 1910.
 44. *Times*, 26 June 1902. Appointment to the Order was in the King's personal gift, and those honoured during Edward's own lifetime included the painters George Frederic Watts and Lawrence Alma-Tadema; literary figures such as George Meredith and Thomas Hardy; scientists such as William Crookes; and Lords Lister, Kelvin, and Rayleigh; and scholars such as W. E. H. Lecky and Professor Henry Jackson, as well as Florence Nightingale.
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 46. *Hansard*, 5th series, 1910, xix, 758–60.
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 48. A. T. Quiller-Couch, *Corporal Sam and other Short Stories* (London, 1910), p. 29.
 49. Rowse, *Quiller-Couch*, pp. 42, 107, 128.
 50. Blunt, *My Diaries*, ii, p. 203.
 51. G. B. Shaw, *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant. The Second Volume, containing the Four Pleasant Plays* (London, 1898), p. 15.
 52. *Times*, 11 May 1894.

53. A. E. W. Mason, *Clementina* (London, 1901).
54. A. E. W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), pp. 15, 141, 144, 149.
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57. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 February 1885.
58. *Daily News*, 14 February 1885. The battle of Abu Klea was fought on 17 January 1885, when a column under Sir Herbert Stewart, *en route* to Khartoum, repulsed an attack from a numerically superior Mahdist force.
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60. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 February 1885; *Daily News*, 14 February 1885.
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66. G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London, 1909), p. 122.
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69. A. T. Quiller-Couch, *The Roll Call of Honour: A New Book of Golden Deeds* (London, 1911), pp. 9–13.
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71. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 280–1; ii, pp. 40, 182–94.
72. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 95.
73. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1901, xcvi, 718–9; xcix, 1938.
74. *Ibid.*, 1900, lxxviii, 791–7.
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76. *Hansard*, 1900, lxxviii, 791.
77. W. Kent, *John Burns: Labour’s Lost Leader* (London, 1950), pp. 128, 199, 225, 270.
78. Blunt, *My Diaries*, ii, p. 159.
79. E. Stokes, ‘Milnerism’, *Historical Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1962), pp. 47–60; J. O. Baylen, ‘W. T. Stead’s History of the Mystery and the Jameson Raid’, *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1. (1964), pp. 104–32; A. Porter, ‘The South African War, 1899–1902: Context and Motive Reconsidered’, *Journal of African History*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1990), pp. 43–57.
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81. *Ibid.*, 1900, lxxviii, 762.
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85. *Hansard*, 1901, xcv, 599.
86. *Ibid.*, 1900, lxxviii, 82–3.
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88. A. R. Fry, *Emily Hobhouse: A Memoir* (London, 1929), p. 120.
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91. K. O. Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media, 1899–1902', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1–16.
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93. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1908, clxxxv, 1823.
94. *Ibid.*, 5th series, 1914, lxxv, 1044.
95. See, for example, *Nation*, 25 April; 1 August 1914.
96. *Labour Leader*, 16 August 1907.
97. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1908; 26 February 1909.
98. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1908; 2 April 1909.
99. R. Blatchford, *My Eighty Years* (London, 1931), pp. 85–6, 182–3.
100. *Labour Leader*, 20 September 1907.
101. Edmondson, *John Bull's Army*, pp. 13, 122–33, 238.
102. *Hansard*, 1906, cliv, 986; 1908, clxxxvi, 556–7.
103. J. Morgan, *Conflict and Order: The Police and Labour Disputes in England and Wales 1900–1939* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 37–49.
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107. *Ibid.*, 16 August 1907.
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2 Civil-Military Relations under the Pre-War Liberal Governments

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2. H. Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 7–8.
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- in *Armed Forces and Society*, pp. 55–69; C. B. Otley, 'Militarism and the Social Affiliations of the British Army Elite', in *Armed Forces and Society*, pp. 87–108; M. Janowitz, 'Armed Forces and Society: A World Perspective', in *Armed Forces and Society*, pp. 25–8; W. S. Hamer, *The British Army, The British Army Relations, 1885–1905* (Oxford, 1970), p. 14–7; S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (London, 1976), pp. 20–8; G. Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London, 1977), pp. 216–7; Spiers, *The Army and Society*, pp. 8–26.
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 5. B. Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, p. 78.
 6. Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 44–73.
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 8. Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, p. 603.
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 10. Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 1–19, 40–2, 74–7, 95–8, 116–7.
 11. E. M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army, 1868–1902* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 16–7, 74, 168–75; Hamer, *The British Army*, pp. 255–63.
 12. J. Fergusson, *The Curragh Incident* (London, 1964); E. A. Muenger, *The British Military Dilemma in Ireland: Occupation Politics, 1886–1914* (Kansas, 1991), pp. 164–200; I. F. W. Beckett, *The Army and the Curragh Incident, 1914* (London, 1986); Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 112–17.
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 14. Vagts, *A History of Militarism*, p. 322.
 15. G. Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London, 1936; 2001), pp. 277, 279.
 16. Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 114–5.
 17. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Asquith 23 (Asquith papers), fols. 268–9; Morley to Asquith, 5 June 1910.
 18. Bod. Lib., MS Asquith 46, fol. 185: Margot Asquith to marquess of Crewe.
 19. S. E. Koss, *John Morley at the India Office, 1905–1910* (New Haven, 1969), pp. 111, 118.
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 22. The duke was also the younger brother of Edward VII.
 23. *Hansard*, 5th series, 1911, xxviii, 1258; 1874.
 24. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxviii, 856.
 25. *Nation*, 15 June 1912.
 26. The National Archives, PRO 30/57/36 (Kitchener papers): Haldane to Kitchener, 20 June 1911.
 27. See, for example, *Hansard*, 1906, clix, 1411–13; clx, 287–8.
 28. *Speaker*, 30 June 1906.
 29. *Hansard*, 1906, clx, 1055–6; clvix, 361.
 30. *Ibid.*, 1906, clix, 1134–5.

31. *Ibid.*, 1906, clxi, 391.
32. *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 June 1906.
33. W. S. Blunt, *Atrocities of Justice under British Rule in Egypt* (London, 1906).
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35. *Ibid.*, 1906, clx, 289.
36. Blunt, *My Diaries*, ii, p. 154.
37. E. Grey, *Twenty-Five Years, 1892–1916* (2 vols, London, 1925), i, p. 138.
38. H. N. Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold: A Study of the Armed Peace* (London, 1914), p. 140. Brailsford himself joined the Independent Labour Party in 1907 in protest against the Liberal government's handling of the Denshawai affair.
39. Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre*, ii, pp. 134–6; V. R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871–1918: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics*, revised and expanded edn (Oxford, 2005), pp. 252–4.
40. *Times*, 1 December 1913.
41. G. B. Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island* (London, 1907), pp. xlv, xlvii.
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45. *Hansard*, 4th Series, 1903, cxx, 7–9.
46. *Times*, 20 March 1905.
47. *Ibid.*, 3 October 1902.
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49. F. A. Johnson, *Defence by Committee: The British Committee of Imperial Defence, 1885–1959* (London, 1960).
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51. Reginald Viscount Esher, *The Committee of Imperial Defence: Its Functions and Potentialities* (London, 1912), pp. 17–20.
52. A. J. Balfour, *Imperial Defence* (London, 1905), pp. 3–4.
53. British Library, MSS Eur D686 (Birdwood papers), fol. 37: Esher to Kitchener, 26 July 1905.
54. J. Gooch, "'A Peculiarly Anglo-Saxon Institution': The British General Staff in the Era of Two World Wars", in D. French and B. H. Reid, eds *The British General Staff: Reform and Innovation, c.1890–1939* (London, 2002), pp. 193–9.
55. Strachan, *The First World War. Volume I: To Arms*, p. 381.
56. *Nation*, 25 April 1908.
57. *Hansard*, 1903, cxxviii, 713–4.
58. L. C. M. S. Amery, *The Problem of the Army* (London, 1903), pp. 130, 291.
59. J. A. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics* (2 vols, London, 1927), i, pp. 195–6.
60. C. W. Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*, (2 vols, London, 1890), ii, pp. 560–4.
61. C. W. Dilke and H. S. Wilkinson, *Imperial Defence* (London, 1892), pp. 203–27; D. Nicholls, *The Lost Prime Minister: A Life of Sir Charles Dilke* (London, 1995), p. 269.
62. G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899–1914* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 228–32.

63. R. B. Haldane, *Richard Burdon Haldane: An Autobiography* (London, 1929), pp. 234–5.
64. *Times*, 24 April 1907.
65. Haldane, *Autobiography*, p. 232.
66. R. B. Haldane, *Army Reform and other addresses* (London, 1907), pp. 95–7.
67. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, p. 195; *Nation*, 2 March 1907.
68. Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 26–33.
69. Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, pp. 217–75; Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, p. 153; and *The Amateur Military Tradition, 1558–1945* (Manchester, 1991), p. 192; Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 26–46.
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71. Many of these men will be discussed in greater detail below, but a list of those Liberal MPs sitting in Parliament between 1900 and 1914 who had previously served in some branch of the armed forces is as follows: F. D. Acland, T. C. R. Agar-Robartes, J. S. Ainsworth, C. P. Allen, G. Baring, E. Beauchamp, W. C. B. Beaumont, C. W. Bellairs, E. N. Bennett, W. B. Brocklehurst, H. C. Brodie, C. R. Buxton, N. Buxton, H. W. C. Carr-Gomm, H. T. Cawley, W. L. S. Churchill, G. P. Collins, C. J. Cory, H. J. Craig, E. Crawshay-Williams, Lord A. E. H. M. A. P. Dalmeny, J. P. Dickson-Poynder, C. W. Dilke, D. Davies, E. M. Dunne, R. Farquharson, E. E. Fiennes, M. A. de Forest, F. Freeman-Thomas, J. M. F. Fuller, A. C. Gardner, T. G. Glen-Coats, H. Greenwood, J. W. Greig, C. A. Grenfell, C. H. C. Guest, F. E. Guest, I. C. Guest, H. S. M. Havelock-Allan, A. D. Hayter, I. J. C. Herbert, C. E. H. Hobhouse, P. H. Illingworth, G. Kemp, M. Kincaid-Smith, G. Lambert, H. C. Lea, A. L. Lever, D. Lloyd George, H. C. F. Luttrell, C. H. Lyell, G. McMicking, A. B. Markham, R. C. Munro-Ferguson, A. C. Murray, A. W. C. O. Murray, C. W. Norton, C. M. Palmer, T. H. Parry, O. Partington, W. H. M. Pearson, I. Philipps, D. V. Pirie, N. J. A. Primrose, H. H. Raphael, A. L. Renton, G. S. Robertson, C. D. Rose, R. H. St Maur, C. Seale-Hayne, J. E. B. Seely, T. F. C. E. Shaw, J. Sinclair, C. R. Spencer, A. L. Stanley, E. Strachey, J. Tomkinson, W. Waring, T. C. T. Warner, H. Webb, J. C. Wedgwood, P. Williams, C. H. W. Wilson, G. G. Wilson, J. T. Woodhouse, and W. Younger.
72. These men were Bennett, Churchill, Dickson-Poynder, Dunne, Fiennes, Grenfell, C. H. C. Guest, F. E. Guest, I. C. Guest, Herbert, Illingworth, Kemp, Kincaid-Smith, McMicking, Pirie, Renton, St Maur, Seely, Stanley, Waring, Wedgwood, C. H. W. Wilson, and G. G. Wilson.
73. M. Stenton and S. Lees (eds), *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament: A Biographical Dictionary of the House of Commons based on annual volumes of Dod's Parliamentary Companion and other sources* (4 vols, Sussex, 1976–81), ii, p. 310.
74. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 132.
75. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 119.
76. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 169.
77. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 280.
78. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 287.
79. *Times*, 4 January 1916.
80. A. G. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests and Kings* (London, 1908), p. 108. Churchill described his own experiences in Cuba in *My Early Life: A Roving Commission* (London, 1930).

81. A. N. Wilson, *Hilaire Belloc* (London, 1984), pp. 41–5.
82. Stenton and Lees, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, iii, p. 28.
83. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 211; L. G. Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884–1971: Containing Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages with Genealogies and Arms* (London, 1972), p. 113.
84. These men were Beauchamp, Bellairs, Collins, and Craig. Josiah Wedgwood also had an association with the Royal Navy, having been a scholar at the naval college at Greenwich and a naval architect at the Elswick shipyard before going to South Africa during the Boer War as captain of a gun battery composed mostly of Elswick workers. *Times*, 12 May 1915.
85. Dalmeny (son of the former Liberal Prime Minister the earl of Rosebery), Farquharson, F. E. Guest, Hayter, Herbert, Munro-Ferguson, and Waring. Service in Guards regiments was more common among Unionist MPs than among Liberals; eighteen Conservatives formerly in the Guards were returned to Parliament in the 1906 general election alone, when the total Unionist strength in the House of Commons was reduced to just 157.
86. Even by the late 1930s, senior officers could be found wondering ‘whether the Army was a purely professional affair, or whether it might not be regarded ... as a series of clubs’. See D. French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People, c. 1870–2000* (Oxford, 2005), p. 145.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
88. *Times*, 13 December 1923.
89. *Ibid.*, 13 August 1941.
90. *Ibid.*, 11 April 1910.
91. Stenton and Lees, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, iii, pp. 20–21.
92. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 138.
93. V. de Bunsen, *Charles Roden Buxton: A Memoir* (London, 1948), pp. 51–2.
94. Anderson, ‘The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain’, p. 67; Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force*, pp. 85–6.
95. J. Grigg, *The Young Lloyd George* (London, 1973), p. 44.
96. National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh, MS 5909 (Haldane papers), fols. 223–4: Haldane to Asquith, 9 June 1912.
97. Nuffield College Library, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 1, fol. 188: Hamilton to Seely, 13 April 1908.
98. *Daily Mail*, 12 June; 13 June; 14 June 1912. In fact, other Victorian war secretaries had also undertaken military service. William Beresford, who served as Secretary at War in Lord Derby's ministry of 1852, had been an officer in the 9th (Royal) Dragoons and the 12th lancers, and had served in the bloodless Lisbon expedition of 1826. Fox Maule, later Baron Panmure, had been an officer in the Cameron Highlanders; Jonathan Peel had served in the 71st Highlanders, the Grenadier Guards, the 69th Foot and the 53rd Foot; and Frederick Stanley had been in the Grenadier Guards.
99. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5907, fols. 71–2: Knollys to Haldane, 5 August 1906.
100. Nuffield College Library, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 17, fols. 153–9: Stamfordham to Seely, 25 June 1913.
101. *Westminster Gazette*, 13 June 1912.

102. *Nation*, 15 June 1912.
103. *Ibid.*, 28 March 1914.
104. *Times*, 18 February 1958.
105. *Hansard*, 4th Series, 1907, clxxii, 161.
106. Nuffield College Library, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 7, fols. 49–53, 66–75, (notes for speeches at the Forest of Dean Speech, 7 June 1906, and the City Liberal Club, 14 November 1906).
107. *Hansard*, 1906, cliii, 1487.
108. M. Swartz, *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 30, 79–80.
109. *Labour Leader*, 1 October 1914.

3 The Militarization of the State: Armaments, Popular Navalism, and the Liberal Party

1. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (Oxford, 1971), pp. xxvii–xxix.
2. L. E. Davis and R. A. Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 160; J. M. Hobson, 'The Military Extraction Gap and the Weary Titan: The Fiscal Sociology of British Defence Policy, 1870–1913', *Journal of European Economic History*, 22 (1993), pp. 461–506; N. Ferguson, 'Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited', *Past and Present*, no. 142 (1994), pp. 141–68; and *The Cash Nexus: Money and Power in the Modern World, 1700–2000* (London, 2001), p. 47; Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War*, pp. 1–14.
3. M. Howard, 'The Edwardian Arms Race', in D. Read (ed.), *Edwardian England* (London, 1972), p. 150; Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War*, p. 4.
4. H. C. G. Matthew, *Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Élite* (London, 1973), pp. 215–23; Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front*, pp. 152–56; H. Pelling, *Winston Churchill* (London, 1974), pp. 147–62.
5. *Times*, 19 April 1909.
6. M. Howard, *The Continental Commitment* (London, 1972), p. 23.
7. P. P. O'Brien, 'The Titan Refreshed: Imperial Overstretch and the British Navy before the First World War', *Past and Present*, no. 172 (August, 2001), pp. 146–69.
8. *Review of Reviews*, September, 1910, p. 231.
9. Howard, 'Edwardian Arms Race', pp. 145–61; P. M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (London, 1980), pp. 410–70.
10. Bodleian Library, MS Asquith, 21, fols. 76–7: Grey to Asquith, 5 February 1909.
11. *Times*, 22 December 1905.
12. *Hansard*, 3rd series, 1889, cccxxxiv, 1272.
13. *Times*, 13 November 1893.
14. Admiral Fisher, the architect of the British revolution in naval construction, had originally hoped that his reforms would lead to financial savings for the Admiralty. His fast and powerful new battle cruisers were intended to be capable of performing the work of either a battleship or first-class cruiser.

- When complemented by coastal defence submarines, it was envisaged that the new vessels could be built in smaller numbers than the capital ships of the traditional battle fleet, leading to substantial savings in construction costs, manning, and maintenance. Indeed, for the three fiscal years from 1906–7 to 1908–9, the Liberal government was able to draft navy estimates that were on average some 15 per cent below those of 1904–5. From 1909, however, with European rivals rapidly constructing ‘Dreadnoughts’ of their own, Britain found herself in an increasingly costly naval race. See J. T. Sumida, *In Defence of Naval Supremacy: Finance, Technology, and British Naval Policy, 1889–1914* (London, 1993), pp. 57, 111–15, 185–96, 330–7; N. A. Lambert, *Sir John Fisher’s Naval Revolution* (Columbia, 1999), pp. 91–126.
15. G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886–1918* (Oxford, 2004), p. 392.
 16. Bodleian Library, MS Asquith 21, fol. 167: Undated memorandum by Asquith.
 17. G. Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792–1914* (London, 2000), pp. 160–2.
 18. W. M. Hamilton, *The Nation and the Navy: Methods and Organization of British Navalist Propaganda, 1889–1914* (unpublished thesis, University of London, 1977), p. 29. The pre-eminent British naval theorist of the Edwardian period was Julian Corbett, a historian and lecturer at the Royal Naval War College, who argued for the importance of British command of the sea in order to protect imperial communications and trade routes. See J. S. Corbett, *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy* (London, 1911); B. Ranft, ‘Sir Julian Corbett’, in G. Till (ed.), *Maritime Strategy and the Nuclear Age*, 2nd edn (New York, 1984), pp. 39–43.
 19. *Navy League Journal*, August 1907.
 20. Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, pp. 81–133.
 21. Summers, ‘The Character of Edwardian Nationalism’, pp. 69, 80; F. Coetzee, *For Party or Country: Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Popular Conservatism in Edwardian England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 138. The British navalist leagues never came close to matching the membership of their German counterpart, the *Flottenverein*, which boasted more than 330,000 adherents by 1914. See F. Coetzee and M. S. Coetzee, ‘Rethinking the Radical Right in Germany and Britain before 1914’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1986), pp. 515–37 at p. 522.
 22. Mayer, ‘Domestic Causes of the First World War’, in Krieger and Stern (ed.), *The Responsibility of Power*, pp. 291–2.
 23. Morris, *The Scaremongers*; G. J. Marcus, ‘The Naval Crisis of 1909 and the Croydon by-election’, *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute* (1958), pp. 500–14; A. J. P. Taylor, ‘We Want Eight and We Won’t Wait’, in *Politics in Wartime: and Other Essays* (London, 1964), pp. 53–6.
 24. D. Powell, *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain, 1901–1914* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 160.
 25. Summers, ‘The Character of Edwardian Nationalism’, pp. 68–87; Coetzee, *For Party or Country*, pp. 4, 29; E. H. H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880–1914* (London, 1995), pp. 18, 20; A. S. Thompson, ‘The Language of Imperialism: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895–1914’, *Journal of British Studies* vol. 36, no. 2 (April, 1997), pp. 148–9.

26. S. E. Lobell, 'War is Politics: Offensive Realism, Domestic Politics, and Security Strategies', *Security Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Winter, 2002–3), pp. 183–6.
27. Mayer, 'Domestic Causes of the First World War', p. 292; Lobell, 'War is Politics', p. 183.
28. Weinroth, 'Left-Wing Opposition to Naval Armaments in Britain before 1914', pp. 93–120; Morris, 'The English Radicals' Campaign for Disarmament', pp. 367–93; *Radicalism against War 1906–1914*; Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace*.
29. R. Williams, *Defending the Empire: The Conservative Party and British Defence Policy, 1899–1915* (London, 1991), pp. 29, 77–80.
30. A. H. Burgoyne (ed.) *The Navy League Annual (1908–1909)*, p. 278; Summers, 'The Character of Edwardian Nationalism', p. 80.
31. Reproduced in *The Navy*, January 1910, pp. 8–9.
32. Coetzee, *For Party or Country*, pp. 36–7.
33. *Clarion*, 3 June; 10 June; 24 June; 8 July, 1904; *Daily Mail*, 20 December 1909.
34. R. Blatchford, *My Eighty Years*, p. 228.
35. *Navy League Journal*, August 1907.
36. *Ibid.*, June 1906.
37. Hamilton, *The Nation and the Navy*, p. 313.
38. Many who joined the IML in fact also retained their Navy League membership. See Summers, 'The Character of Edwardian Nationalism', pp. 78–80.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
40. *Navy League Journal*, June 1908, pp. 168–9. The Liberal MPs were T. C. R. Agar-Robartes, C. P. Allen, G. Baring, E. Beauchamp, A. C. T. Beck, C. W. Bellairs, J. Bertram, A. C. F. Boulton, H. C. Brodie, W. H. Cowan, H. Cox, D. Davies, A. Dewar, F. Freeman-Thomas, C. B. Harmsworth, R. Hobart, G. Kekewich, M. Kincaid-Smith, H. F. B. Lynch, A. E. W. Mason, A. Mond, E. S. Montagu, H. Myer, T. B. Napier, J. M. Paulton, W. D. Pearson, W. H. M. Pearson, R. W. Perks, J. D. Rees, A. L. Renton, E. A. Ridsdale, C. D. Rose, J. E. B. Seely, E. A. Strauss, A. Taylor, and J. H. Yoxall.
41. *Navy League Journal*, February 1904, p. 60; December 1909, pp. 353, 356.
42. Navy League, *List of Officers, Branches, &c.* (1911).
43. Coetzee, *For Party or Country*, p. 31.
44. By 1911, Churchill was sitting for Dundee, having failed to secure re-election for his previous constituency of Manchester North-West upon his elevation to the cabinet in 1908.
45. Nuffield College, Oxford, Mottistone papers, 19, fols. 34–6, 38–55, 73–5. Greater government investment in the development of aeroplanes was also advocated by the Aerial League of the British Empire, whose avowed objective was 'to secure and maintain for the Empire the same supremacy in the air as we now enjoy on the sea'. The executive committee of the Aerial League, by 1912 included two Liberal MPs – B. S. Strauss and Sir Ivor Philipps. W. H. Lever, Liberal MP for Wirral, was a prominent financial backer of the League. See *Times*, 5 June 1909.
46. Agar-Robartes, Allen, Baring, Boulton, Brodie, Freeman-Thomas, Kincaid-Smith, W. H. Pearson, Renton, Rose, and Seely had all served in the regular or auxiliary land forces.
47. B. Russell, *Portraits from Memory: And Other Essays* (London, 1956), p. 76; H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography: Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very*

- Ordinary Brain (Since 1866)* (London, 1934), pp. 650–4. For a fuller description of the Coefficients, see Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, pp. 150–2.
48. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1906, clvi, 1398; 5th series, 1907, clxxviii, 1573.
 49. *Times*, 24 August 1955.
 50. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1906, clvi, 1393–9; *National Review*, March 1909, pp. 33–44.
 51. *Nation*, 2 March 1907.
 52. In the event, radical hopes that the Hague Conference might herald the beginning of a process of European naval disarmament were dashed by the entrenched opposition of the German government. See Morris, ‘The English Radicals’ Campaign for Disarmament’, pp. 383–6.
 53. *Hansard*, 1908, clxxxv, 469–72.
 54. *The Navy*, February 1910, p. 42, (my italics).
 55. Hamilton, *The Nation and the Navy*, p. 269; A. L. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895–1905* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 144–52.
 56. A. J. Marder, *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904–1919* (5 vols, Oxford, 1961–70) i, p. 124.
 57. Matthew, *Liberal Imperialists*, pp. 19–98.
 58. Some naval officers believed that the superiority of Dreadnoughts over older battleships was exaggerated. But once foreign navies had begun to emulate the Royal Navy’s innovations in their own shipbuilding programmes, the Admiralty came to attach increasing importance to the maintenance of a ‘Dreadnought standard’ when calculating Britain’s maritime margin of safety – not least as a means of justifying increased levels of naval expenditure to the Liberal cabinet. See Sumida, *In Defence of Naval Supremacy*, pp. 111–5, 158–62, 186–7; Lambert, *Sir John Fisher’s Naval Revolution*, pp. 135–7.
 59. *Hansard*, 1906, clxii, 1400.
 60. *Ibid.*, 1908, clxxxv, 377, (my italics).
 61. *Times*, 15 April 1909.
 62. Williams, *Defending the Empire*, pp. 70–1, 84–5.
 63. *Hansard*, 5th Series, 1909, ii, 1244–45, (my italics).
 64. *Ibid.*, 1909, v, 1319–20.
 65. Williams, *Defending the Empire*, pp. 165–70; *Hansard*, 1909, iii, 146.
 66. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite*, p. 90.
 67. These men were Allen (sitting for Stroud), Beck (Wisbech), Paulton (Bishop Auckland), W. D. Pearson (Colchester), W. H. M. Pearson (Eye), Davies (Montgomeryshire), Perks (Louth), and Yoxall (Nottingham, West).
 68. The twenty were Agar-Robartes (returned for Bodmin, although his election was declared void on petition. In a re-run contest the seat was taken by his fellow Liberal Navy Leaguer F. Freeman-Thomas), Baring (Isle of Wight), Beauchamp (Lowestoft), Bellairs (King’s Lynn), Bertram (Hitchin), Boulton (Ramsey), Brodie (Reigate), Cowan (Guildford), Cox (Preston), Harmsworth (Droitwich), Hobart (New Forest), Kekewich (Exeter), Kincaid-Smith (Stratford-on-Avon), Lynch (Ripon), Mond (Chester), Napier (Faversham), Ridsdale (Brighton), Seely (Abercromby), Strauss (Abingdon), Taylor (elected unopposed as a Unionist for East Toxteth, but subsequently crossed the floor).
 69. F. W. S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results. 1885–1918* (London, 1974).

70. *Navy League Journal*, February 1910, p. 29.
71. The constituencies were Abercromby, Abingdon, Bodmin, Brighton, Chester, Droitwich, Exeter, Faversham, Guildford, Hitchin, The Isle of Wight, King's Lynn, Lambeth North, Montgomery District, New Forest, Preston, Ramsey, Reigate, Ripon, and Stratford-on-Avon. The six constituencies which had returned Unionists in 1900 and Navy League Liberals in 1906 and which remained in Liberal hands by the end of 1910 were Chesterton, Coventry, Edinburgh South, Gainsborough, Lowestoft, and Newmarket.
72. A list of winning and losing Liberal League members in the 1906 general election, as identified by Perks and Herbert Gladstone, is reproduced in Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists*, pp. 300–1. Paulton and Freeman-Thomas were joint secretaries of the Liberal League, and Perks had been vice-president of the Imperial Liberal Council before becoming treasurer of the Liberal League on its foundation in 1902.
73. Mason, who was first returned to Parliament in 1906 as Liberal MP for Coventry, had previously served as a Conservative political agent. Taylor never actually won an election as a Liberal. He entered Parliament in 1902 as a Unionist MP for East Toxteth, (a constituency which returned a Conservative at every election between 1885 and 1945), crossed the floor to join the Liberals a month after the 1906 election, but retired in January 1910. *Times*, 23 November 1948; 28 April 1955; Stenton and Lees, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, ii, pp. 84–5.
74. *Times*, 3 June 1922.
75. *Ibid.*, 24 August 1955.
76. *Ibid.*, 16 June 1909.
77. Murray, *The People's Budget*, pp. 172–208.
78. *Times*, 8 September 1923.
79. *Labour Leader*, 24 September 1909.
80. Stenton and Lees, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, ii, pp. 79–80.
81. *Labour Leader*, 19 March 1914.
82. *Times*, 3 June 1922; 18 November 1930; 8 May 1947.
83. *Hansard*, 1914, lxi, 890; lxii, 1914.
84. *Times*, 26 March 1945.
85. *Ibid.*, 4 October 1915; 24 August 1955; *Hansard*, 1914, lxiii, 91.
86. McGill University, MS 639 (Bellairs papers): Note by Bellairs, 'Why I joined the British League of Fascists'.
87. *Commercial Intelligence*, 14 February 1906.
88. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1906, clvi, 1383.
89. Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, McKenna papers, MCKN, 3/3, fol. 4, McLaren to McKenna, 27 June 1908; MCKN, 3/12, fol. 1, McLaren to McKenna, 30 April 1908; MCKN, 3/12, fol. 5, Furness to McKenna, 26 December 1908.
90. Churchill Archives Centre, McKenna papers, MCKN, 3/20, fol. 1, Churchill to McKenna (undated); fols. 8–9, Churchill to McKenna, 19 September 1908.
91. Churchill Archives Centre, McKenna papers, MCKN, 3/3, fol. 10, Buxton to McKenna, 4 October 1909.
92. Hamilton, *The Nation and the Navy*, pp. 279–80.
93. N. Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People: The General Elections of 1910* (London, 1972), p. 410.

94. *Labour Leader*, 13 March 1908.
95. Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace*, pp. 183–5, 207, 243–4, 301–2; Weinroth, ‘Left-wing Opposition to Naval Armaments in Britain before 1914’, pp. 115–16.
96. *Labour Leader*, 11 December 1913.
97. *Times*, 11 December 1909.
98. *Labour Leader*, 5 January 1912.
99. Nicholls, *The Lost Prime Minister*, pp. 282–3, 304.
100. W. E. Gladstone, *Political Speeches in Scotland* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1880), i, pp. 126, 193–7; ii, pp. 270–95. Once in office, Gladstone’s government decided against returning Cyprus to Turkish control, despite some enthusiasm from Goschen, then serving as special ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, for such ‘a splendid act of disinterested renunciation’. See W. N. Medlicott, ‘The Gladstone Government and the Cyprus Convention, 1880–85’, *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1940), pp. 186–208.
101. *Navy League Journal*, November 1908, p. 339. Ironically, by 1912 Churchill’s enthusiasm for a naval arrangement with France concerning fleet dispositions in the Mediterranean served in fact to strengthen the strategic implications of the *Entente Cordiale*.
102. J. Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689–1727* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 156–8.
103. P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 687–8.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
105. *Hansard*, 3rd series, 1863, clxix, 1087.
106. See Chapter 4.
107. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1908, cxci, 1481–4; 5th series, 1913, li, 1527–9. See below, pp. 97–101, 109.
108. *Hansard*, 1909, ii, 1105.
109. *Ibid.*, 1913, i, 1755–6.
110. A. Offer, *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation* (Oxford, 1989), p. 220.
111. *Times*, 27 March 1909.
112. Hamilton, *The Nation and the Navy*, p. 316.
113. *The Navy*, February 1910, p. 42.
114. *Times*, 17 April 1909.
115. A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (2 vols, Oxford, 1976), pp. 464–5.
116. *Times*, 27 June 1861.
117. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 September 1884.
118. *Nation*, 2 March 1907.
119. B. Semmel, *Liberalism and Naval Strategy: Ideology, Interest, and Sea Power during the Pax Britannica* (London, 1986), pp. 39–41.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–98, 141–2.
121. A. Offer, ‘Morality and Admiralty: “Jackie” Fisher, Economic Warfare and the Laws of War’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1988), pp. 99–118.
122. J. S. Corbett, ‘The Capture of Private Property at Sea’, in A. T. Mahan (ed.), *Some Neglected Aspects of War* (London, 1907), pp. 151.
123. *Hansard*, 1909, iii, 1611. Holt later supported the government’s line on respecting the rights of neutral shipping when the question was debated

by the House of Commons in 1911, as did his fellow Liberal Navy Leaguers T. C. R. Agar-Robartes, G. W. Agnew, C. P. Allen, Godfrey Baring, A. C. T. Beck, Winston Churchill, David Davies, A. G. C. Harvey, A. A. Haworth, Alfred Mond, E. S. Montagu, W. H. M. Pearson, G. H. Pollard, C. D. Rose, J. E. B. Seely, and J. H. Yoxall. See *Hansard*, xxvii, 592–3; 931–3.

124. A. Offer, 'Morality and Admiralty', pp. 103–4.

4 The Militarization of Society: Compulsory Service, the National Service League, and Progressive Politics

1. *Macmillan's Magazine*, December 1868, p. 156.
2. Angell, *The Great Illusion*, pp. 163–5.
3. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, pp. 577, 658–92.
4. Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, pp. 1–11.
5. C. Barnett, *Britain and her Army, 1509–1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey* (London, 1970) p. 257; Bond, *War and Society in Europe*, p. 32; Friedberg, *The Weary Titan*, pp. 221–2.
6. See, for example, A Field Officer, *Our Military Weakness: Compulsory Service, a scheme of Limited Conscription* (1886).
7. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1901, xc, 1060.
8. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers*, Cd. 2061 (1904), p. 15.
9. *Hansard*, 1904, cxxxv, 622.
10. G. F. Shee, *The Briton's First Duty: The Case for Conscription* (London, 1901), p. 175.
11. T. W. L. Newton, *Retrospection* (London, 1941), pp. 115–6.
12. Bod. Lib., Oxford, MS Milner dep. 155 (Milner papers), fols. 80–4 ('Scheme for a system of compulsory military training applied to Mr Haldane's proposals'); fols. 106–12 ('Draft Manifesto', 21 December 1908); fols. 140–2 ('Memorandum embodying the views and proposals of certain members of the National Service League', November 1909).
13. Early versions of the League's programme offered the option of performing service at sea, and there were exemptions for those already serving in the regular or auxiliary armed forces or in the mercantile marine. See *National Service Journal*, November 1903, p. 3.
14. *Times*, 12 June 1911; *Spectator*, 8 August 1914.
15. Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 92–3, 122–31.
16. Allison, *The National Service Issue*, pp. 139–41.
17. *Westminster Gazette*, 2 August 1905.
18. C. P. Trevelyan, *Democracy and Compulsory Service* (London, 1913).
19. J. A. Farrer, *Liberalism and the National Service League* (London, 1911), pp. 7–19, 50–1, 93–4.
20. J. B. Glasier, *The Peril of Conscription* (London, 1915), p. 4.
21. D. Hayes, *Conscription Conflict: The Conflict of Ideas in the Struggle for and against Military Conscription in Britain between the years 1901 and 1939* (London, 1949), p. 39.
22. Allison, *The National Service Issue*, pp. 226–38; Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', pp. 104–23; and 'The Character of Edwardian

- Nationalism', pp. 68–87; R. T. Stearn, 'The National Service League: Lord Roberts and the Campaign for Compulsory Military Training', *Soldiers of the Queen: The Journal of the Victorian Military Society*, no. 125 (June, 2006), pp. 23–31.
23. R. J. Q. Adams and P. P. Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, 1900-18* (Ohio, 1987), pp. 11, 17, 21.
 24. G. Q. Flynn, *Conscription and Democracy: The Draft in France, Great Britain and the United States* (London, 2002), pp. 14.
 25. *Nation in Arms*, Midsummer 1914, p. 607.
 26. *Ibid.*, January 1911, pp. 29–51.
 27. Even after the formation of the National Service League (NSL), many of these tracts were of a highly individualistic and independent-minded nature, and frequently advanced schemes for conscription which differed from the official programme of the League. See, for example, Maj. S. L. Murray, *The Electors of Great Britain and the Defence of the Country* (1900), and *The Future Peace of the Anglo-Saxons* (1905); Lt.-Col. T. Innes, *The Second Line: A Letter Addressed to Commanding Officers of Militia* (1905); Maj. J. H. Sandham Griffith, *Britain Requires Every Man to do his Duty* (1905); Capt. D. I. Macaulay, *An Imperial Military System* (1909); Col. Lonsdale Hale, *The Horrors of War in Great Britain* (1910); 'Fidelis', *England's Peril* (1911); Capt. A. F. U. Green, *The Shadow of the Sword* (1914).
 28. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, Cd. 1790-1 (2 vols, 1903), i, pp. 199–200; ii, pp. 348–9; *Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers*, Cd. 2062-3 (2 vols, 1904), i, pp. 4, 15–19.
 29. King's College London (KCL), Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, Ian Hamilton papers, fol. 5/4/3: Hamilton to Lady Roberts, 18 December 1910.
 30. Nuffield College, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 18, fols. 21–23: Hamilton to Seely, 6 Jan. 1913.
 31. R. B. Haldane, *Before the War* (London, 1920), p. 175.
 32. H. Strachan, 'The British Army, its General Staff and the Continental Commitment, 1904–14', in French and Reid (eds), *The British General Staff: Reform and Innovation*, pp. 84, 92; N. d'Ombraïn, *War Machinery and High Policy: Defence Administration in Peacetime Britain, 1902–1914* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 147–8.
 33. Newton, *Retrospection*, p. 116.
 34. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers*, Cd. 2062-3, i, p. 88; *Hansard*, 1913, lii, 2027; R. Holmes, *The Little Field Marshal: Sir John French* (London, 1981), pp. 131, 144; I. F. W. Beckett, 'Selection by Disparagement: Lord Esher, the General Staff and the Politics of Command, 1904–14', in French and Reid (eds) *The British General Staff: Reform and Innovation*, p. 50.
 35. D. Cooper, *Haig* (2 vols, London, 1936), i, pp. 116–17; J. Marshall-Cornwall, *Haig as Military Commander* (London, 1973), p. 76; E. K. G. Sixsmith, *Douglas Haig* (London, 1976), p. 55; Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, pp. 110–11.
 36. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, Cd. 1790-1, ii, pp. 107–9.

37. I. S. M. Hamilton, *Compulsory Service: A Study of the Question in the Light of Experience* (London, 1910), pp. 121–4, 147.
38. Adams and Poirier, *Conscription Controversy*, p. 41.
39. *Nation in Arms*, March 1910, p. 102. The League also claimed that another 50 MPs had expressed support for compulsory service without wishing their names to be published. It is probable that a significant majority of these men were Unionists.
40. Williams, *Defending the Empire*, pp. 146–8, 186–8.
41. British Library, Add. MS. 49765 (Balfour papers), fols. 217–8.
42. *National Army Museum* (NAM), Roberts papers, 7101/23/8/21: Balfour to Roberts, 18 November 1905.
43. Newton, *Retrospection*, p. 171.
44. *West Sussex Record Office* (WSRO), MAXSE/466 (Maxse papers), Roberts to Maxse, July 1912.
45. Williams, *Defending the Empire*, pp. 56–8, 138–55, 180–95, 214–24.
46. *Speaker*, 17 February 1900.
47. See Chapter 5.
48. Adams and Poirier, *Conscription Controversy*, pp. 21–2.
49. Farrer, *Liberalism and the National Service League*, p. 16.
50. Bod. Lib., MS Milner, dep 34, fol. 31: Shee to Milner, 28 January 1908; *Times*, 30 June 1910.
51. *Hansard*, 1906, clvi, 657; 1907, clxx, 273.
52. *Ibid.*, 1908, cxci, 1480–6.
53. *Times*, 6 April 1909.
54. *Hansard*, 1906, clv, 256.
55. *Ibid.*, 1908, cxci, 1482; 1909, iii, 146.
56. These men were Tennant, J. D. Rees, H. F. B. Lynch, and H. G. Beaumont. *Hansard*, 1908, cxci, 1482–6.
57. Some embarrassment resulted, however, when it emerged that John Morgan, the chairman of the Midland Counties Liberal Federation and Martin's proposer-in-chief, was also a member of the NSL, who publicly expressed his discomfort about opposing Kincaid-Smith. *Daily Mail*, 28 April 1909.
58. *Ibid.*, 12 April 1909
59. *Times*, 30 April 1909.
60. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1909. Foster had previously sat as MP for the constituency from 1901–6.
61. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, pp. xii–xiii.
62. 'Objectives and constitution of the National Service League', reprinted in *The National Service Journal*, November 1903; *Nation in Arms*, Easter 1913, p. 264.
63. WSRO, MAXSE/459 (Maxse papers), f.108: Newton to L. J. Maxse.
64. *Times*, 22 April 1909.
65. *Ibid.*, 24 April 1909.
66. *Ibid.*, 17 April 1909.
67. *Ibid.*, 26 April 1909.
68. *Daily Mail*, 12 April 1909.
69. *Times*, 28 April 1909.
70. *Ibid.*, 6 May 1909.
71. *Daily Mail*, 11 December; 20 December 1909.

72. Blatchford did not immediately declare himself in favour of conscription, giving his opinion at this time that 'voluntary service could be made effective', and calling for an expanded navy and an enlarged, more efficient, and better-officered Volunteer Force. See *Clarion*, 3 June; 10 June; 17 June; 24 June; 8 July; 29 July; 5 August, 1904.
73. *Daily Mail*, 17 September 1909.
74. *Ibid.*, 11 December 1909.
75. *Ibid.*, 18 December 1909.
76. *Ibid.*, 20 December 1909.
77. M. Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London, 2010), pp. 18–30; Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack*, pp. 23–9, 60–2, 106–13.
78. *Ibid.*, 24 December; 30 December 1909.
79. Thompson, *Robert Blatchford*, pp. 208–16; Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace*, pp. 208–10.
80. NAM, Roberts papers, 7101/23/1/22: Amery to Roberts, 25 October 1910.
81. *Nation in Arms*, March 1911, pp. 116, 129–30; April 1911, pp. 176–7; June 1911, pp. 288–9; July 1911, pp. 344–6; September 1911, pp. 461–4; Michaelmas 1913, p. 404; Easter 1914, pp. 532–6.
82. *National Service Journal*, December 1903, p. 32.
83. *Nation in Arms*, January 1910, p. 41.
84. *Labour Leader*, 6 September 1907.
85. *Nation in Arms*, Midsummer 1912, p. 93.
86. Bod. Lib., MS Milner, dep. 40, fols. 206–10.
87. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 209.
88. G. G. Coulton, *True Liberalism and Compulsory Service* (London, 1914), pp. 12, 17.
89. K. Morgan, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism: Socialists, Communists and Conscription in France and Britain, 1900–1940', *Past and Present*, no. 202 (February, 2009), pp. 214–5.
90. *Nation in Arms*, July 1911, p. 344; Christmas 1913, p. 463; G. G. Coulton, *A Strong Army in a Free State: A Study of the Old English and Modern Swiss Militias* (London, 1900), pp. 19–41.
91. *Nation in Arms*, Christmas 1913, p. 478.
92. *Times*, 5 April 1902.
93. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 121.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
95. *Times*, 7 January 1902.
96. Murray, *Electors of Great Britain*, p. 37.
97. Coulton, *A Strong Army in a Free State*, p. 8.
98. *Nation in Arms*, September 1911, p. 463.
99. Reproduced in *National Service Journal*, November 1903.
100. F. Madden and D. Fieldhouse (eds), *Settler Self-government, 1840–1900; The Development of Representative and Responsible Government. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth* (London, 1990), p. 76.
101. *Nation in Arms*, Christmas 1913, pp. 449–50.
102. *Westminster Gazette*, 2 August 1905.
103. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, i, pp. 197–9.

104. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5908, fols. 205–6: Haldane to Lloyd George, 10 November 1909.
105. *Hansard*, 1913, xiv, 209.
106. *Ibid.*, 1913, li, 1586.
107. *Nation in Arms*, April 1911, p. 171.
108. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1903, cxviii, 534.
109. J. E. B. Seely, *Adventure* (London, 1930), pp. 92–93.
110. Nuffield College, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 19, fols. 282–7.
111. *Nation in Arms*, Christmas 1913, p. 461.
112. House of Lords Record Office (HLRO), Lloyd George papers, G/46/3/81; For a chronology of the events surrounding the conference and the proposal for a coalition, see J. Grigg, *Lloyd George: The People's Champion, 1902–11*, 2nd edn. (London, 1991), pp. 243–76. Grigg's reproduction of the August memorandum in his appendix is, however, incomplete. The full text both of this document, and of the 'Supplementary Memorandum' of 29 October can be found in R. J. Scally, *The Origins of the Lloyd George Coalition: The Politics of Social-Imperialism, 1900–1918* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 375–86.
113. D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, New edn (2 vols, London, 1938) i, pp. 21–2.
114. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, pp. 182–90.
115. B. B. Gilbert, *Lloyd George: A Political Life* (2 vols, London, 1987), i, pp. 412–21.
116. J. Turner, *British Politics and the Great War: Coalition and Conflict, 1915–1918* (London, 1992), p. 50.
117. A. Chamberlain, *Politics from Inside: An Epistolary Chronicle* (London, 1936), p. 359.
118. G. A. Riddell, *More Pages from my Diary, 1908–1914* (London, 1934), p. 94; K. O. Morgan, 'Lloyd George and Germany', *Historical Journal*, vol. 39, no. 3 (1996), pp. 755–66.
119. NAM, Roberts papers, 7101/23/1/22: Amery to Roberts, 25 October 1910.
120. Chamberlain, *Politics from Inside*, p. 522.
121. E. David (ed.), *Inside Asquith's Cabinet: From the Diaries of Charles Hobhouse* (London, 1977), p. 134. A private member's bill proposing compulsory Territorial training had been introduced into the Commons on 11 April, but was talked out without a division being called. Among the bill's sponsors was Sir Charles Rose, the Liberal MP for Newmarket. See *Hansard*, 5th Series, 1913, li., 1546–7.
122. J. Morley, *The Struggle for National Education* (London, 1873), p. 139.
123. *Nation in Arms*, Michaelmas 1913, p. 387.
124. L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (London, 1911), p. 147.
125. *Nation in Arms*, September 1911, p. 464.
126. J. S. Mill, *On liberty* (London, 1859), p. 24.
127. Coulton, *True Liberalism and Compulsory Service*, p. 4. Coulton later published a longer and more comprehensive advocacy of conscription during the Great War, entitled *The Case for Compulsory Military Service* (London, 1917).
128. See Chapter 1.
129. *Nation in Arms*, Michaelmas 1913, p. 428.
130. This arrangement was replaced by a system of universal liability for service by a French Army bill of 1905. See A. G. Rosengarten, Jr., 'The Evolution of

- French Military Manpower Policy from 1872 to 1914', *Military Affairs*, vol. 45, no. 4 (1981), pp. 180–6.
131. *Nation in Arms*, Easter 1914, p. 533.
 132. F. S. Roberts, *Fallacies and Facts: An Answer to 'Compulsory Service'* (London, 1911), pp. 197–9. Cramb's contribution to this work was prepared anonymously. See Allison, *The National Service Issue*, p. 180.
 133. *Nation in Arms*, Easter 1913, p. 264.
 134. H. Strachan, 'Liberalism and Conscription, 1789–1919', in H. Strachan, ed., *The British Army, Manpower and Society into the Twenty-first Century* (London, 2000), p. 5.
 135. T. C. Horsfall, *National Service and the Welfare of the Community* (London, 1906), p. 39.
 136. L. Dickey, 'Power, Commerce, and Natural Law in Daniel Defoe's Political Writings, 1698–1707', in J. Robertson (ed.) *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 71.
 137. See J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh, 1985).
 138. J. Cartwright, *The English Constitution Produced and Illustrated* (London, 1823), pp. 85–6, 222.
 139. F. P. F. Vane, *Agin the Governments: Memoirs and Adventures of Sir Francis Fletcher Vane* (London, 1929), pp. 37–8.
 140. J. Joll, *The Second International, 1889–1914*, rev. ed. (London, 1974), pp. 112–4.
 141. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 110.
 142. Morgan, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism', pp. 216–7.
 143. *Nation in Arms*, June 1911, pp. 294–5; July 1911, pp. 355–6.
 144. Morgan, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism', pp. 222–3.
 145. *Report of the Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1914), p. 59; *Labour Leader*, 10 July 1908.
 146. G. Johnson, *Social Democratic Politics in Britain, 1881–1911* (New York, 2002), pp. 127–30.
 147. *Justice*, 5 February 1910.
 148. Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack*, pp. 116–8.
 149. *Labour Leader*, 4 September 1908. For details of the measure Thorne hoped to introduce, see *Justice*, 29 August 1908.
 150. Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace*, p. 165.
 151. *Report of Proceedings at the Forty-second Annual Trades Union Congress* (1909), pp. 126–28; Among the principal supporters of the motion were Thorne, John Stokes of the London Glassblowers, and the miners' representative C. B. Stanton, who later achieved prominence during the Great War when he won the 1915 Merthyr Tydfil by-election standing as an independent candidate on a super-patriotic platform. See below, p. 166.
 152. *Report of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1909), p. 34; *Report of the Tenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1910), pp. 94–5.
 153. See, for example, letter by R. Edmondson, in *Labour Leader*, 11 September 1908.
 154. *Report of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1906), pp. 42–3.

155. S. G. Hobson, who moved the amendment, was not a particularly enthusiastic supporter of the citizen army idea, but felt that the question 'required further consideration'. A. H. Lawrence, a Sunderland delegate who seconded the amendment, however, claimed 'that practically all Socialists approved the establishment of a Citizen Army'. *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1907), p. 65.
156. *Labour Leader*, 2 August 1907.
157. *Times*, 27 May 1912. Members of the old internationalist and anti-militarist wing of the SDF continued their opposition to increased armaments within the BSP. A particularly bitter dispute at the party conference over the question resulted in resignations from the executive committee in early 1913. See Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack*, pp. 117–8.
158. *National Service Journal*, November 1903, p. 12.
159. *Hansard*, 1907, clxxvii, 1303.
160. The National Archives, WO 105/45, (Roberts papers). Other names suggested for the prospective committee included Roberts himself, Lord Rosebery, Lord Rothschild, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Northcliffe, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Londonderry, Arthur Balfour, Norval Watson Helme (the Liberal MP for Lancaster), and the Labour MP David Shackleton.
161. *Justice*, 13 April 1907.
162. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 223.
163. Coulton, *A Strong Army in a Free State*, p. 35.
164. *Justice*, 22 June 1907.
165. *Labour Leader*, 3 May; 17 May 1907. Hughes had been one of the first Australian Labour leaders to take up the cause of compulsory military training for home defence, and had worked hard to persuade both his own party and Alfred Deakin's Liberal government of 1909 to adopt it as the cornerstone of the Commonwealth's defence policy. During the First World War Hughes went on to split the Australian Labour party by his efforts to secure the extension of conscription for foreign service.
166. *Nation in Arms*, June 1911, p. 288.
167. *Ibid.*, December 1911, p. 630.
168. *Justice*, 29 August 1908.
169. H. Quelch, 'Socialism and Soldiering', *Social Democrat*, vol. XI, no. 10 (October, 1907), pp. 584–5.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. 585–6.
171. *Justice*, 11 July 1908, (my italics).
172. Morgan, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism', p. 216.
173. M. Hendley, "'Help us to Secure a Strong, Healthy, Prosperous and Peaceful Britain": The Social Arguments for Compulsory Service in Britain, 1899–1914', *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1995), pp. 261–88, at p. 287.
174. *Justice*, 27 February 1909.
175. H. Quelch, 'Socialism, Militarism, and Mr Haldane's Scheme', *Social Democrat*, vol. XI, no. 4 (April, 1907), p. 207.
176. *Labour Leader*, 19 February 1909.
177. *Justice*, 25 December 1909.
178. *Nation in Arms*, November 1911, pp. 577–8.
179. *Nation in Arms*, October 1911, p. 525. The League's argument about the connection between democratic citizenship and military service were further

- expanded upon in a work published after the outbreak of the Great War: F. S. Oliver, *Ordeal by Battle* (London, 1915).
180. K. Morgan, 'British Guild Socialists and the Exemplar of the Panama Canal', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2007), pp. 120–57, at p. 140.
 181. R. McKibbin, 'Social Classes and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 28 (1978), pp. 175–99; J. Harris, 'The Transition to High Politics in English Social Policy, 1880–1914', in M. Bentley and J. Stevenson (eds), *High and Low Politics in Modern Britain: Ten Studies* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 58–79; K. Bales, 'Charles Booth's Survey of Life and Labour of the People of London 1889–1903', in M. Bulmer, K. Bales, and K. H. Sklar (eds), *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 66–110.
 182. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*, pp. 62–3, 73; Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, pp. 60–7.
 183. Hendley, 'The Social Arguments for Compulsory Service in Britain', pp. 261–88.
 184. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 190.
 185. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, pp. 190–3.
 186. *Nation in Arms*, Midsummer 1914, p. 593.
 187. *Ibid.*, March 1911, p. 130; June 1911, p. 295.
 188. Horsfall, *National Service and the Welfare of the Community*, pp. 34–7.
 189. Quoted in Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, pp. 188–9.
 190. T. C. Horsfall, *The Influence on National Life of Military Training in Schools* (London, 1906), p. 7. See also Horsfall's address to the Medical Officers of Schools Association in February 1906, published in *The Influence on National Life of Military Training in Schools*. As Treasurer of the Macclesfield and District Patriotic Association, Horsfall was active in a body which was involved in the drilling of some 3000 children; See *Times*, 31 October 1902.
 191. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 191; *Times*, 15 March 1906.
 192. *Nation in Arms*, March 1911, p. 120.
 193. Horsfall, *Influence on National life of Military Training*, pp. 4–7.
 194. Horsfall, *National Service and the Welfare of the Community*, p. 40.
 195. Shee, *Briton's First Duty*, p. 179.
 196. When the journal was re-launched as the *Nation in Arms* in 1907 this cover was replaced by one depicting Britannia at repose. Significantly, she was armed with a sword, instead of the more traditional (and navalist) trident.
 197. *National Service Journal*, November 1903, p. 4.
 198. Hendley, 'The Social Arguments for Compulsory Service in Britain', p. 287.
 199. KCL, Hamilton papers, fol. 5/4/9: Hamilton to Horsfall, April–June 1911.
 200. KCL, Hamilton papers, fol. 5/4/10: Hamilton to J. R. Motion, 30 October 1912.
 201. *Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers*, Cd. 2062-3, i, pp. 268–9.
 202. E. George, *National Service and National Education* (London, 1913), pp. 23–39.
 203. See M. Freeden, 'Eugenics and Progressive Thought: A Study in Ideological Affinity', *Historical Journal*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Sept., 1979), pp. 645–71.
 204. *Times*, 22 February 1900.
 205. Shaw, *Fabianism and the Empire*, pp. 39–42. Although sanctioned by the Society, Shaw's tract did not represent the views of all Fabians. The author

- acknowledged in a preface that, 'on the point of Army Reform, many members disapprove so strongly of war that they desire it to be understood that they endorse the pages which follow on that subject only as a Tolstoyan opponent of our criminal system might nevertheless provisionally advocate prison reform, or as a vegetarian might advocate municipal abattoirs'.
206. H. Elliot (ed.), *The Letters of John Stuart Mill* (2 vols, London, 1910), ii, p. 291. Part of this letter was quoted by the League in the *Nation in Arms*, September 1911, p. 464.
207. *Daily News*, 30 October 1912.
208. Masterman (ed.), *The Heart of the Empire*, p. 393.
209. *Hansard*, 3rd series, 1855, cxxxviii, 1420.
210. H. Quelch, 'Socialism, Militarism, and Mr Haldane's Scheme', *Social Democrat*, vol. XI, no. 4 (April, 1907), p. 204.
211. Hamilton, *Compulsory Service*, pp. 49–50.
212. M. V. Brett (ed.), *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher* (4 vols, London, 1934–38), ii, p. 391.
213. Hendley, 'The Social Arguments for Compulsory Service in Britain', p. 275.
214. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism*, pp. 4–5, 120–56, 184–93, 242–63, 285–8; J. Ridley, 'The Unionist Social Reform Committee, 1911–1914: Wets before the Deluge', *Historical Journal*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1987), pp. 391–413; Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, pp. 29, 61.
215. Coulton, *True Liberalism and Compulsory Service*, p. 4.
216. P. J. Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870–1918* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 896–8. Meredith joined the NSL in 1903. Following his death in May 1909, the *Nation in Arms* paid tribute to 'this fearless, forthright Liberal of the old school', and lamented the loss of 'the most brilliant and far-sighted supporter of the principles for the establishment of which the League was founded'. Among the wreaths laid on the poet's tomb was one from the NSL, dedicated 'to one of its earliest and most distinguished supporters'. *Nation in Arms*, June 1909, p. 221.
217. *Nation in Arms*, Easter 1914, p. 528.
218. 'An Appeal to One and All', NSL poster, reproduced in the *National Service Journal*, November 1903. The poster was based largely upon the appeal with which Shee had concluded *The Briton's First Duty*, pp. 249–52.
219. Morgan, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism', p. 218–9.

5 Alternatives to Conscription: Richard Burdon Haldane and a 'Liberal' Nation-in-Arms

1. NLS, Haldane papers, MS. 5977, fols. 179–80: Haldane to his mother, 20 June 1907.
2. Haldane, *Autobiography*, p. 307.
3. A. J. A. Morris, 'Haldane's Army Reforms, 1906–8: The Deception of the Radicals', *History*, 56 (1971), pp. 17–34; J. Gooch, 'Mr Haldane's Army: Military Organization and Foreign Policy in England, 1906–7', in Gooch (ed.), *The Prospect of War: Studies in British Defence Policy, 1847–1942* (London, 1981), pp. 92–115; Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, pp. 197–224. For a fuller overview of Haldane's career at the War Office, see S. E. Koss, *Lord*

- Haldane: Scapegoat for Liberalism* (New York, 1969); E. M. Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1980); J. Gooch, 'Haldane and the "National Army"', in I. F. W. Beckett and J. Gooch, (eds), *Politicians and Defence: Studies in the Formulation of British Defence Policy, 1845–1970* (Manchester, 1981), pp. 69–86.
4. Haldane, *Army Reform*, p. 31.
 5. NLS, Acc. 3155/32A (Haig papers): 'Memoranda bearing on Army Organization prepared by the Secretary of State for War between 1 January, 1906, and 1 May, 1906: Second Memorandum', p. 5; *Hansard*, 4th series, 1906, cliii, 678.
 6. *Labour Leader*, 21 September 1906; *Nation*, 28 December 1907.
 7. See above, p. 109.
 8. *Hansard*, 1906, clx, 1117.
 9. *Times*, 20 January 1909.
 10. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1909.
 11. *Nation*, 21 December 1907.
 12. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Memoranda bearing on Army Organization: Third Memorandum', p. 11; *Hansard*, 1907, clxix, 1306.
 13. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Fourth Memorandum', p. 20.
 14. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Address by the Secretary of State to the Territorial Army Committee, Thursday, 17 May, 1906', p. 6.
 15. French, *Military Identities*, pp. 246–7. It has convincingly been argued that Territorial battalions were remarkably successful in retaining their 'civilian' character even during the Great War; see H. B. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge, 2005).
 16. Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition*, p. 214.
 17. *Hansard*, 1907, clxix, 1305. In fact, Haldane probably overestimated the strength of parliamentary opposition to his reforms. The Unionist leadership broadly supported the Territorial scheme, and Haldane's success in effecting significant economies in the army estimates inherited from his predecessor, Arnold-Forster, meant that he could rely upon enough Liberal support to see off any challenge from those Volunteer and militia officers in the House of Commons who seriously objected to his plans; see Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, pp. 215–16.
 18. Brett (ed.), *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, ii, p. 195; Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer*, pp. 87–8, 92–15.
 19. *Speaker*, 14 July 1906.
 20. *Justice*, 21 September 1907.
 21. *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1907), p. 52.
 22. *Nation*, 28 December 1907.
 23. H. Quelch, 'Socialism, Militarism, and Mr Haldane's scheme', *Social Democrat*, vol. XI, no. 4 (April, 1907), p. 206.
 24. H. W. Lee, 'Conscription and the Armed Nation', *Social Democrat*, vol. xi, no. 6 (June, 1907), pp. 329.
 25. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Address by the Secretary of State to the Territorial Army Committee, Thursday, 17 May, 1906', p. 3.
 26. C. M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown; their Administration and Government* (2 vols, London, 1869), i, p. 281.
 27. *Nation*, 2 November 1907.

28. *Hansard*, 1907, clxix, 1304.
29. *Nation*, 2 November 1907.
30. *Times*, 26 March 1909.
31. *Hansard*, 1907, clxix, 1321.
32. E. M. Teagarden, 'Lord Haldane and the Origins of the Officer Training Corps', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 45, no. 182 (1967), pp. 91–6; I. Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization, and Officer Recruiting: The Development of the Officers Training Corps', *Military Affairs*, vol. 43, no. 2 (1979), pp. 90–6.
33. *Hansard*, 5th series, 1909, viii, 1174.
34. *Ibid.*, 1909, i, 1659.
35. Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front*, p. 155.
36. *Hansard*, 1911, xxix, 1145; 1912, xxxv, 1023.
37. Nuffield College, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 18, fols. 5–10: Hamilton to Seely, 27 August 1912.
38. *Hansard*, 1913, l, 1097–9; 1914, lix, 1081.
39. *Nation*, 28 March 1914.
40. *Hansard*, 1909, viii, 1174.
41. *Ibid.*, 1908, clxxxv, 716.
42. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Fourth Memorandum', p. 24.
43. *Hansard*, 1908, clxxxv, 717.
44. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxii, 2085.
45. *Nation*, 13 June 1908.
46. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5907, fols. 246–8 (Draft speech, dated October 1907).
47. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, pp. 17–21; I. F. W. Beckett, 'The Territorial Force', in I. F. W. Beckett and K. Simpson (eds), *A Nation in Arms: A Social History of the British Army in the First World War* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 144–6.
48. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5980, fols. 138–9: Haldane to his mother, 21 October 1908.
49. *Hansard*, 4th series, 1908, clxxxv, 713.
50. *Times*, 19 January 1909.
51. *Ibid.*, 24 February 1909.
52. *Hansard*, 5th series, 1910, xiv, 1832.
53. *Ibid.*, 1909, ii, 85.
54. *Ibid.*, 1909, i, 413; ii, 58.
55. *Ibid.*, 1909, ii, 245.
56. As the NSL argued; see above, p. 111–12.
57. *Ibid.*, 1909, ii, 85–6.
58. Nuffield Library, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 13, fols. 34–5.
59. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Second Memorandum', p. 5.
60. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Preliminary Memorandum', p. 3.
61. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Fourth Memorandum', p. 21.
62. Williams, *Defending the Empire*, pp. 57, 221.
63. *Times*, 26 October 1906; 12 January 1907.
64. *Hansard*, 1906, clvi, 666.
65. *Times*, 13 February 1906. The Liberal MPs were R. Armitage, W. C. H. Armstrong, J. M. Astbury, P. Barlow, W. P. Beale, J. Bertram, J. H. Bethell, A. C. F. Boulton, J. D. Burnyeat, R. Cameron, F. W. Chance, W. H. Cowan, W. Crossley, T. H. Davies,

- W. H. Dickinson, E. M. Dunne, R. W. Essex, E. E. Fiennes, A. Findlay, A. Gardner, R. S. Jackson, R. Laidlaw, A. E. W. Mason, H. Nuttall, J. M. Paulton, R. Pearce, A. L. Renton, E. H. Ridsdale, T. L. Scarisbrick, E. P. Tennant, J. Tomkinson, G. Whiteley, and T. Wiles. *The Labour men were C. Duncan, A. H. Gill, T. Glover, J. Hodge, T. F. Richards, J. W. Taylor, J. Wadsworth, and W. T. Wilson.*
66. *Times*, 27 October 1906.
 67. *Labour Leader*, 7 September; 5 October; 2 November 1906.
 68. *Hansard*, 1906, clxiii 704–6.
 69. *Ibid.*, 1906, clxiii 426.
 70. *Ibid.*, 1906, clxiii, 707.
 71. *Ibid.*, 1913, xiii, 910–11.
 72. Penn, *Targeting Schools*, pp. 146–60.
 73. *Hansard*, 1908, clxxxv, 717.
 74. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5908, fols. 94–7: Grey to Haldane, 8 March 1909.
 75. *Hansard*, 1908, cxci, 1457–8.
 76. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxviii, 863.
 77. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, ‘Fourth Memorandum’, p. 21.
 78. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5979, fols. 35–6: Haldane to mother, 26 January 1908.
 79. *Hansard*, 1910, xix, 1065.
 80. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxii, 796.
 81. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxii, 2101.
 82. *Ibid.*, 1910, xiv, 1817.
 83. *Ibid.*, 1911, xxiii, 561–2.
 84. Bailey, ‘Bibles and Dummy Rifles’, p. 9. The Boys’ Brigade did finally join the War Office scheme in the last year of the Great War. See M. Dedman, ‘Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the “Invisible Contributors” to the Boy Scout scheme, 1904–1920’, *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1993), p. 203.
 85. Nuffield Library, Oxford, Mottistone papers, Box 19, fols. 10–12: R. S. Peacock to Major-General Sir John M. Moody, 19 June 1911.
 86. S. Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman: The Jewish Lads’ and Girls Brigade, 1895–1995* (London, 1995), p. 53.
 87. Dedman, ‘Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the “Invisible Contributors”’, p. 203.
 88. Kadish, *A Good Jew*, pp. 51–2.
 89. The problem of ‘militarism’ has occupied a prominent and controversial place in the historiography of the Boy Scout movement. Some scholars have emphasized the military connections and military ambitions of many within the organization’s leadership, arguing that the purpose of scouting was to prepare boys to fulfil their future duty in the defence of the empire. Other historians, however, have argued that scouting was intended ultimately to train boys in ‘practical good citizenship’, that is, to create good citizens rather than simply efficient soldiers. See J. O. Springhall, ‘The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements, 1908–1930’, *International Review of Social History*, xvi (1971), pp. 125–58; *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883–1940* (London, 1977), pp. 53–70; ‘Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?’, *English Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 405 (1987), pp. 934–42; Dedman, ‘Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the “Invisible Contributors”’; M. Rosenthal, ‘Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version

- of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout scheme', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1980), 603–17; *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scouts* (London, 1986); P. Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1969), pp. 3–23; A. Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920', *English Historical Review*, vol. 101, no. 399 (1986), pp. 376–98; 'Baden-Powell: A Final Comment', *English Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 405 (1987), pp. 948–50.
90. 'An Appeal to One and All', reproduced in the *National Service Journal*, November 1903.
 91. The National Archives, WO 32/21715: 'Formation of Territorial Force Nursing Service' (1908).
 92. A. Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses, 1854–1914* (London, 1988), pp. 237–70.
 93. *The Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* (Spring, 1910), p. 234.
 94. See above, pp. 124–5.
 95. *Hansard*, 1906, cliii, 679; 1907, clxix, 1301–2.
 96. *Times*, 29 September 1906.
 97. *Hansard*, 1907, clxix, 1303.
 98. Following the outbreak of the Great War, considerable numbers of Territorials volunteered enthusiastically to be despatched overseas – in some units as many as 80 or 90 per cent of the first line volunteered immediately – but many others were far more reluctant. One reason for this reticence may have been that pre-war Territorials were typically older, more likely to be married, and had more responsibilities keeping them at home than war-time recruits to the regular army. In any case, the Territorial Force was initially neglected by Kitchener as secretary of state for war, who preferred to raise his 'New Armies' for service in France separately from the Territorial organization. See Beckett, 'The Territorial Force', pp. 127–37.
 99. *Nation in Arms*, Christmas 1913, p. 476.
 100. *Hansard*, 1909, ii, 131.
 101. *Daily Telegraph*, 14 December 1908.
 102. See above, p. 120.
 103. 'An Appeal to One and All', reproduced in the *National Service Journal*, November 1903.
 104. *National Service Journal*, December 1903, p. 24.
 105. *Hansard*, 1908, clxxxv, 725–7.
 106. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5909, fols. 231–2: R. W. Allen to Haldane, 11 June 1912.
 107. NLS, Haig papers, Acc. 3155/32A, 'Second Memorandum', p. 6.
 108. *Nation*, 28 December 1907.
 109. *Ibid.*, 21 December; 28 December 1907.
 110. *Labour Leader*, 21 September 1906; 26 February 1909.
 111. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests and Kings*, pp. 208–11.
 112. *Nation*, 28 December 1907.
 113. Haldane, *Autobiography*, p. 185.
 114. A. Vincent, 'German Philosophy and British Public Policy: Richard Burdon Haldane in Theory and Practice', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2007), pp. 167–70.

115. Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer*, p. 199. Haldane has been described by one historian as settling for 'a lowest denominator of practical political attainment' in securing his reforms: Beckett, 'The Territorial Force', p. 128.
116. M. Howard, 'Lord Haldane and the Territorial Army', in Howard (ed.), *Studies in War and Peace* (London, 1970), pp. 92; Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer*, p. 95.
117. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, i, p. 199.
118. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 187, 199.
119. *Nation*, 1 June 1907.

Conclusion and Epilogue: Militarism and the Left by 1914, the Great War, and the Coming of Conscription

1. Z. Steiner and K. Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 229–57.
2. Lambert, *The Parliamentary History of Conscription*, pp. iii–iv.
3. *Labour Leader*, 2 November 1906; 26 March 1909.
4. *Ibid.*, 30 September 1910.
5. D. Sommer, *Haldane of Cloan: His Life and Times, 1856–1928* (London, 1960), pp. 318–9.
6. *Daily Express*, 5 August 1914.
7. *Times*, 5 August 1914.
8. Spender, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, ii, p. 63.
9. NLS, Haldane papers, MS 5910, fols. 251–2: Haig to Haldane, 4 August 1914.
10. Magnus, *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist*, p. 278.
11. D. R. Woodward, *Lloyd George and the Generals* (London, 1983); Turner, *British Politics and the Great War*, pp. 6, 232–9, 259–62, 271–8; D. French, "'A One Man Show?'" Civil-Military Relations during the First World War', in P. Smith (ed.), *Government and the Armed Forces in Britain, 1856–1990* (London, 1996), pp. 75–107.
12. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, ii, p. 1448.
13. M. Kitchen, *The Silent Dictatorship: The Politics of the German High Command under Hindenburg and Ludendorff, 1916–1918* (London, 1976); R. B. Asprey, *The German High Command at War: Hindenburg and Ludendorff conduct World War I* (New York, 1991).
14. *Times*, 11 November 1914.
15. *Ibid.*, 7 January 1916.
16. J. C. Wedgwood, *Testament to Democracy* (London, 1942), p. 42.
17. See for example A. Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*, 2nd edn. (London, 1991), p. 349; R. N. Stromberg, *Redemption by War: The Intellectuals and 1914* (Kansas, 1982), pp. 1–5.
18. A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 13.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–3.
20. *Times*, 21 September 1914.
21. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p. 156.

22. T. Travers, 'The Army and the Challenge of War, 1914–1918', in D. G. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds) *The Oxford History of the British Army*, New edn. (Oxford, 1996), p. 211.
23. P. Simkins, 'The Four Armies, 1914–1918', in *Oxford History of the British Army*, p. 235.
24. There were a number of reasons for this. During the first seventeen months of the war, when the voluntary system of recruiting was maintained, enlistment rates could vary according to factors ranging from the economic conditions in different trades to the efforts of local recruiting organizers or the existence of a particularly strong regional 'martial tradition' of the kind that was supposed to characterize both Highland and Lowland Scotland. After compulsory military service was introduced in 1916, large numbers of men performing essential war work in 'reserved occupations' were exempted from military service. See J. M. Winter, 'Britain's "Lost Generation" of the First World War', *Population Studies*, 31 (Nov. 1977), pp. 449–66; Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp. 70–111, 210.
25. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp. 81, 244.
26. Erickson and Mommsen, 'Militarism', pp. 440–1.
27. I. Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms, 1914–18', in Beckett and Simpson (eds), *A Nation in Arms*, pp. 18–19.
28. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp. 84–5, 131–6.
29. Searle, *A New England?*, p. 811.
30. *Hansard*, 5th Series, 1916, lxxviii, 1037–42; lxxxii, 1487–92. For the history of the passage of the Military Service Bills, and of the political manoeuvrings of the principal figures behind them, see Hayes, *Conscription Conflict*; Adams and Poirier, *Conscription Controversy*, pp. 93–143; Turner, *British Politics and the Great War*, pp. 64–90.
31. Lambert, *The Parliamentary History of Conscription*, p. iv.
32. Taylor, *Politics in Wartime*, pp. 12–13; Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party*, pp. 18, 23–4, 30–5, 39, 51; Hart, 'The Liberals, the War and the Franchise', pp. 820–32; Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party*, pp. 382–3.
33. Searle, *A New England?*, p. 832.
34. Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack*, pp. 136–41.
35. Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party*, pp. 353–61. Wartime union expansion was in fact a continuation of pre-war trends. Indeed, the rate of increase in trade union membership was actually higher in 1911 than in any single year during the war. See R. McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910–1924* (London, 1974), pp. 239–40.
36. Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party*, pp. 351–2, 375–6; Pugh, *Speak for Britain!*, pp. 100–27.
37. McKibbin, *Evolution of the Labour Party*, p. 243.
38. Matthew, McKibbin, and Kay, 'The Franchise Factor in the Rise of the Labour Party', p. 743.
39. *Liberal Magazine*, February 1916.
40. *Hansard*, 1915, lxxiv, 213.
41. *Nation*, 22 January 1916.
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 45. *Ibid.*, 1915, lxxi, 2408–10, 2415; lxxiii, 2397; *Times*, 24 June 1915.
 46. *Times*, 28 July 1915.
 47. *Ibid.*, 16 August 1915.
 48. *Ibid.*, 15 September 1915. The Liberal signatories were Cawley, Herbert, Mond, Wedgwood, Ellis Griffith, Chiozza Money, Dudley Ward, William Cowan, A. W. Barton, H. W. Carr-Gomm, David Davies, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir Charles Henry, Robert Harcourt, Harold Pearson, Sir Herbert Raphael, Walter Waring, Guy Wilson, and Freddie and Henry Guest.
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 67. *Nation*, 8 April 1916.
 68. Adams and Poirier, *Conscription Controversy*, p. 153.
 69. *Times*, 17 April 1916; *Nation*, 29 January 1916.
 70. *Westminster Gazette*, 7 December 1916; *Daily Chronicle*, 8 December 1916.
 71. *Morning Post*, 8 December 1916. As well as fourteen of the original nineteen founding LWC members, the list included the following names: R. H. Barran, A. W. Barton, Clifford Cory, J. H. Edwards, W. Glyn Jones, R. L. Harmsworth,

- Lewis Haslam, T. O. Jacobsen, F. G. Kellaway, George Lambert, G. Croydon Marks, Chiozza Money, A. C. Morton, Joseph Walton, A. W. Yeo, and William Young.
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 74. *Ibid.*, 26 April; 15 August; 28 November; 5 December 1917.
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 79. *Times*, 2 November 1916.
 80. U. Glas. L., MacCallum Scott diary, 8 March 1916, MS Gen 1465/7 fol. 68; David, (ed.), *Inside Asquith's Cabinet*, p. 184; Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front*, p. 173. Churchill formally joined the committee in August 1916, although he does not appear to have been a particularly active member of the group; see *Marlborough Express*, 15 August 1916.
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