MEMOIR OF

Sir William Reynell Anson

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William R. Anson.

A MEMOIR

of

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR WILLIAM ANSON

BARONET: WARDEN of ALL SOULS COLLEGE
BURGESS for the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD

Edited by

HERBERT HENSLEY HENSON

D.D.: LORD BISHOP of HEREFORD
SOMETIME FELLOW of ALL SOULS COLLEGE

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TO

THE WARDEN AND COLLEGE

OF THE SOULS OF

ALL FAITHFUL PEOPLE

DECEASED

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD .

PREFACE

THE following memoir lies open to some obvious criticisms. It cannot pretend to the character of a complete biography, nor has it the unity of single authorship. The natural biographers of Sir William Anson would have been such intimate friends as Willert, Raper, and Strachan-Davidson, but these have passed away. My personal acquaintance with him only began in 1884, when I was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls, and, after I left residence in order to take up work at the Oxford House, my contact with him was necessarily only occasional. His friendship indeed I had, and valued increasingly until the end, but my life lay apart from his, and I had no special knowledge of his mind, save perhaps on a few subjects with respect to which I was at the pains of learning what he thought.

It is the consequence of collecting reminiscences and estimates from different persons that there is a certain amount of repetition. I have endeavoured to reduce this to a minimum, but it exists, and is a defect.

I have to express my obligations to many who have given me generous assistance; especially I must name Earl Curzon and Mr. Grant Robertson, who placed much correspondence at my disposal, the Master of Balliol, the proprietors of *The Times*, who kindly permitted me to make use of the letters, &c., which had appeared in its columns, and Professor W. P. Ker, to whom at all times I referred

for counsel. To the contributors, whose work I have collected, I owe special thanks.

The Dean of Winchester, Dr. Hutton, sent me an interesting account of two ancient Dining Clubs, 'the Club' of which Sir William Anson was for some while the Secretary, and 'Nobody's Friends', at which he made a speech a few weeks before his death.

Communications of special interest came to me from Viscount Bryce O.M., Lord Muir Mackenzie, Sir Frederic Pollock, Sir Henry Graham, Sir Courtenay Ilbert, Sir Robert Morant, and Mr. Douglas Eyre.

My obligations to Miss Anson are everywhere apparent. She placed at my disposal the 'Journal' which has been the backbone of the 'Memoir', and many other documents of various value and interest. Her assistance in other ways has been invaluable. The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College have been most helpful.

The long delay in completing this Memoir will need no explanation to those who remember what the War has involved in the case of every one placed in any position of public responsibility. Nor did the transit from the comparative leisure of a deanery to the unceasing distractions of an episcopal palace assist the progress of a work which, albeit a labour of love, lay outside the range of my duties. Such as it is, it will, I trust, serve to convey to those who did not know him, something of the mingled reverence and affection with which the late Warden of All Souls inspired his contemporaries, both old and young, and made them look upon his death, though at a relatively advanced age, as an irreparable personal and public loss.

H. H. HEREFORD.

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1. Thomas, *d.* 1773, no children
2. George, Admiral Lord Anson, the Circumnavigator, *b.* 1697, *d.* 1762, *m.* Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Hardwicke, no children
Janette, *b.* 1690, *d.* 1771, *m.* Sambrooke Adams, of Orgreave Hall, Staff., had issue
Other daughters, died unmarried

George, *b.* 1731, *m.* 1763, Mary, daughter of 1st Lord Vernon; inherited the estates of his maternal uncles and took the name of Anson, 1773, *d.* 1789

1. Thomas, created Viscount Anson, 1806.
2. George, K.C.B.
3. Charles, Archdeacon of Carlisle.
4. William, K.C.B., *b.* 1772, *m.* Louisa, only child of John Dickenson and Mary, only child of Charles Hamilton, (grandson of 3rd Duke of Hamilton) and niece of Sir William Hamilton, the diplomatist; *created Baronet* 1831, *d.* 1847
5. Henry.
6. Edward.
7. Sambrooke.
8. Frederick, Dean of Chester.
1. Mary, *m.* Sir F. Ford, *b.* 1763
2. Anne, *m.* Bell Lloyd, *b.* 1746
3. Catherine, *m.* — Stewart, *b.* 1786

1. John William Hamilton, *m.* 184–, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B., and Lady Elizabeth, daughter of 1st Marquis of Waterford; 2nd *Baronet*, *b.* 1816, *d.* 1873
2. William Vernon Dickenson, R.N., died at sea, 1842.
3. George Henry Greville, Archdeacon of Manchester, *d.* 1898
4. Archibald Harbord Edward, Major-General, K.C.M.G., *b.* 1827, still living 1920
1. Mary, *m.* Rev. M. J. Farrer, of Ingleborough, Yorks.
2. Anne, *m.* Rev. W. Thornton, of Brockhall, Northants.
3. Louisa, *m.* Major Du Cane, R.A.

1. WILLIAM REYNELL, 3rd *Baronet*, *b.* 1843, *d.* June 4, 1914
2. John George Beresford, *b.* 1845, *d.* 1852
3. Frederick Arthur, *b.* 1850, *d.* 1913, *m.* Agnes, daughter of J. Roberts, of New Zealand.
4. Algernon Horatio, R.N., *b.* 1854, *d.* 1913, *m.* Adela, daughter of 6th Lord Vernon
1. Louisa, *m.* Rev. Donald Campbell, *d.* 1909
2. Mary, died in India 1870
3. Elizabeth
4. Florence
5. Margaret, *m.* Rev. T. Butler
6. Gertrude
7. Janet, *m.* H. Montgomery.

1. Hugh
2. John.
3. Frederick, fell in action 1914
1. Alice, *d.* 1893
2. Winifred
1. Ernest.
2. Arthur.
1. Daughter, *b.* and *d.* 1909.

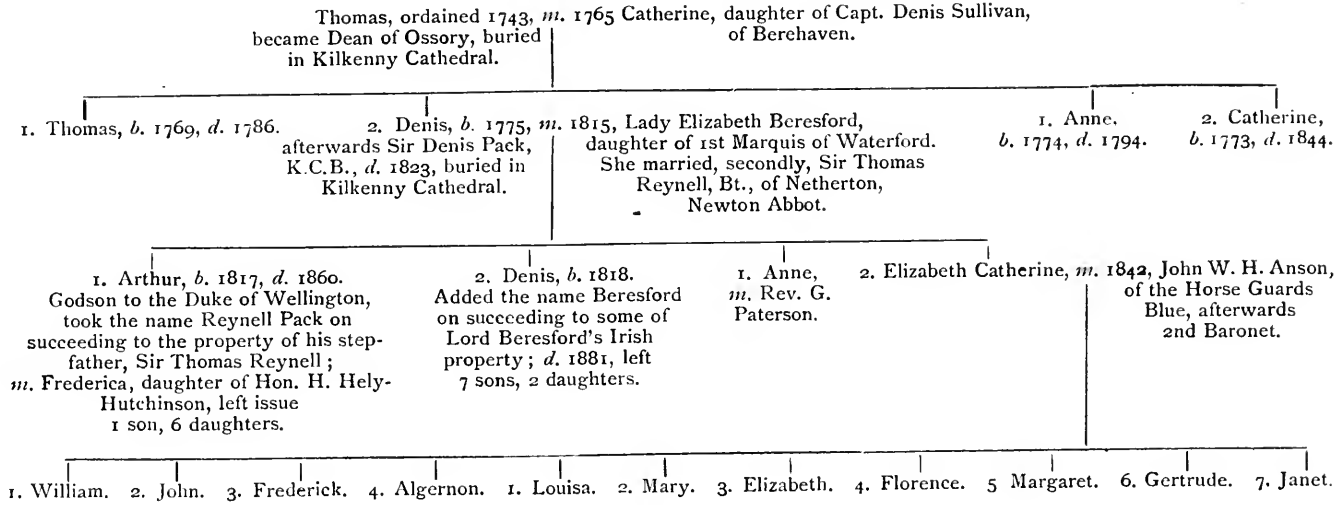
1. John Henry Algernon, *b.* 1897; in the Royal Navy, lost at sea on active service, 1918, 5th *Baronet*
2. Edward Reynell, *b.* 1902, in the Royal Navy, succeeded as 6th *Baronet* March 1918
1. John
2. Donald, *d.* 1898
1. Mary
2. Jean

1. Denis George William, *b.* 1888, accidently drowned 1914, 4th *Baronet*
1. Ella F. O., *m.* Charles Crawford 1906
2. Margaret, *m.* Horace Willis Young 1912, who *d.* 1914
Patrick Peregrine, *b.* 1913
3. Janet Katherine Mary, *m.* Capt. George Fisher, 1914, who fell in action 1917
4. Anne Evelyn, *m.* Capt. Thomas Sotheron Estcourt, 1912.

1. Henry Nevay, *b.* 1907
2. John Anson, *b.* 1916.
1. Elizabeth
2. Barbara
3. Eileen
4. Jean.
5. Margaret
1. Anthony George Anson, *b.* 1915
2. Basil William, *b.* 1916.
1. Desmond, *b.* 1918
1. Diana Margaret, *b.* 1913.
2. Eleanor Josephine, *b.* 1915.

PACK PEDIGREE

The Pack(e) family, who dropped the e on settling in Ireland, may be said to commence with Sir Christopher Pack of Northamptonshire, about 1593. His second son served in Flanders under Sir Henry Goodrich, 1681, and finally settled down in Ireland on land granted to his father in return for money advanced by him for the reduction of the Irish rebels. From him was descended:



BERESFORD DESCENT

George, 1st Marquis of Waterford, *m.* Elizabeth Monck, grand-daughter of the 1st Duke of Portland.

1. Henry, 2nd Marquis. 2. George. 3. John, Primate of all Ireland. 1. Anne. 2. Catherine. 3. Elizabeth, *m.* Sir Denis Pack. 4. Isabella, *m.* Sir John Brydges, *d.* 1839.

1. Arthur. 2. Denis. 1. Anne. 2. Elizabeth, *m.* Sir John W. H. Anson, Bt.

1. William. 2. John. 3. Louisa. 4. Mary. 5. Elizabeth. 6. Frederick. 7. Florence. 8. Algernon. 9. Margaret. 10. Gertrude. 11. Janet.

DICKENSON PEDIGREE

Samuel Dickenson, *m.* 1679, the daughter of Dr. Birch of Birch Hall.

John, of Birch Hall and Taxal, *m.* Mary, daughter of Thomas Goulborne. Mary, *m.* James Parkin.

1. John, *m.* Sarah, daughter of Thomas Chetham. 2. Thomas. 3. Leigh.

1. John, *m.* Mary Hamilton. 1. Sarah, *d.* 1836. 2. Elizabeth, *m.* Chevalier G. D. Palombi.

Louisa, *b.* 1786, *m.* Gen. Sir William Anson, K.C.B., 1815, *d.* 1836.

*John. Mary. William. George. Anne. Archibald and Louisa (twins).

* Father of Sir William Reynell Anson.

FRAGMENT OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

December, 1879.

LIFE at Oxford is a curious mixture of monotony and restlessness. Everybody is talking and thinking, and little comes of it. So far as the constitution of the University can be changed by the legislation of its members it is changed backwards and forwards like a sick man tossing on his bed. The field of action is small, but the activity is incessant, and one sometimes thinks 'if these men were in the House of Commons how fast the Statute Book would grow, how brisk would be our foreign policy, how much honour we should have and how little peace!'

The past five years have been an interesting time in the history of Oxford; the prospect of a Commission and its actual presence have quickened a reforming energy not naturally inactive; specialists have claimed endowment for their peculiar studies and have striven to turn the course of education into their peculiar channels; head masters becoming heads of colleges have advertised their educational wares as though old colleges had turned bubble companies, or universal warehouses where every element of a liberal education could be obtained for a minimum of time, money, and perhaps application; the advocates of original research have cried down education as inimical to study, and the smart phrases of the Rector of Lincoln,[1] *and the battle of the Academy, may be accepted as a fair exposition of this side of the reforming movement.*

But any Oxford man educated between the years 1855

[1] The Rev. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln from 1861 to 1884.

and 1870 can frame lively generalizations of this sort. My object is to give some sort of a five years' residence in Oxford in stirring times, so that events and character may be noted by one who saw things face to face, and not [as] guessed at by novelists or historians. I also would like to show how in one particular college the progress of reform was manifest, and if it may be done with propriety, to record this side of the life of men who, for aught I know, may become otherwise famous, but who in this matter, at any rate, have shown themselves to possess conspicuous political and social virtues.

February 26, 1881.

I wrote the above lines more than a year ago.

Perhaps one may like hereafter to look back on the story of one's life, or others may read what I try to write and wonder at the listlessness or folly of the writer. Perhaps I shall never finish what I have to say. I bought this book two years ago and have never really begun it.

Still, I will try an autobiography.

I was born on the 14th of November, 1843; so far as I can recollect, I was a sickly, self-conscious, unpleasant child. So far as I can recollect I have always possessed the same intellectual characteristics, ambition enough for a great man, curiosity enough for a learned man, but neither capacity nor application to become great or learned. In the early spring of 1852 my next brother died, and it was thought well to send me to school. My recollections of school are wholly repulsive. The work was uninteresting, the hours not devoted to work were spent walking on the bracken cliff, or playing at games in which I was too little to take an active part. I remained there for three years, and then I had an illness of which I nearly died, a sort of chest complaint arising from whooping-

LOUISA, JOHNNIE AND WILLIE, 1849

cough. I stayed at home for a year, during which I got a fair knowledge of French, and then returned to school. I liked school better then, and learned some Latin. In the spring of 1857 I went to Eton and soon began to forget the little I had ever learned.

I was at the house of the Rev. E. Balston, an old friend of my father's, a man whose charm of manner endeared him to generations of pupils. But his house was not a working house, and it was not till I had taken a very low place when I passed into the Fifth Form that I began to try and learn something in order that I might succeed better.

Mr. Balston was a finished scholar of the Old School, and from him I learned to do Latin verses, an art which is too fast dying out, and so I scrambled into a high place in my remove, and got a reputation for being a fair scholar for an Oppidan.

In 1860 Mr. Balston became a Fellow of Eton, and gave up his mastership and I became the pupil of Mr. Warre. Warre is a man of extraordinary energy of character. He was at that time fresh from Oxford, and a First Class man and Fellow of All Souls, a great rowing man and volunteer. From him I learnt to wish to be more energetic than I am. Without being either learned or conspicuously powerful in mind he even now seems, whenever I meet him, to impart to me some of his overflowing life and vigour. The impression he produced on us boys was remarkable. We all began to think it creditable to work, a new idea to most of us, and when I left Eton in 1862, having failed to distinguish myself in the Newcastle Scholarship, I formed a strong determination, if I lived, to do something for the credit of Warre's house and of my old school.

I say, 'if I lived' advisedly, for I was a hypochondriac, and without ever being ill I was never well. I had a misgiving throughout my whole University

career that I should soon die, and a desire to leave some record of myself which alone enabled me to contend with a nervous depression of almost overwhelming force.

After Easter, 1862, I went to Balliol. By Christmas, 1863, I had struggled into a First Class in Moderations. In the Summer of 1866, thanks to the instruction of Jowett and the companionship of Strachan Davidson, I obtained a classical First Class. In that autumn I tried for a Fellowship at All Souls and was beaten by Edward Ridley, and in the winter I joined my family in Rome.

I spent four months in Italy and then returned to England to read for a Fellowship. My father had a serious illness while still abroad, which recalled me for a short time to Switzerland, but he happily recovered. In November I was elected, together with W. F. G. Phillimore, to a Fellowship at All Souls. Among the defeated candidates were Messrs. F. Jeune, A. G. Hardy, and Taswell Langmead.

After this I spent a couple of terms in idleness at Oxford, and then began to read law in London. I never liked the law nor do I now. I entered the chambers of Mr. Thomas Chitty, the great special pleader. There were twelve of us there. I learned nothing, and as I knew nothing to begin with, and was never taught anything, the result is not surprising.

At the end of a year I had discovered that it was not right to plead 'never indebted' to an action on a Bill of Exchange, and I had made some new friends among the pupils, and then I went for a couple of months into the office of Messrs. White, Broughton, and White to try and learn conveyancing. The offices of Messrs. Broughton and White were in Marlborough Street, near to my father's house in Portland Place, and I was too near home for the interests of study. Besides this, I was expected by my

mother and sisters to go to balls and parties, and was consequently more than half asleep during the day. Still, I learnt my way about a deed, and have every reason to be grateful for the kindness of Mr. Broughton in allowing me the run of his office. In the autumn of 1869 I travelled in South Germany and North Italy. The first part of my tour was made in company with Francis Hervey and Raper; the latter with Francis Hervey alone. When I returned to England I found that I must make choice of a circuit as I was shortly to be called to the Bar. My first intention was to go upon the Midland Circuit, and I had almost concluded an engagement to read with Mr. Alfred Wills. I was, however, advised that a man without local interest would do better to go upon the Home Circuit, and so in a fortunate moment I waited.

In the end of October I went to Oxford, and took part in the first election at All Souls which had occurred since my own. The two new Fellows were Doyle and Johnson, men of whom I shall have more to say.

When I went back to Town I was allowed, by the kindness of Archer Clive and H. Graham, to use their chambers for some weeks till I had enlisted myself as pupil to a Home Circuit Barrister. Clive is dead now. He was nearly two years my senior at Balliol, and there was no man of whom his contemporaries thought more highly. There was a fire and energy about him that seemed to mark him for success, and a geniality that caused all who knew him to wish he might succeed. By his advice I became the pupil of Alfred Thesiger. Alas, that I should say it, he too is dead. I have known no man whom I love better or reverence more. Every one knows of him as an example of extraordinary success obtained with universal approval, as one who knew neither failure nor reproach. But those who worked with him knew well that they were brought into contact with

a rare and chivalrous nature. Daily intercourse with him taught them what it was to work faithfully to the uttermost, and how the closest attention to a laborious and exciting profession could be combined with the brightest and most genial interest in the pursuits and affairs of those about him. I don't care to write a panegyric of a man, the memory of whom will always help me, the finest gentleman and the truest Christian I ever knew.

WILLIAM REYNELL ANSON

Photographed by his Uncle, 1854

CHAPTER I

HOME AND SCHOOL

THE name of Anson was rendered illustrious by the voyages and naval victories of the circumnavigator, George Anson (1697–1762). He left no children, and the peerage bestowed upon him in 1747 became extinct. His considerable fortune went to the descendants of his sister, Janetta, wife of Mr. Sambrooke Adams, whose son, George, took his famous uncle's name. Of this George Anson's sons the eldest, Thomas, was created a peer, and is the ancestor of the Earls of Lichfield; the fourth son, William, distinguished himself in the Peninsular War, and was created a baronet. Sir William Anson married Louisa, only daughter and heiress of John Dickenson of Birch, Manchester. Their son, Sir John Anson, married Elizabeth Catherine, daughter of Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B., who commanded a brigade at Waterloo. Thus on both sides the future Warden of All Souls came of military ancestors. We may add that he was related through his mother with the famous fighting race of the Beresfords, and received his second Christian name from his maternal grandmother's second husband, Sir Thomas Reynell, another Peninsular hero.

William Reynell Anson was born on the 14th of November, 1843, at Avisford, the residence of his grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Reynell, in the

village of Walberton, near Arundel, Sussex. He was the eldest of a large family, four sons and seven daughters, of whom all grew up to adult life, except John, born in March 1845, who died in 1852, to the deep and continuing regret of his elder brother.

'He was eight years old', writes his sister, 'when the first great and bitter sorrow of his life came—the death from low fever of his brother Johnnie, an irreparable loss to the quiet, reserved, loving little boy. Sixty years later, after visiting his grave in Walberton Churchyard, there is an entry in his diary: "We went to see Johnnie's grave; he died 61 years ago. What a loss!" After the funeral of his youngest brother, Algernon (Admiral Anson), in November 1913, he writes: "I kept thinking of Johnny. I was an unhappy little boy then, but I feel the same at 70."'

Unhappiness, however, was but a rare visitor to his life. Few men can have been more fortunate in the circumstances of their childhood. None of the constituents of individual well-being was absent save perhaps robust health, though the lack of robustness went along with great vitality and an extraordinary power of work. Probably, few men have lost less time on the score of health during a life of seventy years. His power of continued exertion was the wonder and envy of his friends.

In 1852 he was sent to school at Brighton, and four years later he went to Eton. In the interval he had a very serious illness, the result of whooping-cough, from which he nearly died. It is worth noting that in a letter written on the day before his death he makes reference to this childish illness: 'though I have always sympathized with myself as never being really well, I now find that I have never known what it was to be really ill *since I was eleven*'.

A by-product of his physical delicacy in early boyhood may be noted. The indoors life which it

compelled developed in him the taste and habit of miscellaneous reading, from which his retentive memory enabled him to accumulate an astonishing fund of unusual knowledge. In later years men wondered at the extent and variety of his conversational resources. The explanation probably lies in the circumstances of his early life. Sir John Anson lived in London—first at 32 Devonshire Place, and then, when the family had outgrown that house, from 1855 till his death in 1873, at 55 Portland Place—paying frequent visits to his mother-in-law's house at Avisford until her death in 1856. In 1857 he became the tenant of Lord Eldon's place, Shirley House near Croydon, which was the more convenient as bringing him near to his brother-in-law, the Rector of Shirley and Addington, who had recently lost his wife. Miss Florence Anson thus recalls her early home :

'This place, (now an hotel and golf links,) with its extensive pretty grounds, providing boating, skating, blackberry-picking and mushroom-gathering, and the close intercourse with our uncle and cousins, we all loved. It was our country home until 1866, when Lord Eldon came of age and our tenancy ceased. My father and mother, with my three eldest sisters, went to Italy for the winter, where Willie followed them, the younger ones remaining in England, at the seaside.'

It will be noted that two very wholesome conditions of normal development were present in the first and formative years of William Anson's life—a large family and a country house.

ETON DAYS (1857-62)

By H. W. HAMILTON-HOARE

To be invited to contribute to a Memoir of the late Warden of All Souls is a privilege which, as one of his oldest friends, I greatly prize. Of those who knew Anson intimately at Eton not a few, alas! are now no longer amongst us, and it is not easy for waning memories to bridge over an interval of some sixty years. Yet it is on memory that one has mainly to depend. I have been permitted to see many of the Eton letters which Anson wrote week by week to his father and mother. But their chief value for biographical purposes is to show what an affectionate boy he was, and how much he appreciated the never-failing support and encouragement on which he could always count from a home circle to which he was greatly attached. No diary has come my way. If anybody at my Tutor's kept a diary they kept it dark. Perhaps that was just as well. A too self-conscious boy-diarist might easily degenerate into something not far removed from an insufferable prig. And if one's memory be less responsive than one could wish, still it must be an exceptionally bad memory if all remembrance of years so golden has wholly passed away from it.

Anson went to Eton in the spring of 1857. He was then between thirteen and fourteen, and had been educated at a private school in Brighton. Sir John Anson, himself an Etonian, had long been on very friendly terms with Edward Balston, and Balston's was accordingly the house to which he decided to send his son. Balston formed a high idea of him from the very first, and their relation-

ship continued all along to be of the most cordial character.

As compared with the average boy Anson was of weak physique. A severe illness in 1855 had all but carried him off. When sufficiently recovered he left Brighton and worked with a private tutor at home during 1856. His schoolmaster knew nothing of this, for Anson never cared to speak of it. But in a greater or lesser degree his constitution felt the shock throughout his school life, and the check given to his mental and physical energy was to him what Plato calls 'the bridle of Theages'.

The Eton of those days was in a transition state. It may be said to have been marking time pending the introduction of important changes. Reform was in the press and in the air. But during our time (1857–62) it was content to stay there. In the meantime the atmosphere was rather drowsy. Balston's house had many and great charms, but it could not honestly be described as a hive of industry. The school as a whole resembled nothing less than a gymnasium for bracing the mental fibres.

Indolence is usually somewhat commonplace, and I do not recall anything about Anson of any special interest for a biographer in our early experiences of school life in the old Manor House. Certainly he was annoyed at taking a relatively low place in trials. At the same time his impaired vitality left him in no mood for much avoidable exertion. The ordinary curriculum had no terrors for him, and so, with one exception, he rather let things slide. This exception was with regard to Latin composition. Balston's scholarly aptitude in elegiacs and lyrics had a strong attraction for a boy of Anson's tastes. He soon began to take a pride in his weekly verses, and to turn out increasingly creditable work.

How we spent our spare time (and there must have been a good deal of it) I have but a vague recollection. For a year or two Anson was not allowed to play football, and for this he got more chaffed than pitied. He enjoyed rounders and fives, but never became much of a hand at them. Much to his surprise, in the summer of 1859 he won his heat, as bow, in the house pair-oar sweepstakes. He made no pretence of being a pronounced 'dry-bob', but he used occasionally to indulge with me in a little mild cricket, or stump and ball in the playing-fields. For a time he took turnery lessons, and did some sketching under the auspices of 'Sam Evans'. Under protest he would join, after lock-up, in a rough and tumble game of slipper-football in the passage, and was always ready for a trial of skill at 'knucks'. On Sundays one looked forward to his delightful companionship for a walk, and I only wish that I could remember some of his admirably told stories.

Two incidents, both belonging to the Balston period, may be worth recalling, since they encourage one in the faith that, slackers as in general we were, we could energize when the spirit moved us.

The maid in charge of our second floor was known to her flock as 'Sib', and it was to her floor that both Anson and I belonged. What it was that so put her back up, what enormities she had privily laid to our charge, I have no idea; but all out of the blue sky my tutor, one day after prayers, summoned us to his study, confronted us with Sib, and called upon her to open her grief. The scar of her burning words has remained indelible ever since. 'What I do say, sir, is this, that Mr. 'Oare and Mr. Hanson they makes the 'ouse a perfect 'ell!'

The other happening was on this wise. On a certain 'after four', one day in the Easter half, it occurred to Anson and myself that it would be rather fun to take a boy who had lately come to our house out jumping over suitable hedges and ditches. Anson's motive was probably sheer gaiety of soul. Mine may have been, I fear, a desire to show my muscle. Our new boy was a long-limbed scion of the clan of Astley. We had caught a Tartar. He could jump twice as far and twice as high as we could, and the ditches round Eton are miry to a degree. Suffice it to say that Astley returned home without a stain either on his character or on his clothes. Anson without any on his character. The writer, alas! with both articles badly damaged.

In the year 1860 there came a turning-point in Anson's life, and one which he himself was quick to realize. Balston became Head Master,[1] and his pupils were transferred to Edmond Warre.

Up to now Anson had been more or less floating with the stream, and his career had shown no particular distinction. Conscious that he could do better if he chose; conscious, too, that, in more quarters than one, better things were expected of him, he yet lacked the moral and physical vigour to force himself into a fresh departure. He was in two minds, and what was wanted was the impulse of some new influence which should deliver him from indecision and speed him towards some definite goal.

Such an influence he found in the personality of Edmond Warre. The new Master's vigorous youth, his grand physique, his reputation on the river, his immense enthusiasm, his masterful energy

[1] Balston had been a Fellow for two years before becoming Head Master in 1862 on the resignation of Dr. Goodford.

of mind, his force of character, took us dawdling boys by storm. On Anson the effect was electrical. Warre's trumpet-call to the battle of well-doing rang out on no unwilling ears. From that time onwards Anson set himself down to work in earnest, and to do his best.

It was at this stage of his life at Eton that I came into closer touch with him than either before or since. We had made great friends. Setting games on one side, we liked the same sort of things. Our rooms nearly adjoined. We sat next each other in school and chapel. Stimulated by A. J. Butler, who was our walking lexicon and encyclopaedia, we made private excursions into Herodotus, Aristophanes, and other benefactors of the human race. Anson's delight in the *Frogs* was unbounded, though without Butler we should both of us have frittered half our time away in looking out words. About his English favourites I am not so sure, but I seem to have visions on his bureau shelves of Tennyson and Thackeray, of Ruskin and Carlyle, of Conington's Horace and Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, and last, not least, of Stanhope's *Pitt*.

Between 1860 and 1862 the main features of Anson's personality were becoming clearly defined. Intellectually, if I am any judge, his powers matured somewhat leisurely. Indeed, one doubts if they really came by their own till he had passed well into manhood. He won Warre's Epigram prize in 1861 when his quondam fag, A. G. Liddell, was second. Whether he was in the select for the Prince Consort's Prize, I do not remember. The Eton *Observer* found in him one of its best contributors. He attained, in due course, to the dignity of Sixth Form.

In outward appearance Anson changed but little as the years went by. The light spare frame, the

slight physique, the laughing eye, the trim neatness in his vesture, the pleasant voice and address, the mobile sensitive mouth, the strong firm nose to which he owed his Eton nickname, the characteristic little tricks of manner, such as turning up his eyes while talking, to inspect the brim of his hat; who is there among his surviving contemporaries who cannot mentally revivify the quiet unobtrusive boy whom traits like these combined to fashion?

Well endowed as he was intellectually, Anson's strongest point was his character. In thought and word and deed he was a gentleman to his finger tips. For one thing, he was absolutely straight, and the very soul of honour. It never so much as occurred to you that he would ever say behind your back anything which, within the limitations of courtesy, he would not say to your face. As to courtesy, it came to him naturally, just as sympathy did, and human kindliness of heart. Of a singularly modest and retiring disposition he cherished, even in his Eton days, high ideals. Duty was an ideal to him, and so was beauty, for he was a lover of flowers and music and art. There was very little of the old Adam about him, and next to nothing of the rogue. He was never swished, nor ever even claimed 'first fault'. He felt no irrepressible desire to kick over the traces for no better reason than that they were there to be kicked over. His mind was sane and orderly, and ran rather on practical than on speculative or abstract lines. One would hardly describe him as a 'popular' boy, or as a school hero in any way. He was no athlete. In the slang of the day he would have been called a 'sap'. He was neither in the boats, nor in the eleven, nor in 'Pop', nor among the 'swells' who quaffed their nectar at 'tap', assimilated their ambrosia at oppidan break-

fasts at the Christopher, and rested their divine limbs upon the railings by Keat's Lane.

Whether any single one of his contemporaries was so sufficiently 'previous' as to diagnose in him an eminent Constitutional lawyer, a Fellow of All Souls and Eton, and a member for Oxford University, I greatly doubt. But then neither were our souls sufficiently prophetic to discern in John Doyle a distinguished historian, or in Francis Le Marchant a rising star in the financial firmament.

Some such person as I have tried to sketch was the Anson whom I am thankful to have known. But I have deliberately reserved to the last the most striking of his many characteristics, namely, his own peculiar gift of humour. No doubt this gift became more conspicuous as he gained confidence in himself and widened his outlook on life. But it was already there at Eton, and one imagines it to have been born with him. To define these things is of course quite impossible. They decline altogether to be run into logical moulds. They are spiritually discerned. All one can say is that it was not the humour one finds elsewhere. It was not the rollicking humour of high animal spirits. It was not the facetious wit of Sydney Smith. It was not the *rire immense* of Rabelais, nor the topsy-turveydom of *Alice in Wonderland*. It was more of a quiet effortless drollery which seemed to spring out of his swift instinct for the odd side of things. It was the gaiety of a quick intellect playing about in a world of subtle contrasts, a refined and fastidious, yet quaint and comic, humour which was kept subdued to the innate gentleness of the sympathies from which it ultimately flowed. It was just simply Anson.

H. W. H. H.

To Lady Anson.

April 3, 1858.

I was so sorry not to have been able to write to Florence on her birthday, but I was at Mr. Evans's, and could not be back in time, so I thought I would wait till to-day, and ask you to get her a little present, which I will give her when I come, if you will please get one for me. I heard of poor Lord Waterford's death by accident on Saturday, and I was very sorry to hear it, for I knew he was your relation, though I had never seen him. I was surprised on Wednesday by a visit from Uncle Ducane, who came to see me at about half-past two. I showed him as much of Eton as I could, and he sat in my room while I was in school at three o'clock. He read my Buckland's *Curiosities of Natural History* which interested him very much. He thought we were very luxurious, and was much shocked to see that boys used umbrellas. I walked to the station with him. I am so sorry Papa has gone to Ireland, for I wanted to write and ask him, if Adalbert does not leave, if I might give a leaving-book to Wallscourt who leaves this half. I am afraid he will think me late in asking, but I was not before sure that he did leave. Do you think he would let me? You will be glad to hear that I last week got another 'v w' for my verses. I did fifty-two.

To Lady Anson.

April 7, 1858.

I am so much obliged to you for your letter. I should like very much to give Wallscourt a leaving-book, but if you think Papa would have any objection I will give up all thoughts of it at once, as I should not like to get it contrary to his wishes, like my first one. Wallscourt is 17; he is generally liked, and has always been very good-natured to me. I have never thought of any book in particular, but if you get one, please do not get a common one, as if any one else was to give him the same it would be awkward to get it changed, mine coming from London instead of Eton. . . . I do not think *Eric* would be in the way of Greek and Roman History if you would be so kind as to send it. I have done my last copy of verses, and now am in great fear whether I shall be sent up or not. I hope to be though.

To Lady Anson.

April 1858.

I am so much obliged to you for the two books. I thought *Don Quixote* beautiful, and Wallscourt was very much pleased with it. I am charmed with *Eric*, as much as I have read of it. I think it such a delightful book. I am going to write to Papa on Monday night to thank him for it, and tell him how I like it. I shall by that time know if I have done pretty well in Euclid, as Mr. Hale will, I think, tell us. I did four propositions, which was as much as I had time to do, though I could not have done much more even if I had had time. The full marks for what I did would be 60, but I can hardly hope it is all right that I did, so I expect to get between 40 and 50. I did well in Horace yesterday, and was not called up in Plato. I have written out all the best copies of verses I have done this half, and one or two older ones, in a book, which I will bring home, for perhaps Papa would like to see them. They are as they were before I showed them up to my tutor (except if there were any very bad faults), so that you will see my own.

To Lady Anson.

October 23, 1859.

Mr. Evans says that this week I have improved a good deal. I have just finished a very hard drawing; and have begun a landscape, with some trees in the foreground. The fair is to-morrow. I suppose it has come from Croydon. I have been playing chess a good deal lately. It is rather a good amusement these long evenings, for I seldom draw for more than an hour of an evening, and very often go for an hour in the morning instead, which is nicer, though it is growing rather cold for my fingers at that time. The model is a live creature which I did not know before, as I was not at the first drawing of it, not having been told. An old man sat last time, to-morrow there is to be another, either a boy or a girl.

From a Miniature by Egley, Painted 1855

CHAPTER II

BALLIOL

ANSON matriculated at Oxford in February 1862, and came into residence at Balliol in the term following. In the interval he tried and failed to gain the Newcastle. The record in his journal indicates both expectation and disappointment:

'Thursday, 10th (April 1862). A wet day; wretched through anxiety till four, and through vexation after it, not being select.

Ibi omnis
effusus labor.'

He parted from Eton with regret—'dismal packing up and general wretchedness'—taking with him a rich treasure of friendship, and a devotion to the school which was to find ample expression in later years. He passed 'Responsions' at the end of June, though not without difficulty, as his Euclid 'failed him sadly at the last moment', and he had several papers to do again after viva voce. He sent his mother a candid statement of his performance:

'I am sorry I did not get through Smalls without second papers, but I hope you will be satisfied at my having got through at all. . . . The examiners were very good-natured, and seemed determined to get me through, giving me my choice of propositions when I failed in my first second-paper. It was so vexatious. I had thought my Euclid so well done when I showed it up originally, and was quite certain that it was my best paper, but it was the only one I really failed in. Mr. Woolcombe, however, was delighted because I did good Latin Prose. And now I need never do Euclid, Algebra, or Arithmetic again.'

As an undergraduate Anson was not a considerable figure. He did not come up with the éclat of any marked distinction, and was neither a Scholar nor an Exhibitioner of the College. He lived much with the Etonians, a powerful and even dominant element in the Balliol of his time. 'He did not take a very leading part in any of our amusements, though he was very fond of them,' writes a friend and contemporary, 'partly because he had not any remarkable physique, and more so, I fancy, because he intended to get a first in Mods and a first in Greats, and knew that it would not be quite as easy for him to do so as it was for men who brought up more scholarship with them from school.' He did not, perhaps, become generally conspicuous until he emerged as a comic actor of surprising excellence in some amateur theatricals, which formed the beginning of the modern Oxford drama. His 'whimsical face and little figure' assisted a gift of rare humour to make his acting extremely funny. The witness of contemporaries unites with that of his own letters to disclose an undergraduate career which, for a man of his type, training, and ability, may be called thoroughly normal. His school friendships were maintained, sifted, and deepened. He was evidently popular in College, and very happy.

'I remember him in his undergraduate days,' writes Sir Courtenay Ilbert, 'as a typical Etonian of the better and more studious sort, reserved, quiet, refined, cultivated, clean in word and thought; always in the best College set, but not taking a prominent or leading part in College life. Nor was he an active member of the Union Society.' His range of interests was unusually large, but it did not betray him into that dissipation of energy which is the rock on which so many gifted men

make shipwreck, for his sense of duty was strong, he had ambitions, and the influence of his family was constant and salutary. The letters which passed between him and his parents with frequency and regularity are expressed with a candour and affection which disclose a family life of rare tenderness and moral altitude. No interest was too petty for the parents to share with their son; at every step in his career he turned to them for counsel and sympathy. The conscientiousness which marked his career in later years, and gave to his work a character of thoroughness which was not its least valuable trait, had its roots deep in the soil of a disciplined and cultivated home. He gained his first class in Moderations without difficulty at the end of 1863, and then settled down to enjoy Oxford until the approach of 'Greats' should breed fresh anxieties and compel more arduous effort. He played cricket with more enthusiasm than success, steered the College boat, and distinguished himself as an actor. He was present in the Sheldonian at the memorable meeting of Convocation on March 9, 1864, when the country clergy mustered in force to throw out the statute for endowing Professor Jowett's Chair, and wrote to his mother the following vivacious account of the proceedings:

Oxford, March 9, 1864.

Yesterday I went to the Theatre to see the voting for the New Statute, about which I daresay you will have seen the article in *The Times*. I got into the gallery with some difficulty, as Archdeacon Denison wanted us to be kept out; but I would not have missed the sight for anything. Imagine over 700 people, mostly clergymen, all packed quite close together and making a most unclerical uproar. Archdeacon Denison began the proceedings by a Latin speech, of which I did not hear much as I was groaning at it all the time, and then they separated into two bodies and voted. It was such a shame that we were beaten by such

men. On one side was a crowd of sleek-looking country clergymen, who certainly looked as if they were not restricted to £40 a year, and on the other every body of any note or eminence in Oxford, besides many other great people from other places. And yet we were beaten, and to make the disappointment the bitterer, the Proctor gave it out wrong, and for two minutes we thought we had won. However, we did our part, for, in the first place, Balliol brought up 60 voters, and, in the second, we closed the proceedings up in the gallery by giving three cheers for Professor Jowett, and three groans for Archdeacon Denison. It was quite a sight, but I have felt so angry ever since that I had almost wished I had not been there.

In the Long Vacation of 1864 he joined a reading party at Patterdale on Ullswater, and read Plato with Ilbert,[1] who had emerged triumphantly from the Final Schools earlier in the year, and would be elected to the Balliol Fellowship before the year was out. With Ilbert he formed a lifelong friendship, cemented by much intercourse both at Oxford and at Westminster in later years. As his undergraduate career drew to a close, Jowett manifested considerable interest in his work. Long afterwards he refers in his Journal to the assistance which was so generously given him. To Jowett and Ilbert, perhaps, more than to any other of his Oxford teachers, he owed his success in the Schools. A reading party at Dresden, during the Long Vacation of 1865, is described by Ilbert as marked by hard work relieved by attendance at plays and operas. On an expedition into 'Saxon Switzerland' the party were joined by Alfred Tennyson and his two boys, Hallam and Lionel, and found the great poet a very agreeable companion. The last months before Greats were well used, and he went into the Schools with a fair expectation of success, though

[1] Sir Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., Clerk of the House of Commons.

with episodes of acute anxiety. His varying moods of confidence and trepidation are faithfully reflected in his letters to his parents, by whom they were followed with the closest sympathy. The fact deserves notice, for such intensity of home interest does not often go along with a frank enjoyment of friendship and a wide range of social activity. Throughout his career, perhaps, the combination of qualities not often combined was far more impressive than the prominence of any special excellence or achievement. In the summer of 1866 he obtained a first class in the Final Classical School, and in the following October tried unsuccessfully to secure the Fellowship at All Souls, where he was beaten by Edward Ridley.[1] After four months in Italy with his family during the winter, he returned to England, and prepared for a second and more successful attempt at All Souls. On November 2, 1867, he was elected, together with Walter Phillimore.[2] 'Got the All Souls' is the brief entry in his diary. Congratulations poured in from friends and relatives. His parents were greatly delighted. 'You certainly have richly deserved success,' wrote Sir John Anson, 'and I can only say now that I should have felt just the same if it had not pleased God to give it you. I congratulate you on the little independence your own exertions have acquired for you, as well as on the cessation for a time from wearisome study which it will afford you.' Warre wrote from Eton in very hearty terms 'as a quondam, as your old tutor, and as a sincere friend.' His Balliol friends were enthusiastic. 'May you enjoy your dinner and maintain your virtue uncorrupted,' wrote Ilbert with a sly hit at the tradi-

[1] The Right Hon. Sir Edward Ridley, Kt., lately a Judge of the High Court.

[2] Lord Phillimore, a Lord Justice of Appeal.

tional reputation of the College. In the University there was a general opinion that All Souls had made an excellent election. For the successful candidate the election was indeed of decisive importance, though at the time he had no suspicion of the fact. It determined the direction of his subsequent career, and the character of his life. For the College his election was certainly not less momentous, as the later pages of this memoir will show. All this did not at first appear. Nothing indicates that at this time he contemplated a career at Oxford. He had already chosen his profession. He would read for the Common Law Bar. His ambitions lay in London, and his interests for the time being were little connected with distant objects.

He was hardly settled into All Souls as a probationer-fellow before his plans were threatened with dislocation. Jowett suggested that he should 'go to Berlin, and, while learning German, should also instruct the children of the Crown Prince in the English language and history'. At first, perhaps overborne by Jowett's insistence, he accepted the proposal, but with reluctance, which on reflection deepened into repugnance. When, therefore, he learned that the project was regarded with scant favour by his parents, he was glad to make Lady Anson's disapproval an excuse for recalling his acceptance. It is a curious speculation what calamities the world might have escaped if the late German Emperor in his early boyhood had come under the teaching and influence of Sir William Anson. The six years (1867–73) which intervened between his election to the All Souls Fellowship and his father's sudden death were spent mostly in London, where he read law, first with Mr. Chitty, the eminent special pleader, and next with Alfred Thesiger, afterwards for a brief space a Judge. To Thesiger

he became strongly attached, and always maintained that he owed much. None of that brilliant lawyer's many friends mourned his untimely death more deeply than Anson. Legal studies and frequent attendance in the Courts were pleasantly interrupted by tours abroad and by visits to his family and friends. At regular intervals he came up to Oxford to fulfil his duties at All Souls. He examined in the Schools for the University, and acted as Tonbridge Examiner for the College. His social gifts, among which his ability as an actor must be reckoned, made him at all times extremely popular, and then, as throughout his life, he was devoted to his friends, to whom were now added the ever-waxing contingent from All Souls. His interests were various, and his activities many. Though it would certainly be untrue to say that he lacked either industry or ambition in his legal studies, it is evident that he did not impress his contemporaries as marked out for exceptional success at the Bar. He was not very confident of his own future, and when, in the spring of 1871, he was offered an Inspectorship of School Returns, he considered seriously abandoning his legal studies in order to accept it. His decision is thus recorded:

'Went to talk with Thesiger about the Inspectorship, settled to refuse it and take my chance at the Bar.'

So for more than two years longer he continued to 'read law', and seek to establish himself as a practising barrister. He went on circuit, and occasionally received a brief, but the record of his life cannot be said to indicate any marked concentration of effort, or any conspicuous measure of success. He was, perhaps, in danger of falling into the snare, self-woven and self-placed, which besets the way of the young man of social charm, bright intellect, and troops of friends. He might

have frittered away in petty things of ephemeral interest the powers and opportunities of a gifted nature and a privileged life. Of the graver faults there is no trace. He had a fastidiousness of mind which shrank from what was coarse, and an innate purity which turned away from what was unclean. His friends were kindred spirits, and formed a society equally stimulating and wholesome. He escaped the errors of misplaced sympathy into which more ardent natures too easily fall. No folly of generous enthusiasm swept him away. His temptations arose from the pleasantness of life and its wealth of interest. He was apparently absorbed in the round of petty tasks and amusements which alone his Journal records. The appearance was delusive. To the end of his life he was strangely reticent about his deepest interests, and it was always an insoluble problem for his friends how he contrived to amass his knowledge, and carry on the considerable volume of his work. The ample resources of legal and historical learning which his books disclose, and the wide range of his acquaintance with literature, to say nothing of his keen and intelligent interest in politics, both English and European, may be taken to prove that his life at this time was neither idle nor ill-directed, but an observer might have been excused if he had concluded that it was undedicated and undisciplined, without continuity of effort, and with no clearly realized purpose. He followed the common practice of keeping a journal during his foreign tours, but the record, though sometimes relieved by shrewd comments and humorous descriptions, is nowise remarkable. He rarely moved beyond the beaten tracks of tourist travel, and the scenes which he described are familiar to most cultivated English folk. The truth is that the days of travel-diaries

are over. Murray and Baedeker have destroyed their interest by annihilating both their originality and their practical value. The modern tourist moves too quickly for serious writing. With all relevant information, historical, artistic, social, ready to hand in his guide-book, he has no motive to record his knowledge and his observations. Thus Sir William Anson's journal gives little indication of his quality as a travelling companion. Here, indeed, he was admirable—keen, untiring, versatile, humorous, interesting, unfailingly cheerful and good-tempered. He had the happy gift of shaking off his cares and adapting himself to his company. So ample were his conversational resources and so keen his sympathies that his company was always delightful and informing.

Sir William Anson was a facile correspondent. From his childhood he had been an excellent letter-writer. His letters possess much of the charm and humour which made his conversation so delightful. Perhaps it should be added that they were marked by the defects of conversation as well as by its advantages. They pass lightly over the surface of life, handling pleasantly its daily happenings, but they rarely go below the surface or treat of those deeper themes in relation to which men perforce disclose their real characters. Thus his letters, while delightful to receive, have comparatively little biographical value. Like his conversation they must be taken in connexion with the man himself if their true value is to be perceived. His correspondents were numerous and varied. To all alike he wrote with the same unfailing care and interest. His neat, rapid handwriting, itself a symbol of the writer, generally filled all four sides of the sheet, and the letter always admirably expressed, became a literary whole however trivial its subject-matter,

or however unimportant the person to whom it was addressed. Whether he was exchanging opinions with his Oxford friends on matters dealt with in his books, or answering inquiries addressed to him by statesmen, or solving the doubts of country clergymen as to the legality of specified procedures, or counselling undergraduates on their academic course, or discussing holiday plans with his acquaintance, or describing his experiences of foreign travel, or writing to children, he was always the same, urbane, humorous, informing, generously considerate.

Into this perilously pleasant life which, if it had been continued into middle age, might have spoiled his career altogether, there crashed suddenly the thunderbolt of sharp but salutary trouble, and he was compelled to shoulder the burden of large responsibilities, and to disclose the full powers of his nature.

His father, Sir John William Hamilton Anson, was killed, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, in the railway accident at Wigan on August 2, 1873, when travelling to Scotland with two of his daughters. Educated at East Sheen, Eton, and Cambridge, and for some years in the Royal Life Guards Blue, Sir John became a most popular member of Society: he had a great artistic and poetic talent, was full of interest in public affairs, and took an active part in useful and philanthropic undertakings. His geniality and practical helpfulness made him beloved by all who knew him. He watched with vigilant affection the tastes and individuality of each of his many children, and was, as one of them has said, 'one of those valuable people whom the world would say it was essential to retain'. This sudden bereavement placed Sir William Anson, within a few months of completing his thirtieth year,

at the head of his family, and placed on his shoulders the large responsibilities of that position. His election to the Vinerian Readership in English Law at Oxford followed in 1874, and went far to determine the course of his subsequent career. Not London but Oxford would be the scene of his main work.

W. R. ANSON

By WILLIAM SANDAY

The first thought that must occur to any one who undertakes to write about Anson's undergraduate days is the sad one, that just the two of his friends who would have done this far the best—the late Master of Balliol, J. L. Strachan-Davidson, and R. W. Raper of Trinity—are no longer with us. Strachan-Davidson would have been in every way an ideal biographer. Not only was his friendship with Anson continuous and intimate from the year in which they both came up (1862) to the end of his career, but they had been (to the best of my knowledge) in fairly close contact for the whole of the time. And no one could have possessed happier gifts for the purpose—an excellent memory retentive of anecdote, a most affectionate and genial nature, keenly alive to everything humorous and playful in which he and Anson had so much in common. Allowing for differences of idiosyncrasy, much the same might have been said of Raper, who was also continuously intimate. I rather think, however, that this intimacy began a little later, and scarcely covered the undergraduate period. But, alas for mortality, which is so apt to time the sweep of its

scythe so as to cut down several contemporaries almost in a single swathe.

> Like clouds that rake the mountain-summits,
> Or waves that own no curbing hand,
> How fast has brother followed brother,
> From sunshine to the sunless land.

Compared to either of these my own qualifications are indeed small. Anson and I came up to Balliol together, not only in the same year but in the same term, in January 1862. But I was carried off to Corpus by a scholarship after Easter of the next year; and I ceased to be in regular residence from 1868 onwards, until my return to Oxford in 1883.

There was a rather large proportion of Etonians among those who came up to Balliol about the same time as Anson. I count at least five out of twenty-one in our year. One consequence of this was that he was in no need of introductions, though indeed he would not have needed them in any case. Modest and unassuming as he was, he had all the social gifts and was equally welcome in any of the varied circles that go to make up a college. But in spite of this, though he moved freely backwards and forwards between the greater and the lesser world, Anson seemed to cling to his own natural contemporaries; it is probable that we saw the most of him. We were, as such things go, a decorous and rather serious-minded set; and yet I do not think that we were prigs. Two such men as Anson and Strachan-Davidson would have saved us from being that. We entered in a quiet way into most of the life and interests both of the College and of the University. It should be remembered that these were more restricted than they became a little later. Rugby football was confined to an occasional match between Old Rugbeians and Old Marlburians

played in a field near the station. Association football was not yet invented. Inter-University sports began, if I remember right, some way on in our generation (in 1864). Lawn tennis also had not yet been invented. On the other hand, I should be inclined to say that there was more real tennis, racquets, and fives than there is at present.

Yet there were giants on the earth in those days —in the most literal sense as well as in metaphor. It would not be too much to maintain that both the greatest Oxford oar (George Morrison) and the greatest Oxford cricketer (R. A. H. Mitchell) of the century were at Balliol in Anson's time. Both were men of commanding build and stature, as well as commanding in every other way; and both were Etonians. G. Morrison was just finishing his own active career against Cambridge; but he dominated the whole decade. It is well known that Cambridge did not win a single race between 1860 and 1870; and the tide was only turned through Morrison himself going over to Cambridge and coaching the Cambridge crew. Mitchell was an almost exact contemporary of Anson's; and, after his first year, Oxford won every Inter-University match in which he played. He too played cricket 'in the grand style'; there was a touch of genius about him. He was not safe for the first few overs; but once through them he began forcing the game, and the forcing did not cease while he was in.

Our own little set were enthusiastic watchers of the game, rather than players. Among ourselves we were pretty evenly matched, and about up to the standard of a second eleven. Anson was quick of eye and hand. I remember that he used to keep wicket. He was also quite a fair performer in other things.

His speciality was amateur theatricals. He was,

I think, one of the founders of the Philo-Thespians, who prepared the way for the O.U.D.S. He wrote plays, as well as acted in them; all his life he had a pretty touch with his pen in *jeux d'esprit* of every kind.

As an Etonian, he was a member of Vincent's, and I think did not belong to the Union.[1] At least he did not take any active part in the Union Debates. I mention this because it might perhaps have been expected that he would be preparing himself for the House of Commons. We had, however, a little debating society of our own which we called FIC (Friends in Council); in this he took his share with the rest of us.

Anson and I had the same tutor, the Rev. E. C. Woollcombe, who was—unfortunately for us—the least really influential in College. He was goodness itself, of a gentle Tractarian type. What he gave us was all the small change of scholarship, most conscientiously doled out. But the one thing missing was grasp. We got more of this from the other classical tutors, James ('Jimmy') Riddell and Edwin Palmer, afterwards Professor of Latin and Archdeacon of Oxford. Riddell was in every way finished, both as a scholar and as a man, with methods which at that time were rather strange to us. He used to sigh as he quoted from Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* in his lectures on the *Odyssey*. He was a beautiful composer of Greek and Latin verse. His rendering of 'The Land o' the Leal' in the *Sabrinae Corolla* in anacreontics is not only perfect as a translation but in itself a lovely Greek poem. Like Woollcombe, he was a Tractarian, and it was commonly supposed among us that his austerities hastened his early death in 1866. His colleague, and, later, brother-in-law, Palmer was of a some-

[1] He was a member. See pages 52 and 55.

what different type, in a high degree alert and vigorous,[1] at the height of his powers, and most efficient as a College tutor. I remember well how he used to declaim his translation of Virgil as he stood with his back to the fire. It also runs in my mind how he and Woollcombe fired off *dicta* which were almost the exact opposite of each other; Palmer's was 'Remember that style is the first thing and accuracy the second', which Woollcombe just inverted.

My own experience at Balliol was confined to lectures for Moderations. For Greats work Jowett and W. L. Newman were the leading tutors. The College well deserved its successes in the Schools. The whole body of Fellows and Tutors could not have worked with more single-minded devotion to the best interests of their pupils. During the time that Anson was in residence the Head of the College was Dr. Robert Scott, of Greek Lexicon fame, who in 1870 became Dean of Rochester—a stately figure in the background. Another highly distin-

[1] I am reminded, rather in criticism of this assignment of epithets, that 'Riddell must have been alert and vigorous: he was a mountaineer, see Couch's *Life of A. J. Butler*'. The argument comes from a quarter that I should have hardly expected. I could well imagine that Riddell had a certain physical elasticity as he strode along a mountain side. But I was thinking of the lecture-room and taking the first words that occurred to me just because they were the first. It was in that sense that I spoke of Palmer's 'alertness' and 'vigour', and of his delivery as a kind of 'declamation'. No one I think would naturally have used these terms of 'Jimmy' Riddell. His characteristic expression was rather the deep-drawn contemplative sigh of the scrupulously exact and fastidious scholar. Palmer, though full of idiom, dashed along with an eloquence that was somewhat regardless of niceties. He was an excellent writer of Latin prose, and his scholarship was of the older type that was always ready with apt quotations. In like manner, if I am to attempt to discriminate between Riddell's type of scholarship and the German, I should not be sure that Riddell possessed quite the massive constructive erudition of the latter. I believe that 'The Digest of Platonic Idioms' is all that survives of his edition of the *Apology*. But not even von Wilamowitz at his best could have written φθάνω, φθίνω, φιλίστη.

guished figure was that of H. J. S. Smith, Savilian Professor of Mathematics, equally eminent in Classics, and indeed one of the most accomplished men of his generation.

In due course Anson obtained his two Firsts in Mods. and Greats. He had always had a conspicuous gift of neatness and lucidity, along with marked good sense and balanced judgement. There was about his mind something of an eighteenth-century quality on its lighter literary side, in its unfailing clearness, succinctness, and grace of form. I do not doubt that these qualities made themselves felt, both in the Schools and throughout his subsequent career. Still, I am not sure that we should have at the time expected that career to be quite so crowded with excellent work as it was. I might perhaps put the question in some such way as this. Before the fact we might have hesitated to prophesy; but after the fact we knew enough perfectly to understand. Besides the intellectual qualities of which I have spoken, there were moral qualities apparent and latent—of greater importance still. In the practical field of administration and dealings with men, there was really a quiverful of gifts: in the first place an evident sincerity and singleness of purpose which disarmed suspicion, and then a perfect good humour and tact, which would carry off criticism of others by a turn of wit which touched the point without giving offence. It is needless to say that Anson was always the gentleman through and through. And then beneath the surface, there must have been, though we hardly knew it at the time, a deep unexpressed resolve to dedicate every power, both natural and acquired, to the public good. It has been the way of our British aristocracy to be very reticent about the deepest things, to be very sparing of high professions, not to say

much about motives and aims, but silently to put them into act. If ever any one laid down for himself this programme, it was Anson. As life went on the range of his duties and of the burdens that he took upon himself went on gradually expanding. But as it expanded, the strength of his purpose seemed to expand with it. Whether on the smaller scale or on the larger, he always rose to the demands upon him; he seemed to be always ready and was never found wanting. There were many things that he seemed to sacrifice in the course of his career. But if he did so it was because they threatened to conflict with that profound sense of public duty round which his whole life seemed to revolve. He was spared the task of helping to meet the tremendous strain which these last years have thrown upon his country. To face it would have been only one more ring of responsibilities heavier than any that had gone before; and to assume this would have been nothing more than an extension of what he had been doing all his life. But if the country has faced, and promises still to face, the efforts required of it, it will be because so many of its sons have had implanted in them the spirit that was so nobly represented in W. R. Anson.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, January 27, 1864.

I have a good many essays to do, and that takes up some time, and a very elaborate philosophical lecture which requires the copying out of a great many notes. Besides this I am attending a Latin Verse lecture to keep in practice for the Exhibitions which begin on Tuesday week. And I also attend a French lecture, which takes place three times a week at the inconvenient hour of three. We read Macaulay into French, and there are several people who

speak it with a most deliciously English accent, and hazard the wildest conjectures as to the French equivalents for English words. There are three Exhibitions, and I should have a chance of one, but for some horrid people who were high up for the Scholarship, and who are coming up again. I believe from what I can hear (which is little) that I distressed myself unnecessarily about Mods. Our Don who examined, and who did not look over our firsts when they began to go ahead, only looked over my Latin Prose, and to that he put a first-class mark, so apparently most of my work was up to a pretty safe first. Hulton was a very good second; none of his papers sank to a third, and three were up to a first. Sanday came back yesterday, and I met him at the station and carried him off to dine with me, so that I heard all his news about Rome, with which he was quite delighted. He also went to Florence, and has brought back numbers of the most beautiful photographs of pictures.

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, May 15, 1864.

The sham class-list was a great shame; the author is likely to be found out; he is an Exeter man. The solitary first, 'Ilbert', who appeared in it, is going to take me as a pupil in August, if that should harmonize with your plans. He is a very nice fellow, and very clever. I was not able to speak at the last Union debate, as I went to the Trinity bump supper, which was a very grand affair, as they have been head of the river for four years. The last two days I have played in two cricket matches, though it has been terribly hot, and is so to-day. I am so glad you liked *Falstaff*. I read the account of it with great interest.

To Sir John Anson.

Hiram Dobson's, Patterdale, Penrith,

August 10, 1864.

You will be glad to hear that I arrived here safely last night with Ilbert and Owen, at about 9.30 p.m. . . . I started in a carriage with eleven small boys all going to school,

but at Newton Bridge, feeling that they might like a little more room and I a little less company, I changed into a carriage where there were some gentlemen going to Windermere, who were rather agreeable. I found Owen, who had been in my train all the way, so we introduced ourselves to each other, and then decided to wait at the station for Ilbert, who was due almost immediately. . . . Our house is about fifty yards from Ullswater, and we have two very nice sitting-rooms, *not* looking on to the lake, with bow windows. My bedroom is small but comfortable, and I think we are on the whole very well off. One more of the party is expected to-day and the remaining two to-morrow. . . . I am going to do Plato with Ilbert, and then Aristotle if there's time. I am a good deal junior to the rest of the party, so I shall work alone with Ilbert.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, November 4, 1864.

I hope Louisa's essay on the Nile was ever written, and if written that it was successful. I wish her a pleasanter subject for this month than I have for this week, namely, 'The Nature and Use of Money', which, however, is an improvement on the one I read to Jowett this morning on 'The Nature and Authority of Conscience', which was exceedingly dreary; however, I was consoled by Jowett's telling me that I wrote sensibly on most subjects. Do you see that they have thrown out the question of his salary in the Council, which is its first stage, by a majority of one, although the Archbishop of Canterbury and a good many other bishops had promised to come and vote for it in Convocation; but, as I learnt this morning, a good many excellent people have prejudices which they call their conscience, so I suppose we must forgive the old dons who formed the majority of the Council.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, November 23, 1864.

To-day we had some of our races. I only started for one, a trouser race, which was rather a comical proceeding. We had a number of pairs of trousers made, one leg

red and one white; and we were drawn *in pairs* by lot to run in pairs, each having one leg of the coloured trousers on over his own. Thus the pairs had to keep step the wrong way or they got into great confusion. I was drawn to run with Mitchell the cricketer, who is a giant, and our running created great amusement. We came in fourth.... I have bought Maine's *Ancient Law*, and a large Plato which cost a guinea. . . . I must leave off now, for I promised that our private Debating Society should meet in my rooms to-night, and the only hospitality I have exercised towards them is to leave them an empty room and some beer for their entertainment, as I have come (to the Union) to write this letter, and expect to find them very indignant when I get back.

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, December, 1864.

Thank you very much for your letter; since I received it I have been making inquiries about the law, and have found out as much as I can from my friends, though the Master, who had some papers which were intended to give some information on the subject, had unfortunately lost them.

I should like, if you have no objection, to read for the Common Law Bar, and to go to the Inner Temple. I find that if, when I come to study the subject, I prefer Chancery Law, I can change *once*.

About the advantage to be derived from eating dinners immediately I am not so certain. I believe it is against a man to have been called to the Bar some time before he has a chance of getting any practice; and I do not know how far one can put off being 'called', or whether it depends on a certain number of terms having been kept. If I begin to keep terms long before I have time to read Law, I may be called before I know anything about it; and I am not at all certain that I shall be ready to go in for 'Greats' this time next year. If I am, and if I get a first, it will be still worth my while to stay up at Oxford a little time taking pupils, if I can get any, to try for a Fellowship at some small College, or possibly at All Souls, but of course these things are in the clouds at present; the only question is whether you think it would be proper for

me to begin eating dinners in January or not, and if you like I will write and ask Mr. Higgins about it, or wait till I come home to settle it. . . . I dare say you have seen in the papers that Ilbert got our Fellowship. I will bring my essay book home, but I am afraid my last two subjects will not interest you much, the one being on 'Heraclitus and his predecessors', and the other on 'The Philosophy of the Eleatics'.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford. Undated. (1865.)

I have had Collections all Saturday and all to-day. I did papers on Saturday, but to-day was sheer waste of time, and only intended for the glorification of Woollcombe, who writes down minute entries in a book the size of a dining-room table, and thinks himself the pillar of the College. I got very cross by the time I came before him and the Master from having to wait so long, and then my chapels were said to be very bad, and the Master looked back through the big book to see if there were any similar entries, hinting that dreadful things would happen if there were. However, he said I had always hitherto been very good, which was totally false, as I had never been much better, and I appeased him by some judicious remarks about Hezekiah in my Divinity examination, so I went off on the whole prosperously; and I have done the papers for Jowett, which I think he will like, and which are to be looked over to-morrow. I have just been elected into Ilbert's essay society, which I am rather proud of, and I must write an essay during the vacation to read next term. . . . Could you get me from Bull's a book called Lecky's *Rise of Rationalism*, and Carlyle's translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*? I am living in College now in rooms next to my old ones.

To Lady Anson.

(March, 1865.)

I think you will be pleased to hear of our theatricals, so I send you a programme. On the whole they were a great success, though owing to our prima donna not being able to come up to Oxford till Thursday week night, we were

not quite so perfect the first night as could be wished. However, the plays were received with great applause on both nights; perhaps the audience was even more demonstrative the first night than the second. I individually was very successful on both nights in both pieces, and indeed the whole thing was rather a triumph. In the burlesque Garnet and I sang a duet in which each sang a note in turn, with an absurd dance at the end, which was encored and applauded each night; the music of it was Haydn's 'Surprise', the words adapted to the occasion. To-day we were photographed in costume, at the particular request of the photographer. I was done first with Ulysses, I kneeling and he holding a pistol at my head, and twice by myself as Medon with a duster in my hand, and again as Mr. Septimus Poddle with a saucepan and a tablespoon. We had the most wonderful feminine-looking heroine named Cumming; he has a beautiful voice, and the music throughout was extremely successful. I sang in eight pieces, but always in duets or concerted pieces except where I had to sing a verse by myself. However, I was complimented on my singing, which I was the more proud of as the other three had really beautiful voices. Our costumes were highly classical. I write this letter all about the theatricals as I shall reserve any ordinary news for Sunday.

Our performance was on *Monday* and *Tuesday*. I say this lest you should think we performed on *Ash Wednesday*.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, May 14, 1865.

There is a law term which I think I can keep in June, and I had intended to write home on the subject; if I cannot keep it in the beginning of the vacation, I shall come up some day from a Friday till Sunday night.

My friend Howard and his wife came down here to stay with Jowett for two nights last week, and he improved the occasion by fainting just before dinner and falling on his nose, thereby irretrievably damaging its bridge. His wife wore no crinoline, which had a very ludicrous appearance, but I hear it is the fashion. . . .

Jowett seems determined that I shall not go in for Greats next time, but I am equally determined that I will, as he really knows nothing of my work.

To Lady Anson.

(June, 1865.)

Yesterday, when Jowett had studied my papers, he smiled benevolently and said I had improved very much, and that he thought I should get a First, and possibly next time, so that I think I shall be quite justified in going in, though he recommended my putting off if I did not feel quite safe. Our theatricals were a great success. The last night (Friday) was a ladies' night, and we were also honoured with the presence of Sir Richard Mayne, who introduced himself to me after the performance as knowing my father; I felt particularly foolish, being attired in a silver tunic with a pink scarf hanging down behind, a large crown of stars, and an elaborately painted face. I have to make a final appearance in Collections to-morrow, and am then going to devote my energies to Roman history till Thursday, when you will probably see me in the evening.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, undated. (1865.)

I was unable to speak in the Union last night, as I did not know enough about Mazzini, who was the subject of debate, but I believe I shall have to bring forward a motion soon, so I must get one ready.

I had a letter from Freddie this morning; he told me he had shaken hands with Garibaldi in the school-yard at Eton.

I have had a very nice coat and waistcoat made up out of the Irish stuff, and was rebuked this evening by Mr. Woollcombe for wearing it in Hall, as not being of a sufficiently dingy hue.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, February 13, 1866.

I get an hour's coaching once a week from one of my future examiners, the Professor of Moral Philosophy. His name is Wilson, and he is very quaint and very polite, always addressing me as 'Sir'. He takes a wonderful

amount of trouble with me, seeing that it is quite gratuitous.

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, Thursday, 1st (March, 1866.)

I daresay you may have seen the result of the Jenkyns in *The Times*. I did better in scholarship than I expected, and not so well in philosophy as I could have wished; indeed, Ilbert is not very encouraging as to my prospects for Greats, as he says I have no strong point, and must work hard to be good all round if I want to have any chance of a First. Raper, however, thinks better of me than that, and seems to approve of the questions I do for him, so I am not *altogether* without hope of justifying Warre's expectations.

I am so very glad you like *Ecce Homo*. It was reported at first that Goldwin Smith had written it, but he has denied it, and now it is said that it is by a man named Bowen, formerly a Fellow of Balliol, who got almost all the honours that were to be had in his time. The book is mine. I got it partly for you and partly for myself, because they say we shall probably have some moral philosophy questions out of it in Greats, but I have read it through.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford. (April 15, 1866.)

Thank you very much for the Irish stuff; I will send you the remainder when it comes back from the tailor's. Almost every one has returned now, and I am no longer a hermit. I had really a very pleasant time and did a good deal of work, and though we were a small party in College we were very sociable.

Jowett asked me to a solitary wine with him last night, and then unfolded his plans for me for the term, which are, that I should read ten hours a day, which I don't think I shall do, that I should coach for a month with one of his most objectionable protégés, and, finally, that I should take a walk with him every Monday and breakfast with him every Friday, that he may see how I am getting on. He says he thinks the judicious use of this six weeks may make the difference of a class to me. I don't think really

that it will, as I am beginning to doubt whether I am good enough to get a First if I had worked ever so hard; but I shall do the best I can this term, though ten hours a day is more than I could manage, I think, with any comfort or advantage. It is very kind of Jowett to take so much trouble about me, but a *tête-à-tête* with him is rather a dismal thing. I have got through my Greek history, and am making great tables of dates to nail on the walls of my bedroom, that I may imbibe information at every turn.

The Leamington theatricals were a great success, and the party returned in triumph yesterday. . . . I was so glad to see that J. S. Mill made such a fine speech on Friday night after all Lord Eustace Cecil's criticisms on it.

To Miss Louisa Anson.

Oxford, April 25, 1866.

I wonder if you are going to the Drawing-room after all; if so, I think I should make an effort to come to town to see you, as I mean to have a week's light work some time before Greats, and I shall have read through all my work by the middle of May.

Yesterday the lifeboat, which was built by contributions from Oxford, was launched on the river, and I was present at the exciting scene. It was to be upset, to show that it could come up again right-side foremost, but the efforts of the crew, consisting of the two proctors and some other eminent personages, were not sufficient to turn it over, so it was brought near the shore and tied to a crane (the crew disembarking) and so upset. I looked on in admiration at the result my five shillings had produced, but an old woman near me said, 'they wouldn't have a crane out at sea if they wanted to overturn it there'.

To-day I went out for a little walk with Jowett, enlivened by conversation on Psychology, Final Causes, and similar entertaining topics. There is a new maid at my lodging who is fonder of marmalade than any one I ever knew, so I sealed up the pot and so ended her depredations. I did not grudge her the marmalade, but it was so nasty to think that she probably helped herself with her fingers. The militia are assembled in Oxford, and four times a day marched past my window. They are a most decrepit race

of men and looked most humpbacked, but their band is rather enlivening.

It is such a bore that I have to take my exercise just in the hottest part of the day, from 2 to 4. It would be much nicer from 4 to 6, but as I begin work at 9, I can't go on beyond 2.

I think by the time the 25th of May comes I shall be as good as I can expect to be, but I don't think that is good enough for a First.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, May 13, 1866.

When I get home I will tell you what my Coach thinks of me; his opinion is more complimentary than satisfactory, for my prospects are just good enough to make me anxious. I have got very little more to read now, but a good deal to do in the way of collecting my notes and arranging them.

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, May 26, 1866.

To-day the serious business of Greats began, as yesterday we only had a pass paper in Divinity.

I managed to get such a headache yesterday afternoon that I hardly slept all night and scarcely expected to sit through the Logic paper. However, with the help of Dr. Gream's potions, and a paper which fortunately for me harmonized very well with what I had been lately reading, I got through much better than I expected. I did seven questions, and should have done one or two more but that I began to be rather tired. On the whole I did better than I had anticipated, and hope to attack the Moral Philosophy on Monday under happier circumstances. This afternoon we had Latin Prose.

How full of preparations you all must be. I am looking forward immensely to hearing all about the ball on Wednesday morning.

We are a small but select party of 31 in for Honour Greats, among whom is one clergyman of about 45 years of age, and one man who is out of his mind, and shows up his papers always half an hour after we begin. Luckily he sits at the far end of the room from me.

The cake and pie arrived yesterday, and I am exceedingly grateful for them.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, May, 1866.

I have been much better since Saturday, and am to-day in better condition than some others of our Balliol party. We spent the morning over Moral Philosophy, the afternoon at translations. I did very indifferently in both; in fact, I fear my work has been thoroughly second-rate all through, but it cannot be helped now, and I must try and do better in the histories so as to get a tolerably respectable second.

The weather is very warm, but it doesn't make much difference in the Schools, as the room is shady and cool, and we are not crowded there.

I had one question which I knew well, on Education, so was able to quote my friend *Wilhelm Meister* that you got for me at Christmas.

I hope you will not be *very* much disappointed if I come to great grief. I don't think I can fall below a Second, but really I am such a bad judge of my own work that I may have been doing Third Class papers without thinking them so bad. . . .

Our theatricals come off on Friday week, and I was measured for a dress to-day, which is to be paid for by money taken at the doors, as we are going to charge 5*s.* for the tickets. Amcotts has taken a room in the town, and I hope the Proctors won't stop it.

To Miss Mary Anson.

Oxford, June 3, 1866.

As viva voce gets near I fall into a state of the most abject terror, and to-morrow shall probably be unable to express the very little I know.

You must excuse my letter being short, as I have to go and read Divinity, as well as the hard words in my Greek books which I construed wrongly in the Schools.

The announcement of the election at All Souls on November 3, 1866, showed that Anson had

failed. It drew from Strachan-Davidson the following letter of mingled sympathy and counsel:

My dear Anson,

I should be profuse in condolences were it not that I remember the parallel case of R. Robinson, who was rejected by the profligate Johnians in order that he might have the opportunity of getting the more desirable Queen's. May that be your fate, I will not say at Balliol, as I want that one myself, but anywhere else where you may choose to pitch your tent. There are plenty of fellowships coming on, and you ought certainly to tumble in somewhere. I hear to-night that they will have one at Lincoln within the next two terms. As to your going down, I of course cannot take in all the points of view as to home-wishes, &c., which converge upon you. But, as far as one can see, those men who stick to Oxford are generally more lucky at fellowships than those who go to the ends of the earth. I think Jowett's verdict is decisive, and that it is distinctly worth your while to lay yourself out for a fellowship. I need not say that personally I hope you will return here with all speed. After all, you alone know all the circumstances and must decide accordingly. I am just off to the Essay Society at Sanday's, so good-bye.

Your affectionate friend,

J. L. Strachan-Davidson.

To Lady Anson.

May 18, 1867. Oxford, 84 High Street.

I suppose you have seen in the papers that Walpole has resigned, and that Hardy is to take his place. The Reform Bill seems to have become something tremendously liberal. It would seem that there is no Radical like an unprincipled Conservative who wants to stay in office. I had just learnt what a compound householder meant, and had got up the subject when I find they are to be done away with, so I suppose we are to have household franchise pure and simple. My friends have all become extremely political. Myers is very keen about female suffrage, and has wasted much time and breath in trying to persuade me to sign

a petition which is being circulated in favour of it. I hope you will not be offended at my refusal.

The men who were pulling down Balliol have struck for an extra 6*d.* a day, and one lives in constant fear of bakers or some very necessary class of men striking and so putting a stop to one's daily bread. My delight at getting a ready-made light coat was excessive, as the prospect of having one made for me was very distant. My lodgings are very comfortable. I live over the great grocer's shop, so that my cellars are of vast extent and contain every variety of wine. My store-closet is equally extensive, and contains every species of jam, and you can have any sort of biscuit you like at a moment's notice.

I don't know what I shall do about Fellowships. There are a good many (six), but there are also a good many competitors. I have been reading pretty generally for the last fortnight, but mostly English history, and I have just come to where King John died of vexation at the loss of his luggage, and I sympathized with him when I thought of my portmanteau at Capua.

Jowett was pleased to say he supposed I had not opened a book since Christmas, and was amazed when I told him I had read through Mommsen at Rome.

I hear very often from Ella, and have written to her to tell her to feed the tortoises on meat, which I hear is their proper food.

To Sir John Anson.

72 Harley Street, June 15, 1867.

We had a most successful journey home ... and a perfect passage, which we really enjoyed. ... To-night after dining at the Temple I go to Oxford. You will be pleased to hear that there are *two* vacancies at All Souls, so I am not without hope of settling myself before the year is out.

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, June 20, 1867.

I am so much obliged to you for your advice about Fellowships. It set my mind at rest about them. I had thought, and some of my friends also, that it would be better for me to wait for All Souls, only, having been up

here this Term, I did not like to go away without trying for something. Now, as your views coincide with mine, I shall devote myself exclusively to All Souls. Barratt makes horrible threats of going in for it if he doesn't get anything before, but I don't think he will really, and I ought to get one.

With regard to the Law, I find I have to read for a year with some one or other before I am called, and as that cannot be for 2½ years there is no such very great hurry about beginning, but I have asked a friend of mine who is reading with a man named Chitty to find out if I could go there also. Chitty was recommended to another friend of mine by Sir Roundell Palmer, so I cannot go very wrong, but I will call on Mr. Hobhouse before I commit myself to anybody. . . .

I am so much obliged for your message about Fellowships and the Law; it has really quite taken a weight off my mind.

To Lady Anson.

Oxford, June 21, 1867.

Yesterday the Shooting Stars came to me in great trouble, as one of the performers had failed them and the play begins to-morrow, and they wanted me to take his place. I accepted, and it has since occurred to me that I ought, perhaps, not to act because of little Agnes Ducane's death, and I am in great distress as I can't throw them over the day before the performance, and I am so afraid of my name appearing in the paper, and don't like acting under a false one. Please write and say if I have done very wrong. It can't be helped now, and I can't pretend to say I don't enjoy acting, but I didn't seek it, in fact, I had resolved some time ago not to act any more. Now I will turn to the pleasanter side of the question, and tell you that my part is a very good one. I am the Goddess of Discord, and wear an enormous clay-coloured bonnet with green ribbons, long red curls, and have an umbrella of gigantic size. To-day there is some talk of the magistrates insisting on our getting a licence or fining us £50 a night, but I believe some arrangement is being made, and I don't trouble my head about anything but my own part. . . .

I was so pleased at getting my father's message about

the Fellowships; it was exactly what I wished myself, and with regard to the Law I will get the best advice I can and act upon it.

To Sir John Anson.

All Souls College, (November, 1867).

There were eight competitors for the All Souls, and their order in the examination was:

1. Phillimore.[1]
2. Anson.

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3. Jeune.[2]
4. Taswell Langmead (27 years of age).
5. Carmichael.
6. Whittuck.
7. Hardy (Mr. Gathorne Hardy's son).

I believe the Fellowship is worth about £110 a year, but I have felt a little shy of inquiring. It is, I am nearly sure, a little more than £110, and less than £120, and I think it increases in value. I was so much obliged for your letter this morning. I rather feared my telegram might come inopportunely, but I thought its contents after the first shock would make amends. I am writing in haste as I have received fifteen congratulatory letters. I had one from Mr. Beresford Hope!

To Sir John Anson.

Oxford, November 22, 1867.

Jowett has made a rather startling scheme for me about which I want to consult you. He wanted to know if I meant to study foreign languages, and on my saying that I intended to do so, he suggested that I should go to Berlin, and while learning German should also instruct the children of the Crown Prince in the English language and history. I don't much fancy the scheme, as it would involve my staying there for six months at least, though of course I should get the best possible German lectures on Law, &c. at the University there. I should have to teach the children for two hours a day, they being three in

[1] Lord Phillimore.

[2] The late Lord St. Helier.

number of ages from 9–5; the pay would be comically small, so that Jowett said he only suggested it as an *additional* occupation to my learning German. I believe that it would be nine or ten shillings a day. There would be some awkwardness about my keeping my terms here . . .

Of course you are infinitely the best judge of any advantage that might arise from being brought into contact with a royal family, and if you decide on my going I shall do so without hesitation. The only thing I should then be afraid of would be whether I could live rather a solitary life and keep my health, but that of course time alone could show. I don't know how I should manage about keeping my terms here, but I thought it best to write to you at once as Jowett would like to know as soon as possible, and I was not to tell anyone but my family that he made the offer to me. He was to have shown me the Princess' letter to him, but he had mislaid it, but I saw one from some Baron or other stating the requirements. My own feeling is that I'd rather not go, that it would be very dull, and that one might be treated rather like a servant (though Jowett says not), but you will understand these things better, and if it is advisable that I should go, of course I shan't let any fancies stand in the way. . . .

To Sir John Anson.

All Souls College, November, 1867.

The Warden has excused me from keeping next term on condition that I keep four weeks of the summer term and four weeks this time next year. So I have agreed with Jowett to propose that I should go to Berlin from the middle of January to the middle of May, return to England for five weeks, and then go back to Berlin till the end of August. It is settled now, so I have made up my mind to try and like it very much. . . .

To Sir John Anson.

All Souls College, November 26, 1867.

When I received your letter on Saturday I gathered from it that you saw advantages in Jowett's plan for me sufficient to counterbalance the loss of my Law terms, and my own dislike of the scheme—and I am afraid my letter

to you was confused, but I hoped that I had put my own dislike so strongly that you would not have recommended my going to Berlin if you had not thought it really the best thing for me to do. When my Mother's letter came it seemed to me as if but for her impression that the matter was settled, it would have dissuaded me from going, that you did not like the position for me, and that you did not think the climate would suit me. As I had consented to go very much against the grain, I felt justified in using her letter as an excuse to Jowett for retracting my proposal, and I think I said more of your apparent dislike to the scheme than I should have done had I received then your letter of yesterday evening, which is neither for nor against. But as you are now indifferent as to my going or not, I hope you will not disapprove of my having thrown over the entire scheme.... At any rate, one person is thoroughly satisfied, and that is myself. I do not think that considering my backwardness in legal studies I can afford six months to the study of any language. I shall do my best to learn as much French and German as I can, and as you seemed to think French the more useful of the two, I will devote my Easter or long Vacation to it by going to live in France for a month or two. But I cannot help thinking that to have lived six months at Berlin as a day teacher to three little children, receiving pay by the hour, and as it seems to me in no way differing in position from Vannini or Miss Hüdtmann, would not have been for my advantage, and most certainly not for my pleasure.

To Lady Anson.

All Souls College, November 26, 1867.

On the receipt of your letter I wrote to Jowett saying that owing to the shortness of the time he had given me, I had not been able to consult my family as thoroughly as I could have wished, and following this up with a visit to him I have got off my engagement very much to my own satisfaction. I did not like the prospect at all, and it seemed hard on me to have to do what neither my parents nor I wished, because Jowett had hurried me so that I had given a hasty assent to his proposition. And he very kindly said he would write and say I was not coming....

From Mr. Harcourt of Nuneham to Sir John Anson.

Hastings, May 3, 1868.

I travelled on Friday from Oxford to London in company with the Dean of Christ Church. In talking over matters he got upon All Souls, and talked of the last election as one of the most satisfactory they had had for some time. He said Anson is esteemed the soundest man they have acquired for a long time. He has so much depth, and such a good headpiece. If it had been my son he had been speaking of to some one whom he did not know to be an acquaintance of mine, such spontaneous praise would have given me so much pleasure, that I cannot forbear writing it to you, believing that it will be as gratifying to you as it would have been to me.

To Miss Louisa Anson.

London, November 13, 1869.

I am established in Graham and Clive's chambers now till Christmas. I thought of getting their spare room sublet to me, as their tenant is away, but they said it was silly of me not to sit in their room, and be their guest, so as it was much pleasanter and more economical to do so I consented. I am to be called on Wednesday; it costs £100. It is infamous that the Law should cost so much. I have not yet ordered my wig. That costs £5.

To Sir John Anson.

New University Club, St. James'.
November 8, 1870.

My leisure time has been taken up in forging engines of destruction for the passmen in Mods, but I don't often get away from the Temple before 6.30, as Thesiger stays there generally till 7. I think of giving up my examinership after this term.

I am drilled now every day at 1, but by the end of the week I hope to join my company and be drilled at 4 in the Temple Gardens. At present I am one of a band of fifteen recruits who go through the manual exercise in a corner of

Lincoln's Inn gardens, and but for ordering arms on my right toe, and having my hat battered in by the man on my left, I enjoy it extremely.

To Lady Anson.

New University Club, St. James' St.
October 16, 1871.

I have been at Sessions all day and have made two guineas, having a Junior brief to defend a prisoner. I expect also to get a soup in course of time.

CHAPTER III

ALL SOULS

ALL SOULS COLLEGE, with which the life of Sir William Anson was associated for forty-seven years, and over which he presided as Warden for no less than thirty-three, was, and is, a unique institution. Founded in 1437 by Archbishop Chichele, it reflected in its constitution the influence of a transitional time, when the ideas of mediaeval Christendom were visibly losing hold on men's minds, and no clear vision of alternatives had yet dawned. In the sharp severance from monasticism, and in the large place assigned to non-theological studies, the Founder seemed to be departing from mediaeval standpoints, while in the whole plan of his great chantry, and in the constitution of his College, he remained within the lines of mediaeval precedent. Mr. Grant Robertson, the historian of

the College, has sketched with admirable lucidity the reasons why the purely ecclesiastical society became the least ecclesiastical of all academic corporations, the most national in temper, the most closely connected with the national service, the least educational, finally (before the reforms of the nineteenth century came into effect), the least practically serviceable to Church or State. Here we may distinguish three features of Chichele's Foundation which gave it, for good and evil, its uniqueness among the Colleges—the absence of undergraduates, the non-residence of Fellows, the relatively low standard of academic achievement. The Founder had in view, not a teaching, but a studying society; he emphasized a branch of study, the Law, which fitted men for diplomatic and judicial service, and was best utilized at Westminster; he gave a preference in elections to 'Founder's Kin', which, in the century preceding Reform, dominated the College, and depressed its intellectual quality. A college of students was heavily handicapped by a waxing habit of absenteeism, and scarcely compatible with triumphant nepotism. The ancient academic gibe, which has passed into literature and become proverbial, had no justification in the purpose or constitution of the College, but it was no unjust summary of the facts. A Fellow of All Souls must be 'bene natus, bene vestitus, mediocriter doctus'. Professor Oman has commented on the effect which the preference for 'Founder's Kin' had on the College:

'Down to 1857 the institution of the preference for Founder's Kin, created by Archbishop Wake's judgement as Visitor, was in operation. Of the Fellows elected between 1815 and 1857, 113 in all, no less than seventy-eight were of the sacred families whose pedigrees occur in Stemmata Chicheleana, only thirty-five had not that advantage. I suppose that this fact had no small part in giving

the Fellows of All Souls that aspect of a family party which was most certainly characteristic of the College in the days before the first Commission, and the abolition of the advantage of the *consanguinei fundatoris*. Any one who studies the roll will not only see the same names often repeating themselves, but will find, by a little further inquiry, that many of those whose names do not occur more than once were the nephews and cousins of one or other of the great College families. The majority of the Fellows must have formed a sort of loose Founder's kin confederation which at election time took careful stock of all its younger relatives in the University before it thought of looking outside for a probationer.'

That there were grave abuses cannot be denied, but a frank recognition of these ought not to obscure the substantial merits of All Souls. Judged by the standard of the age, it may fairly be questioned whether any other College can show a more distinguished roll of Fellows than those which illustrated its history during the century and a half which preceded the epoch of reform. It is not necessary to belittle the virtues even of an anachronism although to admit the character of an anachronism is to concede the necessity of change. All Souls had unquestionably become an anachronism in a mid-Victorian university. Its distinctive character was indeed far removed from the conception of an Oxford college which governed the minds of University reformers in the early seventies. There was considerable danger that All Souls would be transformed beyond recognition. From within the College itself the most revolutionary proposals were advocated. The domestic reformers pursued with single-minded ardour the interest of the particular study with which they themselves were concerned. Max Müller would have filled the College with Indian Civil Servants, and grafted upon it the heterogeneous functions which the Indian Institute

was at a later time established to fulfil. Robarts, an enthusiast for libraries, would have united All Souls with the Bodleian, making Bodley's Librarian *ex officio* Warden, and devoting the collegiate endowments to the purchase of books. There were other schemes, of which the common feature was a total indifference to the history of All Souls, and of which the one certain consequence would have been the loss of its historic character. The Fellows themselves were divided into conservatives and reformers, but beyond that broad distinction there was little agreement. An active controversy raged among them, of which the memorials are buried in the College archives, from which their extraction would now serve no useful purpose.

At this critical juncture the College was fortunate in possessing among its Fellows a reformer who combined qualities rarely found in combination. Sir William Anson shared to the full that devotion to the historic society which redeemed the dislike of change felt by the older Fellows from mere obstructiveness. No man felt more deeply the subtle fashioning power of the institutions into which he had been brought. Eton, Balliol, All Souls were far more than stages in his life to be traversed, and left behind. They seized his heart, stirred his imagination, and commanded his lifelong service. At the same time he was both an able and eminent lawyer, and an accomplished man of the world. He was also a convinced Liberal in politics. He could perceive the defects of All Souls, and, at the same time, offer proposals of change which should remedy them without doing violence to the essential character of the College. What he said of Doyle[1] was equally true of himself,

[1] John Andrew Doyle, Fellow 1868–1907.

that 'among the various schemes propounded by our constitution makers, he steadily upheld the view that there was room for a college of an exceptional type, devoting itself through its professoriate and its library to university purposes, encouraging advanced study by the endowment of research, securing through a system of Prize Fellowships the continued interest in academic life of men engaged in professional or public work, and yet retaining its old character as a collegiate society'.

As one of the two representatives of All Souls for drawing up the new statutes, he had the opportunity of pressing his ideas on the University Commissioners, with the result that the constitution of the College as it was finally determined expressed his mind. Hardly had the work been completed before the death of Dr. Leighton confronted the Fellows of All Souls with the difficult duty of electing a new Warden. It is impossible to overstate the importance of the election at such a time, or to exaggerate its difficulty in those circumstances. The College was still throbbing with the emotions of a protracted and hardly-fought controversy. Reformers and conservatives were still sharply divided in feeling, and both naturally desired to utilize the election. Happily the strong tradition of corporate loyalty, which was the best characteristic of the College, was nowhere so strong as in the two men who were put forward as candidates for the vacant Wardenship.

Urbane, accomplished, and honourable, Ernald Lane, afterwards Dean of Rochester, would have made an ideal Head of a House in that older Oxford which was passing, but for the successful launching of the reconstituted College on its course other qualities were needed in addition. Anson

possessed those qualities, but he had been the central figure in the recent controversies, and the fact could not but tend to obscure his merits. Both within and without the College it was felt that his election to the Wardenship would be deeply significant. The contest was fought with ardour, but without bitterness, and no estrangement followed the victory of the reforming candidate. How the election impressed the public mind may be gathered from the article which appeared in *The Times* on November 4, 1881, the day after the result of the election had been announced. In spite of some historical inaccuracies in the account of the original foundation, this article conveys so just a view of the situation as it then appeared, that it may well be quoted :

'The Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, yesterday elected a Warden in place of the Rev. Doctor Leighton, canon of Westminster, who died a few weeks ago. Their choice has fallen upon Sir William Anson, a Fellow of the College and Vinerian Reader of English Law in Oxford. This election is significant and interesting in many ways. All Souls College is unique in Oxford, and its new Warden is as unlike as possible to the typical, or, perhaps, we should say, traditional Head of a House. He is a layman and a Liberal, and he is under forty years of age. He is, moreover, a man of considerable University distinction, and his name is well known both as a lawyer and a politician outside the University. He is the author of an important work on law, he is an attractive and popular lecturer on the subject of his Readership, and at the last general election he was a candidate for the representation of West Staffordshire. When the wealth of choice that lay before the College among the many distinguished Fellows and ex-Fellows of the Society is considered, it is, perhaps, the highest compliment that can be paid to Sir William Anson to say that he will be universally held to be worthy of the distinguished position he has been chosen to occupy.'

After describing in a vein of sardonic humour the

state of the College under the old conditions, when it combined 'the pleasures and amenities of a well-found country house, the easy luxury of a Pall Mall club, and something, at least, though not too much, of the atmosphere of a learned society', the article proceeded to describe the partial reforms effected by the first University Commission,[1] and to indicate the reasons why still further changes had been found necessary:

'In the election of Sir William Anson as Warden it is not perhaps fanciful to discern the turning-point between the new and the old régime. His academical and personal qualifications are such that no College could lightly pass them over if he were a member of its society; such qualifications are common enough in All Souls, but the new Warden's election is specially congenial to the ancient spirit of the College from the fact that he is a barrister and a man of the world, a baronet, and a possible member of Parliament, the bearer of a famous name, the grandson of a Peninsular hero, and the collateral descendant of one of the best and bravest of England's naval heroes.'

This external view of the election may be supplemented by the following account from a quondam Fellow, who was one of the electors:

'The election took place at rather a critical moment in the history of the College. The second University Commission of the nineteenth century had been constituted by an Act of 1877, and had carried still further the changes imposed by the first Commission, making the Fellowships tenable for seven years or for life, and further increasing the obligations of the College to promote university education. The change was disliked by the older Fellows as a class; and the question at issue in the election of 1881

[1] The first Royal Commission was appointed by Lord John Russell in 1850, and reported in 1852. The Oxford University Act, based on the Report, was passed in 1854. A second Commission followed in 1876.

was rather between those who wished to keep the College as little altered as possible, and those who were prepared to accept whole-heartedly the new system; between the Senior Fellows and the Junior Fellows; between those who wished to conform to the old tradition of a clerical head, and those who thought that, if there was a college in Oxford to which that tradition was inapplicable, it was All Souls, which was not a seminary for undergraduates, but a link between the world and the university. Not all the Senior Fellows, however, opposed Anson, nor all the Juniors supported him.

'Though the election was strenuously contested there was little or none of the bitterness which has sometimes marked college elections to headships. Both candidates, Lane and Anson, were personally popular, and there was good feeling between them. Lane, a quondam, who was at the time a country parson, though he afterwards won the favourable notice of the world as Dean of Rochester, was a man of particularly attractive manner, who would have filled admirably the part of a dignified Head of the old type, like Leighton. But he had no relation of any kind with the university of the day, or with current activities of politics and the great world in London. Anson, on the other hand, had for some seven years been resident in the College, where he had become the guide and familiar friend of all the younger Fellows, had been taking year by year an increasing part in the work of the University, having been Vinerian Reader of Law since 1874 and having gained great acceptance as a law teacher, while at the same time he held a distinct legal, political, and social position in London. To us younger men he seemed an ideal candidate, in touch with both worlds; and his being a layman seemed to us rather an advantage in a college like All Souls than otherwise. Though he had not Lane's polished manner, he had a most agreeable and winning address; and as a baronet and an Anson his social qualifications to preside over a college of *bene nati* were beyond dispute.

'Politics counted for little in the contest, though, so far as they counted at all, they told against Anson. Lane was a Conservative and Anson a Whiggish Liberal, but Anson's candidature in the recent 1880 election, when passions were greatly stirred, was not liked; and he very wisely let it be known that he would not stand again if elected Warden,

nnless it were for the University seat. Accordingly one of Anson's strongest supporters was Mowbray, a leader among the younger Tories, whose father was then Tory member for the University.'

It added piquancy to the proceedings in 1881 that Anson was at the time Sub-warden, and therefore presided at the election in which his personal interest was so close. Though he betrayed a little nervousness, his conduct in the chair gave good omen for the future. No one was more conscious of the significance of his election than the Warden himself. He resolved to leave no stone unturned to secure the success of All Souls under the constitution which he had had so considerable a part in framing. He would disprove the arguments of those who foretold that the attempt to perpetuate the College under the new conditions could not succeed, and that the effort to satisfy the demands of academic reformers had only been carried far enough to ensure domestic incoherence. He had the rare fortune of surviving all criticism, reconciling all opponents, and leaving the College more united and more widely serviceable than at any previous stage of its long history.

The new Warden lost no time in setting about his duties. His journal attests the minuteness of his care as well as the range of his interest and the thoroughness of his method. He was at the pains to collect and record for his own guidance the details of procedure which the College tradition prescribed for the Warden, and which had to be closely examined in the light of the new constitution of the College. One change suggested itself immediately. 'It would seem,' he notes, 'that under the new statutes one should say in admitting a seven-year Fellow, "admitto te verum et plenum socium," not "perpetuum",' as in the old form.

All Souls is endowed with considerable estates of varied types—agricultural, pastoral, suburban. It is part of the Warden's duty to visit the property at regular intervals, and to advise the Fellows with the authority of personal knowledge. The new Warden was always indefatigable in the performance of this important duty. He visited the College estates not merely with the regularity of an official, but, what is far more important, with the sympathetic insight of a good landowner, to whom the tenants were something more than rent-producing instruments. He notes in his journal the quality of the farms, the condition of the farming, even the character of the farmer. His familiarity with the conditions of rural life, and his intimate knowledge of the laws under which landed property is owned and rented, rendered him exceptionally well-qualified to guide the College in the performance of those duties which corporate owners are supposed rarely to perform well. 'Anson was himself a great financier,' wrote the late Master of Balliol, Strachan-Davidson, who knew him well. Certain it is that successive Estates Bursars found their difficult and important duty shared and lightened by the counsel and comradeship of the Warden. Within the College it was the same. He interested himself closely in the choice and conduct of the college servants, and no Domestic Bursar felt that the Warden would regard any domestic concern of the College as unworthy of his careful thought. If limitless capacity for detail be a mark of greatness, Sir William Anson was great.

The same conscientiousness and sympathy marked the Warden's behaviour in the difficult and occasionally invidious matter of administering the College patronage. Appointment from among the Fellows by seniority was still the strongly-rooted custom in

Oxford, but in All Souls, as most of the Fellows were laymen, it did not rarely happen that clergymen, who were not Fellows, had to be appointed to the College livings. The Warden's sense of corporate loyalty was so strong that *caeteris paribus* he would always have preferred an All Souls man, if not a Fellow or a quondam Fellow, then at least a former Bible-clerk, but he would never consent to appoint without careful consideration of the specific needs of the parish; and he would certainly never have allowed a College claim to outweigh evident unsuitableness. He was accustomed to visit the vacant parish, collect on the spot all the relevant information, and meet the College with a clear statement of the parochial situation. Nor was this all. He kept in touch with the incumbents of the College livings, subscribed to the parochial funds, responded willingly to the appeals for his advice, and ever supported a generous interpretation of the responsibility which, as patron or local landowner, the College bore towards the parishioners.

These particular obligations of his office were variously important, but severally and in combination they went but a small way towards expressing the Warden's duty. The test of success would necessarily be found in the life of the College.

In November, 1882, there was no election. A month later the death of Archbishop Tait deprived the College of its Visitor. In the new Archbishop All Souls was fortunate in finding a worthy successor to the long series of primates, who from time to time have heard the appeals of the Fellows and interpreted the College statutes. Archbishop Benson's mediaevalist interests and large knowledge of academic and legal antiquities predisposed him to enter with sympathy on this important part of his official duties.

The Warden entered in his journal the words which he addressed to the newly-elected Fellows in 1883. It is an admirable statement of his conception of All Souls, and may well find a place in this record:

'After calling their attention to the by-laws as to residence, and reading the Statutes, I said to them as follows:—"As this is the first occasion on which I have had to enjoin upon probationer-Fellows the reading of the New Statutes, I will ask you to pay careful attention to the various University purposes which the revenues of the College are designed to serve. Some of these you will find to be definite and specific, others more or less indeterminate, and in all the order which shall be followed in their fulfilment is left to our discretion. In a year you will share with us the responsibility of carrying out these purposes, and of managing our property, which is large, to that end. I must press upon you the importance of this trust. I must ask you to remember that by your election you are not merely entitled to enjoy certain emoluments and privileges, and to share the life and traditions of an ancient society, but you become trustees of a great property for the advancement of learning and science in the University."'

The two newly elected Fellows whom the Warden addressed were Oman[1] and Curzon,[2] destined to illustrate severally the two great departments of College service, the one as a distinguished author and historian resident in Oxford, the other as a statesman, whose name is inseparably associated with the government of India and the Great War. In subsequent elections the Warden contented himself with a few sentences of admonition before he

[1] Charles William Chadwick Oman, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. LL.D. Edinburgh, Chichele Professor of Modern History, &c., &c., Burgess for the University.

[2] Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., &c., &c., Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the University, formerly Viceroy of India, and Member of the Imperial War Cabinet.

pronounced the formula of admission. His manner on such an occasion was extremely impressive, and that must have been a very insensible and ungenerous youth who did not silently respond to the appeal thus addressed to him. Difficult questions of interpretation arose inevitably as soon as the new constitution had to be brought into operation. The Warden stated the essential problem to himself very concisely:

'I want to get the best man elected, the best intellectually and the best for the College. I want to do our duty by the special studies, and to encourage them. I want to maintain the interest of the *whole* College in the elections. How can these be combined?'

The actual solution of the problem which was finally worked out has reconciled the several interests concerned with remarkable success.

Under the new constitution the College had power to re-elect a limited number of the Fellows for a second term of seven years with a reduced emolument of fifty pounds. This arrangement, to which the Warden attached very great importance, was designed to strengthen the College by retaining in its membership some senior men who had become familiar with its business, interested in its special work, and devoted to its corporate welfare. It became necessary to determine the conditions which should govern elections to these continuation Fellowships. Throughout the lively debates which ensued, the essential solidarity of the College was remarkably demonstrated. There will be general agreement among All Souls men as to the success of an arrangement which allots these continuation Fellowships by seniority among those quondam Fellows who are unmarried, resident in Great Britain, and willing to take a regular part in

the life of the College. The university has gained hardly less than the College from a provision, not uncriticized at the time, which has had the effect of keeping men of eminence in many departments of national service in close contact with Oxford. While thus he guarded the corporate life of the College as a society, and laboured both by example and precept to set a high standard of intellectual effort before the Fellows, the new Warden was determined to demonstrate the value of All Souls to the university. Both the revenues and the buildings of the College were made contributory to the general purposes of Oxford, and his own munificence supplemented the corporate service. In 1884 he surrendered practically his whole official income for the year in order that the College might be able to bring back to Oxford in the capacity of a 'Research Fellow' one of the most eminent of Oxford historians, Dr. S. R. Gardiner, whose merits had hitherto received but slight recognition. Later, this successful experiment was repeated in the election of Mr. C. H. Firth, now Regius Professor of Modern History in the University. Under the new constitution the Bodleian was one of the special interests to be served by the College when the state of its revenues permitted. The Warden's generosity anticipated the time. He was accustomed to contribute anonymously a substantial sum every year to the funds of the great library. These personal sacrifices added emphasis to his consistent endeavour to hasten the assumption of the full liabilities for professorships and readerships which the new Statutes imposed on All Souls.

The College buildings were admirably situated for the general service of the University, being in the very centre of the city. In addition to the commodious Hall, two new lecture-rooms were

THE WARDEN OF ALL SOULS

At the window of his new study, 1885

provided. Lectures in Law and History have drawn into the quadrangles of the College successive streams of students, while the admirable Library, rendered accessible by very generous rules, has formed an excellent accessory to the oral teaching. Nor was this all. The Warden from the first encouraged the resident Fellows to take up work as teachers in undergraduate colleges. Here again his own example added force to his opinion. On his election as Warden of All Souls he had withdrawn from the law-teaching at Balliol. In 1886 he resumed, but at another college, the teaching of undergraduates. His connexion with Trinity thus begun was continued through many years. The President of Trinity writes:

'Anson began taking our Law men in Michaelmas Term, 1886. Raper (I suppose) induced him to organize the teaching, with the aid of "Members of the Faculty of Law in All Souls College", as the Law Tutor was called in the Calendar under Trinity. The number of men was small at first, but grew larger as the value of the system, and especially of Anson's part in it, became known. We paid over so much per head, and Anson distributed it to his assistants. Afterwards, about 1894, Burnham became a regular assistant of Anson, and eventually took over the work in 1899, until we got hold of Geldart. Anson took immense pains with the men, especially after he built his new study. He would tell them to come and work there, or in the Law Library. He entertained his Trinity pupils very much as if he had been a tutor in College, corresponded with them (and sometimes with their people), invited some of them to Pusey in the vacations, lent his horses, and so on. He was very precise as to their relations with him, and sometimes if a man was irregular in keeping appointments, would decline absolutely to have anything more to do with him; in fact in many ways he taught them method in life as well as law. Through them he got to know a good deal of other Trinity men, or through Raper; and though he never allowed them to presume, the Warden

was regarded as almost one of their own body by a large section of the College.

'Of course I cannot say much about the actual teaching; but it seemed to stimulate many of the men very considerably. We did not have much first class ability at that time, though afterwards Geldart got some better material. There is no doubt that the Warden enjoyed the work, though it must have been a serious tie, especially after he became Chairman of the Bench, partly because he liked the lucid exposition, which he did so well, and partly, perhaps more, because he liked the majority of the men. I fancy he took a good deal of the work in conversational classes. He seemed to know the men very well and his comments on them were incisive and entertaining.

'A priceless and inimitable memorial of his Trinity teaching has been given to his friends in the little volume *Ballads en termes de la Ley*, originally written for the exclusive use of the Trinity lawyers, collected and privately printed by his sisters after the Warden's death.'

April 25, 1897.
Hotel De la Fontaine, Auxerre.

My dear Blakiston,

I came to see you the other day but found your room empty, though I sought you on the chance of your lying concealed behind the mountains of Mods. papers which bounded the horizon in every direction.

It was rather on my mind that I had never answered your question of the last day of term, whether I should be prepared to resume law teaching when I had ceased to be Vice-Chancellor.

It is rather like asking the Israelites before they had crossed the Red Sea whether they would be prepared to undertake missionary work in Canaan after a forty years' trip in the wilderness.

All I can say is that I should like it supposing health, capacity, and the conditions of work to be what they are now. But, melancholy as is the breaking off from this sort of work the resumption of it is not easy, as I learned in 1886. After four years freedom from teaching I found it

a burden to fix oneself to ten or twelve definite engagements for every week: and then again it took me more than a year to make the men understand that I really wanted them to get some profit from what I had to say to them.

That is one difficulty. But another and more serious one which hinders me from pledging myself is the question whether I should work under the same conditions. With you and Raper, and the President, at Trinity I find everything made pleasant and easy for me, but five years might make a great difference in these respects.

My relations with Trinity for these last ten years have been so pleasant and so anomalous that I would do nothing to risk their happy conclusion. And yet I know that when this business is wound up one of the greatest pleasures and interests of my life will be gone. . . .

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) WILLIAM R. ANSON.

CHAPTER IV

LAW-TEACHING, ORAL AND WRITTEN

By A. V. Dicey

ANSON was well qualified by general education and by special training to be an expounder of the law of England either by lectures or by writing. A successful career at Oxford, crowned by election to a Fellowship at All Souls in 1867, was proof that he had profited by the best liberal education to be obtained in an English university. He read for the Bar in the chambers of Thomas Chitty, well known as a leading Pleader, and of Alfred Thesiger, who, in 1877, became a Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal. Anson also practised, though not for many years, at the Bar, and was made a Bencher of the Inner Temple in 1900. He had therefore the great advantage of knowing English Law not only from information gained by study of books and of reported cases, but also from having taken part in legal proceedings as a barrister, and having become acquainted with the law of England in its actual working as it is seen by a lawyer who frequents the Law Courts. When his actual practice came to an end, he increased his skill in legal exposition by holding the office of Vinerian Reader in English Law for seven years (1874–1881), and again by voluntarily becoming Law Tutor for Trinity College, Oxford, from 1886 to 1898, when

he became Vice-Chancellor of the University. In 1881 he was a candidate for the Vinerian Professorship, and there is every reason to suppose that he would have been elected to the office but for the strong conviction entertained by an influential member of the electoral board that it was inexpedient that a Professorship should be held by the Head of a College, and Anson had already been elected Warden of All Souls. It is also well to remark that the yearly election of Fellows of All Souls as a reward for the attainment of legal knowledge kept the Warden constantly interested in the study of law. Indeed, from the moment when he became Vinerian Reader of English Law to the end of his life, he took an active part in the great revival of legal study at Oxford. This, of course, was the work of many men acting more or less together, and to a great extent personal friends. The influence of this movement is attested by the publication of a series of books by Oxford men aimed at extending and improving legal education, such, for example, as Digby's *Introduction to the History of the Law of Real Property* (1875); Holland's *Elements of Jurisprudence* (1880); Bryce's *American Commonwealth* (1888). Such again was the *Law Quarterly Review*, planned and brought out by a body of Oxford lawyers—Anson, Dicey, Holland, Sir William Markby, and Sir Frederick Pollock. All these literary productions, and many others which might be enumerated, bear witness to the energy with which Oxford lawyers, during the last forty years or so, have striven to increase the legal literature of England, and to make their university a place where the principles of law might be systematically studied. It was, as we shall see, Anson's good fortune to take a prominent part in

this legal revival. The existence of this movement influenced at every turn his position as an expounder of the law of England. Bearing in mind then Anson's position and talents, we may consider his conspicuous merits both as a teacher of English Law and as the author of English law books.

(A) *Anson as teacher.*

Anson was in my judgement the best teacher of English Law to be found in Oxford from 1874 to 1898, during the greater part of which period he held classes of students. He more nearly than most men combined the excellences of the professorial and of the old Oxford tutorial system. This statement requires explanation. Among the teachers of Law one may, I think, distinguish two classes, the one of which are eminent as lecturers, the other as teachers. No doubt the ideal professor ought to combine two or three excellences. He should be a profound student of the subject which he expounds. He should also be capable of exciting the interest of students in the topic with which he deals, in this particular case the law of England. He should, lastly, be able to convey to learners in clear and effective language the knowledge which he possesses. Professorial teachers are in the main lecturers, and the result of good lectures ought to be, in the first place, to kindle the interest of the lecturer's audience in the study of the law of England. He should be able, if possible, to convince them that the elementary principles of law are ascertainable, and that the study of English Law is no more dry or less interesting than any other branch of learning which cannot be understood without a certain amount of

attention. The lecturer should be full of, and wrapped up in, the topic which he undertakes to expound, and able to kindle the sympathetic interests of his pupils. This is, I think, the main effect to be produced by successful professorial lectures or addresses, but, though the perfect teacher or professor should be able to convey knowledge to his pupils, it is certain that a man who really understands the subject with which he deals, and who makes his pupils realize that it is a topic well worth their attention, may fail, or comparatively fail, in clearly conveying to learners the knowledge, great or small, which he possesses.

To convey this knowledge was the special function of the Oxford tutor of the best class. One can see that a tutor such as Archbishop Whately, of considerable talent and of strong character, might not be a man of very profound or extended knowledge of any subject, and yet might excel in conveying his best thoughts to his pupils. On the whole one may believe that the art of teaching is a rarer gift than the art even of good lecturing. One must admit, of course, as I have already pointed out, that the man who with reference to English Law, as indeed with reference to any other subject, is a perfect instructor, should combine with profound knowledge the power of kindling interest and the power of making his own ideas perfectly intelligible to learners; but I think it may fairly be maintained that among teachers of Law you will always find that excellence in rousing the attention and interest of his audience, rarely coincides with the precise and lucid transference to students of the knowledge which the teacher himself possesses. In this lay the special, though I do not mean the only, intellectual virtue of Anson. He got hold—if I may

use the expression—of his pupils. He possessed that art of individual teaching, in which the best tutors of a good Oxford College admittedly had obtained high excellence. Any one whose memory of Oxford carries him back for fifty or sixty years must remember, with great gratitude, the extraordinary skill with which a good tutor succeeded in conveying his own thoughts clearly and impressively to his pupils. An effective tutor might, or might not, be a good lecturer, that is to say he might, or might not, excel in delivering an address, e. g. on some legal topic, which by the mode of its expression or by the logical lucidity of its arrangement aroused the attention and the interest of intelligent pupils. But this was not the special achievement for which undergraduates were, or ought to have been, most grateful to a tutor. It was that he made it his main end to see that the particular pupil with whom he was dealing, not only got down in his note-book (probably inaccurately) the statement laid down by his teacher, but by the aid of lucid exposition and luminous illustration had imbibed its true meaning. No doubt a capable tutor was also, or might have been, a capable lecturer, and certainly this was the case with Anson. But his main object was to bring home to a given young man the truths he wished to impress firmly on his pupil's mind. In short, while the professorial system tends towards the production of good lectures, probably to be embodied in books, the tutorial system tends towards the teaching of individual pupils so that they may carry away in their thoughts the truths, or at any rate the doctrines, which the tutor wishes to impress upon them.

Now no one can read Anson's books or remember his conversations without feeling certain that

Anson could have delivered a good lecture on Law, and it is absolutely past a doubt that he was an admirable law tutor. This is what is meant by the statement that he combined the merits of the professorial and of the tutorial system, and many persons will hold that the latter demands the rarer talents.

Only students who were fortunate enough to attend Anson's lectures could give direct evidence of the attractiveness which any one of his friends must be certain belonged to his teaching. His personal influence told for much. He knew how to get hold of young men. He had clearly a real passion for the practice of teaching. His own words prove this:

'My relations,' he writes, 'with Trinity for these last ten years have been so pleasant and so anomalous that I could do nothing to risk their happy conclusion, and yet I know that when this business [of his tutorship] is wound up one of the greatest pleasures of my life will be gone.'

He notes too that 'it took me more than a year to make the men understand that I really wanted them to get some profit from what I had to say to them.'[1]

In these words breathes the best spirit of the Oxford tutor—his real affection for his men. I know well that every professor of the least worth, whether he be a professor of Law, of Latin, or of Literature, must wish that his work may be of some benefit to his audience. But the passion of the professor is to benefit his class, i. e. his hearers: the passion of the tutor is to benefit his particular men. There exists, however, one of Anson's books, of

[1] Letter to Blakiston, April 25, 1897.

little importance in itself, but which gives an intelligent reader some idea of the thoroughness and the brightness of Anson's work with his class. This is the booklet entitled *Ballades en termes de la Ley, and other verses.* These ballads have not the wit, and were not intended to display the humour, of Sir F. Pollock's admirable leading cases done into English, for the two books were written with totally different objects. Pollock wrote as a legal satirist for the entertainment of lawyers and of laymen who knew something about law, and were delighted to see exposed the ridiculous side of legal ignorance or of legal learning. Anson wrote, no doubt, to amuse, but primarily to instruct undergraduates hoping to get a first class in the School of Jurisprudence, or a high place in the examination for the B.C.L. degree. For this purpose the ballads are above praise. They are amusing, they are rememberable, and above all they supply to examinees not a mere scheme for remembering leading cases, but also a clue for mastering the leading points which such cases decide.

(B) *Anson as a writer.*

Anson produced two law-books which will probably remain a permanent part of the legal literature of England. His *Law of Contract* and his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* are each marked by two features which deserve special notice.

The first of these characteristics is that while both books deal with a special and technical matter, they are each on the face of them the work of a man who, while he writes on a strictly legal subject mainly interesting to lawyers, is not a specialist, but is

intensely interested in pursuits and in lines of thought which are far removed from, and have little connexion with, the technicalities of English Law. Anson's multifarious intellectual and political labours were striking examples of the way in which a man of vivid intellect and untiring industry could, following the great traditions of English literary life, become a master of a particular branch of knowledge, and yet take an active part in the social and in the political movements of his time.

The second characteristic of Anson's books is that they are throughout written in good and clear English.

This merit is due to his not writing as a specialist, to his training as a lecturer, and also of course to his clear-headedness. Terseness and lucidity of language are qualities by no means rare in the judgements of English judges. To guide the stupidity of juries or to remove the ignorance of pupils is no bad training in lucidity of thought or in force of expression. But legal eminence affords in itself no guarantee that its possessor has any command of good English. It were easy to name distinguished and learned English lawyers whose literary style would not be commended as a model of English prose. The crabbedness of Lord St. Leonards and the difficulty of seizing the subtleties of Lord Eldon are proverbial. Constant intellectual doubt, even when it ends in the right solution of a difficult legal problem, does not produce clearness of expression. Even oratorical success may sometimes be unfavourable to the clear statement of legal principles. The verbosity and loquacity of Brougham were, despite of all his talents, injurious to his judicial reputation. Nor can language, which must have been eloquent because it was certainly found to be effective, conceal from an intelligent reader the amount of

truth contained in the one epigrammatic sentence attributed to the most learned lawyer among Brougham's critics. 'What a pity it is he knows nothing of English Law, otherwise one might say that he knew a little about everything.'

Anson's style as a writer on legal topics is as good as can be. He has no desire to be either epigrammatic or sententious, but he is always clear. After reading a good deal that he has written a fair critic may say that Anson has not printed a single sentence which is not good English, and has printed very few sentences which an intelligent reader finds it hard to understand.

Turn now to the special merits of the two law-books on which Anson's reputation as a writer on English Law is based. They each exhibit with special force a different aspect of his literary work.

His *Law of Contract* is the result and the proof of his singular power as a teacher. Any one who can recall the books which some fifty-five years ago were recommended to the attention of a man reading for the Bar, will bear testimony to a fact which certainly seemed even then singular and now may appear incredible. There existed no English law-book which explained to a student the nature of a contract. Anson, when he undertook to teach Law at Oxford, at once recognized that the undergraduates who attended his classes needed a really elementary treatise which should be at once sound, and also clearly intelligible to men who knew nothing of Law and had not probably yet learned to distinguish between a contract and a tort. He seized his opportunity. He amply availed himself, as he points out with natural generosity, of the labours of Leake and of Pollock, and especially of Pollock; but his work was from the moment when it appeared by far the best

book on the English Law of Contract to place in the hands of beginners. I have no reason to believe that any later writer has ever published a work more useful for the man just beginning his legal studies than Anson's *Principles of the English Law of Contract.* Its success both in England and in the United States has been immense. It has already gone through fourteen editions. A mere glance at its contents shows that this branch of English Law has been treated by Anson in a new spirit. It is the work of a thorough lawyer who was also a good writer and a great teacher. Oddly enough the success of the work has to a slight extent concealed what in my judgement is its greatest and its most original merit. This is more clearly perceived when you study Anson's treatise in its earliest edition. The special virtue of the book lies in its precisely meeting the wants of a student who begins reading the law of contract, as do the vast majority of Oxford undergraduates, without knowing anything whatever about the subject. Such a man does not necessarily need an exhaustive and complete examination of the whole of the law with regard to a legally enforceable agreement. There are a good number of topics with which he need not perplex his mind. What an ignorant though intelligent student really needs is a clear and well-illustrated statement of the nature of a contract, of the way in which it arises, the moment when it is complete, and the like. Anything which distracts his mind from what are strictly the elements of the law of contract is from his point of view an evil. Now the first edition of Anson's *Law of Contract* is clearly written and addressed to beginners. It gives them exactly what they want and, what is equally important, does not occupy their attention with questions which they are not called upon to consider till they have

acquired some knowledge of the elements of their subject. A glance at Anson's first edition will show his admirable understanding of the sort of teaching needed by his pupils so as to make each of them what he humorously calls in his ballads a 'Trinity Lawyer'. The deserved success of his work led him to add to its contents and its completeness in each successive edition. He kept his book well up to date. By 1906 it had become not only a guide for ignorant students, but also a treatise which a barrister might use as a convenient summary of the whole Law of Contract. I do not for a moment assert that it lost thereby its utility for an undergraduate reading law for the Law School. It was the best book that could be possibly recommended to him, but it had lost a little of its precise adaptation to the needs of youthful students. Such a one might well now be recommended to read first the earliest edition, and subsequently extend and increase his legal knowledge by perusing with care the last edition of Anson's *Law of Contract.*

The *Law and Custom of the Constitution* brings into view not so much Anson's merits as a teacher as his true and leading position as a Constitutionalist. His book is addressed far less to young men learning the law of England than to general readers, who wish to have an accurate and clear account of the mechanism, if I may use the expression, of the English Constitution. In his first edition he describes the work on which his fame as a writer will principally rest, in far too modest language. 'I have tried,' he writes, 'to map out a portion of our Constitution's surface and to fill in its details. . . . I have tried to do the work of a surveyor.' These expressions are used with characteristic modesty of his own work, and with equally characteristic and friendly over-estimate of the

labours of a colleague who he persuaded himself had, in describing two leading features of the English constitution, 'done the work of an artist.' But though the expression 'work of a surveyor' does nothing like justice to Anson's own achievements, it does, if properly understood, describe the true aim of his constitutional writings, and recalls some of the high and notable talents which ensured the attainment of the end which he set before himself.

Anson had before his mind an object which he had conceived with admirable precision. He wanted to survey thoroughly the machinery of the existing constitution of England. He wished far less to speculate about the nature, the merits or the defects of the parliamentary government of England, than to take to pieces the political machinery through which our very complicated system of parliamentary government actually works, and to explain to intelligent readers the nature and the working of each part of the constitution. He occupied a position essentially different from the leading constitutionalists who had preceded him. He was not, as was more or less Blackstone, the grandiloquent though sagacious eulogist. It was not his primary aim, as it was with Bagehot, to expose errors as to the actual working of our constitutional system. Anson, again, occupied a different position from that of Lowell, who has really given the best living picture of our parliamentary government as it now exists. Lowell's admirable work is to a great extent devoted to tracing the connexion between the growth of Party government and the development of the Constitution, and, though he does not precisely eulogize the system by which enlightened partisanship sometimes performs the duties of patriotism, he certainly does show and bring into due prominence the

reasons why Party government has in England been found generally consistent, at any rate during the nineteenth century, with the absence of several defects which in other countries have vitiated its operation. Anson does not, lastly, attempt, after the manner of Gneist, to trace out with more or less truth certain leading ideas or principles (as, for example, the sovereignty of the Crown which has gradually been merged in the sovereignty of Parliament), which have from the first affected, even when little noticed, the whole development of England's political institutions. Anson is not, so to speak, engaged in the pursuit always more or less visionary of general principles. He can indeed, and often does, summarize with great neatness and felicity principles latent in the Law and Custom of the Constitution, but his eye is primarily engaged in stating what the mechanism of the constitution is, rather than in generalizing the principles which guide its working. The work he has undertaken is hard; its satisfactory performance is in reality rather aided than impeded by an intellectual quality which, according to one's turn of mind, one may call a defect or a merit, and can more fairly be described as an emphatically English characteristic. He recognizes a general principle when he comes across it, and can state it with precision, but being like most Englishmen impressed with the maxim *in generalibus latet error*, he avoids making it either the foundation or the summary of a line of reasoning.

Nothing in Anson's literary work is more remarkable than the steadiness and clearness with which he keeps his intended aim before his mind, unless it be the extraordinary industry and energy with which he pursues it. His great work on the

Constitution touches upon and explains every part of its machinery. Whoever will carefully run through the admirable tables of contents, which precede each volume of Anson's constitutional treatise, will be amazed at the way in which the author covers the whole field of inquiry which he was determined to occupy. And a little examination of the way in which he has dealt with each topic as it comes under his hands will, in the mind of any man who has ever tried to investigate any part of our constitutional system, excite both astonishment and admiration. This industry is a slightly different thing from the spirit of research with which it is sometimes confused. It is really dictated not by the desire to discover what is new, but by the determination that every statement made shall be accurate, and therefore true as far as it goes. This, indeed, is the virtue specially required in a surveyor of any field of knowledge, and it is possessed by Anson to the highest degree. An inquirer who wishes to test Anson's accuracy may apply to it two different criteria. He may in the first place raise some simple constitutional question in his mind concerning which every educated Englishman thinks he knows something, and then compare the incompleteness of his own supposed knowledge with the completeness of Anson's account of the matter in hand. Let the inquirer, for example, ask himself what are the Dominions and the Dependencies of the Crown, and how the different countries differ from one another in the mode in which they are governed, and in their relation to the United Kingdom? He will soon find that his own knowledge extends but a very little way. He may probably be able to assert with confidence that the King governs the United Kingdom of Great Britain

and Ireland, the Colonies, and a large part of India. Let him then turn to Anson. He will find that the question he has raised is dealt with in Vol. II of the *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, ch. v, which occupies more than ninety-five pages. He will find that Anson has given an outline or survey of the whole subject, that the outline covers the six heads of the United Kingdom, the adjacent islands, the colonies, India, and the miscellaneous possessions, that each of these divisions is separately treated with varying degrees of minuteness, and that it needs hours of careful reading and of thought to master fully the immense amount of information lucidly and succinctly provided by our author. In the next place the inquirer may take another line. He may consider the way in which Anson has dealt with two special difficulties which meet every constitutionalist who attempts to describe the English constitution, or rather the mechanism thereof, as it actually exists. Of these the one difficulty is that our institutions are all the growth of history. To make intelligible any existing constitutional arrangement it is sometimes necessary to state and explain long past transactions or events. One can hardly understand fully the position either of the Crown, of the Cabinet, or of the Houses of Parliament in 1917 unless you go back to the authority possessed by William the Conqueror (1066), or at any rate by Edward I (1272); or—to take another example—the relation of Church and State at the present day cannot be fully understood by any one who does not know a good deal of the legislation of Henry VIII (1509–47) or of Elizabeth (1558–1603). The other difficulty is that our constitution has not only grown during the course of centuries, but is still growing. It has assuredly undergone greater and more serious alterations since the death of

Queen Victoria than it underwent during the whole sixty years of the reign of George III, or, if I have overrated the rapidity of recent change, no one can doubt that the alterations which have marked the last sixteen years are probably the beginning rather than the close of most extensive and large changes which, whether they be reforms or alterations of dubious utility, one hopes may be carried through by peaceful legislation without the employment or misemployment of physical force. Now in nothing does the soundness of Anson's English good sense and temperance of judgement more clearly appear than in the methods by which he meets obstacles which have daunted the intellectual courage and sometimes damaged the work of other commentators. He avoids the confusion often caused by the mingling of constitutional history with the descriptions of the actual condition of our constitutional system. Of necessity he often states historical facts which are needed for the elucidation of the present condition of things, but with extraordinary skill he always tries in each particular topic with which he deals, e. g. the revenues of the Crown, or the armed forces of the Crown, to state in the first place clearly and succinctly the particular facts which any reader ought to have before his mind if he is to understand our modern system of taxation, or the nature and the government of our modern army at the date at which Anson published the last volume of his *Law and Custom of the Constitution.* In other words, he explains where necessary the character and the working of English institutions by historical causes, but he always remembers that he is surveying the Constitution as he sees it; he is not writing a constitutional history of England. He is a well-informed historian, but he to the utmost of his power avoids the errors of antiquarianism. Though the

constitution again was during his lifetime changing before his eyes, and though as a Member of Parliament and a Minister he took an active part in guiding, and sometimes in resisting, this gradual transformation, he writes thereof with the calmness and sense of proportion which ought to be reached (though it rarely is attained) by a thinker who writes about constitutional alterations, but which is all but unattainable by an active politician who joins with vigour in the party conflicts of his time. Anson, for example, plainly perceives the immense alteration effected during the last fifty years by the growth and the increasing power of the Party system. He notes occasionally the historical results of the development of Party government. As one reads his comment one often wishes that he had more often indulged than he does in generalizations on the development of our institutions. Nothing can be better than his short summary of the actual effect of the Reform Bill on the character of the reformed Parliament: 'The result,' he writes, 'as it worked out between 1832 and 1886 was to give to the House [of Commons] a greater share of political power than it possessed before that date, or possesses now' [1907]; and again, 'In truth the Redistribution of 1885 has done much to destroy the independence of the members of the House of Commons. The power and influence which it has lost has gone partly to the Cabinet, partly to the constituencies, or rather in many cases, to the [party] organizations by which the constituencies are worked.' Nothing could be more simply stated, and yet these few words of our author's contain truths which should be patent to, but as yet have been hardly realized by, most English citizens. And here we meet the truest example of Anson's highest virtue. He was a party-man, but when he

came to write of facts before his eyes, he tried neither to propound paradoxes nor to indulge in party spirit, but fairly to record the results of his cool observation and sound judgement. He was from the beginning to the end of his political career a thoroughgoing Unionist, but the most captious critic would find it difficult to discover in Anson's survey of the constitution whether he were a Unionist or a Home Ruler.

It may be that the termination of campaigns abroad will result in vast constitutional revolution at home. Great changes there have already been, but, whatever the future may have in store, it is certain that Anson's industry, his sound judgement, and above all his perfect fairness, have produced a work which will be always looked upon as the true picture of the English constitution as it was at the moment when the Great War opened a new epoch in our history.

NOTE *by* Sir T. Erskine Holland

As having been closely associated with Sir W. Anson from the year 1874 onwards, both in All Souls College and in the Law Faculty of the University, I gladly take the opportunity afforded me of recording some of my recollections of his distinguished and useful career.

It was a great piece of good fortune for Oxford when, in the year above mentioned, Anson was elected to the Vinerian Readership of English Law, in succession to myself, who had held it only for a few months. It was additionally fortunate that, although the Readership entailed no obligation of

residence in the University, he at once decided to relinquish practice at the Bar, to which he had been called in 1869, and to return to his rooms at All Souls, in order the better to devote himself to his new duties. He found the study of Law, for which Oxford had once been famous, in process of revival, after a long period of neglect. To this revival he largely contributed, by the part taken by him in the deliberations of his colleagues, by his evidence before the Royal Commission of 1877,[1] by his admirable lectures to large and interested classes, by his supervision of the special Law library, then recently organized at All Souls, by being one of the group of Oxford men who in 1884 founded the *Law Quarterly Review*, now in its thirty-fifth volume,[2] and by his authorship of some well-known works.

His *Principles of the English Law of Contract*, first published in 1879, has achieved a great success as a well-ordered survey of the subject, adequately, though not superfluously, supported by carefully studied decided cases. Constantly improved and brought up to date, it has already reached a fourteenth edition.

The first volume of his *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, dealing with 'Parliament', appeared in 1886, and was completed by two more volumes, published respectively in 1892 and 1908, dealing with 'The Crown'. The work is a masterly and painstaking description, checked by first-hand information supplied by the various Government offices, of the Legislative and Executive Powers in Great Britain. It is not likely soon to be superseded, and has run through several editions.

[1] On October 25, 1877. See the volume of evidence presented to Parliament in 1881, pp. 60-9.

[2] See the *Life of Sir W. Markby*, p. 77.

Sir William's career in Parliament and as a Privy Councillor I leave to others, although it was my lot, in speaking at several of his re-elections, to dwell upon his exceptional qualifications for public life.

At All Souls he was the ideal Warden, devoted to its interests, skilfully guiding it through the period of transition which commenced before his election to the Wardenship in 1881, and lasted for a good many years afterwards. He was always a level-headed administrator, and the well-beloved friend of every Fellow of the College.

CHAPTER V

UNIVERSITY LIFE

By Sir T. Herbert Warren

IT may seem paradoxical to say about Sir William Anson of all persons, that the services which he rendered as a resident graduate to his University were not the most important services he rendered to Oxford, and formed by no means the most interesting portion of his long, well-filled, and eminently useful academic life. Yet if what he did for his College, and what he effected as Burgess be subtracted—a large subtraction no doubt—such, on examination, will be found to be the case.

His greatest service to the University was undoubtedly his influence on All Souls College. That society, as all who know the old Universities

are aware, was, and is still, in many ways, unique. 'Damme, Sir, we were *sui generis*,' an old Fellow, *bene natus et mediocriter doctus*, if the Oxford story is true, remarked in the fifties of the last century, when the day of Commissions came and it was proposed to reform it. Thanks to the Commissions, but still more to the Warden and Fellows, and especially to Warden Anson, it has been reformed, but without ceasing to be 'sui generis'. When Sir William Anson joined its ranks from Balliol, in 1867—its senior Fellow at that time was Lord Bathurst, who remembered, it was said, playing cards in the Common Room when the news of the victory of Waterloo came to Oxford—it was still mainly a private preserve, and as T. H. Green encouragingly remarked to a newly elected young fellow, an 'abuse'. When Sir William Anson died, in 1914, it had become under his sway a centre of academic research, a college of experts, a school of publicists, a notable antechamber to public life. 'The fact is, Anson is an ideal Warden,' was the pronouncement somewhere in the nineties of an old and distinguished Fellow, himself in his youth an extreme reformer, eager to reform first and foremost All Souls itself, and all through his life a keen critic with a severe standard of public duty—Sir Godfrey Lushington. If he was thus ideal it was because, while surrounded with many temptations to a life of ease, or what to some is no less seductive, of self-seeking ambition, Sir William Anson from the moment he became Warden set himself to fulfil an ample measure not of rule but of service. 'I have always thought', he said to the writer of these pages, 'that the Warden of All Souls can only justify his existence by devoting himself largely to the public life of the University and of the City.' He did so devote him-

self, even more fully than he probably originally contemplated. That he did this without neglecting the rival claims of law, literature, or teaching, for all of which he had special gifts, or the service of the Church, or the calls of society and friendship, was due to his high character, his excellent temper and judgement, and his admirable method. But a great deal of this varied activity lies outside the scope of this chapter and will be found dealt with elsewhere and by other hands. What will be attempted here is to give in brief some account or indication of his purely University services, as distinct from those rendered by him to or through any of the three Colleges with which he was connected, or as Parliamentary Representative.

Sir William took his degree in 1866, and died in 1914, not quite fifty years later. For the last fifteen years of this half-century he held the office of University Burgess, and was in consequence largely removed from the regular resident life of the University. This was especially the case in his later years, when Autumn Sessions of Parliament became the rule rather than the exception. He had not then the opportunity, during the period of his ripest powers, of doing all he might otherwise have done on the spot. In one particular his career, generally fortunate and prosperous, fell out unluckily for the University. He held the office of Vice-Chancellor for less than a year. He had come to it fairly young and full of vigour, full too of varied experience, and commanding the completest confidence of all parties. He bade fair to make an ideal 'first magistrate', as Gibbon calls the Vice-Chancellor of the University. As it was he had barely settled into the saddle, though he took less time than most to do this, when Sir John Mowbray died, and his friends pressed him to exchange his important position for

one for which they knew he was uniquely suited, that of Burgess. He was at first disposed to refuse, but they pointed out that others could be found equal to the office he was holding, for which every Head of a House is theoretically fitted, whereas no comparable candidate could be discovered to represent the University in Parliament.

What he himself was inclined to think will be seen in the following letter written to one of these friends two years earlier, when it was rumoured that a vacancy was likely to occur.

All Souls College, Oxford.
May 18, 1897.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT,

Thank you much for your very kind letter. I have heard nothing of the rumour which you mention, and I hope that it may be unfounded, for if I were to be so far honoured as to have my name considered as a possible successor to our present Member I should feel myself in a great difficulty.

I am too old now to enter the House of Commons with any prospect of a political career. The business of a representative such as I should be would be to sustain the credit of the University in debate and look after its interests when required. One would naturally be the victim of much mental anxiety in beginning a new life of this sort.

On the other hand I have here plenty of local and academical work in the doing of which I can make myself useful, and, as far as usefulness goes, I think I might very likely sacrifice the substance for the shadow if I were to go into Parliament.

As for * * * * I hope that if the University looks abroad it will look for existing eminence or substantial promise. The prevailing party can find the first in Hicks-Beach, Ridley, or Goschen, and the second in George Curzon or Hugh Cecil.

. . . . . .

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) WILLIAM R. ANSON.

Fortunately for the University he yielded to pressure. His supporters and friends, both in Oxford and London, were not to be denied. Other old Oxford men with other views, if politically differing, also approved. 'I presume you are going to elect Anson,' wrote Mr. Asquith, 'a choice at which no one can cavil.'

Technical difficulties were hastily got over. Dr. Bright, Master of University College, whose turn it was to fill the office of Vice-Chancellor, taken by surprise, declined the succession,[1] but Dr. Fowler, President of Corpus, with stouter heart, after asking for half an hour to consider it, stepped into the breach, and Sir William at a few days' notice entered on his Parliamentary career. The story of that career is told elsewhere. That it was full of advantage to the University all know. But there was a certain loss. Things which he intended to carry out as Vice-Chancellor he had to abandon, and they were not done. One of these was the codification and simplification of the Statute Book, which, with the amendments and additions of every succeeding term, had long lost its ancient symmetry, and become, like the Ptolemaic system, or the 'Pie', 'scribbled over' with a multitude of alterations and complexities, difficult alike to remember, to discover, and to interpret. The reduction of this prolix tangle to order and brevity had to wait nearly twenty years, and has only recently been effected.

Some things, however, Sir William Anson had done for the University before his Vice-Chancellorship. From the time of his first settling down into

[1] It may be noted that Sir William Anson owed his own fairly early appointment to the fact that the Provost of Worcester (Dr. Inge), the Warden of Merton (Dr. Brodrick), and the Warden of Wadham (Mr. Thorley), had all in succession 'passed' the office.

residence he had devoted himself, as naturally became him, to the improvement of the Law School. It was a long and gradual process.

Efforts had already been made to improve this School before Sir William Anson returned from the Inns of Court to All Souls. Among the earlier steps had been the division of the old Law and History School into two separate Schools. This was effected in the early seventies, and was largely carried through by Mr. James Bryce, now Lord Bryce, who was appointed Regius Professor in 1870; and Mr. T. E. Holland, now Sir T. Erskine Holland, who became Professor of International Law in 1874. These two leaders, with others, also procured the reform of the qualifications for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law. A step in their reforms was the establishment of the Board of Legal Studies. This Board Sir William Anson joined when he returned to Oxford as Vinerian Reader.

'He was', writes Lord Bryce, 'one of the most judicious and constantly helpful members. In fact I should say, speaking from recollection, as sure to be right as any one could be. This applied also to his action on the Council of the British Academy, where he was invaluable. Only three months before we lost him, when he wished to retire, I succeeded in persuading him to stay, feeling the incomparable value of his counsel. He was, too, an extremely good lecturer, clear, accurate, and devoted to his work. His book on *Contracts* is an admirable introduction to the subject, probably the best we have. His *Law and Custom of the Constitution* is now a standard authority.'

Some fifteen years later a further change was made, the establishment of a 'separate Preliminary School'. In this Anson played a considerable part.

In much of his views and action in Oxford he was not a little influenced by the rare and subtle intellect and personality of the late Mr. R. W. Raper of Trinity. Refusing almost all offices, Raper in effect filled many, preferring to occupancy of the throne the more potent position of the power behind it. So working, he constantly influenced, largely by suggestion, and more amply than they knew, men like Jowett, Pelham, and Strachan-Davidson. With Anson he was more on terms of pure friendship. He used to lunch with him almost every Sunday, and often to walk with him afterwards, and Anson gave as much as he received. Pelham and Strachan-Davidson, again, the latter especially, both influenced Anson themselves and were very greatly influenced in their policy by him. During Jowett's Vice-Chancellorship the Warden played a peculiar part. The redoubtable Master of Balliol, firmly convinced of his own wisdom, and eager to a fault to carry his point, sometimes strained almost too far the loyalty of his old and attached pupils. 'I think Sir William Anson is drafting something which will meet all our wishes,' he would say, after a long struggle with opponents or critics, and the Warden was forced to use all his deft dexterity to satisfy at once the Vice-Chancellor, his own friends, and his conscience. What he himself thought of Jowett as Vice-Chancellor a few kindly but discriminating words contributed by him to the biography of the masterful Master show: 'His (Jowett's) idea of the duty of a chairman was not so much to get business done as to make his ideas prevail. It would be a misfortune if every Vice-Chancellor took a similar view of his functions, but it may be well that from time to time the office should be held by a man of striking originality, self-sacrificing industry, and great strength of will, even if these are joined

to an entire disregard for the ordinary methods of conducting business.'

The character of Anson's own brief tenure of the office was, it need hardly be said, very different. It should further be said that all subsequent Vice-Chancellors found in him an invaluable adviser and coadjutor. In particular when the Vice-Chancellor, as happens to each in turn, had to sit in court as a magistrate, his first wish was to secure Sir William Anson to sit with him.

His Vice-Chancellorship thus prematurely closed, and his career as a resident University legislator interrupted by his transference to another sphere, Sir William Anson still contrived to play no inconsiderable part in the evolution of the University. He had returned, it will be remembered, to Oxford, just on the eve of the enacting activity of the second Commission. The problem and the duty of the younger Fellows and Tutors in 1877 and during the next thirty years was to make use of and work out in College and University the results, provisions, and intentions of that Commission. By an irony of fate which new reformers will perhaps do well to bear in mind, nature did not smile on its work. The coming into force of the new Statutes coincided with the period of 'Agricultural Depression'. Land values and rents from land, which had been forced up by the investments of the Victorian *nouveaux riches*, tumbled in the late seventies precipitously down, and it was of land and rents that the College and University endowments chiefly consisted. After the reformers came in very truth the deluge. The disastrous 'unsummered skies' of 1879, as Tennyson called them, ruined half the farmers, and crippled the landlords. At the same time, the actual enactments of the Commissioners had satisfied, perhaps more than satisfied, even disillusioned,

many of the reformers who had called for the Commission. Time, again, was needed for the old vested interests to die out, and academic vested interests die slowly, and in their extreme age the tendency is to venerate them rather than hasten their end. 'Was any modern building ever so attractive as this ruin?' said one eager young reformer in proposing the health of an octogenarian incumbent of his College. The result of all these tendencies was to produce for some years arrestation and almost conservative reaction in Oxford, and it was only very gradually that the tide of change began to flow strongly again. With this period, then, of moderate and gradual reform Sir William Anson by temperament was in harmony. The chief issues were the introduction of new studies, the development of Natural Science, whose departments multiplied by fission, the revivification of the Medical School, the introduction of new Schools, of English and other modern languages, of Diplomas in Anthropology, Archaeology, Education, Forestry, Political Science, and the like, the promotion of the University Education of women, leading to the demand for their admission to degrees. All these had their bearing on the relation of the University to the Colleges, involving more and more financial demands by the former on the latter.

Sir William Anson, who as a young man had come forward as a Liberal candidate for Parliament, was, though not such a Whig as Jowett or Strachan-Davidson, from the first a moderate Liberal and became more and more so. Warm friend as he was of Professor Pelham, nothing could have been farther from his view than the famous dictum of that energetic leader, that 'any leap in the dark is better than standing still'. On University reform in particular he held, as might be expected,

moderate and 'middle' views, and was appealed to at all times by moderate reformers, and sometimes by conservatives. Such was the case in the autumn of 1910, when the chronic question of 'Compulsory Greek' was brought forward as one of the first items of the Chancellor's programme. His correspondence shows him as being appealed to at that time as their friend by both the more moderate and compromising opponents of the change, and the more moderate reformers. His own desire was to add the new without destroying or disendowing the old.

This was expressed in 1910 in a letter to the Chancellor in relation to an appeal to the outside millionaire:

'Oxford and Cambridge', he wrote, 'can give to those who come to them much which Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester cannot give, and it is plain that we ought not to try to give the sort of teaching which is only of value in immediate connexion with a great industry, as metallurgy is taught at Sheffield, but we might give the scientific basis for more practical work, and we might give the teaching in language which any one going into commercial life would be glad to have: and we are hindered in these respects for lack of means.

'We are not a class University, and the reason why we appear to encourage the older studies rather than the new, is that we cannot deprive the former of what they possess, and have not money to endow the latter. But this I hope will be remedied in time.'

In 1896 and 1897 there came a great and prolonged struggle over the question of Degrees for Women. It culminated in March of the latter year, in the submission to Congregation of a series of Resolutions; the first proposing to confer on women qualified in the same manner as male undergraduates the degree of B.A.; the remainder

SIR WILLIAM REYNELL ANSON, 1895

proposing to give them some kind of diploma or certificate of their qualifications. Here once more the Warden was found endeavouring to discover a *via media*, and acted as Chairman of a Committee of which the Secretaries were, Mr. Case, Mr. Arthur Johnson, and Mr. L. R. Farnell. They brought forward a resolution which confined itself to giving a Diploma stating the Educational Body to which the Student had belonged and the examinations she had passed.

It was perhaps not surprising that this resolution did not find acceptance. It was hotly denounced with characteristic directness by Professor Pelham, and while the Professor and his friends were defeated with loss on the main issue they were successful in securing, though by a minute majority, the rejection of what they regarded as a 'compromising' compromise.

The result was one to satisfy neither party. The friends of the women sat down to await the result of time, which they held to be on their side. The Warden's Committee turned to considering the promotion of a national Women's University to unite the Women's Colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, and London.

For this, however, they did not meet with sufficient support, either from Cambridge or in the world outside, and the idea soon died away.

The election of a Chancellor is fortunately a rare occurrence, and a contested election is still rarer. Lord Salisbury held the dignity for some thirty years. Lord Goschen was put in by agreement. It was not anticipated that he would hold office long. But he made, even in his short reign, his mark. One thing in particular he did with characteristic conscientiousness. He set the example of familiarizing himself with University business. When he

died, in the spring of 1907, attention naturally directed itself to Lord Curzon, who had been absent from England, being then Viceroy of India, at the time of the previous vacancy. The story of his election belongs rather to his own career than to this sketch. But it was obvious that much turned on Sir William Anson. College feeling naturally counts for much at such times. Lord Rosebery, the most brilliant Oxford statesman of his generation and a singularly attractive personality, naturally commanded much support, from Christ Church in particular, and Oxford generally, independently of party, and had he not been already Chancellor of London might have commanded still more. It required some steering, as it always does, to get the University voters to concentrate. Sir William Anson was whole-hearted. Like Lord Curzon, he was a Balliol as well as an All Souls man. But it was not on this ground that either he or the University made the decision. The Warden was accused in the public press by 'Two Conservatives', as they called themselves, who, however, wrote to the *Daily News*, of 'adroit management' in side-tracking other candidates. He disposed of this charge in an excellent letter to *The Times*. But it was best answered by the final poll a month or so later. The following extracts from letters addressed by the Warden to Lord Curzon recall the chief factors of the situation and show what he himself and others felt. To many, looking back, it will appear that he was unduly nervous, but if so, this was owing to his extreme anxiety for what he conceived to be the right result.

Sir W. Anson to Lord Curzon.

February 23, 1907.

'A meeting was held in Magdalen to-day, summoned by the Vice-Chancellor, at which men of all parties were

present, and I think that the result will be an election without contest.

'The character of the office has been somewhat changed by Goschen, who took a practical interest in the business and life of the University, and I ventured to say that I believed that you would be disposed to take the same line.

'There is no doubt that the University wants some guidance, and that a Chancellor who cares to give it may strengthen our position in the country very greatly.

'Apart from all this it will be a great pleasure and pride to have another Chancellor from the College.'

March 13, 1907.

'I am afraid that we have a very close fight in prospect and the issue is uncertain.

'I quite hoped when I first wrote to you that the matter was settled, but somehow the Rosebery party has gone on developing in unexpected ways.

'Radicals hope to secure a party triumph: Science believes that Rosebery has the Rhodes' millions in his pocket; Christ Church wants a Chancellor of its own; and now Halifax and Gore are leading the High Church Disestablishment party astray.

'So you see we have much to contend against: and I don't know when I have seen Oxford so excited.'

March 14, 1907.

'I cannot say how delighted I am at the result of to-day's voting for the Chancellorship. As you may have guessed from my letter of last night, I was really anxious and depressed because the forces allied against us, though incongruous, seemed very powerful.

'Happily to-day's majority assures you that, not only have you obtained the majority of votes, but that you are the real representative of the University. . . . I can say no more now than that many of us will sleep the sounder for the knowledge that the election, which I confess I have regarded as of grave importance to the University, has ended in the happiest way.'

The result was no triumph of a reactionary party, or Sir William would not have striven for it as he did.

The new Chancellor safely elected, things began at once to move. The periodic agitation for Academic reform on a large scale had been active for some time, both within and without Oxford. In the summer of 1907 the Bishop of Oxford suddenly made himself the mouthpiece in the House of Lords of those who desired a Commission to take the matter in hand. The immediate result, as all know, was 'reform from within'. With characteristic energy Lord Curzon came forward with the programme embodied in the 'Scarlet Letter' or Red Book, addressed to the University. In the preparation of this programme Sir William Anson had less hand than might have been expected. The work was chiefly done in Oxford, and he was busy at St. Stephen's. But he gave much advice. And when the programme was finally formulated and brought forward in a series of legislative proposals he again took an active part. The item which approved itself most to him was the establishment of the new Board of Finance to include non-resident members of wide outside experience. For this he spoke with vigour in Congregation, and much aided the passage of the Statute, as the following letter from the Chancellor shows:

1 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
June 23, 1911.

MY DEAR WARDEN,

I am very much obliged to you for battling so well and successfully for the Finance Statute; I have heard how much we owe to your able pleading.

May I congratulate you on the honour too tardily bestowed.[1]

Yours sincerely,

CURZON.

[1] The membership of His Majesty's Privy Council.

The setting up of the new General Board, and Boards, of the Faculties, a proposal dear to the more essentially academic of the reformers, was less to his taste. He was always inclined to be jealous of the position of the Colleges, and in this was not a little in sympathy with Strachan-Davidson, and with the older views of the Jowettian as contrasted with the Pattisonian School. Divided between his reluctance, as he expressed it, to 'look askance at one of the first items of "reform from within"', his fear of the weakening of the Colleges if the measure was carried, in which he had friends like Strachan-Davidson and Raper behind him, and his greater fear of a Commission if 'reform from within' failed, he made in Congregation a rather critical or cross-bench speech, which, if the truth be told, rather detracted from his great personal popularity and authority, giving thorough satisfaction neither to reformers nor reactionaries. A long letter sent by him to the *Oxford Magazine* in January 1910 expounds rather more fully his attitude as to the Colleges and, in particular, as to 'Prize Fellowships'.

His general feeling was summed up in a letter to the Chancellor written just before, as follows:

'I congratulate you on the completion of your labours in inducing Council to formulate a scheme of reform.

'There seems a real chance for reform from within, and though Congregation is a wayward body, and its action difficult to forecast, I have good hope that, if Council conduct the business judiciously, we shall be able to carry most of the proposed changes.

'I am somewhat suspicious of Faculty Boards: but a Commission would inevitably have destroyed the College system, and handed us over a prey to the researcher and the specialist.'

What he thought of a Commission in general as

a method of Reform it may be well, especially just now, when a Commission is once more definitely on the horizon, to record. His views are given in a letter to the Chancellor written just at the end of 1911:

'I am told that a meeting held at Balliol last Friday or Saturday determined to address you, and the Hebdomadal Council, to ask for a Commission to deal with various University questions, including the constitution of Convocation and its relations with Congregation.

'It may be well that those who are moving for a Commission should come out into the open and state what they want; but I am told that there is a section—how large I do not know—who would limit the action of the Commission to this last question of Convocation and its powers.

'I think that there is no doubt that any dealings with Convocation would need legislation. The topic is beyond our powers of Reform from within. A Commission dealing with this one point would avoid all the questions which raise the strongest feeling in Oxford, the organization of studies, the relations of University and College finance, and the independent existence of the Colleges. Nor would it produce the stagnation which attends the period during which a Commission is sitting and inquiring into the use of Endowments, and the powers of the Colleges. I believe that though our progress on the road of reform is slow it is really advancing, and that a Commission with general powers would hold everything back for years.

'If we are to have a Commission at all, let it be limited to dealing with a subject in which we cannot reform ourselves.

'It might be possible to stave off worse things by taking up this one point, but we have yet to see how far the desire for a Commission extends, and whether it is advocated by men whose opinion carries weight.'

Universities, like 'public men', are vexed with the 'eternal want of pence', and the more so in proportion to their activity and efficiency. The introduction of new studies, the improvement of the old, are

always calling for new endowment. When, as has been indicated, the programme of the Commissioners of 1877 had practically been achieved, and the provision instituted by them for the re-endowment of the University by the taxation of the Colleges had been completely carried out, it was found that even though very handsomely increased by spontaneous and voluntary subvention on the part of the richer Colleges, this provision was inadequate to meet the urgent demands upon it. It may be mentioned here that All Souls, inspired alike by the guidance and example of the Warden, has been conspicuous in the measure of the voluntary assistance thus rendered.

It so happened that matters had just reached this point at the end of Lord Salisbury's long reign as Chancellor. His successor, Lord Goschen, an eminent financier, as one of his first acts, looked into the accounts of the University and cast about for a remedy. He was met by the generous action of an energetic Balliol graduate, the Hon. T. A. Brassey, later Lord Hythe, now alas! the late Earl Brassey. It was with him and his friends that the idea of raising a Fund for the re-endowment of the University originated. They began with their old College, Balliol. Just before Lord Goschen's death, having completed the scheme for assistance to Balliol, Mr. Brassey came forward with a plan for an association to deal with the University on similar lines. He enlisted the services of a resident Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Anson, Professor (now Sir H. A.) Miers, Professor (afterwards Sir William) Osler, and Mr. A. L. Smith (now Master of Balliol). Lord Curzon was elected Chairman of the Association. Then came the death of Lord Goschen. Lord Curzon's first step as his successor was to assume the

responsibility as Chancellor for pushing the scheme, and his first public appearance was as Chairman of a meeting held in London on May 16, 1907, to inaugurate it. At this meeting Sir William Anson spoke, dwelling especially on the needs of the Bodleian Library, emphasizing the desirability of new storage room and a new Catalogue, of Geography, of Electrical Science, and of Modern Languages. He took from first to last a leading part in carrying the project into effect. The drawing up of the Deed of Trust, the selection of the first Trustees, the place of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor in relation to them, were difficult and delicate matters. He had a guiding hand in all. He himself was appointed one of the first Trustees, and naturally became the leader of a sub-committee consisting of the resident Trustees, and a special link between them and the non-residents. And it goes without saying that he was a very generous contributor to the Fund.

For indeed, and this is perhaps the place to say it, Sir William Anson should always be remembered, though he endeavoured to conceal the fact, as having been in the technical as well as in the general sense a 'University Benefactor'. His purse, and his promise, which all knew was as good, were always at the service of all good University objects, as they were of all good objects, public and private, in Oxford. Whether the matter was large or small, whether it was a unique 'Queen Anne mug' which was coveted for the Ashmolean, or a collection of minerals which was desired by the Museum, he was alike appealed to to give a lead or head the list because all knew he would not be appealed to in vain.

The bulk of University business is conducted in Council and its Committees, and by various Dele-

gacies or Boards. Sir William was a member of Council from 1884 to 1899. He was also a member at different times of many University Boards, a Curator of the Bodleian Library, a Radcliffe Trustee, a member of the Visitatorial Board, of the Non-Collegiate Delegacy. Of none of them was he an inactive or silent member, for it was not his wont to be a passenger in any boat in which he accepted a seat. The Bodleian in particular owes him much gratitude for services both open and unavowed.

Sir William Anson showed marked interest in the welfare of the Non-Collegiate Students, and the Delegates always welcomed him as a member of their Board to which he was frequently reappointed as opportunity offered. His College itself had always been sympathetic, and its goodwill was strengthened by the election to an All Souls Fellowship of the present Bishop of Hereford, who received his education as a Non-Collegiate undergraduate. By a Commissioners' Statute All Souls was ordered to expend a certain sum on the education of undergraduates, and it availed itself of this order to do what it could to help such Non-Collegiate Students as were specially recommended to its notice. At one time the grants amounted to £150 per annum, but upon the foundation of the University Day Training College the College thought fit to apply £75 of this sum to assist the requirements of the new institution. The £75 remaining, though not in itself a large amount, was of great service to individual members of the Non-Collegiate Body, and Sir William took a minute interest in its distribution, not only weighing the merits of different cases but taking careful notes about the men and if possible requiring a personal interview when the grants were actually paid.

It falls to the lot of all who aspire to play a leading

part in University politics to have to speak in Congregation and Convocation. The former is, as many know, the smaller assembly of residents specially associated with the work and management of the University, the latter the general gathering of all holders of the M.A. or higher degrees, whose names are on the books. But at ordinary times the bulk of the M.A.s do not attend, and for practical purposes the two 'Venerable Houses' are the same. It is only when the nature of the business attracts, or a whip compels, those unacademic though graduate residents, who usually stay away, or when a still more urgent issue 'brings up' the non-residents *en masse* from a distance, that Convocation assumes a character of its own. By whichever name it is called, the ordinary Academic parliament is a difficult assembly. Its rules are embarrassing, its attitude still more so. It is far more inclined to be critical than constructive. There is no government, no organized party-support. The 'house' is often all 'opposition'. Council proposes, but Congregation disposes, and it knows and loves its power. It can be neither corrupted, cajoled, nor coerced. It loses nothing itself by throwing out any or every measure. It is not expected that Council or any member of it will resign, however ignominiously it is defeated, nor does such resignation take place, and elections are few and far between. Oratory in such an assembly is rather at a discount and rhetoric is suspect. Like the Athenians of old, the audience prides itself on being ever ahead of the speaker, knows what he is going to say before he says it, and thinks the less of it. That speaker then succeeds best who dissuades least. Judged by this esoteric standard the late Mr. Alfred Robinson was perhaps the best speaker of at all

recent times; but Sir William Anson, by any standard, ranked higher than most. Clear, businesslike, concise, crisp, always courteous, on occasion decorously amusing, he made few enemies, and, at the end of his time especially, he had acquired much personal influence and popularity which told in his favour. His support and advocacy were in consequence always valued, and he was successful in piloting not a few measures through the choppy if confined waters of academic debate. What he thought himself is given in two passages from letters written to the Chancellor in 1910: 'We are a curiously disjointed society in Oxford,' he writes, 'and we are apt to regard small things with a passionate interest and important things as matters for ingenious speculation.' And again: 'Congregation is an extraordinarily difficult body to deal with, and the one thing which my experience tells me is certain about it is that a man who speaks speaks at his peril, for there are no Whips, no clear party divisions, and every one comes to criticize what any one may venture to say.'

It was natural with his family traditions that Sir William Anson should interest himself specially in the connexion of Oxford with the Army, and in the training of candidates for Commissions at the University. He certainly did so. His correspondence shows that as early as 1888 he was in communication with the War Office as to proposed changes. The system then in force was that Oxford candidates for the Army were required to pass 'Moderations' and could then be accepted for Sandhurst and the Army. No more was necessary, though some voluntarily remained, and passing the further examinations took the B.A. degree. This system it will always be interesting to remember produced Earl Haig of Bemersyde, who passed all the

examinations for the B.A., but did not complete his residence. The chief effect of the proposed alterations was to secure that such candidates instead of leaving Oxford after Moderations should remain in residence and take a complete Academic course ending in the B.A. degree.

For this the Warden pressed. His sympathies were at all times with the higher military training of the nation. In his own College he pushed forward the teaching of Military History by financing a Lectureship which led up to the Chichele Professorship of Military History endowed by the College. He encouraged the University Volunteers. When the Officers' Training Corps was established he did all he could to aid it. In January of 1914 he headed, and materially assisted, a deputation from the University, the object of which was to urge upon Colonel the Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, then War Minister, the strong desirability of securing that the command of this Corps should be placed in the hands of a regular Officer on the Active List, and when the War Office subsequently haggled over the contribution by the University of a portion of the meagre payment of such an officer, in return for the services of a Corps through which it was getting gratis the value of thousands of pounds per annum, and which a few months later still was to prove worth millions, Sir William Anson offered, as usual, if there was any hitch, to find the necessary sum out of his own pocket. The University, to its credit, made not the smallest difficulty about finding the money, but the Warden's generosity was the same.

It is needless to say that Sir William Anson was not opposed to the development of Natural Science in Oxford, or blind to the necessity of providing

for its expansion. What he feared, perhaps unduly, was the gradual swallowing up of the Parks, the playground and breathing-space of both the University and the City, by the indefinite extension of the Museum with its Departments and Laboratories.

It is true that his own personal interests lay rather in the older studies—Classics, Philosophy, History, and Law—and he gave the impression that his interest in Science was at the best rather tepid and dutiful. But he said on one occasion that he would like to see the traditional connexion of All Souls with Medicine, represented in earlier days by the famous names of Linacre, Mayow, and Sydenham, and in the last generation by that of Acland, revived. And in Convocation he warned Oxford that if the legitimate demands of Science were not met she would be left behind.

There were in Oxford two schools of extremists, those who wished that Science should be kept at any rate within narrow bounds, who held that it was so expensive that if allowed to gain the upper hand it would engulf everything, that its further development should be left to the newer Universities; and on the other hand those who maintained that Science had never yet received anything like proper recognition, and that the bulk of the University and College endowments ought to be transferred with all speed from what they called 'useless' to useful studies.

Of these two parties, the University 'Parks'—so styled, antiquaries tell us, from their having been the assembling place of King Charles's artillery in the Civil War, and once more of late a military practising ground—were, in more than one sense, the battle-ground. Sir Henry Acland was never tired of recounting how in the fifties he had impressed on Mr. Gladstone that this open space had

been originally acquired for the purposes of Science, and was the natural area for the extension of the Museum 'as far as to the Cherwell'. He had been an advocate for removing the University 'Physic' or 'Botanic' Garden from its old site opposite Magdalen College and associating it with the other sciences. The University Observatory, with its domes or 'boilers', as the non-scientific irreverently called them, had been placed there after the munificent gift of his telescope by Dr. Warren de la Rue in 1873. It is not always remembered that the Parks had been planted originally on a scientific plan with specimen trees, with a view of illustrating British Arboriculture.

What the ordinary resident knew was that, not without opposition, the friends of the undergraduates and their athletics, especially Mr. Alfred Robinson of New College, and Mr. T. Case, Fellow and later President of Corpus, had secured the introduction of the two leading English games, cricket in the summer and football in the winter, into the Parks, and that they had become the chief recreation-ground of the University, while their walks afforded an agreeable and health-giving pleasance for the denizens of Oxford, a 'perambulatory' for nurses and children, in short, as a flysheet of the time described them, 'a playing-field for the young, and a happy haven of rest for the old, the weak, and the infirm.'

This view of the Parks as a true 'Park' and recreation ground, had been further strengthened by the acquisition in the eighties of a large additional territory on the other side of the Cherwell to prevent its being built over. This, it was understood, would some day be laid out as a continuation of the Park. Indeed the original purpose of the acquisition of the Parks as a site for Science, if that

was the original purpose, was for a number of years at any rate largely lost sight of. But as the scientific departments, more especially with the rapid increase under Sir John Burdon-Sanderson of the Medical School, and the simultaneous development of other branches of Science, called for new ground, for Physiology, for the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for Zoology and Botany, and for Human Anatomy, the conflict of interests began to revive and became chronic. In 1907 it was raised for a while on a side-issue, the request by the Professor of Astronomy (Dr. H. H. Turner) for a residential house adjoining the Observatory. In this question Sir William Anson was interested in a twofold manner, for he was, as a Radcliffe Trustee, one of the managers of the old picturesque 'Temple of the Winds', the Radcliffe Observatory on the Woodstock Road, and indeed had done much with the aid of a young and capable Observer and improved instruments to bring it up to date. The solution which not unnaturally commended itself to him was the closer co-operation of the University with the Trustees, and the ultimate amalgamation of the offices of Observer and Professor. This compromise, however, did not satisfy the friends of Astronomy and of Science generally, or the immediate desire of the Savilian Professor for the opportunity of prosecuting his duties at his own Observatory with the aid of a residence. The proposal for the house was definitely brought before the University and lost, and for the moment 'the Parks were saved'.

In the spring of 1912, however, a more serious crisis occurred, resulting in something like a deadlock between the two parties. This was the famous 'Battle of the Parks', as it was sometimes called.

Not one, but two, new sites were now required for large and adequate Laboratories, to accommo-

date two important sciences — Chemistry and Engineering. The Hebdomadal Council suggested spaces for both of them, involving the allocation of two considerable portions of the Parks. One argument, necessarily of weight, was that this territory already belonged to the University and that no new expenditure would be required for purchasing a site.

The proposals of the Council were submitted to the Curators of the Parks. That body 'distinguished'. It recognized that the claim of Chemistry was for an extension, rather than a new appropriation; that it was reasonable that any new Chemical Laboratories should be contiguous to those already existing, and that Chemistry, a 'key science' all-important to the other studies of the Museum, should be kept in close proximity with these.

But the Curators demurred to appropriating an entirely new portion of the Parks area to Engineering, and suggested that a site should be found for the Engineering Laboratory elsewhere.

For this, however, it was obvious that money, and in no inconsiderable amount, was required, and the 'friends of the Parks', as they were called, set themselves at once to find a suitable site and to raise the sum necessary for the purchase. The prime movers were Mr. R. W. Raper of Trinity and the Rev. A. H. Johnson, Curators of the Parks. They were joined at once by their common friend, Sir William Anson. It was in his name, as well as theirs, that the appeal was put out. He himself guaranteed to find £700 towards the purchase, and actually supplied £561 out of the whole sum, in round figures £2,600, ultimately paid. 'If it had not been for the liberality of the Warden of All Souls', wrote Mr. Raper at the time, 'and the energy of

the Rev. A. H. Johnson in collecting money, I could not have done anything.'

As matters stood the University followed the lead of the Curators of the Parks. It was willing, though reluctant, to grant the space required for Chemistry. It was not willing to give up an entirely new portion of the Parks for Engineering. Yet to leave that important study and its able Professor, only just introduced to Oxford, without a Laboratory was obviously a scandal. The situation was saved by the action of the three friends and their supporters. An excellent site was found and acquired. Professor Jenkin, only anxious to obtain his *pou stô*, expressed himself both publicly in Convocation, and by letter, especially indebted to the Committee, and in particular to Sir William Anson for his interest in the Engineering Department and for his large personal generosity.

It is worth noting that the Warden had some four years previously played a somewhat similar part and in aid of one of the same friends. In 1908 Mr. Arthur Johnson had been anxious to secure for the public enjoyment an open piece of ground, now happily designated 'Johnson's Piece', on the well-known Shotover Hill, contiguous to land already acquired by the University under the Vice-Chancellorship and through the energy of Mr. Jowett. Here again Sir William Anson had at once warmly encouraged the project, guaranteeing any sum out of the £487 15*s.* ultimately required, which might prove to be deficient, and actually paying what, if a modest amount, was the largest individual subscription contributed.

The strictly Parliamentary work of the Warden is, as has been said already, dealt with in another section. But there were, of course, occasions of smaller or greater moment when he was called on

as Burgess to assist the University in matters specially belonging to her own affairs, exterior or interior. Such were the question of the rights of the Bodleian, or of the Press, or the University representation in Parliament. On all these he had to keep a watchful eye, and was more than once invoked. One of the most important was perhaps the last—the promotion of a private Bill for the endowment of St. Edmund Hall by the establishment of a charge on the revenues of a benefice in the Isle of Wight, in lieu of the old arrangement by which the Principal of the Hall held the living himself and made provision for the duty by means of a curate, at his own discretion. The securing of an independent existence in perpetuity for this interesting Foundation, older by far than most of the Colleges, and the last surviving Public Hall, was a work in which the Warden also had a share, but it was really brought about at the eleventh hour, and after long and, as it appeared at one time, desperate discussion in Council, by the intervention of the Chancellor and the final public-spirited concession of Queen's College. It was when the provision mentioned above came to be discussed in Parliament, and the 'St. Edmund Hall and Gatcombe Rectory Bill' had to run the gauntlet of the House of Commons, that Sir William Anson really came in. The pages of the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates in the House of Commons, vol. liii, No. 56, and vol. lvi, No. 90, in June and July 1913, respectively, will indicate to those who explore them the mixture of tact, temper, quiet persistence, and personal influence by which, aided by Lord Hugh Cecil, he piloted the measure through the House. It was a task something like that performed by Sir John Mowbray for Hertford College in 1874, and he performed it not less well.

The Prince of Wales and Sir William Anson.

YET another special service Sir William Anson rendered, of a different order, which may well prove to be of more deep and far-reaching importance than was at first manifest. He received the Heir to the Throne, then an undergraduate, as the last of his long list of undergraduate pupils. When it was known that the Prince of Wales was coming into residence in the autumn of 1912, it fell to the writer of these pages to consider and arrange his courses of instruction, and the various agencies by which they should be carried out. His Royal Highness was, of course, to be prepared for public life, for the duties and the scope of Government in the widest sense, and for his own unique place in it.

Without entering into detail it may be said that these considerations dictated the main elements of his Oxford education.

This education had to be, to a great extent, practical, and the philosophy and political wisdom which others may gather largely from ancient studies must be found by him in modern languages and subjects. French, German, English Language and Literature, History, Geography, Economics, these were to be the main items of the curriculum. But it occurred at once that there offered in Oxford a unique opportunity of his acquiring some elements of Constitutional Law and Political Science from a man who was both one of the first living authorities and one of the best exponents of these subjects, who could speak alike from books and from Parliamentary and other experience, and who had singular and unrivalled personal gifts of imparting

knowledge, and engaging the interest of a learner. It was not a little to ask of Sir William, every moment of whose time in term was crowded with business and duties, and who in particular had only a few hours in every week in Oxford which he could call, in any sense, his own. But on being approached, he at once undertook to enterprise the task. He arranged to give the Prince an hour a week of personal instruction. This was done, as a rule, on Monday morning before Sir William went up on that day, as he usually did, to his duties in the House of Commons. The 'hour with the Warden' proved an institution, and a complete success. Sir William spoke of it not seldom to the writer, showed him the note-books employed, both his own and those of his pupil, and commented with pleasure on the progress of the work.

'The Prince wants to have a thorough knowledge of all the Constitutions' he said on one occasion in his bright and playful manner: 'we have long done the English Constitution, and several of those of the chief countries: last week I got up the Swiss Constitution for his benefit, and I am now engaged in acquainting myself with that of Japan for the same purpose.'

What was more, teacher and learner became fast personal friends, and the intimacy and warmth of their relation deepened through the two years, and culminated in the last Term. A note which the Prince wrote on June 5th, and for the publication of which permission has been given, may suffice to show that among the Warden's many mourners, old and young, few were more attached or sympathetic than the latest and youngest of his Oxford disciples.

It runs as follows:

Magdalen College.
June 5th, 1914.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

Thank you so much for your charming letter. I cannot tell you with what profound regret I received the terribly sad news last night. I found Sir William Anson a most distinguished, brilliant, and charming man, and I shall feel his loss as much as *all* at Oxford, and all communities in England, for I had got to know him so well and he was so kind to me. Collier gave me a very bad report of him yesterday, but I never thought the worst would come so soon. Sir William was a Fellow of Eton, of course, and a very patriotic and keen Etonian; a curious coincidence that he should have died on June 4th.

I remain,
Very sincerely yours,
EDWARD.

A bowl, which the Prince presented in the spring of 1915, 'to be kept, by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls, in memory of Sir William Anson,' forms a lasting record in the College of their relation, and of his gratitude.

One trait, it may be remarked in conclusion, useful to Oxford, the late warden possessed in ample measure: he was 'given to hospitality'. His wide parliamentary, general, and personal acquaintance enabled him to exercise this gift with special effect. Admirably aided in this matter by the ladies of his household, he introduced many persons of note to Oxford, and Oxford to many interesting guests, bringing together residents and visitors from out-

side in continual succession. In the later years of his life his home at Pusey, on the slope of the Vale of White Horse, and amid the woodlands of Berkshire, with their spring flowers and autumn sport, became an additional centre, a country house within easy reach to which he could run out for a few hours in term time, or whither in vacation he could invite some of his Oxford colleagues, like Falkland's learned friends at Great Tew, to 'continue their studies in a better air', and discuss academic questions or policy with a fresh eye and a cleared brain.

All this forms no inconsiderable total, and when taken along with Sir W. Anson's other record is remarkable. It would, however, be a mistake, as all who knew the Oxford of his day must feel, to confine any estimate of the value of his services to a computation of specific achievements. In public as in private careers there are the 'many little unrecorded acts' which indicate character and endear the doer. Sir William Anson was daily and hourly serving Oxford. He was a figure in her midst, an example, an influence, a standard, a referee. His very detachment gave him a certain advantage. A man of the world, free from the 'awkwardness and rust' which Lord Chesterfield charges against Universities, his courtesy and helpfulness caused him to be constantly appealed to as an arbiter in small things as well as great. On any public occasion it was felt that the University was well represented if it was represented by him. It is certain that when the sad news was heard with startling suddenness, first that he was seriously ill, and then that the end had come, Oxford was conscious of a very real eclipse, and the gathering at his funeral expressed no usual measure of gratitude for efficient and self-sacrificing service, as well as for true loyalty and warm personal friendship.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICS

POLITICS played a great part in the life of Sir William Anson, for, though his normal activities were academical, and his most important writings legal and constitutional, yet none who knew him at all intimately could doubt that the chief interest of his life was political. He was bred a Whig, and his natural temperament was unquestionably Whiggish, but his humour and his intelligence saved him from the worst faults of his political type, and his sympathies carried him far outside Whiggish notions of personal duty and public policy. His knowledge of English politics during the eighteenth century—the golden age of Whig statesmanship—was extensive and intimate, and this circumstance stimulated his interest in the politics of his own time, and coloured his estimates of his own contemporaries. The 'Introduction' to his valuable edition of the *Autobiography of the Third Duke of Grafton* is not merely an excellent study of a political epoch, but also an illuminating exposition of his own political attitude. It is candid, detached, and scrupulously fair. He neither idealizes with Burke nor denounces with Macaulay, but steers an even keel between the rival exaggerations of the modern Tory and the modern Liberal.

'The history of the reign of George III. has too often been written in the style of a political pamphlet. The modern Liberal idealizes the Rockingham Whigs, the modern Tory takes a kindly view of the king's friends, and

the narrative is coloured by the sympathies of the writer. But the men of that time are entitled to be judged on their merits, and their merits determined by the circumstances in which they lived, the difficulties with which they had to contend, and the spirit in which they met them.'

It is in this genuinely judicial temper, which is the mark of the true historian, that he himself invariably writes. The terse well-balanced sentences interpret what they describe. Their lucidity is the fruit of knowledge, and their precision discloses a master of clear and balanced thinking. His portraits are life-like. What, for instance, could be better than this account of the elder Pitt?

'Pitt no doubt possessed genius, but genius is not always the best companion for every-day life. For great occasions he was the greatest of living Englishmen; for ordinary business he was too often pompous, affected, intractable. . . . To the recognized Whig leaders Pitt was a disturbing element in party combinations. To these men such combinations were an end in themselves: a Ministry was a success if an adequate number of persons, whom it was important to satisfy, were satisfied with the offices conferred upon them, and the business of the country was somehow carried on. To Pitt a Ministry was an instrument for carrying into effect a great imperial policy, for furthering colonial enterprise, and for ensuring to us the command of the sea. So long as these ends were served, he did not care how the various offices were distributed, or whether the friends of Newcastle or of Bedford were most gratified by the distribution.'

Sir William Anson was, as became a disciple of the Whigs, no indiscriminating opponent of the party system, but he realized, as party politicians commonly fail to realize, the conditions under which alone party government is either reasonable in itself or compatible with the public interest. In the autumn of 1882 he disclosed his views in a

Lecture at the Working Men's College, Great Ormond Street, on 'English Political Parties in the Eighteenth Century'. He was an admirable and indefatigable public lecturer, and this lecture was an excellent example of his quality. We quote from the report in *The Times* (November 30, 1882):

'To those who thought that party principles were immutable, and that the Whig or Tory of the last century had handed down to the Liberal or Conservative of the present day the ideas which he considered to be the very root and groundwork of his political creed, it might seem strange that there was a time when the Tory was the strenuous advocate of non-intervention, and the Whig of a spirited foreign policy; when the Tory cried out for retrenchment and the reduction, if not the abolition, of standing armies, and the Whig was for maintaining, not our own army only, but the armies of other powers, and for spending money freely and not always judiciously in inducing other people to fight their battles. And further, the history of parties in the last century was the history of the growth of our own highly artificial and complex Constitution. Party government, the government of those opinions which are for the time held by the majority of our countrymen, had been worked out almost accidentally in our country, and had resulted in a system admirably adapted not merely for the expression, but also for the educating of opinion. A certain coherence of Ministers and of parties we had come to regard as almost a part of the order of nature, and it was therefore interesting to look back to a time when Ministers did not stand or fall together, when party discipline was practically unknown, nay, when the very necessity for it was hardly realized. Before the Revolution there were doubtless broad lines of division in the opinion of the country and of the House of Commons, and when the majority on one side grew large and angry, it might drive a Minister into exile or send him to trial, but the rise and fall of Ministers in direct correspondence with changes in public opinion was unknown. Tracing then the growth of party, he observed that during the reign of William, and still more in the time of Anne, the essentials of party government existed. By the essentials of party government he meant a broad and intelligible

difference of opinion, views of home and foreign policy of two distinct sorts, each of which might be held, and was held strongly, by honest and capable men. Having specified some of the chief grounds of divergence of opinion between the Tories and Whigs under William and the change which occurred in the positions of the two parties when Anne came to the Throne, the lecturer came to the period when the accession of George I again altered the balance of political power and threw it for nearly fifty years into the hands of the Whigs. The long Ministry of Walpole, seemingly uneventful as it was, did two things—it established the House of Hanover upon the Throne and it fixed the outlines of our modern Constitution, the government of the country by a coherent Ministry led by a united party. Walpole at last fell before the united attacks of the Tories and malcontent Whigs, and the result showed how dangerous the personal element in politics may become. Hatred of Walpole was the one common feeling in the motley groups of the Opposition. They had no policy. Finally the remnant of Walpole's Ministry, his friends the Pelhams, who had the machinery of corruption at their command, worked it to secure a majority in Parliament, and bought up the patriots on their own terms. The rise of Pitt and the events of his term of office were next touched on. His policy was not a Whig or Tory policy ; it was the policy of one man, who clearly saw the issues of the time, and had the capacity and character which carried a whole people along with him to their solution. For the state of things which followed on accession of George III the only remedy was the growth of genuine party feeling, accompanied by the loyalty and discipline which such feeling brings. A party based on such real principles began to grow up at this time; the modern Whig party, of which Burke was the exponent and Lord Rockingham the patron—the Whig party whose policy and traditions last to the present day. From the American war sprang a new set of issues, new party lines, the beginnings of modern politics. The chairman, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, observed that Sir W. Anson was the first Head of a College at either University who had lectured at that institution.'

His editorial work led straight to the famous con-

troversy as to the identity of 'Junius'. Sir William Anson was not satisfied with the common ascription of the 'Letters' to Sir Philip Francis, and plainly inclined to the view that the true author was Temple.

'I will not disturb the ashes of the Junius controversy except to express a conviction that whatever part Francis may have played in the composition of these letters, Temple directed their policy, supplied much of their information, and may conceivably have polished their invective. And it is the invective and nothing else that has made the letters famous. Of political wisdom there is little, if any; where the writer is maintaining a political opinion or a constitutional right, he seldom rises above the level of a clever advocate; but when character is to be assailed, the polish of his weapon shines forth and its cruel edge; and the sentences rise to the splendour of rhythm and balance, which have made Junius an English classic.'

When, at the General Election of 1880, Anson stood for Parliament as a Liberal candidate, he expressed 'a firm adherence to the principles of the Liberal party, as expounded by Lord Hartington', and it is certain that, as time went on, his suspicion and dislike of Gladstone's more adventurous politics steadily developed. In view of his attitude a few years later, when the Liberal party was rent in twain over the question of Irish government, it is worth while noticing the terms of his election address with respect to that subject:

'As regards home politics, I would anxiously seek to remove the impression which seems to exist in the minds of the Irish people that there is any antagonism between their interests and ours; but while I would carefully consider their demands, I would not entertain any measure tending to give legislative independence to Ireland.'

Those words may serve to describe his views on the Irish question until the end of his life.

The West Staffordshire candidature ended in defeat. It was Sir William Anson's first and last attempt to enter Parliament until many years later he came into the House of Commons as Burgess for the University of Oxford. From time to time attempts were made to induce him to accept nomination. Thus in 1885 he was urged to stand for Wolverhampton, and he might with general acceptance have stood for a division of Manchester; but his position as Warden of All Souls was not very easily to be reconciled with an active participation in party politics, and, as his influence in Oxford extended and his academic activities became more absorbing, he drew apart from the main stream of political life. But he remained in association with the Liberal party, and from time to time exerted himself in its interest. Yet he, in common with many others who followed Lord Hartington, was growing restive and uncomfortable in the Liberal camp. His political development was certainly assisted, and perhaps in some measure shaped, by frequent intercourse with Mr. Goschen, his neighbour in Sussex, for whom he cherished a warm personal regard, and whose political course he followed with agreement and admiration. In the early summer of 1885 there was much searching of heart among Hartingtonian Liberals over the apparent drift of Mr. Gladstone in the direction of Radicalism. The sonorous nebulosity of the great orator seemed only to darken counsel, and the ruthless lucidity of Mr. Chamberlain, then his most vigorous lieutenant, was neither attractive nor reassuring. On June 7 Sir William notes in his Journal a conversation with his friend, which indicates the set of the wind:

'Goschen said the reason why no one could pin Gladstone to anything in the Midlothian speeches was because he

qualified every statement with the words "in the main" or "under all the circumstances of the case".'

On the following day the Government was defeated on an amendment to the Budget, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, and in due course was succeeded by Lord Salisbury at the head of a Conservative administration. Those were the days of the Maamtrasna debates, and there was much searching of heart on both sides of the House. The menacing shadow of Ireland darkened over the political landscape. On July 7 Sir William was in town, and, as his manner was, attended a debate in the House of Commons:

'Heard Hicks Beach make the ministerial statement of what the Government could do: and Gladstone spoke at length and very effectively on foreign policy, the Conservative proposal to dispense with exceptional legislation for Ireland, and the general plans of the (Government). It was quaint to see him with his majority at his back blessing the new Government, telling them that they might do this and that, and bidding them enjoy office for a while. He looked at them like Miss Mills in *David Copperfield* as who should say "ye Mayflies, enjoy the brief sunshine of existence". Then Randolph Churchill spoke with some cleverness, and with more dignity and propriety than I should have expected of him.'

As the General Election drew near, political passion rose, and the mystery in which Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy was shrouded grew more difficult to justify and more painful to endure. 'I read Chamberlain's Hull speeches,' runs an unusually caustic note in the Journal, 'a demagogue, if there ever was one, quick-witted, half-educated, and wholly unscrupulous.' Sir William lived to revise his verdict on a statesman whose true greatness was as yet masked by the dubious prominence of a

party leader, and who was destined in later years to disclose those remarkable qualities of character and intellect which earned for him a place among the great Imperial statesmen of the time. No one, we may add, more entirely shared this view of Mr. Chamberlain than Sir William Anson. He went through the General Election of 1885 as a Liberal, assisting Liberal candidates, and noting the Conservative victories with chagrin and consternation. One entry in the Journal discloses a certain regret that he was not himself a combatant :

'Nov. 27, 1885. More elections and Conservative victories. I could have won that seat at Wolverhampton which was lost to the Liberals, and if I had stood as Mr. H. wanted me to do for a division of Manchester, should have been the only Liberal returned, but, perhaps, I'm better where I am, at least I hope so.'

His discontent with the Gladstonian leadership steadily deepened. 'It is a pity', he comments, echoing a conversation with Goschen, 'that at a time of life when Gladstone should be summing up its results, and leaving some solid legacy of political information to the statesmen of the future, he should be casting about for general phrases to conceal the divisions of the Liberal party.'

Early in 1886 the perplexed situation had been cleared up, the Conservative administration had resigned, Mr. Gladstone was again established in Downing Street with his Irish policy defined. The great issue of Home Rule, which altered the balance of political power in Great Britain, and effected the disruption of the Liberal party, had disclosed itself. Lord Hartington led the secession of the Liberal Unionists, and among his followers in Oxford was the Warden of All Souls. The sharp division of political opinion in the country was reflected in the

College. Sir William Markby and Buchanan[1] supported Mr. Gladstone: Sir William Anson and Professor Dicey stood by the Union. The trenchant criticisms of the latter must be counted among the factors which secured the defeat of the new policy. A generation has elapsed since the Home Rule question became the dominating issue of British politics. A Home Rule Bill has actually passed into law, but the Great War perforce suspended its operation, and the untoward course of Irish politics has renewed in an aggravated form the inherent difficulties which attach to Irish self-government. It is certainly too soon to pass a final verdict on the policy which Mr. Gladstone bound upon his party in 1886, and which remains unachieved in 1919. The Liberal Unionists took a bold and patriotic course, and history will not fail to do them justice. 'Idolatry of party is an amiable weakness, and constitutional pedantry is a failing that "leans to virtue's side". They only call for serious remonstrance when they obscure great issues in perilous times.' These words from a letter written to *The Times* by Sir William Anson about this time may serve to indicate his motives, and his sufficient apology. Looking back, we can see that his breach with Liberalism was unavoidable. Apart from the Irish question, he was wholly out of sympathy with the general spirit of the Liberal party. He distrusted its handling of agricultural questions: he disliked the secularist colour of its educational projects: he feared its reluctance to face the burdens of empire: he resented its indifference to the principles and precedents of our constitutional history: he was wholeheartedly opposed to its efforts at Disestablishing

[1] Buchanan had originally voted against Home Rule, but, like Sir G. O. Trevelyan, he afterwards reconciled himself to his party.

and Disendowing the National Church. Both his patriotism and his piety were enlisted against a party which seemed to drift towards cosmopolitanism and secularism. Something must also be allowed for the new associations into which his breach with his party brought him. It is also the fact that the Unionist party which grew out of the fusion of Conservatives and Liberals was in some important respects very different from the purely Conservative party which it replaced. Apart from Irish policy, a Whig might well find himself more at home in the Unionist party than in the Liberal. Two letters written in the last year of his life explain his views on the Irish question with the precision that never failed him.

THE IRISH CRISIS.

A SETTLEMENT BY CONSENT.

To the Editor of 'The Times'.

[December 9, 1913.]

SIR,

A settlement of the Irish question by consent is what many of us so greatly desire that certain obvious difficulties in the way of it are apt to be overlooked. If I state them frankly it is not because I wish to enhance them, but because the realization of difficulties is a necessary step towards their solution. Ministers have made overtures for what is called a 'free and frank interchange of opinion' with the Unionist leaders; and on Friday Mr. Asquith accepted some conditions laid down in very general terms by Sir Edward Carson as material for a settlement. He stated at the same time in impressive language his desire to raise the subject out of the atmosphere of party controversy.

This is the spirit in which great constitutional questions should be approached; but it has not always prevailed among Ministers and their supporters, hence the first obstacle to a settlement.

'ALL SOULS'

From the original drawing by 'Spy' for 'Vanity Fair', June 13, 1901

For the Home Rule Bill has twice passed through the House of Commons; amendments have been moved and warnings uttered by the Opposition; the amendments have been rejected, the warnings derided, and the Bill has been driven through, in parts undiscussed, under the guillotine. Yet Sir Edward Grey reproaches the Opposition for not making further suggestions. If the Government want the discussion reopened it is surely for them to begin.

But let us ignore this preliminary difficulty and assume that negotiations commence. Is either party in a position to discuss the matter freely? Mr. Asquith must consider not only the terms which he would like to offer or those which the Unionist leaders might be disposed to accept, but the terms which the Nationalist leaders would regard as permissible. As Mr. Redmond stands behind the Ministerialists, so the Parliament Act lowers over the Unionists. They may be told that, if they will not accept such concessions as Mr. Asquith is able or willing to make, the Bill will become law in the course of the year, and they will then share the responsibility for any trouble that may arise.

With the best intentions it is not easy to dissociate the discussion from party considerations, or to forget the unhappy results of a former conference, into which the Unionist leaders went blindfold, without making any provision for the possible breakdown of negotiations.

But there are other difficulties of a practical character which attend each of the two suggested solutions of the problem—the exclusion of Ulster, and the adoption of a Federal system for the United Kingdom.

The exclusion of Ulster might avert some obvious perils, but it could not effect a settlement by consent; for Unionists have insisted, from the first, that the probable resistance of Ulster was one, but only one, of many grave objections to the Bill. To accept the Bill with the addition of words which excluded Ulster from its operation would mean that we withdrew all other objections to the Bill, and that we disregarded the interests of Unionists in the rest of Ireland, who would lose such protection as the voice of Ulster could afford them in an Irish Parliament.

The construction of a Federal system for England,

Scotland, and Ireland, and perhaps Wales, would, as Sir Edward Grey points out, take time and thought, and would unduly postpone the settlement of the Irish question. But those who are prepared to accept Federalism as a solution are entitled to ask that the Home Rule Bill should contain nothing which is incompatible with a Federal scheme, and I doubt if this condition could be satisfied without such changes in the structure of the Bill as would make it a very different measure to that which the Nationalists have been led to expect.

Then there is another difficulty which is of the Government's own creation. We cannot forget that our Constitution, which urgently needs revision, has been dealt with in this respect by Mr. Asquith as though it were a part of the machinery of party.

The Parliament Act was avowedly passed, not to adjust the relations of the two Houses, but to carry legislation needed 'for us who are now in power'. The reform of the House of Lords has been postponed for Home Rule, because the Nationalist vote is necessary to the existence of the Government. A Federal system for the United Kingdom is contemplated, postponed, and its fulfilment jeopardized under the same malign influence. The scandals of our representative system are met by a Bill which does no more, and is intended to do no more, than diminish the voting power of the opponents of the Government.

This retrospect is not of good omen for the discussion of a constitutional change between Unionists who have given warnings in vain, and Ministerialists who are learning wisdom, perhaps too late. A General Election, and a 'frank interchange of views' with the electors, would be more honourable to the Government and more satisfactory to the country.

Prudence warns us that we should let Ministers abide the consequences of their blunders. Public spirit tells us that we should run some risks for the common good. Only, if the Unionist leaders are to go into these negotiations, let them go to do something more than patch up a present difficulty. If Ulster is to be excluded, the Bill must be recast to provide protection for the Unionists in the rest of Ireland. If Federalism is the goal, the course must be kept clear for the attainment of that end. If any

settlement is to be durable, the Second Chamber must be brought back to life, and that soon.

If conference brings about a settlement, the Unionists become parties to the Bill. If conference fails, the failure will be laid to their charge. They need to look ahead, to walk warily, and always to keep in mind the bitter lesson of 1910.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

WILLIAM R. ANSON.

December 7.

RESISTANCE OF ULSTER.

A COMPARISON AND AN ANALYSIS.

To the Editor of 'The Times.'

[March 31, 1914.]

SIR,

It is unfortunate that supporters of the Ministry, and especially the Labour members, seem unable to believe that any one with whom they disagree can be supposed to act upon conviction, or with any other motive than to embarrass the Coalition. This attitude of mind leads to the wholly false analogy drawn between the employment of troops in aid of the civil power to deal with the conditions which may arise out of a strike and their employment to coerce Ulster. It also leads to a complete misapprehension of the strength of the case of Ulster.

Take the case of a strike. A body of men in the course of a quarrel with their employers, endeavour to deprive the community of some of the necessaries of life or of the means of locomotion, or forcibly to prevent those who desire to work from working, or they break into riot and threaten the security of person and property. Under such circumstances, if the civil power is not strong enough, military force is called in to secure the rights of the community, or of the individual, or to repress disorder.

Compare this with the case of Ulster. A body of good and loyal citizens find that they are about to be driven outside the pale of the Constitution; they are not left to choose their own government, but are to be placed under

a government which they distrust and abhor. We know enough of the men to whom this government will be entrusted, and of the methods which they have employed in the past, to realize the grounds of this distrust and abhorrence. Or compare the case of Ulster with that of our American Colonies. The Colonies revolted because, without their consent, Parliament imposed upon them a small tax to meet in some degree the cost of their defence. We now speak of their resistance with respect, but we are handing over the Ulstermen, without their consent, to a Nationalist Government, much as Lombardy and Venice were assigned to Austria at the Congress of Vienna to suit political convenience.

It is idle to compare the resistance of Ulster to a strike, and if we compare the position of Ulster with that of the American Colonies the case of Ulster is infinitely stronger.

If the Covenanters meet the treatment which I have described with armed resistance, I for one believe, with a conviction which no results of a Referendum or a General Election can alter, that they are justified in their resistance.

But I am told that Parliament has assigned these men to a Nationalist Government, and that their resistance is a breach of the law. I reply that no Parliament is entitled to transfer a free, loyal, and law-abiding community from one form of government to another against its will. Cession of territory at the close of an unsuccessful war may be a painful necessity, but the cession of Ulster to the Nationalists, as a term in a Parliamentary bargain, and in face of the determined opposition of the men who have made the prosperity of Ulster, is an outrage which takes us outside the accustomed bounds of political obligation.

Ministers know that the passing of the Home Rule Bill will be equivalent to a declaration of war; and we know now that some Ministers have tried to anticipate the reception which awaits their measure; and that officers have been offered the alternative of undertaking 'active operations' against Ulster or accepting dismissal from the Service.

We may note also the skill with which this action was planned to meet alternative political exigencies.

If the officers before whom this choice was placed had expressed a readiness to take part in these 'active operations', the presence of the troops which were to be moved

into Ulster might have provoked the Covenanters into hasty and premature action, and resistance might have been crushed once for all. If, on the other hand, the officers accepted dismissal, it was possible to raise the cry that the Army was resisting the will of the people, and on this cry to reunite the Liberal and Labour Parties and to win an election.

But have we not had enough of this bargaining and manœuvring in the face of great national peril?

If, to please the Nationalists, the resistance of Ulster is to be extinguished in blood, what of the future peace development of Ireland?

If, to please the Labour Party, the Army is to be destroyed, what of the defences of the country?

The plain citizen may well ask why these great issues should have been raised merely to keep a Radical Government in office.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

WILLIAM R. ANSON.

March 30.

CHAPTER VII

PARLIAMENT

WHEN Sir John Mowbray died, in April 1899, there was a general feeling, both within and without the University, that Sir William Anson ought to be his successor. His position as a resident holding an important academical position, and intimately acquainted with the life of Oxford, commended him to that large number of persons who thought that, if University representation was to be preserved, it must bring into Parliament a dis-

tinctive type of member, qualified to represent in its debates those intellectual interests which find their principal home in the Universities. His personal qualifications were indisputable. It was not, however, without some difficulty that he was persuaded to accept nomination. The pressure of his friends within the University, and of a large volume of Oxford opinion in the country, which found expression in a meeting of London Unionists on April 28, overcame his opposition, and, when the President of Corpus consented to accept the Vice-Chancellorship which his entrance into Parliament would compel him to resign, there was no further difficulty in the way of his election. On May 11, 1899, he was unanimously elected, and on the following day took his seat in the House, where he was introduced by Mr. J. G. Talbot and Mr. C. A. Whitmore, representing respectively the University and the College.

April 22, 1899. 'The evening paper brought news of Sir John Mowbray's death.'

'After dinner in College Burrows talked to me about the vacancy in the University representation, and asked if I was disqualified. I said I was, and we discussed the chances of Hugh Cecil.'

April 25. 'Warren urged me to come forward for the vacancy. I said "No". . . . Returned to find kind letters from Spooner and Holland about the University seat. I replied that my place was here.'

April 27. 'Sir John Mowbray's funeral.'

April 29. 'Received a letter from Goschen by early post telling me that the London Unionists wanted me to stand, and urging me to do so. Very disturbing. Went to Chapel, and when I came back found *The Times* full of this meeting, with an article saying that for the benefit of the University representation and to save a bitter contest I ought to stand. After breakfast Magrath called to say that if I obeyed the University summons, I should be accepted by the other side. The Fates are against me.

Then Chest—Prison—Bench—and Nominating Committee. 10—4. After the last Lock examined me a little in my Church views. Then to town to the Academy dinner, where Goschen and Hicks Beach wanted to know what I would do. . . . Back by midnight train.'

April 30, Sunday. 'Found on my return 2 a.m. a formal invitation from the Unionists, sent me by the President of St. John's. Went to bed, and was up for Chapel. Willert came back with me and stayed the night. I had a pile of letters urging me to stand, and there seems no help for it. After the Bampton Lecture came Thesiger with a report of what had passed at the London meeting, and I settled to write an acceptance to the President of St. John's. This I did, and then arranged to meet Bright as to the transfer of the Vice-Chancellorship. He came to see me, and at the end he said much to my surprise that he must take time to consider. I went to see the Provost of Queen's, who said that it was pretty certain Bright would accept, so I went to dinner, talked over the matter with Whitmore, who was encouraging as to duties, etc. When I came back to my house I found a refusal from Bright. This upsets the coach.'

May 1. 'Thought the matter over during a sleepless night and came to the conclusion that, if Fowler also refused, I must withdraw, for to go to men who had not undertaken to be Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and to call upon them to take up this great office on the spur of the moment, would not be right to them or respectful to the University. So I rose early and sent a note to Fowler to tell him what had happened, and to my great surprise received a most cordial response. I was surprised, because when he accepted the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor he told me that it was only for a year, and that he should never take the Vice-Chancellorship.

'At 9 the President of Corpus came to see me, and the matter was settled subject always to Lord Salisbury's consent. I wrote to him and asked his leave, and sent the form of appointment of my successor. I sent these up to town by Frank, and at luncheon time received a telegram to the effect that the appointment was signed. . . . Began to feel rather disestablished.'

May 4. 'Went to Convocation and transferred my office to the President of Corpus. My speech was well received,

and every one is very much pleased that Fowler should become Vice-Chancellor.'

May 11. 'Back to Oxford after a quiet morning, and arrived just after the election had taken place. The Sub-Warden proposed me, and Burrows seconded me.'

May 12. 'Went up to town by 10.55, met my brother and lunched with him at the New University. Then to Brooks's and waited for Whitmore to take me to the House of Commons. This small ceremony was a very nervous affair. I was taken to the House by Whitmore, introduced to various policemen and doorkeepers, and then taken into the House to a sort of limbo where a man may sit who has not yet formally taken his seat. There was some private business, and a division during which I sat in Walrond's room, then questions, and then came my introduction. I walked up between Talbot and Whitmore bowing in the right places, and both sides applauded, and then I took an oath, signed my name, shook hands with Goschen, Balfour, and the Speaker, and emerged safe and sound behind the Speaker's chair. I was immediately asked to dinner by a member whom I did not know, Sir E. Lawrence. Whitmore told me I should accept, and so I did. Then I went about the House. Lecky was very kind in showing me round, and I listened to discussions on the Finance Bill, and took part in some divisions. Then I walked back to my lodgings with Mark Wood, and dressed and dined rather late with my unknown host.'

This pleasant start in an atmosphere of general goodwill was followed up by a Parliamentary career of fifteen years (1899–1914), which, if not so brilliantly successful as his friends desired, was both dignified and serviceable. He certainly liked the House of Commons, and enjoyed it. The interplay of debate, with its surprising disclosures of personal character and ability, never failed to interest him. He liked the sense of being at the centre of things, and indulged his humorous fancy with the spectacle of politics no longer as he had known them in literature and legal theory but in actual process. It is, he notes, 'very interesting

to see Balfour's management of the House, and also how little the Whigs were able to forecast what was going to happen'. 'It is very like being at school again.'

Parliament widened his range of personal acquaintance, and enriched his life with the renewal of some old friendships, and the creation of some new ones. He was readily attracted by younger men of ability, and they drew to him. His life in Oxford had, perhaps, stimulated the college tutor's interest in undisclosed or half-disclosed ability which coincided in his mind with the more normal sentiments out of which friendship is fashioned. His approval was generous, but his censure was severe. The comments on contemporaries which are scattered in his journal and correspondence are never ill-natured, or, allowing for his point of view, unfair, but his prejudices were strong on some subjects, and he could give them effective expression. Beneath his rather formal manner and aspect of almost deterrent propriety was a very warm heart and a fund of generous sympathy. Of an excellent but boring peer he remarked, 'I agreed with him and he with me, but *he agreed at considerable length*'. Of a prominent but somewhat eccentric Head Master his judgement ran, 'I think his interests are above his abilities, and am not confident as to his judgement'. On one occasion he dined at the Mansion House, and found himself sitting next an eminent surgeon who 'had just delivered a passionate pronouncement against the use of alcohol in the mildest form as a beverage'. He 'noticed with some satisfaction that he drank champagne as often as it came round, and like a loyal subject toasted the King in a glass of port'.

The following has an interest of its own:

March 16, 1909. 'Not well enough to start (to attend the funeral of Mr. Arnold Forster), for I had a great regard for Arnold Forster, a vehement worker with a rasping manner, but a good fellow at heart. I don't think he had a fair chance at the War Office, or was allowed, as Haldane has been, to play his own game. In fact, when we were both in office I had a sort of common feeling for him.'

An annoying episode, which caused much merriment inside the House, and general amusement without it, may perhaps be worthy of mention. In May, 1905, he 'fell into a police trap' while motoring from Oxford to Pusey in company with some guests, among whom was Sir Robert Finlay, the Attorney-General. The 'road hog' was then much in the public eye, and the spectacle of distinguished legal luminaries being prosecuted for 'scorching' was piquant.

June 5, 1905. 'Much excitement in the House over my motor-car prosecution, and the fact that Finlay was involved. I had instructed Baines to go and defend me, and I heard in the course of the afternoon that I had been fined £1. Questions were asked at the adjournment. I was not there as I said that my department was not concerned with motors, but Alick Hood created the impression that I was in gaol.'

June 6. 'I had to answer two questions about Welsh schools, and was greeted with prolonged cheers, owing to the fact that I was at large.'

No one felt more keenly the impropriety of his situation, and none enjoyed the humour of it more thoroughly.

SOME NOTES ON SIR WILLIAM ANSON'S PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

By the Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther.

Sir John Mowbray sat for the University of Oxford from 1868 to 1899. For the first ten years his colleague in the representation was Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and when he left the House of Commons on being created Earl of Cranbrook, his place was taken by Mr. J. G. Talbot, who held the seat from 1878 to 1910. On the death of Sir J. Mowbray, who was then 'the Father of the House', in the spring of 1899, Sir William Anson was returned unopposed, and held the seat until his death in 1914. Sir William Anson at that time was classified as a Liberal Unionist, and it was therefore a violation of the understanding which had existed between the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties that a Liberal Unionist should succeed to a Conservative seat, but as time went by his Liberalism sat rather lightly upon him, and there was never any disposition to contest the seat during the years that he represented the University.

When Sir W. Anson presented himself at the bar of the House, to take the oath and his seat, Mr. Labouchere, who always sat on the front bench below the gangway, inquired of his neighbour who he was. On being told, he said, 'Ah! yes! a man who has written a learned book on the "Law and Constitution". What a very different thing he will find it from what he imagined it to be!' Sir W. Anson did not allow time for much water to run under Westminster Bridge before he took part in a debate. On June 26, Sir John Gorst, who

was then Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, moved the second reading of the Board of Education Bill—a Bill whose object was to convert the Committee of Council into a Board, to transfer to that Board all the powers and duties of the Committee of Council relating to elementary education, to transfer to it also the powers of the Charity Commissioners to deal with all educational endowments, to give certain powers of inspection of secondary schools, and to enable it to appoint a consultative committee—in other words, to constitute the Board of Education very much as we now know it. Mr. Jebb, the member for Cambridge University, spoke early in the debate, and he was immediately followed by Sir W. Anson.

His intervention in the debate made a favourable impression on the House. His speech was short and to the point; he blessed the Bill generally, and made some very sensible observations about the teaching profession, confessing that though all teachers were probably 'faddists' in that each man believed in his own method, yet that it was possible to learn how to teach, and that although 'there are born teachers and professors like Arnold and Jowett, just as there are born orators and statesmen', yet that, as there are also a considerable number of persons who, if they are modest and industrious, may in time become useful members of the House of Commons, there are a great many who, if they are taught how to teach, may become useful if not eminent in their vocation.

The epithets which Sir William applied to others might well be applied to himself; 'modest and industrious' form a very good summary of his own parliamentary career. Sir William did not begin his speech with the usual apologia in which a new member asks for the indulgence of the House, and

throws himself upon its mercy. He wasted no time, but plunged 'in medias res'. He was followed in debate by Mr. Bryce, who began by paying him a well-deserved compliment, and referred to his speech as 'lucid, interesting, and eminently practical'.

The Bill was sent to a Standing Committee of which Sir William Anson was nominated a member, but came up again for discussion in the House on August 1 'on consideration', or, as it is sometimes called on 'report', and Sir W. Anson again took part in the debate, proposing an amendment to establish under the Board three separate departments for Secondary, Technical, and Elementary Education. Sir J. Gorst, however, declined to hamper the new President of the Board, whoever he might be, with this restriction, and the amendment was not pressed. On a subsequent amendment on the same night, moved by Mr. Cripps (now Lord Parmoor), Sir W. Anson ranged himself on the side of the Government in resisting it, for which course he was made the subject of some 'chaff' at the hands of Lord Hugh Cecil, destined later to become his colleague in the representation of the University. This Bill was subsequently read a third time, and passed into law. Thus ended Sir W. Anson's first session.

It must be admitted that Sir William suffered from some physical deficiencies which always handicapped him as a parliamentary debater. His knowledge of constitutional, educational, and legal matters was extensive, his views commended themselves to persons of common sense, his command of language was adequate, the precision of his utterance agreeable, but he had not the strength of voice or the commanding presence which would enable him to impose himself on the House. He

could not 'make' himself heard in a full House, and consequently he never achieved the position to which his undoubted ability and industry entitled him.

The calm session of 1899 was followed by a short but stormy session in October, which followed almost immediately after the declaration of war against President Kruger and the Transvaal Republic. Sir William took no part in the debates, though he was in attendance, and supported the Government in the division lobby. During the session of 1900, Sir William found several topics to interest him. The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Bill, the Youthful Offenders Bill, and the Money Lending Bill, gave him opportunities for joining in debate, of which he availed himself to a modest but doubtless useful extent.

At the dissolution, which occurred in the autumn, Sir William Anson was again returned unopposed, with Mr. Talbot as his colleague. Another brief session in 1900, devoted entirely to purposes connected with the Boer War, gave him no further opportunity for speech.

Early in the session of 1901 the Government introduced a Bill to render the reappointment to offices under the Crown unnecessary in consequence of the demise of the Crown. The Bill was introduced by the then Attorney-General (Sir R. Finlay), and was of a somewhat technical character, but it gave an opportunity to Sir William Anson to expound with his usual lucidity some of the knotty points connected with the acceptance of office under the Crown and the taking of the oath of allegiance, and he was able to dissipate the fears and suspicions of some opponents of the Bill, who believed, or professed to believe, that some dark purpose underlay the measure.

During the session of 1901, the educational world was much perturbed by the judgement of a Court of Law which upheld the decision of one of the Local Government Board auditors, Mr. Cockerton, to the effect that School Boards could not employ the funds produced by the school rate for giving instruction in any of their schools, which was not elementary, and the Court also decided that School Boards could not give any instruction of any kind whatever to persons who were not 'children'. The Government considered it necessary to regularize the position by a Bill confirming the judgement, and handing over to the care of the local authority for secondary education the pupils who had hitherto been obtaining secondary education in elementary schools.

The second reading of the Bill was taken on July 8 and 9, and on the latter day Sir William Anson took up his parable in support of the Government proposal. He pointed out that many educationalists appeared to attach more importance to the machinery than to the results to be achieved, he had 'no sympathy with a technical or secondary school which could not hold its own against legitimate competition, or with the bouncing, healthy, aggressive School Board, which attracts pupils by underselling its rivals, or with the valetudinarian voluntary school which suggests in querulous tones that no one ought to be better educated than it can afford to educate them itself'. There was, however, a difficulty which had to be met, and the Government proposal offered the best solution. The criticism of it had been perverse. Before long it would be necessary to have a large measure dealing with all education—elementary, intermediate, and secondary. The Bill was read a second time by a majority of 118, and after rather a stormy

passage through Committee, in which Sir William Anson took only a small part, it passed into law.

The session of 1902 proved to be an eventful one for Sir W. Anson. The Government introduced their Education Bill early in the session, and on May 8 the Bill was read a second time by a majority of 237 after a prolonged debate. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to its provisions. The abolition of school boards, the placing of voluntary schools for certain purposes of expenditure on the rates, the constitution of the voluntary school managers, the religious difficulty, and so forth, are still so fresh in our memories that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them.

Sir W. Anson spoke on the second reading. He emphasized the necessity of placing both elementary and secondary education under one authority, the County Council, the desirability of commencing with the proper organization of elementary education, the necessity therefore of placing board schools and voluntary schools under the same authority, the impossibility of abolishing the voluntary school system except at a prohibitive cost, and, passing on to secondary education, he professed himself satisfied with the foundation laid by the Bill. The Committee stage of the Education Bill began on June 2—two days after the signature of the peace which concluded the Boer War, but the career of the Bill was troubled, stormy, and lengthy. Altogether some forty-five sittings were devoted in whole or in part to this stage of the Bill—an unprecedented and unwarrantable expenditure of public time caused by the prolonged and bitter opposition shown by a comparatively small minority of the House. An autumn session was devoted to the Bill. Before the House rose for the recess on August 8 twenty sittings in Committee had been

devoted to the Bill, and only the first seven clauses of the Bill had been disposed of. Sir W. Anson on many occasions had given valuable assistance to the Government by his contributions to the debates. His speeches were lucid, to the point, never aggressive, and never dealing in personal 'scores' or attacks, which so often characterize the speeches of those members who take a frequent part in debates. His ability, knowledge, and experience marked him out as one likely to receive advancement to the Treasury bench, and during the recess his opportunity came. Sir John Gorst, who had assisted Mr. Balfour in piloting the Bill through the Commons, although an extremely able parliamentarian, had on many occasions fallen into the temptation of saying 'smart' things at the expense of his chiefs, and it is possible that in the Education Department his nimble mind found the slower movement of his chief, the Duke of Devonshire, somewhat restrictive. The secrets of the working of the office have not yet been revealed, but, at all events, during the recess Sir J. Gorst surrendered the post of Vice-President of the Council, and Sir W. Anson succeeded him as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education.

Sir W. Anson was naturally endowed with those qualities which go to make a good official; courtesy and caution, experience and precision, industry and affability, were all to be found in him, and if only Nature had endowed him with a more sonorous voice and a more masterful bearing, he might have made a great name on the Treasury bench.

On October 16 the discussions in Committee on the Education Bill were resumed, and dragged their weary way along, with very little intermission, until November 12. On the following day closure by compartments or, as it is now nicknamed, the

'guillotine', was applied, and five clauses were added to the Bill, and on subsequent days the remaining clauses of the Bill were passed, until finally on November 20, at the end of the forty-fifth sitting, the Bill passed out of Committee. A few more days sufficed to dispose of the remaining stages of the Bill, and on December 18 it received the Royal Assent, and Parliament was prorogued.

Whatever may be thought of the system of closure by compartments, if it ever was justifiable, it was so in this case. Here was a Bill supported by a very large majority of the House; only some 29 per cent. of the House were opposed to it. The Bill only contained twenty clauses, of which some four or five raised large points of controversy. A vast amount of time was devoted to the Bill, and unless a comparatively small opposition was to be allowed to paralyse Parliament and nullify its wishes, there was no other course possible but closure. During this eventful autumn session Sir W. Anson was constantly 'on his legs'. It was his duty to assist Mr. Balfour in conducting the Bill, to reply on behalf of the Government to the amendments moved, to attend the almost daily conferences, either with the officials of the department or with dissatisfied members of his own party, and in fact to be the second in command, and in the absence of Mr. Balfour to take control of the Bill. There was also the daily questioning on departmental matters, which entailed upon Sir W. Anson the duty of preparing the replies and delivering them, or at all events of mastering the proposed reply and being able to stand any cross-examination to which it might give rise.

In the following session of 1903 Sir W. Anson was kept very busy not only in answering numerous questions on administrative matters, but in piloting

the London Education Bill through the House. Sir W. Anson being the representative of the Education Department in the House, this task fell to him. On April 7 he introduced the Bill. It was a Bill dealing with the London School Board, and substituting for that authority a committee of the London Council, constituted of some members of the L.C.C. itself, representatives of the Borough Councils, and an admixture of experts. In his opening speech Sir W. Anson had been mildly sarcastic at the idea of popular election being the best method for obtaining educational guidance, and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who followed him in debate, professed to find in these harmless observations a serious attack upon all representative institutions and upon the House of Commons in particular. The Bill was read a second time on April 29, after another speech from Sir W. Anson made in reply to Mr. Sydney Buxton, who had compared Sir W. Anson to Rehoboam. The Bill was hotly contested in Committee and on report, but eventually passed into law at the end of the session. Sir W. Anson was of course constantly called upon to defend its provisions, which he did with a perfect command of temper, and a dexterity derived from a thorough experience of his theme.

The next session (1904) was for Sir W. Anson one of comparative calm. There was no legislative programme for him to take charge of, no contentious Bill to defend, but at question time he was kept fully occupied. Passive resistance, local disputes, religious squabbles, the friction caused by bringing the new Education Acts into operation, provided plenty of material for questioners and of opportunity for the soft answer which turneth away wrath, and no man could give the latter better than Sir W. Anson.

In the following session (1905) the stream of questions was again poured upon the representative of the Education Department. It was only on the Consolidated Fund Bill in March that he had any opportunity of speaking in debate. The occasion arose in respect of a discussion upon the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee and the suggestion for the feeding of school children. The then departmental view as expressed by Sir W. Anson was that it was undesirable to relieve the parents of their plain duty towards their children, and that in cases of extreme poverty recourse should be had to the Poor Law.

In the winter Mr. Balfour resigned, his Government came to an end, and Sir W. Anson's connexion with the Department ceased. He might well look back with satisfaction to the four arduous sessions in which he had been responsible for its work and to the great measures of educational organization which he had been instrumental in placing on the Statute book. As for his period of administration, he described it during the course of a speech made subsequently as follows:

'I may state my own experience. I held office in rather troubled times when the Act of 1902 was coming into operation, when there was suspicion as to its working in the minds of many who afterwards accepted it cordially. Every tremor of an irritable conscience or anxious susceptibility vibrated to Whitehall was communicated to me, and I can say that I spared no pains to investigate every alleged grievance. I left off with a feeling of wonder at the breadth of imagination and of pity for the depth of credulity of my countrymen.'

Under Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's new Government, which came into power in 1906 with a huge majority behind it, Mr. Birrell became President of the Board of Education, and it fell to his

lot to introduce the new Education Bill on April 9 that year. Sir W. Anson followed him in debate, and at once fastened upon the weak spot in the Government Bill, viz. the abolition of the voluntary schools and of all doctrinal religious teaching in school hours. This was indeed the main topic of the session. The Bill was hotly fought all through the Committee stage, but finally went to the Lords on July 30. It returned in such an emasculated condition that it was hardly recognizable, and after much indignation had been poured on their Lordships' heads and their amendments rejected *en bloc* —a very unusual proceeding—the Bill dropped and was never again heard of.

It would be tedious to trace Sir W. Anson's speeches during this long controversy. The theme with which he had started the opposition to the Bill was amplified and repeated as the different amendments gave occasion, just as in a great symphony the musical expert can trace through the variations and permutations, the embroidery and divagations, the *fortissimos* and *pianissimos* of an orchestra, the main theme or themes disguised but ever present.

The great education controversy of 1902–6 came to an end with the annihilation of Mr. Birrell's Bill, and has fortunately so far not been revived. The Act of 1902, bitterly opposed as it was, still stands; passive resistance has almost entirely disappeared; the dreaded religious controversies in parish schools have scarcely ever arisen, and the dire prognostications of its opponents have never come to pass. It must, however, be admitted that the Education Act of 1902 was one of the principal causes, if not the principal cause, of the *débâcle* of Mr. Balfour's Government at the general election of 1905. The Nonconformist party in Great Britain had, since the Home Rule controversy arose, voted in the

main Unionist from 1886 to 1902, but with the fear of the effects of the 1902 Act constantly nibbling at its heart, and the well-organized scare of ritualistic clergy in every country parish violating the consciences of the little Nonconformists attending the parish schools, the Nonconformist party transferred its support and its votes to the Home Rulers in the belief that Home Rule, if it ever came, was a lesser evil than Ritualism, and that rates could properly be paid for colourless religious teaching, but not for definite doctrinal teaching. Sir W. Anson's work remains as a landmark of sound educational organization, but also as a monument of his party's political Sedan.

In the immediately succeeding years, from 1905 to 1910, the depleted state of the ranks of the Unionist leaders and party compelled Sir W. Anson to take a considerable share in the debates, and in the duty of keeping the views of his party to the fore. His speeches in fighting the 1906 Education Bill have been already referred to, but there were many matters arising out of educational administration and legislation which called for and received his constant attention and advice. Proposals for grants to elementary schools in single-school areas, the grant of £100,000 towards building undenominational schools, the abolition of tests in training colleges, an Education Bill for Scotland, the Irish University Bill, Mr. Runciman's attempt to solve the education difficulty by a compromise, together with numerous other smaller points of dispute, gave occasion to Sir W. Anson for speeches and counsel. He did not, however, confine himself entirely to this one topic. On the Criminal Court of Appeal Bill he expressed himself as doubtful of its success as he feared it would be overburdened with work. During the discussions on the Deceased

Wife's Sister Bill he sought to safeguard the position of the clergy against being compelled to celebrate these marriages if they disapproved of them. On the proposal for the readjustment of the relations between the Lords and the Commons he warned the country of the dangers of substituting a written for an unwritten constitution, and of placing too much power in the hands of a single chamber. He had an encounter with the Attorney-General (Sir W. Robson), in which his historical knowledge and constitutional lore stood him in good stead. During the prolonged committee stage of Mr. Lloyd George's Finance Bill in 1909 he frequently took a part, and criticized particularly the complicated and difficult system of land valuation which that Bill sought to set up. After the Bill had been rejected by the House of Lords, and after a dissolution of Parliament in January 1910, the relations of the two Houses were again fully discussed, and Sir W. Anson made an important speech, on April 6 of that year, in which he maintained the proposition that the Lords were entitled by virtue of ancient rights which had never been foregone to reject a Finance Bill if it seemed good to their Lordships so to do.

Towards the end of the session of 1910 the Conference between the party leaders, which had occupied some months, broke down, and it became apparent that no agreement could be reached for settling the deep differences between the two Houses upon the vital topics which had divided them. The 'Parliament Bill' had been introduced into the House of Commons early in the session in order that its text might be before the country, but it had not been proceeded with pending the discussions of the Conference. The dissolution of Parliament and the new elections left the state of parties much

about the same, but the Government felt at liberty to proceed with their Parliament Bill, which became their *pièce de résistance* for the session of 1911. Sir W. Anson took an active part in resisting it, speaking both on the second reading on March 1 and at various times in Committee. The burden of his song was the difficulty of reconstructing the House of Lords as foreshadowed in the celebrated 'Preamble'; the undesirability of converting the House of Commons into practically a single Chamber; the difficulty of defining a 'Money Bill' so as not to include proposals for far-reaching changes of policy, such as an Education Bill, the payment of members, a Bill for universal military service, which might all be made to depend upon money grants, and be thereby entirely removed from the jurisdiction of the Lords, and finally the innovation and undesirability of converting the office of Speaker, which during the last 150 years had become one of absolute impartiality, into that of a possible partisan in arriving at the vital decision as to the status of a 'Money Bill'.

On one occasion Sir W. Anson supported an amendment for referring matters of difference to a referendum of the electorate, not, as he said, 'with any great cordiality', but as a necessity, and as a less pernicious course than that proposed—of reducing the House of Lords to a nonentity. His general view was well summed up in the peroration to his speech on the second reading:

'You are pulling down a constitution which has deserved better of you than that. It is a constitution under which we have, in a way in which no other country ever has before, combined the principles of Freedom with the facts of Empire. We have not only built up a great Empire and a world-wide commerce, but we have carried the principles of freedom and civilization into the utter-

most parts of the earth under this Constitution, and we should be false to our traditions, ungrateful to the past, and guilty of an infamous betrayal, if we did not resist this Bill to the utmost of our power.'

Educational matters and the Copyright Bill also occupied a considerable portion of Sir W. Anson's attention during the session of 1911. In the following session (1912) the Government of Ireland Bill formed the main topic of discussion, and in this Sir W. Anson took no very great part. He joined in the discussion on some subsidiary points, e.g. the definition of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, the number and functions of the Senate, proportional representation, and some minor topics, and he put his points clearly and briefly before the committee; but he was not a protagonist in the fight, nor did he take a leading part against the Welsh Disestablishment Bill which was introduced, discussed, and passed in the same session.

In the two following sessions of 1913 and 1914 his devotion to the cause of education impelled him on several occasions to raise his voice, and the position of the University voters under the Plural Voting Bill of 1913 found in him a champion of the University electorate; but his principal share in the work of the Commons House of Parliament was finished, and his appearances were, compared to former years, but few and far between. After his death, on the first opportunity which arose, Mr. Pease, who was then President of the Board of Education, speaking on the Education estimates on July 28, paid the following tribute to his memory:

'Sir William Anson was a prominent figure in their debates for many years, and the whole House and country will deplore his death. Not only have members of the Opposition suffered a great personal loss, but I can assure

them that many of Sir William Anson's political opponents regarded him with feelings akin to friendship, and I am quite sure that he endeared himself not only to political friends but to many in every quarter of the House, and the House misses him now, and education, that great cause, misses his very valuable and devoted support.'

Mr. Pease did no more than justice to the memory of Sir W. Anson. He might have said a good deal more, but doubtless the interval which had elapsed between his death and Mr. Pease's opportunity made any more lengthened encomium unsuitable.

Sir William Anson was no commanding personality, his presence and lack of voice prevented his being able to 'sich imponiren', as the Germans say, but his manifest and transparent honesty and his sincere devotion to the cause of education, and particularly of religious education, had gained for him a respect and an affection which it is given to few to achieve.

The keen sense of humour which characterized him in private life did not play at all an adequate part in his public speeches, though a sly reference to an antagonist's difficulties, or a neatly turned phrase in reply to a question, often left the laugh with the speaker, and no dart shot from his armoury ever left a barb behind.

One of his most delightful speeches was made on the motion for the establishment of a National Theatre (April 23, 1913). After giving a general support to the proposal on the grounds that it would develop in the public a better acquaintance with British literature, he added:

'We should get a school of drama—that is to say, the public would be continuously presented with good plays. Nobody can say that at this moment any dramatic standard is presented to the public. We have the melodrama, a most entertaining performance; we have the musical

comedy, which begins with some semblance of a plot, and ends in a romp; and we have a type of drama, admirably acted, in which a number of dreary-looking persons in a very ill-furnished room say unpleasant things to one another during three Acts, at the end of which time every one is unhappy, and nothing else has happened.'

As a description of an Ibsen drama this would be hard to beat. Later on in the same speech Sir William Anson put in a plea for more precise and accurate enunciation of the English language, a virtue which he himself always practised. He said:

'Our language will gain. We are too apt nowadays to talk elliptically and slovenly. As in our handwriting we slur over our letters owing to the typewriter, the telegram, and the halfpenny card, we are slipshod in our ordinary conversation, not only in pronunciation, but in dramatic use of the language. It would be an admirable thing to give the people an opportunity of going to plays where they will be interested, amused, or excited, and their feelings stirred, and at the same time will hear their language spoken as it ought to be spoken and presented to the best advantage.'

The last time on which Sir William Anson spoke in the House of Commons was on May 13, 1914, on the second reading of the 'British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill', which provided for the possibility of obtaining British nationality all over the dominions of the Crown on the same conditions as it can be acquired in Great Britain. Sir William Anson favoured the Bill, and in a few terse sentences expressed his approval of it.

CHAPTER VIII

OFFICE

THE problem of national education in England is complicated by the cumbered state of the ground and by the entrance of irrelevant interests. Such educational institutions as exist have for the most part been inherited from a past which had other needs to satisfy and other ideals to pursue. The educational reformer is in the position of an architect called upon to adapt an old house of modest proportions to the requirements of a modern plutocrat. He must dovetail, reconstruct, enlarge, hardly ever give unhindered expression to his own ideas. If we add to his embarrassments the presence and perpetual interference of a Committee of amateurs zealously devoted to particular objects, domestic, sanitary, ornamental, we shall but make the parallel closer to the actual facts. Of all interfering irrelevancies that which is known as the Religious Question is the most perplexing and the most insistent. Few considering men, indeed, will be disposed to question the importance of Religion as a factor in the process of education, if that hackneyed and abused term be given its full significance, but the problem which demands solution from politicians is more limited, and concerns itself directly with nothing more considerable than the relatively petty questions connected with the inclusion of religious instruction in the curriculum of schools and colleges. What shall be taught? When shall it be taught? By whom shall the

religious instruction be given? Unfortunately these questions, in themselves simple enough, are complicated by their connexion with sectarian controversies, vested interests, social habitudes, professional ideals, political rivalries. The school is but one of the three great educational instruments, and not the most important. Both the Home and the Church are far more potent as educating influences, but neither of these is within the range of the politician's direct action, and it is the lamentable fact that, for the poorest class of the community, the School has to do the work (so far as that may be possible) of the Home, which exists only in name, and the Church, which is often altogether lacking. The more extensive the educational function of the school becomes, the more critically important becomes the question of the Teacher. It is not excessive to say that the efficiency of the educational system turns mainly on the quality of the personnel, and this will be determined by a number of considerations which lie too far from the inflaming issues of political agitation to secure the notice of most politicians. Among these considerations must be reckoned the moral equipment of the teacher, and this in most cases is inseparable from his religious habit. But here emerges another confusing factor. Religion, as the politician must needs contemplate it, is expressed in the Churches, and they have interests of their own which they are but too apt to describe as religious. Denominations claim an authority within the State Schools apparently inconsistent with the equality which has become a first principle of English democracy, and certainly offensive to the sensitive professionalism of the teachers. Questions of property still further complicate the problem. It is not too much to say that the interest of education is often the

least considered in our educational controversies, for the more obvious and inflaming issues which divide sects and parties tend to throw it into the background of discussion, or even to thrust it aside altogether. The statesman who puts his hand to the task of solving the problem of national education in England has need of a cool head, infinite patience, and great tenacity of purpose. Even so he will not escape the suspicions of fanaticism and the misunderstandings of ignorance. The maximum of labour and the minimum of reward belong to the rôle of an educational reformer.

Sir William Anson came to the Education Office with qualifications of rare excellence. Not only was he himself a highly educated man, but he was perfectly acquainted with the process of education both in the public schools and in the University, and had been himself for many years a keen and successful teacher of undergraduates. His early and sustained interest in the Oxford House had brought him into contact with many social workers intimately acquainted with the conditions under which the labouring classes actually live, and his frequent visits to East London had kindled his sympathy with the poor, and created in him a genuine concern for their interest. While thus he had an unusual acquaintance with urban conditions, his knowledge of country life was intimate. Both at Elm Hill in Sussex and at Pusey House in Berkshire he had lived as a country gentleman, familiar with the habits of his poorer neighbours, liking them and liked by them in no common degree. He had been bred a Liberal, and had fought a constituency as one of Mr. Gladstone's followers in the famous election in 1880, but his acceptance of Liberalism had been wholesomely conditioned by his social and ecclesiastical sym-

pathies. His knowledge of the Anglican clergy was extensive, for not only had he been long resident in Oxford, but he possessed clerical relatives, had been for some years a Diocesan chancellor, and represented a constituency which was largely composed of clergymen. He was himself sincerely religious, and believed thoroughly in the educational importance of religious training. Though he had no Parliamentary experience, he had great knowledge of affairs, was a master of lucid exposition, and had complete command of his temper. Sir William Anson came to the Education Office at a very critical juncture in the history of national education. The system inaugurated by Mr. Forster's famous Act was nearing a definite collapse, for the long rivalry between 'voluntary' and rate-supported schools had reached an acute stage. It was becoming clear to everybody that the cost of education, which was always increasing as the range of education extended and the self-importance of the teaching class became more insistent, had outstripped the resources of the Churches. There was apparent danger of direct and manifest conflict between the intellectual requirements of the people and the denominational interests of a minority far more concerned for religion, as they conceived of it, than for educational efficiency. The situation was at every point confused and embittered by factors which were properly neither educational nor religious. In the country districts the discontent of the Dissenters was not always unprovoked by bigotry and social arrogance, but in many cases beyond all question the complaints were without justification in fact, and sometimes reflected grave discredit on those who made and utilized them. In the towns the difficulty was of another kind. There the aggrieved were from the other camp. The supporters

of 'voluntary' schools found themselves required also to pay rates for the support of the rival institutions, which on that account became the more odious, and were commonly denounced with an extravagance of invective and an indifference to truth which only exasperation could explain, and which no hardship could really excuse. Legends of oppression in the country and allegations of atheism in the towns were freely circulated until an atmosphere of 'preternatural suspicion' had been created in which reasonable discussion became extremely difficult. The essential equities were not wholly with either party. Of the two great constituents of efficiency, teaching and management, it was, perhaps, broadly true that the first was best secured in the rate-supported, and the last in the 'voluntary', schools. In the rural districts management is at once most important and most difficult. The comparative loneliness of the teachers, which is one of the hardest conditions of their work, is relieved by the sympathetic action of school managers who can and will take a personal concern in the village school. In the rural districts such managers are hard to find. Educated residents interested in education and sufficiently leisured to take a hand in school management are not numerous. The Anglican clergy stand out conspicuously as qualified for the work by training, habit, and profession. Dissenting ministers can hardly be brought into comparison, for they are absent from many country parishes, and in many more they are without educational qualification. The local preacher in the country often carries on a small business, and shares the narrow intellectual outlook of his customers. Neither his training nor his employment qualifies him for the task of school management, nor does his distinctive conception

of religion always incline him to attach much importance to childhood. It follows that the alienation of the rural clergy from the working of the national education would be a great public misfortune by withdrawing from the schools the best available material for their efficient management. It needs no showing, however, that the recognition of this truth by the political opponents and denominational rivals of the clergy would require a measure of intelligence not often found in partisans, and a magnanimity which is never common in any description of men.

The House of Commons is quick to discern, and to welcome, distinction in its new members. It perceived at once that the junior Burgess for the University of Oxford brought a considerable accession to its deliberative powers when an Education Bill was under discussion. He was accepted immediately as one who spoke with special authority on educational questions, and it was almost matter of course that he should be a member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education which had been created in 1900. He was destined to take a directer part in the educational policy of the country.

On March 24, 1902, Mr. Balfour introduced the Education Bill which was to save the voluntary schools by incorporating them in a single national system. The Bill was not likely to stir enthusiasm in any quarter, for it satisfied nobody, while alarming many, but it had merits.

'Balfour's speech was a clear and powerful introduction of a measure which is somewhat sketchy and half-hearted. Still it seems a good Bill. Jebb spoke well in support of it, but against the adoptive clause. I spoke later in an empty House just before dinner, also denouncing the adoptive clause, and criticizing the provision for religious education.

He welcomed the Bill as an honest attempt 'to reconstruct a system avowedly ill-organized, wasteful, and inefficient', but he desired some not inconsiderable amendments. Thus he took up a middle position, and addressed himself to the task of improving the Bill. Its opponents were not all of one political camp. The uncompromising denominationalists went hand in hand with the resolute champions of the existing system. Again and again in his Journal he laments the impracticable attitude of the 'Church Committee', which, in his view, was hardly more reasonable than that of those to whom 'the School Board was a fetish, the denominational school a nightmare'. 'It is a pity', he wrote in a letter to *The Times* (April 21, 1902), 'that want of sympathy with the religious convictions of others, and a blind faith in the infallibility of an institution little more than thirty years old, should hinder the fair consideration of a great scheme of educational reform.'

As the debates on the Bill proceeded through the summer of 1902, Sir William Anson came into increasing prominence as one of its ablest supporters, so that when, in August, he joined the Ministry as Parliamentary Secretary of the Education Department, there was little surprise and very general satisfaction. The incident is thus recorded in his Journal on August 6, 1902:

'Went back to the House to find an urgent message from Balfour to his room. Found a compromise under discussion with Lloyd George and Hutton to enable us to finish by Friday. After this was settled, Balfour kept me back, and asked me to take office as Secretary to the Board of Education. I said I should like it if I thought I could do it. He said he would take that risk, so in five minutes the thing was settled, and I went away rather dazed. . . . Then to bed and a sleepless night, wondering if I have done right about office.'

August 7. 'Walrond and Finlay congratulated me, but the thing is a secret, and I am not very happy about it. I ascertained, with Finlay's concurrence, that I don't need re-election.'

The doubt which he confessed as to the wisdom of the step which he had taken was not confined to himself. There was, indeed, universal agreement as to his qualification for office, but it was felt by many of his friends that the traditional independence of a Burgess for Oxford University should not be lightly surrendered, that the subordinate office which was assigned to him was altogether inadequate to his personal distinction, and that nothing short of a seat in the Cabinet would have enabled him to render effectual service at that juncture to the cause of National Education. His official chief was the Marquis of Londonderry, a nobleman of much political experience, to whose loyal support he bore constant and grateful testimony, and whose personal friendship he valued, but whom not the most partial friend would have designated as specially qualified for the supreme direction of the national education. Within the Cabinet Sir William Anson's views had to be expressed through the medium of his chief, and those views were not wholly congruous with the opinions and intentions of other and more masterful members of the Cabinet. Moreover, his position as Parliamentary Secretary was novel and more or less ambiguous. The Permanent Secretary of the Department was naturally suspicious of an arrangement which might endanger the directness of his intercourse with the President, and confer authority on another administrator at the expense of his own office. It argues much for the good sense and good temper of all concerned that the arrangement worked on the whole with so

little friction. That it was difficult, and in some measure irrational, cannot be denied.

Accession to office immersed Anson at once in a mass of business, and brought him into new situations. His life became more strenuous than ever. Early in October 1902 he attended an important conference at Whittinghame in order to determine the policy of the Government on the Education Bill. On his return to town he entered on his duties in the House. He described in his Journal the course of his life at this time:

'My diary has collapsed under the pressure of the Education Bill, and it is no use trying to go back to days and times in detail. During the first week we got some relief by the evenings being occasionally occupied by the Irish. Otherwise the normal day was this. Reached my Office, breakfast, and wrote some letters. At about 11 did business with Loring till 12. Then summoned downstairs to confer with Balfour, Finlay, and Thring about the Bill, our own amendments, and others; then a hurried lunch, perhaps a question or two to answer in the House: then the Orders of the Day 'Education Bill England and Wales', and I moved up to sit on one side of Balfour, Finlay on the other, and there we were till 7.30, and again from 9 till midnight.

'The amount of debating work allotted to me gradually grew until towards the end of the Committee stage I sometimes had an afternoon and evening to myself: and learned to deal with impromptu amendments in impromptu replies . . .

'At the end of the Report stage of the Bill Balfour told me that I had got through my work well, and I think that our side was well satisfied, and that I helped to keep them up to time. They certainly were splendidly loyal. The Opposition too was very good-humoured, and I kept always on friendly terms with them.

'I did not enjoy the third reading because I had to make a speech twenty-four hours sooner than I had expected, and with a bad headache; but the proceedings in the Lords were interesting, and the discussion on the Lords'

amendments taught me something of Parliamentary forms. I was very glad when we got to the last stage, when, amid cheers, I carried up the floor of the House our reasons for dissenting from one of the Lords' amendments.

'It has been a great pleasure, and a very instructive thing, to work with Balfour and Finlay through this great Parliamentary fight.'

'It has been a stirring year for me,' he writes on the last day of 1902. 'I wonder when, if ever, I shall return to the quiet of academic life.'

The passing of the Bill implied no diminution of his labours, for the new Act had to be brought into operation, and that process raised an infinite number of questions all over the country, the answering of which fell to the Department. Besides, there was the Education Bill of London to be framed and passed. This raised a fresh crop of difficulties, the handling of which fell to a great extent on the Parliamentary Secretary. The Journal at this time is full of conferences, deputations, and interviews:

'The work of the office was very hard. The Councils are evidently anxious to form good Committees, but afraid that if the Committees are too strongly reinforced from external sources they will not carry the confidence of Councils. Then there is a certain jealousy of the Board of Education, and very often some strenuous Nonconformist who suspects attempts to ensure representation of voluntary schools. Our long talks are useful but take time. Morant's powers of work are stupendous, for he is reorganizing the Department at the same time.

'The formation of schemes is the chief work, but there is also a good deal to be done in interpreting the endowment clause, and arranging orders for the foundation managers. Many deputations want to see us, and the financial difficulty is causing anxiety to many Councils.'

When, at the end of May, the London Bill passed through Committee after a good deal of rather

adroit manœuvring, he found himself exposed to some hostile criticism in the party press. 'The papers all pitch into me, but I have come not to mind the papers. I told Londonderry that I saw no good likely to come of my resigning, and he begged that I would not think of it.'

Educational controversies were suddenly superseded in the public mind by the emergence of Tariff Reform, a subject not less perplexing and at the moment even more inflaming. On May 28, 1903, 'in the debate on the adjournment Chamberlain made a startling announcement in favour of Protection'. Sir William Anson, in spite of his Liberal antecedents, was no fanatical Cobdenite, but he was disconcerted by the manner in which this attack on the long-established financial policy of the country had been launched. His rigid code of political honour was not easily reconciled to a procedure which had the aspect of an attack from within the Government camp, and it conflicted sharply with his notion of party discipline. He was hardly better pleased with the manner in which Mr. Chamberlain's action was met. He thought 'that the process of a Government making up its mind should not be too much of a public spectacle'. His admiration for Mr. Balfour's ability did not reconcile him to the tortuous tactics which Mr. Balfour adopted.

On July 3, 1903, his busy public activities were interrupted, but not arrested, by a considerable private sorrow. Lady Anson, who had been failing for some time, passed away in the presence of her children. Sir William Anson had always been a devoted son, and he had maintained the affectionate intimacy with his mother which had marked his earlier life. The blow was severe, but he did not suffer it to interfere with his public tasks, then more

than ever pressing. 'Public life is a strange inhuman thing,' he wrote; 'I felt bound to go to my office.' On July 6 he attended the funeral at Shirley, 'a cold windy day, and very sad.' On July 15 the Report Stage was finished. He parted with the Bill in no amiable mood:

'How I have hated this London Bill. It is not a bad Bill, but it is not mine; it certainly is not Walter Long's; it might have been made a very good Bill, and it is accursedly mediocre. Walter Long has helped me with the utmost kindness throughout, and indeed I have no cause to complain of anything but the neglect of the Cabinet to take up the matter seriously at the outset.'

The adoption of the Education Bill was embarrassed by some explosions of sectarian rancour, especially in Wales, where an open defiance of the law was projected. It would be tedious now to recall the incidents of a rather squalid conflict, but it is worth noting that it brought Sir William Anson into frequent personal intercourse with Mr. Lloyd George, the recognized leader of the Welsh party in the House, and that the impression left on his mind was distinctly favourable. He had already noted the rapid advance of the young Welsh lawyer. Walking back from the House with Mr. Gerald Balfour and Sir Edward Grey one evening in July 1902, he discussed with them the course of the debate, and 'we all agreed that Lloyd George was making a great figure in these debates (on the Education Bill), and improving in tone and method of speaking'. Naturally inclined as he was to reasonable compromise, Sir William Anson manifested a resolute attitude when the attempt was made to jettison the Defaulting Authorities Bill, which had been introduced after careful consideration, and commanded the support of a large majority

of the House. There was a section on his own side, strongly represented within the Cabinet, which blocked the path of reconciliation whenever the religious question was raised. Of one prominent Minister he expressed the opinion that he 'would wreck an empire or disestablish a Church sooner than sacrifice the assumed rights of a single parson in a single voluntary school'. He added with unusual asperity, 'Clever folly is perhaps more dangerous than steady-going mediocrity, but heaven knows we have plenty of both in this Government.' In point of intractable unreasonableness, it was hard to choose between the clergy and the Nonconformists. The suspicion of the first was, perhaps, less easy to overcome than the opposition of the last. Yet the last words addressed to Sir William Anson by Sir William Harcourt were equally shrewd and just—'You know I always call you the child and champion of denominationalism.' Denominationalism, as Sir William Anson understood it, was not the synonym of clerical dominance or of much that passed for 'definite Church teaching'. His principal interest was always educational. Denominationalism, as it was actually expressed in England, meant for him variety of educational method, emphasis on the moral aspect of education, personal concern for the welfare of the schools, a high type of teacher in them. That the clergy had a considerable place in the management, and a large share in the process of teaching, was the result of our educational history. It implied no principle, and should provoke no resentments. This was hardly the point of view adopted by the clergy themselves.

Alongside of the heavy and unremitting duties of his office—'I really have hardly any real holiday owing to the constant flow of postal and telegraphic

communication with the office'—there were the multifarious engagements all over the country which might be called semi-official: presiding at prize-distributions, inaugurating new colleges, giving public lectures, attending functions municipal and academic, &c. In all these varied activities Sir William Anson was at his best. Urbane, humorous, and amazingly well-informed on all sorts of subjects, he made friends wherever he went. The wisdom of entrusting the public education to a highly educated man began to dawn, not merely on the whole hierarchy of teachers, which had always chafed against the régime of politicians and officials, but also on county councillors, rural managers, and the general public. 'Wherever did Anson learn all this?' asked an astonished engineer while listening to an extremely able address on technical education. His range of knowledge, and the ease with which he handled complicated situations, charmed while it surprised his audiences. He was genuinely interested in his work, and bent on seeing for himself the evils he was pressed to remove. In the early nineties the flood of sentimental interest in poor children, which now threatens to overflow the banks of good sense and sound economy, was just beginning to rise. An older and sterner economic doctrine still held the field, and parental responsibility was honestly pleaded as a barrier to humane action on the part of the State which now is universally approved. Sir William Anson was at great pains to inform himself at first hand of the facts, and, though he remained suspicious of official action in matters which properly lay outside the concern of the Department, he came to realize far more clearly the hardships of the poor, and to accept the necessity of making public provision for their needs. His

labours were always lightened by his humour: the ample margin of humbug which fringes popular politics amused him. 'I paid a long visit to the Zoo. A large party of Council School children were there, sent by the impoverished Walthamstow Council at the ratepayers' cost to carry on "nature-study".'

By the autumn of 1905 the position of the Government had become very insecure. The large parliamentary majority could no longer be relied upon, for the divergence of opinion on the subject of Tariff Reform was developing to the point of disruption. The nation was weary of the long dominance of a single party, and rather disgusted with the apparent vacillation of the Prime Minister. At the end of November Mr. Balfour announced his decision to resign office, and the King sent for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. On December 11 Lord Londonderry and Sir William Anson bade formal farewell to the Education Department:

'Our leave-taking was pathetic. The whole staff was assembled in the Council Room, and Londonderry and I each made a short speech. I think I made them understand how grateful I was to them all. Then we stood in the passage, and they all filed out, and we shook hands with each. Then in Londonderry's room we said good-bye to Bruce, Lindsell, Ogilvie, and Bromley, and then I went to my room to await Birrell. He came shortly and I told him of one or two things, and recommended Pelham, and then L. and I introduced to him the chiefs, and then I went off to lunch at the Temple. The fog became very dense, and I was much delayed in returning to Oxford.'

In Oxford, and generally in the country, there was some surprise that Sir William Anson's considerable service should have received no recognition in the Honours List, which the outgoing Government prepared. But Londonderry forgot to mention the

matter in the Cabinet, and Mr. Balfour, immersed in the business of leaving office, gave little attention to anything else. Sir William Anson himself was very indifferent to public distinctions, but he felt that the omission of his name might fairly be resented by the University. 'The truth is', he writes in his Journal, 'that I have occupied such a curious position as nominally Parliamentary Secretary, but practically head of the Office, that most people believe me to be a Privy Councillor. Nevertheless I can't quite forgive A. J. B., for I have had a harder place and done a larger piece of work than any one since Forster, and he ought not to have forgotten it.'

He reviewed in his Journal the course of his tenure of office, and set out the difficulties which he had experienced. Among these his relation to his immediate chief was not included. 'One pleasure of being in office is having so much to do with Londonderry, who is not only what people call "a great gentleman", but one of the most lovable of men.' His summary of the year (1906) indicates considerable discontent with the strategy of his party:

'A year of political disaster, and for me, of disappointment. What was our case at the General Election? We resigned in December 1905 with a working majority of 70 from sheer inanition. We had run through our programme, such as it was, and had nothing to offer but a half-hearted Redistribution Bill. We were divided on Tariff Reform, and then we must needs put the other side in. They, of course, after so many years in opposition, made up their differences, and formed a strong Government. They went to the country on a new register and with any amount of promises, while we could only say that our opponents were dangerous men. We deserved our beating, and now, where are we? Chamberlain is practically gone. Balfour has lost the confidence of his party, and never hardly

consults any one but Wyndham and Lyttelton. Our best fighting men are Walter Long and Bonar Law, and I think that they will serve us well. As for Wyndham, he tries hard to play the leader, but he has been shown up in his Irish policy, and in the various topics which he has taken in hand this session, as a man of words, who believes that a phrase may be made to do duty for an idea, and whose phrases pass insensibly from one meaning to another in his mind, if indeed he has ever attached any meaning to them at all.

'I hope this parliament may not be a specimen of twentieth-century Parliaments. It is full of fussy second-rate or third-rate men on the Government side (perhaps I pay them too high a compliment and rate them too high), and on our side there are some stupid obstructives. On the other hand we have some good new young fellows, Helmsley, Lane-Fox, Hicks-Beach, Bridgman, and R. Cecil. But perhaps I shall not much longer interest myself in these matters. The College has gone on happily this year, the residence has been pretty full, and the residents seem happy among themselves. I do not think the University is in so good a case; business is in the hands of old or elderly men, and Council is out of touch with Congregation.

'I should like to go back to Council and give my whole time to study and University business, and drop Parliament and politics, and these divided interests. But I suppose we must go on doing what comes to hand.'

The sudden death of Lord Goschen in February, 1907, deprived him of a valued friend and counsellor, and was felt as a severe blow. 'This really throws one off one's balance' is the brief but suggestive comment in his Journal. He took a willing and important part in securing the election of Lord Curzon as the new Chancellor of the University. A visit to the south of France with an expedition to Vienne (March 18–April 10) was a pleasant interlude before resuming his attendance in the House of Commons. On July 26 Lord Curzon was formally inaugurated with elaborate ceremonial, and imme-

diately set to work with characteristic loyalty and thoroughness to promote the scheme initiated by T. A. Brassey (the late Earl Brassey) for raising a large fund for the re-endowment of Oxford. In this effort he was steadily supported by the Warden of All Souls, whose knowledge and experience were of great service in placing the administration of the Fund on a sound basis, satisfactory both to the resident members of the University and to the subscribers whose connexion with Oxford had become by lapse of time rather a sentiment than a fact. In Parliament he may be said at this stage to have held 'a watching brief' for the denominational schools, whose existence was openly menaced by the Government. Every effort at effecting a compromise was defeated by the unyielding attitude of the Nonconformists on the one side, and the 'Church Party' on the other. Sir William Anson was in close accord with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose leading failed to secure the acceptance of the High Church leaders. On July 20, 1907, he joined his Grace in a deputation to the Prime Minister and Mr. McKenna:

'There was a large party, including C. T. Acland and Hugh Cecil. The Archbishop was very good, the others rather long, except Acland, who was very good about religious teaching, and Hugh Cecil, who described the teaching which Acland valued and of which the Archbishop approved, as a "corrosive poison". McKenna was not very happy in his mode of reply, and we got nothing out of it.'

When Mr. McKenna was succeeded by Mr. Runciman a favourable opportunity for effecting a settlement seemed to have arrived, and on both sides the leaders were eager to embrace it, but again the forces of obstruction were too strong and nothing was done. At the critical juncture in the negotia-

tions with the Government the 'Representative Church Council' threw over the Archbishop, and the Bill was dropped.

December 3, 1908. 'Asquith said he would postpone the Education Bill till to-morrow to give time for thought. Meantime the Representative Church Council, which certainly does not represent the laity, defeated the Archbishop on an amendment to a motion of Cripps by a large majority.'

December 4. 'Asquith announced the abandonment of the Bill, and that he should take the formal steps on Monday. I wrote a letter or two, including one of sympathy to Runciman, and went down to Oxford feeling rather relieved, and also played out.'

December 7. 'The Education Bill had a first-class funeral. Asquith made a speech so eloquent and moving that I suggested to Butcher that he should turn it into Thucydidean Greek and see how it compared with Pericles' funeral oration. Balfour made a careful reply.'

With the failure of Mr. Runciman's Bill the attempt to reverse the Act of 1902 was abandoned, and that great educational reform quickly established itself in the acceptance of the people. It formed the substructure on which, in 1918, Mr. Fisher was able to base another, and still more considerable, Education Act. A few uncompromising Dissenters persisted in what was called 'passive resistance', but the general good sense refused to distinguish between taxes and rates, when scruples of conscience were pleaded, and the movement quietly collapsed. Fresh and more exciting subjects claimed the public interest. In the absence of any real grievance, and in the apparent presence of a great educational improvement, the denunciation of Mr. Balfour's Act, which had been so loud and insistent during the General Election of 1905, died gradually away, and the substantial merits of his educational policy were generally acknowledged.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCHMAN

SIR WILLIAM ANSON held office as Diocesan Chancellor under three Bishops of Oxford. He was appointed by Bishop Stubbs in 1899, and resigned shortly after Bishop Gore's accession, in 1912. When Bishop Paget came to the see, in 1901, he had offered to resign, but had been induced to withdraw his offer:

'I greatly hope', wrote the Bishop, 'that you will not resign the office which you hold as Chancellor.

'Besides the clear and great gain which accrues to the Diocese from the certainty that any matter which comes before you will be dealt with in the right way, there will be to me the real relief and happiness of being able to turn to you with that reliance on your judgement and your friendship which I have learned through many years. Please do not let me lose this help at a time when I need all help.'

His official relation with Bishop Paget was eased and lightened by a personal friendship which took the character of an affectionate intimacy.

Bishop Gore accepted the Chancellor's resignation with reluctance, and begged him to reconsider his decision: but he was getting old, and the necessity of reducing his responsibilities was too apparent to be denied. The thirteen years during which he was Diocesan Chancellor gave him an unusually clear understanding of the idiosyncrasy of the English clergy. They coincided with the crisis in the Church, which presented Sir William Harcourt to a rather astonished public in the rôle

of Protestant champion, and with the acute educational crisis in which he himself perforce played a prominent part.

As Chancellor he had to deal with some cases of ritual disorder in the diocese of Oxford. His courtesy and tact were never more conspicuously exhibited, and never more evidently required. He confessed himself non-plussed by the singular mentality of the 'Ritualist' clergy. They seemed to be as indifferent to law and reason as to good feeling and common sense. He was startled at the remoteness of their point of view from that which ordinary English Churchmen are accustomed to adopt. They spoke a language of their own, and guided their conduct by considerations which he found it difficult to understand. The pettiness of the methods adopted was as surprising as the tortuousness of the explanations by which they were justified.

'Ritualism', however perverse, did not affect the public interest very directly, but the impracticable temper which it disclosed was plainly incompatible with an educational policy which demanded substantial denominational sacrifices in the interest of educational efficiency. Sir William Anson found himself the object of considerable suspicion among the more 'advanced' Anglicans, and the victim of not a little misrepresentation. An association called 'The Church Schools Emergency League' had been formed with the object of championing the rights of the Anglican clergy within the elementary schools, and its Secretary, Canon Cleworth, came into sharp collision with him in October, 1904, over what purported to be an account of an interview with him, and which he complained of as injuriously misleading. He resented the suggestion that 'his interpretation of the Education Acts was dictated

by political convenience', and protested against the publication of a 'confidential' document 'strangely hostile in tone' and giving a description of an interview 'wholly unlike that which had taken place'. Canon Cleworth defended himself in the Press, and the matter remained, as such matters commonly do, without any satisfactory conclusion, but those who had personal knowledge of Sir William Anson were fully assured that his habitual accuracy was not likely to have failed him, and that his scrupulous honour made any suggestion of ill faith equally intolerable and absurd.

As Chancellor of the Diocese he was wont to attend and take an active part in the meetings of the Diocesan Conference. He was not well impressed by Church gatherings. Neither clergy nor laity showed to advantage, but the latter provoked him most. 'I hate your extra-ecclesiastical laymen, they are worse than sporting parsons, or women who smoke.' Precisely the subjects—the Courts, Divorce, Education—upon which the relation of Church and State was most strained came within his personal concern. He was himself, as a diocesan Chancellor, an ecclesiastical judge, and had to administer the existing law, which a considerable section of the clergy repudiated as implying an Erastian subordination of the spiritual to the secular power. When a Royal Commission was appointed in 1910 to consider the Marriage Laws he was nominated as one of its members, and took an active part in its proceedings. He joined the Archbishop of York and Sir Lewis Dibdin in presenting a Minority Report which, though extremely conservative in tone, failed to satisfy the uncompromising opponents of Divorce. His position in the Government brought him into frequent collision with the clergy on the vexed issue of education.

They were sore, suspicious, and self-opinionated. 'I am in terrible hot water with the clergy on the subject of taking children to church. Their language is ——.' He thought that the clerical outcry against the introduction of managers from outside into the Church schools was short-sighted and impolitic:

> 'I cannot help thinking,' he wrote in 1902, 'that the future position of the clergy in public esteem will depend largely on their attitude to the new conditions of management. If they take up the line indicated by G. they may get an enthusiastic following here and there, but their general hold on the country will be gone.'

Experience has on the whole justified this view. The new managers brought in by the Education Act of 1902 have generally acted with sympathy and good sense. Their presence has probably increased both the efficiency of the school management, and public confidence in its impartiality.

Sir William Anson regarded with distress and concern whatever tended to alienate the clergy from the nation, for he held a very high view of the social importance of the work which the clergy were carrying on in the parishes, and he realized how their legitimate influence was being undermined by the lack of confidence which their own misdirected zeal and lack of any adequate sense of proportion too often bred in the minds of their parishioners.

For some years the relations of Church and State had been growing steadily worse. The defeat of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill in 1895 had indeed seemed to prove the strength of the Establishment in the constituencies, but the appearance was fallacious, for the rapid growth of denominational feeling within the Church itself was destroying in

Anglican minds the ideas on which the Establishment rested. The destruction of the national system of Religion was threatened from the side of the Church more evidently than from the side of the State. An attempt was made to assimilate the system of the Church of England to the model of the disestablished and non-established Anglican Churches, and this attempt was boldly linked with the 'Catholic' assumptions of the Tractarian movement in the agitation for 'self-government' organized and led by Bishop Gore. 'Self-government' and 'Establishment' are not easily reconciled, if reconcileable at all. In a Reformed Church, necessarily isolated from any Catholic organization of Christianity, 'self-government' is in a special measure exposed to the disease of sectarianism, and the manipulation of party. Beyond all question the disposition to repudiate the national character of the Church of England has stimulated the sectarian spirit within its pale.

The Houses of Laymen, called into existence by Archbishop Benson, failed from the first to acquire a representative character, but they formed a nucleus for the nakedly denominational aspirations which were gathering strength within the National Church. When the 'Representative Church Council' was formed, by the simple process of uniting the Houses of Laymen with the Provincial Convocations, there was no improvement in the composition of the lay houses, but the new Assembly provided a convenient organ for expressing the discontent with the Establishment which its existence disclosed. Many causes combined to stimulate that discontent, and swell its volume. The educational policy pursued by successive Governments irritated and alarmed considerable sections of the clergy: the agitation for increased facilities of divorce,

which led to the appointment of a Royal Commission and was encouraged by its Report, disturbed the general body of English churchmen: the exasperation caused by the evident inability of the Bishops to restrain the 'Ritualists', who were now taking a decisively Romeward direction, was far extended: the difficulty of Parliamentary action, affecting indeed every kind of legislation, but most of all apparent when the subject in debate was ecclesiastical, bred a despair in many ardent minds: finally, the spread of a secularist spirit in the country, and the rapid advance to political dominance of those classes of the community in which that spirit was most openly expressed, threatened a total breakdown of the Establishment. Thus there was created in the Church of England a restive, discontented, apprehensive spirit, which provided a favourable soil for the growth of anti-national sentiment.

On July 4, 1913, the Representative Church Council passed with one dissentient a resolution requesting 'the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consider the advisability of appointing a committee to inquire what changes were advisable in order to secure in the relations of Church and State a fuller expression of the spiritual independence of the Church as well as of the national expression of religion'. The Archbishops proceeded to act on this resolution, and among the twenty-six gentlemen who were invited to form the Committee was Sir William Anson. He died before the serious work of the Committee had been taken in hand. In the Report issued in 1916 the Committee expressed their sense of the loss which his death inflicted:

'It was no small gain for a Committee entering on a task of such great importance and difficulty to number among

its members one of the foremost living authorities on the law and custom of the constitution. The combination in the late Sir William Anson of devoted churchmanship, wide historical learning, and tried knowledge of public affairs was an asset which could not be easily over-estimated. He had only, however, been able to take part in the preparation of memoranda, legal and historical, before in the early summer of 1914 the Committee shared with Church and Nation the loss sustained in his death.'

It is, of course, a futile speculation what would have been the effect on Sir William Anson's opinions of the deliberations of the Committee, but it may be said with certainty that the effect must needs have been considerable before he could have brought himself to sign the Report. He was throughout his life a consistent supporter of both the principle and the policy of Establishment, and he viewed with great and deepening distrust the agitation for ecclesiastical autonomy which had occasioned the appointment of the Committee, and was inspired, as he often said, by ideals which could not possibly be reconciled with the history and constitution of the national church. He thought that disendowment (which he regarded as inseparable from disestablishment) would inflict a grave injury on the rural districts, upon which modern democratic policy bears hardly in many directions. He was temperamentally opposed to the advertisement and unctuousness which appear to be inseparable from what used to be called 'voluntaryism', and which go to the fashioning of what politicians know as the 'Nonconformist conscience'. In all this there was an element of hereditary prejudice, but there was much more of genuine dislike of noise and cant. The somewhat old-fashioned churchmanship in which he had been bred gave little place to the religious emotions, and was not

facile in religious speech, but it was sternly loyal to the standard of duty which it accepted, and that standard was both lofty and exacting.

He was interested in theology, and had a considerable knowledge of modern criticism. His residence in Oxford kept him in the atmosphere of free inquiry and discussion, and his habit of attending University sermons made him unusually familiar with educated clerical opinion. He was indeed something of an expert on preachers. His personal beliefs were always essentially orthodox, but he held that in the circumstances of the modern church a large liberty of theological opinion was not only politic but equitable. In 1905 he wrote to the present writer:

'Perhaps you would claim more freedom where you want it, and allow less where you do not want it, than I should in all cases. But I agree with you in thinking that the broad essentials of the Christian faith should be regarded, and that there are some articles of the Creed in which definition is dangerous. I accept the Ascension as a fact; the precise mode in which Christ after his Resurrection and subsequent converse with his disciples, so far as bodily presence is concerned, left this world, seems to me obscure. It is not clear from the Gospels whether he was received into heaven on some specific occasion, or whether he simply ceased to appear to his disciples. But I am more concerned with the fact of his reappearance than with the conditions of his ultimate departure. In the same way, to me, the Resurrection of the body means a continuance of identity, no more. But the Creed expresses the substantial truth which I hold, and if I were in Orders I should claim a wide latitude of interpretation.

'Only I would not do, as I think you are too apt to do, that is, think aloud. The speculative doubts and queries which cross the parson's mind should not be caught in passing and enunciated from the pulpit and in the press. They should remain for awhile in solution.'

He had been urged to give expression to the lay

opinion, which he shared to the full, as to the unsuitableness of the so-called Athanasian Creed for use in public worship, but he refused:

'I think on the whole I will not meddle in ecclesiastical questions just now.

'The offer of an option in the recital of the Athanasian Creed does not come to very much, and some who would use it do as a matter of fact take it now.

'So I will not draw down on me any more *odium theologicum* than I at present sustain.

'I believe that I have offended every one whom it is possible for me, situated as I am, to offend, but I might find that I had unexplored powers of offence of which I am not at present aware.

'Education is making me rather tired and cross, and the propriety of taking children to Church, or taking them to meals during school hours involves questions which sit heavy on my soul and on my digestion.'

A Bible Clerk came to tell him that he wished to become a Roman Catholic. The Warden counselled delay and consultation with his seniors. He persisted, however, and left college. 'Whether a man is a Roman Catholic or a Protestant,' is the comment in the journal, 'does not seem to me to be of such great importance, but that a silly opinionated boy should change his religion for a fancy, which he chooses to call a conviction, is rather distressing to me.' His tolerance was genuine, and his sympathy with mental perplexity was real; but he disliked the flippancy, as it seemed to him, with which secession from the national church was regarded in some quarters, and resented as unfair and dishonourable that proselytizing of the immature which is the habit of ecclesiastical zealots. His own churchmanship was integral to his scheme of duty. To desert the Church of England was as unthinkable as to repudiate his

family and citizenship. Of a serious-minded rather hyper-sensitive man who became a Jesuit he observed, 'H. has become a Jesuit and is going as a governess in a Protestant family.' His humour had a dash of British Philistinism when these 'conversions', so all-absorbing to the subjects, came under his notice. There was disclosed in them a lack of manly self-dependence which moved his contempt, as well as a self-importance none the less irrational for being generally unsuspected. He had, however, little patience with the archaic fervours of an obsolete Protestantism.

'Much excitement about the Luther memorial, a foolish thing to have introduced, foolish to oppose when introduced, but I sat next a lady so fanatically Protestant that she almost persuaded me to vote against the memorial.'

He did not underrate the importance of the 'other-wordly' forces which are the hidden core of religion, without which it sinks into a lifeless convention. Rather to the surprise of his friends, he associated himself with the Oxford House rather than with Toynbee Hall. He did not believe that the East End could be regenerated by lectures, picture exhibitions, and culture, though his scheme of social effort included all of these. 'I doubt if we can make a religion out of our economical opinions', he wrote with reference to a University sermon which 'was impressive on the socialistic view of Christianity'. Socialism did not attract him. He declined to attend a meeting of the Russell Club at which a well-known socialist was to speak because, in his judgement, Hyndman's opinions were 'beyond the range of profitable discussions'. In the eighties much seemed impracticable which in 1919 has grown to be almost commonplace. On April 27, 1883, he took part in a discussion which is thus described in his journal:

'After dinner went to Palmerston Club in ——'s rooms, an undergraduate at Balliol: the subject "Socialism and Radicalism" a very curious and interesting discussion, the club not taking party lines at all but seriously trying to deal with social questions. I spoke to the effect that the paramount importance of the State was beginning to be recognized in the Benthamite legislation of 1832–45, when the economic movement of Cobden and Bright swept across it, and the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest was applied to politics in the doctrine of Free Trade: that now we recognized that we must interfere with natural laws so far as we could do so with advantage, how far was the problem. At any rate socialism might safely take us thus far, first, we might regard the nation as a society in which each had an interest in the other's welfare: next, knowledge should be brought to every man's door. I would give all knowledge freely, but at any rate elementary knowledge should be given by the State. Sadler was in the chair, and a good chairman. I didn't know the other speakers. Walked home with A. Acland, and agreed with him that these men are in earnest, and will control the future.'

Reserved, as is the wont of English gentlemen, on matters of personal conviction, and little disposed to make a parade of his religion, Sir William Anson proved the quality of his faith by an unwearying benevolence. Not content with gifts of money, in which, however, he was always extremely generous, he was lavish of his time and interest. In these works of charity he was no respecter of persons. The chaplain of the Oxford prison dwells with enthusiasm on his almost pastoral concern for the prisoners, whom he visited as chairman of the visiting justices.

'In the actual visiting of the prisoners Sir William not only took his share as an ordinary visiting Justice, but, in addition to his official visits, privately visited prisoners in whom he was interested or to whom his attention was directed. In this part of his work hopefulness is the thing

which most struck me. Of his kindness in his personal visits to the men enough cannot be said. Though the Oxford prison is small there are usually two or three prisoners either lads or very young men, and it was with these that Sir William Anson's help was so valuable. He was always interested in these lads, and I knew that I could always ask him to visit them. He would see them either in their cells or have them sent over to the office. I well remember finding that on one occasion he came to the prison while he was still suffering from influenza in order to see two boys. I remember too his great pleasure when he got a letter from a discharged prisoner to thank him for his kindness. This kindness and real human sympathy came as a revelation to some of them.

'His private charities to the prisoners were extraordinarily lavish. The Police Court Missioner tells me that Sir William gave him money again and again to set up lads when they left the jail. One youth was given a horse and cart to carry coal about, and Sir William used to visit him when he was near his house.'

Among the papers which he left was a large bundle of letters from individuals, servants, scouts' boys, and other lads of the working class, expressing gratitude to him for his kindness and help. The same kindly and discerning interest which made him take trouble to understand and befriend his undergraduate pupils, and gave an almost paternal character to his relation to junior Fellows, led him to concern himself for the lads of Bethnal Green, and indeed for all with whom he was associated. Few men have gone through life with so large an entourage of beneficiaries.

No one could have personal knowledge of Sir William Anson without being impressed by the thoroughness with which he fulfilled the duties of every position which he accepted. He possessed the rare and most valuable power of concentrating his mind on whatever task at the moment engaged him, and thus, though he had, as the common

phrase goes, 'many irons in the fire', he never confused his various concerns, or seemed indifferent or half-hearted about any of them. His whole mind was directed to the subject in hand, and when he had disposed of that, he was able to divert it with the same completeness of application to the next matter which claimed him. 'The more one studies his career', writes an Oxford friend, 'the more one is amazed at his capacity, one might almost say his passion, for work.' His friends marvelled at the success with which he carried on so many important occupations, with respect to every one of which he gave the same impression of thoroughness. He 'did with all his might whatsoever his hand found to do'. To his treatment of every office which he held he brought a conscientiousness which was not merely coercive. It included an element akin to the appropriating power of personal affection, and created in his mind an obligation towards those with whom he was brought into comradeship. He formed a warm personal regard for colleagues as well in the University as in the House of Commons, and on the bench of magistrates, and on the Oxford City Council, and on the governing bodies of Eton, Wellington, and Dulwich, and in the Oxford House, and in the clubs where he so often dined. His performance of the specific duties of membership was in every case touched with the emotion of personal loyalty towards those into whose fellowship he had been brought. He 'played the game', and never either shirked or sulked. 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again' is an aphorism of which human life is always providing fresh illustrations. Sir William Anson drew to himself in quite exceptional degree the affection and confidence of his colleagues. They soon discovered that his courtesy of manner was

something more than a mere mask which might conceal inattention and impatience as well as express genuine goodwill. Experience quickly disclosed behind the urbane habit resources of mind and character which were far above the average, and a willingness to render unselfish service which is never common. Accordingly, they turned to him increasingly for advice, and trusted to his wisdom and tact at every difficult and embarrassing contingency. Did the Hebdomadal Council design a new statute: who so suitable as the Warden of All Souls to commend it to Congregation? Was a constitution for the Oxford House in Bethnal Green to be drawn up: who so obviously the right person for the task as Sir William? Did a case of unusual complexity come before quarter sessions: who but Sir William could be trusted to disentangle the legal knots, and indicate the way of justice? And so throughout. Men came to depend upon him, appeal to him, take for granted his willingness and ability to help. His accessibility and unfailing helpfulness did, perhaps, in some measure conceal the amount of self-discipline, of deliberate and sustained effort, which lay behind his easy and efficient performance of public tasks. He never seemed to be hurried, or to disclose impatience. He was always ready to give an attentive ear to the difficulties which were submitted to him, and he never failed to return to an inquiry a letter carefully written with his own hand and filled with information not within most men's reach without reference. He was not a man of robust physique, but such powers of body as he had were carefully handled and subjected to a strong will, itself inspired by a lofty sense of duty. No one can review his manner of life without marvelling at the physical strain to which, even at a relatively

advanced stage of life, he submitted himself, travelling incessantly between Oxford and London, rising early and retiring late, and fulfilling without intermission a multitude of fatiguing engagements. He was extraordinarily industrious. In his scheme of life the margin of unoccupied time was unusually small. He was a man of method, carrying into the management of his time the same practice of orderly arrangement as that which makes his books models of didactic composition. From his childhood he had been an omnivorous reader, and he maintained the character up to the end. Thus the stores of his knowledge were continually being replenished, and that from the best sources. Moreover, he had a special advantage in his situation as the Head of a College. In the succession of gifted young men elected to All Souls fellowships he found protection from that fate of obsoleteness which overtakes most men. They kept him in contact with modern developments of thought. In the frank intercourse with his juniors which he permitted and encouraged within the College, he learned their points of view, corrected his own prejudices, and became acquainted with the latest phases of academic culture, while on their part they gained the priceless advantage of close personal association with one who was not only entitled to their respect as the Head of the College, but who carried the authority, infinitely impressive in the case of generous youth, of one who was also a Christian gentleman, a man of affairs, and a scholar of real distinction.

He was an admirable talker, and he was by a rather unusual combination also an admirable listener. Moving habitually in a social world in which intellectual distinction of many kinds was richly expressed, he responded to its influence. In

his case more than in that of most of his Oxford contemporaries the traditional description of an educated man might seem to hold good. He knew something about everything and everything about something. In truth his was a many-sided and many-gifted nature. He knew enough about most things to be intelligently interested in them. He could paint better than most amateurs. He was fond of music. He was an admirable actor, and his knowledge of the drama was extensive and discriminating. His range of reading was unusually large, and his faculty of literary criticism acute. He was a facile writer of verses, and an after-dinner orator of exceptional quality. He was the most genial and charming of hosts. To all these qualities must be added the more distinctive tastes of the country gentleman. Without being eminent in any manly sport he was a creditable performer in most. He played cricket tolerably, and attended cricket matches with regularity and enthusiasm. He was a fair shot, and made a point of recording his bag in his Journal. He knew enough of racing to discuss the fortunes and pedigrees of race-horses with John Doyle, and there were few games with which he had not at least 'a bowing acquaintance'. He was an ideal companion on a country walk. While his unvarying good temper and the unceasing play of a keen and kindly humour made him everywhere a delightful visitor, these qualities enabled him to take from whatever holiday he permitted himself the fullest measure of recreation.

A certain natural shyness, combined with a prim aspect and a formal courtesy, gave a first impression of coldness and even hauteur, which a closer acquaintance altogether removed. But his behaviour on public occasions and in general companies gave little indication of the radiating charm and kindli-

ness of his character. These were freely exhibited in the society of his friends, and nowhere so freely as in the College in which and for which he lived.

What All Souls man, who had the good fortune to know him, can ever forget the straight slender figure of the Warden standing before the coffee-room fire with his doctor's gown tucked over his arm, oddly yet with characteristic preciseness, surrounded with Fellows and guests, whose conversation he listened to, now with a sly twinkle of amusement in his eyes, now with a slight contraction of the eyebrows which indicated suppressed boredom, and now with a cordial laugh of appreciation. He radiated cheerfulness and courtesy. He drew to himself a kind of devotion, half homage, half affection, which was quite unique. Everything connected with All Souls was interesting to him. He lived with the College, in the College, for the College. He followed the careers of the Fellows with an almost parental solicitude, exulting in their success, sympathizing in their disappointments. His evident expectation of achievement was itself a stimulus to exertion. His approval was a coveted reward; his evident pleasure added to the delight of success. What will the Warden think? was the inevitable reflection of every Fellow confronted by the necessity of decision. Through the thirty-three years of his Wardenship his lodgings and his country house were scenes of generous hospitality in which the Fellows had a share almost by natural right. He was an excellent host, and his sisters, who lived with him all through his long tenure of the Wardenship, added a home-like touch to his household, not often found in the absence of ladies. It was, indeed, a happy circumstance that, throughout the whole course of his Wardenship, his house was presided over by one so kindred in

spirit and aim as Miss Anson. She is inseparably linked with him in the grateful memory of a long succession of All Souls men.

CHAPTER X

LAST YEARS: 1910–1914

THE year 1910 was marked by two General Elections, by a growing exasperation of political feeling, and by the rapid development of a constitutional crisis. Mr. Asquith's position in the country was maintained, and on the whole strengthened, for, though the Ministerialists were reduced in number, they were more homogeneous and disciplined. The country as a whole steadily held to the main planks of the Radical platform—the Financial policy of Mr. Lloyd George, Welsh Disestablishment, and Home Rule. When the House of Lords threw out the Government Bills, the question of the relation of the two Houses was raised in a menacing form. The General Election of December 1910 was fought on 'the Veto question', and Mr. Asquith was returned at the head of a Government pledged to secure the supremacy of the House of Commons. Both as a Unionist, and as a constitutional lawyer, Sir William Anson was opposed to so formidable a departure from the law and custom of the British Constitution. He exerted himself in opposition both within the House and without. His eminence as the first authority on constitutional law made him an in-

valuable counsellor. In point of fact he was regularly consulted by the Unionist leaders throughout the debates, and often quoted on both sides of the House. He expressed his mind, not only in speeches from the Opposition benches, but also in a series of weighty letters to *The Times*.

In the midst of the conflict the nation was startled by the death of the King. Almost unconsciously the British public had come to depend upon the sagacity of the Sovereign, who in the course of a comparatively short reign had won universal confidence. Sir William Anson shared the general opinion, and expressed it in his Journal.

May 7, 1910. 'Heard as I was dressing of the King's death, a great national sorrow and loss. Seeing what a splendid King he was, one admires the extraordinary self-restraint which he exercised during his mother's long reign, for I do not think that she took her children into her confidence.'

When it was suggested that the magistrates at Quarter Sessions should adjourn, Anson, who was Chairman, opposed with the remark that 'it would be a poor compliment to the King's memory to neglect their duties'. He attended the funeral at St. George's, Windsor, and was greatly impressed, not only by the calm dignity of the ceremonial, but also by the evident sorrow of the great and representative assemblage.

Meanwhile he was being deprived of some of the personal links which held him to the House of Commons. On the last day of the year, 1909, his friend Earl Percy died in Paris after a short illness. His Journal includes an interesting estimate of that brilliant and justly lamented politician, as well as a statement of his own sorrow:

December 31, 1909. 'Very sad news of the death of Percy. I knew him better than any of the men of his age

in the House; in fact we saw a great deal of one another, and I greatly enjoyed his society. He had a powerful mind, and he always treated things in a fresh, unconventional way; and though I don't think he cared about the House of Commons, he could make a first-class speech, and had a remarkably sound political judgement. Ever since I went into the House I had regarded him as one of the hopes of the future, and I feel his death as a personal sorrow and as a national loss.'

A year later to the very day another severe personal loss fell on him in the death of Dr. Butcher, the gifted and charming scholar who had succeeded Dr. Jebb in the representation of Cambridge University. The Warden linked his name with Percy's in a mournful entry:

December 30, 1910. 'Everything is overshadowed by the news of Butcher's death—a loss to Parliament and to scholarship and to his friends. In a year Percy and Butcher both gone. The House will be very different to me.'

On February 1, 1910, his senior colleague, Mr. J. G. Talbot, 'a dear kind friend,' passed away, and Lord Hugh Cecil with general approval succeeded as Burgess. On April 9, 1911, he lost another friend in a quondam Fellow of All Souls, Mr. T. R. Buchanan:

April 11, 1911. 'Went to a memorial service for Buchanan at St. Margaret's. Henson and Knox the College representatives. Mowbray was away, and Buller at the funeral. This is a breach with the past, for Buchanan and I lived a good deal up here in the years 75–80 and worked together for the reconstitution of the College. He was one of those men who loved politics, and had a store of political information, but was rather too refined for the rough and tumble of the House of Commons. He never got the credit or position he deserved till his last year of active life, at the India office.'

Yet another friend was removed in August when Bishop Paget died, to the grief and consternation of his friends. The Warden was deeply shocked —'Terrible news of the Bishop's death. He was a dear friend, and now one's friends get fewer.'

While thus in his personal life the year was full of melancholy significance, its public course was filled with events of extraordinary and far-reaching importance. The Coronation of the new Sovereign brought a brief lull in the political excitement. The Coronation Honours, which were announced on June 20, included a Privy Councillorship for Sir William Anson. He was overwhelmed with congratulations from all sides. It had been matter of general surprise that the well-earned honour had been so long postponed. He was present at the Coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey and thought it 'magnificent'.

'The two Archbishops had resonant voices, and Lang's brief sermon was quite admirable.'

Scarcely had the festivities ended before the political warfare was resumed with enhanced acerbity. A scene of unprecedented disorder in the House, when the Prime Minister was refused a hearing, took place on July 24. Though he held the exasperation to be well-founded, Sir William Anson's strong sense of constitutional propriety was offended by so indecent an exhibition of party passion:

'Asquith was shouted down by our men, a very bad business, organized by F. E. Smith and Goulding and the like. Hugh Cecil got more or less into discredit over it. A great mistake was made in my opinion in not letting Asquith make his statement, for as printed afterwards it was a poor thin business. Balfour made a spirited reply. Edward Grey moved the adjournment of the House, and when F. E. Smith tried to speak, the Government men

would'nt hear him, and the Speaker adjourned the House in consequence of the disorder. A bad business to my mind.'

The constitutional crisis reached its climax in August when the Parliament Bill came before the Lords. Opinion was much divided, though hostility to the Bill was almost universal. There were many who pressed for its rejection. Rather than consent to the passing of so odious a measure they would run the risk of a great creation of Peers, which the Prime Minister seemed to threaten. Sir William Anson dissented from this perilous political consistency—'I hold that second chamber and Prerogative would be for ever discredited if the threat were allowed to become a reality.' The fatal division was taken on August 10, and resulted in a Government majority of 17—131 to 114. The two Archbishops and eleven Bishops voted in the majority, two Bishops (Worcester and Bangor) alone supported the 'Die Hards' whom Lord Halsbury led into the lobby. The Warden's Journal discloses the intensity of interest with which he had watched the proceedings:

August 10, 1911. 'A day of tremendous political interest. No one knows what the Lords will do, and in the Commons we vote ourselves £400 a year.

'Lloyd George moved the resolution in a very clever speech. Arthur Lee replied very forcibly. I then looked in at the Lords, and heard Milner make a somewhat acrid and very ill-delivered speech. Dined in the House, and went to the Lords. Some very poor speeches, and then Curzon. Meantime Derby came up to me, and said it was 11 to 10 on the Government. The Archbishop of Canterbury beckoned me out, and asked me whether I should greatly deprecate his voting with the Government. I said unhesitatingly, No. Curzon was very good. Then Halsbury rose, and I went back to our House lest I should miss the division on payment of members. Presently came the

news that the Government had won, through the Unionist support given by the Bishops and Unionist Peers. I loathe the Bill, but I think that this result leaves us some fighting power, gets the King out of a difficulty, and keeps the second chamber respectable. But never shall I forget the thrill of that last hour in the Lords.'

He went back to Pusey and finished the inimitable introduction to a volume of John Doyle's collected papers. 'I work very slowly nowadays,' he writes, 'and I do not like writing about my friends.' He was at this time interested in repaving the College chapel, and renovating the fine classical screen. The annual election of Fellows was 'exciting', and suggested some reflections on the electing machinery:

'I think that we have chosen two good men, but we are a very large electing body, and a Fellowship election conducted as it were by a public meeting when examiners leave a good deal, as they ought, to independent decision is a remarkable machine for producing, as it does, such excellent results.'

The retirement of Mr. Balfour from the leadership of the Unionist Party raised the very difficult question of selecting his successor. Opinion was divided in the Unionist camp between the claims of Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Behind the personal alternative lay the unreconciled dissidence on fiscal policy. The long service and sterling character of the older statesman were balanced by the personal popularity and inherited distinction of the younger. In this situation a compromise was the obvious course, and fortunately for the Party there was available a comparatively new member whose remarkable debating ability had already attracted wide notice. Sir William Anson cordially approved the selection of

Mr. Bonar Law. The meeting at the Carlton, at which the rivals abandoned their claims in favour of the new Leader, was, he thought, 'a fine exhibition of public spirit on the part of Long and Austen Chamberlain'.

Throughout the year the advocates of female suffrage had carried on a propaganda marked by extraordinary scenes of disorder. Sir William Anson ranged himself with their opponents, and in this capacity joined in a deputation to Mr. Asquith on December 14, which received a sympathetic reception. 'I don't feel as if I had made much use of 1911,' is his comment on an exceptionally arduous and troubled year, and he adds dejectedly, 'But that may be because one is getting too old to make much of anything.'

The year 1912 would, if it had not been so quickly followed by still more tremendous years, have been accounted an *annus mirabilis* by the historian of the future. The 'awakening' of China, and the collapse of Turkey before her *quondam* subjects in a brief war, would alone have sufficed to stamp it with a prodigious and critical character. The loss of the *Titanic* had made a record in marine disasters, and the extraordinary weather had seemed to portend fresh catastrophes. Domestic politics had been violent and exasperating beyond precedent. In Sir William Anson's life the year was marked by a severe personal loss. His dear and intimate friend, Willert, died on March 5:

> 'The loss of Willert is a thing I shall feel more and more as time goes on. He was a part of one's life, and associated with it in so many ways. But one must now live on memories.'

The policy of the Government was utterly distasteful to him. As a Churchman he was opposed

to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. It seemed to him indecent and intolerable that a political alliance between Irish Roman Catholics and English Nonconformists should determine a question in which the interest of the ancient Church of Wales was so deeply engaged. When (May 14, 1912) Mr. C. Masterman allowed himself to make a vehement attack on the Church of England in the House, he resented it so deeply as to refuse to take the chair at an Oxford House Meeting at which Mr. Masterman was to be the principal speaker.

In the autumn of 1912 the Prince of Wales, who had come up to reside at Magdalen College, began to attend on Sir William Anson for instruction in the law of the constitution. It was a happy arrangement, and added a new and pleasant interest to his Oxford life. The young Prince made a most favourable impression on his teacher. His modest bearing, courtesy, intelligence, eagerness to learn, and progress in knowledge are frequently mentioned in the Warden's private Journal. It is evident that the formal relation passed quickly into a genuine personal regard. He was always fond of the young, and in this case his interest was quickened by a full realization of the public stake in the character of the Heir Apparent of the British Throne.

Feeling ran very high in the House, and sometimes led to scenes which were little congruous with the dignity of a national legislature. On November 13 the Speaker had adjourned the House in order to terminate unmanageable confusion. A letter appeared from Professor Dicey in *The Times* condemning the conduct of the Opposition. Sir William Anson felt it requisite to write a reply, and on the 18th his letter appeared. It was vigorously expressed, and gave

great satisfaction to his own side. The concluding paragraph may be quoted :

'I fully realize the gravity of the decision formed and acted upon. Disorder in the House is always to be regretted, and I greatly regret some of the incidents which arose out of the disorder of Wednesday last. But I will not admit that my friends and colleagues deserve the censure of Mr. Dicey, or that the conduct of the Government did not justify their action. The events of Wednesday will not be without their use if the public is at last made to understand that, to enable Ministers to pay their debt to the Nationalist Party, the immemorial rules of debate and procedure under which the House of Commons has risen to fame are being contemptuously flung aside.'

He resented the indifference of the Government to the rights of Parliament, and viewed with genuine alarm the consequent decline of the House in public estimation. Westminster grew less and less agreeable to him, and he turned more than ever to the College for refreshment and comfort. He notes the length of his connexion with All Souls :

All Souls Day (1912). 'Thirty-one years ago I was chosen in Common Room for Warden. Whether they were right or not history will record. I have had a happy time on the whole, not without anxieties and regrets, but these not beyond measure.'

The last year of the Warden's life was crowded with work. His Journal records a ceaseless round of activities, political, academic, social, philanthropic. Both in Oxford and in Westminster 1913 was a busy year. His health, never satisfactory, was now showing evident signs of failure. A visit to Vernet-les-Bains in the spring did good, but the benefit was only temporary, and from this time onwards references to his failing health become ominously frequent. Nevertheless he gave up no

single item in the crowded programme of his life. On April 29 he voted in Convocation in favour of opening the Divinity Degrees to non-Anglicans. This reform, long over-due and supported by an overwhelming majority of the resident members of the University, was rejected by the country clergy, who filled the Sheldonian Theatre to overflowing, moved less perhaps by any deliberate conviction as to the merits of the question, than by an unreasoning desire to pay back the injuries they had received in the political arena. 'A vast crowd came to vote, not to hear speeches, which might as well not have been delivered.'

Early in May he received another public distinction, being included among the recipients of honorary degrees on the occasion of the installation of the Duke of Northumberland as Chancellor of Durham University. His visit to the North interested him greatly, and he noted it in his Journal in unwonted detail. He was the guest on this visit of the newly appointed Dean of Durham, and found himself in a pleasant company of friends, academic and political:

May 2, 1913. 'Reached Durham about five, and went to the Deanery, where I found Strong and Craik. After tea we were taken to the Deanery kitchen, a magnificent building like the Stanton Harcourt one, only fit for use; then to the Library of the Chapter, and to a yet larger one, for the clergy in general. We saw relics of Cuthbert, Bede, and Ranulf Flambard, and then went to the Cathedral, the splendour of which far surpassed my recollections.

'We dined, a party of twelve, and later, about 11 p.m. Curzon appeared in great force.'

May 3. 'A cheerful breakfast, and then we went to the Castle, entering the rooms where we were to robe through a grand Norman door. The party gradually assembled—Asquith, Haldane, Curzon, Rayleigh, and others. Then we were marshalled two and two to meet the Duke in his

robes and go to the great hall. I walked with Sir A. Geikie. The ceremony was not long, but was dignified, and then we walked in procession to the Cathedral, where we went up the nave to stalls allotted to us, and after a short service . . . we marched between files of Territorials, who accompanied us to protect Asquith against the suffragettes, to Hatfield Hall, where we had a very pleasant luncheon. After this I went to a *conversazione* in the Castle, having previously put off my robes, and then, after spending a little time in the Cathedral, I was so fortunate as to meet Bishop Tucker, who took me to his house, and showed me his beautiful drawings, chiefly of Uganda. Later I walked with the Dean of Christ Church to the Observatory, whence there was a very fine view of the Cathedral. A fine day ended in drizzling rain, which began as we returned to the Deanery. After another dinner party I dressed for my journey, packed, and left the hospitable roof of the Dean at 11.20.'

The summer witnessed the removal of two conspicuous figures from the political stage—George Wyndham and Alfred Lyttelton. For both these distinguished men the Warden had a genuine regard. He admired the brilliant gifts of the first, and felt the many-sided charm of the last, but in the one case a certain political distrust mingled with his admiration, while in the other his feeling was undimmed by any misgiving.

'The death of George Wyndham comes as a surprise. He was a brilliant creature, who ten years ago seemed to have the ball at his feet; then he became reckless. He ceased to inspire confidence, and his egoism made him rather an unhappy figure. I cannot quite forgive his treatment of Balfour in 1911. But he made politics interesting from his rhetorical power and graceful personality. Things have changed for us since I came into the House, and not for the better. Then we had J. Chamberlain, Hicks Beach, Goschen, Ridley, Hamilton on our front bench, besides Balfour. Percy and Wyndham were men of promise. But the House has never been the same to me since Percy

and Henry Butcher died, and my interest in politics is dying away into gloomy anticipations. . . .'

June 11. 'Attended several divisions on the Finance Bill. Dined at the Travellers and read a good deal of the *Life of Sir A. Lyall.* Walked back to the House with Locker Lampson. He thinks that the papers are responsible for the purposeless activity of modern Governments. They always want to announce a "crisis" or a "scene". I have finished the *Life of Bright,* a man of few ideas but abundant means of expression, in voice above all, and vocabulary and the sense of rhythm in sentences: but I do not think he was an amiable person, certainly not when I met him at —— in 1882, when he seemed a bully, and I got some passing credit with other guests for standing up to him. But his few ideas were large, simple, and effective, and he was bigger than the Radicals of to-day. Only I wonder how he would have got on with the Labour party and their Socialism. . . .'

June 13. 'Tired. Lunched at Temple; then to service at St. Margaret's for George Wyndham, a beautiful service. I did not really like George Wyndham. He was too much of an egotist, and could not live without applause or approval expressed in some obvious way. Hence his breakdown over his Irish administration. But I like to think of him at his best, and that was at the War Office in the dark days of the War, and again in the first years of his Irish administration—and thus I will try to remember him.'

On June 16 he was present at Eton in order to join in receiving their Majesties, the King and the Queen, on their visit to the School. 'The King said something kind about the Prince, and later he and the Queen spoke to me again about his progress, with which they seemed to be well pleased.' After attending the Encaenia in Oxford, he returned to Westminster for the excitement of the Marconi debate. The Warden was led, as well by his exacting standard of personal honour, as by his intense feeling for the purity of public life, to take a severe view of this deplorable incident. The

Government majority of 78 was in his opinion 'a Pyrrhic victory'.

July 5. 'Started in the car at 6.30 for Pusey. On the way saw the news of Alfred Lyttelton's death. This will make the House of Commons a very different place for many of us. It is no good dwelling on his merits. He was a man of such natural goodness that it did one good to be with him: but he is gone

"and round me too the night
In ever nearing circles weaves her shade".'

The situation in Ireland grew steadily worse as the time drew on when the Home Rule Bill would be passed automatically under the Parliament Act. Civil war seemed no remote or improbable contingency. In these circumstances many Unionists were prepared to invoke the Prerogative of the Crown in order to force a dissolution of Parliament. Sir William Anson addressed a weighty letter to *The Times* on the constitutional question involved: he concluded with these words:

'It really comes to this, that if the King should determine in the interests of his people to take a course of which his Ministers disapprove, he must either convert his Ministers to his point of view, or, before taking action, must find other Ministers who agree with him.'

He held that it was a mistake to suppose that the power of dissolution was obsolete, but insisted that it could only be exercised in a constitutional way. The removal of the suspensory veto exercised by the House of Lords did in his judgement add gravely to the potential value of the veto of the Crown, but rendered it of extreme importance to keep its exercise within the lines of the Constitution.

In September he revisited some of the scenes of his childhood with his brother Frederick:

September 16. 'We started at 10.30 for Brighton; stopped at Chichester to look at the Cathedral, which is more interesting than I had recollected: then to Walberton, and went to look at the Church, and the venerable font which has taken the place of the one which was new for my christening. I wish it had turned me out a better Christian. We went to Johnnie's grave; the lettering is obscured, and I must try to get that set right without polishing up the stone, which is very prettily shaped, and has weathered nicely. He died more than sixty-one years ago. What a loss!'

The fellowship election in November resulted in the addition to All Souls of one new Fellow—Anderson, a gifted and lovable man, destined, alas! with many of his contemporaries to end a life unusually full of charm and promise in the Great War. The Warden notes the exceptional excellence of his work in the examination, and adds a characteristic note:

'The College flourishes and I look back now on thirty-two years during which I wonder what I have done—if anything—except believe and go on believing in the future of the College.'

The year ended sadly. Both his brothers, Algernon on November 12 and Frederick on December 10, were taken away, and he felt the double bereavement severely. Still he persisted in bearing the full burden of his multifarious duties. The Journal is as full as ever of activity, but his health was evidently breaking. He added to his engagements by accepting the Archbishop of Canterbury's invitation to join the Committee which, in deference to a request of the Representative Church Council, he had appointed to review the relations of Church and State with the object of ascertaining how far a measure of 'self-government' was consistent with

the maintenance of the national establishment. He threw himself into the work of the Committee with characteristic conscientiousness, and before his death succeeded in completing a valuable memorandum on the legal and constitutional position of the Church of England. He was working steadily in the intervals of his public engagements on the revision of his *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, and sending contributions to Murray's great English Dictionary. On March 19 he was present in the House when the vote of censure led to 'the most dramatic debate' he had heard. He entered in his Journal a vivacious description of the proceedings, which reached a climax when Sir Edward Carson, who 'spoke with great power, saying that his place now was in Belfast', rose to start for Belfast amidst the cheers of the Unionist Opposition, the members rising to their feet as he left the House. Events in Ireland developed quickly. In Ulster preparations for self-defence were made on a great scale, and soon a formidable army of volunteers was drilled and armed. Civil war ceased to be an empty threat, and became a near prospect. Behind the movement of revolt in Ireland was the freely-expressed sympathy of the entire Unionist party in Great Britain. When the resignation of officers showed the intense dislike with which the Government policy was regarded by the Army in Ireland the extreme gravity of the crisis became fully apparent. Sir William Anson refused to condemn the attitude of Ulster. He held, as a good Whig, that there were limits to civil obedience, and he could not dispute the Ulster case that those limits were not respected by the policy of the British Government. Before a settlement had been reached, all domestic conflicts were hushed before the immense calamity of the Great War.

March 22. 'The *Pall Mall* announces trouble in the Army over the Irish business. This may become very serious.'

March 23. 'I went straight to the House. After questions, and Seely had given some account of the movement of troops in Ireland, Asquith at the suggestion of Bonar Law moved the adjournment of the House to enable a discussion to take place. Bonar Law made an effective speech, reading Paget's reported communication to the officers in command in Ireland. Asquith made a smooth reassuring statement, and finished up with some argumentative declamation about the duty of troops to obey orders. Balfour made a singularly fine reply, pointing out that we had got to a matter which was one of deep individual conviction. Then the debate pottered on; the motion for the adjournment was withdrawn, and Navy estimates resumed. I went to dine at Grillions, not very lively. Haldane talked about Kant, and the German Army.

March 24. 'To the House, where we were told by Seely that a White Paper would come out, and tell us all we wanted to know to-morrow. Then to the Sub-Committee of Archbishops' Committee on Church and State; made a rash promise to draft the legal relations now existing for the benefit of the Committee.'

March 25. 'The White Paper appears an astounding document. It does not tell us what Paget said to his officers which caused their resignations, and it ends with an explicit promise signed by Seely, French, and Ewart that the Army will not be used to crush political opposition to the Home Rule Bill.

'Went to the Archbishops' Committee at Church House, and in the absence of Selborne and the Bishops was put into the Chair. We got through our business in an hour....

'Went (to the House) and arrived before the end of questions; then Seely made a statement and announced his resignation, which it soon appeared was a bogus affair. Balfour followed, and then Asquith got up and repudiated the promises given by Seely, French, and Ewart, amid loud cheers from his party. Bonar Law followed, not in his most effective style. Meantime Rawlinson summoned me out to confer with Solicitors about a Bill relating to their examinations. After this I dressed, and inquired whether I could fulfil my engagement to the Drapers'

Company. At the last moment it was settled that the debate should be resumed after some business at 8.15, and I went. I had pleasant neighbours, the Duke of Teck and General Lloyd: had to return thanks for the Visitors, and came back to the House with a box of sugar-plums to hear a powerful speech from Austen Chamberlain, and a dull and venomous wind-up from Churchill. A full and exciting day.'

March 26. 'School attendance 11.30–2. Lunch and back to the House. Resignations of French and Ewart reported. This one expected, but Asquith was to make a statement at 11, which was put off till next morning at 12.

March 27. 'Asquith's statement postponed from 12 till 5. A Bill discussed all day about feeding children. I spoke. At 8 Asquith told us that the resignations of French and Ewart were still uncertain, but that a new Army Order was issued, which doesn't seem to have anything new in it.'

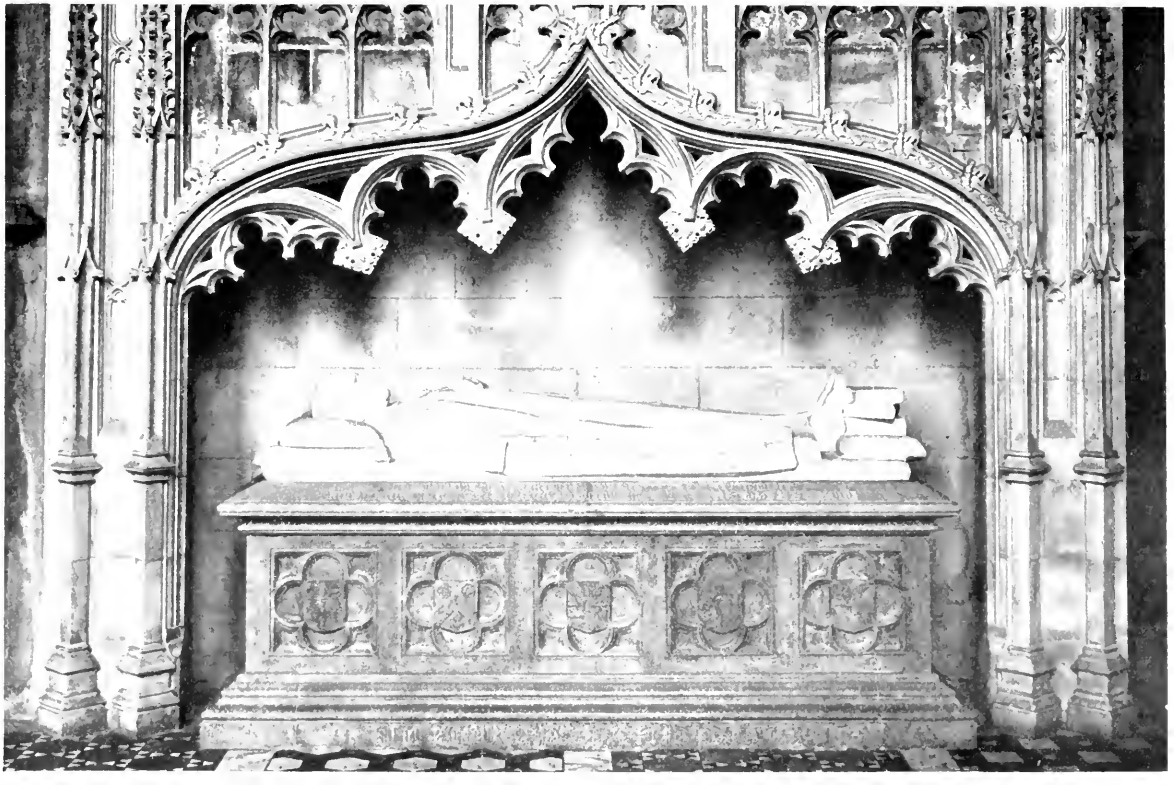
March 29. 'Spent some time in preparing a letter to *The Times* on Ulster.'

March 30. 'To the House. Got my letter off. A sensation was prepared for us. Seely, French, and Ewart resign. Asquith takes the War Office, and must offer himself for re-election. Having made this statement he left the House. Then F. E. Smith made the best speech I think I have ever heard from him on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill. He tracked the plot very conclusively, and very temperately. Winston replied, again violent and not effective. Bonar Law spoke well. Their majority dropped to 78.'

March 31. 'To the House to hear Edward Grey on second reading of Home Rule Bill. His speech was described in the papers next day as pacific. I should have called it uncompromising, if not provocative.'

April 2. 'After lunch to the House. Balfour made a powerful speech; followed by Samuel. Denis dined with me at the House, and came in for a good speech from Cave.'

April 3. 'A beautiful day. I went to Shirley, driving out from Croydon. The churchyard still pretty, and I was pleased with the appearance of the graves of my father and mother and Fred. Drove under the Addington Hills to Croydon, and visited the Church and Archbishop Sheldon's monument. Back to House.'



WARDEN ANSON'S MONUMENT

Erected by the College in All Souls Chapel

April 6. 'To Oxford, feeling wretched, sealed some leases, left depositions at County Hall, and so to London. The debate was interesting. Edward Grey had gone fishing, rather scandalous considering the part he had played early in the debate. Carson spoke very powerfully. Simon fairly. Healy with great force and venom. In the evening Bonar Law made an effective wind-up on our side, followed by Birrell, who responded *pro forma*. Their majority was 80, a drop from last year.'

April 28. 'Went after writing letters to the Temple to lunch, and make sure that Denis had his ticket to the House. Then to the House, a stormy scene. Austen Chamberlain made his charge of plotting against Ulster, and of untruthfulness. Winston Churchill answered in a vile speech, causing the most intense anger on our side. He ended suddenly with a proposal to Carson which sounded like peace. I dined with Mark Lockwood, meeting Banbury and A. Lee, and came back to hear a good speech from Cave. But the outlook is black.'

April 29. 'To House to hear Balfour. The first part most effective exposure of the plot, and of Winston as the "agent provocateur"; this hit him hard. Then he came to the possibilities of settlement and the risks of civil war, and the House became quite still. Then he asked why it should be regarded as a triumph to Unionists if Ulster were excluded and Home Rule accorded to the rest of Ireland, and then he described the hopes and efforts of his own Irish policy, and his belief in it, and his feeling at its disappointment. I think it was the most moving thing I have heard in the House. Both sides cheered when he sat down, and the whole tone of debate was altered. Some one spoke on the other side, and then Carson followed, very clear, and firm and conciliatory, for he said that if Ulster was excluded he would hope that Home Rule might, contrary to his expectation, be a success, and that Ulster might be willing to come in as part of a unit in a federal system. Bonar Law and Asquith wound up. I did not think Asquith's a great speech, though he did not close the door. We divided, and were beaten by 80.'

It is evident enough that Sir William Anson shared to the full the convictions and resentments of his

party on the subject of Ireland. He made small allowance for the difficulties of Mr. Asquith's Government, and he failed to understand the reasons, historical, sentimental, and political, which led so many English politicians of unquestionable character and long experience in public affairs to adopt the cause of Home Rule. So much must in equity be conceded. None the less an impartial judge of this tangled and troubled period of our history will not omit or underrate the circumstance, that the unyielding attitude of Ulster was held to be warranted and reasonable by a thinker so temperate, and a constitutional lawyer so eminent, as the Warden of All Souls.

On May 7 he was present at the opening of the new wing of the British Museum by the King and Queen, 'a dignified and not disagreeable function':

'The King and Queen expressed to me a hope that the Prince was getting on with his studies and was diligent: but when I got down to Oxford I found a note from him to say that his parents had summoned him to London for the Duke of Argyll's funeral, and that he could not come as intended on Friday.'

The weather had become very cold, and he found it 'insupportable'. On the 12th he attended a Committee at Eton, and then went to town and resumed attendance at the House, where 'the business had become farcical'.

May 12. 'Dined at the Temple; call night. The Treasurer held up Thurlow to the newly called, as a model of the noble independence of the Bar. P——, who was sitting next me, and who had heard very imperfectly what M—— said about Thurlow, discounted it by telling me in the loud voice of a deaf man, clearly audible to the students, that Thurlow habitually went into society accompanied by three illegitimate daughters. The newly called seemed to appreciate the aside.'

The next day he was 'rather poorly' with a chill, but none the less attended the House, and spoke on the Naturalization Bill. On the 15th he returned to Oxford, and entertained a party over the week-end. The last entries in his Journal are the following:

May 18. 'Guests departed. Prince of Wales came at 10. He is coming up again for a part of next term. He looks thin, and I should like to make him eat more, sleep more, and do less work.

'I went up by 1.45: took part in two divisions and came back to dine in College. The divisions were not good, for the fine weather kept men away. The majority was 94, and I had the usual reward of virtue.

'In the evening taught M. some law, and my voice in consequence disappeared.'

May 19. 'Up early, with my cold worse than ever. Did some letter-writing, and went to town by 9.10, and to the Eton College meeting. Warre has grown very feeble: I had to cut up his luncheon for him. Went to the House, and then to the Club: only Oman, Kenyon, and McKenzie Wallace, but the latter was in the chair, and full of interesting anecdote.'

May 20. 'Nearly voiceless. Finished a paper for the Victoria League, went to the Phoenix, and then to South Kensington: delivered my speech in a tone which was more audible than I had expected, and seemed to give satisfaction. Returned with McKinder to the House: then to flat, and found Ella and Agnes. Back to House: a deputation of News people about Denman's Bill: read in Library: voted: and dined at Travellers about 8.45.'

Here the Journal breaks off. Miss Anson completes the story:

'The Home Rule Bill had been got through earlier in the week of May 24, 1914, than he had expected, and he would at once have fled from London, but for a Goldsmiths' Dinner at which he had promised his host, Sir Robert Mowbray, to return thanks for the House of Commons. He felt tired then and ill enough to think he must fail,

but Lord Chelmsford, who was to return thanks for the House of Lords, being summoned away by the death of a relation, and a substitute having to be found for him, the Warden determined to pull himself together and get through his part as best he could. The speech, I am told, was excellent, and he came down to Oxford early next morning satisfied at having been faithful to his friend, in good spirits that London engagements were over and Whitsuntide holidays beginning. That evening he entertained "The Club", a company of eminent Dons, in his own house. The party went off well, but that night revealed how much he had overtaxed himself, and the doctor was summoned before morning. He never came downstairs again.

'This short illness of barely a week seemed at first almost a time of the desired rest. Too ill to think of attempting his ordinary pursuits, or even to be worried at being laid aside from them, and from the great annual event at All Souls, the Whitsuntide Gaudy, when both the College and his own house were filled, he seemed to enjoy lying still, reading or dozing, though racked with a persistent cough, and with the outward signs of anxious illness in the attendance of two nurses. He liked to have one of his sisters continuously with him, and talked with his usual brightness and interest of all that was going on. In many cases he dictated the answers to letters of inquiry, and even drafted the bulletin about to be issued for the morrow's publication. It told of improvement, though with fears "that all engagements must be cancelled for the time being". The doctors outside his room shook their heads over the bulletin he had composed, and intimated to us that the "passing on" was near. It seemed incredible to us that this should be so. The dozing continued, though he looked up with a

bright smile at moments. A few prayers were read by his nephew, John Campbell, to which his voice gave assent, and with a "Good-night" settling to rest the breathing ceased on the evening of June 4, a day linked with thoughts of Eton, and associated with much happiness throughout his life. It was truly a peaceful close to a journey through life marked throughout by unceasing activity and habitual thought for his fellow travellers.'

From his death-bed the Warden wrote in pencil the following letter to the Rev. Harold Anson, Rector of Birch. It is reprinted here as a typical instance of his thoughtfulness for others, and an illustration of the gentle humorous disposition which made him so deeply loved by his family and friends:

'I write in pencil because I am really ill—ill in great dignity and comfort, and progressing I believe to the satisfaction of my doctor, but though I have always sympathized with myself as never being really well, I now find that I have never known what it was to be really ill since I was eleven. I'm hardly allowed to see any one—no one from College lest I should talk business. My friends are all very good in taking trouble off my hands, and in inquiring after me, and some of the young ladies of Birch might like some of the dust of my doorstep on which the Prince of Wales stood when he came to make a personal inquiry and leave a note. He is a genuinely kind boy. But all this is egotism. What I want to say is that if the St. Anselm people are held up for want of another £200 to buy the plot, I will provide it. I understood that they would get it for £1250, and thought it might be just as well that this was known to be the limit of their means, and that, when they had got it, I would send them £200 for putting up the place.

'This is early morning, and I am supposed to have had a fairly good night. At any rate I was able to do without veronal. I hope the Whitsuntide party will be a success. Give them my best wishes.'

Two days later he died.

He died within a few weeks of the outbreak of the European War. No man would have felt more acutely the strain and agony of the long conflict. His intense patriotism would have moved him to great efforts and sacrifices, but the loss of so many gallant and promising youths, many of whom were among his personal friends, would have broken his heart. The public calamity would have been felt by him as a personal bereavement. Some words of his spoken to the students who had volunteered for service at the front, when, before leaving for South Africa, they were entertained at dinner by the Heads of their Colleges, will serve to illustrate not only his own ardent patriotism, but also the governing principle of his unselfish and arduous career: 'The War', he said, 'has taught us many things, and among others a truer estimate of human life. In our quiet times we have come to think too much that one of the main objects of life was self-prolongation,

> "To husband out life's taper to the close
> And guard the flame from wasting by repose."

We realize now that life is a possession to use and not to hoard, and that if it goes in a good cause, it is well-spent.'

The news of his death spread quickly through Oxford, and alike in City and University was received with expressions of regret. Within All Souls the feeling was one of consternation, almost of stupefaction. For a whole generation he had embodied the College. Every Fellow was bound to him by personal ties which caused his death to be felt as the loss of a loved and trusted friend, as well as that of an honoured chief.

His burial on June 9 was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of public respect. A

quondam Fellow thus noted in his private journal the scenes and emotions of the time:

June 8, 1914. 'The day was chilly and damp, according well with the melancholy mood in which I set out for Oxford on the saddest of errands—to attend the funeral of my dear and honoured friend the Warden. I found the College filled with the Fellows, all showing signs of a genuine sorrow. The Sub-warden, Simon,[1] was doing his sad duty well: he gave up a Cabinet meeting to hasten to All Souls as soon as the dreadful tidings of the Warden's death reached him. I joined the Fellows in escorting the coffin from the house to the Chapel, where Johnson[2] read Evensong. Raleigh[3] read St. John xiv. as a special lesson. I had some talk with Raleigh about the vacant Wardenship. The College has an extraordinarily difficult task to perform in finding a successor to Anson. His many-sided excellence makes him literally irreplaceable. Also I had a short talk with F. W. P. We agreed that we could recall no fault in the Warden. Differences of opinion with him we could remember, but never a fault. It is very wonderful.'

June 9, 1914. 'A celebration of the Holy Communion at 7.45 a.m. inaugurated the sad ceremonials of the day. The mortal remains of the Warden were in the coffin placed before the Altar. It had been watched through the night by Fellows, replacing one another in a pious vigil every hour. There could be no doubt as to the depth and sincerity of their sorrow. I think there was a twofold purpose in this Celebration. On the one hand, the College would surrender thus into the Hands of God the dearest of its possessions. On the other hand, the College, in front of a great disaster, would re-consecrate its own unity. Add the inevitable sense of helplessness which so sudden and unexpected a departure must needs have caused, and the special solemnity of this common religious act can be perceived.

[1] The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, Kt., K.C.V.O., formerly Attorney-General, with a seat in the Cabinet (1913–15), and Home Secretary (1915–16).

[2] Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of All Souls.

[3] Hon. Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., K.C., Fellow of All Souls.

'The Archbishop of York [1] was the celebrant, Johnson assisted. Everything was very solemn and moving. I thought myself back to the time when first I worshipped in that place. It seemed impossible to empty the Warden's stall of the slight trim figure. His reading of the College prayer on Fridays was unforgettable. At 11.45 a.m. there was a short service in Chapel. It was crowded with Fellows and Quondams. Lang, Henson,[2] and Campbell [3] sat in the Sedilia, and Johnson in his stall. They alone wore surplices: all the rest were in gowns without hoods. Johnson nearly broke down in reading the prayers: and Simon was visibly moved as he read the lesson, "Let us now praise famous men." Then we moved in procession to St. Mary's preceded by the University Beadles, one of whom at intervals rang a bell. At St. Mary's we escorted the coffin into the Chancel; and there the relatives took their places. When the congregation had been seated, the officiating clergy came in the church, and sat in front of the Proctors. Lang and Campbell on one side, Johnson and Henson on the other. Johnson read the sentences: Henson read the lesson: Lang read the prayers: and Campbell took the prayers beside the grave. Lang pronounced the final Benediction. Curzon was in the chief place as Chancellor of the University: The Prince of Wales sat next the Vice-Chancellor (Strong [4]): Asquith,[5] Harcourt,[6] and Pease [7] were also present. St. Mary's was filled with Heads, Professors, Doctors, and Masters. The walk to Holywell Cemetery evoked an impressive demonstration of popular respect, for great numbers of people lined the march, and showed in their behaviour much sympathy and concern.'

The sentiments with which the College regarded its departed head found permanent expression in the chapel. Most fitly was the recumbent figure of Sir William Anson placed within the Commu-

[1] Most Rev. C. G. Lang, D.D., Fellow of All Souls.
[2] Bishop of Hereford, formerly Fellow of All Souls.
[3] Rev. John M. Campbell, Chaplain of Hertford College.
[4] The Dean of Christ Church.
[5] The Prime Minister.
[6] Viscount Harcourt, Colonial Secretary, 1910–15.
[7] Right Hon. H. Pike Pease, M.P., Unionist Whip.

nion rails in the situation of distinguished honour assigned to founders and exceptional benefactors. It was not excessive to say that his services to All Souls College were of such magnitude and duration that he might fitly be described as its second founder.

The announcement of the Warden's death was received with expressions of regret in all quarters. Many laudatory estimates of his character and career appeared in the newspapers. Of these *The Times* published one, of which the authorship was both disguised and disclosed by the initial 'C'. It was written with ample knowledge, with just discrimination, and with warm personal affection. Its concluding sentences may well serve to conclude this Memoir:

'Such a life, if prolonged to the normal span and if filled with activity so multifarious and useful, is a contribution of the utmost value to the community and the State. Other and more dramatic figures may move with greater splendour across the stage and leave a more coruscating trail behind them. But to say of a public man that he filled many parts, and was adequate to them all, that he never served any but a good cause, and never served it otherwise than well, and that he yoked an attractive personality to a distinguished intelligence and an unsullied honour, is to render no mean praise: and when his university and his college set about filling the place that has been so abruptly left vacant the measure of the loss to both will be even more fully ascertained.'

None would more sincerely and fully endorse the last statement than the eminent men, both distinguished members of All Souls, who were in due course called upon to succeed Sir William Anson in the headship of the College and in the representation of the University, and who, it may fairly be said, have worthily maintained the tradition which he bequeathed to them.

APPENDIX A

By Viscount Cobham, Chairman of the Eton Governing Body

'Anson was a member of the Eton Governing Body for the last thirty years of his life, and in that capacity he did much hard work and rendered great services to his old school. Notwithstanding his many avocations, he devoted himself to Eton affairs with a single heartedness which many men give only to the main preoccupation of their lives. He was punctual in his attendance, rarely if ever missing a meeting, and he always had a thorough grip of the many subjects which came up for discussion. His reasoning was always clear-cut, and logical, with a dry humour which sometimes had some sting in it, especially when expressed in writing. But it was tempered by his unfailing courtesy, somewhat formal and old fashioned perhaps, but unmistakably genuine.

'Our annals have not been very eventful, and I cannot associate Anson with any particular policy or action special to himself unless I may except the sturdy fight he put up on behalf of the compulsory study of Greek at Eton, and the jealous scrutiny which he applied whenever a question was raised touching our constitution or statutory authority.

'Anson was, in every sense, an ideal Governor, fitted by nature and training for the work, and ever inspired by a strong devotion to his old school, and the keenest interest in its affairs.'

APPENDIX B

By Ernest Myers

Looking back over life I can hardly imagine it apart from certain cherished friendships that began in youth and so endured as to seem to have become in some sense a part of myself. My friendship with Anson dates from my first

year at Balliol (where we lived on the same staircase), half a century before he left the world he had served and enjoyed so well. With no friend have I spent more refreshingly happy hours, hours which to the last never failed to revive the light heart and eager mind of youth. The lives of both of us being, in different ways, fortunate in the main, and uneventful, there was no pressure of external circumstance such as may often test and deepen a friendship; but assurance of that sort was not needed. A deeply-rooted community of interests and principles concerning the serious side of life underlay our intercourse, while we joined for the most part in like tastes and appreciations as to its lighter side. Through all his full and fruitful years of work this lighter side was never lost to him, however unfavourable may seem the surroundings of a Head of a College and a member of Parliament. And assuredly in no mind can wit and playful humour have ever been more perfectly combined with good taste and kindliness. His faculty in this kind never left him. Only three years before his death (in June 1911) I was present at a Balliol 'Gaudy', where among many speeches his seemed to me by far the best—so fresh was it, so interesting, so felicitous in its delightful humour and sympathy. So far as my experience goes I am persuaded that, on the whole, young men learn much more, both intellectually and morally, from contemporaries of the right sort than from their elders, however sage and benevolent. No man could have been more entirely free than he was from any tendency to a didactic attitude towards his friends, but where our temperaments differed I have a grateful and amused remembrance of benign mitigation of such youthful failings as impetuosity, exclusiveness, and the like through his humorous and affectionate banter, his shy, kind eyes wearing almost their kindest look. Even in those early days there was in him a *mitis sapientia* which at no time of his life failed to mellow his wit and to widen his sympathies.

Doubtless he enjoyed in most things the success which his qualities and his diligence deserved, but his character was far other than that of the average successful man. He was keenly sensitive both to obligations and to worries, and worries were not lacking in important parts of his public life. Nor was his bodily health ever robust or really adequate to his many-sided industry. These may

well seem insignificant trials to those who live among the stupendous sacrifices and anxieties of to-day, but friends who knew him well may be allowed to think that he would have 'kept an equal mind' in sterner surroundings, for his helpful cheerfulness had its roots, not in animal spirits nor in the secured amenities of his life, but in unselfishness, in humorous wisdom, and in a duteous stoutness of heart.

If it be permissible to imagine that his lucid and lovable spirit retains yet some individuality amidst enlarged environment, we may surely say of him with confidence

ὁ δ' εὔκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ' εὔκολος δ' ἐκεῖ.

(In this world or in that, sweet-natured still.)

APPENDIX C

By Charles Dunbar Buller

My first recollections of our late Warden was his coming to tell me that I had been elected Fellow. This was nearly forty-eight years ago, in 1871, and I shall never forget his beaming face, which made one feel his pleasure in being the bearer of such news was almost as great as if he had been the recipient of it. The All Souls of that time was very different to the present. Bathurst, Howard, Inge, Bertie, Wrottesley, and Stopford represented a type of Fellow that was passing. Warre, R. G. W. Herbert, Lane, Scott, and Malcolm were amongst the middle-aged, the Ridleys, John Doyle, and Johnston were his contemporaries. Francis Compton was the last survivor of the old generation. All Souls then had only thirty Fellows, of whom Max Müller was one, and two professors. But, however different, in age, or views, on College matters, Anson was the friend of every one, though his sympathies, then as always, were with the young. At that time no very momentous questions had to be decided at College Meetings. The event of the year was the Fellowship Elections, and in them he took the deepest interest, and the sagacity with which he selected the most fitting candidate, and the tact and judgement he showed in getting his

man elected were, as in after years, very remarkable. As John Doyle would say, 'he rode his man most judiciously'.

The Restoration of the Chapel was another subject which occupied much time at College Meetings, but in these discussions he took little part. In fact, till 1874, beyond attending College Meetings most regularly and coming up for week-ends, most of his time was spent in London in Chambers, working at the Law, or going the Home Circuit, where he was always proud of having kept wicket at the Circuit matches.

In 1874 he accepted the Vinerian Readership, and from that time devoted himself to University and College interests, especially that of the Law School, which he may be said, if not to have created, at any rate to have built up. Then began his connexion with Trinity College.

From that time onwards he was a really busy man. But, however busy, he never seemed preoccupied or burdened with what he was doing. He took a great part in the successful management of the domestic affairs of the College, even to its minor details, and yet neither in University or College affairs did he put himself forward; never was a man freer from even a tinge of self-assertion or egotism. He came out as a leader without himself or his surroundings realizing that he was one. It is one of the difficulties of writing about him, that he never talked of himself, while throwing himself heart and soul into the pleasures and interests of others.

Even in the discussions on the University Commission, which were beginning to occupy the attention of Oxford, he took no very open part, content to secure the recognition and right of the Law School to occupy the place he considered it entitled to. Though no doubt his advice was sought, both when the Commission was being appointed, and by the commissioners themselves. He always took a keen interest in the College Library, and with Etheridge, the devoted Sub-Librarian, laid the foundation of the present Law Library.

To turn to another side of his character. No one had a keener appreciation of the enjoyments of social life, he was a first-class amateur actor, and could render to a suitable audience a variety of French songs, but these recreations he gave up all too soon.

Though never of strong physique, nor able to give much time to games, considering how little he practised, he was a fair tennis player, and good at lawn tennis, an excellent wicket-keeper, for many years a persistent, and plucky, rider, for, as he himself used to say, there was no natural sympathy between his hands and his horse's mouth. Always a fair shot, he became a really good one. He thoroughly enjoyed a trip to the Riviera in January, and he was a delightful companion.

It is difficult to write of these years, outwardly uneventful, from his coming into residence to his Wardenship. He was always thinking how best the College influence might be utilized, how best to help his co-fellows, and with all his earnestness one felt, when he came into a room, he radiated sunshine, and cheered the most gloomy. It may be said of him, he never said an ill-natured word, nor did an ill-natured act.

There is one aspect of his life in College I have not mentioned. The loyal manner in which he supported the constitution of the College as altered by the Commission. It was in a great measure through him that no breach in the continuity of College life occurred, that the *esprit de corps* of the College was in no way weakened, in spite of the very different elements then introduced. This, however, belongs principally to another and later period of his life, so I will not dwell on it here, only mentioning the assistance Compton was ever ready to give, and which was a very real help.

APPENDIX D

By the Rev. C. W. Alington

To the outside world the Warden of All Souls appeared as a very gifted and able man, an attractive personality, interested in a multitude of important and useful things, and handling with conspicuous ability and success all that he undertook; but there was another and less well-known side, which certainly ought not to pass unrecorded, and there must be many Oxford men scattered throughout the Empire who will remember him with an affection which

springs from something bigger and deeper than these qualities.

A friendship of twenty years' standing, which embraced not only the relation of pupil to tutor, but also the privilege of serving the late Warden in a modest capacity as his Secretary, and being admitted to the intimacy of the circle of his private life, may serve to justify an attempt to set down something of the beauty of character and width of human sympathy, which was perhaps hardly realized, even by those who knew him well and have borne such eloquent testimony to his gifts and abilities.

If behind the varied activities of an incessantly busy life there lay a unity of purpose and a singular completeness, there was still deeper down a very strong and simple religious faith; for him religion was part of life and was meant to embrace and illumine the whole of life. It could find its expression in the regular attendance at his College Chapel and at the communion, or in the conviction which led to his practical interest in the religious and social work of the Oxford House. In recent years he gave his services to the Church, when, in addition to his many burdens, he added the kindness of acting as Chancellor to successive Bishops of Oxford.

Allied to this faith, and indeed another expression of it, was an interest in human beings as such, shown in his kindness to young men and his concern for their welfare; so his work of teaching was a real happiness to him, and he would listen to the essays of the dullest of pupils with the same patient attention, and criticize them with the same kindly humour, as he would those of the most brilliant men. Trinity men who were fortunate enough to be his pupils will remember with pleasure the delightful vacation Reading Parties, at which he was the most gracious and hospitable of hosts and the kindliest of teachers; some, too, still treasure as one of their most cherished possessions a little volume of *Rhymes dedicated to Trinity Lawyers*, and designed to aid them in their legal studies.

He both made and used opportunities for helping those with whom he came into contact, broadening and strengthening their outlook, making life worth the living, and the same kindness with which he would take a young undergraduate abroad for his first visit to a foreign country could be seen in his interest in the welfare of an apprentice,

or the problem of underfed school children, which for him was not only a matter of urgent concern to the community, but a human problem involving the happiness and prospects of individuals.

To be thrown daily in contact with his life was to realize not only how full and varied were its interests, but how he gave of his best to persons and causes both great and small; but it was more than that, it was to discover a kindness and a paternal affection, which never found fault unjustly, and brought wisdom and understanding into human relationships. He was genuinely interested in the man as a human person, anxious that he should make the best of himself, 'find himself' and what he was fitted for; consequently his advice and criticism never failed to carry with it a real and lasting element of encouragement and strength. He was fond of protesting against the danger of dividing life up into compartments; it was the fullness of life and character, of which his own was such a splendid example, towards which he pointed one; consequently his influence never tended to turn young men into one mould, indeed he had a horror of the sort of influence that created dependence; reverence for the value of personality forbade that; thus it was that one grew to understand how with wisdom and kindness he would help men to develop their best and truest character, and in doing so guide them to find their true vocation in life.

As he was kind and thoughtful towards others, so there was no one who appreciated thoughtfulness more, or made small attentions seem tremendously worth while; the arranging of his papers for a meeting, the verification of a quotation or a reference for one of his books, the anticipation of some need, or the like.

To be allowed the run of his study and the use of his library; to hear the cheery inquiry about the work in hand, the prelude very frequently to some patient explanation of a text-book difficulty, involving too often a prolonged interruption of his own far more important work; or when the morning's work was done, to sit in his room because one felt he liked companionship, while he would from time to time break off his work, and, standing in characteristic attitude on the hearthrug, discuss some point or ask an opinion; to hear his talk on a variety of subjects, in the course of which he would sometimes take some volume

of prose or poetry from the bookshelves and read a passage which appealed to him; or to know, as years passed and he became increasingly occupied with the larger affairs of public life, that he still was as ready as ever to be at pains to help or advise, and that whenever one went to see him or to stay there would be the cheery greeting and the warm welcome—these things and such as these are memories which will always be associated with one who was not only a distinguished man, but the most lovable and inspiring of friends.

APPENDIX E

By the Rev. W. A. Spooner

By the death of Sir William Anson, Oxford House lost one of its oldest, staunchest, and most valued supporters. Convinced from the first of the value of the ideas which gave it birth, directly St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green, had been fixed upon as the scene of operations, he went down, as one of a very small band, to see how a start could best be made. He was one of the founders of the Oxford House Club, and used to describe, with a keen sense of humour, the hardships and adventures which the first pioneers encountered in days when they still lived in the disused school.

It was his wise counsel, coupled with the zeal of Mr. Campion, and the self-devotion of Mr. Douglas Eyre, which converted what seemed at first an almost hopeless ideal into an actual fact; and when—as early happened, and has sometimes happened since in the history of the House—financial straits occurred, Sir William Anson gave generous aid to enable the House to overcome the difficulty.

As Chairman of the Council—an office to which he was speedily called with the consent of every one concerned, and which he filled for twenty years—he worked loyally, cordially, and most helpfully with the different Heads to whom the fortunes of the House have been successively entrusted. Many of them—certainly not least the Bishop

of London—found in his house a home and an ever-ready welcome whenever they wished to visit Oxford.

In his house too there grew up, under his sisters' initiative and guidance, the idea of St. Margaret's House in Bethnal Green, which has been able to give to the women of the district something of the same friendship and encouragement which the Oxford House has furnished to the men. While anxious that the religious side of the work should not supersede the social, he ever recognized that the social work, to be effective, lasting, and really valuable, must rest upon a basis of religion and faith, and be inspired by a religious motive

During nearly five-and-twenty years he watched the House growing and developing upon principles from which it has never departed, and extending by the help of these principles its influence wider and deeper in Bethnal Green. During those years he gave, as Chairman of the Council, unstinted care and interest to its concerns; and carried it, by his wise counsel and ready help, through not a few of the vicissitudes which from time to time it has encountered.

When the pressure of his official and parliamentary work forced him, after many years of service, to retire from the chairmanship, he still continued to watch with assiduity over the affairs of the House, was constant in his attendance, whenever it was possible, at meetings of the Council, and helped by his kindly interest, by judicious counsel, by the giving of Bursaries, and in other ways, to advance its interests. The House and Bethnal Green have known no wiser, truer, and more helpful friend.

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