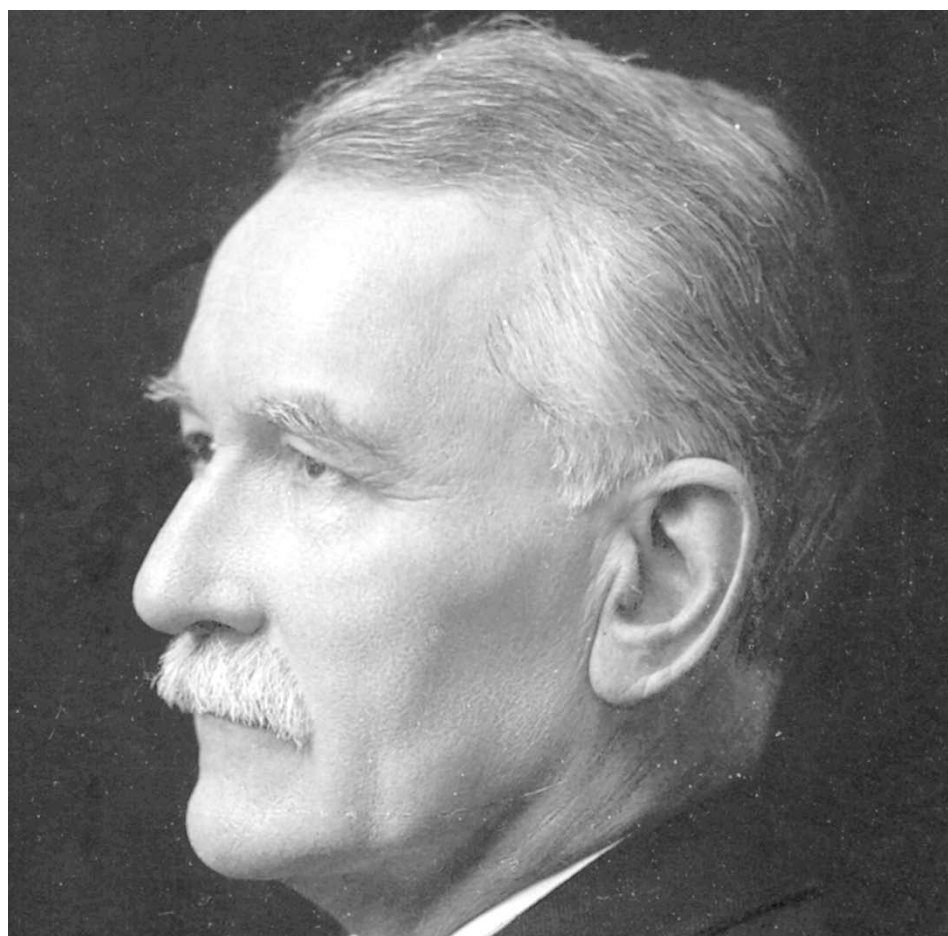


# A FINE AND DISIN THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

During the early twentieth century, the liberal conscience of many radicals spurred them to speak openly on issues of importance, particularly with relation to British foreign policy. This group of dissenters, or 'troublemakers', as A. J. P. Taylor dubbed them, consists mainly of figures who have remained obscure.<sup>1</sup> This is certainly the case for Aneurin Williams, a back-bench Liberal MP, who was engaged by an extraordinary number of causes, all of which benefited enormously from his personal involvement.<sup>2</sup> **Barry Dackombe** analyses his life and activities.



**H**IS DEATH in January 1924 came just fourteen months after losing his parliamentary seat and following a prolonged period of debilitating ill-health. However, it did not go unnoticed; among the numerous tributes paid to him was the following from A. G. Gardiner, the former *Daily News* editor:

The death of Mr Aneurin Williams removes from the public life of this country a fine and disinterested spirit, and leaves many good causes bereft of a devoted servant. He ground many axes in his time, but never his own.<sup>3</sup>

Referring to the axes metaphor, the international lawyer Sir

# INTERESTED SPIRIT OF ANEURIN WILLIAMS

John Fischer Williams observed that, 'the axes were ground very fine and the grindstone was no common material'.<sup>4</sup> Among the causes Williams championed were proportional representation, the garden city movement, co-operation and co-partnership, international peace and the League of Nations, together with the rights of the oppressed. Always taking a leading and sometimes a pioneering position within these movements, he strove with unstinting devotion to promote the twin ideals of justice and co-operation.

Aneurin Williams was born at Dowlais, Glamorganshire, on 11 October 1859, the second son of Edward Williams (1826–86), who was at this time the Assistant General Manager of the Dowlais Iron Company, and later General Manager of Bolckow and Vaughan's expanding ironworks at Middlesbrough. Such was Edward's success that he has been described as 'one of the giants of the iron age', and by 1879 he was able to purchase the Linthorpe Ironworks situated close to the River Tees.<sup>5</sup> Importantly, this would provide Aneurin with valuable administrative experience and sufficient means to pursue his chosen path.

Despite leaving his native Wales at the age of only seven, Aneurin maintained a strong affinity with and interest in the principality, especially as his

father was particularly keen to support local efforts to maintain Welsh identity, culture and language. The family's links with Welsh culture were particularly strong, as Aneurin's great-grandfather was the infamous Edward Williams (1747–1826) who, under his bardic name Iolo Morganwg, acquired considerable fame and notoriety as a radical, poet, scholar, collector and creator – or literary forger – of ancient Welsh poetry and manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> Aneurin was justly proud of his Welsh ancestry and ensured that Iolo's extensive collection of manuscripts and letters was deposited with the National Library of Wales, a process continued by his children in the 1950s and 1960s.

The family was securely positioned at the heart of Teeside's vibrant Welsh community, which contributed to the unique atmosphere of Middlesbrough, a town with an unparalleled growth rate and a strong nonconformist Liberal tradition. This in part helped shape Aneurin's political ideas and philosophy, as did his father's political interests: Edward was a strong advocate of universal adult suffrage, disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, equal rights for Ireland and temperance legislation. Edward was first elected to Middlesbrough Town Council in 1868 and in 1873 became Mayor, one of a

long line of nineteenth-century iron founders to hold such a position. This early introduction to local politics served as a catalyst for Aneurin and his two brothers: Illyd, three years his senior, served on Middlesbrough Town Council between 1886 and 1892, while Penry, seven years his junior, became Liberal MP for Middlesbrough.<sup>7</sup> He also had two elder sisters: Mary, who married local doctor John Hedley, and Jane, who married John Belk, part-time Clerk to the Town Council.

Aneurin and his brothers were educated under the care of the Rev. John Samuel Dawes, who ran a private school in Surbiton.<sup>8</sup> However, while Illyd and Aneurin proceeded to St John's College, Cambridge, Penry failed to follow them. The exact reason for this is difficult to ascertain, but the sudden deterioration of their father's health just at the time Penry would have been expected to go up to Cambridge may well have been a contributory factor.

While at Cambridge, Aneurin read for the classical tripos and was a regular speaker at the Union. On graduating he entered the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1884. However, during his legal training he became so moved by the influential penny pamphlet, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Enquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor*,

Aneurin Williams  
(1859–1924)

that he determined to work in London's East End to undertake what he termed 'social studies'. In June 1884, he approached Canon Samuel Barnett, founder and first Warden of Toynbee Hall, in London's Whitechapel, to ascertain the possibility of becoming a resident. The university settlement movement, of which Toynbee Hall was the best-known institution, proved a strong attraction for many young graduates from Oxford and Cambridge. Though not all were Liberals, many, like Aneurin, were able to utilise their experience to talk with authority on urban social problems. Indeed for many future Liberal MPs, the experience was of such importance that the settlements were regarded as an important training ground for both politicians and civil servants.

Suitably encouraged by his discussions with Barnett, Aneurin began to make plans to join the first Toynbee settlers. However, by September 1884, because of ill-health, which was to plague him intermittently for the rest of his life, he was persuaded to take a recuperative trip to North America. After his break, he returned to Cambridge to study political economy under Professor Alfred Marshall. Only in the autumn of 1885 was Aneurin finally able to take up his residence at Toynbee Hall, also giving a series of lectures on political economy. These lectures would bring him to the attention of Sidney Webb, who sought Aneurin's help in giving lectures to 'extension' classes within working men's clubs, and attempted to persuade him to become a member of the Fabian Society.<sup>9</sup> Despite Aneurin's reservations, he was on good terms with several leading Fabians, including John A. Hobson, Graham Wallas and George Bernard Shaw.

Unfortunately Aneurin's period of social work was brought to an abrupt end in the spring of 1886, with the serious deterioration of his father's

**Among the causes Williams championed were proportional representation, the garden city movement, co-operation and co-partnership, international peace and the League of Nations, together with the rights of the oppressed.**

health, and subsequent death in June. Consequently, Aneurin returned to Middlesbrough to help his brothers in managing the family ironworks. His brother Illtyd had, since his graduation from Cambridge, become heavily involved in the daily management of the ironworks, assisting his father who had increasingly been precluded from active work due to ill-health. Illtyd would subsequently become chairman of the ironworks and later he also became a director of the much larger Bolckow, Vaughan & Co. Ltd.

Despite being removed from his new vocation in London's East End, Aneurin was determined to maintain his interest in public work. As a result he became heavily involved in Local University extension classes, assisting Middlesbrough's poor, and of course Liberal politics, particularly Home Rule for Ireland and the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. His first-known publication was issued during the passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886; here he sketched out plans for each of the four 'nations' to have their own House of Commons to debate and approve bills, which would then pass to a combined Parliament of all four Houses for a final reading and approval or sending back, thereby replacing the House of Lords as the second chamber.<sup>10</sup> With the introduction of the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, he set out his concerns about how the differences between the Protestant north-east of Ireland and the predominantly Catholic remainder of the country could be reconciled.<sup>11</sup> This interest in Ireland would continue throughout his life; he made numerous visits there in order to view at first hand the effects of rule by Westminster.

In 1888 Aneurin married Helen Elizabeth Pattinson, the daughter of John Pattinson, an eminent and well-respected

analytical chemist of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and niece of Sir Joseph Swan.<sup>12</sup> The Middlesbrough climate was not conducive to Helen, particularly following the birth of their first child; as a result of her increasingly delicate health, Aneurin was forced to look for a healthier climate in which to live. After a period living in the Dorking area they finally settled in 1892 on Hindhead, near Haslemere in Surrey, an area popular with late-Victorian and Edwardian writers and scholars. Its reputation as having a healthy atmosphere also attracted Arthur Conan Doyle, whose first wife suffered from tuberculosis. Other neighbours of note included Gilbert Murray, the Hon. Rollo Russell, George Bernard Shaw and the publisher Algernon Methuen. As a consequence of this relocation, Aneurin could no longer play an active part in the day-to-day management of the family ironworks. Instead, on the recommendation of Professor Alfred Marshall, he turned his attention to the work of the Labour Association, whose object was to promote the idea and encourage the development of co-partnerships between employers and employees.<sup>13</sup> This enabled him to develop lasting relationships with many European co-operators, through his involvement with the International Co-operative Alliance, as a founder member and chairman from 1908 until 1920.

The labour co-partnership movement enabled him to come into contact with various Members of Parliament interested in promoting worker involvement, such as John Morley, Fred Maddison and Keir Hardie. It was through such individuals and the politicised Haslemere community that he gained first-hand knowledge of the 'pro-Boer' groups at the end of the nineteenth century. Following the 'khaki' general election of October 1900 he resolved to become more actively involved, and was soon serving on the

executives of both the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism and the South Africa Conciliation Committee (SACC). The publication of Conan Doyle's *The War in South Africa: its Causes and Consequences* in January 1902 caused great consternation to Aneurin and his colleagues. As a result he was commissioned by the SACC to write a detailed reply to this popular pamphlet, since for most people the statements made by Doyle were incontrovertible and it was even recommended reading for some government ministers. The end of the war precluded the publication of his anti-Doyle work, research for which had been aided by leading members of the pro-Boer community, including Emily Hobhouse and John A. Hobson.

Importantly, the Anglo-Boer War provided a stimulus for Aneurin's political ambitions, which culminated in his standing for election in 1906. He was not alone among his former pro-Boer contemporaries in attempting to enter Parliament in this election; others included G. P. Gooch, Percy Alden and

J. Annan Bryce.<sup>14</sup> Soon after the formation of the Liberal government in December 1905, Aneurin learned that he was to be put forward for the Medway seat in Kent. As the first challenger to the incumbent Conservative since 1892, he was naturally uncertain of his chances. His election address stressed the need for free trade and social reform, while opining that any progress and freedom at home could only come as a result of peace abroad.<sup>15</sup> However, despite the national swing to the Liberals, Aneurin failed to secure his much-desired victory by a margin of just 106 votes.<sup>16</sup>

During the election campaign, Aneurin announced that he was in favour of land reform in both town and country. This was not surprising, as he had since the turn of the century been a member of the executive of the Land Nationalisation Society. The society's aims were to get land properly valued and taxed, and where possible to encourage public ownership of land. Utilising Aneurin's legal knowledge and experience the society was able to get the 'Tax and Buy' Bill drafted and

presented to Parliament by Gordon Harvey in 1904.

Together with some of his Land Nationalisation Society colleagues, Aneurin was a founding member and director of First Garden City Limited, the company that turned Ebenezer Howard's pioneering vision of a garden city into the reality of Letchworth. Aneurin served as its chairman between 1906 and 1915, during Letchworth's founding years, a post he held concurrently with his chairmanship of the Land Nationalisation Society, and in consequence acquired a reputation as an expert on housing reform.

Aneurin had greater electoral success in January 1910, when he was elected, together with Charles E. Mallet, for the two-member constituency of Plymouth. However, both lost their seats in the December election and Aneurin was left to concentrate upon a therapeutic trip to South Africa.<sup>17</sup> This visit to the recently-established Union of South Africa gave him the opportunity to recover from a serious case of neuritis in his arm and also enabled him to see at first hand some of the nation and

Group of Liberal supporters with Aneurin Williams, on visit to London, c.1914





strong advocacy of peace and arbitration, and concern over military spending, as exemplified by the *Dreadnought* building programme, were widely debated during his candidacy. This did not make him a pacifist, except in the eyes of his detractors; rather he was what Martin Ceadel has termed a *pacifist*.<sup>21</sup> Pacifism is defined as the belief that war can ultimately be prevented and abolished through reforms which establish justice in both international and domestic politics. War can only be justified in order to safeguard political reforms and achievements.

During the First World War Aneurin's credentials as an internationalist were firmly established. Since the beginning of the century he had worked closely with Noel Buxton and James Bryce to champion the rights of subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>22</sup> Their involvement was channelled through the Balkan Committee and the British Armenia Committee, extra-parliamentary groups supporting the principle of self-determination for the Macedonians and Armenians respectively. Indeed he also supported the notion that the Irish question should be settled along these lines.

Following the outbreak of war, and Turkey's entrance on the side of the Triple Alliance, news soon reached Aneurin of the Armenian massacres, the beginnings of what has since been termed the first genocide of the twentieth century. While the emotive term genocide was not employed by Aneurin and his associates, they nonetheless regularly described the treatment of the Armenians as being co-ordinated with the intention of 'exterminating' and 'extirpating' the Armenian race.<sup>23</sup> While the actual number of deaths has been disputed, it is estimated that between one and a half million and two million Armenians lost their lives.<sup>24</sup> In addition to raising public awareness, Aneurin was instrumental in the

people on whose behalf he had campaigned a decade earlier.

On his return he devoted his attention to the numerous causes to which he had become committed, including proportional representation. Through his work with the SACC, he had come into regular contact with Leonard Courtney and together in 1905 they had set out to revive the executive of the Proportional Representation Society.<sup>18</sup> Following Courtney's death in 1918, Aneurin became its chairman until 1921, and then its treasurer for the final two years of his life. As a result, his energies were soon directed to finding ways of introducing proportional representation to British elections. During his first term in Parliament he introduced the Municipal Elections (Proportional Representation) Bill, which passed through the House of Lords but failed due to insufficient time. In 1916, however, he was invited to join the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and utilised his position to argue for both proportional representation and women's suffrage. While he was unsuccessful with the former, the resultant Representation of the People Bill (1918) did enable

women over the age of thirty to vote in parliamentary elections, provided they were householders or wives of householders. Interestingly, Aneurin's personal support for women's suffrage was not sufficient to receive the backing of Mrs Fawcett of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies during the 1914 by-election campaign for the North West Division of Durham.<sup>19</sup> Instead, she gave her support to G. H. Stuart, the Labour candidate. While Aneurin's pro-suffrage views were in accordance with those of a large majority of Liberals, a minority of Cabinet ministers, including Asquith, were totally opposed to women being given the vote, whereas the Labour Party advocated universal suffrage, regardless of gender.

The North West Durham by-election, which took place on 30 January 1914, saw Aneurin challenged by both a Unionist and, for the first time, a Labour candidate. The entry of the Labour candidate in an area dominated by miners and iron workers, dramatically reduced the Liberal majority and although Aneurin was elected, marks a key stage in the transition of this seat to Labour.<sup>20</sup> Aneurin's

Cartoon in *Consett Guardian* (6 February 1914) following Aneurin Williams's by-election victory in January 1914.

'Aa hope ye'll like yor new Seat, Mr. WILLIAMS. Aa didn't fancy cummin ower wi' them other cheps, ye see aa've cum ower th' watter aal me life in this boat, and aaltho yor a new boatman aa feel quite safe.'

establishment of the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund to provide much-needed aid.

The first two months of the war saw Aneurin developing ideas for a League or 'Society of Nations', which would mutually protect members through what was later to be known as 'collective security'. From his standpoint, the use of sanctions or mutual protection against aggressive nations was the only possible way to achieve a lasting peace.<sup>25</sup> As previous disarmament policies and arbitration treaties had failed, the League members should be required to enforce the just rights of each member against aggressors by the use of coercion, either economic or military. While the eventual League of Nations failed on several counts to live up to Aneurin's expectations, it was, he believed, the first step towards something greater.

Aneurin's ideas were initially published in *The Contemporary Review*, under the editorship of his old pro-Boer and Balkans colleague G. P. Gooch. Following its publication, Aneurin actively sought out individuals sympathetic to his beliefs and this nucleus became the League of Nations Society. They sought gradually to raise public awareness of the need for a League of Nations, by publishing discussion documents and organising public meetings. Aneurin, together with fellow Liberal MP Sir Willoughby Dickinson, steered the Society through its early years until David Davies MP and his associates attempted to take control at its annual general meeting in June 1918.<sup>26</sup> As a result, Virginia Woolf observed that 'the jingoes were defeated by the cranks'.<sup>27</sup> Davies then set up the alternative League of Free Nations Association; however, Sir Edward Grey, who had been invited to be President, insisted the two societies begin negotiations for their eventual unification. This duly occurred in October

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1918, establishing the League of Nations Union, which would become one of the most successful peace organisations during the inter-war period. At the insistence of Davies, who financed the Union during its first months, Aneurin's role was severely curtailed, and his significance has as a result been eroded to such an extent that 'by the time all the Archbishops and party leaders had come in, Aneurin Williams had lapsed into comparative obscurity'.<sup>28</sup>

While Lloyd George declared his support for the League of Nations concept, it never really played a part in the 1918 general election campaign. Following the Armistice, he announced that in the forthcoming general election he would be standing as the leader of the coalition, rather than simply as a Liberal. Further, on 29 November, while speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne, he declared that only Liberals who had shown they could be depended upon to support the coalition, and had not taken 'advantage of temporary difficulties in order to overthrow the Government' would receive his endorsement.<sup>29</sup> In his sights, it was claimed, were those who had voted against him in the Maurice debate in May 1918, in which Asquith had proposed a motion to investigate claims that the government had misled Parliament over the strength of British forces on the western front. While Aneurin's brother and most of his friends and colleagues had voted for the motion, he was amongst the eighty-five to abstain or find themselves absent from the House.

The agreement with the Conservatives was already public knowledge, and so it came as a complete surprise when Lloyd George's agent, speaking to the Newcastle press a few days earlier, identified Aneurin as a coalition candidate. Aneurin confided to his wife that he didn't think Lloyd George's 'blessing' would do him any

good.<sup>30</sup> As it turned out, however, the endorsement was very short-lived and Aneurin went to the poll against both Coalition and Labour candidates. Despite strong opposition he was returned as the MP for the re-designated Consett constituency, by a margin of just under 300 votes.<sup>31</sup> On returning to Westminster he sat as part of the rump of Liberals to be returned without the coupon. He was joined by his brother Penry who, despite being issued with the coupon, had repudiated it.

Since the formation of the coalition government, in May 1915, Aneurin had decided to sit on the opposition benches, and as a result was deemed by some to be an 'extreme radical'. Although he was sympathetic to the aims of the Union of Democratic Control, he decided against following his friends and colleagues into the movement and their subsequent path towards Labour.<sup>32</sup> Whether he ever seriously contemplated a move to Labour is difficult to tell, but it is evident that he saw that many independent Liberals would naturally gravitate towards the Labour Party. He believed in social reform and the liberty of the individual and, despite its disunity, he saw the Liberal Party as being the best means of achieving this. Throughout, Aneurin remained a radical Liberal and never considered himself a true Asquithian, nor did he truly embrace Lloyd George with whom there appears to have been a certain animosity. The presence of Lloyd George, with Frances Stevenson, at nearby Churt, did little to further endear him to Aneurin in his latter years.

Ill-health continued to trouble him, and in 1922 he was persuaded to take a recuperative trip to Australia. During the voyage he received the devastating news of his wife's death, and this was rapidly followed by news of the forthcoming general election following the Carlton Club



'coup'. In Aneurin's absence, his children campaigned hard but could do little to halt the 'wave of socialism which swept over the county of Durham'.<sup>33</sup> Defeat was not totally unexpected as the Labour base had been building since their first foray during the 1914 by-election, and following the 1918 election, Aneurin had accurately foreseen the migration of moderates to the Conservative Party and the radicals to Labour.<sup>34</sup>

By the time of the December 1923 general election, Aneurin's health was such that he was unable to accept the appeals of his Durham constituents to stand again. Instead, the local Liberal Party adopted his daughter, (Helen) Ursula, as their candidate. Despite being only twenty-seven years of age and too young legally to vote, she had considerable experience assisting her father during the 1918 election and with her brother, Iolo, on their father's behalf during the November 1922 election. In a hard-fought contest she made

**Ursula Williams (standing on right of picture), daughter of Aneurin Williams, with women campaign workers during the 1923 election**

an impressive sight campaigning in the male-dominated mining community of north-west Durham; however, the forty-eight per cent of the vote she secured was insufficient to oust the sitting Labour MP.<sup>35</sup> The Conservatives failed to put up a candidate in this election, and they would only contest one of the remaining four elections before the outbreak of the Second World War.

Aneurin's last public act was to engage in a debate in *The Times* and the *Westminster Gazette* regarding the outcome of the 1923 election and the need it demonstrated for proportional representation – particularly as without it he foresaw the Liberal Party being squeezed out.<sup>36</sup>

He died on 20 January 1924 and was buried at Grayshott Church, Hampshire. At his funeral there were representatives and messages of condolence from a wide spectrum of society and the numerous causes he advocated. As a fitting tribute, on 10 February that year, a joint memorial service was held for Aneurin

Williams and former American President Woodrow Wilson, at the Armenian Church of St Sarkis, in London's Kensington. His role in raising awareness of the plight of the Armenians was highlighted in the Welsh campaign for official recognition of the genocide, which culminated in the dedication of the Welsh national memorial to the Armenian Genocide in Cardiff on 3 November 2007.

As a parliamentarian, Aneurin Williams left no lasting legacy, although he was appointed Chair of the Public Accounts Committee in 1921. His contribution outside Parliament was far greater, working tirelessly on behalf of the causes he passionately believed in, invariably to the detriment of his own health. He expected no personal reward or aggrandisement from his actions, and to those who knew him he was 'conspicuous for ability and self-effacement'.

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whose thesis examines the expression of Liberal internationalism between the Boer War and the First World War through the involvement of Aneurin Williams and his associates with a series of single-issue pressure groups. This biography has been made possible through access to Aneurin Williams' personal papers, which are still in the care of his family and are currently being catalogued by the author.

- 1 A. J. P. Taylor, *The Troublemakers: Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792–1939* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1957).
- 2 Aneurin was MP for Plymouth, January to December 1910; North West Durham, 1914–18; Consett, 1918–22. He does appear in the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, ed. Joyce Bellamy and John Saville (London: Macmillan, 1974), Vol. I, pp. 346–47.
- 3 *The Nation*, 26 January 1924.
- 4 J. F. W. [John Fisher Williams] 'Aneurin Williams: A Personal Tribute', *Representation: The Journal of the Proportional Representation Society*, no. 42, February 1924, p. 4.
- 5 *South Wales Daily News*, 14 May 1910; see also David J. Jeremy and Christine Shaw (eds), *Dictionary of Business Biography: A Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860–1980*, 5 vols. (London: Butterworth, 1986), Vol. 5: S–Z, pp. 817–22.
- 6 For further details on Iolo, see G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1956); more recent work includes Geraint H. Jenkins, *Facts, Fantasy and Fiction: The Historical Vision of Iolo Morganwg* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1997); and Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).
- 7 Penry was MP for Middlesbrough, from January 1910 to December 1918, and Middlesbrough East, December 1918 to November 1922, and December 1923 to October 1924.
- 8 Rev. Dawes held a Doctorate of Divinity from Trinity College, Dublin and a PhD from the University of Jena, Germany. His children included Elizabeth, who was the first woman to receive a DLitt, and was one of the new additions to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 9 Aneurin Williams Papers (Private Collection), Letter from Sidney Webb, 5 Jan 1887.
- 10 The pamphlet was originally to be printed under the pseudonym of 'Federal'; however, the final version instead identifies him as 'A.W.'; *Home Rule by Development: An Alternative Plan Home* (Middlesbrough: The Printing and Publishing Co., 1886).
- 11 Aneurin Williams, *Home Rule: An Appeal for Conciliation and a National Settlement* (London: William Ridgway, 1893).
- 12 Sir Joseph Swan was the British inventor of the electric light bulb and later went into partnership with Thomas Edison to manufacture light bulbs in Great Britain.
- 13 This was later renamed the Labour Co-Partnership Association so as better to reflect its objects.
- 14 Gooch was MP for Bath, from 1906 to January 1910; Alden was MP for Tottenham, 1906–18 (Liberal), and for Tottenham North, 1923–24 (Labour); Bryce was MP for Inverness Burghs, 1906–18.
- 15 University of Bristol Special Collections, DM668 National Liberal Club, 1906 General Election Addresses, Vol. 2, p. 292.
- 16 Warde polled 6,167 to Williams' 6,061 votes.
- 17 In January 1910 the results were: C. E. Mallet, L, 8,091; A Williams, L, 7,961; W. W. Astor, C, 7,650; Rt. Hon. Sir H. M. Durand, C, 7,556; the 26 December results were, W. W. Astor, C, 8,113; A. S. Benn, C, 7,942; C. E. Mallet, L, 7,379; A. Williams, L, 7,260.
- 18 See Jenifer Hart, *Proportional Representation: Critics of the British Electoral System, 1820–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), ch. vii.
- 19 Mrs Fawcett to Aneurin Williams, January 1914, Dame Millicent Fawcett Papers, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, M50/2/9/7.
- 20 The election results were: A. Williams, L, 7,241; J. O. Hardicker, C, 5,564; G. H. Stuart, Lab, 5,026.
- 21 See Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914–1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Martin Ceadel, *Thinking About Peace and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Martin Ceadel, *Semi-detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 22 Noel Buxton was MP for North Norfolk, Jan. 1910–1918 (L) and 1922–1930 (Lab). He was elevated to the House of Lords in 1930; James Bryce was MP for Tower Hamlets, 1880–1885 and South Aberdeen, 1885–1907. He was British Ambassador to the United States 1907–13 and was created Viscount Bryce in 1914.
- 23 See, for example, *New York Times*, 18 August 1915, letter from Aneurin Williams, and 10 October 1915, letter from Lord Bryce; see also House of Commons, *Hansard* (5th Series) Vol. LXXV, 16 November 1915, col. 1770–1776, Aneurin Williams.
- 24 See Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 34–37.
- 25 See Aneurin Williams, *Proposals for a League of Peace and Mutual Protection among Nations* (Letchworth: Garden City Press, 1915).
- 26 Sir Willoughby Dickinson (later Lord Dickinson of Painswick) was Liberal MP for St Pancras North, 1906–18 and David Davies (later Lord Davies of Llandinun) was Liberal MP for Montgomeryshire, 1906–29.
- 27 Anne O. Bell (ed.), *The Diaries of Virginia Woolf* (London: Penguin, 1979), Vol. i, pp. 157–58.
- 28 Sir John Squire, *The Honey-suckle and the Bee* (London: William Heinemann, 1937), p. 64.
- 29 Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party 1914–1935* (London: Collins, 1966); *The Times*, 30 November 1918, p. 9.
- 30 Aneurin Williams Papers, Letter to H. E. Williams, 24 November 1918.
- 31 The election results were: A. Williams, L, 7,576; R. Gee, Coalition National Democratic Party, 7, 283; G. H. Stuart-Bunning, Lab, 7,268.
- 32 In the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, ed. Bellamy and Saville, he is erroneously cited as being a Member from February 1915. While Charles Trevelyan attempted to get him to join the UDC's General Council, he declined, preferring to concentrate his efforts on the League of Nations concept (Aneurin Williams Papers, Williams to Charles Trevelyan, 8 January 1915).
- 33 Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party 1914–1935*, p. 238; the election results were Rev. H. Dunnico, Lab, 14,469; A. Williams, L, 9,870; S. E. D. Wilson, C, 6,745.
- 34 Aneurin Williams, 'The General Election and the Future of the Liberal Party', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. CXV (February 1919), p. 143.
- 35 The election results were Rev. H. Dunnico, Lab, 15,862; Miss H. U. Williams, L, 14,619.
- 36 Noel and Harold Buxton, *Travel and Politics in Armenia* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1914), p. 126.