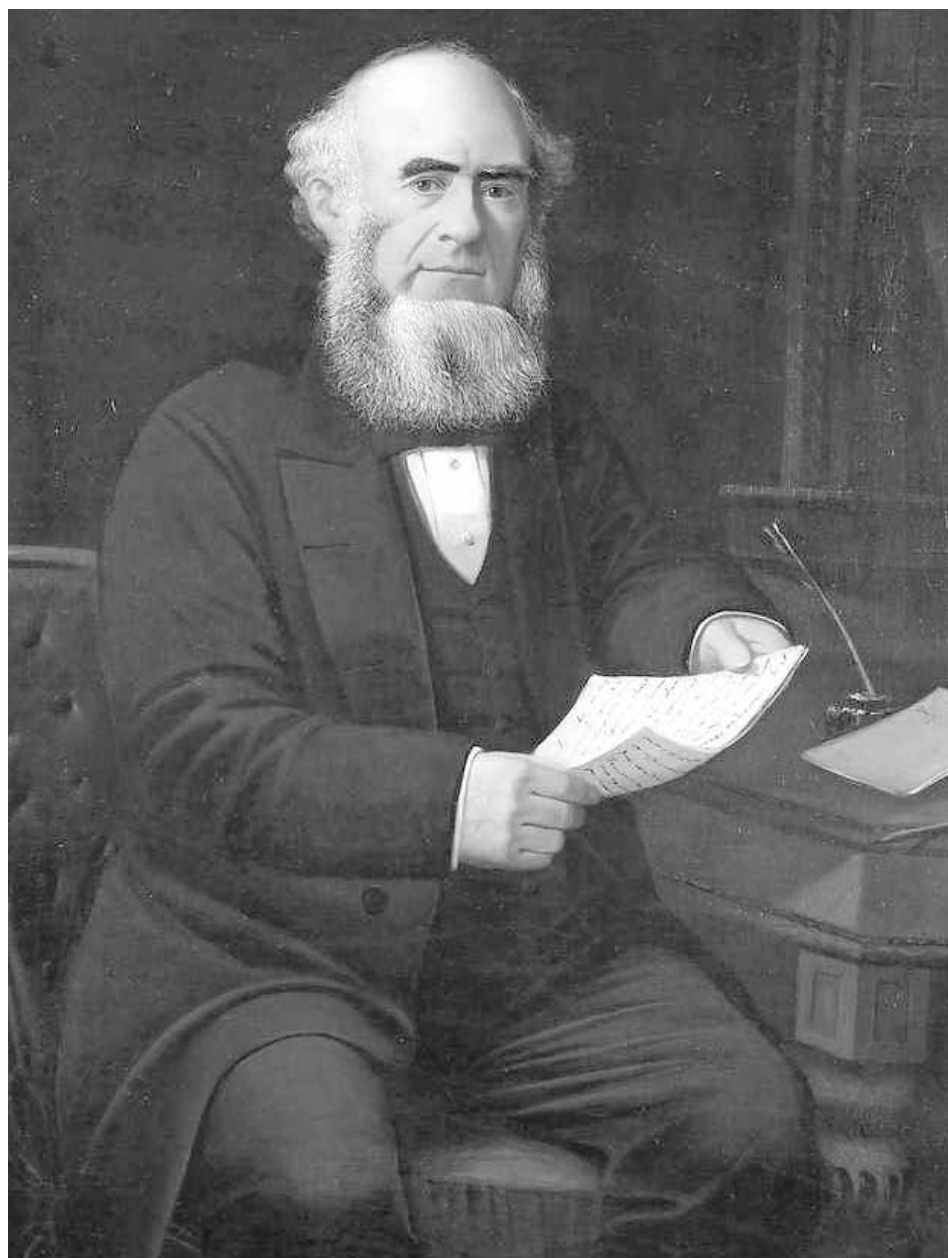


THE RELEVANCE OF

The issues of the present day make it particularly appropriate to reflect on the long and controversial career of Henry Richard. Born in rural Tregaron, in southern Ceredigion in 1812, the issues which he championed have a remarkable contemporary relevance. Since one of Richard's famous slogans was '*Trech gwlad nag Arglwydd*' (A land is mightier than its lord) it may appear paradoxical that his career should be re-evaluated by a member of the present (still unelected) House of Lords. For all that, this provides an opportunity to recall one of the most remarkable and courageous Welshmen of the modern world. By (Lord) **Kenneth O. Morgan**.



F HENRY RICHARD

HE WAS ASSOCIATED with great causes – notably as the proclaimed *apostol heddwch* (apostle of peace) in the crusade for world peace which took him from the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1856 to that of Berlin in 1878, and in the challenge to militarism and imperialism which led to confrontations with both Gladstone and Disraeli. In Wales itself, he is most celebrated as the radical victor in the important electoral contest in Merthyr Tydfil in 1868, ‘the cracking of the ice’ in the old neo-feudal political and social order, and an immense landmark in the achievement of democracy in our nation.

Richard is now largely a forgotten figure, other than in the annual Richard memorial lecture faithfully maintained by the United Nations Association in Wales. After his triumph in 1868, he turned into a kind of revered licensed rebel, the doyen of Welsh members, a national treasure honoured, acclaimed and usually ignored. Although he stayed on as member for Merthyr until his death in 1888, he seemed marginalised by the new currents of radicalism after 1880, and was swept aside by far younger, more glamorous and charismatic nationalist figures like Tom Ellis and David Lloyd George. Stuart Rendel (himself a middle-aged Englishman with an Eton and Oxford background) wrote in his memoirs of Richard as ‘the leader ... of a section of the House which was exceedingly English’, for all his accepted chairmanship

of the Welsh MPs. He did not sympathise with agrarian agitation in Wales, nor in pursuing disestablishment of the Church for Wales on its own, separately from England. He was bracketed with other ‘old hands’, senior Welsh Liberals like Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn, Sir Hussey Vivian and Fuller-Maitland. In language reminiscent of Tony Blair a hundred years later, Rendel saw Richard as ‘old Wales’, aiming at ‘respectability above all things’ and ‘very “middle class”’. (This from Rendel, who made millions from armaments manufacture and kept a comfortable residence on the French Riviera). The alternative to Richard’s ‘old Wales’, contrary to Tony Blair’s formulation, was felt to be ‘young Wales’ rather than ‘new Wales’.¹

This characterisation of Henry Richard endured, with his being seen as a kind of beleaguered backwater from a previous age. Despite the massive upsurge of interest in the social and political history of modern Wales, he has remained a surprisingly neglected figure. The work of a historian like Matthew Cragoe treats him unsympathetically, almost dismissively. Despite the existence of a goodly collection of Richard’s political papers in the archive of the National Library of Wales, there has been no biography since C. S. Miall’s extraordinarily old-fashioned work of 1889, a ‘life and letters’ of traditional Victorian piety.² In his entries in both the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Welsh Encyclopaedia*,

Henry Richard
(1812–88)

Richard has not been well served, perhaps in part because his strain of anti-separatist Welsh radicalism does not relate easily to the historical antecedents of Plaid Cymru.

However, Richard represents something of much importance in the spectrum of nineteenth-century Welsh Liberalism, so often seen purely introspectively – its internationalist dimension. In this, he emulated William Rees, ‘Gwilym Hiraethog’, the inspirational bard/publicist who met and corresponded with Mazzini, who worked closely with the American anti-slavery movement and who championed Abraham Lincoln and made him a Welsh popular hero – and who also lacks a decent modern biography.³ Richard, like Hiraethog, operated on a world stage. In the peace movement, he collaborated with great Frenchmen like Lamartine, Tocqueville and particularly Victor Hugo, who addressed the 1848 Peace Congress in Paris. Henry Richard, more than most Welsh radicals, was a citizen of the world. This was acknowledged by another great internationalist MP, Keir Hardie, when he was elected MP for Merthyr himself in 1900 during the mass jingoism of the South African War. Hardie was elected primarily as a socialist, on class grounds, though he gained wider radical support in Liberal circles. But he paid his full tribute to Merthyr Tydfil’s unique political tradition, and to the followers of Henry Richard in 1868 ‘who were then uncorrupted’.⁴ A seamless

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tradition of radical, pacific internationalism and fraternalism had been restored.

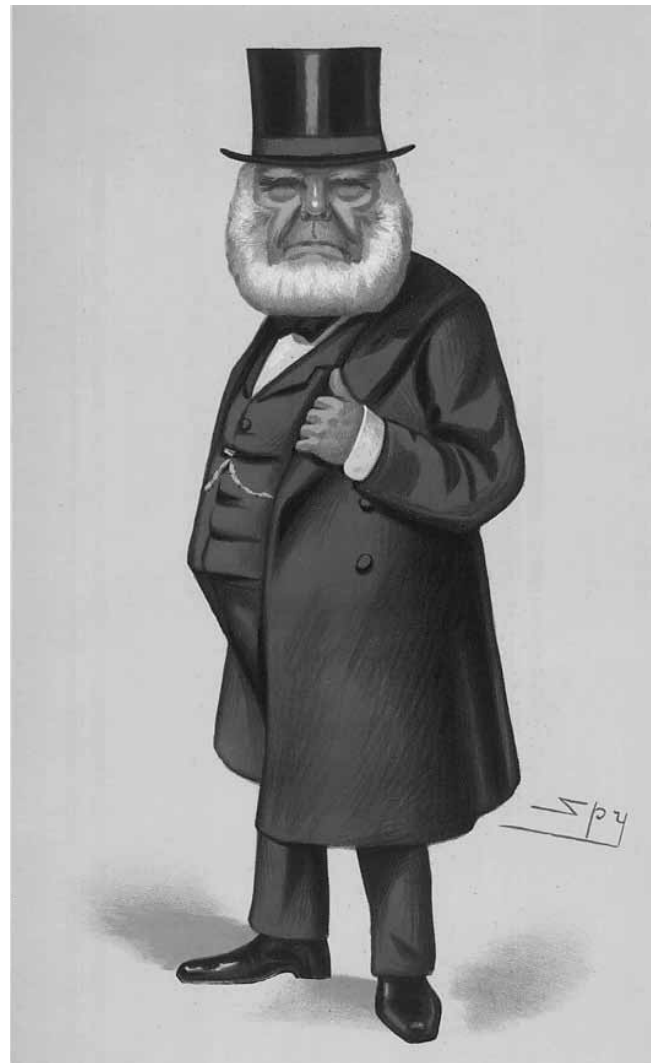
It is therefore of much importance to Welsh historians to re-investigate both the central themes of Richard's long career in his own day and their later relevance. Because the crusades in which Richard so willingly enlisted, far from dying with him, have been ongoing and remain of deep significance in Wales and the world at present.

There were four Henry Richards whom we should define and celebrate. First, of course, there was Henry Richard the Welshman. The son of a Calvinist Methodist minister in Tregaron, the Rev. Ebenezer Richard, he became a Congregationalist after entering Highbury Congregational College, and became a minister of Marlborough Chapel in the Old Kent Road in 1835. From then on, he lived primarily in England. He seemed destined for an active career spent primarily in the world of English dissent. But it was Welsh issues that began to call him. He wrote in the English press offering social and religious explanations of the factors lying behind the Rebecca riots of the early 1840s with their assault on toll-gates. More powerfully, he became one of the leading opponents of the notorious Blue Books of 1847, that *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* which traduced Wales in its culture, language, religions and moral probity. Richard was appalled and his highly effective retaliatory articles in the *Daily News* and elsewhere gave him a new status in his native Wales.⁵

Richard's view of Welsh nationhood linked it indissolubly with Nonconformity. All the many positive features of the Welsh he identified with the values of the chapel – its populist democracy, its vibrant Welsh-language culture, its love of music and poetry, the absence of crime. Wales was *gwlad y mennyg gwinion*, the land of the white gloves, a place unpolluted by violence with few of its people in prison, where judges were presented with white gloves at the assizes to celebrate a crime-free, respectable community, and where policemen hung around looking for something to do. Here, Richard was far from wholly wrong though he did focus on 'Proper Wales', and

tended to ignore the ports and larger towns of the industrialising south where 'the population had long ceased to be distinctively Welsh'.⁶ He vindicated Wales most eloquently and effectively in a famous series of articles on the social and political condition of Wales in the *Morning and Evening Star* in 1866, in which emphasis was laid heavily on Wales as a 'nation of Nonconformists', shown in Horace Mann's 1851 census of religious worship to be 78 per cent Nonconformist and only 22 per cent Anglican. It was on this basis, as the voice of Welsh Nonconformity, that he became Liberal candidate for Merthyr Tydfil in 1868, its electorate having been massively expanded by the Reform Act of the previous year. His very adoption made it plain that it was as a Nonconformist that he offered himself to the electors. The body that put itself forward described itself as 'The Henry Richard or Nonconformist Committee'.⁷ When, in this two-member constituency, he came top of the poll, out-polling his fellow Liberal, the ironmaster Richard Fothergill, and ousting the Liberal industrialist, Henry Austen Bruce, shortly to become Gladstone's Home Secretary, it was widely perceived that, in a nation hitherto conspicuous for its political unimportance, a new more democratic era had dawned.

Richard's view of his native Wales was thus defined by his religious background. His *Letters* in the English press had depicted Wales as a deeply divided country, with a small, privileged landlord class, English in speech and sympathy, and, crucially, Anglican in religion, fundamentally separated from the Nonconformist mass of the population. There was a profound inequality entrenched within its society, and therefore his political priority henceforth, throughout his two decades in parliament, was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Wales. He had the enormous encouragement in his very first



Caricature of Henry Richard (with the caption 'Peace'), *Vanity Fair*, 4 September 1880

session in parliament of Gladstone's measure to disestablish the Church in Ireland. This established, he wrote, several important principles.⁸ It acknowledged that where the established church was not the church of the nation its position was anomalous. It recognised that ecclesiastical property was national property as it had endured since the middle ages. Above all, it disposed of the fallacy of a collective state conscience which imposed its own beliefs as an established creed on resistant dissenters. Along with other favourable measures such as the repeal of the Test Acts for Oxford and Cambridge, Richard and his allies in the Liberation Society could see an irresistible onward momentum for the various Nonconformist causes.

Welsh disestablishment was not, however, at all a straightforward matter. In the first place, there was an urgent need for leadership and direction in pressing the matter home. Only since the 1868 election had the issue gained

a clear overwhelming priority in Wales.⁹ Even then support for disestablishment amongst Welsh MPs was limited. Thirty of the thirty-three members were Anglican, and twenty-four were landowners, all the ten Conservatives and fourteen of the Whig-liberals who formed the bulk of the Gladstonian ranks. Only three Welsh MPs were Non-conformists, Richard himself, Evan Matthew Richards (Cardiganshire) and Richard Davies (Anglesey). There was significant bickering when Watkin Williams, Liberal member for Denbigh District and an Anglican, put forward a motion for Welsh disestablishment and disendowment in August 1869 without consulting his colleagues. This led to much protest. Many doubted whether the maverick Watkin Williams was really a Liberal at all, and it was darkly murmured that he had voted against John Stuart Mill in the Westminster constituency at the recent general election. Henry Richard himself thought the motion ill-advised and badly timed. The issue of the secret ballot should have been dealt with first, with a commission of inquiry to collect data on the strengths of the various religious bodies in Wales. The influential journalist John Griffith ('Gohebydd') thought Williams's *demarche* was a 'very great misfortune'.¹⁰ When Williams's motion was finally debated on 24 May 1870, Richard inevitably spoke and voted for it, but it gained only forty-seven votes. Only seven Welsh MPs voted for it, eight Welsh Liberals voted against, and ten others were absent or abstained, including the Non-conformist E. M. Richards, and E. J. Sartoris (Carmarthenshire) who had been advised not to vote for it for fear of jeopardising his seat.¹¹ Perhaps most seriously, Gladstone himself felt impelled to deliver an *ex cathedra* statement opposing Welsh disestablishment (one which was to embarrass him greatly in later years). The Welsh Church, he declared, had 'a complete constitutional, legal and historical identity with the Church of England' and it was impossible to legislate for it separately.¹² This was not the way in which intelligent would-be disestablishers ought to proceed, in Richard's view.

But his dissenting view went beyond matters of parliamentary tactics. He did not favour pressing

for disestablishment for Wales alone. His roots were in the London-based Liberation Society of which he was a leading officer and which had been a powerful force on his behalf at the polls in 1868. Richard was no kind of nationalist or home ruler. In a parliamentary debate on international arbitration in 1873, he asked rhetorically, 'Is not England our country?'¹³ He saw a fundamental difference between Wales, an intrinsic part of the United Kingdom, albeit one with grievances and priorities of its own, and Ireland, where many saw disestablishment as a precursor to home rule. To Richard, by contrast, disestablishment was an alternative to it. He felt it was dangerous to press the case on quasi-nationalist grounds, and it also risked the possibility of Wales losing valuable Church endowments in the process. This was also the view of his colleague, Sir George Osborne Morgan (Denbighshire): 'I entertain strong doubts whether it is possible to separate the question of disestablishment in Wales from that of England – Wales being, politically at least, as much a part of England as Yorkshire or Cornwall.'¹⁴ Richard agreed with Sidney Buxton that the general case for disestablishment in England, Wales and Scotland together 'would be of greater interest and command a much larger circulation' than if it were confined to Wales on its own.¹⁵

In spite of this, Richard's role as an advocate for Welsh causes was a powerful one, and his speeches in the Commons, often of great length, commanded much respect. By the 1880s, his outlook on the basic rationale for the Welsh Church question was clearly shifting. In a debate on a further motion to disestablish the Welsh Church, he and his fellow veteran Liberal Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn (Swansea District) took a clear national stand. The Welsh Church was now briskly dismissed as an 'alien Church'; it was *Eglwys Loegr*, 'the Church of England in Wales'. Richard's own exceedingly lengthy speech, which took up eleven columns in Hansard, focused on the historical alienation of the Church from the Welsh nation over the centuries.¹⁶ He was now far more emphatic on the distinctive cultural and political features of Wales as providing the basic arguments for Welsh

disestablishment. The primacy of the Church in Wales should be removed because the people of Wales wanted it, and demonstrated the fact with large Liberal pluralities in successive general elections from 1868 to 1886. Richard and his Liberationist colleagues also recognised the historic importance of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act of 1881 as setting a precedent for solely Welsh legislation, even though his support for this measure stemmed mainly from his temperance rather than his nationalism. He was turning his attention also to the Welshness of the Church of England in the appointment of its bishops, and also to retaining the Meyricker endowments at Jesus College, Oxford, for the Welsh scholars for whom they were intended. Principal Harper of Jesus seemed on the verge of frittering them away. Richard worked to this end with sympathetic Welsh Anglicans such as Dean Henry T. Edwards, the Liberal brother of the ferocious defender of the Anglican establishment, Bishop A. G. Edwards of St. Asaph.¹⁷

Over a wide range of issues he was recognised over a generation as the most authoritative voice on behalf of the religious, civic and educational demands of Welsh Liberals. In the 1880 general election, Gladstone's aide Lord Richard Grosvenor was to urge Richard to speak on behalf of William Rathbone in Caernarfonshire. 'You have a peculiar faculty of raising the enthusiasm of Welshmen and Mr. Rathbone labours under the disadvantage of not being able to speak one word of Welsh'.¹⁸ Richard was also urged to lend his vocal support to the Liberal the Hon. G. C. Brodrick in his unsuccessful contest in highly anglicised Monmouthshire.¹⁹ He was thus able to draw attention to the needs and historic identity of Wales as no politician had previously been able to do. In particular, he had a clear impact on the ideas of Gladstone, who made plain in a speech at the Mold eisteddfod in 1873, near his Hawarden home, that Richard's *Letters* had made a profound impression upon him. 'A countryman of yours – a most excellent Welshman – Mr Richard MP did a great deal to open my eyes to the facts.'²⁰ It was Richard, as much as Rendel, who helped Gladstone

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to become in time a great Welsh hero, 'the people's William' in a special sense in the principal-ity – not to mention becoming the people's disestablisher. It might be added that it was very much to Gladstone's advantage that in 1886 Richard, somewhat reluctantly in view of his powerful commitment to Protestantism, declared his support for Irish Home Rule, in contrast to such Nonconformist comrades as the Rev. R. W. Dale and (for a time) Thomas Gee.²¹ The secessions to the Liberal Unionists in Wales were kept to a minimum. With regard to Welsh affairs, Richard's outlook was different from the younger nationalists of *Cymru Fydd*, like Tom Ellis, in the 1880s. He endorsed nationality, not nationalism. Thus to them he was cautious, behind the times. After his death it was noticeable that the Welsh MPs immediately formed a 'Welsh Parliamentary Party' (chaired by Stuart Rendel), an idea which Richard had always resisted as unofficial chairman. But in his own time he was an essential bridge between the British-wide radicalism of the sixties and the more pluralistic, more socially aware Liberalism of the late Victorian period. On issue after issue he proclaimed the needs and identity of Wales. He used debates on the appointment of Welsh-speaking judges in 1872 and 1874 to spell out the validity of the culture and its language, no mere patois as he eloquently demonstrated.²² This Nonconformist non-nationalist, therefore, was clearly a godfather of the growing sense of Welsh nationhood that evolved in the decades down to the First World War. In that sense he is also a godfather of devolution.

Secondly, Richard was a great democrat. His *Letters* passionately attacked political landlordism in Wales. He declared that Welsh politics were servile and dependent. Wales was 'feudal', not a democracy at all but a land where 'clansmen battled for their chieftains'.²³ Thus he campaigned vigorously in the Reform League for manhood suffrage and the secret ballot. He regarded the 1867 Reform Act as a first instalment of a wider enfranchisement. In time, he became an eloquent advocate of women's suffrage as well. His own election in Merthyr and Aberdare had an inspirational, revivalist quality.

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He told the electors in Aberdare that they tell the landlords that: 'We are the Welsh people, not you. This country is ours, not yours.'²⁴ He went on to battle for the reform of the franchise in the county constituencies, which duly happened in the Reform and Redistribution Acts of 1884–85, and this served to make the Liberals' strength in Wales all the more impregnable.

Richard's first major speech in the House in 1869 was on a major democratic theme. He and other Liberals declared that there had been much evidence of intimidation by landlords at the polls, with the eviction of many tenant farmers for voting Liberal.²⁵ He raised the issue in a debate on 6 July 1869, when in a highly personal way he referred to forty-three cases of political eviction in Cardiganshire and many others in Carmarthenshire and Caernarfonshire. Colonel Powell, the former Conservative MP for Cardiganshire, was identified as one egregious case of a bullying landlord. A recent account of this episode is somewhat grudging and perhaps influenced by an inability to read the Welsh-language press. There is no doubt in fact that Richard's motion brought a serious political scandal to public attention. A Liberal colleague noted the particular delight with which Gladstone listened to his speech. A nationwide fund organised by the radical journalist, John Griffith, *Y Gohebydd*, raised around £4,000 to compensate some of the victimised farmers.²⁷ More important, a Select Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Hartington which received powerful evidence from the Rev. Michael Daniel Jones and other leading Liberals about the nature of rural intimidation. Jones had written to Richard on the extent of rural persecution – 'in the next election we shall lose ground if the farmers have no protection'.²⁸ Its findings were a major factor in the passing of the secret ballot in 1872. It was a great democratic triumph for Richard. Perhaps in grim retaliation, Welsh Conservatives recaptured, in the 1874 general election, seats in Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire and Caernarfonshire, those counties where rumours of landlord coercion in 1868 had been most vivid. Landowners such as Viscount Emlyn of Golden Grove, heir to the

70,000 acres of the Cawdor estate, and the Hon. George Douglas-Pennant, the son of Lord Penrhyn in his castle, now represented the Welsh-speaking farmers and labourers in those rural communities. As yet, the novelty of the secret ballot had had little impact. After 1880, however, democratic Liberalism prevailed.

In the longer term, the memory of political pressure and intimidation became a major *lieu de memoire* for Welsh Liberals, as Taff Vale and Tonypandy were to become for the Welsh Labour movement. Welsh Liberals had acquired the popular martyrology without which no popular movement can thrive. It was Wales' Amritsar or Sharpeville. Lloyd George gave it imperishable prominence in his speech at the Queen's Hall in London on 23 March 1910 on behalf of his People's Budget. Referring to the evictions in 1868, he declared that 'they woke the spirit of the mountains, the genius of freedom that fought the might of the Normans for two centuries. There was such a feeling aroused amongst the people, that, ere it was done, the political power of landlordism in Wales was shattered as effectually as the power of the Druids.'²⁹ Lloyd George's language was florid and overdrawn, perhaps, but it was in broad terms an accurate testimony of the democratic upsurge which Henry Richard had generated then.

As a democrat, Richard was no socialist. However, he was able to identify with the working-class movement of the day. He was thus a bridge between the worlds of Cobden and Bright and of Keir Hardie. He recognised, of course, that Merthyr and Aberdare were working-class communities, composed largely of miners and ironworkers, and Richard's campaign acknowledged the fact. The Reform League in 1868 deliberately placed working-class representatives, including several survivors of the last Chartist upsurge in 1848, on Richard's platforms. He proclaimed him as the poor man's candidate, without the resources to buy his way into a constituency, and contrasted his own relative poverty with the affluence of the bourgeois industrialist Henry Austen Bruce. He was also skilful in taking up such issues as pit safety and the imposition of the 'northern' or double-shift system

of working in the mines. John Beynon, secretary of the local Double Shift Committee, campaigned for him. Recent wage reductions in the pits also helped Richard's cause. He claimed that his election victory was a triumph for the propertyless, disinherited working-class man.³⁰ In the 1874 election, Richard shrewdly declared his sympathy for much of the programme of the Amalgamated Association of Miners which had grown rapidly in the Welsh coalfield, and whose secretary, Thomas Halliday, ran against him in the election. Halliday polled remarkably well, obtaining 4,912 votes (25.3 per cent), and Richard's vote fell on a much smaller turnout of voters than in 1868. Even so, his established credentials as a working-class candidate and a proven champion of labour legislation still made him impregnable and he easily headed the poll. Following another comfortable victory in 1880, in 1885 and 1886 he and his Liberal running-mate, C. H. James James, were returned unopposed. Richard, then, was not an inappropriate hero for the social democracy, as well as the political democracy, of a later era. As noted, he was an inspiration for the socialist Keir Hardie in the 'khaki election' of 1900. Over a century later, in March 2010, his name was mentioned (by Monsignor Bruce Kent) in the roll-call of left-wing heroes at the funeral service of another great Welsh democratic representative, Michael Foot, which I attended. In the long line of democratic dissenters, Alan Taylor's 'trouble-makers', Richard takes his honoured place.

Thirdly, Richard was a considerable educationalist. At first, his concern seemed largely an outgrowth of his religious views. He was a leading figure amongst the Nonconformists within the Liberal Party who attacked the Forster Education Act of 1870 for its subsidies to church schools from public funds. Thus he led a public outcry against the Cowper-Temple clause in the 1870 Act, since it would have led to increased rate aid to denominational schools. There was, he wryly observed, 'no conscience clause for ratepayers'. However, his amendment in committee obtained only sixty-two votes, with Nonconformist MPs divided.³¹ His own stance was a minority one within

the world of Protestant dissent, since, unlike most of his brethren, he was a passionate advocate of a purely secular education.³² This was wholly consistent, of course, with his support for disestablishment and the general broad principle of the separation of church and state. However, his educational views are often misrepresented.³³ He did not object to the state being involved in education as such, but simply to its being used to promote denominational instruction and clerical special interests. His views were far more progressive than simply a rehearsal of the anti-clericalism that coloured debates on education in Britain, France and many other countries at the time. He wanted a new, national system of education, primary and secondary, sustained by central government. It would be uniform and universal; also it would be compulsory and free of charge. He saw it as a particular key to progressive change within Wales where educational provision was recognised as being weak. A secular system of primary education, via the Board schools without religious involvement, and a new network of non-denominational secondary or 'intermediate' schools were essential to his objectives, and they form a major part of his legacy. Even though his amendment to the Forster Act failed badly in 1870, he had the satisfaction of seeing Clause 25 of the Act, which allowed School Boards to finance the school fees of voluntary denominational schools from the rates, repealed by Lord Sandon's Education Act of 1876, passed by Disraeli's Conservative government.

He thus became a major pioneer of Welsh education. On higher education, he played a major part, with the energetic if controversial Sir Hugh Owen, in building up the new 'college by the sea', the college at Aberystwyth first established in 1872. He battled hard with Gladstone for a public subsidy in 1870 and 1871, but at first without success. In 1870 the Prime Minister took the line that he had already refused grants to various English colleges and would hardly be able to make an exception in the case of Aberystwyth. Significantly, though, he did concede that 'it was impossible to place Wales, with its clearly marked nationality and its inhabitants divided from by strong

line of demarcation, both of race and language, upon the same footing as an English town or district'.³⁴ The following year, Gladstone took the different line that it would raise a religious issue and would commit the state to a new principle in aiding colleges from the Exchequer on the basis of teaching only 'an undenominational education'. After failing to help Owen's College, Manchester, the government could hardly help Aberystwyth.³⁵ The 'college by the sea' on the seafront opened in October 1872 with most of the £10,000 purchase money still owing, and only twenty-five initial students. But Richard's campaign went on and in 1882 Aberystwyth did receive an annual grant of £4,000 a year.

He served in 1881 on a committee of immense importance for Welsh education, the Select Committee on Higher Education chaired by his old election adversary, Henry Bruce, now Lord Aberdare.³⁶ Richard himself, now an elderly man, proved to be a most effective member of it, full of energy and attested facts. The Committee advocated the setting

Statue of Henry Richard at Tregaron, Ceredigion



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up of two new colleges in Wales, one in the north and one in the south. Gladstone, now strongly committed to Welsh causes, lent his authoritative support, and the Aberdare Committee's proposals went ahead. In time, after much public campaigning, these institutions turned out to be located in Bangor and Cardiff respectively. It was also proposed that a new state-supported structure of 'intermediate schools' be created throughout Wales to provide students for them as well as to promote professional opportunities more generally. It was an issue on which Richard had spoken in the Commons. This was a progressive, forward-looking agenda for Welsh education. But it also left Aberystwyth high and dry, with the prospect that it would lose its annual grant and see it transferred to Bangor. Richard now redoubled his efforts on behalf of Aberystwyth, applying particular pressure on the minister in charge of education, A. J. Mundella. Here his efforts finally bore fruit. Mundella wrote, in somewhat panicky fashion, to Richard in 1884: 'I wish you would come and see me about Aberystwyth. We had better settle this question before you turn us out, as the Tories will not help you. If we subsidise a third College, we must do it on the same conditions as the other two.'³⁷ In the event, Mundella managed to prise only £2,500 out of the Exchequer for Aberystwyth, but in August 1885 the incoming Salisbury government, for somewhat unexplained reasons,³⁸ generously raised the Aberystwyth grant to £4,000 as well. All three of the new Welsh university colleges, therefore, could regard Richard as a highly important ally.

In his old age, in 1886–88 Richard served on the Cross Commission on elementary education, on which he was again an effective member.³⁹ Some of his time was taken in fending off bombardments from the Welsh language movement about whose activities Richard was less than enthusiastic, like many senior Liberals of the day. He found pressure from Beriah Gwynfe Evans, the energetic secretary of the 'Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language', to be 'rather embarrassing'.⁴⁰ In general, however, his educational activities were valuable and creative. He

was undoubtedly a major figure in the social revolution that transformed Welsh education, and indirectly social mobility, in the last decades of the century. A year after Richard's death, the 1889 Welsh Intermediate Education Act, passed by the Salisbury government, saw another of his dreams come into effect, the new intermediate schools. For decades to come, the 'county schools', free and unsectarian, were a decisive instrument of social change. The Welsh could even pride themselves in having a state-run educational system in advance of England, and without its paralysing social divide created by the private schools. In 1893 there followed another landmark for which Richard had campaigned, a federal national University of Wales, created to crown the edifice of Welsh higher education, and destined to last for the next hundred years.

Fourthly and finally, there is Richard the great internationalist and crusader, perhaps the area in which his reputation was most generally ceated. He always operated within other reformist movement across the world, notably with the anti-slavery movement in the United States. A committed pacifist, in 1848 he was appointed Secretary of the Peace Society and he retained this position when he retired, on grounds of age, in 1885. He played a prominent part at the peace congresses at Brussels and Paris in the year of revolutions, 1848; the latter thrilled to an inspirational address from Victor Hugo: 'France, England, Germany, Italy, Europe, America, let us proclaim to all nations: "You are brothers!"' Richard campaigned inexhaustibly against war. He vehemently condemned the Crimean War, along with his close friends Richard Cobden and John Bright, and crusaded against the wars variously waged by Britain against the Boer Republics, the Zulus and the Afghans in the late 1870s, that era of aggressive imperialist militancy. He also condemned Gladstone's invasion of Egypt in 1882, declared by the Prime Minister to be a temporary policy but in fact inaugurating a lengthy British occupation that endured until 1954. Richard's major demands were forward-looking in the extreme. He called for an international tribunal to be set up, for

the arbitration of disputes between nations. He visualised beyond that a kind of league of nations to administer such a system and to provide an effective and workable regime of international law.

Even in the warlike atmosphere of the mid and later Victorian period, Richard and his associates in the Peace Society were not without success. They managed to have a protocol inserted in the Treaty of Paris of 1856 that wound up the Crimean War in favour of international arbitration, and, more surprisingly, another included in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 when it was rumoured, however improbably, that Bismarck himself showed some interest in the notion.⁴¹ These were no more than paper successes. But Richard found great encouragement in Gladstone's decision to go to arbitration with the United States to adjudicate on the American claims against Britain following the activities of the British-built *Alabama*, operated by the Confederate navy, during the American Civil War. In the event, despite some domestic disgruntlement, the British accepted the tribunal's claims and paid damages of three and a quarter million pounds, a significant sum but much less than the Americans had asked for. This episode could, perhaps, only have taken place in the context of the particular relationships between Britain and the United States at the time, but it did offer Richard's proposals some practical encouragement.

Richard took several opportunities to bring the cause of peace before the House of Commons. The first, on 8 July 1873, was a motion on behalf of a general and permanent system of international arbitration.⁴² He deplored the horrors of war and 'the bottomless pit of military expenditure' and called for an effective system of international law. Gladstone replied in amiable and respectful terms, and spoke warmly of the arbitration between Britain and the United States at Geneva, but called for 'a step by step' approach. Richard's motion was lost ninety-eight to eighty-eight.

On 15 June 1880, Richard tried again, calling for international disarmament, but now adding a new theme, namely that foreign wars and the concluding of foreign

Fourthly and finally, there is Richard the great internationalist and crusader, perhaps the area in which his reputation was most generally ceated.

treaties should always require the consent of parliament.⁴³ This again made no headway. His most important effort came in an amendment to the Address on 19 March 1886. He urged that no wars should be embarked upon, no treaties concluded, and no territories annexed to the Empire without 'the knowledge and consent of Parliament'. He pointed out that the royal prerogative in these matters was a total fiction. A war was already in being before parliament was asked to vote supplies. He contrasted the totally different system of control exercised in the French Republic and by the Congressional House of Representatives. 'We never get the information before war breaks out', Richard declared, with total accuracy. 'Is it not a monstrous thing that the blood and treasure and moral responsibility of a great nation like ours should be pledged for all time behind our backs?' 'The British governments had, all of them, a mania for annexation', Henry Richard concluded in moving fashion: 'My hope is in the Democracy. I have lost faith in Governments. They seem to have delivered themselves up, bound hand and foot, to the power of rampant militarism which is the curse of Europe.'⁴⁴ Gladstone's reply reads weakly and evasively now. He argued the difficulty in distinguishing between war and 'war-like operations'. James Bryce, who wound up for the government, was even worse. Absurdly for so great a scholar of American issues, he replied to Richard's point about the US House of Representatives by claiming that the American system was very different since 'it had no foreign policy this side of the Atlantic anyway'. Richard's motion was lost 115 – 109 but it is difficult not to believe that he won the argument, even against the combined learning of Gladstone and Bryce.

At times, Richard's uninhibited pacifism could lead him into difficulty. Nineteenth-century Britain had a warm sympathy for the efforts of 'nations rightly struggling to be free', such as the Greeks and Italians, who appealed to those of classical bent. Garibaldi, leader of the famous red-shirted 'thousand' during the battles for Italian unification, had been a great popular hero on reformist platforms during the campaign for a Reform Bill in

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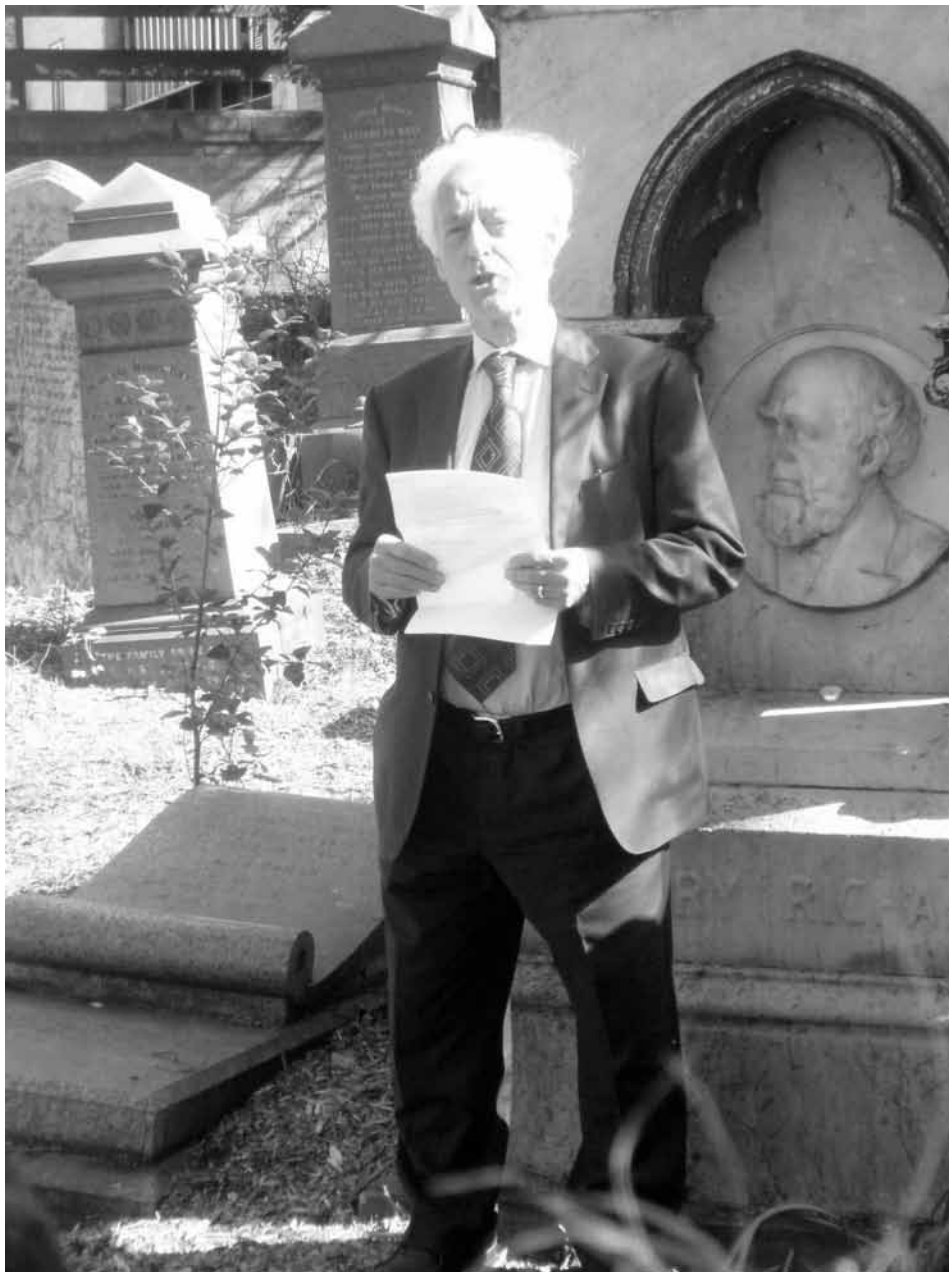
the 1860s. Richard himself got into trouble during the American Civil War when, unlike most Welshmen, he rebelled against the cult of Lincoln and defended the South, since he claimed it was a victim of Northern aggression. When asked about slavery, this pillar of the anti-slavery movement responded that it would die out in time through peaceful means. What is interesting, however, is that this is much the same line of argument adopted at the time by another pacifist and radical, Samuel Roberts, 'S.R.' of Llanbrynmair, who actually set up a Welsh settlement in the slave state of Tennessee, intended to escape landlord persecution in Wales. That decision virtually ruined Roberts' reputation and career and he was a much diminished figure when he returned to Wales after the war.⁴⁵ Richard, by contrast, endured no such fate. It was testimony to how uniquely robust his reputation had become.

What remained of Henry Richard's campaigns after his death? It is striking in the early twenty-first century that all his causes have a powerful contemporary resonance. With regard to his commitment to the advancement of Wales, there has been an ongoing process of evolution. Despite the apparent tone of more emphatic nationalism in the *Cymru Fydd* movements of the 1890s, associated with Ellis and Lloyd George, Welsh political ambitions down to 1914 remained within the parameters of the age of Henry Richard. While progress was made on disestablishment, education, land reform and temperance, there was only limited concern with anything resembling separation, or even devolution. E. T. John's efforts prior to the First World War to promote a movement for Welsh home rule led nowhere.⁴⁶ There was only limited administrative devolution – in education in 1907 and in agriculture after the war in 1919. The emphasis was still on extending equality for Wales within the United Kingdom – and also the Empire, which the Welsh warmly endorsed during the First World War, under the leadership of a Welsh Prime Minister. The old national movement of post-1868 had clearly run its course; when Welsh disestablishment and disendowment, Richard's old dream, was finally achieved in 1919, there

was an atmosphere of relative indifference, even of impatience that such an ancient cause could still take up parliamentary and political energy.

After the First World War, politics in Wales drifted away from the priorities of Henry Richard. It was an era of unionism in which all parties, fortified by the Second World War, participated. The Labour Party, especially in the case of such figures as Aneurin Bevan and Ness Edwards, mirrored Henry Richard in seeing the problems of Wales as part of a wider theme, in Labour's case that of class, as for Richard it had been of Nonconformist unity. Only with the creation of a Secretary of State for Wales in 1964 did there seem to be a change of direction, though the new Welsh Office was significantly limited in its powers. The real advance from the Henry Richard legacy came with the pressure for devolution in Scotland, and to a lesser degree Wales, in the 1970s. That followed, variously, the unexpected upsurge of Plaid Cymru, the campaign for the Welsh language (only a relatively minor theme in Henry Richard's day), and especially the introduction of Scottish and Welsh devolution bills in the Commons by the Callaghan government following the Kilbrandon Commission. Devolution eventually followed in 1999, winning support by the tiniest of majorities, but it gradually gained in popular support. In 2009 the Jones Parry report called for the law-making powers and financial authority of the Welsh assembly to be put to a popular referendum. Henry Richard was not a forgotten figure here – the present writer had an interesting exchange about Richard when giving evidence to the Richard Commission and being interrogated by Ted (now Lord) Rowlands, the former member for Merthyr Tydfil, as it happened. The priorities today clearly see the role of the Assembly to be the key to the future of Wales in British and European politics, and we have moved on far from Henry Richard. Even so, he played a significant role earlier on, in pressing for Welsh legislation, for Welsh parliamentary priorities distinct from those of England, and a firm Welsh presence in the political agenda. Richard, and abiding memories of the triumphs and suffering of 1868, still

THE RELEVANCE OF HENRY RICHARD



remain important in the making of modern Wales.

Richard's concern with democracy is, even more, a work in progress. The constitutional and political system in which he operated, based on parliament and strong centralist governance, are now transformed. All the textbooks which described the democratic fabric of Richard's day, works by Bagehot, Dicey, Anson and later Jennings, are now scarcely relevant. There were significant reforms introduced by the Blair government after 1997, including reform of the Lords, human rights legislation, freedom of information legislation, and of course devolution for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Further reforms, some though not all in a democratic direction,

The author, Lord Morgan, speaking at Abney Park cemetery, North London, at the grave of Henry Richard; 1 April 2012

were proposed by the Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition after its creation in May 2010. But Henry Richard would note the sluggish progress made towards some of his objectives. In 2010 there was still an unelected House of Lords; it still contained bishops as a symbol of the Church establishment. The authority of the Commons was still inadequate in relation to the executive, and its prestige as a reputable assembly had recently declined. Above all, Richard, who liked to cite the written constitutional arrangements of the Americans and the French, would not accept that British citizenship was still constrained. With a largely unwritten constitution, the British remained subjects, not full citizens. They remained subjects of the Queen.

Richard felt that power should flow from below and independent free citizens should be empowered as he saw them being in Wales after 1868. A committee (including the present writer) is now at work on the prospects for a written constitution. The agenda for democracy that Henry Richard proposed is still to be pursued.

Richard's work as an educationalist has taken a very different form. The denominational conflicts of his day have largely been superseded, although the debate about faith schools and their encouragement may revive his priorities as regards the value of secular education. His vision of a secular, comprehensive free system of primary and secondary education is still hampered by the existence of a dual system of education, public and private, based on private funding and on class. His ideas still resonate. Perhaps it is in successful campaigns for access and for the pursuit of life-long learning that Richard's objectives have made most progress.

Finally, and crucially, there is Richard the apostle of peace. As noted, his campaigns for the Peace Society were not wholly fruitless. The idea of international arbitration gained more support after the Anglo-US settlement of the *Alabama* claims. By 1914 there were arbitral agreements between twenty governments, and over a hundred arbitral agreements in force. The United States was especially active through such figures as Secretary of State Elihu Root, President Woodrow Wilson and through the steel capitalist, Andrew Carnegie, who set up his Endowment for International Peace, and in 1910 called for a League of Nations. The Hague peace congress of 1899 set up a Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, and another, larger, peace congress followed there in 1907. But these yielded very little. It was indeed ironic that they honoured a strongly militaristic US President, Theodore Roosevelt, champion of 'the big stick' in foreign affairs, the voice of gunboat diplomacy in Latin America and the advocate of a strong navy. Roosevelt himself celebrated a 'peace of righteousness', achieved by fighting the good fight in a just war.⁴⁷ It was symbolic of the hypocrisy of the times that Roosevelt in 1910 became a recipient of the

Nobel Peace Prize – though he has been followed by even more improbable people since.

The ending of the First World War encouraged brave new world hopes of the creation of a new world order, something approaching the peaceable ideals of Henry Richard. In fact, the Treaty of Versailles was met with much disillusionment. The League of Nations set up to promote the peaceful resolution of disputes and world disarmament soon proved to be a disappointment. Welsh internationalists and advocates of peace moved on smartly beyond Richard's pacifism now, as when David Davies, an idealistic champion of the League, called for an international peace force to impose order. The Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics Davies had set up at Aberystwyth to promote the idea of the League was in 1936 occupied by E. H. Carr, whose *Twenty Years Crisis* (1939) poured massive scorn on 'utopians' who wanted international arbitration.⁴⁸ Carr cheered Hitler on in his demolition unilaterally of the peace settlement of Versailles. In both world wars, the Welsh were as belligerent as any and recruited heavily both times. They endorsed a Welsh Prime Minister (a youthful associate of Henry Richard) who called for 'a knock-out blow' and 'unconditional surrender'. There was a brief flourish of Richard's legacy in the 1923 general election when the Christian pacifist, George Maitland Lloyd Davies, who had spent time in Wormwood Scrubs and Winston Green prisons as a conscientious objector during the war, was elected MP for the University of Wales.⁴⁹ But this was a strictly temporary phenomenon. Davies upset some of his supporters by unexpectedly taking the Labour whip, and lost his seat in 1924 to Ernest Evans, one of Lloyd George's former (male) private secretaries.

Yet despite all this, and the war-like episodes that have chequered the history of the postwar world in Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East and many other places, the issues ventilated by Henry Richard retain their validity. Richard would have surely approved of those in Britain in 2003 who protested against the invasion of Iraq as he protested against that of Egypt. He would have joined them in deploring the

bypassing of the United Nations, and war being planned in order to impose 'regime change' far away without the sanction of the international community. He would have campaigned against war in Afghanistan in 2010 as he did in 1880, even when the British army was commanded by the Welshman Lord Robert. Gladstone's response to Richard in the Commons over Egypt is paralleled by the 'liberal internationalism' governing Tony Blair's responses over Iraq and Afghanistan. The same questions arise over the status of an international organisation and the nature of its authority.

Richard's approach was essentially one of pure and simple pacifism. That has had no impact since his death any more than Gandhi's doctrine of non-resistance was decisive in winning India its independence. George Lansbury's Christian appeals in the thirties to both Hitler and Mussolini to desist from force now appear tragic and pathetic. But Henry Richard's call for international arbitration is still far from redundant. The Permanent Court of International Justice set up under the League of Nations in 1922 gave way to the more authoritative International Court of Justice, also at The Hague, in 1946. There was also the International Criminal Court set up in the 1990s. The World Court has not been very active, since it sees only two or three cases a year. In key cases it has had much difficulty in making its decisions effective, notably when it vainly ordered the Israeli government to destroy the wall it had created in Palestine in 2004. The Criminal Court has been undermined by some of the great powers including the United States and China. Even so, the writings of authorities such as Philippe Sands and Lord Bingham have served to show that, especially since the Pinochet case in the 1990s, international law is now a more coherent entity, and that the United Nations is a more credible instrument in enforcing it. Bingham has even seen the Iraq invasion as leading to aggressor nations being more readily 'arraigned at the bar of world opinion, and judged unfavourably, with resulting damage to their standing and influence'.⁵⁰ Compared with Henry Richard's day, it is perhaps less of a lawless world.

Henry Richard's crusades, then, limited or perhaps confused as some of them may have been, were certainly not a failure. They retain their validity in a still undemocratic, violent age.

One of Richard's practical themes still is very attainable. He called for parliamentary sanction to be required both for conducting treaties and for going to war. The Brown government did respond and seemed prepared to advocate what would have been a clear diminution of the royal (i.e. the prime ministerial) prerogative. Its Constitutional Renewal Act passed just before the general election, in April 2010, would have pleased Henry Richard in one respect, since it did require parliamentary sanction for treaties to be approved. This met an old demand, not only from Richard's generation but also from those in the Union of Democratic Control in 1914 who opposed 'secret treaties'. The old Ponsonby rules dating from MacDonald's first government in 1924 were recognised as inadequate. However, the previous draft bill of 2008 had also included a proposal that the war-making power be determined by affirmative resolution of parliament. The Joint Select Committee, on which the present writer sat, decided by one vote in private session not to support a statutory sanction.⁵¹ Many problems remain in resolving the war-making power – the precise meaning of the term 'war', the problem of 'mission creep' (as demonstrated in Afghanistan since 2001), the problem of revealing the legal justification and the role of the Attorney-General, the government's source of supposedly independent legal authority who is himself or herself a member of that government. All this means that Richard's agenda is still very relevant. He would have been as surprised as others were that the Royal Air Force should be flattening Baghdad or Basra in the name of a wholly innocent resident of Windsor.

Henry Richard's crusades, then, limited or perhaps confused as some of them may have been, were certainly not a failure. They retain their validity in a still undemocratic, violent age. Reformers may still regard him as a prophetic figure. They may still honour the red flame of radicalism that inspired him as it has inspired internationalists and idealists in later generations. The apostle of peace may lie a-mouldering in the Abney Park cemetery, but his truths perhaps go marching on.

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- 1 *The Personal Papers of Lord Rendel* (London: Benn, 1931), pp. 304–05.
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- 3 See Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Lincoln and Wales' in Richard Cardwardine and Jay Sexton (eds.), *The Global Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 4 *Labour Leader*, 13 October, 1900; Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The Merthyr of Keir Hardie' in Glanmor Williams (ed.), *Merthyr Politics: the making of a Working-class Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), p. 80, and idem, *Keir Hardie, Radical and Socialist* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), pp. 116–17.
- 5 C. S. Miall, *Henry Richard MP* (London: Cassell, 1889), pp. 17–18.
- 6 D. J. V. Jones, *Crime in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. 45.
- 7 Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'The Election of 1868 in Merthyr Tydfil', in *Explorations and Explanations* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1981), p. 201. This is much the best analysis of the 1868 election in Merthyr.
- 8 Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868–1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), p. 25.

- 9 Henry Richard to Thomas Gee, 17 August 1869 (National Library of Wales [NLW] Aberystwyth, Thomas Gee papers, 8308D, 297); 'Gohebydd' (John Griffith) to Gee, 9 August, 11 August 1869 (ibid., 8310D, 506, 507).
- 10 'Gohebydd' to Gee, 11 August 1869 (ibid., 8310D, 507). In fact, Sartoris did lose his Carmarthenshire seat in the 1874 general election.
- 11 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CCI, 1295.
- 12 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CCXVII, 73 (8 July 1873).
- 13 J. Carvell Williams to Thomas Gee, 25 September 1869 (NLW, Gee papers, 8311D. 583), citing Henry Richard's view. Williams was secretary of the Liberation Society. Also George Osborne Morgan to Richard, 20 August 1869 (NLW, Richard Papers, 5505C).
- 14 Sidney Buxton to Henry Richard, 17 January ? (NLW, Richard Papers, 5503C); George Osborne Morgan to Richard, 20 August 1869 (ibid., 5505C).
- 15 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CCCIII, 305 ff. (9 March 1886).
- 16 Minutes of the Liberation Society, 12 September 1881 (Swansea University Library).
- 17 Henry Richard to Gladstone, 8 March 1870 (British Library, Gladstone papers, Add.MSS 44424, ff. 226–30). Richard pressed the case of John Griffiths, rector of Neath, a Liberal.
- 18 Dean H. T. Edwards to Richard, 6 March 1879 (NLW, Richard papers, 5503B).
- 18 Lord Richard Grosvenor to Richard, 17 November 1880 (NLW, Richard papers, 5504C).
- 19 Lord Aberdare to Richard, 22 March 1880 (NLW, Richard papers, 5503C).
- 20 Speech at Mold National Eisteddfod, *The Times*, 20 August 1873.
- 21 Rev. R. W. Dale to Richard, 20 July 1886 (NLW, Richard Papers, 5503C).
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- 23 *Letters on the Social and Political Condition of the Principality of Wales* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1867), p. 80

- ; *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CXCVII, 1294ff. (6 July 1869) where the term 'feudalism' appears.
- 24 *Aberdare Times*, 14 November 1868.
- 25 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CXCVII, 1294ff.
- 26 Matthew Cragoe, *Culture, Politics and National Identity in Wales, 1832–1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 166–67.
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- 28 Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), p. 38.
- 29 David Lloyd George, *Better Times* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), p. 296.
- 30 Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, 'The Election of 1868 in Merthyr Tydfil', in *Explorations and Explanations* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1981), pp. 206–12.
- 31 Speech on second reading, *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CC, 269, and amendment in Committee, 20 June 1870. He urged that the state confine itself to providing only literary and scientific education, with even the Bible excluded from state schools. See also Rev. R. W. Dale to Rev. J. B. Paton, June 1870, in A. W. W. Dale, *The Life of R. W. Dale* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905), pp. 278–80.
- 32 Rev. John Thomas to Richard, 9 August 1886 (NLW, Richard Papers, 5505C).
- 33 e.g. in his entry by Matthew Cragoe in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 34 Minutes of Richard's interview with Gladstone, 28 May 1870 (NLW Richard Papers, 5509C).
- 35 Gladstone to Richard, 14 April 1871 (NLW Richard Papers, 5504B).
- 36 *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales* (C.3047, 1881).
- 37 A. J. Mundella to Richard, 17 March 1884 (NLW, Richard Papers, 5505C).
- 38 E. L. Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1872–1972* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), p. 83.
- 39 cf. *Third Report of the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts* (C 5158).
- 40 Richard to Gee, 1 November

- 1886 (NLW. Gee Papers, 8308C, 304).
- 41 Goronwy J. Jones, *Wales and the Quest for Peace* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), pp. 81–82.
- 42 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CCVII, 52ff. (8 July 1873).
- 43 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser. (15 June 1880).
- 44 *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., CCCIII, 1395 (19 March 1886).
- 45 See Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Lincoln and Wales' in Richard Cardwardine and Jay Sexton (eds.), *The Global Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 46 Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), pp. 255–59, and entry on E. T. John in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 47 Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), pp. 575ff. Good accounts of Roosevelt's attitude appear in John Milton Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (Harvard: Belknap, 1983) and James Chace, *1912* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005). Roosevelt acquired his reputation as a man of peace through his mediation efforts at the Treaty of Portsmouth to wind up the Russo-Japanese war in 1905 and taking part in the Algeciras conference during the Moroccan crisis of 1906.
- 48 See Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Alfred Zimmermann's Brave New World: Aberystwyth in 1919 and after', *International Relations* (forthcoming).
- 49 Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Peace Movements in Wales, 1899–1945', in *Modern Wales, Politics, Places and People* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), pp. 98, 103.
- 50 Tom Bingham, *The Rule of Law* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), p. 129; Philippe Sands, *Lawless World* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), *passim*.
- 51 The present writer voted in the minority on this motion by Martin Linton MP.