GILBERT MURRAY V. E.D. MOREL: LIBERALISM'S DEBILITATING DIVIDE OVER FOREIGN POLICY

lastingly damaged in prison, died suddenly. Without his fanatical commitment the UDC faded fast; and an attempt to commit it to blanket opposition to League of Nations sanctions caused a damaging split in 1928. By then, public hopes for peace had come to be focused on Geneva; and, with Gilbert Murray still chairing its executive committee, the League of Nations Union rapidly supplanted the UDC as the country's principal peace association, collecting more than 400,000 annual subscriptions at its organisational peak in 1931 and even more remarkably persuading 38 per cent of the adult population to take part in its pro-League pseudo-referendum, the Peace Ballot, in 1934-5.13 Liberal internationalism thus became intellectually hegemonic: even Tories such as Baldwin had to pay lip service to the League; and Churchill linked his rearmament campaign to the internationalist cause rather than to that of go-it-alone patriotism. Labour had to stop dismissing Geneva as a league of capitalist victors, and – despite a wobble in 1933 – were steered towards collective security by Arthur Henderson.14 The declining Liberal Party saw the League as its own special cause. As Richard Grayson has noted of

From the mid-1920s, therefore, Murray's mainstream-Liberal foreign-policy approach triumphed definitively over Morel's radical alternative.

the inter-war period: 'if a Liberal knocked on your front door to canvass, then there was a fairly high probability that when asked what the Liberal Party stood for, this earnest man or woman would talk about "Peace" and the League of Nations prior to anything else.'

From the mid-1920s, therefore, Murray's mainstream-Liberal foreign-policy approach triumphed definitively over Morel's radical alternative. But the Liberal Party was by then too far gone institutionally to benefit from this final triumph. And Morel's foreign-policy-led defection had contributed significantly to the speed of this institutional failure.

Martin Ceadel is Professor of Politics at the University of Oxford, and Fellow of New College, Oxford.

- Martin Ceadel, The Origins of War Prevention: the British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1730–1854 (Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 36–40.
- 2 Herald of Peace, August 1862, p. 86.
- 3 Martin Ceadel, 'Cobden and Peace', in Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan (eds.), Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Liberalism: Richard Cobden Bicententenary Essays (Ashgate, 2006), pp. 189–207.
- 4 Martin Ceadel, 'Gladstone and a Liberal Theory of International

- Relations', in Peter Ghosh and Lawrence Goldman (eds.), Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain: Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 74–94.
- 5 For Murray, see Duncan Wilson, Gilbert Murray OM, 1866–1957 (Oxford University Press, 1987); and Francis West, Gilbert Murray: A Life (Croom Helm, 1987).
- 6 Cited in Martin Ceadel, 'Gilbert Murray and International Politics', in Christopher Stray (ed.), Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 223.
- 7 The authoritative source for Morel's life is Catherine Cline, E. D. Morel 1873–1924: Strategies of Protest (Blackstaff Press, 1980).
- The foundational work on this subject is Henry Winkler, The League of Nations Movement in Great Britain, 1914–1919 (Rutgers UP, 1952). See also Donald Birn, The League of Nations Union 1918–1945 (Clarendon Press, 1981); Martin Ceadel, Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854–1945 (Oxford University Press, 2000), ch. 7; and Helen McCarthy, The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, citizenship, and internationalism, c.1918–45 (Manchester University Press, 2011).

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LETTERS

Emlyn Hooson and the Falklands war

J. Graham Jones' article on 'Emlyn Hooson, Voice of Montgomeryshire' (*Journal of Liberal History* 86, spring 2015), continues his excellent work on Welsh Liberal history.

He mentions Emlyn's remarkable speech against the Falklands war, made in the House of Lords when the conflict was at its height and when there was considerable pressure on politicians to close ranks and to support the British forces. It was all the more impressive because it came from a distinguished Liberal lawyer rather than from a kneejerk left-wing Labour speaker.

Graham should have mentioned the comment of Labour peer, Hugh Jenkins – Lord Jenkins of Putney – who spoke immediately after Emlyn: 'My Lords, your Lordships have just listened to what was to me perhaps the most remarkable speech that I have listened to since I had the privilege of joining your Lordships' House.'

Michael Meadowcroft

Emlyn Hooson and the law

I read with interest the article on Emlyn Hooson. I think Graham Jones has not understood him prior to his taking silk and becoming a serious politician. When he was defending as a junior he showed a charm when addressing a jury which was accompanied by a twinkle in his eye.

On one such occasion I was sent by my principal to 'instruct' him at a trial at Denbighshire Quarter Sessions. I saw at first hand all these qualities. While the jury was out, his instructions to me were to go to his car (a beautiful Rover 90) many times to see from his car radio if the Torrington by-election result was yet declared. This was in 1958. The fortunes of the party came a very close second.

Quentin Dodd