







Reginald McKenna

Financier among Statesmen, 1863–1916

Martin Farr



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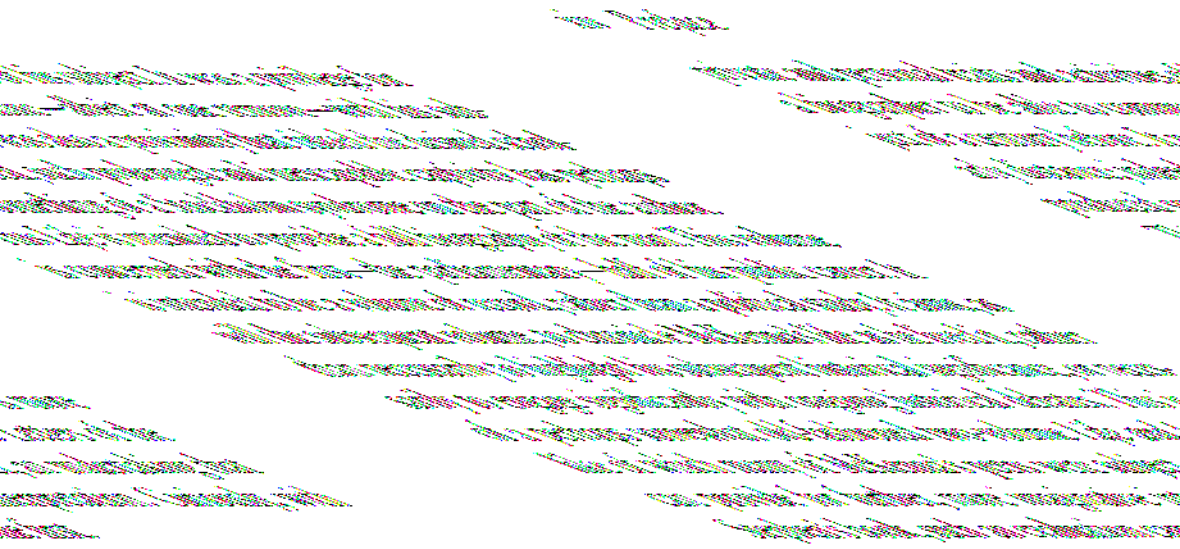
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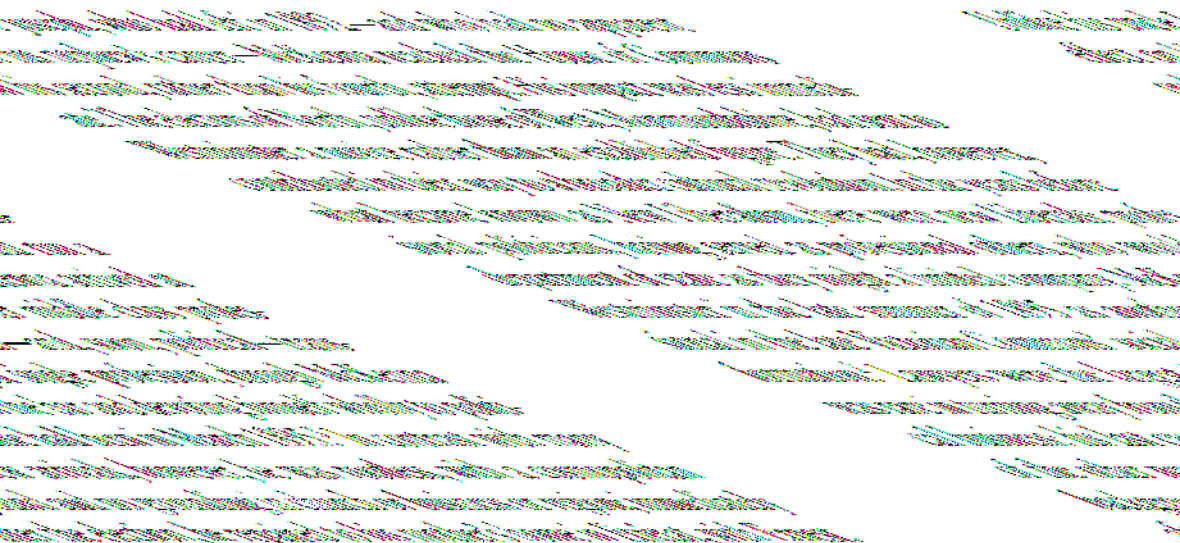
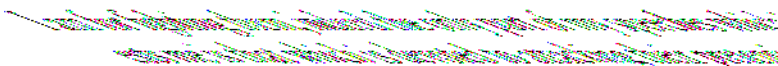
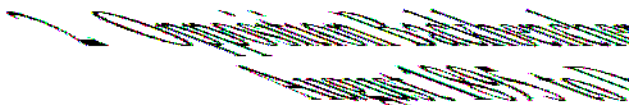


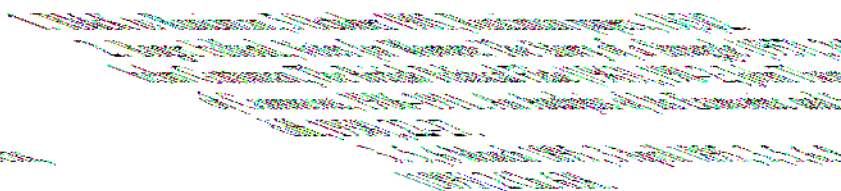
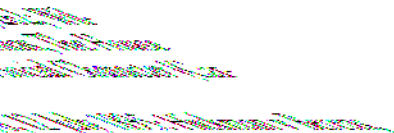




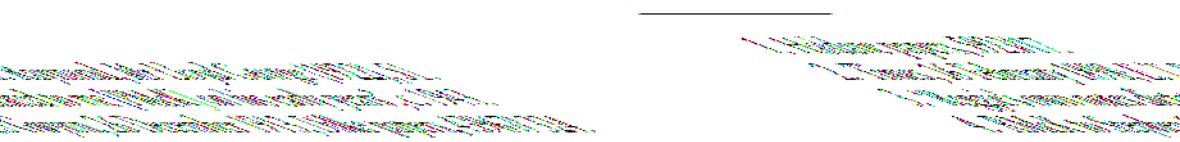






























































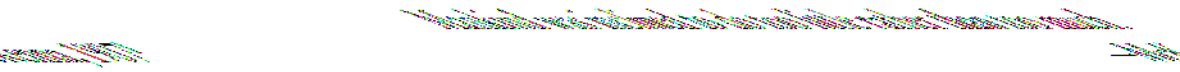


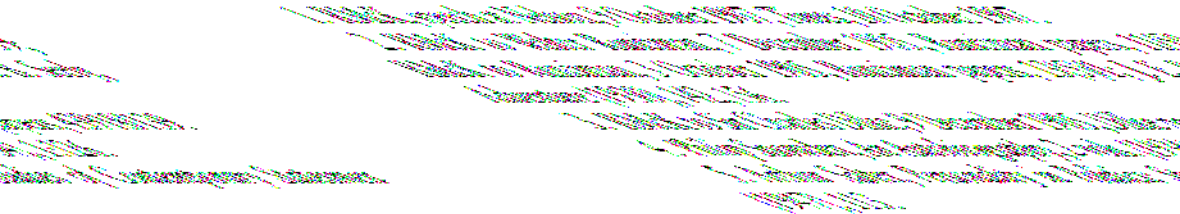












































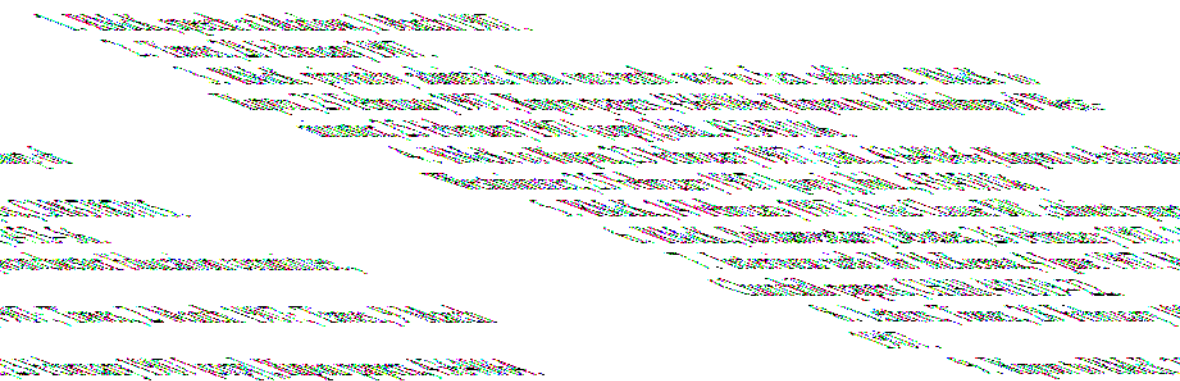


































































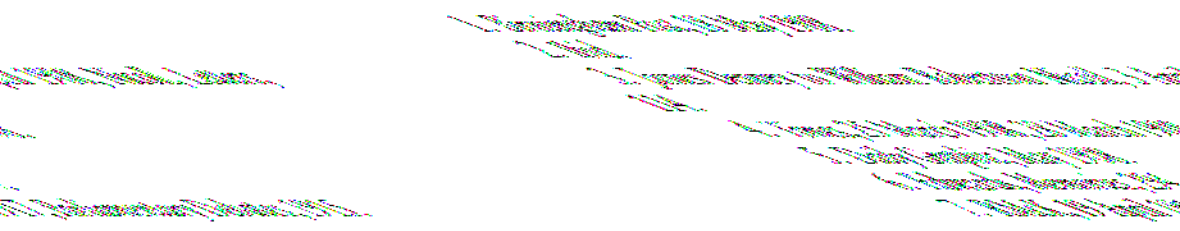




Figure 1.1 Young Reggie, hirsute and belligerent; only one quality would endure, circa 1870.

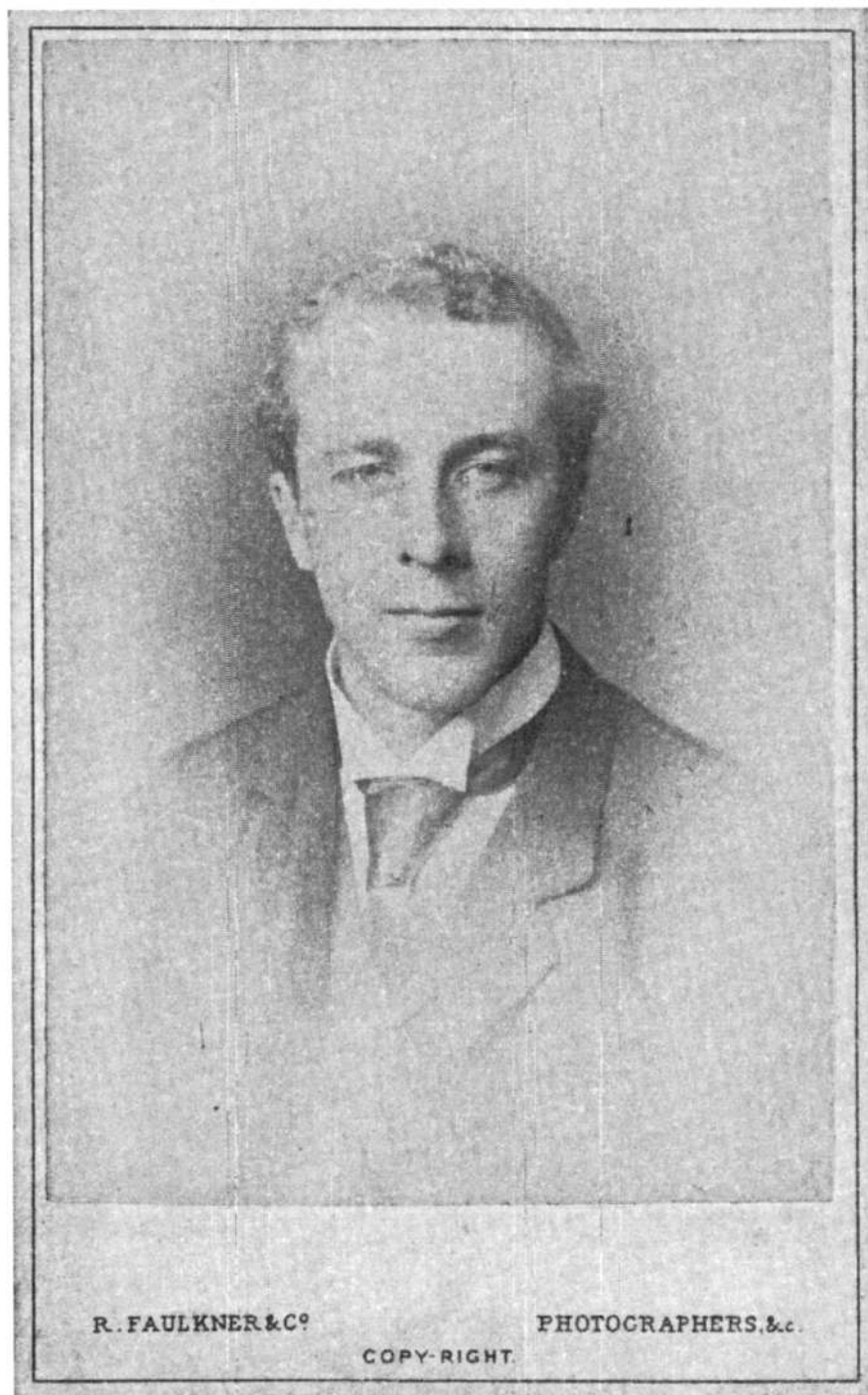


Figure 1.2 The Trinity Hall scholarship boy, circa 1884.



Figure 1.3 Sitting slightly apart, with the Cambridge crew, circa 1887.

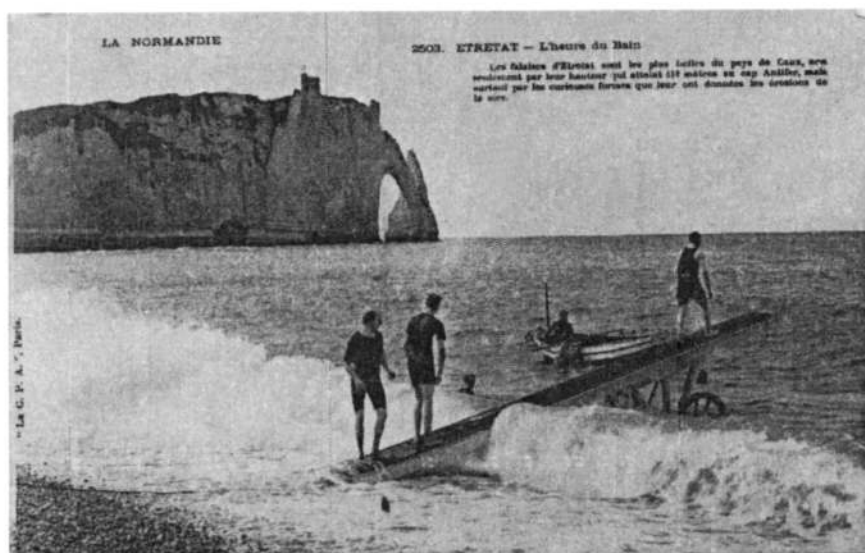


Figure 2.1 Hydrophile and Francophile: Reggie, left near Villa McKenna, Etrétat, circa 1900.



Figure 3.1 Pamela.

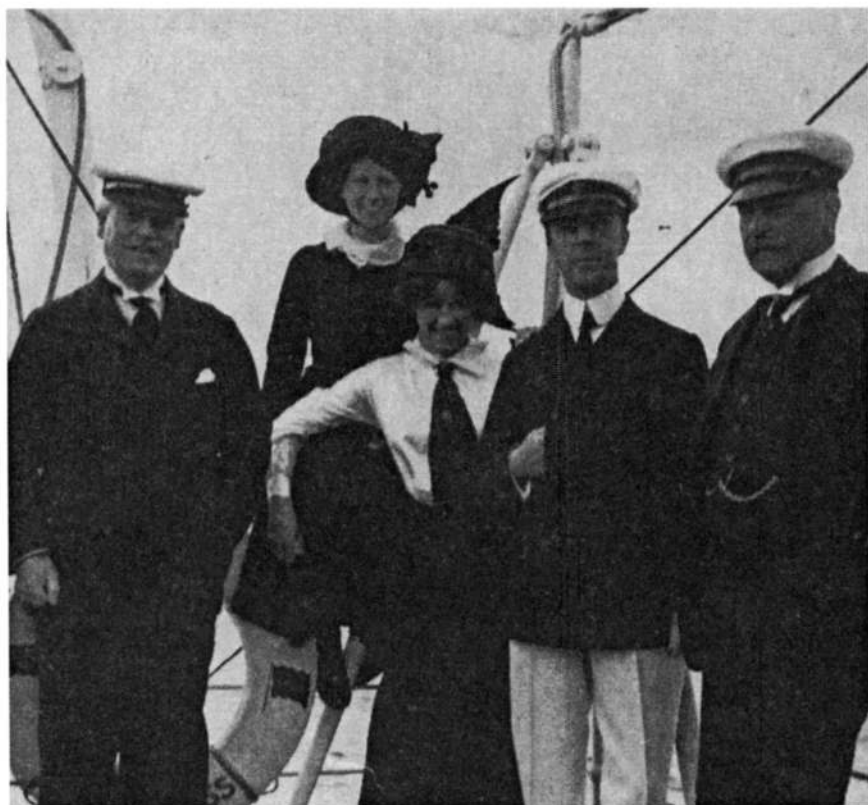


Figure 3.2 The happiest days: Asquith, Pamela, Barbara, Reggie, Ernest, and the *Enchantress*: circa 1910.

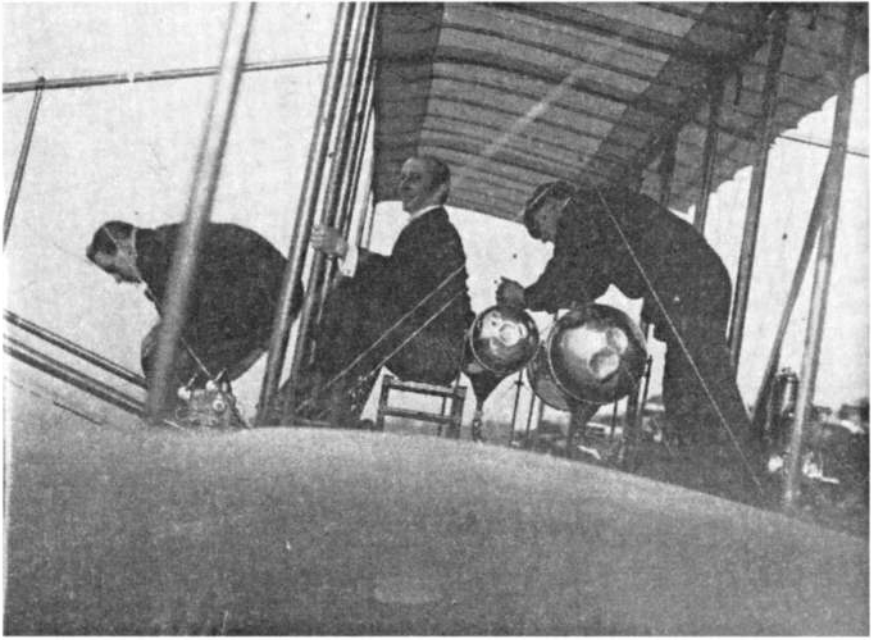


Figure 4.1 'Courage, of which . . . he is a shining example.' Hendon, 12 May 1911: the first minister to fly.



Figure 4.2 Lloyd George and McKenna, 1 August 1912, an infrequent, but usually poisonous, pairing.



Figure 5.1 The home secretary, attracting the attention of the law, circa 1913.

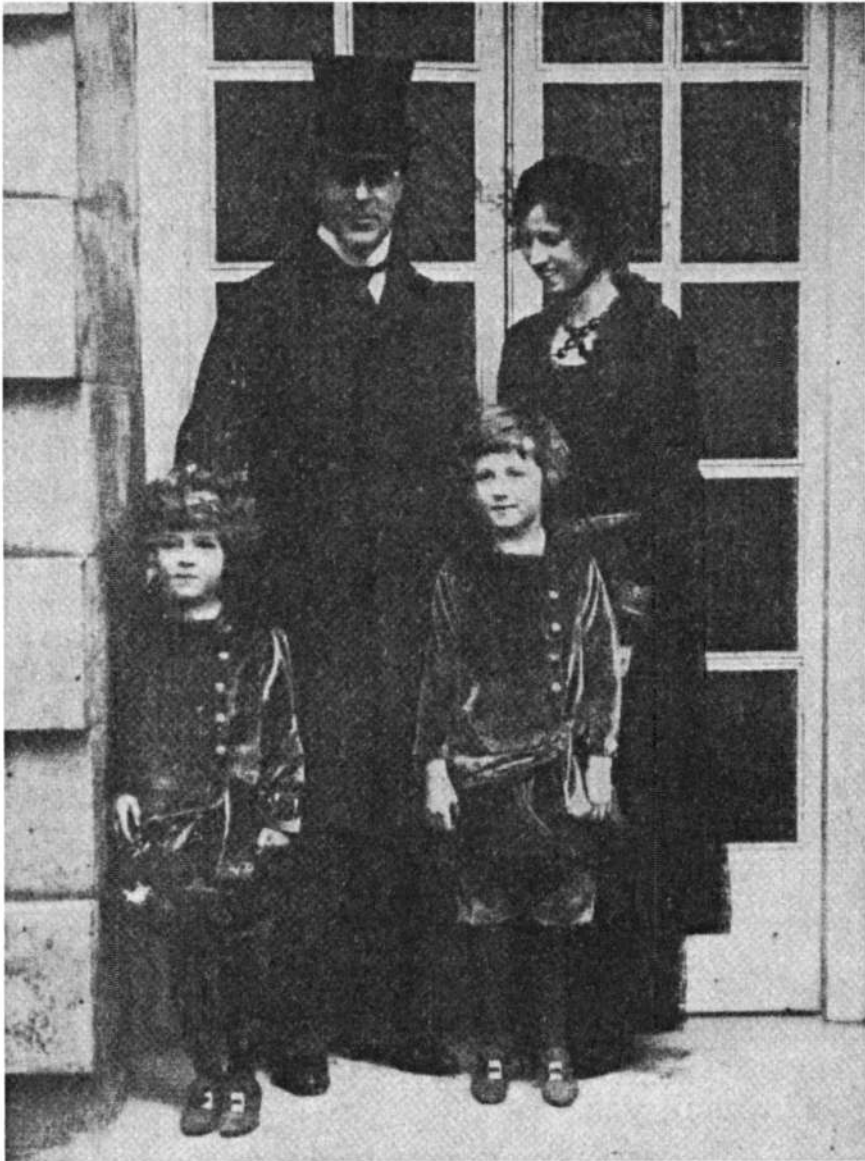
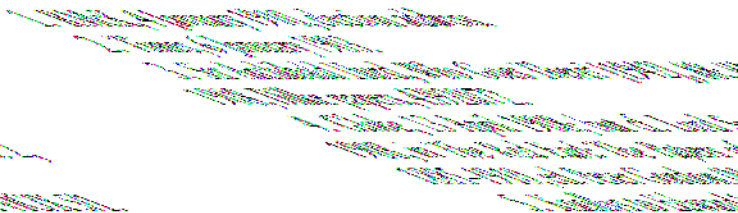
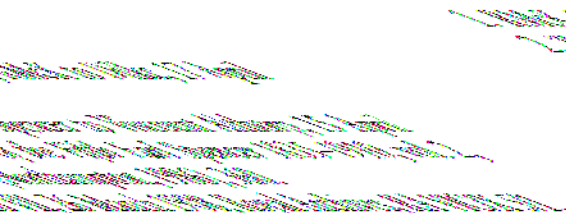
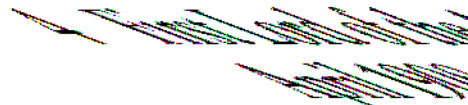
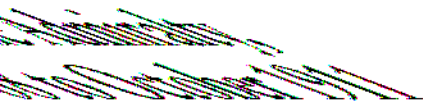


Figure 6.1 A Liberal affair: the McKennae at the wedding of Maurice Bonham Carter and Violet Asquith, Pamela's childhood friend, 30 November 1915. David in front of his father, and Michael in front of his mother.



Figure 6.2 The chancellor and Mrs McKenna distributing savings books to encourage juvenile thrift, 1915–16.



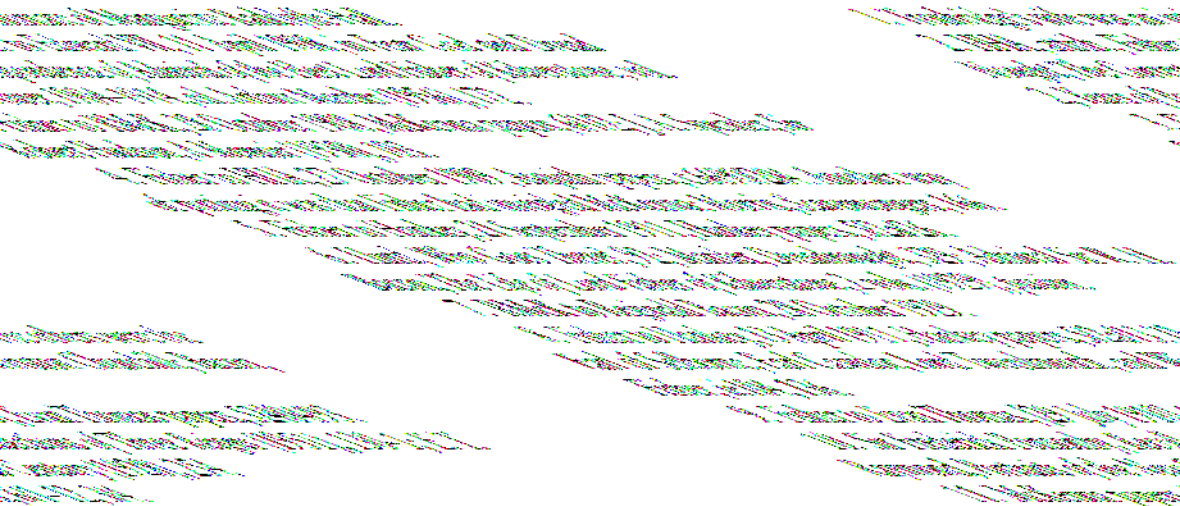




















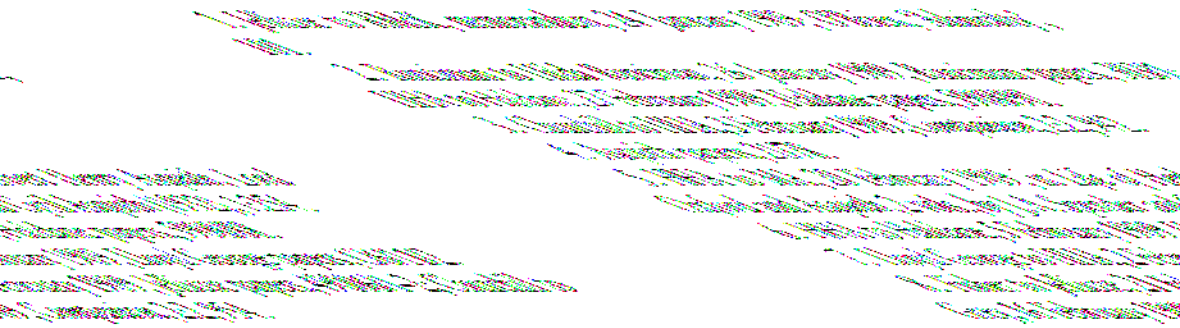










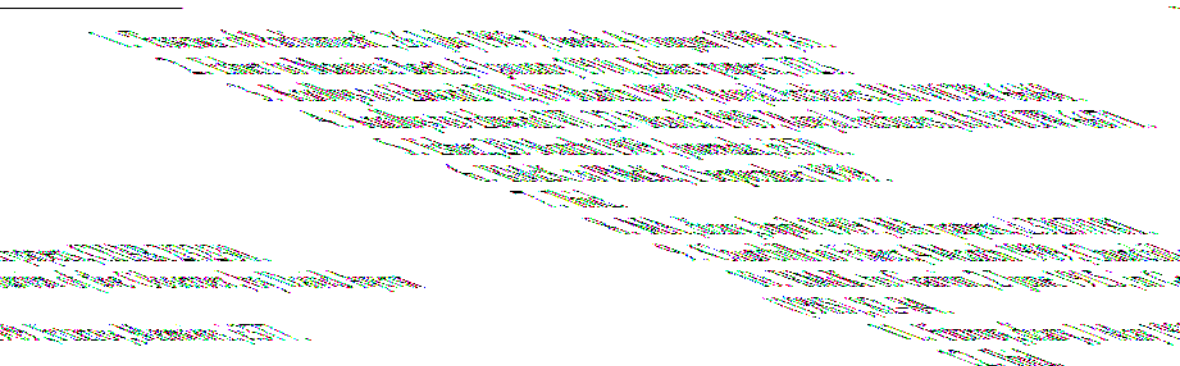




































Against the will of most of the sea lords, McKenna asked Fisher's friend Lionel Yexley to send him proposals for reform. Through his Naval Discipline Act of October 1909, navy prisons were brought into line with those of the army, and many degrading practices ended.¹ In 1910, he told the Commons that he wanted poorer boys to enter the Navy as officers, and sought lower fees at Osborne College, or Osborne scholarships to board school boys. 'The service was utterly astounded', Yexley reported, at proposals that 'raised a storm of criticism in naval circles.'² Moreover, given that McKenna was widely thought to be in thrall to his first sea lord, Commander Barry Domvile recalled that Fisher, who did not like him, refused him a promotion on the grounds of poor hearing. McKenna told the board he would examine Domvile himself. He called Domvile to his office and, as if on the Chertsey Mead behind Dockett Eddy, spoke to him at various distances and at different pitches. 'This kind little man told me that he was surprised how well I could hear', the later Admiral Domvile recalled.³ The promotion was approved. 'Not many men would have taken the trouble he did to prevent an injustice to a junior officer'.⁴

One case Yexley made much of demonstrated the converse: McKenna's statement institutionalised insensitivity. The case of George Archer-Shee was dramatised by Terence Rattigan as *The Winslow Boy* two years later, and filmed, by McKenna's wedding page Anthony Asquith, in 1948.⁵ Archer-Shee, a thirteen-year-old cadet at Osborne, was accused of stealing a 5 shilling postal order. After a summary enquiry, in October 1908, Archer-Shee was dismissed from the college. Having had no success in appealing to either Osborne or the Admiralty, the boy's father, convinced of his son's innocence, hired Sir Edward Carson, the leading Unionist MP, who was also a leading barrister. After over a year pressing for a judicial inquiry, Carson sought to sue the Admiralty for breach of contract. Sir Rufus Isaacs, the solicitor general, obstructed the case, prompting Carson to proclaim a public scandal. At the eventual trial, in July 1910, Carson thoroughly and dramatically refuted the case against Archer-Shee, and Isaacs accepted the boy's innocence. The greatest damage to the Admiralty, however, occurred when McKenna became involved. His technically defensible but politically insensitive refusal to offer either apology or compensation renewed public sympathy for the boy and outrage at the government, particularly in the Commons, where Archer-Shee's half-brother, newly elected himself as a Unionist MP, was enthusiastically abetted by F. E. Smith and Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. Having resisted compensation, in far from conciliatory

1. *The Fleet*, n.d.; Anthony Carew, *The Lower Deck of the Royal Navy 1900-39* (Manchester, 1981), 16, 35-7.

2. Lionel Yexley, *Our Fighting Sea Men* [1911], 321.

3. Domvile, 10 October 1950, in Marder, *Dreadnought*, 1:86-87.

4. Domvile, *By and Large*, 39.

5. Broad, *Advocates*, 129-39; Yexley, *Fighting*, 195-201.



McKenna recalled years later that 'the years before the war gave us two admirals of genius'.¹ One was Jellicoe, the other was Fisher. McKenna wrote to him on Christmas Day, 1909:

I have been settling my accounts with the year and going over in my mind many tough and victorious fights in which we have been comrades. I think our most powerful weapon has been our perfect unanimity. It means so much to have absolute confidence that you will not be left in the lurch, and for my part I have never had the smallest hesitation or doubt. I recall with feelings of the most affectionate friendship how firmly you stood by me in my Cabinet troubles. The victory was due to you, and I owe it to myself to testify how ready you have always been for the sake of the immediate duty to fling away office and all its rewards. The political future has no alarms for me, for I have no desire to remain at the Admiralty without you.²

It was as a direct consequence of his closeness to Fisher that McKenna became embroiled with Beresford.

Asquith was well aware of 'the old tale'.³ Admiral Lord Charles William de la Poer Beresford, commander in chief of the Channel Fleet, was a sailor exceeded in seniority and ego only by the first sea lord himself. It followed that Fisher and Beresford hated each other, their hostility rooted in personal similarities and exacerbated by strategic dissimilarities.⁴ The new development was that Beresford had come to regard himself as Fisher's nemesis and made public claims to that effect. Fisher suggested a response for the first lord: "Tell Beresford, in Burns's words "The Quarterdeck and silence, or Westminster and Gas!"⁵ Beresford chose, volubly, the latter. One issue over which they clashed was the innovation, increasingly demanded by politicians, soldiers, and sailors alike, of a naval general staff, to mirror that of the army, and that through Fisher's opposition to the extension of centralised command the navy was unprepared for war. Fisher immediately briefed his first lord of the Admiralty.⁶

1. RMcK to Bacon, 27 August 1936, Jellicoe papers, 49044/29–31.

2. RMcK to Fisher, 25 December 1909, Fisher papers, 1/9/447; RMcK to Fisher, 20 November 1909, Fisher papers, 1/9/438.

3. MA, diary, 13 April 1908, MA papers, d.3206/67; IHA to MA, 27 October 1909, MA papers, c.6690/201–2. The fullest account is: Geoffrey Penn, *Infighting Admirals: Fisher's Feud with Beresford and the Reactionaries* (2000).

4. Fisher to RMcK, 26 May 1908, McKenna papers, 3/4/10–11; Fisher to RMcK, 28 July 1908, McKenna papers, 3/4/17; Fisher to RMcK, 31 March 1909, McKenna papers, 6/2/64; Fisher to RMcK, 19 August 1909, McKenna papers, 6/2/112; J. R. Thursfield to RMcK, 14 August 1908, 3/13/6. See Bennett, *Charlie B.*, chs. 7–12.

5. Fisher to RMcK, 16 April 1908, Fisher papers, 1/6/306; Fisher to RMcK, 15 June 1908, McKenna papers, 3/4/14.

6. Fisher to RMcK, 11 May 1908, Admiralty papers, ADM 1/7992; Fisher to RMcK, 23 November 1909, McKenna papers, 3/4/34.

As with the 1909 estimates, the Beresford affair was bound to become more than an internal matter. An aristocratic Unionist ultra, 'Charlie B' was a willing spokesman for service opposition to the government, and his complaints were amplified by what Fisher called the 'Syndicate of Discontent': a collection of right-wing politicians, journalists, and fellow-travellers that included the Prince of Wales, Leo Maxse, Horatio Bottomley, most Unionist MPs and newspapers, as well as for tactical reasons Haldane, Churchill, and Lloyd George, with his determination to effect economies, and the additional benefit of undermining the first lord of the Admiralty.¹ McKenna and the 'Fishpond' of Fisher supporters had the less numerous but more exalted sympathies of the king, Balfour, and, of a fashion, Asquith.² As early as January 1908, the Board of Admiralty had considered sacrificing Beresford; indeed, the *Spectator* acclaimed McKenna as the 'strong man', who should demonstrate who was in charge by dismissing both Beresford and Fisher.³ A letter by Arthur Lee in *The Times* on 6 July asked what McKenna was going to do about what was both 'a grave scandal' and 'a menace to our national security'.⁴

McKenna at first tried conciliation, which alarmed Fisher, and which was by then too late to be effective;⁵ then, though he resisted instituting a court martial, on 16 December 1908 McKenna ordered Beresford to strike down his flag a year early, when the fleet reorganisation took place in March 1909. Reginald Bacon, who was on his staff, was apprising Fisher and McKenna of Beresford's actions when Beresford went public with his criticisms, 'obviously a gross breach of duty,' McKenna complained to the prime minister.⁶ Quite apart from considerations of personnel and money, the strategic plans would be compromised by Beresford, whose removal from post, McKenna told Asquith, was 'really an integral part of the scheme. The friction between him and Sir John Fisher is too great to permit of any reorganisation being undertaken.'⁷ Fisher told the king,

McKenna and the Prime Minister without any reference to me at all came to the conclusion that they could not trust Beresford in case of war . . . McKenna told me he did not sleep for two nights thinking of Beresford. . . . He said he formed his opinion of Beresford from his

1. Jellicoe to RMcK, 24 February 1909, Jellicoe papers, 48990/21.

2. Fisher to Edward VII, 3 January 1909, Royal Archives, KEVII W59/69; Bennett, *Charlie B*, 297–300; IIIIA to MA, 27 October 1909, MA papers, c.6690.

3. St. Loe Strachey to Sir William White, 10 July 1908, Strachey papers, 16/2/32.

4. Arthur Lee, 4 July 1908, *Times*, 6 July 1908.

5. Fisher to Esher, 12 July 1908, Fisher papers, 10/42.

6. RMcK to HHA, 19 October 1909, Asquith papers, 12/63.

7. RMcK to IIIIA, December 1908, Asquith papers, 21/8.















































































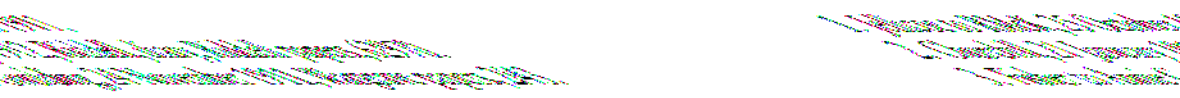
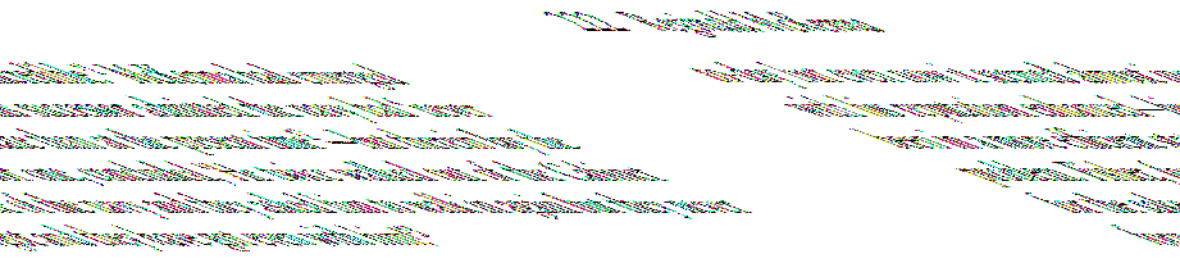


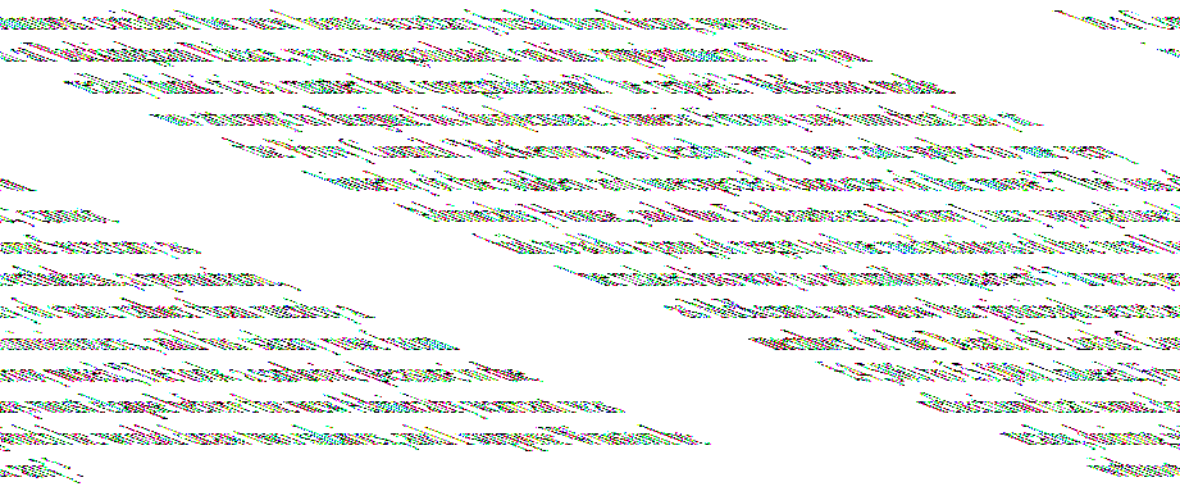
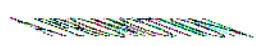
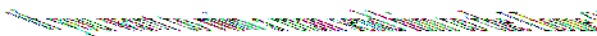
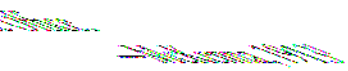
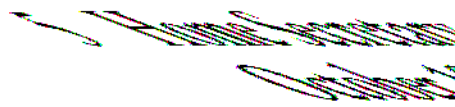
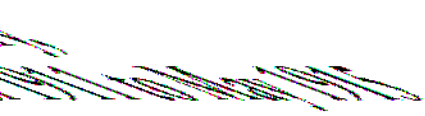


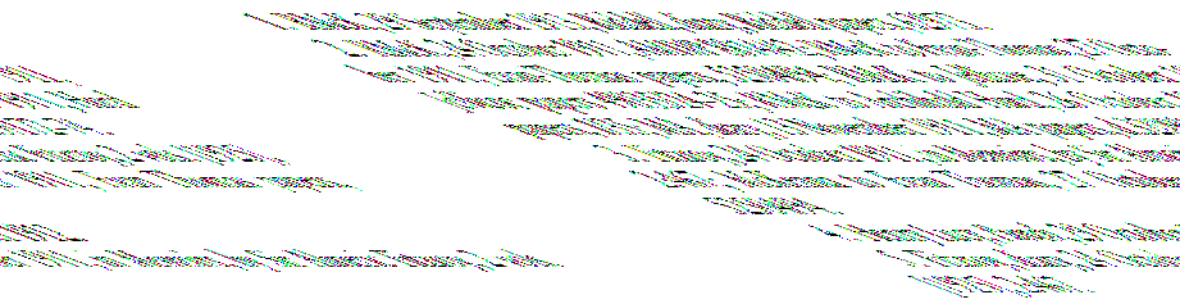














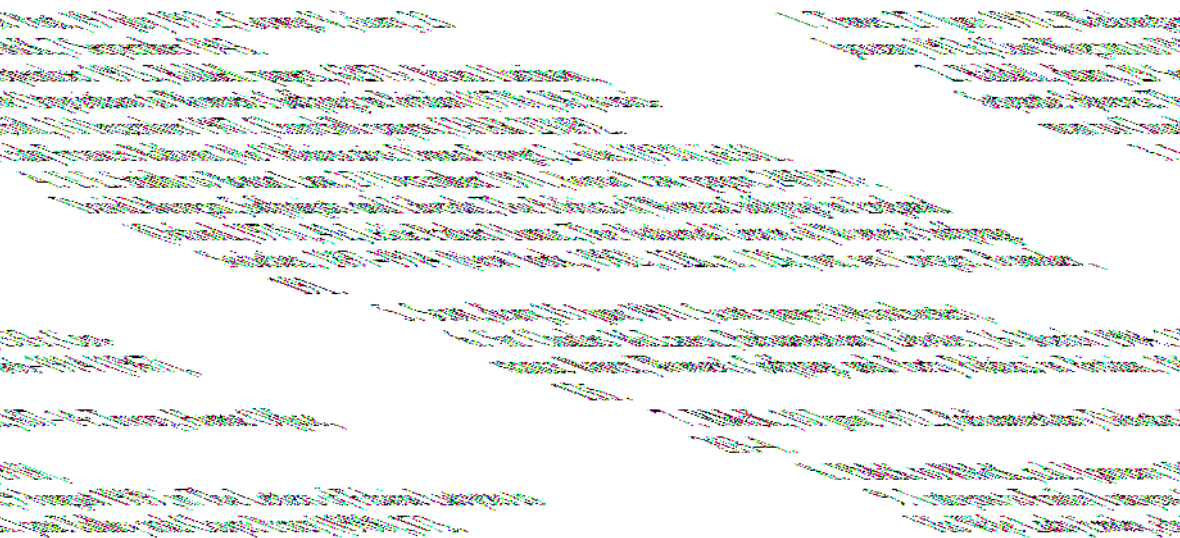






















































in 1913, because he would not support state censorship.¹ A similarly indulgent approach to theatre censorship had the immediate consequence of his being lampooned in George Grossmith's *Kill That Fly!* at the Alhambra. The twisted loyalties and sympathies of his political roots were further entangled with those of the society into which he had married. As the police arrested Pamela's friend the designer and publisher Francis Meynell for participating in a suffragette protest, he shouted to the gathering crowd that he was a friend of the home secretary.² 'Mr McKenna and the Suffs have always had very different versions of the temper and character of the police', Meynell told Pamela afterwards. 'In my little story I find a reconciliation of both views'.³ Meanwhile, Saki's *Louise*, 'mooning about' Westminster Abbey, was in danger of being 'seized under the Cat and Mouse Act and sent to Reginald McKenna'. 'That would be extremely awkward', said Jane. 'We hardly know the McKennas'.⁴

SMITH SQUARE

'I hope we shall never be rich enough to have a large house', Pamela told her mother after a weekend at Loulou's Nuneham Park, which was a very large house.⁵ In fact, the final conventional statement of status for the couple was not necessary while they resided at Admiralty House. Even if his removal from the Admiralty had come as a surprise, Reggie had already made provision. Throughout the early summer of 1910, 'R continued our Smith Square negotiations', Pamela recorded. 'I think the land is ours as he went up to 1/3 [one shilling and threepence] a foot for 3000 sq ft.⁶ Smith Square was a sequestered spot behind Westminster Abbey, between Millbank and Victoria Street. Partially developed, the site had the characteristics of a country town; not long before it had been a thoroughfare flanked by slum property.⁷ The central feature of the square was St. John's Church, described by Disraeli as 'ponderous', and by Dickens as 'very hideous'. The square went on to spend most of the twentieth century housing the headquarters of the Labour and Conservative parties. 'I am very excited about it as it is wonderful to think of building a London house tho' I can't imagine how we shall be able to afford it'.⁸

By August, Ned Lutyens had heard through Aggie that 'McKenna has bought a site in London and I do hope he asks me to build it for him. Pamela

1. RMcK, 22 April 1912, *Parliamentary Debates*, 751.

2. Meynell, *My Lives*, 72.

3. Francis Meynell to PMcK, 2 March 1914.

4. H. H. Munro, *The Toys of Peace and Other Papers* (1919), 16.

5. PMcK to Agnes Jekyll, 18 July [1910].

6. PMcK, diary, 17 June 1910.

7. See Frederick J. Froom, *A Site in Poultry* (1950).

8. PMcK, diary, 17 June 1910.

















































accepts,¹ despite the fact 'the Home Secretary reported', Stamfordham told the king, 'that Lord Fisher's decision was evidently irrevocable'.² It was desertion, Asquith told Balfour. 'Strictly speaking he ought to be shot'.³ On reflection, McKenna acknowledged his mistake in urging Fisher to return to the Admiralty in the first place.⁴ The fact 'that Fisher had stuck to his guns' and resigned, and in so doing helped seal Churchill's fate, would have been only a minor comfort.⁵ That evening, McKenna smuggled Fisher out of London on the last train to Glasgow. Even he had to agree that his friend was 'a bit off his balance'.⁶

MINISTER

That did not mean that Fisher had been misguided a year earlier when he proclaimed, after 'a long tête-à-tête' with McKenna, that 'his star is rising again!'⁷ After the traumas of Archerfield, relations between McKenna and Asquith had been restored, and with six months of the war gone, Asquith thought 'Crewe K[itcheener] & McKenna are far the best now',⁸ with the latter in particular being 'invaluable'.⁹ In a private classification of ministers, Asquith had McKenna third, behind Crewe and Grey, and ahead of Lloyd George, Churchill, Harcourt, Simon, Haldane, Runciman, Samuel, and the 'beagles'.¹⁰ 'McKenna and I had a walk and talk, about persons and particularly about courage (of which, with all his limitations, he is a shining example). I found that we didn't differ much, both marking L. George rather low in this respect, and E Grey too nervy to be put really high.'¹¹ Margot agreed. 'After Grey Crewe & Haldane, McKenna is Henry's most loyal & devoted colleague—haven't you all laughed at me—except Henry & I'll say more he has got the best of heads.'¹² On the relative contributions of ministers, Asquith said, 'I think McKenna is the most remarkable of the lot in what he

1. RMcK to Fisher, 16 May 1915, in *Fear God and Dread Nought, The Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilwarstone*, vol. 3, *Restoration, Abdication, and Last Years, 1914–1920*, ed. Arthur Marder (1959), 232.

2. Stamfordham to George V, 19 May 1915, *Companion*, iii:2, 911.

3. HHA to Balfour, 20 May 1915, Balfour papers, 49692/149.

4. RMcK, Scott diary, 7 February 1916, Scott papers, 50902/125.

5. MA, diary, 15 May 1915, MA papers, d.3212/9.

6. Hankey, diary, 21 May 1915, Hankey papers, 1/1/34; 'a little mad', Balfour to Selborne, 20 May 1915, Balfour papers, 49708/249–50.

7. Fisher to Hankey, 8 April 1914, Hankey papers, 5/2a/38.

8. MA, diary, 7 March 1915, MA papers, d.3211/201.

9. *Ibid.*, 23 January 1915, MA papers, d.3211/205.

10. HHA to Venetia Stanley, 26 February 1915, in *Letters*, 452.

11. HHA to Venetia Stanley, 28 November 1914, in *Letters*, 321.

12. MA, diary, 7 August 1914, MA papers, d.3210/249; *ibid.*, 15 June 1915, d.3211/206–7.







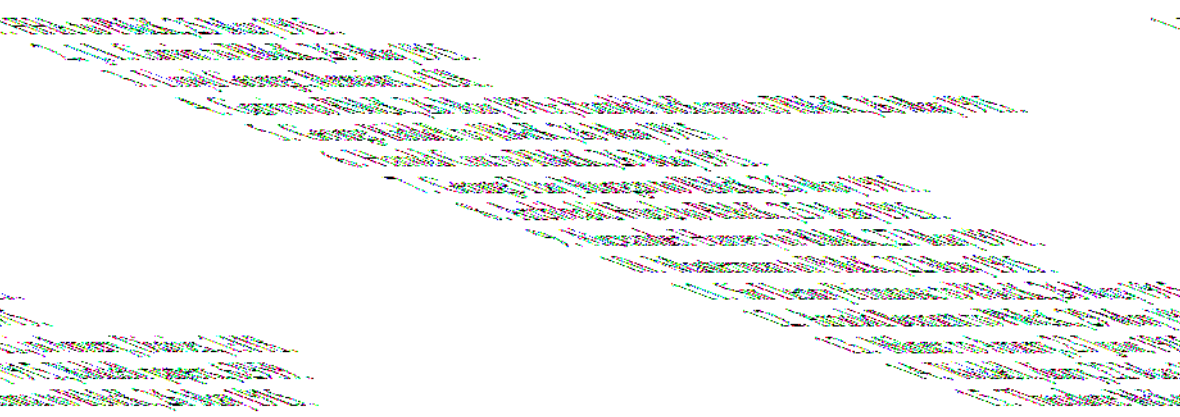


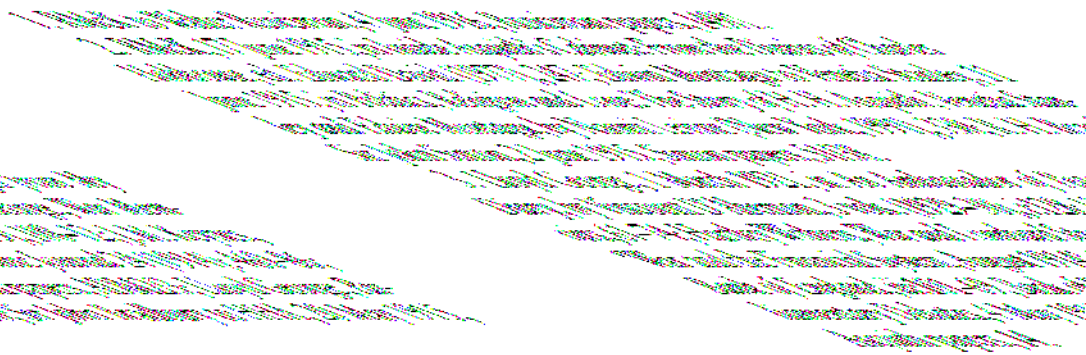
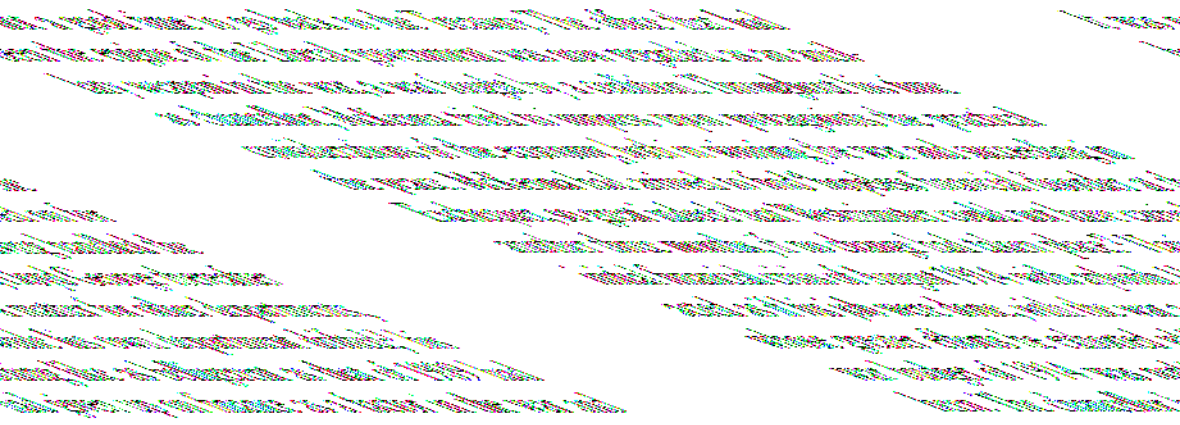
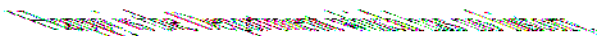
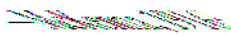
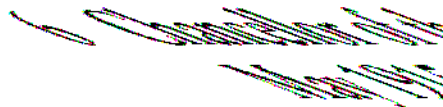
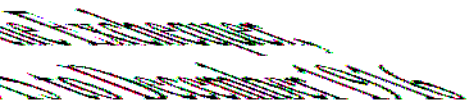












































time in his public life, actively to cultivate public opinion, and in so doing became something of a pioneer. He had adopted the habit of passing statements and information to Pamela's friend Charlie Masterman, director of Propaganda, at Wellington House,¹ and McKenna was 'interviewed' by the *New York Times*, or, rather, sent an article written by Keynes and Blackett to the paper's London correspondent.² Masterman duly passed it on to the Foreign Office for distribution in France, Russia, and Italy.³ McKenna's policy of resisting the recruitment of his officials allowed J. H. Curle to perform considerable savings propaganda work.⁴ Just as he had never enjoyed so supportive a press before, McKenna had never before employed, or even countenanced, propaganda as he would as chancellor.

Most important to him was the publisher and publicist Hedley Le Bas. After his initial recruitment triumph with the Kitchener poster, Le Bas remained frustrated at how little politicians appeared to realise the potential of the new media.⁵ Le Bas showed a prescient understanding that McKenna would provide some relief for his frustration when he told Pamela that her husband's appointment as chancellor 'is the only thing that reconciles me to a coalition government.'⁶ Within a month, on the morning of 22 June 1915, Le Bas appeared at 36 Smith Square. He had read over breakfast that the chancellor had launched his loan, but with little publicity. 'I immediately put on my hat and made tracks for Mr McKenna's private house', he recalled. 'It was rather a risky proceeding, because I did not know Mr McKenna.' Henry, McKenna's butler, answered the door. The chancellor was in the bath. Fifteen minutes later, he appeared in his dressing gown, and 'received me most politely, listened to what I had to say and invited me to the Treasury.' Two days later, Le Bas presented McKenna with a detailed scheme for a massive advertising campaign, and the chancellor pledged £100,000, making it 'the biggest advertising campaign ever carried out in this or any other country'.⁷

Le Bas took a full page of *The Times* to promote the issue, while McKenna persuaded the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee to launch a poster campaign, the Royal Mail to deliver leaflets, and the National War Savings

1. Masterman to PMcK, 4 August 1915; Lucy Masterman, *C. E. G. Masterman, a Biography* (1939), 283–84.

2. Ernest Marshall to RMcK, 19 July 1916; H. C. Montgomery to Horace Hamilton, 20 July 1916; Dudley Ward to Hamilton, 5 August 1916; J. B. Pratt to H. Hamilton, 11 August 1916.

3. Masterman to Hamilton, 14 August 1916.

4. Sir Edgar Waterlow to RMcK, 22 January, Midland Bank papers, 192.069.

5. 'The Man Who Induced the Government to Advertise', *Higham's Magazine*, April 1916, 14–15.

6. Hedley Le Bas to PMcK, 26 May 1915.

7. Le Bas, in 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of Domestic Propaganda in Britain, 1914–1917', by Nicholas Hiley, *Journal of Advertising History* 10 (1987): 38; Isaac E. Marcossou, *The War After the War* (New York, 1917), 130–34.



















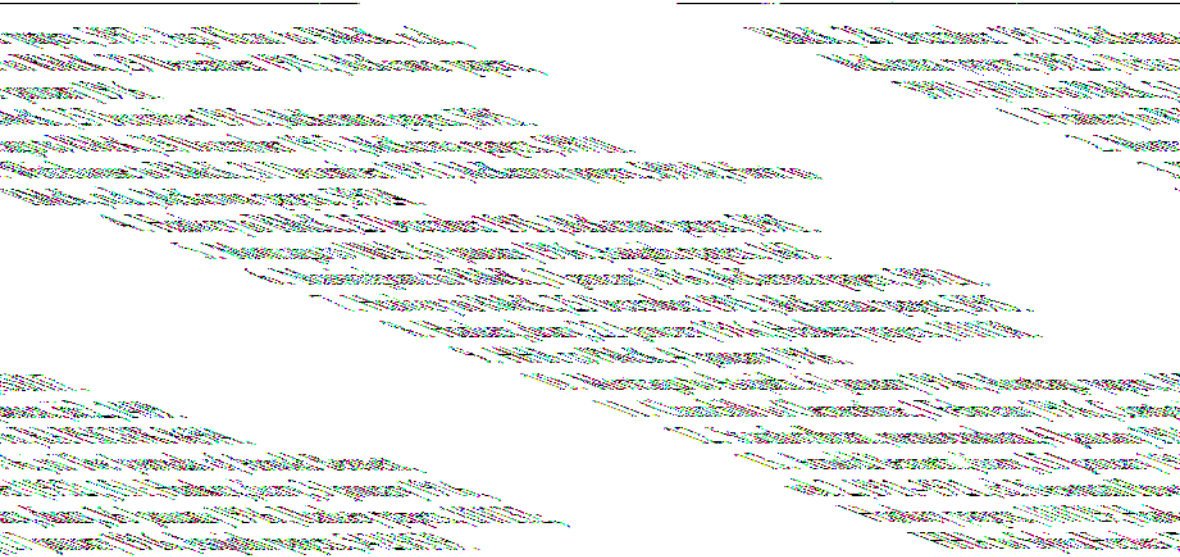






























'the future of the party', the chancellor asked the prime minister for Simon. 'He didn't think the Tories would stand it and so I asked for McKinnon Wood',¹ as mild a deputy as could be imagined.² The salient point was that McKenna was absolutely at one with his Treasury civil servants, of whom he could easily have been one himself, and the devotion was mutual. The moment McKenna asked him, Chalmers returned to the Treasury from the governor-generalship of Ceylon, his 'pestilential' tropical refuge from Lloyd George.³ For Keynes, another Inner Temple Cambridge mathematician, the 'McKenna' between them traversed his private and public interests. Through his Treasury work with McKenna, he privately admitted 'I am on very intimate terms now and I have got extremely fond of him'.⁴

McKenna's poor manner had always been made worse by his grasp of detail and inclination to demonstrate it; as chancellor, he was expert. F. E. Smith, thought McKenna 'in Cabinet prolix to a degree'.⁵ There were concerns, moreover, that decision making in wartime required different practice. Ribot told Esher of 'the different methods of Lloyd George and McKenna'.

Both surrounded themselves with experts, but Lloyd George was conscious of, and showed complete ignorance of financial detail. He would invite discussion saying very little himself, but when the talking was over, he would give a decision there and then, and this was final. McKenna, on the other hand, did most of the talking himself, and after consulting all the experts all round, would try to get some formula, invariably a compromise agreed to, and if he failed, the question would be hung up.⁶

When Laurie Brock invited McKenna to a National Relief Fund meeting, the chancellor immediately got into a row with Walter Long. 'McKenna kept his temper admirably but somehow always seemed a little too glib, a little too plausible and too convincing'.⁷ It was the more frustrating for

1. RMcK to Runciman, 10 July 1916, Runciman papers, 149/1.

2. Selborne, memorandum, Selborne papers, 80/287; RMcK to Thomas McKinnon Wood, 6 July 1916, McKinnon Wood papers, c.499/199; Thomas McKinnon Wood to his aunt, n.d., Thomas McKinnon Wood papers, c.499/225-26.

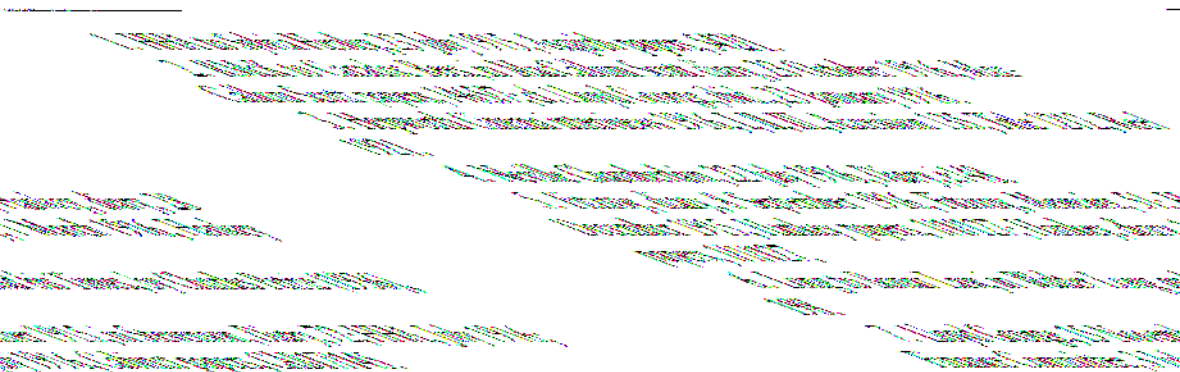
3. Earl Grey to Bonar Law, 3 December 1915, Earl Grey papers, 228/11; RMcK to Chalmers, 12 November 1915, Treasury papers, T170/66; Leith Ross to his mother, 21 November 1915, Leith Ross papers, T188/267.

4. Keynes, 10 September 1916, in *John Maynard Keynes*, by D. E. Moggridge (1993), 249.

5. F. E. Smith to Churchill, 25 February 1916, Churchill papers, CHAR 1/118A/43-44.

6. Ribot, in Esher, diary, 18 April 1916, Esher papers, 15/2; Sir John Hanbury-Williams to Stamfordham, 29 October 1916, RA PS/GV/Q 722/31.

7. Laurence Brock to Violet Markham, 19 July 1915, in *Duty and Citizenship: The Correspondence and Political Papers of Violet Markham, 1896-1953*, ed. Hiclen Jones (1994), 75-76.















THE SECOND DECEMBER CRISIS

As the third winter of the war and the second of the coalition approached, and political crises were 'so much a condition of our life that I have ceased to be greatly interested in them',¹ McKenna informed the Cabinet that British-owned securities were now almost exhausted and that the country might be a fortnight from insolvency.² McKenna revealed to Robertson Nicoll his concern at 'how dependent we are on the United States and the need for sympathetic treatment from that country, particularly while the presidential election is keeping their nerves on edge'.³ Later that week, it was Lloyd George's turn to speak to the *New York Times*, in which he announced, 'the fight must be to a finish—to a knock-out'.⁴ 'I need not tell you', McKenna told Scott, 'that for my department his action is most injurious'.⁵

'It is well known that they dislike one another personally', Montagu told Margot, and 'it is well known that they make the fatal error of doing their work surrounded by their own particular choice of press-men'.⁶ Lloyd George, McKenna told Repington, 'honestly thought himself appointed by heaven to win the war'.⁷ Cabinet opposition was harder to muster from colleagues symbolically incapacitated. Exhausted and losing his sight, Asquith moved the foreign secretary to the Lords. 'Grey's going made me very unhappy',⁸ while Runciman was recovering from a nervous breakdown.⁹ 'I want you back,' McKenna told him. 'Only this morning I was thinking how much I miss you and how lonely your absence leaves me in the political world.'¹⁰ McKenna visited him and 'discussed politics and agreed time has come for Govt. to go out', before going 'home to lunch with Le Bas who also agreed Govt. should go out'.¹¹ Fisher felt zeppelins and submarines between them would occasion the fall of the country.¹² McKenna was

1. RMcK to Runciman, 21 July 1916, Runciman papers, 149/1.

2. Report of the Joint Anglo-French Financial Committee, Cabinet papers, CAB37/157/40; Interdepartmental Committee to Consider Dependence of the British Empire on the United States, Treasury papers, T170/95.

3. RMcK to Robertson Nicoll, 22 September 1916, Treasury papers, T172/358; RMcK, MUN 4/3007/9; Whigham to Curzon, 28 September 1916, Curzon papers, F112/112A.

4. Lloyd George, in *Lloyd George: From Peace to War, 1912-1916*, by John Grigg (1985), 425.

5. RMcK, 2-3 October 1916, Scott, diary, Scott papers, 50903/74; Ponsonby to Trevelyan, 6 October 1916, Trevelyan papers, CPT 60.

6. Montagu to MA, 8 August 1916, Montagu papers, AS5/1/15/(1)1140(1) 'Not sent'.

7. RMcK, 12 October 1916, Repington, *First World War*, i:360.

8. RMcK to Runciman, 10 July 1916, Runciman papers, 149/1.

9. Birrell to PMcK, 1 June 1916; MacCallum Scott, diary, 4 February 1917, MacCallum Scott papers, 36; Viscount Cecil, *All the Way* (1949), 136.

10. RMcK to Runciman, 21 July 1916, Runciman papers, 149/1.

11. RMcK to PMcK, 4 August 1916.

12. Fisher to PMcK, 29 August 1916.































































































