

E.N. BUXTON (1840-1924): LIBERAL BREWER, BIG GAME HUNTER AND CONSERVATIONIST

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Introduction

Edward North Buxton came from a distinguished family.¹ His grandfather, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bt., influenced by a Quaker mother and his wife's Quaker family, fought against slavery and for prison reform.² At one time, the British five-pound note represented him in the company of other reformers standing to the left of the central figure, his sister-in-law Elizabeth Fry. Sir Thomas was a brewer and so was his grandson. E.N. Buxton became a partner in the brewing firm of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Co. in 1862 and served as chairman of the board of directors from 1897 until 1911. We lack details about his work at his brewery but know that Buxton was highly respected in the licensed trade. The standard history of the British brewing industry described him as 'the immensely able director of Truman'.³

He was acting treasurer of the National Trade Defence Fund in the late 1890s when the elected officer was ill and was chairman of the renamed National Trade Defence Association in 1902. He was one of the handful of big London brewers honored as members of the venerable Brewers' Company.⁴ In 1900 and in 1907 he chaired the annual banquet of the London licensed victuallers' central protection society.

This article puts forward two arguments. Firstly, that E.N. Buxton was 'a vital lynch-pin' between the licensed trade and the Liberal Party.⁷ His firm Truman 'possessed the best set of political antennae in the trade in the 1890s'.⁶ An obituary for Buxton described 'his remarkable energy and perseverance,' 'the doggedness with which he ignored obstacles and difficulties,' and

his 'genius for organisation'.⁷ In 1885 Buxton was elected to Parliament as a Liberal, but Irish Home Rule ended his parliamentary career after only a few months in the House of Commons. Not a brilliant speaker, he was known for his thoroughness. He was an ardent free trader. His *ABC of Free Trade: An Address* (1882) was revised in 1888 in response to the 'Fair Trade' agitation, and reprinted in 1903 by the Cobden Club to counter Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign.

Secondly, beer was not his whole life. He helped provide for the outdoor recreation of the common people in greater London. He climbed the Alps and shot big game on four continents.⁸ Arguably, his hunting books reveal more about the man than do newspaper reports and political correspondence. Buxton cared for more than politics and business. In this, he was like many other members of the upper middle-class in late Victorian England. Gladstone had Homer. Buxton made do with big-horned sheep.

Parliament

In the 1880s Buxton was a parliamentary candidate in several constituencies. In 1880, he was defeated at Essex South by 402 votes, a margin that reduced the Conservative majority by about a half from that at the previous general election. In 1885, after the third reform act had enlarged the electorate, he was victorious at Walthamstow by 175 votes. The controversy over Irish Home Rule persuaded him to change constituencies at the next general election. In 1886, he was an unsuccessful candidate at North-West Suffolk, losing to a fellow brewer, the Conservative Edward Greene, by 543 votes.

Buxton never stood for a parliamentary seat again. In 1889, he was briefly a candidate at North-West Ham. He withdrew, he said, because of new responsibilities at Truman. He also referred to two things that he must have known before accepting the Liberal nomination: his health and 'how difficult it has lately become for one in "the trade" to endeavor to enter Parliament' as a Liberal.⁹ In 1899, the Liberal associations in both the North-West and East Norfolk constituencies considered Buxton as a candidate, but he would not support licensing reforms that he regarded as hostile to the licensed trade.¹⁰ In 1900, the chief whip, Herbert Gladstone, asked Buxton to stand for Ipswich. Buxton declined, and a nephew became the Liberal candidate.¹¹ In 1903, local Liberals asked Buxton to stand for the parliamentary seat at East Herts. The deputation that brought the invitation to Buxton was introduced by Sir Walter Gilbey, Bt., of the great licensed grocer wine company.¹²

In the late nineteenth century, most English brewers left the Liberal Party. Looking at the threatening Liberal alignment with the temperance movement, a Yorkshire brewer saw his fellow brewers as motivated by material self-interest. 'As with any other body of men, their pecuniary interests governed their political ideas'.¹³ This was an over-simplification.

W.E. Gladstone's conversion to Irish Home Rule drove many brewers and other rich men to the Conservative Party or to the Liberal Unionists or at least provided them with an excuse, but this exodus did not happen overnight.¹⁴ For instance, in August 1888, at the preliminary meeting that led to the formation of the National Trade Defence Fund, all but two of the 22 persons attending were Liberals.¹⁵ The historian David W. Gutzke points out that:

in London with the Whitbreads, Buxtons, Hoares, Fullers, Stansfelds or Marjoribanks, in the provinces with the Fenwicks, in Scotland with the McEwans, even in Burton with the Eversheds, brewers still espoused Liberalism, but their contingent had been materially depleted.¹⁸

Family tradition was not the only explanation for brewers remaining loyal to the Liberal Party. A few brewers were ideologically ardent Liberals. For instance, in 1894, after a Liberal government introduced a Local Veto bill, the wealthy Birmingham brewer H.C. Fulford declared:

The party programme contains a great many measures of much more importance than the Direct Local Veto, measures which I sympathize with, and most certainly I do not intend to imitate the intolerant fanaticism of the [prohibitionist United Kingdom] Alliance people, and say, because I cannot have my own way in everything, I shall refuse to co-operate with my political friends.¹⁹

Leaving the party of Gladstone often was a difficult decision for Liberal brewers, as for instance, it was for Lord Burton who had received his peerage from the Grand Old Man. He did not make his final break with the Liberal Party until 1894. He then joined the Liberal Unionists, not the Tories. Drink trade connections with the Liberal Party could be complicated. George Whiteley (later Lord Marchamley), married into a family that owned a brewery, and he briefly served as its manager and as one of its directors, but he later was Liberal chief whip from 1905 to 1908. He had been a reform-minded Conservative MP until 1900 when he was elected as a Liberal. Families often were divided. Whitbreads were persistent Liberals, but Francis Pelham Whitbread was a staunch Conservative. He was master of the Brewers' Company in 1907 and headed the National Trade Defence Association from that date until his death in 1941.¹⁸

In the election landslide of 1906, his brother Samuel Howard Whitbread was almost the only English brewer elected as a Liberal.¹⁹ His father probably was the only English brewer to subscribe to the Liberal chief whip's campaign fund.²⁰ (Despite his personal relationship with chief whip Herbert Gladstone, Buxton declined to make his usual contribution.)²¹ Unable to support the Liberal licensing bill of 1908, Whitbread chose not to stand for reelection in 1910. The heavy new taxes on the licensed trade enacted in 1909 were too much for the few surviving Liberal brewers. S.H. Whitbread voted for the Tory candidate for North Bedfordshire at the 1910 elections.²²

In January 1910, Buxton too voted for a Conservative.²³ He had remained at least a nominal Liberal until late in 1909 when, swallowing his free trade principles, he announced that he would vote for the Unionist candidate at the forthcoming general election. Lloyd George's new license duties had forced Buxton's firm, Truman's, to write down the value of its licensed properties by a million pounds, a loss to ordinary shareholders of about two-thirds of their invested capital.²⁴

Buxton had remained a Liberal longer than all but a few brewers. Why? In part, it was his family connections and his personal commitment to reform. Most important, he believed that the licensed trade could not afford to rely exclusively on the friendship of the Conservatives. After his early departure from the House of Commons, Buxton remained a figure of importance behind the scenes in the interaction between the licensed trade and the Liberal Party. Despite the crushing Liberal defeat in 1895, he knew that there would be Liberal governments in the future. He assumed that such Liberal governments would obtain office with a precarious majority such as that which the Liberals had had in 1892-95 with the help of the Irish. Under such circumstances, he hoped that a few dozen Liberal MPs who made their living in the licensed trade or who sympathized with it could offset the influence of temperance militants.

What was Buxton political career as a Liberal? Buxton's obituary in *Chelmsford Chronicle* reported: 'Some doubted whether he was ever intellectually a convert to Home Rule'.²⁵ Whether this was true or not, he sacrificed his parliamentary career for Irish Home Rule, although in 1880 he had opposed a separate Irish Parliament and in 1886 he had not agreed with all the details of Gladstone's initial Home Rule bill. Buxton told the Liberal council at Walthamstow that he favored a separate legislative body for Ulster and did not like Gladstone's accompanying land bill.²⁶

Seven members of the Liberal council at Walthamstow strongly opposed Gladstone's Home Rule bill. They included Buxton's teetotal cousin Andrew Johnston, described in Buxton's *Chelmsford Chronicle* obituary as his 'life-long friend.' Johnston had been a Liberal MP for South Essex, 1868-74.²⁹ He said that the only thing in Gladstone's bill that he liked was removing the Irish members from the British Parliament.

Despairing of Walthamstow, Buxton contested North-West Suffolk. Reported in the *Thetford and Watton Times*, his speech, asking for the nomination from its Liberal organization, provides a reasonably full account of Buxton's views.²⁸ He explained his leaving Walthamstow. Although a majority in its Liberal council agreed with Gladstone's proposal, the dissidents included 'his most intimate friends and relations.' This opposition 'made his chances almost hopeless.' The Liberals in North-West Suffolk asked if he were a



Figure 1. E.N. Buxton

Radical or a Liberal. He answered that he did not know the difference. The newspaper account of his speech is fullest for the Irish question with only a few lines for each of the other leading political issues. Buxton distinguished between the methods of the Irish nationalists and their objectives. He condemned Irish violence. His own brother-in-law had survived an assassination attempt in Ireland. Until Ireland has received household suffrage, Buxton could question whether the demands of the Irish MPs were shared by the people. Now that the third reform act had enlarged the suffrage, it was clear that Irish people wanted self-government. Consequently, Buxton had voted for Irish Home Rule at the second reading. Responding to a question, he declared that he would vote for a bill that excluded the Irish from the Westminster Parliament, although this was not his preference.

On other issues the newspaper report was brief:

Drink: As a brewer, he favored local control of licensing, for instance, for Sunday Closing. In Parliament, he had voted for Sunday Closing for

Durham because the people there wanted it. He was not an enemy of the temperance movement. At his last election, he had no more active supporter than John Hilton, the parliamentary agent of the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1880 when contesting Essex South, Buxton had argued in favor of giving the people a greater voice in licensing and allowing the magistrates to close licensed premises where there were too many public houses. He would provide market value compensation out of money levied on new licenses.²⁹

Education: Buxton favored free elementary schools. He was not opposed to religious voluntary schools, but thought local government should have a role in their management.

Local government: Buxton wanted the voting for county councils to be representative which presumably meant a wide suffrage.

The Church: he favored Welsh and Scottish disestablishment. If his decision on a vote for English disestablishment differed from that of the Liberal council, he would immediately resign his seat. Buxton was an Anglican.

Scottish and Welsh parliaments: he did not support separate parliaments for Scotland and Wales because the people there did not ask for them.

Taxation: he favored local government taxing personal property in funds, that is, investments.

Tariffs: he opposed protective tariffs under whatever name their proponents gave them. The House of Lords: he favored a large change but did not offer details.

Common lands: he was a friend of common lands and had made his only House of Commons speech on the subject.

Foreign Relations: 'Our greatest strength in the future would lie in friendly relations with America.'

The Empire: he did not favour its further expansion.

Liberal brewer

After his parliamentary defeat in 1886, Buxton turned his focus to the protection of the licensed drink trade. In the late 1880s and the 1890s Buxton hoped to bring about a parliamentary settlement of the drink question and was willing to make large concessions in return for the security of licensed property.

Brewers had invested large sums in creating tied house empires by controlling public houses through purchase

or loans.³⁰ Although licensing justices renewed almost all licenses, the licenses nominally were for one year only. The middle and upper classes increasingly worried that urban workingmen drank too much and that an excessive number of public houses was to blame.³¹ Many people recommended reducing the number of public houses drastically, and a few favored referendums for local prohibition. Worried, the brewers sought parliamentary acceptance of license renewal or fair compensation.³²

In 1888, home secretary C.T. Ritchie proposed that the new local councils be authorized to pay compensation if they refused to renew licenses to reduce the number of licensed premises. No compensation would be paid if the license holder had been guilty of misbehavior. To facilitate compensation, Ritchie allowed the councils to increase licensing fees by 20%. Technically the increased fees on drink were not designated for compensation but their creation would allow the councils to pay for compensation out of trade revenues.

The drink trade did not unite solidly behind Ritchie's licensing clauses.³³ The militant Manchester brewers rejected the clauses entirely.³⁴ As most provincial publicans were tenants who would receive nothing, they understandably were unenthusiastic. As a result of pressure from the London brewers, the County Brewers' Society decided it would not oppose the licensing clauses on the second reading.³⁵ At the court of the Brewer's Company (6 April 1888), E.N. Buxton, who chaired the meeting, pointed out that 'the main object was to get the principle of compensation admitted'.³⁶ Lacking unanimous support from the licensed trade and under attack from temperance reformers, the Conservative government withdrew the licensing clauses.

In 1890, the chancellor of the exchequer, George Goschen, offered a similar scheme to encourage local councils to thin out the number of licensed premises with compensation from drink trade taxes. Vehement opposition from temperance reformers (the teetotal Liberal Unionist chief whip resigned to protest the bill) persuaded the government to retreat again. Twice-burned, the Conservatives became reluctant to oblige their friends in the licensed drink trade with another compensation bill.

It was not only the government that hoped to take the drink question out of politics. The Manchester and

Westminster reform committees drafted bills, and in 1890 the former chancellor of the exchequer Lord Randolph Churchill devised a private member's bill. Several brewers, including Buxton, corresponded with Churchill about his bill. Originally hopeful, Buxton in the end rejected Churchill's compensation offer of period of years during which licenses would be secure.

The more I consider the matter the more I should regret [accepting] the principle of a 'ten years grace.' Almost any fate would be better than that, for Brewers at any rate. Certainly, ten years of penal servitude would be more endurable than 10 years of such Purgatory as that.

Buxton did agree with one part of Churchill's proposals. 'I would without question prefer the existing powers of the magistrates should be transferred to the County Councils'.³⁷ After a brief period of excitement, Churchill's bill quietly died.

At the next general election, the Liberals returned to power. Buxton proposed to Sir William Harcourt, the new chancellor of the exchequer, that the drink question be settled by a large reduction in the number of the licensed premises, with the owners to be compensated by the surviving license holders. He made his arguments to Harcourt in a series of letters in November and December 1892 and in May 1893.³⁸ Buxton hoped to remove Local Veto (as voting for local prohibition was called) from the Liberal program. Instead the Liberals should call for a reduction in the number of licensed premises combined with money compensation provided by the trade. In his 23 November letter, Buxton argued that reduction in numbers after a five-year time limit (as reformers had proposed in the so-called Manchester bill) would confiscate millions of pounds of property in London alone. He favored an extension of the principle put forward by a group of predominantly Liberal Unionist reformers in the Westminster bill, that the surviving licenses (which profited from the elimination of competition) should pay into a fund to compensate those who lost their licenses. This proposal was his alone, and he did not claim that other brewers would support it. 'Nevertheless, it is on these lines that an equitable settlement will be found.' In his December letter, he suggested that it would be more accurate to call money compensation "mutual insurance," rendered possible by Act of Parliament.' He added: 'The purgatory of hot water in which the Trade are kept is worse than the fur-

nace to which some would consign them.' Buxton at this stage was still very much a Liberal partisan. 'I profoundly distrust the Tories who, through Goschen and Ritchie, have done us more harm than enough.' In his May letter Buxton called for a Royal Commission and argued that legislation had to deal with clubs and with the reduction in the number of licenses, combined with what he called the 'betterment' principle of compensation. 'Three men around a table could produce a workable scheme'.³⁹ Frustrating Buxton, Harcourt remained loyal to Local Veto prohibition.

The Conservatives won a resounding victory in the general election of 1895 and in alliance with the Liberal Unionists formed a coalition government. Buxton credited the victory to workingmen resenting the restrictions on their liberties that Local Veto would have imposed.⁴⁰

The Royal Commission

In 1896, the new government created a Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, with eight members representing temperance reform, eight members the licensed drink trade, and another eight members more or less neutral. Not all the temperance reformers were teetotalers, while one of the neutrals, Buxton's cousin Andrew Johnston, was a total abstainer.⁴¹ Chairing the Royal Commission was Lord Peel, a former speaker of the House of Commons who was a Liberal Unionist.

Buxton testified at the Royal Commission on 29 June 1897. He said that he did not object to the requirement that new licenses pay the State for the monopoly value of licensed status. Nor did he oppose requiring new licensed houses in growing districts to pay additional fees.⁴²

After having been a witness, Buxton was named to the Royal Commission in mid-April 1898, on the resignation of an ailing distiller. Leading members of the licensed trade persuaded Buxton to join the Royal Commission. As chairman of National Trade Defence Fund's Law and Custom subcommittee, he had followed the Royal Commission hearings closely. When Buxton agreed to serve, he did so on the condition that he 'keep his independence of thought.' He still believed 'that some settlement was possible'.⁴³ The leadership of the trade section on the Royal Commission passed to its new member, Buxton.

Earlier, Alfred Money Wigram, the treasurer of the National Trade Defence Fund, had led the liquor contingent on the Royal Commission. When he took a three-month leave of absence from the Fund in January 1897 to travel for his health, Buxton deputized for him at the Fund.⁴⁴ Wigram temporarily regained his health but soon fell ill again, dying on 13 October 1899.

The weight of the testimony heard by the Royal Commission in 1896, 1897, and 1898 favored extensive and drastic licensing reform. It was obvious that the Commission would recommend a substantial reduction in the number of licensed premises and unlikely that it would propose permanent, market value compensation. Ignoring the advice of Buxton who urged restraint, the general committee of the Country Brewers' Society voted in July 1898 to oppose any plan for compulsory reduction without full compensation.⁴⁵ The licensed victuallers opposed 'compromise or concession'.⁴⁶

Late in 1898, when it appeared that the rest of the Commission soon would adopt an unacceptable majority report, the trade secretly drafted its own. Offering little in the way of compromise, the proposed trade minority report added compensation to the three reforms which the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, had urged in a speech at a dinner of the Country Brewers' Society: graduated license fees, reduction in numbers in overcrowded areas by the exchange of old licenses for new ones elsewhere, and the regulation of clubs. A leading brewer, Cosmo Bonsor, sent the Prime Minister a summary of the projected trade minority report on 6 November. The trade members would keep it secret 'until Peel has shown his hand'.⁴⁷ It had been expected that Lord Peel would circulate his chairman's draft report on November 9.⁴⁸ In fact he did not do so until early in 1899. A full year elapsed between the completion of hearing of evidence (20 July 1898) and publication of the final reports (18 July 1899).

Lord Peel's appointment in 1896 had occasioned many tributes to his impartiality and moderation. The *Morning Advertiser* claimed: 'no better chairman could possibly have been found'.⁴⁹ During the course of the commission he was converted to temperance reform.

Charles Walker, who represented the London publicans on the Royal Commission, claimed to have recognized his animus early.

Personally, I soon discovered that his sympathies were with the teetotal party--it became plainly evident by his apparent petulance and indifference to Trade witnesses as compared with his encouragement to those who favoured teetotal views.

Allegedly he received from witnesses prior to their examination statements that he shared with nobody 'except perhaps Mr. [T.P.] Whittaker,' the leading teetotal member of the Royal Commission. Supposedly Peel 'would not even allow the shorthand writers to take a full note of what was said,' as shown by the 'very large discrepancies between the official minutes and the unofficial minutes that appeared in newspapers'.⁵⁰

Lord Peel drafted his report without consulting any other of the commissioners. Whittaker remembered that his fellow temperance commissioners had "no inkling whatsoever" as to its proposals.⁵¹ When the report was circulated early in February 1899, its severity toward the trade surprised fellow commissioners. Consequently, it offered the trade the opportunity to escape its isolation by combining with those who favored more limited reforms. Lord Peel recommended substantial statutory reduction in the number of licensed premises with only limited compensation and severe restrictions on those permitted to continue. The aggressiveness with which Lord Peel championed his plan offended many colleagues. The Liberal vice-chairman, Sir Algernon West, complained that Peel told the Commission at its first meeting after it had received his draft 'that whether [the other commissioners] agree to it or not, it was his report, and that his report was the report.' West protested that Peel hurried the commission through the draft with procedural rules that hampered adequate discussion. Peel's casting vote as chairman, wielded after he had already voted as a commissioner, decided many issues.⁵² Whittaker vigorously disputed West's account. Peel simply required that his draft report be discussed and amended in the order in which it appeared and not helter-skelter.

The illness of Peel in March forced a recess that enabled his opponents organized by West and Buxton to prepare an alternative plan for reduction in the numbers of licensed premises and the compensation of their owners. Some Liberals outside the commission wanted a unanimous report, supported by the trade commissioners, to force the Unionist Government to sponsor a licensing bill that might remove the drink question from politics.

Henry Gladstone, one of the former prime minister's sons, arranged a meeting between West, an old family friend, and Robert Younger, the brother of the brewer commissioner, in hopes of heading off an intransigent trade minority report.⁵³

Upon the chairman's recovery, the new compromise report was submitted with majority support.⁵⁴ At this, on April 12, the commission broke up. According to West, Peel resigned as chairman and tried to dissolve the commission.⁵⁵ According to Peel's supporters, he simply withdrew. The majority sponsorship of the new plan amounted to a coup de main that made his continued attendance meaningless and humiliating.⁵⁶ As Peel's anger was not unexpected, his opponents had made contingency plans. In the previous month, Balfour had assured West that the chairman could not terminate the commission and that, if Peel withdrew, West should take the chair.⁵⁷ The majority report was largely written by Buxton's cousin Johnston and John Lloyd Wharton, a Conservative MP and chairman of the quarter sessions of County Durham.⁵⁸ From the trade contingent, only Buxton attended the meeting that prepared the report. In effect, the Commission had divided into two overlapping groups, each writing its own report. The advanced temperance reformers supported the chairman, although they had known nothing about the contents of his draft until it was officially circulated. They received only a few concessions from Peel.⁵⁹ The report that they signed with him was the minority report, but to borrow the former Speaker's prestige its friends called it Lord Peel's report.

Buxton persuaded the other trade representatives to sign the majority report. This was the most important contribution that Buxton made to the licensed trade. Although the majority report offered the licensed trade what it had long sought, the right of license renewal or market value compensation, it was far from perfect from the trade point of view. Trade commissioners added personal reservations.

The two majority and minority reports disagreed over the reduction of the number of licensed houses and compensation for them.⁶⁰ The minority imposed a statutory reduction to a maximum of one per 750 persons in urban districts and one per 400 in the countryside. In contrast, the majority left the decision about reduction to the justices.⁶¹ Both reports compelled the license holders

who retained their licenses to pay the money for the compensation of those who lost their licenses. The majority report proposed a permanent right of market value compensation whenever a license holder was denied renewal without being guilty of a serious offence. In the eyes of most temperance reformers this recommendation was twice damned. It created a permanent vested interest where before there had been annual licenses with no compensation for non-renewal. In addition, the expense of market value compensation would slow the rate of reduction.

In contrast, the minority report emphasized that the compensation it offered was not a right, but instead something awarded out of grace and expediency, 'a compassionate allowance.' The basic concession took the form of a warning that after seven years the power to deny annual license renewals without compensation (and Local Veto) would be freely exercised. In Scotland, the period of warning would be five years. Money compensation would be allowed only to license holders who were denied renewal during this time limit. At the maximum, it would consist of seven times the ratable value of the licensed premises.

The minority report but not the majority report also proposed the elimination after five years of wine licenses for businesses that also sold groceries, so-called grocers' licenses. Buxton regarded the new resulting alliance of the licensed grocers with the licensed trade as 'adding much to our strength'.⁶²

In the absence of unanimity, the Unionist government ignored the reports of the Royal Commission.

Herbert Gladstone

At the end of the Royal Commission, Buxton turned to negotiations with Herbert Gladstone, who had been appointed Liberal chief whip in April 1899.⁶³ Gladstone offered a sympathetic ear, but it became clear that he had limited influence on Liberal Party policy.

After the Royal Commission had published its rival reports, Herbert Gladstone's highest priority was weakening the Liberal Party's commitment to Local Veto. On this he succeeded, since T.P. Whittaker and W.S. Caine, prominent prohibitionists, had signed Lord Peel's report

that postponed Local Veto for England and offered money compensation for a limited number of years. Secondly, Gladstone wanted party policy to be acceptable to moderate brewers such as Buxton. This meant embracing Lord Peel's Report only vaguely to avoid endorsement of the parts of it that the licensed drink trade opposed bitterly. Reaching the second objective was not easy, especially as the popular Liberal Party leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, favored making Lord Peel's report the basis for party policy and regarded courting moderates in the licensed trade as futile. He was no hurry to abandon Local Veto as a part of party policy.

On 15 November 1899, in a speech at Manchester, the United Kingdom Alliance headquarters city, Campbell-Bannerman said: 'In Lord Peel's proposals the friends of temperance have a code of reform which may be rightfully adopted as meeting the immediate necessities of the case.'

Herbert Gladstone advised the Campbell-Bannerman:

the sooner you make it clear that Veto for England is postponed the better. It will bring the parties of [prohibitionist] Lawson and Whittaker into conflict and will help us with our brewers and all moderate Liberal reformers. The [Lawson] battleaxe will have first to descend on the heads of the nearest 'traitors' in this case Caine and Whittaker. For the Peel Reporters are the men who threw the Veto overboard.⁶⁴

He implored Campbell-Bannerman to present party commitments in terms of general principles without any endorsements of the specifics of Lord Peel's report.

He also reported that the reaction to Campbell-Bannerman's speech by the Liberal brewer E.N. Buxton. Buxton questioned whether he could stand for Parliament on a party platform which included Lord Peel's report, but being 'very reasonable' and having seen only the abridged Times report, he promised to read a full account before reaching a decision. For Buxton, a time limit on compensation made Lord Peel's report unacceptable.

Sir Algernon West, 'simply horrified,' warned Gladstone that the adoption of the minority report would alienate the grocers and the moderates.⁶⁵ James Bryce reported that Buxton was indignant 'that after he

screwed up the other representatives of beer on the Commission to accept the Majority Scheme of Compensation the benefit of having nailed them to that should be lost'.⁶⁶

Gladstone worried:

At present the fat is all in the fire so far as the Liberal Liquor traders are concerned. The enclosed [from Charles Gold] is a sample. If it is thought we are going for the abolition of Grocers Licenses in England, I am afraid the result will be rather disastrous.

Gold, the retiring Liberal MP for Saffron Walden, was the brother-in-law of the head of the Gilbey firm and one of his partners. It was very doubtful whether Gold and the rest of the powerful Gilbey clan would back the new party candidate, Armine Wodehouse, Lord Kimberley's son, in the general election. (In fact, young Wodehouse was elected for the seat at the 1900 general election.) '*We cannot afford* to lose the Gilbeys and all their grocer clients, the Whitbreads, Eversheds, Buxtons, Beaufoys, and other men like [the landowner Charles] Adeane who are more or less associated with the trade'.⁶⁷

Campbell-Bannerman remained doubtful about the importance of pleasing the Liberal drink traders and their friends. He preferred to foster the new moderation of those advanced temperance reformers who had rallied to Lord Peel's report. He told Lord Spencer that 'Edward Buxton, Algie West, & Co.' really wanted the Liberals to repudiate the Local Veto principle. '*We cannot do it*: all we can do is to delay or postpone it in England under cover of passing it for Scotland and Wales'.⁶⁸

Gladstone had delayed an insurmountable breach with the remaining Liberal liquor traders, and the trade in turn had weakened the Liberal adherence to the details of Lord Peel's report. In 1900 Gladstone could tell Buxton that he considered the trade's test questions for parliamentary candidates 'reasonable.' Buxton pressed the chief whip for a 'clear declaration' from the Liberal leadership on the drink question.⁶⁹

Fighting a two-front campaign, Buxton warned the trade against rallying as a bloc behind the banners of its Unionist friends. In that event, the Liberals might fall

completely under temperance influence.⁷⁰ Prohibition was dead, but reduction schemes made compensation a central issue. Urging trade unity, Buxton insisted upon defense of the licensed grocers despite the hostility of licensed victuallers toward their competitors.⁷¹

Gladstone worked out an understanding with Buxton that he explained to Campbell-Bannerman.

He would be content if we could take the line of a 'generous' measure of compensation payable by and through the trade without any specific plan, and with the Peel report as a general basis without committal to detailed recommendations.⁷²

Gladstone did not tell Campbell-Bannerman one detail about the interview that he entrusted to his diary: Buxton 'evidently does not care much about grocers' licenses'.⁷³

Despite Buxton's private disinterest in grocers' licenses, he made grocers' licenses and compensation the two great electoral issues when he spoke to a licensed trade society in May 1900. He happily reported: 'the Local Veto bill has been dropped-let us hope finally-out of the programme of ... [the Liberal] party.'

Buxton had limited success in persuading the licensed trade to support a rapprochement with the Liberals at the 1900 general election. He vainly pointed out: 'It is not the part of prudent men to put all their goods into one ship and to rely exclusively on the support of one political party'.⁷⁴ When the London licensed victuallers' central protection society invited him to preside at its anniversary dinner, Buxton argued in his answer for the importance of having MPs 'in the Liberal party who take our views ... because if there were a sufficient number of them it would be impossible for ... excessively drastic legislation to be introduced'.⁷⁵

A loose endorsement of Lord Peel's report served as the foundation of Liberal licensing policy for more than a decade. Buxton could hope that the existence of a handful of Liberal liquor traders and Liberals sympathetic to the licensed trade might provide insurance that could prevent a Unionist election defeat from becoming a trade disaster. Sixteen such Liberals were elected in 1900 with the help of trade neutrality.⁷⁶ Buxton and Gladstone assumed that any future Liberal government

would have only a small majority in the House of Commons, so 'a little band' of Liberals friendly to the licensed trade could block any destructive licensing bill.⁷⁷ They could not anticipate the Liberal landslide victory in 1906 which would make a radical licensing bill victorious in the House of Commons.

At the general election of 1900 Herbert Gladstone told his West Leeds electors what Gilbey and Buxton wanted to hear. In Gladstone, they had a reliable ally. Although he told his constituents that he supported Lord Peel's report as a basis for legislation, he disagreed with it on two important points. Gladstone rejected the abolition of grocer's licenses. He accepted instead the recommendation of the majority report that licensed grocers be under the authority of the licensing authority. Second, and more important for Buxton and his friends, Gladstone regarded seven years of financial compensation as too little. Provided that the compensation came from the trade and its customers, Gladstone advocated what he called 'full compensation.' Without it, 'there will be very little chance of any sensible and adequate temperance legislation for many years to come'.⁷⁸

Despite Gladstone's pronouncements, Buxton had to come to his aid to ensure the neutrality of his constituency's licensed trade in the general election. Buxton told the Leeds licensed victuallers: 'The Trade will show an extraordinary want of foresight if they throw out such a candidate'.⁷⁹

When the United Kingdom Alliance tried to organize abstentions in Herbert Gladstone's constituency in 1900, the district agent found that he could no longer collect subscriptions in Leeds for his prohibitionist organization. He complained: 'pious Wesleyans want to drown me, others prefer shooting me, the parsons have deserted me'.⁸⁰ Out of diverse motives, 'a brewery director, a licensed grocer, and eleven Nonconformist ministers' urged electors to vote for Gladstone.⁸¹ The local licensed victuallers remained neutral in the contest between Gladstone and a Conservative candidate.⁸² His constituency experience made Gladstone optimistic that he could accommodate both temperance reformers and the licensed drink trade.⁸³

The Royal Commission had aroused the licensing justices. In 1903, they upset the status quo by denying license renewals without compensation. It was a strug-

gle for the licensed trade to get remedial legislation from a reluctant Unionist government in 1904. The legislation that year guaranteed either license renewal or market value compensation. The bill came at a price that for many people in the trade tasted bitter. When the bill was introduced, Buxton said that the trade looked upon it "without enthusiasm" but would work for it to secure parliamentary acceptance of the principle of compensation.⁸⁴ Buxton particularly disliked the requirement that new licenses pay for their monopoly value.⁸⁵ The government wanted to mollify its reform wing, and for most of the trade the new licenses seemed too few to be more than a symbol. In contrast, at a meeting of the National Trade Defence Association general committee Buxton said that he would rather have no bill at all than one with the payment of monopoly values by new licenses. He feared that in the future the precedent would be used against the trade and to encourage municipalization of the retail trade. Probably Buxton had in mind the disinterested management or Gothenburg scheme that T.P. Whittaker had embraced. Most trade leaders wanted a statute to protect licensed property from the magisterial reduction movement too desperately for hypothetical dangers to matter.

When a bitterly divided Unionist government resigned at the end of 1905, a Liberal government succeeded it and immediately called a general election. It produced a Liberal landslide. In the new Parliament, there were too few Liberal friends of the licensed trade to have much influence.

Still optimistic, Buxton sought compromise. As home secretary, his old ally Herbert Gladstone had charge of drafting licensing legislation. Buxton wrote to Gladstone in September 1906 hoping for government concessions that might let the trade live with the Liberal bill. Buxton's principal concern lay not with the length of the time limit that would end compensation or with statutory reduction or with disinterested management or even with the old menace of Local Veto. Instead, Buxton protested principally against the policy pressed by T.P. Whittaker's Temperance Legislation League, the transfer of the monopoly value of all licenses to the State through high license renewal fees. Its effect would be statutory in contrast with that of the Veto that would be permissive. Buxton characterized the monopoly value proposal as confiscation of private property, the profits of the brewery shareholders. 'It would be impos-

sible for owners of licenses whether brewers or others to make any serious reduction in their liability in any time likely to be granted to them'.⁸⁶ He pointed out that the Liberal endorsement of Lord Peel's report did not imply a commitment to the exaction of monopoly value since it had not been part of the minority report. Recalling his discussions with the minority members when he was a member of the Royal Commission in 1899, he doubted that it had occurred to them at that time.⁸⁷

Gladstone took several weeks to reply so that he might consult his colleagues. When he answered, he denied that the Government was committed to the League's proposal and interpreted the State's assumption of the monopoly value as entailing merely the right of the licensing authorities to impose local conditions for the sale of drink. He also implied that the time limit would be one of twenty years. Moreover, although Gladstone personally favored disinterested management, it was politically impractical, and the bill would not provide for it. Apparently, Buxton and Gladstone met during the week of 15 October to continue their negotiations.⁸⁸ Afterwards Gladstone's committee softened its proposals.

Earlier, while Buxton had waited for an answer, he had feared that there would be no reply or it would be an entirely negative one, so he sent the press the substance of his letter to Gladstone.⁸⁹ Buxton later clashed in the *National Review* with Whittaker of the Temperance Legislation League. Whittaker argued that the breweries that had invested in tied houses in the 1890s had been guilty of risky speculation and that Parliament should not protect brewery companies from the consequences of their imprudence. In Buxton's rebuttal, he defended the soundness of past trade finance and minimized current trade profits and the capacity to absorb heavy new financial burdens.⁹⁰

Unfortunately for Buxton, Asquith took control of the licensing bill from Gladstone.⁹¹ Despite this, in November 1907 Buxton's ally Herbert Gladstone continued his futile fight. He did not object to the transfer of monopoly value in principle as part of a final settlement of the drink question but he objected to including it in the current bill. 'Is it fair to the trade?' There will be a transfer from the brewers of a value from a hundred million to two hundred fifty million pounds. During the proposed time limit of fifteen or twenty



Figure 2. *The Brick Lane brewery in 1842.*

years, the value of shares will decline drastically. He also saw the monopoly value clause as politically unwise. Whittaker and his Temperance Legislation League wanted it to clear the way for a disinterested management scheme, while Leif Jones and the United Kingdom Alliance cared only for Local Veto. The party campaigned in the 1906 general election on the basis of Lord Peel's report which did not include the transfer of the monopoly value of existing licenses. 'The brewers and the trade generally will oppose the transfer of the license (monopoly) value to the bitter end.' The resistance of licensed trade will be more powerful than it was even in 1895. It would have the support of 600,000 shareholders and the working men's clubs with 400,000 members. In the unlikely event that the Lords approved the bill with the monopoly value clause intact, it would not go into effect until after fifteen or twenty years. Sometime during the time limit, the Unionists would return to power and repeal the clause.⁹² Buxton had coached Gladstone well.

Yet the bill that Asquith introduced in 1908 included the monopoly value for all licenses and consequently made the bill unacceptable to the licensed trade. As the House of Commons had an overwhelming Liberal majority, the strategy of the licensed trade was to discourage the House of Lords from offering a compromise. The upper house had a large Conservative majority, but the House of Lords knew that it endangered its future if it rejected broadly popular Liberal legislation.⁹³ The task of the licensed trade was to establish that rejecting Asquith's licensing bill could benefit the Conservatives electorally.

Buxton fought the bill because of its cost to the trade and, even more, because it was unfair. He put his case 'in a nutshell.' The trade had invested in licensed premises in a reasonable expectation of the renewal of their licenses. Rejecting the fact that these licenses premises had 'a value in the markets of commerce,' the bill after an interval of time would cost the trade at least a hundred million pounds. Why did the Government propose

its confiscatory bill? 'because the Government wanted the money, and not because it was just'.⁹⁴ Offering no compromise, the House of Lords rejected the Government bill. The Liberals revenged themselves on the licensed trade in 1909 with heavy new taxes.⁹⁵ These new taxes ended Buxton lifelong connection to the Liberal Party.

Education, local government, and games

Buxton's defense of the licensed trade did not take all his time. Few people remember Buxton's work in education and local government. As a member of the municipal party known as the Progressives, he was elected a member of the London school board beginning in 1870 and was its chairman, 1881-85. The Moderate party then came to power. Defeated by a single vote for re-election as chairman, Buxton did not seek re-election as a member.

In Essex, he held numerous offices. 'Tenacious almost to a fault' in discussion, 'he always took defeat with good humor'.⁹⁶ He qualified as JP in 1869, a time when most justices still were landed gentry.⁹⁷ Although he had not been an active JP, he was respected and, as a result, was elected a deputy chairman of quarter sessions in 1902. He became chairman of Essex quarter sessions in 1910, resigning in 1918. He was known for his commanding presence, good judgement, and self-confidence. When the Essex County Council was created in 1889, he was chosen as an alderman. He remained on the council until, on his deathbed, he resigned. He also served as deputy lieutenant for Essex. Buxton did not forget his love of education. He chaired the Essex committee on education from 1893 and, after parliamentary legislation in 1902 had created a new more powerful Essex education committee, he chaired it from 1904 to 1913. After he left the education committee, he worked on an insurance committee. Leaving it in 1915, he was active on an Essex committee that assisted those suffering distress during the war.

Life beyond politics

Buxton was not content with the comforts of London and his country house. He was an outdoorsman. As a lad, he was considered too delicate to attend Harrow

with his older brother, but he grew up to be tall and robust. (While hunting in Norway, he found the beds too short for him.) At Trinity College, Cambridge, where he apparently did not take a degree, he was a mediocre athlete. He never played cricket well, but he was content in later life to be a wicket keeper.

From 1874, he promoted the playing of tennis. He installed nine tennis-courts at his home Knighton. He supported tennis for women as well as for men. In 1882, he and his cousin Andrew Johnston presented perpetual challenge badges to the Cambridge women for their first match with Oxford women. Buxton was a member of the Girton College tennis committee.

Concerned with sport for ordinary people, Buxton served as chairman of the London playing fields committee and as the first vice-president of the London Playing Fields Foundation and its honorary treasurer until the year before his death. He was concerned for ramblers, too, being an arbitrator for the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society.

Foreign travel, the Alps, and hunting big game

After university, he became a great traveler.⁹⁸ In 1862, he and his wife Emily Digby (1841-1929) traveled on their honeymoon to Damascus, Palestine, and Egypt.⁹⁹ They visited her scandalous aunt, the former Lady Ellenborough, whose fourth husband was an Arab sheik, and later travelled in the desert with the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII). In *Two African Trips* (1902), Buxton mentions that he had first visited Aswan in 1862 and then went southwards, so the honeymoon journey went deep into Upper Egypt. In his honeymoon year, he had observed masses of birds flying along the shores of the White Nile, many more, he said, than what he later saw at the turn of the century.¹⁰⁰

In 1864 and 1865 Buxton was part of the first or second expeditions to conquer some of the most formidable mountains in the Alps, including the Aiguille de Bionnassay, Piz Palu, and the traverse of Lyskamm at the border between Switzerland and Italy.¹⁰¹ He was a member of the Alpine Club.

After his mountain-climbing years, Buxton travelled widely in pursuit of large game, from East Africa to

Wyoming, usually with family members. In 1895, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Geography Society. Buxton collected trophy heads, but eventually favored photographs. His adventures hunting with rifle and camera on four continents are virtually unknown today despite his writing three books about them. Most of these books had been published earlier as articles, for instance, in the *Nineteenth Century*. More modestly, in his native county of Essex, he chaired a committee on wild birds.

His first two books, published in 1892 and 1898, were entitled *Short Stalks* with different subtitles. The common title referred to the length of time for most of his hunts, no more than six weeks including travel from England. The first book was illustrated with a few of Buxton's own photographs and the second book with many more. Buxton occasionally hunted with his brother and more often with his eldest son once he had graduated at Cambridge. He also hunted with another son, a nephew and a cousin. On some of his hunts he travelled with daughters. Most of the hunts took place in the 1880s or 1890s, but Buxton killed a she-bear in Norway in 1873 when he was still a young man. This is one of the few mentions of a specific year for a hunt.

He was aware that not all his readers approved of big game hunting.¹⁰² In the preface to his first book, he acknowledged: 'Perhaps criticism will be made that it is sad that a man cannot enjoy himself in a foreign country without killing something'. He protested that he was selective in what he shot. He 'never cared for big bags,' that is, killing many animals of the same kind.

At his country estate at Knighton, the mounted heads were diverse. Many of the Knighton trophies subsequently were deposited at the Norwich Castle Museum. In a later book, he described shooting an antelope called buck aoul: 'I coveted his fine head'.¹⁰³ Probably some of the heads that he collected wound up in the partners' private rooms at Truman. The brewery historian Alfred Barnard, on his visit in 1889 to these rooms, 'noted that they were hung with one of the best collections of big-game trophies to be found anywhere in Britain'.¹⁰⁴

In 1892, Buxton said: 'I am personally responsible for the death of less than eighty four-footed animals.' His first book was written in 'shadow of a personal calamity,' the suicide of his second son, and was written as a distraction from his anguish.¹⁰⁵

Most of his hunting took place in Europe, less often in western Asia and northern and northeastern Africa. His longest expedition, eleven weeks from London, took place in 1884 in the Rocky Mountains. He then was chairman of the London school board and had told people that he was travelling to America to study the schools in Boston. Instead, he and his eldest son Gerald took a train, then a stagecoach to a military fort, and finally horseback to Wyoming to hunt elk and big-horned sheep.

His accounts of his hunting expeditions consisted mostly of descriptions of scenery and about the locals including those whom he employed such as a Turkish retired brigand in Smyrna. There were details about Buxton's mishaps. For instance, in Algeria he injured his foot and could not use it normally for two months. 'I always was an unlucky, or else a stupid sportsman, and such measure of success as I have had, has been attained by sticking to it till luck changed'.¹⁰⁶

He frequently employed a French guide named Celestin Passet (1845-1917), who accompanied him even in East Africa.¹⁰⁷ Chance played a large role in what local helpers were available to employ. He was disappointed in the men whom he hired in Wyoming, especially the cook whom he eventually fired. He mentioned but did not complain that the westerners had no intention of being his servants, so he and his son were responsible for all their own gear. In another chapter, Buxton admitted that he hated carrying his own rifle. Buxton did not like locals who failed to know their place. He fired two Arabs who asked for higher wages. He disliked 'Ali, who was a radical and leveller, if not a Gladstonian'.¹⁰⁸ He rehired the other Arab whom Ali had misled into mutiny. On another occasion, he referred to Arabs as 'errant thieves'.¹⁰⁹

Was Buxton a racist? The answer is complicated. While hunting mountain goats in Crete, he said: 'Our Nubian muleteer, like most of his race, was highly intelligent, but he frightened the children ... who had never seen a black man'.¹¹⁰ In 1893 Buxton hunted ibex (goats), with two of his daughters and a male cousin, in the mountains near the Red Sea. Members of the Maazeh tribe, the bedouins whose camels carried the expedition, impressed Buxton.

The word 'backsheesh' [tips or bribes] was not in their vocabulary, and their independent air contrasted with the

demeanour of the Fellaheen [Egyptian peasantry], who always remind me of a dog which has been overmuch beaten.¹¹¹

He much liked a Sinai bedouin named (he thought) Sbhr.¹¹² In the Sinai, he marveled at the safety of women travelling alone that contrasted favorably with their situation in so-called civilized northern Mediterranean countries. 'My daughters soon found that they could wander, unattended, for many miles from camp, secure of an unaffectedly gracious reception from any casual tent-dweller that they met'.¹¹³ In Somaliland, Adan Yusuf, the headman of his local retinue, impressed Buxton. He patiently negotiated for the best price for the camels, more than 40 animals, that the expedition required. A few died, and others were in bad shape by the time that they returned, but eager Italians purchased all of them for more than they had cost Buxton. Buxton had only good words for the Somalis in another expedition, especially his trackers Jama and Abdullah. 'This Arab race [Somali] is fearless, amenable to discipline, and of remarkable endurance'.¹¹⁴ While in East Africa Buxton had mixed opinions of other native peoples. He referred to 'the brainlessness of the Swahili,' while describing the Masai as 'the bravest and most intelligent of East African races'.¹¹⁵ Although 'phenomenally lazy,' Dinkas were praised as exceptionally honest.¹¹⁶

Less often, Buxton criticized whites whom he encountered, for instance, he referred to a member of a hunt as being 'like most Norwegians ... somewhat lazy'.¹¹⁷ In Smyrna, he disliked the local Christians but said 'the genuine Turk has all the manner of a courtier'.¹¹⁸ He met some Armenian traders in Georgia: 'contact with them did not enhance our sympathy'.¹¹⁹ Buxton's 1892 book ends with a chapter recounting his Alpine climbs in August 1865 where his Swiss guides 'counted rather as intimates than as servants'.¹²⁰

He denounced British hunters in Africa who slaughtered animals for no good reason, such as one who killed 23 big beasts, 'enough meat to feed a regiment!'¹²¹ Another atrocious hunter, an Englishman, killed thirty elephants in one season, mostly cows and immature males.¹²² When he hunted in Galicia, he found the relationship between the Polish and Ukrainian peasants and their landlord hard to accept, 'subsistence of manner which is about crushing to a Westerner'.¹²³ After killing a stag, Buxton said that he was startled when his

delighted peasant guide 'covered my hand with kisses, and then going down on his knees, kissed my legs'.¹²⁴ Buxton was an upper middle-class Englishman who took class differences for granted, but this was too much for him.

There is no evidence that Buxton was anti-Semitic in England, but in Galicia he was or at least unpleasantly sensitive to how the Jews there differed from the local peasantry even in dress (and, he did not add, language). 'They never seem to leave their houses, or to work. Yet they must do something for they absorb about whatever is worth having'.¹²⁵ A few may have been small moneylenders, but most must have been tailors or other artisans.

Buxton likely preferred Muslims to Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox. During a family holiday in southwestern France, he took a day to hunt: 'I think this is without exception was the best day's sport I ever had'.¹²⁶ Outside the hunting field, he offered a Protestant's dismay at the Catholic pilgrims worshipping at the nearby shrine of Lourdes. With not too gentle ridicule, he pointed out how various people made a profit from the alleged miracles there. He was not kind to Orthodox clergy either. While hunting in the Sinai, he visited the ancient monastery of St. Katherine's. Seeing the condition of the 'world-famous library' was painful to him. 'The volumes, which the monks were too unlearned to read, and too lazy to tabulate, lie huggermugger ... on shelves, or piled in heaps, and some of them open, face downwards, on the floor'.¹²⁷

Big-game preservation and hunting with a camera

Buxton had a wide interest in nature and conservation.¹²⁸ His heavily illustrated *Two African Trips* (1902) included a chapter, 'Big Game Preservation.' Appalled at the indiscriminate slaughter of animals, he was one of the earliest and most influential people to suggest shooting big game with the camera rather than the gun.¹³⁰ This did not mean that he did not kill many large animals.

The book reports two holiday trips to Africa, each a little over a month, shooting, photographing, and travelling. In the summer of 1899 he travelled with a daughter to British East Africa.¹³⁰ An imaginative newspaper report

said that she was saved from a lion when it heard the bell of her bicycle. He did some shooting, as he did ‘not pretend to the role of a reformed game-slayer.’ ‘No one proposes to interfere with legitimate sport’.¹³¹ In a later year, 1900 or 1901, he brought with him a nephew who had just graduated from Eton and who had never crossed the English Channel before his big adventure on the White Nile in the Sudan.

When his photographs pictured animals, they were almost always dead ones. He shot, among other animals, gazelles, impalas, zebras, ostriches, wildebeests, rhinoceros, lions, and giraffes. After killing two adult bull giraffes, he conceded that his excuse for what he had done in a few moments ‘does not entirely satisfy my conscience’.¹³² His second African trip was to the Sudan. He brought a long-range camera with him, but it was damaged on route which diminished its value.

Buxton continued to shoot with a rifle, for instance, waterbucks and crocodiles. He recounted an important moment. ‘To have missed a sitting lion at fifteen yards and shot a cow buffalo by mistake marked the day as singularly unfortunate; but, on the other hand, I had secured a first-rate bull.’ After that, having ‘got all the specimens I required,’ he ‘then devoted myself wholeheartedly to the absorbing pursuit of camera-stalking’.¹³³ Hunting in game-rich East Africa contrasted with Dagneston. In 1897, he traveled there with a daughter, a cousin (F.G. Barclay), and a French tracker. He learned much about Russian and Muslim hospitality but had virtually no success in hunting. He had pursued the tur, a horned goat.

Although Buxton was anxious to preserve the great game of East Africa, he defended the rights of sportsmen to hunt. ‘It is the inherent right of every well-conducted British subject to travel within the Empire, even if his only object is to enjoy himself’.¹³⁴ He drew the line at hunting elephants. ‘I would as soon shoot a horse as an elephant’.¹³⁵ Buxton asked the British government to establish reserves in Africa where big game could breed safely. He denounced special rights for officials to hunt in such reserves. ‘A sanctuary where people are allowed to shoot is a contradiction in terms. A vestal virgin should not be allowed to have, even two or three, lovers’.¹³⁶ He had no objection to native people hunting as much as they wanted if they used their traditional weapons and not rifles.

In 1903 Buxton helped form the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, a conservation organization which under a different name survives today. ‘The central character in the first decades of the Society was Edward North Buxton’.¹³⁷ The society lobbied the British government to create reserves for the large animals that were being hunted out of existence.

Buxton was an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt. At the age of 23 Roosevelt had climbed the Matterhorn and other Alpine peaks, so Buxton recommended him in 1887 for membership in the Alpine Club. Although Roosevelt was turned down for regular membership as he had not made sufficient climbs, he was made an honorary member.¹³⁸ In turn, Theodore Roosevelt was an admirer of Buxton. On 8 December 1902, he wrote to Buxton,

My dear Buxton, I have been delighted with your book [*Two African Trips*]. You are one of the most potent among the teachers and pioneers in the movement which will make the lover of big game and of the wilderness an instrument against, instead of in favor of, the destruction of both.

On 19 December, Buxton replied. He thanked Roosevelt for his book *The Deer Hunter* [in fact, the co-authored book *The Deer Family*]. Although he hoped to accept the invitation to visit the White House, he said that he no longer travelled much because of his wife. He concluded: ‘In England we recognize only two strong men, yourself and Chamberlain, with the Prussian Emperor a bad third’.¹³⁹ In 1910, on his return from a hunting trip in South Africa, Roosevelt spent a weekend at Buxton’s home, Knighton.¹⁴⁰

Although Buxton never got to the White House, he did travel to Canada in 1905, presumably to hunt with rifle or camera. The only record for the Canadian trip are newspaper reports that his return to England was delayed by an injury to rib and toe. He had planned to visit Yellowstone National Park that year.

Epping Forest and open spaces for recreation

Buxton is less known as a hunter and a champion of wilderness animals than as an advocate to preserve public spaces for the recreation of ordinary people. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* focuses on

Buxton as a conservationist, specifically his work in saving for working class families the enjoyment of the forested areas near London. He joined the Commons Preservation Society in 1866, the year after it was founded, and became one of its vice-presidents.

Buxton is remembered, with modest exaggeration, as the man who saved Epping Forest.¹⁴¹ The 5,900 acres of Epping Forest straddle the border of what now is Greater London with Essex. Lobbying in the 1860s and 1870s by Buxton, his brother, and the Commons Preservation Society helped bring about a parliamentary statute (1878) on behalf of the conservation movement. It placed Epping Forest in the care of the City of London corporation and forbade further enclosure of forest lands. Buxton in 1880 was elected one of the veverers who managed Epping Forest and retained that office until his death. He insisted that Epping Forest remain a forest and not a park and that it be open to the public and in a letter to the *Daily News* of the 29 December 1880 he wrote:

Much as one sympathises with the pursuits of contemplative persons seeking solitude, it [Epping Forest] was not intended to be kept for their exclusive benefit. Our chief care must be for the single annual holiday of the artisan, his tired wife and smoke-filled children.¹⁴²

Buxton's management of Epping Forest is criticized today. Buxton and the other veverers ordered many trees cut down that they regarded as ugly and in other ways violated the standards of modern forest management. Buxton is the author of *Epping Forest* (1884; 9th edition, 1923).

He helped enlarge Epping Forest. In 1880 with his brother he purchased a bordering twelve acres that they gave to Epping Forest. In 1900 on his own account he purchased the 26 acres of Yardley Hill that again he gave to Epping Forest.

Buxton later helped preserve two much smaller forests for Londoners. In 1906, he was instrumental in saving Hainault Forest for public recreation and with his own hands planted trees in its open fields. When he was on his deathbed, Buxton's eldest son Gerald arranged for the purchase of part of Hatfield Forest. It came into the possession of E.N. Buxton the day before he died, and he left it in his will to the National Trust on whose coun-

cil he had served. Gerald Buxton, his brother Anthony, and other members of the family later purchased additional parts of Hatfield Forest for the National Trust.¹⁴³ When Hatfield Forest became open to the public, Gerald Buxton told those at the opening ceremony (according to the *Times*, 12 May 1924):

His father never spent a happier day than that Christmas. During the remaining days of his life a large-sized plan of the forest lay at his bedside, and in his dreams he must have pictured the forest as an open space for the people he loved and served so well.

In the obituary that Gerald Buxton wrote for the *Essex Naturalist* (1927), he commented on the suggestion that some people proposed to rename this forest after his father. 'There is nothing he would have detested more and as to a granite or any other memorial, either there or on Epping Forest ... he would have considered it as an eyesore.'

Conclusion

Beer made Edward Buxton a rich man. Despite a lifetime of generous philanthropy and a large family, he left an estate of more than £141,000.¹⁴⁴ This was a respectable fortune, but small compared with that of many of the brewers who were his fellow workers in licensed trade affairs. For instance, Buxton served on the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws with H.H. Riley-Smith who left an estate valued at £500,000, and he later became head of the National Trade Defence Association, whose first treasurer, Cosmo Bonsor, left probate of more than £700,000.¹⁴⁵ But, Buxton was more than a brewer and Liberal politician. He often escaped out of doors, with a rifle or a camera in his hands. He hoped that ordinary people also could escape their urban lives. He made it possible for them to enjoy quiet hours in Epping Forest and other places of natural beauty. This remains his lasting achievement.

References

1. The best obituary is *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924, p.2. The entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Elizabeth Baigent emphasizes Epping Forest. The best account of Buxton in licensed trade politics is

Gutzke, D.W. (1989) *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans against Temperance*. Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society and Boydell Press.

2. Genealogy can reveal unexpected connections. E.N. Buxton was a great-grandfather of the singer James Blunt.

3. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry, 1830-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.269. In the absence of a scholarly history, one can consult the short and heavily illustrated in-house history, (1966) *Truman, the Brewers: The Story of Truman Hanbury Burton & Co. Ltd, London & Burton*. Newham: Curwen Press. The title on the cover includes the dates 1766-1966. This little book records by name some of E.N. Buxton's relations by blood or marriage who held office in the brewery.

4. His eldest son Gerald (1862-1928) served as master of the Brewers' Company in 1897. He became chairman of Truman in 1923 and served until his death.

5. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.133.

6. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit., p.287.

7. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924.

8. For generations Buxton's family had a love of shooting. In a foreword to *Sport in Peace and War* (1920) by his son Anthony, E.N. Buxton reported: 'Early in the last century some one said of my grandfather, a pious man and a good citizen, that "he worshipped leaning on a gun".' The grandfather was in the house when E.N. Buxton was born. Hearing the baby cry, he said that he was crying to be taken out shooting. Like others in his family, Anthony loved shooting, but he also loved fishing which his father credited to his mother. He published *The Fisherman Naturalist* in 1946.

9. *Western Times*, 26 January 1889, p. 4.

10. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.131. In each of these Norfolk constituencies the Liberal candidate won in 1900.

11. .N. Buxton's nephew Noel Buxton, stood for Ipswich in 1900 and in a two-member constituency finished third. The candidate receiving the most votes was a Liberal and the second a Conservative. In 1904 Noel Buxton resigned as a director of Truman and was elected to Parliament in the following year. He remained a Liberal until 1919 when he joined the Labour Party.

12. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, May 1, 1903, p.6; *Essex News*, 15 April 1903, p.1.

13. *Morning Advertiser*, 30 May 1891, p.2.

14. Until 1900, the Edinburgh brewer William McEwan held a Scottish seat for the Liberal Party. Donnachie, I. (1985) 'Men of Brewing: William McEwan,' *Scottish Brewing Archive Newsletter*. No. 5, Summer. Samuel Young, a distiller and brewer, was an Irish Nationalist MP until his death at age 96 in 1918.

15. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.102.

16. Gutzke, D. W. (1990) 'Rhetoric and Reality: The Political Influence of British Brewers, 1832- 1914,' *Parliamentary History*. 9/1, May, p. 86. Gutzke's article provides a succinct account of the Liberal brewers.

17. *Licensed Trade News*, 2 June 1894, p.9, reprinted from the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 8 May 1894. Henry Charles Fulford (1849-1897) served as a Birmingham councilor and was president of the East Birmingham Liberal Council and treasurer of the Birmingham Liberal Association. In 1895, despite a crushing defeat for Liberals elsewhere and the opposition of local temperance people, he was elected to the House of Commons for Lichfield. He unseated the Liberal Unionist incumbent by 44 votes. Fulford in turn was unseated because one of his electoral sub- agents had hired horses to transport voters. Fulford died in Cairo from a lung condition and left an estate of more than £348,000. Shortly after his death, temperance reformers, led by the Cadbury family, took over the Birmingham Liberal Association. Not being teetotalers, the agent and the secretary whom Fulford had sponsored were fired. *Licensed Trade News*, 30 Oct. 1897, pp.5-6.

18. Jeremy, D.J. (1986) 'Francis Pelham Whitbread,' in David J. Jeremy (ed.) *Dictionary of Business Biography: A Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860- 1980*. London: Butterworths, 5, pp.769-73. Neither E.N. Buxton nor any other Buxton appear in this reference work. In a later book by Jeremy (with Geoffrey Tweedale), the only Buxton mentioned was one born in 1939. (1994) *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Business Leaders*. East Grinstead: Bowker-Saur.

19. The brewer John Fuller also was elected as a Liberal. Another newly elected Liberal MP, Felix Cobbold, belonged to a brewing family, but he himself was a banker.

20. For more than 40 years Samuel Whitbread was a Liberal MP. He was narrowly defeated at the general election of 1895. For a few years, he had been a civil lord of the Admiralty. He left an estate of £680,000.

21. Before the general election of 1906, S.H. Whitbread's total holdings in Whitbread's brewery amounted to £400 vested in trustees. S.H. Whitbread to Gladstone, 26 Aug. 1905. British Library [subsequently BL], Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46063, f. 158-159. For his contribution, see Samuel Whitbread (the elder) to Gladstone, 11 Dec. 1905. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46063 f. 193. Compare the refusal of E.N. Buxton to contribute. Buxton to Gladstone, 20 April [1904]; W.M. Crook [secretary, Home Counties Liberal Federation] to Gladstone, 15 Nov. 1904. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46061 ff. 222- 23, Add. Ms. 46024 ff. 167-68.

22. *West Sussex County Times*, 30 April 1910, p.3.
23. While dying, he last left his home to cast his vote in the 1923 general election, presumably for the party of Stanley Baldwin. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924.
24. *East London Observer*, 23 July 1910, p.2. The article described how the directors at Truman had reluctantly reduced their workers' annual holiday.
25. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924, p.2.
26. *Essex Standard*, 8 May 1886 p. 6. For 1880, see *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 6 Feb. 1880, p.6.
27. In 1878, he became a total abstainer and in 1880 removed all alcoholic drink from his home other than its medical cabinet.
28. *Theford and Watton Times and People's Weekly Journal*, 19 June 1886, p. 4.
29. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 6 Feb. 1880, p.6.
30. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. Ch. 7, 'The Scramble for Property and its Aftermath, 1885-1914.' See also Acheson Graeme, G., Coyle, C. and Turner, J.D. (2016) 'Happy Hour Followed by Hangover: Financing the UK Brewery Industry, 1880-1913,' *Business History*. 58/5, July, pp.725-51.
31. Fahey, D.M. (2016) 'Worrying about Drink,' *Brewery History*. No. 166, Summer, pp.2-19.
32. For a brief sketch of the licensed trade in politics, see Fahey, D.M. (1980) 'Brewers, Publicans, and Working-Class Drinkers: Pressure Group Politics in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,' *Histoire sociale*. 13, May, pp.85-103.
33. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1888, p.337.
34. The Manchester brewers argued that the trade could have obtained security for licensed premises without the compensation clauses and accused the Country Brewers' Society of weakness. (1897) *Licensing Struggles of a Generation: A History of the Brewers' Central Association (Manchester) from its Foundation in 1860 to the Present Day*. Manchester: n.p., p.56. David W. Gutzke shared his copy of this rare book. *The Brewers' Journal*, 29 May 1888, pp.161-162, was 'inclined to support the action of the Manchester brewers rather than adopt the Fabian policy which apparently actuates other branches of our trade.' See also the letters in the *Country Brewers' Gazette*, 17 May 1888, pp.247-48.
35. Guildhall Library, MS 5468, ff. 177-83, Brewers' Company, minutes, 6 April 1888. [The Brewers' Company archives are now at the London Metropolitan Archives.] If the Liberals returned to power, the trade could expect harsher treatment, so 'factious opposition' to the Local Government bill 'would be mistaken policy.' *Brewers' Guardian*, 3 April 1888.
36. Brewers' Company, MS. 5468 ff. 177-80. Quotations courtesy of David W. Gutzke.
37. Buxton to Churchill, 15 May 1890. Churchill College, Lord Randolph Churchill papers, No. 3550.
38. Buxton to Harcourt, 23, 29 Nov., 7 Dec. 1892, 8 May 1893. Bodleian, Harcourt Ms. 148, fols. 21-25, 32-33, 34-37; Harcourt Ms. 146, fols. 48-50.
39. In his May letter Buxton said that brewers lent publicans between 50% and 60% of selling volume. His own firm typically had a profit around 10%.
40. Buxton to editor, in *Daily News*, 2 Aug. 1895, p.3.
41. He was Buxton's Liberal Unionist cousin, Andrew Johnston.
42. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1898 (C. 8694), vol. XXXVI, quests, 35,460-35,464, p. 310.
43. Cosmo Bonsor in *Licensing World*, 5 May 1900, p. 325.
44. *The Brewers' Almanack* (1898), p.53, said that Buxton was elected acting treasurer on 29 January 1897 in Wigram's absence abroad.
45. Country Brewers Society, grand committee, 4 July 1898. [The archives of the Country Brewers Society are now at the University of Warwick, Modern Records Center.]
46. Royal Commission committee, Licensed Victuallers, Central Board, 12 July 1898. [The archives of the Central Board are now at the London Metropolitan Archives.] Those attending included three Royal Commission members Charles Walker and Samuel Hyslop, who represented the publicans, and a representative of the Gilbey licensed grocers interest, Henry Grinling. They agreed not to permit sectional differences interfere with trade unity, notably the publicans' dislike of grocers' licenses.
47. Bonsor to Salisbury's private secretary, Kerr ('Pom') McDonnell 6 November 1898, Christ Church, Oxford, Salisbury papers, uncatalogued when consulted, and since removed to Hatfield House. Quoted by Greenaway, J.R. (2003) *Drink and British Politics since 1830: A Study in Policy-Making*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.62. Greenaway briefly discusses Buxton's role, pp. 63-64.
48. The speech by Hicks-Beach was published in the *Alliance News*, 11 Nov. 1898, p.738. For the date that the draft report had been expected, see *Licensing Trade News*, 12 Nov. 1898, p.6.
49. *Morning Advertiser*, 1 April 1896, p.4.
50. *Licensing World*, 14 April 1900, p.277.
51. Whittaker, T.P. (1912) 'The Late Viscount Peel,' (Temperance Legislation League) *Monthly Notes* Vol. 2, No. 11, Nov., p.1.
52. West, Sir A. (1900) 'The Two Reports of the Licensing Commission,' *Nineteenth Century*, Feb., pp.260-74. A Gladstonian Liberal, West had been sympathetic toward Lord

Randolph Churchill's licensing bill. Churchill College, Lord Randolph Churchill papers, West to Churchill, 7, 10, 14, 15, and 17 Jan.; 11, 14, and 18 Feb.; 12, 24 March; 12 and 17 May 1890. Numbers 3362, 3367, 3374, 3375, 3402, 3409, 3416. 3402, 3409, 3416, 3458, 3505, 3502, 3557.

53. Henry Gladstone to Herbert Gladstone, 16 Feb. 1899. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46045, ff. 193-94. 'It is most important to get a unanimous report so as to give the Government no excuse for not dealing with the question.' Reporting a speech by T.P. Whittaker, a trade newspaper wrote: 'in the early stages of discussion on the report, Sir Algernon West told him (Mr. Whittaker) that he did not think that any report would carry weight in the country, and lead to legislation unless it had the signatures of the trade members.' *Licensed Trade News*, 24 Feb. 1900, p. 11. See also Whittaker, T.P. (1900) 'The "Temperance" Reply to Sir Algernon West,' *Nineteenth Century*, March, p.514.

54. According to a trade account, Peel had been angered by a rival report having been circulated. 'Lord Peel's Failure: Autocracy and Ill-Temper,' *Licensing World*, 15 April 1899, pp.296-297.

55. Surprising, in a newspaper interview Buxton denied that the Royal Commission was as divided as some politicians were saying. *Daily Chronicle*, 14 April 1899, p.3.

56. Whittaker, T.P. (1900) op. cit., pp.510-25.

57. West had asked Balfour what was the legal status of a Royal Commission if its chairman withdrew. Balfour to West, 17 March 1899. BL, Balfour papers, Add. Ms. 49853, f. 60.

58. West, Sir A. (1900) op. cit., p.265. Johnston was chairman of both the Essex Quarter Sessions and Essex County Council.

59. Whittaker, T.P. (1900) op. cit., p.514. According to a trade commissioner, Peel abandoned a local option referendum for public management (the Gothenburg Scheme) as a concession to the prohibitionists. George Younger, in *Parl. Deb.*, 4th ser., CXCIV, 21 Oct. 1908, col. 1239.

60. On July 18, the Majority and Minority Reports and related statements were published as *Parliamentary Paper* 1899 (C. 9379), XXXV. The seven thousand copies of the first edition sold out almost at once. *Licensing Trade News*, 29 July 1899, p.7. See Fahey, D.M. (1971) 'Temperance and the Liberal Party-Lord Peel's Report, 1899,' *Journal of British Studies*. 10/2, May; Wright, D.E. (1972) 'The British Liberal Party and the Liquor Licensing Question, 1895-1905', doctoral dissertation, McMaster University, Ch. 6, 'The Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws, 1896-99.'

61. Buxton argued that the scale of the reduction proposed in the Peel Report explained the inadequacy of compensation. *Licensing World*, 5 May 1900, p.325. In his remarks at a ban-

quet of the London publicans, Buxton outlined his own ideas for a settlement (pp.324-325). Presiding at this annual dinner, Buxton and his brewery (Truman, Hanbury, Buxton and Company) were generous for a non-election year. The brewery contributed £625, Buxton personally £155, two members of the Hanbury family, over £52 each, Gerald Buxton over £52, and other members of the firm smaller amounts.

62. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.135.

63. *ibid.*, passim.

64. Gladstone to Campbell-Bannerman, 12 Dec. 1899. BL, Campbell-Bannerman papers, Add. Ms. 41215 ff. 169-72. Gladstone's emphasis. Gladstone spoke with Whittaker on December 7. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46483 f. 53.

65. West to Gladstone, 7 Dec. 1899. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46057 ff. 225-26. 68 Bryce to Campbell-Bannerman, 16 Dec. 1899. BL, Campbell-Bannerman papers, Add. Ms. 41211 ff. 75-76.

67. Representing Burton, the brewer Sydney Evershed was the rare Liberal member of the licensed trade who was reelected in 1895 unopposed. In contrast, the wine merchant and vinegar manufacturer Mark Beaufoy lost his seat in 1895.

68. Campbell-Bannerman to Spencer, 19 Dec. 1899. Spencer papers. Quoted in Wright, D.E. (1972) op. cit., pp.329-30.

69. BL, Herbert Gladstone diary, 31 Jan., 1 Aug. 1900; Buxton to Gladstone, 9 Oct. 1901. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46483 ff. 58, 76.

70. *Licensed Trade News*, 10 Feb. 1900, p.11; Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.134.

71. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.141.

72. Gladstone to Campbell-Bannerman, 18 Dec. 1899. BL, Campbell-Bannerman papers, Add. Ms. 41215 f. 185. Gladstone's emphasis.

73. BL, Gladstone diary, 18 Dec. 1899. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46483 f. 55.

74. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.142.

75. *Licensed Trade News*, 10 Feb. 1900, p. 11.

76. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., pp.145-47.

77. *ibid.* p.134. Buxton had hoped for many more friendly Liberals.

78. Quoted in *Leeds Mercury*, 19 Sept. 1900, p.3. Still later, on January 16, 1901, Gladstone was a member of the deputation that urged the Unionist Home Secretary to consider a series of licensing reforms including 'equitable compensation.' *Times*, 17 Jan. 1901, p.10.

79. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.143.

80. William Pearson to UKA, n.d., in Alliance House, Alliance minutes, 13 Oct. 1900. See also *Alliance News*, 4

Oct. 1900, pp. 630-31. Gladstone's support for compensation and grocers' licenses angered Pearson. The militant Good Templars advised their members to abstain. Pearson to James Whyte, 25 September 1900, in Alliance minutes.

81. *Alliance News*, 18 Oct. 1900, p.661. Two Congregational, two Baptist, two Wesleyan Methodist, two Primitive Methodists, and one Methodist Free Church ministers published a letter in the *Leeds Mercury* in support of Gladstone's election. *Alliance News*, 4 October 1900, p.631.

82. *Licensing World*, 29 September 1900, quoted in *Alliance News*, 4 October 1900, p.631.

83. BL, Gladstone to Campbell-Bannerman, 18 Nov. 1899. BL, Campbell-Bannerman papers, Add. Ms. 41215 ff. 144-50. See also BL, Gladstone diary, 17 Nov. 1899, for his meeting with Buxton. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46483 f. 49.

84. *Licensed Trade News*, 30 April 1904, p. 10.

85. Years earlier he had offered Harcourt trade support for new licenses paying monopoly value.

86. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.58. Buxton described his brewery's investment in licensed property as three million pounds and its annual payments to debenture holders as £50,000. On July 18, 1908, E.N. Buxton complained that the monopoly value provision of the Liberal bill: 'represented on a low valuation a hundred million of pounds.' *Morning Advertiser*, 20 July 1908, quoted in *National Union Gleanings* 31, Sept. 1908, p.236.

87. Buxton to Gladstone, 12 Sept. 1906. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46064 ff. 77-83. By this time, Buxton's affiliation with the Liberal Party was at most nominal. See a summary of a conversation with his nephew Noel Buxton by the secretary of the Home Counties Liberal Federation. W.P. Crook to Herbert Gladstone. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers. Add. Ms. 46024, ff. 167-168.

88. Gladstone to Buxton, 4 Oct. 1906; Buxton to Gladstone, 6 Oct. 1906. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms. 46064 ff. 88-90, 92-93. For drafts of the government bill, see BL, B.S. 91/61. 91 Buxton, 6 Oct. 1906, in *Morning Advertiser*, 8 Oct. 1906, p.4. See also Buxton in *Times*, 3 Nov. 1906, p.12.

90. Whittaker, T.P. (1907a) 'Practical Temperance Reform,' *National Review*, Jan., pp.881-97; Buxton, E.N. (1907) 'Temperance Reform: A Reply to Sir Thomas Whittaker,' *National Review* 18, Feb., pp.1048-61; Whittaker, T.P. (1907b) *The Nation and Its Liquor Licenses, including a Reply to Mr. E.N. Buxton*, Temperance Legislation League, Pamphlets, No. 8, London.

91. In a speech at the London licensed victuallers' Central Board annual dinner, Buxton said that if the Liberal government wanted to advance temperance and not simply

punish the licensed trade it would not give privileges to workingmen's clubs as they existed mostly for their members to drink. *Licensed Trade News*, 15 June 1907, pp.7-8.

92. BL, Herbert Gladstone papers, Add. Ms 46092/12-20. Printed as a Cabinet paper, Cab 37/90, November 1907.

93. For instance, in 1906 the House of Lords approved the Trade Disputes Act, protecting trade unions from liability for damage occurred during a strike. Although many Liberals and most Conservatives disapproved of the new law, it was enacted to appease working-class electors.

94. *Morning Advertiser*, 20 July 1908, quoted in *National Union Gleanings* 31, Sept. 1908, p.236.

95. See the letters by Buxton and Frank Whitbread arguing that the budget bill favored Scottish and Irish distillers at the expense of English brewers. *Brewers' Gazette*, 10 June 1909, pp. 410-11. I owe this reference to David W. Gutzke.

96. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924, p. 2.

97. By that time, two other Buxton has been appointed magistrates. Gutzke, D.W. (1984) 'The Social Status of Landed Brewers in Britain since 1849,' *Histoire sociale*. 17, May, p.108.

98. *Who's Who* (1910), he declared himself 'fond of travelling for its own sake'.

99. During their marriage, Edward and Emily Buxton had four sons and five daughters. The second son died a suicide while still a young man. Three of the daughters published under their initials a travel book (1895) *On Either Side of the Red Sea*. London: Edward Stafford, to which their father contributed a brief introduction.

100. Buxton, E.N.(1902) *Two African Trips*. London: Edward Stafford, pp.46, 57.

101. See Buxton's chapter 'Peaks and Passes' in his book (1892) *Short Stalks*. London: Edward Stafford, that otherwise is about hunting big game. He is briefly mentioned in Braham, T. (2011) *When the Alps Cast Their Spell: Mountaineers of the Alpine Golden Age*. Castle Douglas: Neil Wilson.

102. Ward, R. (1903) *Records of Big Game: With the Distribution, Characteristics, Dimensions, Weights, and Horn & Tusk Measurements of the Different Species*. Rowland Ward.

103. Buxton, E.N. (1898) *Short Stacks*. London: Edward Stafford, p.56.

104. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit., p.87.

105. Cyril Digby Buxton (1865-92) accompanied his father on the expedition to Smyrna and is pictured in the 1892 volume. He was an outstanding cricketer and rackets player.

106. Buxton, E.N. (1892) op. cit, p.241.

107. I have not seen Labadens, F. (2015) *Celestin Passet: un guide aux Pyrenees*. Pau: Monhelios. When Buxton brought

his servant Abdullah from Somaliland to Galicia, local people were surprised to see him ride a bicycle. *Short Stacks* (1898), p.71.

108. Buxton, E.N. (1892) op. cit, p.139.
109. Buxton, E.N.(1902) op. cit., p.79.
110. Buxton, E.N.(1898) op. cit., p.165.
111. *ibid.*, p.100.
112. *ibid.*, Ch. 4, 'Stony Sinai.'
113. *ibid.*, p.134.
114. *ibid.*, p.19.
115. Buxton, E.N.(1902) op. cit., pp.37, 40.
116. *ibid.*, p.49.
117. Buxton, E.N. (1892) op. cit, p.327.
118. *ibid.*, p.200.
119. Buxton, E.N.(1898) op. cit., p.222.
120. Buxton, E.N. (1892) op. cit., p.374. In this chapter, Buxton mentions that in the previous year one of his feet had suffered badly from frostbite.
121. Buxton, E.N.(1902) op. cit., p.116.
122. Buxton, E.N.(1898) op. cit.,pp.58-59
123. *ibid.*, p.71.
124. *ibid.*, p.81.
125. *ibid.*, p.71. The parliamentary seat that Buxton lost in 1886 was won by another Gladstonian Liberal in 1891. The victor, Sydney Stern, was a Jewish banker.
126. Buxton, E.N. (1892) op. cit., p.359. It was in a region known as the Izzard.
127. Buxton, E.N.(1898) op. cit., p.148.
128. Adams, W. (2013) *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation*. London: Routledge.
129. Philio, C. and Wilbert, C. (2004) *Animal Spaces, Beastly Spaces*. London: Routledge, pp.211-13.
130. Identified only by initials, she probably was Hannah Maud Buxton, later Barclay (1872-1931), who subsequently was honored with an M.B.E., that is, Member of the British Empire.
131. Buxton, E.N.(1902) op. cit., p.vii, 2.
132. *ibid.*, p.19.
133. *ibid.*, pp.105, 106.
134. *ibid.*, p.134.

135. Buxton, E.N.(1898) op. cit., p.25

136. Buxton, E.N.(1902) op. cit., p.127.

137. Prendergast, D.K. and Adams, W.M. (2003) 'Colonial Wildlife conservation and the Origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903-1914),' *Oryx*. 37/2, April, p.252. The article cites a brief obituary, (1924) 'The Late Mr. E.N. Buxton,' *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire*. 4, pp.23-4.

138. *A Survey of American Ascents in the Alps in the Nineteenth Century* (1936). Retrieved from <https://publications.americanalpineclub.org> Accessed 09/06/2019.

139. Theodore Roosevelt Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o183699>. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University.

140. *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 January 1924.

141. A forest originally meant a wasteland where deer were hunted and not necessarily woodlands.

142. Quoted in *Oxford DNB*.

143. Gerald's younger brother Anthony was part of a Bloomsbury Group hoax in 1910. The Bloomsbury men were Cambridge intellectuals. Several young people (including the future Virginia Woolf), dressed in theatrical costumes, and with skin darkened, pretended to be Abyssinian royalty. They persuaded the famous Royal Navy battleship, the *Dreadnaught*, to afford them royal honors. Anthony Buxton (1881-1970) was a major in the First World War. From 1919 to 1931 he served on the League of Nations secretariat at Geneva. He was appointed deputy lieutenant of Essex in 1920 and high sheriff of Norfolk in 1945. A prominent naturalist (for instance, as a photographer of birds), he published several books such as *The Travelling Naturalist* (1948).

144. For his will, see *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 April 1924, p.5.

145. For brewer fortunes, see Rubinstein, W.D. (1981) *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, pp.86-91. E.N. Buxton's cousin John Henry Buxton died in 1934, leaving an estate of more than £986,000.

