# Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections University of South Carolina Libraries

# Clifford Allen (Lord Allen of Hurtwood) Papers, 1911-1962 Collection: Mss. 1979:1

#### **Contact information:**

Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections
Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library
University of South Carolina
1322 Greene Street
Columbia SC 29208
(803) 777-3847

email: tclrare@mailbox.sc.edu

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#### **Descriptive Summary**

Title: Clifford Allen (Lord Allen of Hurtwood) Papers, 1911-1962

**Collection Number:** Mss. 1979:1

Creator: Clifford Allen

Extent: 23 boxes

#### **Administrative Information**

Provenance: Purchase, 1966

**Processed by:** Jessica Kross

Access Restrictions: Open to research

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### Chronology

#### **Reginald Clifford Allen**

Born: May 9, 1889

1905-1908	University College Bristol.
1908-1911	Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
1911-1915	Secretary of the Daily Citizen.
1912-1915	Founder and Chairman of the University Socialist Federation.
1914	Published Is Germany Right and Britain Wrong?
1915-1919	Chairman, No-Conscription Fellowship.
1917	Marriage to Marjory Gill.

prison.  1920 Visited Russia. Met with Lenin. Suffered physical breakdown while there.  1922 Treasurer, Independent Labour Party.  1922 Birth of Joan Collete Allen.  1923-1925 Business Manager, New Leader.  1924-1925 Chairman, Independent Labour Party.  1925-1930 Director, the Daily Herald.  1932 Peerage, Lord Allen of Hurtwood.  1932 Published Labour's Future at Stake.  1932-1933 Member of Executive Board, National Labour Party.  1934 Published Britain's Political Future.  1935 Visited Germany. Met with Hitler.  1936 Published Peace in Our Time.  1937 Chairman, Next Five Years Group.  1937 Visited Germany. Met with Hitler.  1938 Visited Berlin and Prague to help in Czech Crisis.  1939 Died in Switzerland. Ashes scattered on Lake Geneva.	1917-1918	Imprisoned for refusing military service; contracts tuberculosis in
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#### **Scope and Contents Note**

This collection documents the political life and works of the British pacifist, propagandist, and leftist organizer Reginald Clifford Allen, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, (1889-1939). The archive is a comprehensive collection of the author's professional correspondence, manuscripts and speeches. It was acquired by the university in the mid- 1960s from Allen's widow, Lady Allen, through the intercession of the British historian Martin Gilbert, who held a visiting position at the University of South Carolina after the completion of his book on Allen, *Plough My Own Furrow: The Story of Lord Allen of Hurtwood as Told Through His Writings and Correspondence* (1965).

Clifford Allen was part of a group of left-leaning conscientious objectors and pacifists who chose prison rather than conscription during World War I. His prison experience left him with the tuberculosis that cost him a political career and periodically immobilized him. It killed him in 1939.

Allen was an organizer, publisher, executive secretary, fund-raiser, treasurer, speechifier, newspaper op-ed and letter writer and later broadcast debater. His greatest

political influence came in the early 1920s when the first Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, assumed government. MacDonald later engineered the peerage that placed Allen, an avowed Socialist, in the House of Lords. These papers document the immense amount of time and energy Allen spent trying to further the causes of peace and progressivism in inter-war England. Additional notes and descriptions occur at the beginning of each series in the finding aid.

Additional correspondence of Lord Clifford Allen can be found in the Norman Angell collection at Ball State University and a description of papers related to Lord Clifford Allen can be found in *Sources in British Political History*, 1900-1951, Volume 5.

Contents	Box
Series I: Biography, CVs, Personal Documents	1
Series II: Correspondence	1-9
Series III: Speeches, Published Materials, Unpublished Manuscripts, and Newspaper Clippings	9-19
Series IV: Organizational Materials	20-22
Series V: Germany and Europe, 1930s	23
Series VI: Oversized Materials	Oversized folder

#### **Container List**

#### **Series I: Biography, CVs, Personal Documents**

This series contains published materials about Allen and some personal materials by him.

#### **Box** Folder

- 1 Obituaries and notices of the memorial services.
- 1 2 Remembrance of Lord Allen after his death.

- 1 3 Reflections by former colleagues on his leadership of the Non-Conscription Fellowship.
- 1 4 Post-WW II articles on Allen's life and career.
- 1 5 C.A. to B. Longstaff, 1937-1938; Longstaff to A. Barratt Brown after C.A.'s death about the publication of Longstaff's book on conscientious objectors.
- Notes on proposed book on Allen, unidentified, but likely by Catherine Marshall. There is some speculation the notes could be by Bertrand Russell.
- 1 7 Arthur Marwick's proposal for a life of Allen.
- 1 8 Typed extracts from Allen's personal diary, January-September, 1918
- 1 9 Typed extracts from Allen's Guest Book, 1926-1931

#### Series II: Correspondence (1911-1938)

This series includes primarily organizational and political correspondence with a small percentage of personal letters included. The bulk of the correspondence consists of carbon copies of letters sent by Allen in his official capacities with left-leaning organizations such as the Non-Conscription Fellowship, Independent Labour Party, and Next Five Years Group. Allen was also an experienced and self-described propagandist; letters to the editor of various newspapers, as well as attempts to launch left-leaning newspapers appear in this correspondence. The organization is partially chronological but also institutional where previous users have collected the materials. After the general correspondence there are two other groupings: the first is concerned with the organization of the Next Five Years Group, and the second with Allen's efforts to free German political prisoners including Hans Litten, and Germany. Researchers should check all relevant folders as correspondence from a particular date may appear in several places. Some speeches are also included within the correspondence. Some undated letters or partially dated letters are included where it seems most appropriate or where previous organizers of the material have placed them. There is one folder of undated or fragmentary correspondence.

Notable correspondents in this series include: Clement Atlee (9/30/1930); Stanley Baldwin (11/26/1932); Ernest Bevin (11/30/1928, 8/9/1929, 8/?/1929, 3/22/1930, 1/1/1932); Havelock Ellis (10/14/1934); Anthony Eden (7/31/1936); E. M. Forster (9/30/1934, 10/10/1934); Aldous Huxley (10/3/1936?); Julian Huxley (6/10/1935, 11/25/1935, 1/9/1936, 2/19/1936, 2?/1936); Harold Laski (8/5/1929); Bronislaw Malinowski (5/9/1938, 5/15/1938); Lady Ottoline Morrell (11/20/1920, 12/30/1920, early 1921); Oswald Moseley (9/20/1924); Joachim von Ribbentrop (2/25/1935; 12,8,1935; 12/9/1936; Bertrand Russell (5/6/1918, 8/5,1918, 8/19/1918, 8/26/1918); Arnold Toynbee (6/11/1935, 8/7/1936?); Eamon De Valera (2/26/1923); H.G. Wells (12/1932?); and Leonard Woolf (6/6/1935).

There is extensive correspondence with Malcolm MacDonald, son and political operative of Ramsay MacDonald, throughout this series. There is also correspondence with Norman Angell, Ramsay MacDonald, Harold MacMillan and Stanley Unwin.

- 1 Note to C. A. in *Daily Herald* material, n.d.
- 1 11 "Letters from Cambridge," 1911
- 1 12 Letters to father, 22 March, 1912 24 September, 1912
- 1 13 Letters to wife, 13 August, 1931 August, 1938
- 1 Letters to daughter Polly, 31 January, 1936 14 October, 1938
- 1 15 Personal letters, 1927-1938 (3 items)
- 1 Correspondence concerning *The Daily Citizen* 1 Feb., 1912 11 Dec., 1913
- 1 17 Correspondence concerning *The Daily Citizen* 3 Feb., 1914 9 Sept., 1917 and final closing of account for 'D.C.,' 23 Dec., 1931
- 1 Open letter to Lloyd George 31 May, 1917
- 1 19 Allen's letters from prison, 24 Mar., 1917; 21 Apr., 1917; 17 May, 1917; 31 May, 1917 (typed copies)
- 1 20 Letters from N.C.F. leaders in prison including Bertrand Russell, Fennner Brockway, and John P. F. Fletcher. (typed copies, 1918)
- 1 21 Illness, recuperation, and marriage, 1920-1922
- 2 1 Correspondence 10 January, 1921 28 December, 1925 and undated
- 2 Correspondence 9 January, 1926 31 December, 1931
- 2 3 Correspondence 1 January, 1932 29 January, 1932 and undated
- 2 4 Correspondence 1 February, 1932 31 March, 1932
- 3 1 Correspondence 1 April, 1932 31 May, 1932
- 3 2 Correspondence 1 June, 1931 29 July, 1932
- 3 Correspondence 1 August, 1932 30 September, 1932
- 3 4 Correspondence 1 October, 1932 31 December, 1932

- 4 1 Correspondence 2 January, 1933 31 May, 1933
- 4 2 Correspondence 1 June, 1933 31 October, 1933
- 4 3 Correspondence 1 November, 1933 17 December, 1933 and undated
- 4 Correspondence 1 January, 1934 28 February, 1934
- 5 1 Correspondence 1 March, 1934 31 May, 1934
- 5 Correspondence 1 June, 1934 28 December, 1934
- 5 Correspondence 1 January, 1935 27 March, 1935
- 5 4 Correspondence 2 April, 1935 31 May, 1935
- 5 Correspondence 1 June, 1935 30 June, 1935
- 6 1 Correspondence 1 July, 1935 31 July, 1935
- 6 2 Correspondence 1 August, 1935 30 September, 1935
- 6 3 Correspondence 1 October, 1935 31 October, 1935
- 6 4 Correspondence 2 November, 1935 31 December, 1935
- 6 5 Correspondence 2 January, 1936 30 June, 1936
- 6 Correspondence 6 July, 1936 31 December, 1936
- 7 1 Correspondence 1 January, 1937 30 June, 1937
- 7 Correspondence 1 July, 1937 30 December, 1937
- 7 Correspondence 13 January, 1938 2 December, 1938
- 7 4 Correspondence, undated fragments
- 7 Typed extracts of correspondence from the 1930s
- Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 18 November, 1935 31 January, 1936
- 7 Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 1 February, 1936 29 February, 1936
- 8 1 Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 2 March, 1936 31 March, 1936

- 8 2 Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 2 April, 1936 5 June, 1936
- 8 3 Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 2 June, 1936 31 December, 1936
- 8 4 Correspondence: Next Five Years Group 1 January, 1937 22 December, 1937
- 9 1 Correspondence: political prisoners, Germany 30 January, 1934 17 December, 1935
- 9 Correspondence: political prisoners, Germany 1 January, 1936 31 December, 1936
- 9 3 Correspondence: political prisoners, Germany 1 January, 1937 28 October, 1938

# Series III: Speeches, Published Materials, Unpublished Manuscripts, and Newspaper Clippings (1911-1939)

Clifford Allen was a prolific spokesman for the causes in which he believed. He delivered speeches and granted interviews; composed articles and letters to the editors of various newspapers and journals; and wrote books. This series contains speeches in whole or fragmentary—he often recycled material, speech outlines, and other manuscript materials, some never published, but overall intended to appeal to a popular audience. Much of this material is undated and so is not in chronological or any other particular order. Speech outlines and newspaper clippings might also be found in the correspondence and other series.

- 9 4 Articles, speeches, and interviews on international relations and related subjects, n.d., 1937
- 10 1 Articles, speeches, and interviews on international relations and related subjects, n.d., 1934, 1937
- 10 2 Articles, speeches, and interviews on international relations and related subjects, n.d., 1933, 1934, 1937
- National Peace Council, "Problems of International Security," 20 October, 1933
- Articles, speeches, essays, and interviews on 1930s Germany
- Lord Allen's speeches to the House of Lords, 1932-1938
- 10 6 "Student, Citizen, and Socialist," 1913?
- 10 7 Speeches and articles on domestic politics, 1930s
- 11 Speeches and articles on domestic politics, 1930s

- Speeches and articles on education, n.d., 1936
- 11 3 Lord Allen on the BBC, n.d., 1932, 1933
- 11 4 Lord Allen on pacifism, n.d., 1933, 1936, 1937
- 5 Speech outlines, n.d.
- 12 1 Speech outlines, n.d.
- 12 Speech outlines, fragments, n.d.
- 12 3 Speech outlines, 25 February, 1932 6 June, 1933
- 12 4 Speech outlines, 29 July, 1933 14 December, 1933
- 13 Speech outlines, 6 January, 1934 23 February, 1934
- 13 2 Speech outlines, 14 March, 1934 13 November, 1934
- 13 Speech outlines, 17 November, 1934 25 February, 1935
- Speech outlines, 27 February, 1935 April, 1935
- 14 1 Speech outlines, 1 April, 1935 13 June, 1935
- 14 2 Speech outlines, 21 June, 1935 29 September, 1935
- Speech outlines, 12 October, 1935 7 December, 1935
- 14 4 Speech outlines, 9 January, 1936 29 July, 1936
- 15 1 Speech outlines, 15 October, 1936 18 December, 1936
- 15 2 Speech outlines, 13 March, 1937 20 April, 1937
- 15 3 Speech outlines, 27 April, 1937 5 October, 1937
- Speech outlines, 9 October, 1937 17 November, 1937
- 16 1 Speech outlines, 23 November, 1937 8 March, 1938
- 16 2 Speech outlines, 12 March, 1938 27 July, 1938

- 16 3 Correspondence from Catherine Marshall and John W. Graham about Graham's Book *Conscription and Conscience*. Copy of Allen's preface; reviews.
- 16 4 Incomplete typescript of proposed booklet *On Active Service*, intro about Allen and N.C.F. by Bertrand Russell
- 16 Mss. of proposed work on politics and society, unpublished
- 17 1-4 Mss. of book on conscription and C.Os. (4 folders)
- 18 1-3 Newspaper clippings, University Socialist Federation, (3 folders) 1911-1915, n.d.
- 18 4 Newspaper clippings, *The Daily Citizen*, 1914-1915
- 18 5 Newspaper clippings on war, the I.L.P., conscription, the N.C.F. and Clifford Allen, May 1914 April, 1916
- 18 6 Printed matter on N.C.F. including copies of *The Labour Leader*, *The Herald*, *The Friend*, *The New Statesman*, *John Bull*, and *The Christian Commonwealth*, 1914-1917
- 19 1 Newspaper clippings on war, conscription, the N.C.F. and Clifford Allen, 11 April, 1916 4 February, 1922
- 19 2 Newspaper clippings, I.L.P., 1920-1924, 1925, n.d.
- 19 3 Newspaper clippings, Labour politics, 1926-1929
- 19 4 Newspaper clippings, *The Daily Citizen*, 1925, n.d.
- 19 5 Newspaper clippings, 1930s
- 19 6 Newspaper clippings, 1931-1932
- Published articles and pamphlets, 1933-1938
- 19 8 Articles and clippings, 1930-1939

## **Series IV: Organizational Materials.**

Clifford Allen was an organizer and administrator—the go-to person that every organization needs both to get started and to continue functioning. This series includes minutes, agendas, budgets, newsletters, newspapers, reports and other material from organizations such as the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Labour and Socialist International, and The Next Five Years Group. Included in these folders are correspondence, speech outlines and newspaper clippings pertaining to various organizations.

- 20 1 Clifford Allen's official notices from the Army, 1916-1920
- 20 2 Typed and handwritten notes on organization of N.C.F., prison activities of C.A. and others, 18 April, 1916 August, 1917
- 20 3 Photocopied material on Clifford Allen. 1) Case before Southwestern Police Court, Lavender Hill 31 July, 1916, 2) Defense before Court Martial at Newhaven N.C.C. Camp, 12 December, 1916
- The "Wakefield Absolutists" affair, September 1918
- Speech outlines for N.C.F. and Socialist groups, n.d.
- 20 6 Conscription Board correspondence, September, 1915 May, 1922
- 20 7 Photocopied materials on C.O.s in prison and prison conditions
- 20 8 Unpublished mss. by A.M. Sanders on C.O. experiences, with correspondence between Sanders and Lady Allen, n.d.
- 20 9 N.C.F., speeches, broadsides, organizational material, n.d.
- 20 10 Anti-War and Anti-Conscription propaganda by organizations other than the N.C.F.
- 20 11 N.C.F Propaganda leaflets and related materials, 6 January, 1916 14 September, 1918, n.d.
- 20 12 Printed organizational materials of the N.C.F., 1915-1919
- 21 1 Duplicate copies of N.C.F. printed organizational material
- 21 2 Transcriptions, N.C.F. national convention, 27 November, 1915. Clifford Allen, Chair.
- 21 3 Transcriptions, N.C.F. national convention, 8 April, 1916 and other N.C.F. convention materials.
- 21 4 Controversy over why C.A. resigned as I.L.P. Chairman in 1925
- With the Labour (I.L.P) delegation in Soviet Russia, 1920, correspondence and clippings
- N.C.F. materials, including minutes of national convention, 2 August, 1919

- J. Ramsay MacDonald's ideas on *The New Leader*
- Miscellaneous. 1912-1938. Not Daily Citizen
- 21 9 Materials on *The Daily Citizen*, 1915
- 21 10 Printed material *The Daily Citizen*, 1912-1917
- 21 11 Daily Herald memoranda, 16 November, 1927 25 February, 1929
- 22 1 "The Labour and Socialist International," 28 August, 1923 30 October, 1924
- 22 "The Labour and Socialist International," November December, 1924
- 22 3 "The Labour and Socialist International," 8 January 15 January, 1925
- 22 4 "The Labour and Socialist International," notes, minutes of administrative committee, 26 January, 19--?
- 22 5 Newspaper excerpts, 1924-1925, n.d.
- 22 6-7 Organizational and Printed Matter on Next Five Years Group (2 folders)
- Next Five Years Group, newspaper clippings

### Series V: Germany and Europe, 1930s

The deteriorating conditions in Europe and threat of Nazi Germany posed immense problems for pacifists. Clifford Allen was both the receiver of information and an active gatherer of it, visiting Germany in 1936 and 1938. This series includes letters, reports, and newspaper clippings, including reports by the Quaker Corder Catchpool on conditions in Europe. Other materials on Europe and the impending war will be found in other series. Allen's attempts to free German political prisoners are included here and also documented in Series 2, Correspondence.

- 23 1 Incomplete or unidentifiable letters, 1930s
- 23 Two letters to the editor, *The Times*, 1934/5?; *Manchester Guardian* 20 October,
- 1938
- 23 Clippings from German newspapers, 1930s
- 23 4 Trip to Germany, 1936
- 23 5 Report on C. Allen's visit to Germany, March 1938
- Newspaper clippings on political prisoners in Germany, 1935-1940

23	7	Photocopied and typed material on German (Nazi) political prisoners
23	8	Undated material on Nazi political prisoners
23	9	Private reports by Corder Catchpool
23	10	Situation papers on occupied Europe by Corder Catchpool, 1936-1938
23	11	Reports on international affairs sent to Lord Allen

# **Series VI: Oversized Materials**

#### 1 folder containing:

1 photostatic copy of an original portrait of Clifford Allen by his brother in law, Colin Gill

Pages from four German newspapers concerning Jewish issues, 1935-1936