



Broughton Tolbooth 1582–1829

BROUGHTON HISTORY SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 35

WINTER 2014/15

Freda White 1894–1971: peace campaigner, lecturer, traveller and writer Remembered by her friend, Leslie Hills, Scotland Street

For a short time in the sixties and early seventies I had two great female friends. I was in my twenties, Frances Gordon in her fifties and Freda White in her late seventies. I had recently graduated from Glasgow University and was accumulating educational qualifications. Frances had a degree from the LSE gained in the 1930s and was a linchpin in the political and cultural life of Edinburgh. Freda was one of the first graduates from Somerville College, Oxford, an author, journalist, campaigner and lecturer of international renown.

It was therefore obvious to the predominantly male St Andrews Ward Labour Party that we three, being women, should organise the jumble sales.

In spite of my nascent feminism – it was 1966 – I was delighted to be sent jumble-selling and thus to spend time with these women in Freda's flat at 2 Scotland Street.

Freda White was born in number 3 Drummond Place, Edinburgh on 29th October 1894 to Ada Watson and Thomas White, Solicitor, Supreme Court. She was the sixth of seven children and, though her father died when she was seven years old, the family seems to have been happy and comfortable under the tutelage of her forceful and intelligent mother. Freda was educated at St Leonards School and spent the year between school and university in Geneva studying Geology and perfecting her French. In 1913, aged nineteen, she proceeded to Somerville College, Oxford and left in 1916 with a Class II degree in Modern History. She did not receive her BA until 1921 when degrees for women were first awarded. But by then everything had changed. On the 9th of September 1915 her beloved brother, Major Alexander White, died of wounds in the Dardanelles. She became a lifelong campaigner in the cause of peace.



Contents

Freda White 1894–1971

by Leslie Hills 1

Feedback 4

Readers respond to articles in our last edition

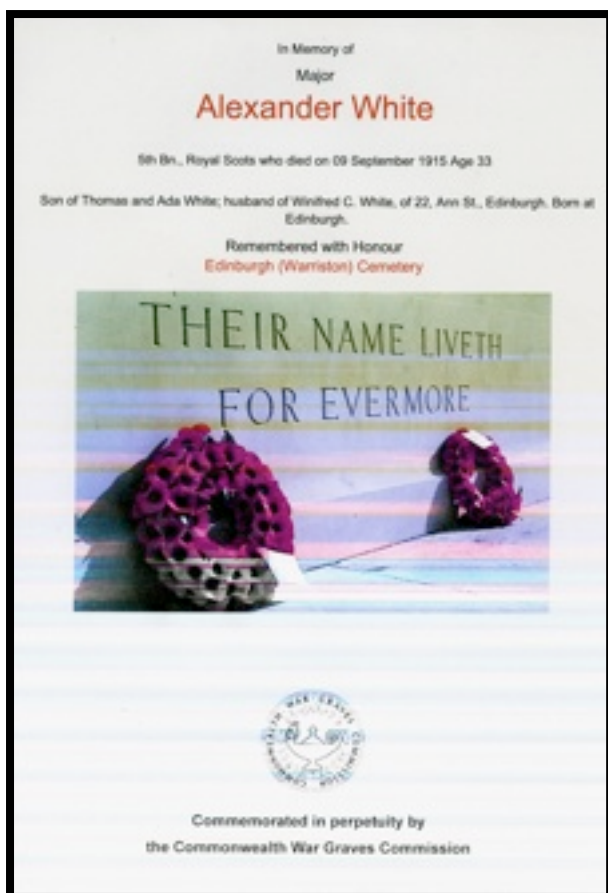
Arthur Woodburn: Part 2

by Ken Duffy 5

Renewed thanks to Eileen Dickie for doing the Desktop Publishing, to Alan McIntosh for proof-reading – and to both of them for their advice.

Ideas or contributions for our next edition?

Phone editor John Dickie on 0131 556 0903
or e-mail john.dickie@blueyonder.co.uk



On leaving Somerville she went, through a connection with Elsie Inglis, to Corsica where the Serbian Relief Fund worked under very difficult conditions – including the malicious interventions of Henry Dundas, the British Consul in Ajaccio – with refugees who had survived the journey through Montenegro and Albania. The majority of the women workers were nurses with the Scottish Women's Hospitals. Freda, a born organiser, does not, thankfully, appear to have been nursing. She left Corsica in late 1918 for Edinburgh where she was very briefly an assistant mistress at the Edinburgh Academy Preparatory School. Soon she was fully involved in the League of Nations Union and working, until 1939, between Geneva and London. She published numerous pamphlets under their imprimatur and, an acknowledged expert on Mandates, the arms trade, Abyssinia and Palestine, lectured widely.

A search of the newspaper archives yields a picture of tireless endeavour in the cause of peace. In 1934 the *Kent and Sussex Courier* records that at a meeting of the Women's International League the subterfuges of armament manufacturers were denounced by Miss Freda White a member of the Women's International League executive. 'War brings misery and ruin to everyone concerned but is pure gain for arms manufacturers. They must oppose every move towards peace.' She gave as example the case of her brother killed by Turkish shells made by a British firm.

In 1935 she is in Motherwell at the annual autumn meeting of the Wishaw branch of the League of Nations Union. The hall is packed to hear Miss Freda White BA, the author of the *Abyssinian Dispute* and other works. 'Abyssinia being uppermost in everybody's mind just now, an expression of opinion on the present critical situation coming from such an authoritative source is sure to make a profound impression', says the *Motherwell Times*. A week later it is reported in Notes and Comments that 'Miss Freda White has a poor opinion of the English. She says if you wish them to assimilate a fact you must first of all boil it.' The language and tone are to the life but she had not a low opinion of the English or any other nation – rather, sharp and analytical above everything, she became exasperated by wilful blindness and obfuscation.

In 1936 'the famous writer' Freda White is addressing a conference on World Cooperation. In 1937, recently returned from Spain, in an 'admirable' talk she points out the danger that sporadic fires sometimes spread until they devour our entire civilisation. Longman Green published her *Short Account of War in Spain* shortly after her return. In 1938 she is much concerned with the problem of refugees and on 11th February 1939 as Secretary of the Mandates and Minorities Committee she is opining that what has been wrong with British policy in the last seven years is a lack of settled principle. A very characteristic phrase. She was concerned to put across British foreign policy through Italian eyes and commented on the difficulty of an attempt to dissociate legal from moral and ethical rights. With the outbreak of war the League of Nations Union's purpose was lost. Freda felt it personally but believed that though the League had failed and would continue to fail, it was the only hope humanity had.

In 1940 she became the assistant editor of the *New Statesman* under the editorship of Kingsley Martin. In her old age, she spoke little of her earlier life, preferring the future as a topic, but was particularly silent on her time with Martin. The *New Statesman* at the time was the flagship journal of the left and its democratic socialism and pacifism should have suited her well. At the centre of wartime intellectual life with many friends about her, she would have felt at home. However in 1943 she left to become information officer of the left-leaning *Daily Herald*. Her international work continued. In 1944 she speaks at a conference on the Danubian Satellites and asks for information on how far the Russian armies have gone with the industrial stripping of the territories.

In 1947 she returned to Scotland as the Scottish Officer of the United Nations Association. She had already been active publishing an account of the first Assembly of the United Nations in 1946 and a pamphlet *Conflict Over Palestine* in the same year. In 1951 she stood unsuccessfully for Parliament and in 1954 she left her post to concentrate on travelling in and writing about

France. In 1951 at the age of fifty-seven she had published her first travel book – the extraordinary and still-in-print classic of travel writing, *Three Rivers of France. West of the Rhone: Languedoc, Roussillon, the Massif Central* followed in 1964 and *Ways of Aquitaine* in 1968.

The research for these books was carried out in her Morris Minor, often with a white-knuckled Frances Gordon in the passenger seat. Good friends, together they would turn up at Labour Party meetings, keeping the rest of us up to scratch.

By the time I knew her she was a small white-haired and determined figure in her trademark tweeds and lacy jumper, with an incisive, sometimes, sharp tongue counterbalanced by a keen intelligence and deep concern for family and friends.

On occasion she would startle with moments from her past. She and her siblings, Alexander, Ada, Marion, Effie, John, and her little sister Nellie lived with their parents in 3 Drummond Place – a house of some fifteen rooms, the top floor of which was the domain of the nursemaids and the children. From the highest landing they would watch guests arriving on the drawing room floor, and later were allowed to meet chosen guests at Ada's soirées, which amounted to Edinburgh salons. Her father died of a sudden heart attack at the age of sixty-three, leaving Ada with seven children aged between eighteen and one. Freda remembered going to the High Street where the luckenbooths were still selling Georgian glass for pennies. There the nursemaid would dole out an allowance with which she would buy a piece of glass for her beloved mother. They all played in Drummond Place Garden and, when a decree went out that no girls were allowed to climb trees, Freda organised the girls into squads to make sure that no tree remained unclimbed. Some years later Lord Rutherford walked with her in the Garden and explained to her the splitting of the atom and its potential power. When she asked him if it could be used as a weapon, he replied that no-one could possibly be so stupid.

I asked her once if at Somerville College she'd known Vera Brittain whose *Testament of Youth* had much impressed me when, probably too young, I'd read it. Freda thought for a minute and said. 'That woman used her intellect as a stiletto for her passions,' And that was all.

She travelled light but in her flat, high above Drummond Place, were many books and objects of curious provenance. She is remembered with affection by her neighbour who moved in above her in the early sixties and by the friends I still have from that time. But her busy effective life – save for her travel writing – seems to have disappeared from the record. I think of her trying to study for final exams while mourning her brother, travelling in dangerous waters to Corsica, penning her winning essay on peace in her lodgings at Great Ormond

Street, biting her lip (mostly in vain) in what was still very much a man's world. She insisted that it was important to teach people to think. And then one must fight to control the urge to tell them what to think. She knew her own mind and she had a tongue on her.

And now on a personal note – I'd come to Edinburgh in 1966 and spent weeks trying to join the Labour Party. The one phone in Ruskin House, Windsor Street, North Edinburgh's HQ, rang out. Then one day the young Chris Harvie, future Professor at Tübingen and MSP, called at the door of my cold water, shared-toilet flat under the eaves in staunchly not-Labour Well Court and was moved almost to tears by a friendly welcome. He told me of the next meeting of the local Labour Party. We turned up at the dingy under-heated HQ and were ushered into a small room. There we found Georgie Rogan, local organiser, Martin, now Lord, O'Neill, a very young Robin Cook, Freda White and Frances Gordon. Working with Robin Cook, a friend till he died, opened many doors for me. Frances, at her home at 10 London Street, gave me her friendship and that of many interesting people, notably Ritchie Calder, John MacMurray, Giles and Eleanor Robertson and Hana and Bertie Hornung. Freda White lived a life I admired, the like of which, until I met her, I hardly knew existed. She opened my mind to possibilities. At North Edinburgh's raucous Burns Supper, she silenced the room with a rendition of *Bonnie Leslie*.

In early 1971 she came for tea and ate a little ginger bun. And then she didn't eat anything anymore. Eventually she moved into a little nursing home of a kind common at the time, on the Southside. We went to see her en route to a party. It was mid-May and a fine sunny evening. She was reading Walter Scott but had herself lifted, settled, brushed off and propped up and turned to us 'Right my dears. About the Common Market' As we left the sister said that she refused to eat and seemed calm and resolved.

She died of cancer of the stomach on the 24th May. The funeral, a few days later, was quickly over and we repaired in sombre mood to our flat where George Hammersley, balding, bespectacled, stooped and heavily German-accented fell through the doorway, whooping with laughter till he had to be calmed with water. He'd turned up at the crematorium and slipped in at the back of a funeral. Taken aback by the religious tone he realised he was at the wrong funeral. He left at the end, commiserating gutturally with the deceased's lined-up relatives who seemed equally bewildered at his presence and outraged by his very bright red tie, worn in Freda's honour.

The accompanying photograph, kindly given to me by Freda's niece when I wrote a short piece on Freda for the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, sits above my desk.

Feedback

We have had feedback from readers about all three of the articles in our last edition

Arthur Woodburn: First World War Conscientious Objector

Ken Duffy, who wrote the article, would like to correct a slip in his wording. The third paragraph began: 'He went to Bruntsfield Primary before transferring to Boroughmuir Higher Grade in the building now occupied by James Gillespie's. That should have been 'later occupied'.

Society member Alice Lauder wrote: 'With regard to the article about Arthur Woodburn, we also had a conscientious objector in John Knox Robb.

Robb lived most of his life (1879–1968) at 16 Barony Street. Back in 2004 Alice was busy researching him, and by the time we were putting together our 2006 Exhibition she had enough text and graphics to fill three A1 sheets of card, plus memorabilia gathered from lenders. Robb's talents included painting portraits, creating composite pictures of theatre fronts and railway stations and publishing them



as postcards, and – according to business cards found in his notebook – inventing a 'patent lock (burglar proof)', and a 'new patent pocket (pickpocket proof)'.

Shortly after the exhibition, a Barony Street resident who had been a neighbour of Robb told Alice that he was a conscientious objector. It was 'a well known fact locally'.

Alice continued: 'I did a wee bit of research and discovered that in about 1922/3 the Government ordered the destroying of all records for conscientious objectors BUT asked that Midlothian and another area in the south of England be saved as examples. I went into Register House and ended up in the Old St. George's church in Charlotte Square, where I was faced with large boxes of papers. I searched as long as I could but did not find Mr. Robb's papers. I wondered if he had been imprisoned during the war, and what his relationship was with his half brother who was an officer in that war. I could not find any records for this brother and thought he may have been killed. I always meant to go back to this story, but....

Photo of John Knox Robb taken in the 1960s outside the ruined Theatre Royal (burnt out in 1946)

May Crawford

Editor: In our tribute to May Crawford we included a photo of her in a group of volunteers staffing the Society's 2006 Exhibition, noting in the caption that her two 3-hour slots were duly recorded on the Rota. Since then, while delving deeper into the relevant file looking for something else I've discovered she was more involved than that. For



several months before the exhibition she was a member of the Working Group planning it, and of a small sub-group dealing with 'core content'.

When delivering Newsletter 34 to **Alistair Crawford** in January I enclosed a letter saying I hoped there weren't any mistakes, but if there

were, please let me know. And anything he'd like to add would also be very welcome. Both I and May Angus, who contributed much of the content of the article, received very positive phone-calls from Alistair the next day: no mistakes, but something he'd like to add. In the Society's early years his wife and her friend Betty Ross regularly looked after teas and coffees at meetings; but he thinks that when Betty died suddenly in June 2003 May stopped doing this.

During the phone-call Alistair told me his two main activities are spending time with his family and doing jigsaws, which he used to do with May – he was currently working on a big one. In his call to May Angus he told her he was also making a model of a galleon. May used to thread a needle for him, to help him place very small pieces onto models.

Alice Lauder: 'May did continue to help with the catering for the Christmas Parties and was kind enough to let us use her kitchen to make sandwiches etc.'

Jean and Archie Bell

In our tribute to the Bells we had Jean and Archie first meeting whilst both working for Butterworth's (spectacles/lens manufacturer) in Meadowbank. The family has since clarified this: they met when both worked for the firm in Thistle Street, but when it moved to Meadowbank Archie stayed with it, but Jean worked elsewhere.

In the article we included extracts from Jean's account of a week's holiday with Archie and their sons ('around 1971') in an old tramcar that had been converted for the purpose, parked in a field near Hume, Kelso. Over a decade later, Jean spotted an article in the *Evening News* about an old tramcar found in a field in the Borders and now being restored to its former glory by a group of enthusiasts in Annandale Street bus garage. Could it be 'OUR' tramcar? A phone-call to Lothian Regional Transport confirmed that it was indeed Tramcar 226.

Society member **Irene Love** was very involved in the early stages of work at Annandale Street, as a member of The 226 Group, and in response to our article gave us information about the history of the tramcar and its restoration. It was originally built by Dick, Kerr and Company in 1903 as an open-top cablecar, for the Edinburgh and District Tramways Company – who added a roof in 1907. It was rebuilt



by Edinburgh Corporation Tramways in 1923 as an electric car – as shown above (Copyright 2001. The 226 Group). No 226 continued in service until 1938, when it was sold as a holiday home.

The Scotsman reported in 1987: 'It has been bought by LRT with financial help from the Local Museum Purchase Fund, administered by the National Museum of Scotland. It is hoped that conservation and restoration will be carried out by staff of the Royal Museum and Lothian Regional Transport. Despite its great age, the tramcar's body is said to be in remarkably good condition.'

Twenty-eight years later this conservation project continues – but at a different site. We plan to continue the story in our next edition.

Arthur Woodburn: Towards Socialism

Newsletter reader and local resident Ken Duffy introduced his remarkable great-uncle in our last edition. Here he continues the story.



Arthur Woodburn in 1948

Arthur Woodburn (1890-1978) was released from Calton Jail in March 1919 after serving two-and-a-half years, imprisonment as a conscientious objector to the First World War. He made a dramatic return to the site of the jail in 1947, now demolished and rebuilt as St Andrews House, as Secretary of State for Scotland during the Attlee Government. Although busy with affairs of state,

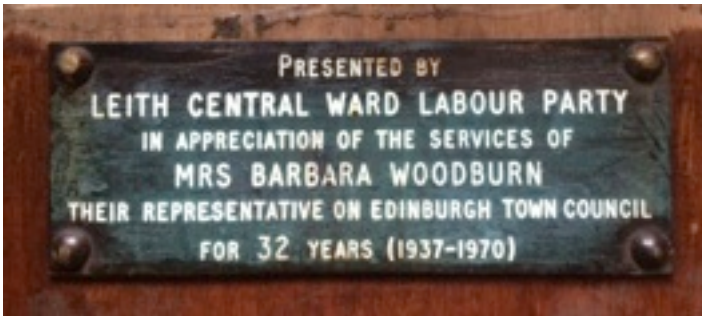
Woodburn found time to salvage paving slabs still remaining on site from the jail – to build a garden path at his Edinburgh home in Orchard Road. (This had been his and

Barbara's home since at least 1932 and continued to be so into the 1970s.)

Woodburn had joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in 1915, the year before conscription was introduced. The ILP was the evangelical wing of the labour movement, and the driving force behind its ideas. Like many in the ILP, Woodburn was attracted to the philosophy of 'ethical socialism'. Long before radio and television, the ILP held dances and concerts to celebrate and spread the socialist faith. He first met his future wife Barbara Halliday at a rehearsal for one of these events. Both were in demand as performers: she was a pianist and a fine contralto; he was a bit of an actor and had a powerful baritone voice. They became constant companions, conducting their courtship at socials and at political meetings held to debate the war. Woodburn also became firm friends with her brothers and father, Francis Halliday, who were all members of the ILP. This is when he first met the charismatic ILP orator John Maxton, who often stayed with the Hallidays when visiting Edinburgh.

After being released from jail he returned to work in Miller's Foundry and married Barbara Halliday in July 1919. There were no children from their marriage. She was a teacher who became one of the first women members of Edinburgh town council, representing Leith Central Ward for the Labour Party from 1937 to 1970. Barbara Woodburn became the second longest serving member of the council, playing a prominent role as Labour's

After the war the Woodburns became associated with the Labour College Movement. He lectured voluntarily on History and Economics, independently at first and then at the Edinburgh branch of the Scottish Labour College, until he entered parliament in 1939. Classes aimed to give workers an alternative to orthodox education in a new type of university where the workers' point of view could be examined objectively, accurately and fearlessly. Trade unions taking part paid a small fee for each member of their union. In theory, this entitled every member to free access to either classes or correspondence courses. He became



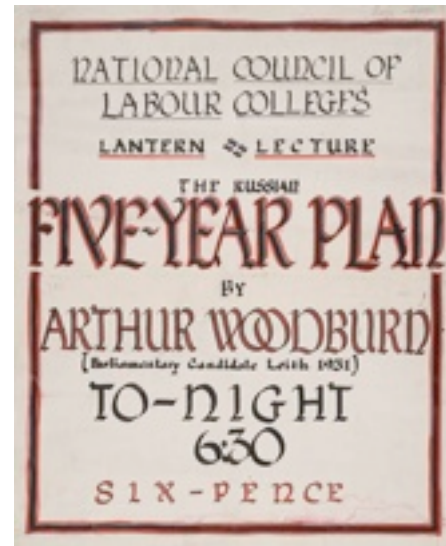
This plaque was recently rescued from a damaged bench in Taylor Gardens, Great Junction Street by Margot Duffy

educational adviser. She sat on the right side of the old council chamber but only because she was deaf in her left ear.

The Labour Party in Scotland at that time was largely a federated body dominated by the ILP – in the 1929 general election 68 of the 69 Labour Party candidates in Scotland were members of the ILP. Woodburn became a member of the South Edinburgh branch of the Labour Party in 1925. He unsuccessfully contested South Edinburgh in 1929, and Leith in 1931, before being elected MP for Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire at a by-election held in 1939. He held the seat for Labour until he retired in 1970. Maxton opened a sale of work to raise funds for his election deposit in 1929. But Woodburn had already lost confidence in him the previous year. Although he thought him to be the best orator in parliament, Woodburn felt that Maxton preferred the role of prophet to that of practical statesman.

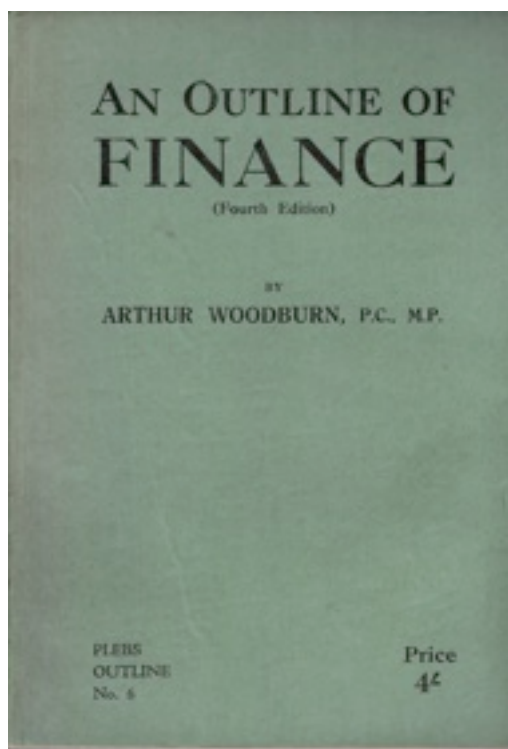
Although he had studied Economics before the war at evening classes, Woodburn first read *Das Kapital* by Marx in Calton Jail to help pass the time – only after the volumes were inspected by the Chaplain and found to contain nothing about socialism! Woodburn found to his surprise that Marx's writings completely refuted many of the dogmas and policies of the 'Marxists' he had argued with over the ILP's opposition to the war. Woodburn would later elaborate his own view on the interdependence of socialism and capitalism:

'Economically socialism is the child of capitalism... it is the logical outcome of the economic tendencies of capitalism...'



Secretary of all the Scottish Labour Colleges, and later served as President of the National Council of Labour Colleges from 1937 to 1965. In his later life Woodburn assisted progress towards the establishment of the Open University in 1969, Harold Wilson's big idea in the 'White Heat of Technology' era to create the world's first successful distance-teaching university.

Woodburn wrote widely to construct his lectures and to widen his audience. *An Outline of Finance*, written in 1928–29 (1931 Plebs Publications), ran to four editions and aimed to throw light on the mysteries of finance for the average reader. It was conceived and 'tested' from a series of lectures before packed audiences of up to 100 in Abercromby Place that attempted to answer how socialism could be implemented in practice. He was shocked to learn that little or nothing of practical value had been written on the economic transition to socialism that many thought was inevitable. The Tory Party was dismissed in the book as being little more than an executive committee of capitalism. Several editions of *An Outline of Finance* remained practically unchanged for about 15 years, but the final fourth edition was rewritten to reflect entirely new systems of national finance and economic planning.



Woodburn elected to give evidence before the Macmillan Committee formed after the stock market crash in 1929. His advice included the use of credit as a regulator to obtain a 'peaceful and uneventful evolution from capitalism into socialism'. Woodburn claimed that the substance of the theory he advanced to the Macmillan Committee was that of a well-known treatise published later by John Maynard Keynes.

The ILP finally decided to leave the Labour Party in 1932. This momentous decision followed years of tension and mounting frustration over Labour's commitments to reformism and gradualism when in government. The final straw for the ILP was the catastrophic general election defeat in 1931 when Labour could only return 52 MPs to parliament. When he was controversially appointed Secretary of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party in 1932, Woodburn faced formidable difficulties: he had the almost impossible task of rebuilding the Labour Party in Scotland from scratch after the 'double whammy' of the devastating general election defeat in 1931, and the disaffiliation of the ILP in 1932. Disaffiliation removed four of the seven remaining Scottish seats held by Labour, along with most of its membership and property.

Woodburn took the fight to members of the ILP and others opposed to the Labour federation at meetings around Scotland, and in weekly articles in the *Forward* newspaper – giving a clear message that the labour movement could only succeed in Scotland if and when it was united. Before leaving for parliament in 1939, he could take some comfort that Labour was again firmly established in Scotland: the ILP had ceased to exist as a coherent political force, the Scottish Socialist Party had

merged with Labour, and persistent attempts by communist supporters to infiltrate the Labour Party had been resisted.

Woodburn served as Secretary of State for Scotland from 1947 to 1950 with a seat in cabinet at a defining moment in Labour's history. Attlee's landslide victory in 1945 gave Labour its first majority government and a democratic mandate for social reform. He had no desire just to be a 'Scottish St George fighting the English dragon', believing that Scotland did not need to beg for favours so long as she had rights. His urgent task was to embed nationalisation, health and other welfare state legislation into Scottish administrative systems. The most important reform for many was the founding of the National Health Service on 5th July 1948, promising care for everyone in Britain from 'cradle to grave' regardless of income. The 'nation' referred to in 'National Health Service' and 'nationalisation' was understood by everyone to be Great Britain. Woodburn partially tackled the chronic housing shortage in Scotland by organising the production of temporary prefabricated houses (prefabs) at decommissioned aircraft factories.

The Labour Party's historic but increasingly awkward commitment to home rule was finally abandoned in 1945 when 'centralisation' was embraced by the Attlee Government. Woodburn's devolutionary preference brought in wider powers for the Scottish Grand Committee in 1948. John McCormick, however, had other ideas: his 'Scottish



Winnie Ewing, in November 1967, leaving Scotland to take up her seat at Westminster.

Covenant' movement, a petition to create home rule by a Scottish parliament, claimed over two million signatures between 1949 and 1950. Woodburn dismissed the petition, and it made little political impact at the time with the other Westminster parties or the elected Scottish members. The issue resurfaced when Winnie Ewing's shock by-election victory in 1967 took Hamilton from Labour for the Scottish National Party. Woodburn

viewed the rise of the SNP, and their hostile view towards Europe at that time, as irritating obstacles to British entry into Europe. He preferred to allay fears of joining Europe by pointing out that 'Scotland had been in a common market with England for 250 years'.

Fluent in French, German and Spanish, Woodburn's passionate support for British entry into the Common Market was advanced in tandem

with his quixotic advocacy of a common European language. His Private Member's Bill in 1962 proposed a British Academy of Language, tasked to co-ordinate with national language academies in Western Europe to foster and compile a new common European language. The academies would also work together in his plan to compile 'Basic European', a 'nucleus of essential words and speech for easy assimilation'. Woodburn took the pragmatic view that a new language compiled with the authority of an inter-national partnership behind it would probably stand more chance of success than the existing artificially constructed languages like Esperanto or Interlingua:

'Friendship and human relations require careful cultivation and for us all in Europe to be able to speak to one another in a common tongue would be one of the greatest steps forward we could take towards the brotherhood of man.'

Undeterred by the failure of his bill to obtain a second reading, Woodburn consoled his supporters: '... the impetus given to the idea will not be lost and this is the time for all organizations in every country to push the idea'. Ever the gradualist, Woodburn hoped a common means of inter-communication between nations in the Common Market could lead to a united Europe, and forward later to a united world government.

Despite the doubters in the ILP who were sceptical that Labour would ever achieve socialism through the ballot box, Woodburn and other pioneering ethical socialists in the broad church of the Labour Party felt their strategies and policies were vindicated by the reforms brought in by Labour's first majority government. Looking back on his own life and the rapid evolution of the Labour Party, Woodburn believed that in the short space of fifty years Labour had by 1948 carried through the greatest ever peaceful social revolution:

'I was born in 1890 about the time the Labour Party was first formed in Scotland and I have been privileged to see it rise to power and play some little part in its achievements. At the beginning it was a protest against social injustice, poverty and unnecessary illness, and denial to most people of opportunity to live full lives. It became the spearhead of a universal movement to create a world nearer to the heart's desire. At one moment about 1948, it became possible to say of Great Britain that, for the first time in any country, there was no need for any child to go hungry or be denied the opportunity to develop to the full all the gifts with which nature had endowed it. The ideals of its pioneers that society could and should be planned to provide prosperity for all had been accepted as national policy and the development of technology made this possible, depending only on the will of man to agree on the principles and means to achieve the end in practice.'

Arthur often remarked that he felt luck or fate was on his side. My eldest brother remembers Arthur being in the right place at the right time when he

suffered a heart attack around 1963 during a medical consultation in hospital. But Arthur died in 1978 at the age of 88, not long after his car was involved in an accident at the junction of the Mound and the Lawnmarket – when he was on his way to visit his wife Barbara in the Royal Infirmary. My mother Nettie and I visited Arthur in an adjacent ward. Although he was cheerfully sitting up his face was badly bruised and I had a gut feeling his time was up.

Barbara survived him by a year. Writing in the '30s, she described Arthur as a 'stickler for hard facts and no baloney'. Tam Dalyell MP paid tribute to his close friend by saying: 'Until the last fortnight of his life, Arthur Woodburn maintained a lively interest in the future of mankind and worked constantly for the Common Market institutions in which he believed'. Two weeks after his death a letter from Cyril Clemens arrived at Orchard Road electing him, for his 'outstanding contribution to modern education and world peace', as a Knight of Mark Twain – an accolade shared with Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee and John F. Kennedy.



Barbara Woodburn

My wife Margot and I have happier memories of Arthur and Barbara at a convivial lunch in the early seventies held at Orchard Road, when we dined with my mother Nettie on a cold mutton pie ('the Co-op do a good pie', said Barbara), garnished with lettuce and a slice of tomato. The legendary path seemed a pretty modest affair in my recollection. Arthur gave me my copy of *An Outline of Finance*, and we talked about Europe, devolution, portraiture, rail and road nationalisation and other issues of the day.

Sources and further reading:

National Library of Scotland, Drafts for 'Some Recollections' and other autobiographical papers (NLS inventory Acc. 7656 Papers of Arthur Woodburn)

Andrew D Devenney, One Britain, One Europe, One World: The Socialist Internationalism of Arthur Woodburn. Originally a conference paper presented in 2007, posted on online Research Hub in 2010.

Christopher Harvie, Woodburn, Arthur (1890–1978), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.

