

The Song Remains the Same

CYRIL HOLM*

1. Introduction

In the spring of 2020, in an eerily quiet Oxford, a weekly highlight was lunch with Anders Sandberg in his north Oxford garden. We would throw around ideas and just have a good time, not something all that easy to come by mid-lockdown. Many research stays later at Trajan House on Mill Street, and some of those ideas have turned into a book on the perils and promises of AI and law.¹ I will not dwell on my continued connections to Oxford (or to the Linnean Society and Burlington House) in this short piece. Instead, I shall focus on the kind of events and persons you would neither encounter nor experience in any place other than Oxford, starting with a very dear friend, Professor Matthew Dyson. Matthew's forensic legal mind, his ability to lead and command intellectual collaborations, and his sheer intelligence are indeed one of a kind. But before embarrassing Matt any further, let's turn to how it all began – in Cambridge!

For me, it all started in 2015 when I was invited to contribute to a book project captained by Matthew. At the time, he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at one stage, all contributors were invited from all over the world to a two-day workshop in Cambridge. At Trinity, we were served all the wonders of that College: Newton's walking stick, his copy of the *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, the original edition of *Winnie the Pooh*, as well as the original notes for the works of Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

The ensuing volume,² masterfully edited by Matthew, contains a piece that contributes to the thinking of risk in Swedish law; however, it also does

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¹ *Law Liberty Leviathan: Individual Autonomy in an Age of Artificial Intelligence and Existential Risk* (Stockholm University Press, forthcoming 2025).

² Ed. Matthew Dyson, *Regulating Risk in Private Law* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2018).

two things that stand somewhat apart from that venture (none of these things would have been possible without Matthew guiding me). The first is to explain how Scandinavian legal realism influenced the politics of implementing the welfare state, particularly concerning property rights. In the “Cossack election” of 1928, the Conservatives accused the Social Democrats of a Soviet-style attitude to property rights. The pickle for the Social Democratic Party was navigating the very passive role of politics in classic scientific Marxism (which was still in the party program at the onset of the Depression) and the critique of the very active role of government as the owner of the means of production in Soviet-style Communism. Östen Undén – Professor of Civil Law, Uppsala (1916); Vice Chancellor Uppsala University (1929–32); Secretary of State for Justice; Foreign Secretary, etc.³ – devised a politically successful solution to this pickle. Undén took from Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld the idea that you could view rights as bundles of sub-divided rights.⁴ On this view, these separate sub-divided rights could be used as instruments to implement Nils Karleby’s 1926 vision for social democracy:⁵ Appreciating the capitalist order’s supreme productive capacity, but using the sub-divided legal rights as instruments to pluck away proceeds and *dominium* – whether through taxes or “workers’ rights” – thereby infringing on the capitalist order. In practical policy terms, the forte of this idea is that it made possible the implementation of a new social order through primary legislation, a tool that government controls.⁶ This idea emanates from the Scandinavian legal realist Östen Undén but has never been admitted entirely

³ Undén is the longest serving member of cabinet in modern Swedish history: 1917–1920, 1924–1926, 1932–1936, 1945–1962.

⁴ Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld, “Some Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Judicial Reasoning,” *The Yale Law Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Nov., 1913), pp. 16–59; and *Ibid.*, “Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Judicial Reasoning,” *The Yale Law Journal*, vol. 26, no. 8 (Jun., 1917), pp. 710–770.

⁵ Nils Karleby, *Socialismen inför verkligheten* [*Socialism confronting Reality*] (Stockholm: Tiden, 1926).

⁶ The Swedish legislative process still bears the hallmarks of this thinking, see Johan Daneilius and Cyril Holm, “Legislation in Sweden,” in ed. Ulrich Karpen and Helen Xanthaki, *Legislation in Europe: A Country by Country Guide* (Oxford: Hart, 2020). We may note that apart from the issue whether a case-based legal system produces “better law” because it is more rapidly malleable to an ever-changing reality than a system based on statutory law, there is the issue of the separation of powers where the common law is independent of politics, and statutory law is a product of politics. Much to the detriment of the independence of legal thought and a separation of powers, the interpretation of law seeks answers in the political process, typically in the preparatory works of a statute.

into the historical narrative of how the Swedish welfare state came about. Such narratives mainly concentrate on the Stockholm School of Economics, Gunnar Myrdal, Bertil Ohlin and that school's relation to John Maynard Keynes. On Undén's reworking of Hohfeld's work on rights as instruments to implement Karlbey's ideas, the Social Democratic Party was served a boilerplate for how to triangulate a way out of the pickle described above and emerge as a "private-property-loving party".⁷ The power relation between law and politics inherent in Undén's work came to a head in the 1970s with Carl Lidbom and the view of law as the blunt instrument of politics. With the EU membership came a sea change in this view, still working its way through our legal and political culture.

The second contribution was to show that Östen Undén's work on 'rights' as "technical tools of presentation"⁸ – devoid of content,⁹ until determined by politics, but serving the function of connective concepts,¹⁰ connecting legal facts with legal consequences¹¹ – from 1927¹² and 1928¹³ is used, sometimes *verbatim*, by Alf Ross in his internationally famous account of 'rights' in *On Law and Justice*, 1958.¹⁴ The common denominators being the Uppsala University Law Department, the Uppsala University Philosophy

⁷ The modern analogy is the electoral success of "The New Workers Party", the famous rebranding of the Swedish Conservative Party in the early 2000s.

⁸ Östen Undén, "Några synpunkter på begreppsbildning inom juridiken" ["Some Aspects on the Formations of Legal Concepts"] in, *Festskrift tillägnad Axel Hägerström* [*Festschrift dedicated to Axel Hägerström*] (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wicksells Boktryckeri, 1928), p. 167.

⁹ Ibid. p. 173.

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 170–171.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 172; and p. 176.

¹² Östen Undén, *Juridik och politik* [*Law and Politics*] (Stockholm: Tidens förlag, 1927), pp. 9–33.

¹³ Undén, "Några synpunkter på begreppsbildning inom juridiken" ["Some Aspects on the Formations of Legal Concepts"] in, *Festskrift tillägnad Axel Hägerström* [*Festschrift dedicated to Axel Hägerström*], pp. 167–177.

¹⁴ Alf Ross, *On Law and Justice* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1958), pp. 170–188. See also, Torben Spaak, "Alf Ross on the Concept of a Legal Right," vol. 27 (2014) *Ratio Juris*, p. 461. It is interesting to note that Anders Wedberg's analysis of rights, in "Some Problems in the Logical Analysis of Legal Science," vol. 17 (1951) *Theoria*, chronologically sits after Undén but before Ross. Wedberg is no doubt the greater philosopher of the three, and his analysis seems to be all over Ross's. See Torben Spaak, *A Critical Appraisal of Karl Olivecrona's Legal Philosophy*, vol. 108, The Law and Philosophy Library (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), pp. 273–274, for further on Wedberg's analysis and Scandinavian legal realism.

Department, Alf Ross's PhD supervisor Axel Hägerström,¹⁵ Östen Undén and Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld.

During the workshop at Trinity, I also met David Ibbetson, one of the great historians of the English common law and author of *A Historical Introduction to the Law of Obligations*.¹⁶ At the dinner in the Old Kitchen, I came to sit next to him, and we discussed books on the intellectual history of law. He told me that he had used Stig Strömholm's *A Short History of Legal Thinking in the West* all through the 1980s as the textbook for historical jurisprudence in Cambridge before it was replaced by J. M. Kelly's, remarkable *A Short History of Western Legal Theory*.¹⁷ The next day, I met with Professor Anton Fagan from the home institution of the great legal scholar Reinhard Zimmermann, fabled author of the tome *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition*,¹⁸ the Department of Law at Cape Town University. I later visited Professor Fagan, and we had an afternoon of stimu-

¹⁵ See, Axel Hägerström, *On the Truth of Moral Propositions* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), and C. D. Broad's translation of Hägerström's work: Axel Hägerström, *Inquiries into the Nature of Law and Morals*, ed. Karl Olivecrona, trans. C. D. Broad (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953). In a "Translator's Preface" – dated Trinity College, Cambridge, January 4, 1952 – Broad says that, "It was the summer of 1947, during the second of my now annual long visits to Sweden, that Professor Olivecrona asked me whether I would care to try my hand at translating into English a selection, to be chosen by him, of Hägerström's writings on the philosophy of law", and Broad continues, "from what I had read of Hägerström's work, and still more from what I had seen and heard of the influence he exercised in Sweden, it was plain to me that he must have been a thinker of immense erudition and remarkable originality, whose writings most certainly ought to be made available to English and American scholars". Broad famously characterised Hägerström's writing as "sawdust thickened with glue", see C. D. Broad, "Hägerström's Account of Sense and Duty and Certain Allied Experiences," vol. 26 (1951) *Philosophy – The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy*, p. 99. In the "Editor's Preface" to the translation, Olivecrona complimented Broad, saying that, "The result is a translation that actually reads more easily than the original text". This footnote is taken from, Cyriel Holm, "Bearing and Sharing Risk in the Swedish Welfare State," in ed. Matthew Dyson, *Regulating Risk Through Private Law* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2018).

¹⁶ David Ibbetson, *A Historical Introduction to the Law of Obligations* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 1999).

¹⁷ The fact that Kelly was Irish left Ibbetson hesitant as to its value, some things never change... Not that it matters, but Ireland has moved from roughly 50% of English GDP per person at the time of independence to currently north of 200% of English GDP per person. Apart from the particularities of English rule in Ireland from Norman times to the potato famine, including a population decline from 8,4 million of the 1840s to the 5,3 million of today, these issues are indeed something for Scotland to contemplate...

¹⁸ Reinhard Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). First published by Jota & Co, Ltd, South Africa, 1990.

lating conversation in the lovely tea rooms of the Law Department, overlooking Cape Town from the campus on the foothills of Table Mountain. There, he shared with me a story from when he was research assistant to the great man as he was writing *The Law of Obligations*. One peculiarity of that book is that all the original citations are still in Latin. One day, the young Anton ventured to ask the great Professor why he kept the original Latin without translations. Zimmerman answered, “But of course, all my readers will already know Latin, so there is no purpose in translating them!”. But of course, indeed. Later, I learned (and obtained) a translation of all the quotes in circulation on the “black market” in Oxford.

2. Coming to Oxford

I suspect that Laura Carlsson and Mark Klamberg may have conspired in my successful fellowship application, especially after being turned down the previous year. Mark, ever so innocently, took me out to lunch and casually suggested that I apply, all while conveniently being home from Oxford at the time...

Mark arranged for us to continue in the house his family had stayed in during their year. Thus, in August 2019, we moved into the “muggle house” on 35 Hart Street, just behind the Oxford University Press on Walton Street. Being extraordinarily kind and considerate, Mark’s family further arranged for us to keep furniture and other essentials they had acquired during their time in the house. I thought it such a happy coincidence that the street is named after one of Oxford’s great, Herbert Hart, the legal philosopher. Later, I learned that it is in fact named after a printer (aptly for being right beyond OUP). I still loved the quiet street and the fascinating closed-off blocks that make up Jericho. Tucked between the grounds of Worcester College, the Oxford Canal, the Thames, Walton Street, and the quiet resting place of St. Sepulchre’s Cemetery, it is not a prominent place, but it is the perfect place for evening strolls or the midday crossing of the canal on your way to Port Meadow and bucolic scenery on almost any day of the year. And just beyond, the promises of Inns like the Perch and the Trout, merely a stone’s throw away... And if you cannot be bothered to cross the canal, there is always The Bookbinder, the perfect blend of British pub and French cuisine.

On Walton Street, the family stumbled upon a barbershop with an orange wooden Dala horse in the window, an unexpected sight that pulled us inside. That is how I met James Salter, only to later uncover an incred-

ible connection: his mother, Katinka Bratt, is the cousin of my very Swedish godfather, Christian Bratt. James's father, among many things, once oversaw the Queen's tea onboard aircraft. James's *Cowboymod* shop (www.cowboy-mod.com) is an Oxford institution, blending hairdressing and an art studio with a legendary guitar shop, vintage finds, and an impressive collection of rock'n'roll photography – Paul Weller, Oasis (whom James photographed on their '97 world tour), Morrissey, and The Eagles among them. James and other prominent characters of Jericho published the lovely book, aptly named "Jericho, Oxford", with a foreword by Sir Philip Pullman. I last saw him and his brother around the Stockholm Oxford Symposium in September 2024, when I brought him a suitcase of oddities from Stockholm. The serendipitous discovery of James and the friendship that followed continues to be a source of connection to Oxford and Walton Street.

3. IECL, Christ Church, and Corpus Christi

Having just arrived in Oxford, I still vividly remember walking through University Parks on September mornings and the pangs of happiness crossing the cricket field, the grass still wet. I would walk up through Jericho, crossing over the fork in the road by St Giles before entering the park, having passed the physics and civil engineering buildings. On the other side of the park and New College Recreation Ground was the New College Weston Building, and right behind it the Faculty of Law. Now, walking into the St. Cross building, this brutalist piece of architecture in the middle of a medieval Garden of Fand, you would find the most Welsh and pleasant man, managing the porter's office. You would move up the stairs, on occasions you'd be very hot because the stairwell has huge windows, and you enter the IECL, an oasis of tranquillity and academic work amid the hustle and bustle of the Law Faculty. Inside the doors of the Institute, the immutable Jenny Dix awaited in her glass office. She is the most kind-hearted, well-organized, and smooth operator, making the whole place hum along each day. That she has since left the IECL is a great loss for the Institute. Of course, overseeing all of this was the formidable Birke Häcker. I have very fond memories of Friday coffees with the whole Institute gathered. Often guests would come in just to chat. Birke and John Cartwright inevitably led the weekly seminar at the Institute. Someone from the Institute would present to the other residents; at other times, external guests would be invited to present their work. The seminars were always very intellectually stimulating and quite wonderful occasions for

researchers in residence to interact intellectually and for the whole institute to get a chance to grab a bite together, shoot the breeze, and build that wonderful fellow feeling that is such a hallmark of the institute's working.

Apart from the IECL, the Jurisprudence seminar at the Law Faculty, and the Moral Philosophy seminar in the Ryle room at the Faculty of Philosophy, Christ Church was the "backbone" of my Academic Year in Oxford. Lunch, followed by a nap in the comfy chairs of the SCR, became a daily routine. Although I gained more pounds than I care to remember, I never quite managed a Grand Slam: A full English breakfast in Hall (sausages bacon, mushrooms, tomatoes, beans, eggs, toast). Lunch (soup, main course, cheese, dessert). Afternoon tea in the SCR (sandwiches). Dinner at high table (drinks in the SCR, three-course high table meal – and the tiny mint – pudding back in the SCR). One day...

I would sometimes read in the Cathedral on Sundays. We would congregate before mass, and the College Chaplain gave us our marching orders. After service, we would gather in the McKenna room for breakfast. This was a cherished tradition in the family. Many details, persons, and events go unmentioned in this text, but here is a sample: Animated Mahler symphony cycle discussions with Martin Grossel at the SCR Christmas party; the story of David Luke, famous translator of Goethe's *Faust*, careening through Tom Gate from St Aldates on a bicycle drawn by two rabid dogs (strictly no bicycles in Tom Quad); Evenson; Champagne breakfast with Jaqueline and Simon; The ceremony of lining up in the SCR to ascend the medieval-looking stairs to emerge through the "door-in-the-wall" to the "Dumbledore" high table in Hall – gowns, staff, Latin, adding to the mix. Perhaps the ultimate defining characteristics of the Christ Church academic community, from an outsider's perspective, are the inter-mingling of disciplines, the individual excellence, and the wide-ranging cultural and scientific interests – indeed the *Bildung* – of otherwise highly specialised academics.

Matthew organised a great workshop on legal change in January of 2020. A happy band of academics gathered at Corpus Christi College; little did we know that it was right before the pandemic. The band included Birke Häcker, John Bell and David Ibbetson from Cambridge, Lindsay Farmer from Glasgow, Michele Graziadei from Turin, Australian Peter Cain (also of the British Academy), among others. We would spend two brilliant days and a festive conference dinner where Brian Preston, chief judge of Land and Environment Court of New South Wales, gave the after-dinner speech; altogether, it was an unforgettable intellectual feast. The highlight was Pro-

fessor Ibbetson briefly awakening to give comments on a paper just presented, swiftly proceeding to an extemporaneous overview of the medieval law on ‘just price’, before going back to what at least seemed like sleep: Jaw-dropping; let me just say that my comments on Paul Burgess’s, “A Graphic Illustration that the Rule of Law Is Not a Timeless or Universal Concept” fell flat in comparison.

Another memorable event from Corpus Christi – where I was an associated member of the SCR, and this sense ‘double-fobbed’, oscillating between the SCR of Christ Church and Corpus through the Canterbury Gate and Merton Street – was teaching with Professors Elisabeth Fisher and Sid Shapiro. Matthew was away travelling, and I stood in for him as the three of us did the mock competition, “Present your favourite piece of legislation”. Great fun. I also remember the yearly Christmas pancake tradition in Matthew’s rooms at Corpus, and a high table dinner with Supreme Court Justice, The Right Hon. Lord Robert Carnwath of Notting Hill, CVO.

4. OUTC

My daily life revolved around IECL, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, and OUTC,¹⁹ where Real Tennis has been played since 1595. Moving up and down Merton Street between these great Oxford Institutions became a daily routine. I was introduced to Real Tennis by Christ Church Law tutor (and evil server) Ewan Smith.²⁰ It is one of the world’s oldest continuously played sports, and the Byzantine rules, unique court design, and strategic subtleties make real tennis a demanding but ultimately rewarding pursuit; it is a bit like non-fiction Quidditch, if you will. Real tennis has a long history in Oxford. By the time of Henry VIII, real tennis was already well-established in England, and in Oxford references to the game appear in college archives, city records, and private letters. The current building dates from 1798, and the court has remained in near-constant use. The Club maintains the varsity match between Oxford and Cambridge. This year, it is played at Lord’s.

The game itself is played on an asymmetric court featuring various sloping surfaces called penthouses, along with galleries, a net, and a variety of openings known as *dedans*, *grille*, and *winning gallery*. A distinctive element of real tennis is that the layout of the court makes each side play differently.

¹⁹ Oxford University Tennis Club, please enjoy the video on the club’s homepage, <https://www.outc.org.uk/>.

²⁰ Formerly with the Foreign Office, Ewan is an expert on China and is currently at UCL.



Photo 1: The Merton Street court as seen from the hazard end.



Photo 2: The Merton Street court as seen from the service end.

The racquets have asymmetrical heads; the balls are handcrafted, heavier, and less bouncy than a modern tennis ball. The scoring system in real tennis is largely adopted in lawn tennis (15, 30, 40, game), with the potential for deuce and advantage points. The *chase* is a distinctive feature of real tennis, not carried over to lawn tennis. A chase is declared when a ball bounces twice within certain marked areas. These markings, located along the floor, determine the advantage for future rallies. At the change of ends, if a chase was called, the players swap positions, and the chase's spot on the court becomes the reference for where the receiving player must try to hit the ball. The server attempts to win the point by ensuring the opponent cannot achieve a better chase. If a player hits the ball into a winning opening such as the grille or the dedans, that point is won outright. Real tennis also allows for certain unique serving rules. The server has an advantage, as only one player serves throughout a game and retains the serve until a game is finished. The server stands in a marked service box and must aim to bounce the ball off the penthouse roof on the receiver's side before it crosses the service line. Faults are called if the serve fails to meet these requirements, with a second attempt permitted. So much for the legal dogmatics of the sport...

The rise of lawn tennis in the nineteenth century left many real tennis courts abandoned, but the Merton Street court survived, and although real tennis is niche, it is still very much alive in Oxford. Ewan and I have since played many great matches on Merton Street. During lockdown, we were forced outdoors and reverted to lawn tennis several times a week at the Christ Church sports fields, just across Jubilee Bridge from the meadow, next to the Sir Roger Bannister Running Track where on May 6, 1954, Roger Bannister

(Pembroke) became the first man to run a mile in under four minutes.²¹ For the 2026 Stockholm Oxford Symposium, OUTC is on board to organise a half-day with the pros as an introduction to real tennis.²² Ewan has been kind enough to suggest that we play together for Oxford in next year's varsity games. A very clever handicap system allows players of very different proficiency to play each other competitively.

5. From the Ridiculous to the Sublime

For the SCCL, having an exchange with Oxford is a tremendous asset; Swedish academia would be all the poorer without it. André Andersson's vast network, and overall *bon vivant*; Laura Carlson's deep ties to Oxford, and generosity of spirit, and their shared dedication to this exchange have helped create something quite unique.

At a Dinner for donors to Christ Church, to which André had invited us, I found myself seated next to an elderly, somewhat frail gentleman. As the conversation unfolded, I discovered he had met Friedrich Hayek on several occasions. Having spent the better part of a decade immersed in Hayek's work, I hung onto his every word. The dinner progressed under stimulating conversation. This was at the height of the Brexit angst, and I was at my belligerent worst on the topic. It was clear that my new friend was all for it (Brexit), and I asked him about an issue that I found to be something of a conundrum: How come the upper echelons of society, along with the lower ranks, seemed to share in the enthusiasm for leaving Europa? "What is it about the Eton boys and the working class?" I asked. He shot back, right on the money: "Patriotism, being an Eton man myself". With such a *blamage* of an icebreaker, nothing would stand in the way of us having a grand time. And so it was that I came to know a little more about my newfound friend's background.²³

²¹ Bannister had a very distinguished career in Neurology. He married the daughter of Swedish Managing Director of The International Monetary Fund, Moyra Jacobsson. He passed away in 2018; she in 2022; they are buried together in Wolvercote Cemetery. For more on the legend of Bannister's "sub4", see: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/article/2024/may/06/roger-bannister-four-minute-mile-athletics-sebastian-coe>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VICI9LSWec>.

²² In effect, this means arriving the evening before the symposium and playing before the opening lunch.

²³ Jonathan William Patrick Aitken was born on 30 August 1942 in Dublin, into a family whose lineage featured prominently in *Who's Who*. His grandfather was Lord Rugby, a

Born into nobility and royalty, he spent most of his childhood at the family estate in Ireland. At a young age, he contracted TB, staying bedridden for almost a year before he relearned to walk. After a career in journalism (much like Churchill), he moved into politics, where his connections served him well. That he forged a relationship of some intimacy with Margret Thatcher's daughter certainly helped. Sometime before the 1979 election and Thatcher's subsequent victory, she turned to him and said, "Labour seems to have all these philosophical societies, Jonathan, I want you to start one for us". Said and done, he started the Tory philosophical society and was part of the discussions that Thatcher would have with Hayek, Friedman, Oakeshott and the like.²⁴ Of Hayek, he said that he was reserved but steadfast. Of Thatcher, that she was belligerent in the seminar room, and through the discussions with Hayek she forged a friendship that would inform much policy in the years to come. Aitken would later rise to become defence secretary under John Major, but while on a weekend trip to Paris with his mistress – paid for by the Saudis in exchange for defence contracts – he left office and later perjured himself after taking the Guardian to court for libel. I am not exactly sure which parts of this story are true, but overall Aitken's life is a case of reality outpacing fiction at every turn: Bankrupted and in prison, he met the Lord, was ordained in 2018, and serves as prison chaplain in HMP Pentonville. Perhaps a cautionary tale of what reading law at Christ Church can do to you; nevertheless an enjoyable one. Only in Oxford. Back in Stockholm, I would go on to send Jonathan my dissertation on Hayek. In return, I was

respected colonial civil servant. His father was the Tory MP Sir William Traven Aitken, and his mother was Lady Penelope Aitken, MBE, daughter of the first Baron of Rugby. His great-uncle was Max Aitken, known worldwide as Lord Beaverbrook, the Canadian media magnate. Aitken was exceedingly frail as a child. For over a year, between the ages of two and three, he lay confined to bed, encased from head to toe in a plaster cast due to spinal tuberculosis. His mother was absent for so long while nursing his father, injured in a plane crash, that, upon her return, young Aitken failed to recognise her. As a teenager, he was invited to dine at Chequers with Harold Macmillan. Aitken, then studying law at Oxford, spent his summer breaks drafting speeches for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was 19 years old. Aitken is notorious for many reasons that is beside the story told here: In Parliament, he championed the decriminalisation of cannabis, and the return of capital punishment. Diane Abbott, the left-wing Labour MP, chose him as godfather to her child. A "cross-bench" confidence shaped by Eton and Christ Church.

²⁴ I have corresponded with Hayek scholars Bruce Caldwell and Hanjörg Klausinger about this episode for their upcoming companion second volume of *Hayek: A Life, 1899–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

Cyril Holm

sent his biography of Thatcher with the inscription, “*to fellow admirer of MT and a fellow Houseman*”.