

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

Volume 14:
2 April 1931 - October 1932
(95pp)

Reduction Ratio:

8 x

list to be made
available because of
references to "... individuals,
many of them very
derogatory, and some
perhaps libellous." Etc.

E.g. 24/4/31

CP

1931.

April 2nd.

Easton Recaps. With Molly Hamilton

to W.L.

April 4th.

Letts to lunch. Curried
steak & pea. Only fine day
during our stay.

April 7th.

To London with R & Molly.
Valentine in a nursing home.
Interview a horrible little
solicitor, Samble, a caricature
of the character from Dickens, two
doctors & Assistant Matron of
nursing home. She a fine
sympathetic ~~little~~ creature.
Back to W.L. ^{Nothing to report} last night.

April 11th.

To Ldn from U.L. with R.

April 13th.

Mr Dolan goes to B.A., in

1931.

Maude of R. She enjoys the
experience of the women like her.

April 14th.

Hours reassembled after Easter
Recan. On the 16th there is
a Tory vote of course on
unemployment. I think we
are in very grave danger of
defeat. We can't trust L.G.;
we have from vacants Labour
seats through death and a
long list of sick, & the
Mistakes, never the I.C.P.
uncertain.

I put off papers in the
office into a post-Munday
pile.

Meanwhile in France. Italian
dispute is not very near settlement.
The Austro-German custom
union is still troubling the

1931.

whole European scene.

April 15th.

One protest for tomorrow's vote
seem a little better. I tell
Gladwyn that I think the
statistical odds are about 3 to 1
against Govt. He offers to
take them in pounds.

April 16th.

Tom Johnston following Baldwin
makes a good speech. Well
answered, & containing new stuff.
- out from local, new plan of
rural housing, electrification
of railways, sitka spruce on
Shannon, etc. I congratulate
him immediately afterwards & he
& I & Alan McKeeney go out
& eat Welsh rabbits at a
Lyons! He says he has had
an amazing first post-night in

1931.

Office. I want a trail of
 sufficiency from L.G. to Saul
 Men, coming to his room!

L.G. I'm sure support to the
 Govt, I'm sure T.J. & attally in
 Tonia & Simon. So the stream
 is cut your debate

A confidential talk with
 Velle, initiated by him, on
 Cabinet reconstruction. He &
 Snowden are probably going to
 the Lords, in succession to Parmen
 & Parrfield. Snowden will
 never be the same man again
 after his illness. He thinks
 he will have to be away for
 some months next year at the
 Disarmament Conference, & he
 will be 70 soon, & must
 keep his hold on Tpt Home.
 He is relieved of the strain of

1931.

the

R Hand Lomen & a constituency
 would be a great assistance to
 him. ^{Very by sight is very keen he should take a} I think also he ^{is} ^{possible} ^{to}
 know he may lose Bentley
 next time.) What do I feel
 about my own position? I
 suspect I am ~~the~~ the only
 member of the (at Paul's place
 now is not now either member
 or in the Cabinet. I had I
 should now come in. Even
 one of his Cabinet colleagues
 has asked me whether I have
 asked him to push my claim.
 If Graham succeeds Snowden, I
 think I have good claim to
 be Bot T.

He is very friendly, & after
 that the time has come when
 my claim must be seriously
 considered. He thinks no one would

1931.

Question later. But, should the
Cabinet, would I care to
succeed Mr. Lawrence at the
Treasury. That is a job which
is always thought of as having
went down to Labour hands.

I say no, certainly not. Then
he points the advantages of
being staying where I am
with him in the Lords. I
should then have charge of
all the business in the House.

I am not unattracted by this
at first sight, but shy look of
it. I should be a Privy
Councillor. He takes the

point, but says J.M. is
very keen of giving out P.C.'s

~~(The the Council of the House)~~

As successor to me, he couldn't
think of anyone but me, who

1931.

has wonderful knowledge, but not
perhaps yet much judgment.

I agree that there is no one else
in serious running.

...

The vote is amazing. Govt
majority 54! Had I had
stimulus as one in form chance
of defeat. Now we should stay
on till autumn at earliest.

And if only the unemployment figure
will go on falling, everything
will wear quite a different aspect
then.

(Discussing in Cabinet
reconstruction with R, she is not
keen on my staying at the P.O.,
a joint-indifferent about the P.C.
She thinks I should push hard
for the Cabinet. I tell her
I am afraid of the Bol T. with

1931

a coal crisis looming only
two months ahead, & my coal
contributions. (2 - she adds -
with the family a "disgruntled steward
being disloyal behind my back.")
April 18th.

Valentine not expected to live
beyond Monday. But, at R's
with, I go, none the less, to
Windsor as planned, though for
one night only.

make it Windsor increasingly subject
of deceptitude - deceptions & two
recent falls - a female nurse.
The two complain of his selfishness,
& how he is so self-centered.

I am the one piece of youth. I
spend time with him.

But oh! De Senectute -
nil nisi vile, so often! I
must write an essay, in a coal

1931

rental man, for the guidance of my
own declining years!

April 19th.

Back at the Flat in the
afternoon. Valentine died this
morning. She had been unconscious
for some time. A merciful ending
to a hard & tragic story.

At the end all her personality
seems to have changed, & people
were crowding round for money.
One Graham benefit under her will,
& Mrs Campbell Taylor, & as to
residue, if any, George. * Mrs
very helpful to R. One Mother
Travers is a great institution.

* And there was a man named
Fenwick, a vulgar little Jude
merchant, & a woman named
Gunning, apparently his wife.

April 21st.

Start up another talk with

1931.

Uncle, about the future. He is tired & sleepy & inclined to be pessimist. So the talk is not, superficially, a success. But appearances are not all. I tell him that if there are to be two new vacancies in the Cabinet I consider that I ought to have one of them. I recall that I am now the only member of the Parliamentary Executive in the last House who is not either in the Cabinet or resigned. The Mr. P.M.'s conversation with me when he offered me my present job. "Several people thought you ought to be in the Cabinet, but there are 3 or 4 of them very much on a level."

Uncle is obviously disappointed at my not having been more flattered by taking charge of

1931.

present affairs in the House of Commons. He says frankly "well, I don't want to stand in any body's way." I develop my "Chairman of the Board of Trade." He says "I shouldn't begin with any particular job. But only leads to disappointment." He expresses doubts about Phil. I say he has had wonderful training in the office "for nearly two years. He replies "Yes, but Phil is not you." I say that I might be able to help him in the Cabinet. He has sometimes complained that he got little support. He replies "Cabinet, you'll work like that. I have been in for now. ... I don't want to build up a force inside the Cabinet. ... if I can't get my way or am disarmed, I shall go out." So it ends rather

1931.

inconclusively. I might have broken it off earlier, but, in his mood, could hardly have pushed it further.
April 22nd.

Valentine's funeral atfordia
Spec. No. 11 makes all the
arrangements. The Public Trustee
is a most valuable institution,
lifting loads of detail just when
we are weakest.

Mr L 1 for in a car with Nollie
Wana who chatters helpfully
only for Campbell Taylor & his father,
& Helen Blech & her No. 11, Lowell.

... I have been twice here
before, - for Peter & for our
little Helen in 1922.

So now it is finished. . . .
April 24th

Next hear. Not much sun.
But peace & gardening.

1931.

What else has happened in this
heavy week?

The French are still blocking
the way towards Naval Disarmament
Agreement. Another proposal from
them came, but it still leaves
them free to build what they like in
1936, while the rest of us are limited.

Soon we shall reach a point when
it is obviously better to say publicly
that we disagree & drop it, than to
go on pretending.

One Peace Party C.I.-D. on
Disarmament is in marching well-
after the first meeting Austin
but in a stiff, ghostly paper
saying (a) that he could not admit
the German claim to equality, (b)
that he was opposed to the Amendments
of the Covenant to harmonize it with
the Kellogg Pact. One old cardboard

about "no Sanderson in the K.P."

At the second meeting discussion was diffuse. At the third Arthur & L.G. said that they thought the conference ought to be postponed. Now that we are more likely than a month ago to be in office next year, we can better afford to let the Tories run out, if we can keep the liberals. But there is no real drive for disarmament yet, in the country or anywhere else.

Now Gladwyn has had a bad time with his wife, & tells me about it, nearly weeping. Last week end he intended to flee with a woman (I think, Pamela Casalot though he doesn't tell me her name.) or

in any way, she pours out her grief, & he kisses her, & she wants an affair, which he refuses. But she takes it very seriously, & continues to drink the week end. And then, on the point of telling everything, he tells his wife, who goes off the deep end, & tells everyone, & in retaliation writes Vassilant. She maybe going to have another baby, though it is too early to be sure. Gladwyn tells me that his married life up to now has been perfect. But in the night watches he had thoughts of having to go abroad and leave the Service, & get a divorce. It all seems quite incredible. But now, & especially so, it is a very sad thing. But two days, says he, is easier. The woman has been

1931.

to feel his wife & has told her
 lace is nothing in it. And the
 strain was broken by his overhearing
 his wife telling someone on the
 telephone the story of the old lady
 who wanted to be free. W. L.
 was kneeled in a bath chair
 beneath a window with someone
 displayed ~~his~~ his ~~hair~~, not
 a lace cap on it. And he said
 "Now I shall die happy,
 but what a pity the King takes
 so much stuff!" And ~~Mr. B.~~
 laughed so much at his wife
 to be broke.

He is a charming creature, & his
 wife isn't nearly so much
 him. She is, moreover, going
 grey very early, & is very
 short sighted. If she behaves
 like his, his hair won't last
 very many years.

1931.

April 27th.

Swedish Third Budget. A clever get-
 out. It will carry us over a
 rather ~~the~~ hibernation. L. G. as pleased as
 a child over the Land Tax. Frank
 Owen told me a few days ago that
 L. G. had told him that he would
 like "one more big fight before
 I die", and the Land & the Lords
 look likely to furnish it. There
 was no sense in his voice,
 & the very same phrase, fight
 over the Land Tax, or over Admin-
 Land Utilization Bill, "it is a
 measure after my own heart!"

April 28th.

Uncle says he has now succeeded
 in regularising weekly meetings
 between Cabinet leaders & Liberal
 leaders. They are to happen once
 a week, & afford an opportunity

1931.

for discussing any ^{current} business, & the
 Librarians informing their party meeting.
 Uncle has been trying to bring his
 sort of thing about for two years.
 Today there was J.M., Sweden,
 Uncle & Thomas; 2 S. Samuel,
 Sinclair & L. L. L.

April 29th

Walked up Whitehall with Hanky.
 He said of Van that he was "very
 cultured for a Civil Servant."

Phil heard from Reichman, who
 was at Chelsea last weekend, but
 his P.M. asked how was being kept
 of for the Presidency of the Disarmament
 Conference. Reichman said Uncle.
 A long silence. Then J.M. said
 "I saw a lot of people wanted me to
 take it, & I could have if the conference
 had been in London. But if it is to
 be in Geneva, I cannot I couldn't

1931.

spare the time." And Van is a
 ferocious & almost a complete stranger!
 Did he think that this would be
 passed on, or that, if it was, it
 would seem anything but childish
 jealousy!

May 1st

to Mother, Auckland. Arrive 10 pm.
 May 2nd

Spoke at Trimdon Grange & B.A.
 Reception Home.

May 3rd

Motor with Raine to camp
 Hamsterley to Middleton, where I
 lunch with his family & see the
 bed where Uncle used to sleep
 when he was ^{working at} fighting Bannock
 Castle. Then up by car to
 Langdon Beck & after tea to
 Billingham where, with Herricks, I
 address an unusually good meeting
 & catch night mail South.

1931.

May 5th 26th.

Sit on Selection Board for entrants
of F.O. & D.S. Exam. New
Heikleipin in the Chair, Chaudeter,
M. Bullock, Sir Constantine Thomson,
Montgomery & Ronald. Entry of 76,
(unusually large) including about 20
who are obviously quite good. New
entrants from north from the
Universities other than Oxford or Cambridge -
London, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield
& U.C. Loughborough all represented.
Work not very well. Of the 76,
3 or 4 don't appear, 9 are rejected,
1 referred back for ages & 3 or 4
allowed to go in for Consular only.
One or more from London, ^(King) ^{Wham}.
Manchester & Sheffield get through, so
I hope this will encourage those who
someday suffer. I have rather a
fight for some of them.

1931.

May 7th.

Norris to lunch to explain about R's
annuity, which will have to pay some
legacy duty & its share of Estate Duty, &
will, therefore, be not like what about
£880 per year, & be diminished further
at the beginning. But we are
on record as believing in the
principle of death duties!

May 9th.

At West Waze. A lovely 2nd day.
Planting iliacs.

May 11th.

Under leave for Geneva, with Phil,
Selby, Cadosan, etc. He has a
very thick programme before him.
"European Union Commission, - in official
title, - the Council, - Austro-
German Customs Union, arrangements
of Disarmament Conference, the writing
(Germany & the Union) in Poland, prohibition

Naval Disarmament rather with French & Italian, and, one budget deficit only, deficit of accession to League Act. But result is the use of all these paper undertakings, with politician in their present ^{European} condition!

May 12th.

Briand is defeated for the French Presidency. This is an unpleasant surprise, for it will mean, I fear, the end of his influence & the possibility of worse successors. He must have overestimated his support or he would not have stood.

The Evening Standard had a story that Uncle had sent him a wire wishing him success & that he had been stuck up in the Assembly stall. At first, I was full of horror at his apparent distress,

or leakage of a private communication. But later it appears to have been either a lie or an obvious joke.

Lunch with Titulescu at Mr Kitz in a Cabinet particule. He gives an amusing & accurate summary of the British political situation, & claims that he is one of the few members of the Diplomatic Corps who understand our position, because he doesn't consort exclusively with Duchesses.

He also shows me a paper memorandum in Roumanian (which he translates into French for me) written by Argetoianu for the King, advising a Royal Dictatorship & the suspension of Parliament. He has obtained it from a secret source, & will publish it if necessary deemed.

He keeps a sort of Chancery in a suite of rooms upstairs at Mr Kitz. He is going to Geneva on the 14th. He

Went Kavel on the 13th, because he is
 self-indulgent. He doesn't know who
 will be coming from Kuchard, but
 in any case I shall represent
 Roumania. I suggest that perhaps
 he will find Argetoianu there. He
 screams shrilly, as is his habit, &
 says "Then I shall send him
 away. He would not dare to come."
 May 14th in Uncle's absence.

I attended the Peace Party C.F.D.
 on Disarmament. A wretchedly
 inconsequential meeting. They all
 say whatever comes into their heads,
 & no one ^{except H. Samuel} wants to disarm. They
 wonder how good the French are
 for their force & reaction to the German
 evasion of the Peace Treaty and
 Silesia. Tom Shaw says he
 saw the Stahlhelm drilling, &
 thought they were very efficient. He

isn't sure what year. He thinks it was
 in 1926. Another wonder whether
 we oughtn't to let the Germans
 reintroduce conscription. He thinks
 a mistake was made in prohibiting
 it at Versailles. Lottman says
 that the Germans at present have
 no security. They could not defend
 themselves if attacked. One suggestion
 is to give them security. Home
 thinks we ought to have conversations
 with the French, & also perhaps
 with the Germans, before the
 Conference meets. He asks the
 question whether he would have
 been happy to go into the
 London Naval Conference without
 having had conversations with the
 Americans. One P.M. says No.
 A person wanting discussion
 in addition to Uncle, Cecil & I are
 away.

1931.

May 16th.

Hullitt ~~the~~ Consul General at
Nanking, & lunch. Very pleased to
have been so taken so much notice of
during his visit. D.D. then has
written how he appreciated very
much the human touch that has
been introduced by Uncle Anthony here
he was from the K.M.C. (as
was known it was). The news was
officially called by him! That
he is a sound fellow & cultivated
successfully personal relations with
the Chinese.

May 18th.

J.H.T. making a great fuss over
the proposed Agricultural Credit
Institute to help the Eastern
European countries. He said Uncle
will commit us without Cabinet
authority. How can we say

1931

of 20,000 to help Roumanians,
etc without raising a storm in the
House, & upsetting the Dominion, &
rendering the Ottawa Conference
fruitless. Has got the P.M.'s
ear as usual. I attend a
meeting at No 10; Addison, Graham,
Petrich & Walter Smith also present.
Long lecture by P.M. D.D. no one
suffered but was a Cabinet
matter, etc. If we encourage
East European agriculture, what
about dumping into his country?
I suggest that Uncle should be
instructed not to sign ^{market} ~~best~~
Cabinet decision has been got
on his return. One delay might
a little serious, but would be fatal.
D.D. is agreed to.

On a J.H.T. makes another fuss
about a P.O. Memorandum on the

"Ruff Plan", which has been shown to
 the D.O. but not to me. This
 is bad stuff with in the office
 about work I approved with
 a considerable row. One League
 & Western Dept knew nothing about
 it. It had been hurriedly
 dictated by Sargent in the Central
 Dept before going off on leave.
 And it was a bad, & badly planned,
 memorandum anyhow. And shouldn't
 have been shown to the D.O.

J.H.I. has nothing to do at the D.O.
 This always interfering in other
 people's business, & running behind
 men behind the P.M., who
 always believes everything he
 says.

In the House the Tories have
 ordered for the P.O. vote in order
 to raise Soviet propaganda.

This is either done in Vull's absence
 in order to try to make him & the
 P.M. ^{seem to} contradict each other, &
 also because they have ^{unclear} some new
 situation.

The P.M. across Austria, & I would
 hope. They have got nothing new
 & they make a few sort of case.
 One P.M. is pretty good. The
 case is frankly argued for against
 breaking off relations. (I find
 on referring back afterwards to the
 files, that Austria was strongly
 against a break in 1926 & 1927,
 and was Hoegson, then at Moscow, &
 Gregory, who expounded the official
 view of the P.O.) ^{made a letter} speech ^{was made}.

One Tories got a division at
 7.30, & ran on majority down 20.
 35 of the men were absent unpaired.
 Monday is a dis-union for the many,
 including the Scots.

1931.

May 19th.

Uncle has been offered the Presidency of the D.B. Employment Conference. But rings up from Geneva asking me to do what I can for a favorable answer from the women's Cabinet. But it seems to me unprofitable to doubt an acceptance. I ring up Van, who will try to catch the P.M. tonight on his return from Buckingham Palace.

May 20th.

Van tells me that he saw the P.M. late last night, who made all sorts of difficulties. How would the P.O. be run? etc. The Cabinet got a message - Uncle saying that they left the decision to his discretion, since he would be in the best position to resolve all the difficulties, both for the P.O.

of the P.O. organization. Several were strongly against his acceptance. Jealousy, ignorance of the probable conditions of the conference, & a desire that Uncle should always be on top in leadership take on everybody else's burden & get them out of the hole which they dig for themselves. Combined in his decision.

Uncle on receiving his message said it was no good to him, if he wants to accept, he must have a woman message, to make on behalf of H.M.S. for his own conference etc. Selby called by telephone next day from Geneva - Van succeeded, with some difficulty, in getting him from the P.M. & Uncle duly made a public acceptance in suitable terms.

1931.

May 21st.

Arthur Duce only C.I.D. Salmond
 present to reflect questions. Arthur
 had been no defence, except
 counter-attack, against air attack.
 If, e.g., we were at war with France,
 the French would attack London
 & we should go for Paris. Someone
 asked whether our objective in
 such a case would be purely
 military or not. Salmond said
 that on such a point, he would have
 to ask the Cabinet for instructions.
 One P.M. at his stage became very
 friendly & said he thought we
 should not pursue his point
 any further; it would not be
~~concerned~~.

L.G. said the draft Disarmament
 Convention was no good, & the
 Germans were quite right to

P.M. said it
 was ridiculous to talk of 25% reduction
 subject to it. Budgetary Limitation
 was perfectly futile. We must
 limit number of trained men &
 material & the machinery for making
 guns, etc. Cecil urged him
 not to make up his mind without
 going into it all more fully.

Arthur wondered whether the Ten
 Year Armistice was still justifiable
 (no major war in next ten years).
 It was felt, towards the end of
 the meeting, that the Committee
 were getting nowhere. They must
 "set down to definite jurisdiction."
 At present time, when work will
 be back, there are to discuss
 a series of jurisdiction based on
 the Draft Disarmament Convention.
 May 22nd.

Harold Jones / written record.

I go down to West here & have

1931.

a lovely untroubled holiday, with
only two pounds, for a week. Do
a lot of useful things: Chalk-Cutting,
Sodding etc. & have some
after supper walks with R into
our view. Peace & beauty

of the coast - a little sun,
(^{all except breakfast} meals out one day), - & enough
to increase the holiday in
the bank of nearly 1500 guineas!
May 30th.

London & hence in Gladstone's
Frac. W.L. to Swakole's & then
to Oxford where I stay with
Zimmerman & ^{in the} speak to the
Club. Other guests are Masaryk, the
Czech Minister, & Sabani of the
hepatitis - deeply cultured. They
like me & I make an & speech.

May 31st.
Next day see some of them again
at lunch, & back to London.

June 1st.

See Uncle for the first time since his

1931.

return from Geneva, where he has
done very well. The demand for
him to be President of the Disarmament
Conference was quite unanimous. He
was praised by the French & criticized by
the Germans at the beginning of the week
when he insisted that the Proso-
German League Union should get
in P.C.I.J., but these relations were
reversed at the end of the week when
he talked the Germans & rapped the
Poles over the knuckles ~~etc.~~ about
Upper Silesia.

June 2nd.

Hours rearranged. Finance still
going on & on.

June 3rd.

Meet Uncle, with Aunt, Phil &
Cadogan, to concert plans of the
Party Conference. Uncle & Aunt
to have special briefs & fly
with each other's hands.

1951.

This is the King's birthday, but there are no parties, & no reconstruction of the fort. All these things are delayed.

The usual V.O. dinner with all the Cabinet & the Diplomats.
June 4th.

Ellen Wilkinson produces Madame Rudnycka, the Ukrainian Deputy, who is in London seeing sympathisers. I see her alone with Kenneth Skirk, he interpreting through German. I listen to her tale of woe & try to make her see the importance of negotiating with the North fort. I point out that the best will she can have outside of this, & especially the Committee of Three. She promises that she & her friends would do so, though without much hope of results.
This afternoon Uncle gives

1951.

the Wolfe Memorial Lecture in Lincoln's Inn Hall.

In the evening dine, with the Sir the Belgian Embassy ^{and} meet Uncle & Aunt! I sit between Mrs Snowden & Lady Colefax. The former says that "Milib" would be best if he retired, & that "above all" wait he is still a man of 45."

We go on, killing two social birds with one stone, to the Austrian Legation where a musical party is being given - It starts at 11.15. We leave about 12. Music not very good but fine, bored faces, over rich women, (only a few pretty), standstill men, uncomfortable chairs, & that wretched Puffendorf hanging round all the time!
And now do diplomats & Society "live!"

June 5th

To Jaberhead & speak there at by election.
June 6th Evans a poor candidate.

Speak at Daby, - County
D.D. amendment Democratic side.

June 7th

In Winder's car to Shegden Wis.
Lendon habon & my heavy of tooth
Camp. Where I worked at play. A
jolly crowd of about 150, including 2
Germans.

Speak in the evening at Southgate
to local heape of tooth, after
spending several hours with Maurice
Stachett, whose business is now
further from bankruptcy.

June 8th

Dine with R. at German Embassy
to meet Manning & Curtin. ~~for~~
their week end at Chesnas. Sit
between Henshoff & Isabel.

One German Embassy, new hat
~~Stachett~~ ~~Stachett~~ & Dieckhoff are gone, is
reverting to the old-fashioned
aristocratic type. This is a
stupidity on their part.

Manning has imposed every one.
Curtin, on the other hand, has the
mind of a small lawyer or civil
servant.

June 9th

Good talk with H. Samuel at
lunch with Cecil (& Phil) He is
for putting forward the boldest
policy at the D.D. amendment conference,
even if others will disagree.
Dinner shall be given in presence
of Miss & set - Miss King's
discussed everywhere.

June 10th

One Cabinet today a day from
signing the Agricultural Mortgage convention.

1931.

with J.H.T. made such a fuss about when Uncle was away.

It also decided that we should not be represented at the F.C.I.J., when the British-German Customs Union comes on. This is the result I wanted, as did Sargent & the Central Dept at the office. Van, on the other hand, was strongly for participation, - in opposition to the Union, - & he was right. Uncle had put on a paper giving only pros & cons, & no lead. The pros were chiefly Van's & his own ^{van} name. I am afraid ^{van} will be vexed at this defect.

In the evening got Mully & meet young Elwin, whom I hope to persuade her to take to Geneva as her private secretary.

June 11th.

Party meeting on Unemployment

1931.

insurance. Cabinet policy announced by J.H.T. & Uncle. No cuts in benefit, nor increase in contributions, nor change in conditions of transitional benefit. But a bill to deal with some abuses. The Cabinet has avoided the more obvious blunders for the moment.

June 12th.

T.S.W.L. A week end gather
staffy & Thursday. ^{Court chair, & Prof.} ~~of~~ walk.

There has been a crisis on for the last few days over the Zitaad amendment to the Land Tax for scheme, whereby payments under Income Tax Schedule A would be deducted from Land Tax due.

A crisis now about what money is to be collected two years hence!

But there is talk of a General Election next week. J.H.T. has

1931.

been running about Vally everyone
know P.S. is a bloody fool & that
he, (J.H.T.) is the one real
Chancellor of the Exchequer. P.S.
has heard of this, & is more united
than ever.

June 15th.

The "crisis" not yet over. This
morning L.G., with Samuel, Sinclair &
Lollian saw J.M., P.S. & Vnche, (J.H.T.)
^{at 10.30 AM} they agreed on "principle", but not on
"procedure". L.G. jumped up in a
rage & left the room, & the others.
Later in the day the Cabinet.
P.S. very stubborn. Only Willy
Graham gives him any support. Gov
M.P.'s very much won to an election,
with few exceptions. Late last
night Vnche says that it is
decided that either P.S. will give in
himself, or his resignation will be

1931.

accepted. Tonight he left the
Cabinet, saying he "must have been
minutes to work it over" & didn't
come back. Silvester, L.G.'s private
secretary, had waited for two
hours, & had to go away empty.
So the Libs will put down a new
amendment, & work all the Cabinet
but Snowden has agreed.

June 16th.

Cabinet at 10 AM. Snowden gives
in. Ban, Justice (Consultative
Committee), has been active & useful.
He has visited J.M. & P.S. &
Vnche & told them all that the
Party doesn't want his work &
that, & desiring a compromise.
This is only announced at a Party
meeting, around ^{confidentially} speculation.
That Dundee ^{to the} end, & by ruling
the Liberal amendment out of

1931.

order! So it can't come on till
new claims are reached! Now, I
think, are very disappointed at the
success of this "intrigue" in being called it.

June 17th.

I have the honour of being attacked
in a Times leader for putting at
forehead from "Headline News
Record", our leaflet. It is even
suggested that this may have
won the election! Sensible &
disappointed.

Dine with S. F. Percy to meet
his son Fred & G. P. Hughes, once
a student of mine at the school,
now an chief helper at Winkedon.

June 18th.

Went for a dinner at the home
to his leading officials & their
wives. I sat between my
wame & my friend, both ladies

1931.

than their husbands.

The crisis over, we decide on the
same delegation to the League
Assembly in next year.

June 19th.

B.W.L. I leave an atmosphere
of apprehension about the economic
situation here!

June 22nd.

Returning to London find the Hoover
offer was made yesterday, ^{the U.S.} American
more than suddenly, after long
stirred inactivities. So it was with
the entry into the war, & with the
Kellogg Pact. And then they
expect everyone else to follow
unquestioningly. Here they were
replied that ~~the~~ American
private investments would jump in
smoke.

One French also ^{seems} make difficulty
in the best interest war plans.

1931.

June 25th.

Lunch at the Soviet Embassy, alone with Sok, his wife & Casan. Unsettled. Anxiously about debts now at a deadlock. One old tale about credits in return. Sok has never met Goschen, but would be willing to do so, either alone or with Uncle. He says he has full authority from Moscow to settle. But it all leads nowhere. (Wife has been running about at an unofficial investigation talking to Goschen & others this last week. Her tactics are to prevent an admitted breakdown until Parliament has risen, though I have no hope of any "settlement".)

Lobkowitz gives a first class "Oration" at L.S.E. Commemorative Day ceremony. Very few students come, but many interested outside

1931.

aged people at the American & Greek Museum.
June 26th - 27th.

Maximilian at W.L. Nothing in line except an aptitude for his work. Plan renace steps, etc.

July 1st.

Dinner with currency group at the House. Sit next Sprague. Who is ^{unusually} slow minded & conscious of his ^{weakness} impotence in Russia, (a disinterested adviser to the U.S.) Hawkeye looks the same but at much longer length & very unintelligible. Inkemptly Division. Strakosch in best of the three external aspects.

The American Imperialist crisis in Europe remains very acute. We are fishing Austria & Hungary, as well as Germany, out of deep water.

And we are trying to make the

1931.

Spaniards cut out their pocket
battleships & abandon the Central
Union. The Americans are
acting similarly in Berlin. We
have Newton on charge there.
(Our Ambassador are always on
leave at critical moments. Sir
S. Graham left Spain a few days
after Alfonso!) And Newton
seems frightened of his instructions
that the Spaniards are not to
withdraw (Smith's name) says that
the abandonment of the Central Union is
"undiscoverable." And Curtilles (small-
minded & crafty) tells the Americans
to slow up the battleship
programme word is impossibly
became the aged Reichs president
has set his heart upon the new
battleships. Poor old stuff!
When the Americans are just returning

1931

to the charge, they have been told
that abandonment would also
"undermine the loyalty of the Reichswehr."
July 3rd - 5th.

Vinck & Aunt for the weekend to
W.L. Very hard work, but very
successful. Weather not very good.
Lunch with Curtilles on Saturday.
On Sunday Curtilles should have
come to lunch, but there is a
comic business of 3 telegrams about
their car arrangements. Finally they
arrive at 6.30 and take off Vinck
& Aunt as planned. I have
taken him for two walks. And
we have visited them & amused
them very effectively. He is very
pet. Mrs. ^{is making up} ~~wants to~~ ^{style} left home.
And Winkler is the first. That
they like the hospital card on.
Local Wesleyans come to work

him to take a Service. He would
like to next time he comes, if
they will make suitable arrangements
with me!

The whole J.M. will retire from
leadership when next we go into
opposition. I frankly doubt it.
In another year or two men
will have been trained, he thinks.
L.G. & 20 Librarians or so may
soon come clean over. And also
L.G. ^{would prefer} ~~might~~ ^{to} come into the
front at once. His vitality is
amazing & his recent speeches have
made a tremendous appeal to our
people in the House.

July 6th.

The Hoover Plan has at last been
more or less accepted by the French.
The Coal Bill gets its second
Reading without a Division.

Our domestic difficulties, apart from
his big unemployment figures,
are now solved, or practically so,
Unemployment Insurance, for the moment;
Coal, for the moment; Finance Bill &
Land Values.

One international matter remains.

July 11th.

All Party Disarmament Demonstration
at the Albert Hall. Sir W. Webster
in the Chair, J.M., Baldwin &
L.G. impressive, not to a point, as
full Albert Hall's always are, & get
^{something lacking.} L.G. & mentions
^{with satisfaction} the fact that A.H. is to preside at
the Conference next year. How odd that
J.M. should never make public
reference to this.

July 13th.

Uncle leaves for Paris, en route,
article plan provided, for Berlin, etc.

He is to be joined by the P.M.,
 flying with two escorting planes.
 But the news financially has been
 very bad from Germany & Central
 Europe. The B.I.S. meeting at Basel
 yesterday heard Lathier's account, he
 had flown from Germany to tell them,
 but ended by deciding that the
 bankers had ~~not~~ done all they
 could & it was now up to the
 Govts to act. A misleading
^{account}
~~was~~ had been put on
 the tape last night saying that
 the B.I.S. had decided to take
 all necessary steps to maintain
 the mark. No such luck!

At Victoria, to see Uncle off,
 were Nemata & Camba. The
 former stood afar off at the end
 of the platform, & had to be fetched
 up by Van! How cleverly they

are these persons! I had a very
 uncomfortable walk down the platform
 with Nemata on one side &
 Camba on the other. Small talk
 warred!

July 14th.

O. Harvey's lunch, Kete-i-tete. Still
 wants to be a Labor candidate as
 much as ever. But not inclined
 to leave the service till an election is
 imminent. Hope to come back to the
 office in the autumn & would like
 to be attached to Uncle somehow
 for next year's Disarmament Conference.

Phil is not sure whether he likes
 O.H. very much. Mrs. am I. But he
 is, I think, competent & would be
 useful.

July 15th.

Three Party C.I.D. Sub Ctee on
 Disarmament. In Uncle's absence I

attend. They have got down now to a series of propositions, - not too bad - suffered to nobody (general agreement). Amusee still wriggling against budgetary limitation for the air. How much suspicious of everything but might limit the strength of the navy. After nearly two hours of talk they are all in agreement, at any rate verbally. The P.M. tries to wind up the work of the Ctee. He says he wishes we have gone as far as we can. One point must now consider the question of the delegⁿ. He wishes it sh^d be either an all Party delegⁿ or a formal delegⁿ. Austin agrees. He hasn't consulted his friends on this point, but he wishes it must be a formal delegation. It must have one head, capable of making decisions. (In other words Tories

won't come in.) L.S. is much less sure! He hasn't thought about it at all, he says. He doesn't know there are such great differences between them. (In other words L.S. would rather like to come in.)
 (A Cabinet decision has^{just} been taken, I know in Vullin's absence but the delegⁿ sh^d be either formal or non-formal. I know this is a mistake. Why rule out a formal delegⁿ?)

The P.M. then says that the Ctee won't meet again, unless some special circumstances should make it ^{desirable} necessary to ~~some~~ reconstitute it. This is a great relief. It is obviously S. Hoare, for one, is submitted. He had been waiting today but they would like further information, & more reports

from Chief of Staff, etc.

Disc with Regal Institute of
International Affairs. J.P.M. in front
of known makes a long rambling
speech. The speech of a tired man.
Wanders from personal ^{at Geneva} touch - and
consequent suspension of ^{at Geneva} ~~travels~~.
to France of the Year Plan.

I sit between Tilly & Frenchard. The
from a pair ^{conventional} of diplomats, now
retired. One latter intelligent
& interesting. Regrets ^{French} "justification"
of the deft. Offer in a dispute
between two defts, a compromise is
adopted, to save prestige of both, when
a decision either in one sense or in
the other would be preferable. A
minister, he wishes, should say
his officials. "I am willing to
learn everything from you on the
details, but the principles of policy

would I intend to follow on that
such."

I have a word with Addison going in
to dinner. He has been at the D.S.
meeting at Kestle, & is gloomy if
Germany declares a moratorium on
private payments abroad. We shall have
to do the same, for our bills will be
frozen.

I hear later that Norman is
in a state of panic & has demanded
an immediate ^{public} announcement of a meeting
of Ministers in London on Thursday.
Failing work he will demand
legislation ^{to be passed} on Friday, Monday after
tomorrow, declaring a moratorium.
July 16th & 17th.

These are troubled days. Uncle
is in a very difficult position in
Paris, between half a dozen devils
& deep seas, - including his colleagues

at home!

The visit to Berlin is cancelled, - & is announced by Uncle ^{with religious} without consultation with J.M. ^{whose vanity is} ^{no longer in formation to Berlin!} ^{keenly wounded.} This is a slip which should have been avoided. Van ^{Warden} Tynell or Selby should have saved this slip. The French are putting out ideas for a first guaranteed loan to England on still conditions, - to be secured on German customs with renewal of Dawes contract, political moratorium, etc. Germans want to come to Paris en route to London, & accept in Munich, or France would come to London. They are offended at our announcement of London meeting without first obtaining their consent.

Chancellor of Exchequer,

usual, on his crippled hind legs, & virulently anti-French. P.M. & P.S. anxious to give Uncle ^{crippled} instructions, to prevent talks at Paris developing into a conference, & reject without question any idea of British first guarantee of any loan to Germany, etc. Van plays a good part in forming down, with Keith Ross, the form of his communication.

In the small hours of the 7th, - all night sitting ~~for~~ caused by I.L.P. opposition to unemployment insurance Amendment Bill - J.H.T. says - Ernie Hunter in the Ban "what follows it is to spend hours like this, when within a few hours we may have to ^{declare} a moratorium, & to make (by change in the Govt!" There have been

rumors for some days, circulating among private members of the formation of "a National front" to carry through monetary union, etc. La Trémoille ^(Fulmer) ~~has~~ has been rumormongering about saying that this is "more than 1914"! This is treacherous rubbish. Would Tom

refuse to agree to emergency legislation, unless given a share of jobs in the front? Aren't the same some of us come out & start to rebuild in Labour Party & its policy has better!

On Thursday night (July 16th) about 11 pm. newspaper office are being up for the Foreign Office, and asked to read the idea of a guaranteed loan & ^{reparation} ~~reparation~~ if an ^{existing} ~~existing~~ program of ^{existing} ~~existing~~ existing conditions ^{can} ~~can~~ from the Treasury. What does ^{can} ~~can~~ mean? No (Stewart?)

activity ^{has} ~~is~~ to speech. Van Meter, history of it. And Vucelja may return to advocate his policy. An outrageous betting in 2 million of £. Press Dept. P.S., I fear, may ^{or} ~~re~~ establish himself now, in the House, with a popular wave of anti-French feeling, already very strong ~~strong~~ in the City, & in political circles. He should have been got rid of when he was isolated in the Cabinet over Land Values.

Treasury are conducting sharp arguments with the French over ^{distribution} ~~distribution~~ German reparations during visit to French. That his is not the major point at all.

Reported ^{van} ~~van~~ ^{on} ~~on~~ Friday (17th) a Tory asked one of our officials at lunch whether it was true that Vucelja was being recalled

from Paris. So the heats of No 10, & No 11, are becoming known to the enemy. I leave with Usher, & exercise great caution. He says how could we guarantee a loan to Germany, when we have refused to do the same for the Dominions? I infer that J.H.T. has been active at No 10, as usual.

I catch the 6 pm train to Hungerford on Friday. Seeing Hunter board the train to get a story. He has heard of my departure by his train. I give him a good deal. He says he gets on with the relations of Uncle & the P.M. are very bad. He adds that the P.M. has only three times sent for him since he has been lobby

correspondent. Each time it was to try to get a paragraph in the Herald with some private remark, - first to complain that he hadn't been put on the Pilgrim Trust Committee, second, during the Round Table Conference to complain of Mominana's front to Reading's speech, and to report that J.M. was really in charge & directing everything, third, - some other personal remark, he forgets what was said. What we shall paragraph even get in!

on Thursday night I dined with Mominana at the Home, & she told me all about her sad case. Lord Kleanchamp, who has had a persistent weakness for footmen, & has been

finally persuaded by Simon & Buchman to sign an undertaking not to return to England. The King did not want a scandal because ^{was} ~~was~~ a "Kampf der Kulturen".

July 19th.

Back from W.B. in the evening in time to meet Uncle at Victoria at 11 p.m. Stimson & Mellon also on the train. The French, German, Italian, & Belgian come on tomorrow. Uncle, looking very tired, got straight with P.M. to No 10, where Snowden also joins them. I hear afterwards that the conversation was slightly spiky.

July 20th.

Uncle is very conscious of the jealousies of his colleagues, but comparatively quiet. He had undertaken, he says, to bring the Germans

to Paris & then French to London. He had succeeded, & had committed himself to nothing. But it had not been easy. Did we want French ministers or not? If not, ~~then~~ ^{then} we need not have gone to Paris at all. The P.M. had had a mad idea of flying to Berlin & bringing the Germans back with him to London, to "keep them out of the hands of the French." He had told the P.M. of this ⁱⁿ ~~just~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~visit~~ ^{visit} to Berlin, before it had been finally cancelled. He had had to get the P.M. out of bed to tell him this; perhaps his very busy P.M. seemed to have forgotten it, he had been half asleep at his telephone. If a conference in London without the French had been desired, it could easily have been got. It would only have had to

read them some of the Telegrams he received from the Treasury. That he had used his discretion, and brought them back, unopened, in his pocket. Whenever he went abroad he ~~found~~ ^{had} the same experience. Lack of confidence, suspicion & jealousy on the part of his ^{leading} colleagues. It, at any rate, was pro-peace and pro-Party, not pro-self.

Van tells me ^{at present} that he has never been so conscious of personal difficulties & frictions in any Cabinet he has known, or in this one. Baldwin used to have trouble with Wintour & Jix, but it was only occasional & one hour when one was in for trouble. In his Cabinet one has to be continually on the alert all the time. One ^{is} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{position} ^{of} ^{being} ^{always} ^{just} ^{below}

the surface, ready to burst out at any moment. Now the anti-French view is widespread & almost unresisting, - not only in the Cabinet, but in all parts of the House of Commons, in the City & in the Press. When he was going to Paris on a yacht to learn French, ^{his} aunt threatened to cut him out of the will, & did. She thought Paris was a wicked place. The Victorian view was that the French practiced all sorts of occult forms of sexual intercourse, ^{which were the wickedest people on earth.} The modern view was the same, only it had found from the sexual to the political. If you went to Paris, you would catch some politico-venereal disease. They would infect you with their ideas, & their character. That

Was very in P.M. I Snowden had
wanted to recall Uncle last week.
But it was going better now. The City
today was pale, but confident.

Must tell me that Laval
is a lawyer now earn a large
income, but never pleads. It always
settles out of court. A good one!

Uncle says Brian is failing.
He will go off suddenly one day
in the morning now he needs a good
grip, not only in the afternoon
when he has had several glasses
of wine at lunch.

July 2nd.

1.45 am. after passing Dixey. I
hear the steady whirring of aircraft
overhead. It is the R.A.F. doing
their annual exercises. There is
no defence against air attack on
a large city. What shadows are

and what shadows we pursue!

And a great financial crash is
still possible. "The Comet is upon
us" as Krailsford headed his article in
last week's New Leader.

King Albert and I are the
chief speakers at a lunch organized
by Dummico at the Home for the
Peace Society. King A full of
brats and ifs. I, following, speak
of the Angel of Death in the Air,
& quote the famous Wright speech &
tell them of my early morning
thoughts today. I receive many
congratulations. The friends here
the comrades are refreshed to hear
the old tale well told, stirring
again propaganda. Memories and hope
hope. From the lips of a member
of a party but has been befuddled
with caution and indecisive self-
importance.

July 22nd.

P.S. report in Five Power Conference today by saying that nothing proposed by the Finance Committee of Financial Ministers was any good, and that we must face fundamental causes & scrap all Reparations & War-Related debts.

Stimson, usually very tame, nearly went through the roof. J.M. had, in effect, to repudiate Sweden. Fleming sat silent, "his face a study". Tertius Sandens. Sweden had spoken without warning.

(One Five Power Conference, in the end, got nowhere, & passed the ball back to the Bankers. That it was, perhaps, something that it met at all.)

Stevenson, of the D.H., to die. A weak vessel but, through amity. Had been sucking in all the 'Sweden' stuff. Hundred per cent out. - French. Why was his withdrawing fold from

London. They had brains like razor blades. A.H., it was said, was no match for them at Paris or Geneva. It was dangerous when he went abroad alone. He Stevenson told a tale of a German saved by Lord William from drowning at Mandelieu, & of a Frenchman on the shore who said "Why did you trouble to save him. He is only a German." Also let out that J.M. had told the Cabinet that, if a "monarchism" became necessary, there would have to be a National Govt.

July 25th.

At Durham for the Mining Sale. Maxton & Cook the chief speakers. A demonstration of rain, but crowds stood patiently, some without umbrellas, listening for hours.

July 27th.

Madaya & M.L. brought them up for a

Speech on the adjournment now I have
to make on the case of Mrs. Walford, a
Kerriam married to an English man, still
detained in the Soviet Union. We go to
have a drink in the House of Lords
bar, with Sherwood, J. Wilson & several
policemen & attendants. Very broadening
of them!

July 28th.

Stanton rings me at 7 am. to say that
Canon D died at 3.30. I go down
to Windsor with Jessie, who, egocentric
as ever, weeps a little when she
knows that she has never had a real
father. Her D surprisingly calm.

His end was peaceful & swift. He
had read the lesson at Evening
Service last night, began to bleed
from haemorrhage in the stomach at
9.30 pm, & died at 3.30 am. He
had very little pain. Hunter, who came

about 11 pm. said he couldn't live through
the night, & gave him a drug to put
him. He also sent for a nurse, but
the old man wouldn't have her in his
room. "What do you want, young woman,"
he said, "I shall be all right again
soon." These were, I think, his last
words. He was 91 years and
10 months old. He had a slight
growth in his stomach. That he is,
Hunter says, almost universal after 85
in some part of the body. For his own
sake, it was well he lived no longer.
His sight & hearing were failing &
his nerves getting out of control. His
disabilities were just closing in upon
him, & he was increasingly unmanageable
to those who lived with him. For
me his affection continued quite
unabated.

I see Evan & the Dean & make
Stanton & his undertaker, & make arrangements

for his cremation & for his funeral,
 & for his ash to rest in St George's.
 This is obviously fitting, & the Dean
 is immediately for him. But his letter
 is a queer, ill-bred man, though
 professionally a competent priest. When
 I call to see him, he tells me how
 difficult a colleague he - old man
 was, how small a literary output
 he left behind, and how he lacked
 mental control and how he ran
 people and made favourites of them.

July 29th

See Bernard Drake, Editor, about
 his writing up of the estate. The old
 man left, very prominent in his life, a
 will made in 1886 leaving everything
 to his D and making her his
 executrix. There is no trace of any
 later will.

Uncle's in Berlin with J.N.M., & 1.

since P.Q.'s ^{in an attempt} ~~was an~~ affirmative attempt
 of consideration. Kingsley Wood & others
 but no supplementaries.
 July 30th

Cremation at Woking. I go alone
 in a car behind the coffin, & bring
 back the ashes in a casket. There
 are many flowers. No religious
 service at Woking. I speak ^{in the garden,} ~~at~~
 waiting for the burning to complete
 itself, with an old man who is
 an enthusiast for cremation, & who
 surprises me by his account of the
 spread of municipal crematoria & of the
 value of burning in foreign countries.

July 31st

Funeral in St George's. King & others
 represented. Also the Evan Thomas family.
 Uncle's & nephew, & Henry &
 Aunt Mary & nephew come back to lunch.
 New Journal Ken D., R & I, George & / Stan, &

1931.

the two de Montmorencys, who have gallantly stepped into the breach and undertaken to have Ken & to stay with them for a fortnight. Lunch is a fairly cheerful & the chatter, which makes long hours pass off more easily.

August 18th.

The House is up, & we go off to W.L. in spirit & prevailing peace. There ring in my head the words which we sang yesterday in style, very beautifully.

"This shall be my rest for ever. Here will I dwell for I take a delight herein."

August 14th.

Write K to Windsor.

August 15th.

Ken & return from de Montmorency.

August 17th.

From Windsor to W.L. Three

1931

unbelievable days in the study, looking through & dusting & sorting old papers & letters. He never threw anything away. Letters, all from men, except a ~~few~~ ^{few} members of the Dalrymple family. Some letters very affectionate. A strong homosexual strain is very clear. Men fifty & sixty years young who he called his "Johns".

The most interesting we put aside. Drawers stuffed all-around with old newspapers cuttings, old bills (one of his receipts of an umbrella two years before I was born) Royal letters, letters from Justices, all higgledy-piggledy.

Dust, literally of generation, and, according to the philologist Ada, flour also.

There is to be a great bonfire in the Chapter Garden, & the dustman will work overtime for weeks!
And so back to W.L. & Peace.

August 20th.

To London for a National Executive. We are specially summoned at 2 pm, & there is to be a joint meeting with the U.K.C. at 3 for information & consultation with the (by) five of the Cabinet - Chamberlain (J.M., P.S., Uncle, J.H., & W.G.)

From 2-3 we deal with routine business. I have a few words with Uncle just before the meeting. He says that he has never for so long such a five days as these last. The position is extremely grave. There has been a serious flight from the pound, which isn't over yet. The recent loss of £ credit, (£25 millions from New York & £25 million from Paris) wasn't intended to be touched. It was only secured, & announced, to restore confidence. But it has

been touched ahead. The flight is not only by foreigners, but by some of our own nationals as well.

One may keep it from £120 million for a month or deficit is too low, not too high. The real figure is £175 million.

How serious the position is may be appreciated, he thinks. By me when he says that he has agreed to a cut of £1000 a year in his salary.

They have agreed as a Cabinet Ctee. The Cabinet has also agreed to drastic reductions in the Social Services. ^{in the Dept of Public Health} But they haven't reduced unemployment benefit, except by requiring a man draw benefit to pay his contribution, which will go into an auxiliary fund for loss on transitional benefit. There is a majority

1931.

in the Cabinet of 15 to 6 in favour of a revenue tariff of 10% as an preferable alternative to a cut in unemployment benefit. That Snowden, Keen, Mansfield, Alexander & two others are against him. He & W.G. are both converted to it, in view of all the circumstances. That if they pass the law, they may have a batch of resignations.

There can be no more borrowing for the Unemployment Insurance Fund. The source which previously lent the money, can & will lend no more.

I say that I am very glad to hear the news in favour of the Revenue Tariff. I had always been strongly opposed to it, but, if it were really a choice between this & heavier cuts in social

1931.

services, I should, perhaps, be inclined to agree with him. That is his choice? He says everyone has been asking this question about every proposal. He is convinced that it is. ^{They & Liberal leaders both want} ^{reduction in unemployment benefit.}
At 3 his joint meeting. J.N.M., talks characteristically & says nothing, no figures, nothing concrete. Plans his press, including the D.H., for sensational and inaccurate reports. In the present crisis, first principles are no use at all. ~~Let them~~ ^{Let them} know there is no change in our policy or in our ideals. Let them remember that every member of the Cabinet is a Socialist or a Trade Unionist, or both. Faced with this lack of confidence in sterling due to the international propaganda at home & abroad, it is essential to balance the

budget. There are three ways in which
 this can be done, by economy, by
 fresh taxation, or by a combination of these
 two. The first have devoted on the
 kind method. . . . Perhaps some
 one would like to ask some questions.
 The J.C. are in a very bad way
 indeed. Why have they been
 brought here. If they are to be kept
 no more than this. Various projects.

Then Snowden, unwillingly, rises &
 says a little more. He can't discuss
 anything about new taxation. He wishes
 everyone will appreciate his. As to
 economy, Cabinet Ministers & others
 will find a year or more with five
 up 20%. Then Ministers will have
 a smaller proportion. Police 20%.
 Police a reduction. Civil servants
 another bonus cut under existing
 agreement. Personnel of the F. J. J.

forces a reduction. They are looking
 for other ^{hand} reductions in F. J. J.
 services. Unemployment benefit not
 to be reduced but only to be paid
 for 26 weeks a year. (Snowden)
 28 million of roads. Unemployment
 grants Committee to be reduced.

No reduction on Health services. Increase
 in unemployment insurance contributions.
 Then asked a few questions and
 Cook shouts out that we are
 being strangled. Susan asks
 whether after 26 weeks, the unemployed
 are to go on to the Poor Law.
 There is no answer.

Then the J.C. & N.E. separate
 for separate discussion. Several of the J.C. say that sort of thing
 is impossible. Heron says he is for
 a revenue tariff in preference to
 cuts in social services.
 They sit late & send a critical
 deputation to the Cabinet

1931.

We, on the other hand, get together the rest of our business party, after deciding to leave the main question to the vote. This decision is reached on the result of a quite moving statement by Uncle, & a shorter statement by Clynes. Clynes assumes us have heavier taxation of the rich is an essential part of the plan. Uncle speaks more or less on the lines of his private statement to me. He says "You know who my colleagues are. You can imagine how I have had a tremendously hard fight. He to quite one said of me how I was always getting into situations in which I felt a double loyalty. I have been experiencing how a man can't well, say loyalty to my Cabinet colleagues & loyalty to the movement

1931.

outside". etc tells us that he is for a revenue tariff in preference to a reduction of unemployment benefit.

Several members have shown their opposition to this last. And so away.....

I feel that it is only right for us just to live much longer. This is not the kind of thing that we can do. Better keep the party together in opposition, than break up in office & disappoint all simple supporters' hope. Let us put up a program, let Tories & Liberals unite to defeat it, & then let us go out.

And I ask myself, what is the background of it all. Two questions. First, what is the first of the points which is responsible. This needs a full answer. Second, what is the budget deficit, when was this

first discovered? Why Sweden in
 almost complacent Budget speech,
 with its little device & its only
 extra tax amount 20 on petrol?
 Who was deceived, & how deceived
 in public? Sweden, or the
 Treasury officials?

Back to U.L., thinking how very
 soon I may leave to be a month
 & be able once more to speak
 my mind, & to push my weight in the
 Party.

Amistion on an overdraft in
 Spain, or in N. Africa?
 August 23rd (Sunday)

While digging a hole for a beech
 near my western hedge, in the dusk,
 the village policeman appears,
 salutes and announces "a message
 from the Prime Minister, Sir." This
 is that I am requested to be present

at No 10 at 2.30 tomorrow.

R & I then classify the alternatives.
 A collective or an individual summons?
 A Cabinet resignation, or a partial
 resignation, from the right or from the
 left, or an explanation of a policy
~~to~~ now agreed upon without need
 for resignation. A summons to me,
 though this seems unlikely, not as
 a Minister, but as a member of the
 National Executive to be further
 consulted.

I may have to take a difficult
 decision at short notice; whether
 or not to resign, or whether
 not to accept another job.

R will come with me, to advise
 me as to what may be one of the most
 critical choices of my public life.

The heartbreak would come if
 Vande stayed in, while I felt that I

must come out.

Whom in the Cabinet can I trust?
Not many wholeheartedly on such an
issue. Tom Johnston & L., in
addition to Uncle. And perhaps
Addison & Greenwood, if safe.
August 24th.

Went to Humberford, where we buy paper.
One D.H. gives names of men who
will resign rather than accept
cuts in unemployment benefit -

Uncle, Graham, Greenwood, Addison,
Addison, Lambson, Johnston, Maclean
All don't vacillate. "That is my
team", I say. "I shall play with
them against the rest." There will
be no difficult decisions. R
gets back in the car to W.L.

Arrived at the P.D. I go in to
Uncle's room & shake him by
the hand. One dear old man is

Walking up 2 doors in considerable
agitation. He & those who have
acted with him, he says, have taken
their political lives in their hands.
It is very uncertain how the thing
will develop. They can't have
their last Cabinet at once. J.M.
is determined on the formation of
a "National" Govt, containing Tom
& himself with himself as P.M. He
doesn't think many of the present Cabinet will
I tell him how I have come
up in response to J.M.'s summons. He
feels that we might attempt to
get hold of some of the junior ministers.

The new Cabinet is soon over.
They are to resign. J.M., Snowden,
Thomson & Stanley will go into the
new Cabinet.

The right resigners are lunching
together in C.L.'s room. I lunch
with Alice at Odessa. We prefer

summons for the 2-30 meeting, 27th he
 also is summoned, so it is clearly looked
 by drinking a bottle of Santonax (speaking
 Ned Kempford) He is not against J.M. his
 wide circle of influence, complete security in economy,
 At 2-30 the Cabinet Room is
 crowded. All Ministers not in the
 Cabinet are invited, including Strife.

J.M. sits in
 isolation on the
 other side of the table.
 Christ Crucified

and talks still against
 Snowden, who has blocked
 every positive proposal
 for two years.

speaking from the cross. He had originally
 summoned us, he says, to tell us how
 our salaries were to be cut (-this is a lie)
~~but~~ ~~the~~ ~~summons~~ ~~went~~ ~~out~~ ~~last~~ ~~night~~ ~~when~~ ~~the~~ ~~"National"~~
 first was already decided on), but now
 he has to tell us that the first-cut
 is over. He is very scary. We shall
 cross him, & he is afraid that he has
 caused us great embarrassment. That
 the gravity of the crisis is not yet widely

understood. We shall be told that it is
 a banker's ruse. But that is quite
 untrue. He has received most
 valuable help from the banker. No one,
 for instance, could have more help than
 from the two representatives of the Bank of
 England. "Poor Norman has broken down
 under the strain." It was quite
 essential to get a loan quickly. Snowden
 speaking would have collapsed. There
 would have been a run on the
 banks, and then a run on the Post
 Office, and then an attempt to cash
 thousands of savings certificates against
 which there is not a silver shilling
 in the Treasury. He could not bear
 to think of school children, who
 have put their savings into these
 certificates, being unable to get them
 out. It is in the light of facts
 like these that he must consider

such a proposal on a 15% cut in unemployment benefit. One alternative would be equivalent to a cut of 50% or even more. A cut of 10% would leave the unemployed 1 1/2% below of how 2 years ago, for the cost of living has fallen by 1 1/2%. ^{2 months} He thinks the crisis would have been avoided, if the Cabinet had not changed its mind at a critical point (- which is a lie, which is much revealed by his 8 when it is reported to them). A plan had been drawn up and agreed upon, & would have sufficed to secure the loan required. But the Cabinet went back on it. This made necessary a sort of Pension, not of Pensions. He is going through with him. He has not called us in order to try to force any case, or to ask us to join him. Most of us are young men

with some political careers before us. He realizes that he is committing political suicide. He is not going to ask any of us to do the same, or to ~~stand~~ ^{stand} with the House. But perhaps some of us would be willing to join him. The Plan will be for him to write to us individually & enquire. He would have liked to stay longer with us. But he must go to the Palace. His "But I have done one thing for you" (at his stage I anticipate a distribution of Savings Certificates) "I have made it a condition that there shall be no refusals against them who oppose us. There will be no consequences when this is all over."

Then a question or two. After which what will be done to the situation. He cannot answer that. It is impossible to anticipate a Budget Statement.

Stewart's order whether the alternative
 was considered by the Cabinet regarding
 & leaving to the Tories & Liberals the
 responsibility of carrying out an
 economic policy. O'Gr. Every
 possible alternative has been considered

Susan's order whether formal resignation
 from junior minister are necessary. O
 No. All members of the Govt will
 resign together & then the new administration
 will be formed.

And then we disperse. Going out.
 With Lunn and I speak vigorously
 against J.M. And I apparently
 speak loudly. For Patrick shows
 my sleeve and says "Don't speak
 so loud. They will hear you outside."
 And I reply "I don't give a damn
 if they do." As I go out a
 man in a trolley me (with
 a crowd of people waiting), and

I say "I am going into office
 now." And so, by all appearances, is
 the great majority of us.

To Transport House, where in
 the main room is a Council of War -
 G.L., Citrine, Kevin, Stanley Street,
 Middleton.

One TV leader are fully fight.
 They speak of financial assistance.
 "This is like the General Strike," says
 Kevin. "I am prepared to put
 everything in." They speak of Stevenson
 of D.H. & settle the Council of War
 for tomorrow. Stevenson, still under
 the influence of J.M. & P.S., had just
 begun by paying a tribute to the
 courage of Lunn who are remaining in
 "And what about the courage of Lunn who
 are coming out?" asks Kevin. So the
 whole emphasis is changed.
 The Herald then says given the lead

1931

last man. That Rosenberg has been sent to
 full Bradley not to tell Compton
 his, & a spy has been set outside
 the door like that it is used when
 any member of the port passes.

There was, for some months after
 the port came in, a standing order for
 bottles of Champagne, with instructions to
 be sent each month to J. H. S. name.
 The order was in the name of Harry
 Day, & he is still without a job!

August 26th. "I pass this back to my
 successor."

My birthday. Happy, happy we are.
 Finish at the P.O. Pay a round of
 visits with Gladys to the Dept. &
 say goodbye to officials. A very nice
 lot these officials. Gladys & Van in
 a clean apartment, so far as my personal
 affections go, & I shall miss my daily
 contacts with them. Arranged that
 Gladys shall go to home, an attractive

post. He is like fleas at this &
 so is his wife. He & I have had
 great fun together. He tells me that
 he knows I know by now where his
 sympathies are. He could not go on
 with my successor, except very briefly,
 to tide over a week or two.

Shall I, one day, return on S & S?
 It is not my wish, but position and
 a queer uncertain business. The
 interests of all of us "young" men are,
 however, much improved by the defection
 of the chairman at the top.

An affectionate farewell also to Miss
 Westward.

Rumour, later confirmed, that Lord
 Reading at the P.O. Precedents
 indeed are being broken. First a
 S & S who ^{has} had no University
 education. Now one who has
 no fresco!

1931.

A very wearisome joint meeting
of N.E., S.C., & Consultative Committee.
Near old Uncle rather on edge and
desist do himself justice, allowing
Cook & Housley to rattle him. S.C.

~~Final~~ very irritating & full of suspicion. Finally,

after much palaver, unanimously
agreed to offer ^{vigorous} ~~vigorous~~ opposition
new Govt. to ^{absolute action of} ~~comfortable~~ Minister
 ~~was declined~~ in declining to join
to recommend Parliamentary Party
to become official opposition.

A small committee to draw up
manifesto for tomorrow.

Frank Owen to dinner (a
dilator him as a vulgar, untrustworthy
& conceited. The latter he is in same
type as John Mackellar) He is half
wicked to come over, ~~do with a note~~
held at Liberal Party meetings. He

1931

think 10 will vote re-funding water.
I doubt too.

August 27th

Tom Johnston to lunch. Awfully tired,
but gives a very interesting
account of recent Cabinet history.

He, Greenwood & S.L. were against any
dole cut throughout. Others only
joined up later. Uncle deliberately
held back, while Owen did the fighting.

But he never finally consented to
anything. He always said he must
see the complete picture. Then at
the end he dug his feet ^{against} ~~in~~ the
 ~~dole~~ cut, & then J.K.M. saw the
game was up. The resignation would
be too numerous & important for
replacements to be possible ^{from the} ~~great~~ ranks
of the Party.

It was on the Sunday night that
I heard from New York on the

Telephone that a loan would be forthcoming for a 100% DSE cut, but not without it. Seven of them had voted against putting this humiliating question to N.Y. at all, & no agreement had ever been reached ^{even} that, if a loan were the price, a 100% cut should be adopted.

At an early stage Snowden had wanted to shove all the members on to the floor Law after 26 weeks. But his ^{proposal} had been dropped.

The Tory & Liberal leaders hadn't even agreed to 100% as yet. They had agreed to vote to move an amendment in Committee increasing the percentage.

P.S. had been very bitter at the majority of 15 to 6 for the Revenue Tariff, & particularly bitter against Graham. He had said

"William, there shall be a Free Trade candidate next time in Central Scotland." He had refused to accept the majority decision, & even demanded that his vote should be rescinded. "I can't stay in a Cabinet," he said, "where 15 members are in favour of a revenue tariff." And Vince rubbed in afterwards on other issues the fact that a minority had a right to stand out, & not yield to a majority.

In Paris last week T.J. had been told by Flandin that Norman had twice visited the Bank of France to buy gold in London in order to maintain the price of sterling. Wipac & other Cambridge men present & reacted to the statement.

In the afternoon a good joint meeting agreed on the form of a very good manifesto.

We shall give him "National front"
 his hell of a time in the coming
 weeks. But it would be a
 tactical mistake to defeat him
 too soon.

At a meeting of ex-Cabinet
 Ministers this morning, Uncle apparently
 agreed to accept his leadership.

Ugly as well, malapropos as usual,
 profane his himself however.

Then was voted for the
 cut are very angry with the D.H.
 for spilling the beans & showing
 them up.

J.M. has been ~~been~~ crawling
 along his helpers in search of
 Labour ministers who lost for
 days. He offered to Ministry
 of Missions to Malone. (F.O., P.P.S.)
 & ~~the~~ gave him an hour to make
 up his mind. He says of me

Uncle & perhaps still an asking
 advice. He got it!

Petia to Ken. Very intelligent
 & quite on the right side. She has
 always hated J.M. & was nearly
 sick when I took off his speech
 to the Union Ministers.

What a chance it is to have
 good, or in some cases even possible,
 relations with all the leaders of
 the Party. Then ~~and~~ I now
 feel I have. With J.M., P.S. &
 J.H. I never had any relations
 at all, & was always conscious of
 suspicion & dislike, which I
 heartily reciprocated. It is
 a cleaner air I breathe today,
 & the prospects of a real
 Labour front, full of youngish
 men, under Uncle's Premiership
 are bright, though ^{still} speculators,
 within one or two years. And I

can hardly find time in the next
Cabinet.

Meanwhile I must come back
onto economic front, write
keeping my hand ^{supere} on foreign
affairs, & write a best seller
on Finance & Financier. That
& I am still very tired!

August 28th.

A historic meeting of the
Parliamentary Labour Party at Transport
House. Most arrivals seem very
cheerful, though a few look
apprehensively serious. Members of the
G.C. are ^{invited} to be present. This
is an innovation, which
suggested to much unity.

Boas from the Chair gave
an account of the joint meeting of
the Consultative Committee earlier
in the week with the N.C. & G.C., but

the resolutions passed, & manifesto
agreed to. A resolution was moved
on behalf of the G.C. affirming their
action, & recommending that we find
official opposition.

On this, by report, Vach makes
a long statement, narrating events,
followed by Sankey, the only one of his
four in the Cabinet, who has the
courage to attend the meeting. (J.K.M.
had too sent a questionnaire letter
saying that he ^{had} had no notice of the
meeting, but ^{had} had only read of it in
the Press, but he had already
arranged to get Lussierment, & that
if he ^{had} attended the meeting, he
could not have told them anything,
as confidence was always betrayed
"by one or two" & then just swept
saying that he had just received an
invitation dated Aug 25th, which would
have been delayed in the post. P.S.

1931

sent a shorter, a much more dignified, letter. Saying that he did not think it would serve any good purpose to attend on the same from the fact that a financial policy had already been decided on. J.H.I. sent no letter.)

Saukey began by saying that he believed J.H.I. had saved the country, but, here putting his hand on Uncle's shoulder, that Uncle had saved the soul of the Labor Party. He went on to justify his own action. Partly on the ^{second} ^{session} ^{of the} India Round Table Conference, where he was again to be Chairman of the Structure Committee, & partly on ^{policy} ^{issues}. If you were in financial difficulties, you were wise to go to the best financial adviser. They had done that. He believed that the unemployed were willing to make a sacrifice, if everyone else did the

Barber's order.
(Lend Lease from the U.S.)

same. They were only hoping for a reduction in respect of the adult unemployed (a bad point too, which could lead to unemployment.) They were none of them leaving the Labor Party. Working would even drive them out. A brave speech, but remote from realities & from the Party's general mind.

Then a few excited words from Harold. Then I spoke. I said that I did not often address the Party Meeting. For more than two years my mouth had been closed, & left on Foreign Affairs. I had been very happy in the F.O. but very unhappy outside. We had had two magnificent speeches, one magnificent for its content, the other for its courage. We admired Saukey's courage today, as we had admired it. One First Labour Party had been ^{addressed by a Red} ^{letter, but secondly by a}

when he had come out for the nationalisation
of the mines. We thought he was
right then, but wrong now. Let us
not, however, recriminate against
men who had joined the "Nationalist".
Let us not know his first show.
But, if we were attacked, we would
defend ourselves. Let us take
the height of our opportunity, & recruit
our ranks. I appealed, in particular,
to the I.L.P. to put their bylaws aside,
& merge their little group in the
larger group. Let us work for
a real labour front, not the sham
thing we had known for the
past two years. With an independent
majority, & not a wretched minority
position. For the future, slogans
were not enough; we must
hammer out a concrete, detailed
policy of socialist reconstruction in

industry & in finance.

A very good reception for his speech.
of other speakers, Anand in the room. Very
ill received, makes incoherent
comment. As does Kanchanam.

Ken Tillet declares that "the class
war is here." Section regrets his
departure from the ranks of Keir Hardie.
Malcolm Macdonald says he will go
with his father, & adds can attach on
Uncle for going back on understanding
& "the report of the Committee of 5" would
bring Uncle to his feet to deny
the accusation, & in particular to
say that the C.P. of 5 made no
reports. Finally the resolution is
accepted.

Rev. Clynes moves that Uncle be
his leader. A beautiful speech,
& a beautiful action, not reminiscent
of his acceptance of defeat by J.H.M.

He says that Uncle has strongly urged him to be the head, but he realizes, in view of all that has happened, that Uncle is the only possible choice. For himself, he has been ^{so} long in the movement that he has ~~no longer~~ ^{any} ~~any~~ ^{and} ~~no~~ ^{no} personal ambition, but he has not lost the love of service. He will serve willingly as No 2, No 3, No 4, or No 5 or in any other position with his colleagues may decide. When Turner seconds. No other nomination. Carried with 5 dissentients, - Mackay, Wechelt, Buchanan, C. Stephen & Jimmy Lee.

Uncle takes the chair. Regrets lack of unanimity. Since it is finally felt that there is a call to unite accept, he will give it a trial, in spite of his own work as Secretary & Treasurer of the Party.

Rebutals with evidence change that he has been trying to displace J.M.M. It was he who moved, before the war, that J.M.M. should be permanent Chairman & leader, & that W. Stetson, previously in Vogue, should be Secretary. Moves that Clayton & Graham be Deputy Chairmen. Aye.

Aye also that an Executive should be elected. Meeting ends.

Afterwards went to have a talk, & help to draft a talk for Uncle. Then we walk back with him, & offer our services, if desired, as at F.O. It seems pleased, and asks I not to go on in 1935. "Now I can go home to get a wigging," he says. That Aunt's wiggings, as he says afterwards, were very serious.

We speak of the attack on him in

in Morning Post, alleging that he had
 told Laval in Paris that there would
 have to be a moratorium in London,
 if there was one in Berlin. He says
 this is quite untrue. He says that he
 told Laval that the situation in London
 was so serious that J.R. could not
 come to Paris, & that the conference
 must be in London. One only could be persuaded
 Laval to come to London. That
 J.R. had told him the same morning,
 on the telephone to Paris, (which was
 probably tapped) that there was
 grave danger of a moratorium, &
 that in that event, there would have
 to be a national govt.

(And of Addison's rough statement to
 me, going into dinner at the Royal
 Institute of Great Britain that there
 might have to be a moratorium, within

course of a week (and of people.)

Aug 29th - 31st.

At Windsor with R. Clearing up rubbish
 still. Then Baltye to tea. Willing-
 five with - then a Reef house of
 £60 a year plus board & lodging.
 Sept 1st.

To North, Auckland. First meet
 Executive & five then the inner
 story day by day. Unanimous &
 enthusiastic support. Then to public meeting
 in Town Hall. Crowded & many
 could not get in. Subject matter deeply
 interesting, responsive. That was an
 electric meeting.

I speak for just over an hour,
 & end by an analysis of the effect of
 falling price level. Berlin &
 American live in a fast-edged world
 of their own, remote divorced alike
 from the needs of industry & the

realities of working class life. The
 leaders who have left or have been
 gradually losing ^{ground} direction, keeping
 strange company & listening to strange
 counsellors. I became a socialist
 25 years ago because I hated social
 inequality and was disgusted at the
 spectacle of the rich riding unrepentantly
 on the backs of the poor. Because I
 have not changed my views, I stand
 unrepentantly & unhesitatingly behind
 A.H., whose record entitles him to the
 country's full support. I would
 sooner go to Hell with the Durham
 Union than have a wife like
 those in earthly paradise with
 these sort leaders.

VOTE of Confidence carried with
 two dissentients.

Sept 2nd.

Back to London. Liberal Council

& talks after supper. Provisionally
 agreed that I go back to the school in
 the New Year. On the financial &
 economic ~~last~~ situation, he is
 curiously unhelpful, though he would
 like, I think, to be otherwise. ~~is~~
 Sceptical about ^{possibilities of} raising the price level,
 or of mobilising foreign securities, or
 of development schemes, electrification, etc.
 A prisoner, I feel, of his own subtle,
 but still incomplete, economic
 analysis. That he is unwilling to
 think, the only ray of hope he can shed,
 but there may be an American revival
 in the spring, with good repercussions
 here.

Sept 3rd.

Meeting on finance at Princes Street House.
 Mrs. James Graham, Alexander,
 Greenwood, Lees Smith, Pelton &
 Arnold. Discuss Vuelin's speech

1931

next week. Must fit in to too much detail. They say that Snowden never gave them any real details of formation proposals in the cabinet.

This Committee to be the nucleus of a slightly broader one, to make ^{proposals} policy. This will be very important.

To W.L. in the evening, very tired. Sept 5th.

Wrote R to Cripps. A jolly stone house, ^{in Sanden} but practically at Thames end, & very drunk. Cripps has been ill, & H. Morrison too, who has been staying with him.

More light on the crisis. Cripps is the only ^{in the House} lawyer who has stuck to the party, though the reports that Pitt is so and too. Shows me letters from his father & from Beatrice Webb, his aunt, affirming his attitude. One letter says that "we" have never trusted

1931

J.H.H., that P.S. has been ruined by his wife, an "out and out Social Climber", & that J.H.H. is a "low liver" who has been allowed to do something for his railwaymen, in order that he may get a reputation as a T.V. leader & then be used against other workers.

Parmer (I'll tell his son how grateful I am to him for his stand for the D.C. against J.H.H., Lindsey & Vance, whose Uncle is away at the First House) brought on Friday (Aug 21st) that evening was settled, & a plan agreed without any cut in unemployment benefit. He went away exhausted but content. Then, within half an hour, an attempt was made, & most carefully, to collect the Cabinet again. What had happened? Next day the Cabinet was collected again, & told there must be a cut in
u. b.

1931.

They were engaged all day, & it was finally decided, (through ~~some~~ accounts differ here, but whether unanimously or not) to sound the American Chamber on a plan (containing a 150% cut) ~~which follows is~~ ^{which follows is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~plan~~ ^{plan} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~presented~~ ^{presented} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~board~~ ^{board} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~chamber~~ ^{chamber} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~next~~ ^{next} ~~day~~ ^{day}, Sunday, the 23rd, the

Cabinet met at 6 pm. to hear American answer. One telephone message was delayed. J.R.M. says shall they discuss, or wait & talk. Agree to wait & talk. Owen Vuch said that he would resign rather than object to any cut. This was clear to him. It was the first time resignation had been mentioned. It is noted it had been thought that a minority would give way to the majority.

Then at 6:30 J.R.M. reported that the Americans had agreed to a loan on the plan put up, including the 150% cut.

1931.

Ciiffs says that J.R.M. was outmaneuvered by the King, the Tolson & the Vandenberg. He understands that when J.R.M. ^{stated his} resignation on the Sunday night, Woodrow flatly refused from a post. And then the King told J.R.M. he must stay & form a "National Govt." I doubt his version. For Ciiffs says also that J.H.T. had told Swift early in July that "if there is a memorandum, our plan for a National Govt are all ready." The idea was not new to J.R.M., when the King proposed it to him.

Ciiffs says that, listening first to P.S. about to Vuch, he could hardly believe that they were giving accounts of the same events.

Swiftly he says, is quite broken & is retiring from position. He feels he must stick to J.R.M., who had

stuck to me, & made a special friend
 of him, when he was ostracised, & he &
 his wife invited, when he joined the
 Lab front on 14. I make an attempt
 at his, & speak of giving assistance to
 rich society. My friend, I say, are
 poorer & simpler people. J.H. long
 ago succumbed to his soft construction
 his flattery of his rich.

Sunday, he says, took his stand with
 J.H. party because he felt that they
 ought to show that the Labour Party was
 not subject to dictation by the T.U.C.

(What a silly attitude! The T.U.C. was
 only recommending the transfer of the
 Party, except on regard to revenue
 tariff, on which they were not united, &
 on which a majority of the Cabinet
 agreed with a majority of the C.C. in
 preferring his to a cut in U.V.)

J.H., Sunday & J.H. all kind being me

coming back to the Labour Party. (P.S.
 is definitely retiring.) What a delusion!

Back at W.C. feeling cold &
 dank. Went out with K & feel
 much better!

Sept 7th

New Parliamentary Executive meets
 at Transport House. I have been
 elected with an astonishingly high
 vote, which is really rather a moving
 tribute to the general belief in me.
 It is his sort of victory which I had in
 F. Jones, - Johnston 151

Ellen	140
Carlton	137
Henry	131
Walter	125
Edith	109
Edwards	108
Lawrence	95
Smithwell	87
Lee Smith	81
	79

Essex
 Kelly Hamilton } 68

These two, having tied, were both put on.

Donk, Chapman + Graham ex-officio.

Unsuccessful candidates.

Clinton Ed	67	D. Shields	25
Bowen	61	Hornabin	22
Dallas	51	Rhys Davis	21
Maxton	46	Lunn	21
Hudson	44	Wise	21
Morgan Jones	44	Kenworthy	13
Burton	43	M'Shane	11
Duncan Graham	42	Ellen Wilkerson	11
Hicks	36	Matters	9
Latham	34		
Salter	30		
J. Walker	30		
Carl Wilson	30		
Rt. Taylor	29		
Tom Smith	27		
Westwood	26		

In the next days we have heated
 & bitter debates, in which there
 is much emotion & commotion
 by members of the late cabinet. Our
 back benches are half ratted, half
 bored by this. I make one speech
 (on Sept 15th), winding up from
 our side on Budget Resolutions, with
 given comfort to our people. But
 I have speaking in the House & am
 never better than this.

Policy etc meeting frequently,
 both in full & in part. Graham
 Chairman. Others who are active
 are Addison, Reynolds, Pellett
 Miller, Gibbs, Wix (now broken
 and on a new Sunderland
 joint, however small, - a very
 conceited & rather superficial
 fellow, & a very bad (committee)
 & myself. My first feeling

sheer joy, when the last leader
 decamped, & my belief that we
 should have a majority at the
 coming election, has subsided a
 little. I think we shall do well
 to 250 on present strength - &
 may very nearly do this. Then,
 after, say, two years of successful
 unpopular Tory Govt, a clear
 Labour majority at last?

Sept 10th.

About Phosman to dine at the Home.
 We must consider banking and
 have international public works,
 e.g. suba - sea stations to
 distribute electricity all over
 Europe, e.g. one at the North Pole
 to run a certain percentage of
 British coal.

Sept 11th.

St. Davonport to lunch, -

"Toronto" of the New Statesman, - to lunch
 with me & Cuffs. Intelligent and
 helpful. We, of the Policy Club, are
 trying to meet on many city
 blocks on 2 or 3 days.
 Sept 16th.

Gandhi at 5.30 & Keegan at 6.30!
 The former is impressive, so long as
 he keeps off economics & arms.
 But, as my friend Tom said afterwards,
 "bloody hopeless" when he began to
 lecture on cotton & the handloom
 weavers. And on arms he has
 a terrible physical inferiority
 complex. He remembers with joy
 kept his sword, used to hang on his
 father's wall. He never drew
 one of them & the sight of blood he
 says, always makes him faint. But
 his "British home" emasculated the
 people of India" by not allowing

them to carry arms, & by refusing to
recruit them, unless after "martial race"
for the Army. All Indians should
be allowed to carry arms, & then he
would appeal to them to make a
voluntary surrender of arms.

Kayser attacking the Economy Bill
& the Budget in great style. Sir John
Simon said curiously afterwards that it
was tragic how to see how he had
completely taken leave of his wits.

Ken Smith reminds me of Holtom's
attack on J.R.M. in 1919, when he
published his birth certificate, showing
him to be the illegitimate son of one
MacDonald Kauray, a farm sickle
or bailiff, & how the T.V. Company
had then checked him for his citizenship
for 10 minutes, but if most of them
thought he had been all honesty
about it was. Bob. also says

but Wing Commander Gray, the Prince of
Wales attendant, had written to
^{a Labour}
~~some~~ a politician who had recently
held a Court Appointment, saying now
he had been "working for two years"
to bring about a National Govt.
Others about the Court, Ken says,
often used to tell them that there
ought to be a National Govt. but
then because of being publicly
caught in flagrant delicta of
interference in our domestic
positions.

Sept 17th.

Beveridge to dine with me at his
own request. He presses me to give
him an undertaking that he Labour
Party, at the forthcoming election,
will say that, if May 20th, they will
not abandon the gold standard. It would
give foreigners confidence in us, he

know, if all parties united in saying that we should stick to gold. I tell him that we can give no such undertaking. It is held by many that we shall soon be forced off the gold standard anyhow and we as a Party, shall no doubt ^{be} summoned to an international conference. But, if we are still on gold & the conference fails to give us satisfaction, then I think we shall go off deliberately. He puts his answer very disappointingly. Lasker says he has a lump of dollars from Rockefeller, & is hesitating to credit it in sterling account.

Sept 21st.

We go off to gold standard this morning! The Nationalist has failed in its primary object. Everyone seems bewildered. It is

known by some how that will put the General Election off for some time. Laska has view weakens.

I dash down to Datchet & back in the morning & look at a house for Mrs D, with some promising.
Sept 22nd.

Glady's to lunch. Nothing much is happening in the office. Reading seldom comes in. Gladwyn hasn't seen him yet. His "decision" on paper looks like that of an old man. Eden, he says, has a good manner, & is open to argument. He is very expectant for the Home in the autumn.

Sept 25th.

T.W.L. with Petica. Cultivate my garden with a long stretch of complete silence, with the very restful.

Sept 28th.

Back to London & the mad rush.
 Meetings all day on Policy Resolutions
 for Scarborough. Parliamentary etc.
 in the morning, National etc. in the
 afternoon, with an interlude of
 negotiation by Graham & myself
 with Bevin & Citrine, who would
 like large alterations in our draft.
 In particular, they dislike "Verbal
 concessions to Cooperators," (2) in
 our elaboration, as they think of
 I.C.P. (most sound machinery, & (3)
 are too unqualified, as they want,
 denunciation of tariffs. We
 meet them on (1), though frankly
 we shall upset Macquade & the
 Cooperators. on (2) we shall be
 wise & vague. on (3) we
 stand pretty firm.

Graham & I do a redraft late

in evening.

The feeling earlier in the day
 is that the general election is on.
 This feeling weakens in the evening,
 on reports of Liberal resistance.
 Sept 29th.

Policy Resolutions reported to
 Party Meeting, & accepted, on
 the whole, very well. One or two
 useful amendments suggested. Graham
 & I do a final redraft in the
 early afternoon.

The feeling that the election is
 on strengthens as the day advances.
 The Tories all wear grinning
 faces. One Lib has said
 to be "finding a formula" &
 the promise of Coupons. But
 Cabinet meetings are long &
 apparently troubled. Samuel
 told Joseph Hunter that "no

decision has been taken." But this may be a half-lie. J.R.M. said to be very angry, & more inclined than before to an election, because he had heard that our National Executive yesterday decided, without waiting for Scarborough, that those Ministers, M.P.'s & candidates who had associated themselves with the National front could no longer be regarded as members of the Labour Party.

Fraham tells me that Snowden would never tell the late Cabinet anything about his financial plans, because he disliked J.H.T., who he believed went out & used all information for speculation. It was said that J.H.T. was in serious

financial trouble, owing £30,000 to £40,000. When P.S. was ill, J.H.T. said that he was ill in the head as well as in the body, & this came to her friend's ears. She wrote J.H.T. a violent letter, demanding withdrawal & apology. J.H.T. wanted to succeed P.S. as Chancellor, & also wanted a Knight hood for his stock broker. J.R.M. was said to be sympathetic to both these aspirations. J.H.T. it was reported, was being supported by the G.W.R. among others.

Cripps makes a fine fighting speech against the Economy Bill. Our benches are delapidated. Sept-30th.

The saying tonight is "The Cabinet have been trying for a week to find a formula which will

But Samuel will not accept. So far they have not succeeded."

Much running between Coud & the Govt House of Commons, but L.G. is inflexibly against an election.

Willy Graham tells me that he resigned a Directorship of the City Road Building Society, (Stamps Concern) when he took Miss. on a written understanding that he should come back when he left office. That he now believes that he will not be reinstated. This means a loss of between £500 & £1000 a year. He finds also that many papers for which he used to write will take nothing from him now. Such is his bitterness!

Oct 1st.

The liberals are capitulating to the Tories. Anti-Labour Pacts are being

arranged everywhere. L.G. is deserted, isolated, & impotent. J.R.M. has arranged for his desertion all the standard Union ground & fight with present constitutions with the aid of the Tony machine & a private fund supplied by "certain friends". This is the tale today.

Phil gave lunch today to Uncle, Willy Graham, myself, Keegan, Salkin & Kinsley Martin. Keegan had expressed a wish to meet Uncle. It went rather well, & he made a good impression, - even on me. On export position, with the pound at 16/- is he writes. Preeminently strong. We should aim at an international conference but meeting business - War Debts & Reparations, a group of nations, including first a united Empire, &

stabilize a currency among themselves
 & bluff France & US. in a
 scheme for a cooperative joint
 credits, guaranteed by Govts. to
 make new work, - not to pay
 old bondholders' debts. And so on,
 convincingly.

J.K.M., he says, will soon be
 going to the place my wife calls
 "Lynsey-mouth." A good ending
 for a speech. "A week ago the
 pound looked the dollar in the
 face. Today it is kicking it in
 the nose." "Conference,"
 says Salter, has become an indecent
 word at Geneva now. One cannot
 pronounce it in polite society.
 I cast Salter for a high, if
 not the highest, post in the
 Treasury next time we come in.

Vane & Graham are both very
 (Vane after the lunch said "how nice I should
 have been in the Cabinet. Shearman said he was a fool.")

food with several
 anti-Treasury officials. They are
 become very bitter partisans, &
 show it.

Oct 2nd - 85.

At Scarborough for Annual Party Conference.
 Dissolution & delayed announcement
 partly to inconvenience us to the
 maximum & partly because they
 can't agree to a formula which the
 Cabinet, & I keep over us.

We got the E.C. Babel up by the same
 train as the J.K.M. going to Scarborough.

Mr King's Cross there is a
 carriage reserved for our party
 at the rear of the train. I am
 wrongly directed to the front,
 & coming back become entangled
 in the crowd, which is waiting for

Cripps told me later that he had
 had to say to Spigg, & of Ferguson,
 how were abusing Uncle Graham in
 front of the "Remember my dear fellows, you
 are civil servants. These people may be Ministers
 in the same day."

J.R.M. Endeavouring to get through, bringing a large suitcase, I ask "where is the legal section of the Labour Party travelling?" This finds its way into the Evening Standard.

The Scarborough conference is an affair of quasi-unanimity. Our Policy Resolutions are all accepted practically on the spot. The I.L.P. are steam-rolled on the issue of acceptance of the standing order of the Parliamentary Party. The E.C. elections result in few changes, but Ed Powell is defeated by T.E. Williams of the N.A.S., with Larkin a poor third in the Socialist & Cooperative Society section. Larkin gets the Miners (500,000) but

little else. In the constituency

Parliamentary Panel	in votes
Laurel	2,139,000
Hillier	1,725,000
Dalton	1,573,000
Dallen	1,524,000
A. Jenkins	716,000
<hr/>	
Total	674,000
Morgan Jones	592,000
Kenworthy	530,000

in the TV section ^{the only} ~~there is~~ little change, but Swan comes on for the Miners, the place of J. Jones.

There is a party in Scarborough itself, but not surprising.

In the women's section Leah Manning went, Lady Mabel Smith, which is an improvement. One feeling between the political

and industrial leaders much
 involved. People are being filled
 with last minute consternation.
 Colin Clark just Waverley, &
 Maurice Hackett to Weybridge.
 I push him latter into party
 on his own. He had intended
 only to fetch & carry for others.
 Bevin is going to Waterloo.
 October 7th.

New Executive meets & approves
 an Election Manifesto, drafted by
 Laski. Good of its kind, but rather
 too literary for some tastes.
 "Man or party" is a leading
 slogan.

October 8th.

Back to London and dine
 with Gladys at home of George
 Warrington, an Estonian Scan-
 dinavian who spoke in Cambridge

boat. Went on the stage, married a
 Roman Catholic Jew, daughter of Sir
 J. Lewis, & is now in Keynes' ^{circle}
 (Merchant Banker.) He thinks
 we ought to nationalise the
 Stock Exchange. We go to the
 Gaiety Theatre & see a play of
 Schmitzlein, - a cycle of funny
 scenes. An amusing contrast
 to politician's daily life!

October 10th.

Start for the North. R is
 settling them ^{disagreements} ~~to~~ Cherry
 House & clearing up at Wadsworth,
 which must be vacated by the
 end of this month. Ben

clashes very awkwardly with
 the election campaign & will
 keep her away from H.A. till
 the last week.

Speak for Daller at Wellingborough,

a good meeting, and on to Sheffield afterwards, arriving October 11th

After 1 am. meeting J. Jones and his wife, who has taken a great liking to me. They put me up at their official residence, (Yorkshire Miners' Association,) near Haunsley. J.J. is an intelligent little chap, & a great reader. He fears we shall lose Haunsley, which to me seems (at his stage) unduly pessimistic!

Speak in Hemsworth Division this morning, at South Elmsall, for G. Price. A very enthusiastic Miners' meeting, & in the afternoon & evening for Elvies in the Swan Valley. Afternoon meeting at Kirfield near, but a great show at ~~Highgate~~ Cleckheaton at

which I make one of my best speeches. Sleep at Leeds. October 12th.

Travel as far as York with Bevin on his way to Gateshead. He tells me that J.P.M. said to him, going into No 10 one day during the London Naval Conference when the French had been very stilly, "I never felt more like declaring war than I do today." And Kevin replied "I shouldn't talk like that if I were you. You must be 'overhead & misunderstood.'" Also that J.P.M. had said one day, I said and at a small meeting of some of the non-political members of the Economic Advisory Council, "you must remember the high mental calibre of the man I have to work with" & Kevin had said "the

Prime Minister, you shouldn't say that sort of thing in front of me."

~~At the time~~ Here let me put down for Citrine's story, which I heard at Scarborough. He went in one day (the date can be fixed from the story) to see J. N. M., who said he was very tired, and couldn't go leading the Party much longer. He had been thinking who might succeed him. He had thought of Mosley. How did Citrine think the Movement would feel about his selection. Citrine said that it would receive practically no support, & would, indeed, be quite out of the question. "Whom do you think the Movement would prefer, then, as my successor?" asked J. N. M. "Probably Henderson," said Citrine. "We all feel he is

doing very well as Foreign Secretary." "Doing very well!" said J. N. M. angrily, "look at his" and he fished out a private Cabinet paper on the dispatch of Wansbury to Egyptian waters, "and you will see what a man he is making over Egypt."

There is, incidentally, some evidence that, after Mosley faded out, J. N. M. looked to Jewitt as his preferred successor. It may be just about that that latter was anxious to leave the Law Officers' Draft & take a Secretaryship of State, & would have a political, rather than a legal, career.

Arrive in the afternoon of the day at Bishop Auckland & start my campaign with three meetings.

Old Brian Hill has been chosen as
opponent, though I don't hear his name
I get to know his name. A good old
fellow, but quite without knowledge.
I have to watch over him at
every stage, nomination, getting
deposit money, issue of election
address, arrangement of meetings etc.

From the very beginning I am
unhappy & uncomfortable in his
campaign, & I miss it very much.

Here, as practically everywhere, it
is a straight fight. Every one is
running with Tory support. But
though unhappy & uncomfortable, I
never contemplate the possibility
of defeat, counting upon the
solid tradition of the Division and
on the strength of the Con against
the dose cuts, to see me through.
But many of the meetings lack

enthusiasm, and I am conscious of
a certain difficulty in getting the
Con over.

I speak outside the Division a good
deal, at Darlington, Stockton, Billingham,
S. Shields, Sunderland and in the
Karnarod Castle Division. None in
Seaham against J.M. It seems
improbable that he can win. Some
of them are very fine meetings,
especially Sunderland and
Lanark meetings.

Every one is late in starting, &
seems to be only fighting half-
heartedly, & spending very little.

As the Campaign proceeds, &
J.M., Snowden & Skelton (hairdressing
Snowden on the wireless & in an
article in the Daily Post!)

play ever more wildly on stunts,
— the German mark stunt is a

special favourite with J.M., who displays
a million man note at his
meetings & speaks of the horrors of
inflation. Curran copies his, &
tells of man notes & thousands taken
in the fire at London & elsewhere.

In the last days the Savings Bank
Street comes in, started by Runciman,
backed up by Snowden & Thomas.

The savings in the N.D. Savings Bank
had been lent to the Unemployment
Insurance Fund, which has bankrupt.
∴ all those savings were in danger!

There is no doubt that his, &
the wireless talks, reaching distant
who never come to meetings &
golden vote, contributed ~~very~~
very powerfully to the results.

October 26th.

Evening of poll. I address more than
20 meetings, starting at 2.45 at Coppley.

October 27th.

Polling day. So ten rounds with Brian
Bell. Curran has a lot of cars.
We have only two, another would
have promised having broken down.
Considering our complete lack of any
proper organisation, we seem to be
doing all right.

That night K & I and the
others go round to Davis' to hear
results on the wireless. I have
a feeling that there will be many
losses, & am not inclined, as in 1929,
to go and hear the results in
public at a Picture House. But
the news, as it comes through, is
overwhelmingly worse than I had
even anticipated. One traversing
National majorities are the
worst ^{feature} feature. The defeat of
Uncle is the hardest blow of all,

though not unexpected. But when we leave in the small hours, I say to Davis, "Well, I'm not at all sure that I want to be a member of this House of Commons." That too was quite sincere. That I still thought that I was in, though probably by less than 1000.

October 28th.

At the count it is seen clear that it is pretty close, and fairly early I formed the opinion that I was just out. And so it was.

Curry 17,551

Dalton 16,796

↳ Not Majority 755

(I had dropped 1,042 votes on compared with 1929 and Curry had added 3,407 to the combined Liberal and Tory votes.)

The crowd outside was largely

Curryite. We got away, after a considerable interval, in a car to the Committee Room, where I spoke pretty strongly to a small gathering. I said that I had always left the organization entirely to them, but that whenever fought in that next time would be a job to do for again. It was an unheeded thing that a Liberal candidate should not know, till he arrived for the opening of his campaign, how the fight would be. That I thanked Miss Kell & Sherr very warmly for what they had done.

And I spoke also at Shields on the way to Darlington, where we caught the train. There was no crowd on the platform as there was in 1929, when J.M.L. the next travelled back in triumph,

buying evening paper all the way.

But on 14th 1929, Macmillan was on the platform, defeated him at Skittle, a lonely Tony in a Labour mob, a victory day. He had spoken then of ebbs & flows, & I remember him of his day. He said, rather wily, but his tendency was for the election to vote left in days of prosperity, & to vote right in days of depression.

Let me add, not my own election, the election system of his candidates, mine, very moderate, were 353-0-6 but Curry's only 2 199-19-4. Clear evidence that, when he started, he didn't expect to win!

My blow was softened a little by the other results in Dunham. The loss of Maydon, Dunham, Stoughton-le-Spring & Consett, all as safe or

safe than B.A., showed the strength of the tide. The contagion of seaham spread through Dunham & Northumbrian like a plague. S. Wales, Yorkshire & some of the midland seats stood relatively much firmer. But with one exception in the Home Dept to SD, with J.L. the only ex-Labour Minister to survive, & only Cripps & Kettle besides carrying any guns at all, we are faced with a protest!

The factors that caused our defeat were

- (1) Disaffection (largely justified) at the general failure of the Labour Govt,
- (2) the story that our legal leaders "ran away" & went back on their undertakings
- (3) the inflation & "fall in value of the pound" stunt,

- (4) the savings bank stunt,
 (5) the stunt of the "National" fort,
 that was above Park,
 (6) the confusion caused by the joining
 of J.K. & Swarden, whom we had
 booked so long, & who had a great
 personal following,
 (7) the staging of street fights
 practically everywhere.

This last point was very important in
 reducing our numbers so very low.
 We pulled 7 million votes from
 opponents' 14 million. Under P.R.,
 we should have had 200 members
 instead of 50.

But underground fears sapped our
 foundations in the last few days.
 On the surface little of this was
 visible.

Sheer fatigue followed defeat. We had
 a few days at W.L., returning on
 November 2nd on
 November 3rd.

Vulle gave a lunch at St. Germain to
 defeated ministers. He said that if he
 had to go through it again, he would
 take just the same line, but he
 would take it much sooner. And his
 is what counts. It was dealing
 with his proposal & that, & seeing
 half to agree, but undermined his
 position & that of others.

Perhaps we may say of the last
 fight that it perished of an
 excess of team spirit. And certainly
 they knuckled under for how much
 to J.K. & Swarden at all stages.

Addison, for instance, told me
 that during the final discussion,
 when prep. to save the gold

standard were under discussion, he asked whether it wouldn't be better and cheaper, & wouldn't get them out of many of their difficulties, to go off gold them. He said that Snowden takes more insulting to him than anyone had ever been in his life before, & no one else venturing to take up the point, the Cabinet passed on.

Again (I may have recorded twice points earlier) when Uncle proposed the temporary suspension of the sinking fund to help the problem of balancing the budget, J.R.M. & Snowden brushed it aside. But a few days later, when these two were in conversation with the liberal leader, J.R.M. said "Samuel wants us to suspend the S.F. We shall have to consider this very seriously."

Snowden, moreover, during all the discussion, would never give them

details of his proposed new taxation, so as to enable them to form any judgment as to how far it carried out "equal sacrifice." (Perhaps, as Graham once said to me, because he suspected Thomas of going out and speculating on any confidential information.)

And dear old Uncle saved Snowden, when he was in a minority of one in the Cabinet ^{and} the Land Values Law, and would easily have been irritated into resigning on the spot, by suggesting he should take a night to work it over!

November 5th.

Molly to dinner. She says that, when the date cut started, ⁱⁿ the middle of the election, the Blackburn Employment Exchange Manager expected a row, and asked for extra police, but not

one minimum of complaint was heard, even from those who were told to go away & come back next day, because the Exchange had run out of telegrams. Such mechanism is a miracle!

She provided further evidence of JRM's interest in a National front well before the crisis. One night last March she went with him near the House, & he said "Baldwin was sitting in the Chair an hour ago. He came to ask me whether I would sit for a National front." This was obviously a joke, but she only laughed & said "What a ridiculous idea", and he dropped the subject.

Also of the anti-Uncle campaign Malcolm had said to her, quite casually, some months ago "Of course, Henderson is making an awful mess of Foreign Affairs." She had expressed

surprise & disappointment, but clearly it was his father's voice. He also put about the tale that, during the financial crisis, Uncle telephoned to Brian all the ~~best~~ financial secrets; Norman told him these. So that Norman refused to say anything confidential in Uncle's presence. In fact, Uncle never telephoned to Brian, but they were in common language. But the story shows how his close friendship with Brian aroused jealousy & ill-natured comment.

Also on JRM: She had met him at lunch with Wilfred Jones, just after his return from the Continent when the ^{first} National front had been formed. He told her JRM had appealed to him as a friend & said "I count on you to

stand by me." They hadn't discussed the
 merits at all, and, as we know from
 Vind, Jewitt had made no attempt
 to hear ^{from him} the other side. At his lunch,
 he had ^{not} quite decided, so he said, and
 asked advice. He added "I have
 no convictions at all on the matter."
 A feeble character, indeed, with all his
 good legal brain!

November 9th.

I wish I had seen
 convictions!

Even of Parliamentary Session speak in
 Suffolk Galleries. Herts of the fallen!
 Most of them absurdly cheerful. R &
 I prefer the glum ones, such a poor
 Willy Graham who seems quite dazed
 & distressed. (I wish I have
 already entered that he had, not indeed
 a binding contract, but a gentleman's
 understanding, when he went into the
 Govt and gave up his Directorship of
 the Abbey Road Building Society, but when

he came out, he would reject the board.
 But they have intimated that they don't
 want him back, & in addition, he
 had many channels of ^{his} financial
 journalism now closed by political
 prejudice. A month or so later I
 read with pleasure that he had joined
 Schwab, ^{a friend of mine} ~~in~~ ^{for} economic
 & statistical advice. This will give
 him a practical contact with the
 City which might be valuable hereafter.)
 Poor old G.L., who is to lead the
 remains of the Parliamentary Party,
 sat most of the evening with his
 head in his hands.

November 10th.

To W.L. with R for a ^{real} long
 spell, a delayed summer holiday
 of two months.

Had a very perfect time it was.
 Planting & planning the garden & walking,

with hardly a horizontal interruption.

I read Jean & Edouard & Maetappant
& John's life of him & Whitehead, &
then economics. And R read

Queen Victoria's letters & journals, rather
fascinating after some of our own Royal
letters.

Phil is a beautiful
& blessed place, & though the
making of it was a wise extravagance,
it is cheap to run.

I reconcile myself, R looks, with
a surprising lack of outburst, to the
changed immediate prospects of my life.
From Jean out of Parliament, working out
& thinking about economics, probably
writing &, I hope, travelling. We had
of the U.S., a lecturing tour, & a visit to
the Soviet Union, & perhaps next summer
Czechoslovakia & Vienna.
December 9th-11th.

Phil & Irene for the week-end. He

is going on Vuel's secretory to the
Disarmament Conference in February.

More evidence of J.R.M.'s intentions
to form a National front months ago.
Parsfield had been trying for months
to resign & in June wrote to J.R.M.
insisting that he must be free by the
autumn. And J.R.M. replied ^{in a letter,} still in

June, begging him to stay on a little
longer, "the trouble is we have not
got the men, & I may soon take
a decision that will surprise you."

(I remember that they both told me
in 1924, when the first Labour front
was formed, that J.R.M. had said that
his difficulty was that there was
so few of his followers who were
capable of taking charge of departments.)

Clifford Allen, moreover, when he
had ignored for years, he suddenly
invited to Chequers last autumn,

and, having made a great fuss of him,
suggested that he should edit a
weekly paper to put J.M.'s point of
view. ^{his claim to policy, that} ~~and~~ when the crisis came, Clifford
Allen was sent for again, and was
very busy indeed trying to describe
support for J.M. within the Labour Party.

Heine asks me what Alice
should like when we come in again.
She thinks the Treasury is terribly
unimportant. She wants I ought to put
the Treasury, & Phil to the F.O.! So like
her to put it so naively!

December 16th.

To London for National Executive. Uncle
is away at Cannes recuperating.

Decided to have a Policy Committee
of 7, plus Uncle Ex. Office. On
a vote I came out top of the list
with Clynes, Morrison & T. Williams &
Cripps.
Latham, Cripps & Hirst also ex-officio.

Our will be an important body. That
& I must work in harmony.

December 17th - 19th.

Lionel Elvin to stay. We walk 30
miles, (R rather less) via
Hidborne Peas to Uffington & then
missing our way walk N for to
Foxhill, find ourselves at Uffington
Lambourne! Back to the Ridgeway
along the Ashbury Road, & then to
Foxhill, where we did not see to
eat bread & cheese & pickled
onions, & on back through Hidborne.
A very unspilt young man. He
wants to send scholars from
elementary schools abroad for
a month or two before they come
up to Cambridge. A very good idea.

And so the year ends, in an
atmosphere of peace after buffetings.
It has not been an uneventful year in
our lives!

faults. His intellectual development is a disappointment. He will do much distinguished work in economic theory, but he has stiffened in an old-fashioned laissez-faire attitude of approach to current problems. He is bemused by modern Viennese theory, & by the personality of Hayek, in particular. He has no belief, or interest in, or knowledge of, Planned Economy, either in the Soviet-Union. He over-cultivates his feud with Keynes. He thinks he is working out a diagnosis of our ills in terms of a monetary bacillus. He is exercising a powerful influence, - for he has a powerful intellectual personality & much charm, - on young teachers & on students. He is still young enough to grow & change, but his phase is negative & rather tiresome. I foresee the possibility of intellectual friction at the Schacht.

January 9th.

Willy Fabian died last night of double pneumonia. This is a very great personal loss. On personal grounds, I regret, not so much the ending of an intimate friendship, - for it was hardly that, though we had been coming close & closer together, - or the ending of a relationship which I am sure would have ripened into a happy & cooperative intimacy. But on public grounds, his loss is ruinous. He was only 44, just young age. He seemed to have the prospect of large office & great usefulness was just before him. If not Premier, - & he would have been in the running for that, - he would certainly have been Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had a ~~great~~ combination of gifts very rare in politics, - an immense ^{knowledge} mastery of detail,

a clear grasp of socialist principles, an immense (perhaps too great) capacity for work, courage, (which had been visible in recent years & months), great patience, gentleness & courtesy, & esp. the supreme gift of cooperation in team work. He had the power to command confidence in his presentation of a case. He was ^{a first-class speaker,} wonderfully good to work with. He never lost his

temper. He erred, if at all, by reason of modesty. ("Can you think of him living above his permanent officials?" "Which one ^{meant} me.")

He had a heavy blow in his defeat at Central Edinburgh. But, as was truly said, no bitterness. "1918-1931 has been a wonderful apprenticeship. We look beyond the ruin to the rising sun." So he works, just after his crash.

It is a stupid & stupidifying irony that he should be taken, while Sweden is left, unscathed, in the natural course of things, even without the crash, he would

have succeeded. He is gone before any of our old men, he may be rich in virtues. And he is gone just when our movement most had need of him. My heart is very heavy.

January 10th.

Tomorrow we go back to London, after two months at West Heate. Strength has returned to us both, I hope. We have, at any rate, been quite consciously happy for a large part of the time. And that, in his mottled life, is a rare patch of rich colour.

January 11th.

Meeting of the Fabian Research Bureau to discuss subject of a Mission of Enquiry to Russia. My name is among those proposed. The chief problem is to find the money.

Dine with G. L. & S. Cliffs at the lock. Some talk of difficulties of working with

Transfer there. Cripps has rather wild
view on money & foreign investments. Not
a very balanced judgment, I fear, but great
gifts of ~~facility~~ character & legal brain.
S.L. toying with idea of L.S. leaving with
in Party. Cripps I vote strongly against
him.

January 12th.

Take Uncle for a walk in St James' Park.
Not very well, I fear, & showing signs of
nerviness not at all usual in him. Has
a strange tale of allegations that Zilly
is a Bolshevik agent, & may have been
having his correspondence tampered with.
I must enquire further into him.

A good saying which I heard some days ago
by Webb, when the National Govt went off-
the good standard, "nobody ever told us
we could do that!"

January 18th.

Zilly to dine. He has, I think, been very

indiscreet, going about after an election
saying in Geneva that there was no hope
now except in Revolution" and keeping
contact with the Chinese in Paris, &
receiving, with Rajchman, messages
direct from Soong in Nanking which
couldn't be sent through the Chinese Foreign
Minister.

January 26th - 25th

Run into Tom Johnston at Transport
House. He is running an anti-anti-
French line in Forward & very hostile
to Francis Williams of the D.H. & his
anti-French ~~and~~ inclinations. This is
well enough as far as it goes, for our
public, but in the Labour Party & outside,
is too ready to take the German side
against the French by instinct.

T.J. rather shocks me by revealing
that he is in constant touch with
Wigram of our Paris Embassy, who stands

him Plaudin's point of view on allegations in
the British anti-French Press. I would
rather T.J. were in touch with Blum!
He lacks judgment a little.

January 23rd - 25th

R & I stay with the Webbs at
Pamfield Corner. in the house

Will Henderson tells me how Quibell
told him how J.N.M. said to him latter, just
after the Palestine fun "I want to put
Malcolm in the post. I wanted to do it when
the post was first formed, but I knew
there would be opposition. But I shall
do it now at the first opportunity. It
is Malcolm who ~~is~~ is really responsible
for the settlement in Palestine, but Henderson
has got all the credit. It's a shame!"
more loyalty to Colleague.

The Webb is a good 74. They haven't
planned anything since ^{we} were last
here, in 1927 or 1928, & they are
quite uninterested in the country.

They still talk a lot of "the producers"
the consumers. It is significant
that they had nothing to say about
Colonial Office matters, & his time
there. But they are friendly, &
more human than of old. And she
full of gossip, much of it false.

Clifford Allen (whose pamphlet is just
out) asked P. personally to introduce him
in the H/L, & seemed quite hurt
when P. personally said he wouldn't
unless Allen would sit with them, &
take their dump and oppose the post.

Mr Webb says how J.N.M. offered
peerage to Citrine & Berin ^{some} ~~time~~
months before the last post fell.
Citrine refused at once, & Berin next
day. Citrine keeps a diary of
all his ^{own} conversations, & keeps it in
typescript.

The Webbs are both much interested in

Russia & are facing there in May & June. They hope for the success of his socialist experiment. They think that, even now we have the opportunity to join a front, "we must proceed at once to take over finance" etc, & that we should have an undertaking beforehand from the King that he will enable us to do this by creating fees, if necessary, without waiting for the Tull Act. They think the King would not agree to a restriction of his prerogative in his respect without an election. Now that J.M. got from the King an undertaking that he would have a dissolution if the Tories passed him into position outside the national mandate.

When Webb suggested to J.M. that personally should lead in the Lords, J.M. said, reflectively, "Yes. That was what Henderson suggested to me."

and when Webb had warned J.M. about the difficulty of going to Seachen in view of Henderson's being a doubtful force, J.M. said "That's very awkward. He & I are on Christian name terms." And personally told me that J.M. said to him, after the Lords had turned out Trevelyan's bill, "Henderson tells me you made a very offensive speech."

Now Webb knows that J.M.'s sufficient citrine of the day as leader was designed to make them want him to stay on.

Similarly when in 1924 J.M. had wanted to take the Co. as well as the Premiership, he had told Haileford (was running up Webb in connection) that the same was probably going to the Co. And he had told Snowden in 1931, when he was in charge

to give up, but Dr. Owen would succeed him at the Treasury. Webb says it was practically agreed that Snowden should come to the head & take the line (Storing when he retired).

Feb 12th - 14th.

At Bishop Auckland. Unanimously re-adopted on Feb 13th. Stay with Davis. Much activity is being shown now. If a small fraction had been shown before the election, I should still be an M.P. Thank God it wasn't!

Oct 8th.

For nearly 8 months I have given the diary a rest, though I kept one during my visit to the USSR in July & August. In May I spent a week in Milan, acting as Rapporteur in a discussion on "The State & Economic Life" organised by the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation.

For the rest, I was kept busy by National Executive meetings, including many meetings of the Policy Committee & Sub-Committees, especially that on Finance, of which I was Chairman. Uncle's absence at Geneva for his greater part of the year was much felt. He could not exercise influence from a distance, & when he came back it was clear that he had lost touch a little with the home situation, and had also lost, not unaturally, a good deal of his old ascendancy with the E.C. The lack of "coming leaders" is painfully visible. Apart from everyone, even in the longest list of possibilities, there are few prominent objections.

A group, ago got together by Cole, meets at intervals to discuss policy. It ends by producing a "Programme of Work", which it presents to the Executive. I report to the E.C. & have a difficult job

is steering between non-cooperation with
 Cole's group (which includes A.L., Cripps,
 Klee, Addison, Sturwell, Heller, ^{Leski,} & a
 number of others) & the change with the
 E.C. of indulging in parallel discussions or
 proxy. Later in the year, owing to
 the disaffiliation of the I.L.P., ^{the} Socialist League
 is formed, on the eve of the Annual
 Conference at Leicester, out of the anti-
 disaffiliationist section of the I.L.P. led by
 Wise & Dellan, & the SSIP. There is
 much suspicion of this new body in outside
 circles, at Tpt Home & on the N.E., and
 some opposition within the SSIP itself.

One whole pattern of personal relationships
 is increasingly difficult. One Parliamentary
 Party is a poor little affair, isolated from
 the N.E., whose only M.P. is G.L. Klee
 is Deputy Leader of P.P., - a "junior accepted
 position" as someone puts it, - and he &
 Cripps, who are in close touch with Cole,

sit in G.L.'s room at the Home all day &
 all night & continually influence the
 old man. With none of these are
 Uncle's relations ^{close} cordial.

Cripps, who has many good points, - including
^{personal} charm & political courage, - breaks
 down unexpectedly. Though a first class
 lawyer, according to ordinary standards of
 judgment, he doesn't, as Wilfred Green put
 it to Molly Hamilton, "know a good
 point from a bad one." On currency
 he runs after wacky theories, & his
 speeches are thought by many to be
 obviously "irresponsible." Klee is a
 small person, with no personality, no
 real standing in the movement.

Cole, Leski, Parkway, etc are very critical,
 for, - in some respects helpfully, in others
 irritatingly - but are at a distance from
 the Centre. Morrison is important
 where, intellectually able but aggressive,

of a pedantic stickler for procedural
~~efficiency~~ ^{efficiency} & party discipline. He is ~~of~~
 frequently anti-Union on particular
 points. Greenwood lets his first
 by-election return at Wakefield, but
 through drinking too, I think, when in the
 last Parliament, is rather out-of-elbow
 with G. C. & A. in the House. And
 Willy Graham is dead. And Macdonald has
 retired into his cooperative shell. And Tom
 Johnston is marooned in Scotland. And
 Wedgwood Benn seems to be taking a rest
 from politics, & Trenchard to have given
 them up altogether, fascinated by the details
 of his country estate. And in Bradford,
 who has the cheek to make speeches in
 favour of a 40 hour week, when, in office,
 she couldn't put through a 48 hour
 week, is defeated on attempting to return
 to the General Council. And where are
 the coming Trade Union leaders on the political

side? We are in a vacuum!

I have taken on - and his will be my
 principal work before school - the supervision
 of a piece of research by Linda the joint
 auspices of the Helms Trust & the Rockefeller
 Research Grant, which will give me some
 free travel during the year to Rome
 & Geneva & Germany. And will, I hope,
 provide me with good material for a
 book.

Walt Hezke is a lovely possession, &
 a great source of health & well-being
 happiness. We have let St. Columba's Mission
 till next March, & I have lodgings in
 Walsingham for mid-week during school term.

From Newcastle, written at the beginning
 September I go in connection with Caldwell
 on the meeting concurrently with the
 TV. Commission, I pay a night's visit to the
 Trenchards at Wallington. I spend a day
 with G.T. on his estate, looking at his

afforestation schemes. In the evening the
^{2 visitors} family sit round & Lady Trevelyan reads aloud.
 On her occasion she is reading Wilkie Collins'
 "Lady in White". There is a great
 discussion as to what notice should be put
 in the grounds to discourage visitors from
 making leaving papers about. Afforestation
 mottoes have been visited & the two most
 famous are "Pigs make litter; why should
 you?" & "When you make a litter, Lady
 Trevelyan has to clean it up after you." The
 daughter who has ^{very} recently married a German
 announces that she can feel the baby
 already inside her. Now C.T. gives it
 out, to all whom he meets, that he has
 made £8.15.0. by selling to delegates
 of the N.C. (now visited Wallingford) a
 copy of his eighteen penny book on the
 history of Wallingford & the Trevelyan family.
 We have a little political conversation. He
 has given up his old constituency & doesn't

feel inclined to re-enter Parliament. (His wife
 is all against his doing any more politics.)
 He is shouting for bold socialist policies,
 & she has recently visited him. (Remember
 how when asked at the first cabinet meeting the
 second Labour govt. what would be the cost
 of raising the school leaving age, he couldn't
 answer!)

The Annual Conference at Leicester (Oct 3rd
 to 7th) is a curious affair. One floor
 ran away with the platform several
 times. Wise's amendment to nationalise
 joint stock banks was carried against
 us by 1,141,000 to 984,000, - the main
 the general workers & the N.U. all voting
 against the platform, & the Transport workers
 voting for. Apart from these 4 big
 votes, the platform had a majority of
 730,000 to 250,000! An odd reversal of
 my expectations, which was that we should
 win with the aid of the big votes, but be in a
 minority among the small.

a Morrison-avoid defeat had to withdraw his
Transport Man, which denied any scandalous
workers control, & Trenchard, who had
a remarkable ~~political~~ statistical success,
carried without a division or motion
demanding definitely socialist measures from
the next Labour Govt. Uncle half-offered
his, & had a very bad reception.

So far, all is contrary to the left, &
a triumph for Cole & others. That
the G.S. elections show hardly any change.
I am reflected with a better vote than
ever, & go above Morrison. Wife
gets hardly any support in Section 3, nor
does Atlee. One full voting is
given as a Labor hall.

I make ^{only} a pt speech introducing
the Financial Revolution, but an 2
speech at the Public Demonstration on
Disarmament & Peace.

Uncle is so disappointed at the result
that he tells me what to do

morning that he has determined to resign
the leadership, & will write to his effect
to the Parliamentary Party. Probably
his is right for he is carrying much too
heavy & varied a responsibility. That
it makes vivid the difficult question of
future leadership. So long as J.L. can
do on head leading the P.P. in office, there
is no real problem. That beyond
that ---?

We shall all have to take stock
of the situation very sincerely in
year.