

**Papers of Hugh Dalton:**  
**Original Manuscript Diary**

**Volume 46:**  
**1954**  
**(Folder of Loose Manuscripts)**

**Reduction Ratio:**

**12 x**

DIARY.

(1)

20/2/54 (2)

I fixed a programme with him, starting with delivery of complete material by end of this month, & publication at end of Sept. So apart from last chapter, I was ahead of time table.

Benavon family quiet. Nye making up 2 or 3 families e.g. in Housing Bill Cree. Israeli Amb, with whom I lunched on 4/2, wasn't very pleased with Nye's visit to Israel. He had upset everyone, trying to be bright & clever. Had charged Mapam with poisoning State Camps in Russia. Mapai & Histadrut with opening "a state with a state" - they couldn't have their own Health Service - and asking how many people there were in the Negro; why couldn't that refugee go there? All this made a bad impression. & Jennie Lee ran round behind him, questioning his tricks, & trying to undo the damage.

Desmond told me, on 11/2, that H. Wilson, whom he says the other British take & despise, had been with J.F. & Baird to see them, & proposed that they

4RY.

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20/2/54(3)

Should be leader & Nye Deputy leader, getting rid of  
C.K.A. & blocking out H.G. Nye was very angry  
when he heard about this, & said that this would be  
way to get about things, & that you would be  
H.G. to play straight anyway. No clear word H.G.  
said! ~~again~~

Has been very bad showing a "profile" of H.G. & Sturges,  
squirting hatred & jealousy. Rather like Lussman  
talked to Edelman (according to the latter talk to  
me some weeks ago), & a rude reply to me &  
H.G. & Nye (not H.G. & Nye) also points to Lussman  
has other evidence to J.F. I don't see they collaborate!

Next week when poor Lussman is by F. Parker,  
Will Lawton & Marjorie Dublin (has her book)  
Berwick, according to his article, no chance of making  
Nye leader. If not H.G., then Eustice & Robson.

George Brown new Chairman of T.U. Great City,  
in place of Vicant. He will back the best of  
& Sturges in our position. I congratulate

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20/2/54 (41)

him, but warn him not to upset people needlessly.

On 29/1 to Cardiff, speak with Jim Callaghan at  
Labour Staff Party at Penarth. Keen crowd. I do  
my best for him. On 30/1 talk in my hotel  
bedroom before lunch. I advise him, next time, to  
aim at being in the Cabinet, never mind in what  
office. (This would be Admiralty.) Lunch in  
Dorset at Windsor, with Absey, former solicitor & late  
candidate in Cardiff N. Wonderful French lunch. Book  
see Cardiff City beaten by Port Vale on icy snow.  
Book by Y. L. Jim's judgment on particular points in  
politics, not very sure. How he has a first class  
public face and "platform personality", & is funny  
& companionable. Have been reading Reg's Mr. Walker's  
Novel. First class. It's best so far.

Tomorrow 20/2

listen with R to Under Milk Wood. Dylan

Thomas play, specially written for BBC.

highly of small Welsh escapade form.

Very amusing, & with some fine poetic puns.

DIARY.

24/3/54.

Slipped disc going very slow. Most irritating, when in all other respects I'm perfectly well. It is 5 weeks today that I first went out of action and a fortnight since I came out of the Nursing Home. I plan to go down, in the evening, tomorrow to the House to vote against Television Bill. Then, I hope, a little more next week. Then, the week after that, it will be the Budget, & a possible time if I can't be there to speak. We shall see!

R & I have decided, about a week ago, that we must build that cottage at W.C. Mrs. Morgan says nearly went to Oghmore, & R is sure that it will be almost impossible to get anyone else. Costs will be about £2000. I shall have to spend several thousand pounds of my own capital. <sup>water, in</sup> <sup>investment means, say (to</sup> <sup>economist)</sup> Particular, will be <sup>with</sup> <sup>part of annual capital</sup> <sup>did not think</sup> But it is time now.

I told R that, <sup>with</sup> <sup>part of annual capital</sup>, I did not think I should stand more <sup>than</sup> <sup>once</sup> more. She said she had thought I should feel like that. In 1957 I should certainly prefer not to stand again after that. <sup>that</sup> I doubt whether I shall stand again of Parliamentary Office. <sup>of</sup> <sup>there</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>summer</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>early</sup> <sup>winter</sup> <sup>election</sup> <sup>there</sup> <sup>will</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>another</sup> <sup>election</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>this</sup> <sup>Parliament</sup>. <sup>that</sup> <sup>I</sup> <sup>could</sup> <sup>I</sup> <sup>would</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>free</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>say</sup> <sup>openly</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>Paul's</sup> <sup>leadership</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>more</sup>

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24/3/54 (2)

too old, & that more young people should get their  
Chances soon.

Kenneth Young came to see me in the Fleet. Very  
nice, quite intelligent, but still so mild mannered!  
No public face. We agreed that the Tories would  
win seats at a General Election now. ~~But he didn't think~~  
we had an attractive  
~~any~~ programme. People were content with the Tories. They  
had stolen the Socialists' votes (full employment, welfare  
state, etc.) I said it must be disappointing to him, &  
that of his age, & long ex-Minister, to have to just  
of waiting another six years for office. He said No. He  
didn't want it at present, or till the Party knew better what  
it wanted, & there was a better spirit.

I spoke of the much more intense interest taken by many  
of our people also in Africans, Indians, etc. He said, very kind,  
but, having done away with imperialism, & extraction of  
wealth here, this was where the <sup>national</sup> ~~conflict~~ was now, &  
the moral indignation, but used to find a vent at home.

I said that when I first went to Bk as prospective candidate  
in 1928, & was met leading members of the Party, they were  
all unemployed miners, Shabby & hungry. Last night they  
were in every drop (2.50 p.p.), he including some miners, as  
Civil Disobedience League controlled Council

DIARY.

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11/4/54 (Sunday)

Getting better, in leg & back, but wearily steady.  
Spoke in House, (for first time this year! - I'd  
spoken last on Trieste before last time) in Budget  
& State on Thursday. I'd been apprehensive  
beforehand; feared I might be terribly immobile  
at base, not easily able to "pick up" & get up  
again, might feel suddenly very tired & lose  
thread, & lose it suddenly through sudden pain.

None of this happened. I spoke for 1/2 hour,  
& was rather clear & humorous, & said  
some things the Commons liked. Felt much  
more confident & enjoying afterwards.

But didn't wish the crash at Wembley & Day  
in football Cup final. (Bishop & Lusk drew  
2-2; I heard 2nd half, & other time, on  
wireless; awfully exciting; I felt quite tired  
after that.)

Looks now as though there would be an autumn  
election. Hardly an electioneering budget, &

DIARY.

11/4/54 (2)

Fienburgh, who is writing Statesman weekly says J. Falcoum told him it was a terrible "trauma" to cut down on losses. w. the prob-herbal book sent "how about C.R.A. & H.P.D. They'd only survive" J.F. for

at least in latest by-election in E. Edinburgh. admitted that I didn't know that. said that had never felt

a man on way of 30.

Budget + Hydrogen bomb?

Can we go on holding the <sup>position</sup> same we've got on

H Bomb. partly from C.R.A.; speech last Thursday, &

W.C.'s ~~very~~ incredibly inept reply? And can he

influence a critical-Bring Top level Talks, with a

chance of success? MULTI is the <sup>most</sup> important thing

in the world.

(Getting on with P.F. (Here my slipped disc has

been a great advantage.) Both Van Little & Brian

Mark Smith have taken a lot of trouble & made a

lot of good suggestions. I am well inside time-table

with knowledge - I should finally give them

m.s. ready for printer "early in May."

I want to get on with Memories II.

C.R.A.; "As it happened" is unbelievable

Account. Statesman with her no change in system, could have

written such a book. Understatement enough

its capabilities. But he is fitted with the requirements of the time; calls for all positive historical information of



DIARY.

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11/4/54(3)

I am irritated at selection of H. Guthrie, distoged  
Cilla Beveridge, much too clever for the rest of them, to be  
New part time Secretary at Bath - Auckland. I may have  
trouble with him. Perhaps I shall probably only have  
some more of a special election. Parliamentary Committee  
has majority was 65. I contemplate, if no election  
this autumn. All day I think that we want more young  
people on it, I not standing again. I persuading with Hall  
to stand off with me. If there is a special election  
autumn, this will be the last Parliamentary year of his  
Pmt. I don't want to lead up to standing  
aside though being a crack!

W.L. We must now build that cottage quickly!  
A milestone on the road to Retirement and  
Sunset. Morgan family, after year middle, are  
moving to Oylburne. And the dangers of letting  
anyone else to come up from the village. In  
the Easton Place we shall see whether Westbridge  
will build it at reasonable cost, & talk to  
Bomford about water. This last is a whole a  
problem. To sink a well would cost nearly  
£1000! Work is being cooperative. I might  
run pipes from his own supply. Rather than let  
for deep into our capital. I don't want to let

DIARY

③

13/4/54

Back in the shit! Coming down after Questions I am  
 at 10.10, by 11.15 I meet up the scene at Question Time  
 2-day. Eden make a statement, quite satisfactory as far as  
 it went on his talk with Dulles. No ultimatum to  
 think <sup>in the past I might have</sup> only an undertaking to "examine the possibility of  
 Collective Defence in S.E. Asia, within frame of Charter  
 U.N.

C.R.A. today only seen statement two or three months  
 when I visited 2 weeks (1) but no fact without Asian (2)  
 2nd - a letter to "France (Dumont)" Over A.B. said to  
 be American "over looked", asked how much and put  
 several pm. "statement would be made by majority of people  
 in country" ... <sup>universally</sup> referred as a sum of 18 minutes  
 "message" cheers from the hystericals. Poor Stanley Gray  
 rebuked A.B. by saying that C.R.A. "restrained" for 18 minutes  
 would take Saturday <sup>overwhelming</sup> majority of Party Party.  
 meanwhile Tories in high delight. Round up! leave hall  
 after had time over hydrogen bomb & Budget.  
 At Party after <sup>midnight</sup> Shindell makes a long winded attack on  
 A.B.'s conduct in interview, 2 saying to challenge leader  
 Party on beach. A.B. speaks twice; second time after  
 series of rebukes from other members, shouts, with eyes  
 goggling - 2 want an inquiry. Taking face, then hair curled  
 in anger! - ! address meetings, very long meetings,

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13/4/54 (2)

and I know what people are thinking. ... I have this  
 mind of his country." I said, between his first &  
 second speech, "I often listen with a heavy heart  
 to the speeches of some of my colleagues on the Far  
 East. But I suffer in silence. Sometimes I speak  
 to them afterwards. Sometimes I don't say a word."  
 I know <sup>my own</sup> anti-American in our Party makes me awfully  
 pro-American. After reading ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Daily Worker's  
 article in Reynolds, I often feel inclined to apply for  
 a naturalisation certificate for American (second-hand).  
 ... Doubtless a boy man. That he wanted, they say, as collective  
 ultimatum to China before Geneva. That's all out.  
 Eden has done something, <sup>near center</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>Law</sup> <sup>has</sup> <sup>own</sup>  
 said "Don't feel washed to refuse a vote in 1949, just  
 because the employer offered it." CRT had the two  
 more points very well, I said. Utterly has only a Tony  
 J.C., a little inclined to have judgment, wanted us to adopt  
 a special resolution other to summarise the  
 Party its; to issue statements, etc. I and other Chief  
last year of East Recess.  
 Later, S. Briggs said there was no discipline in Party. "Nye

~~DIARY~~ DIARY

13/4/54 (3)

(11)

sleeps with his position. She's always egging him on. Today she rushed off to sign a resolution, immediately after breakfast. If, said G.W., he'd married a woman who'd borne him children, he'd have had a little more vigor in his life. Myra has put up with them ever since leading the party.

I told Carl I liked his book. He said "it's not really so interesting as you." I said only an English statesman could have written such a book. I told many of them. I said his understatement reminded me of Dick, the typical American, & Butler & Britain. "Mr. Owen's air force wasn't really inactive."

14/4/54

Others solemnly quiet.

Paul's office at 5.30. Myra searching Carl.  
begin by sketching what he has in mind to say to the party on Eden's statement. Quite for Glasnik & unprovocative. Owen says it would do the fair. Since he has stated his view, to take any further part in discussion. He has decided that, to avoid any repetition of Leaback's language, that, on first hand

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~~3/4/57~~ 14/4/57 (2)

He must never express disagreement with them, he will, after Gordon Reconn, withdraw to back bench where he can speak freely. So now he will withdraw from Utee. ~~Paul~~ Yesterday he had to listen to a lot of impudent speeches. He ~~can't face~~ won't continue this nervous strain. He lets Mr L wobble out. As he leaves C.R.T. "of course, if it's your nerves that are wrong, I can't do anything about it."

Clearly he had stult with his position. Contradicted? Some discussion was to be made. Had he resigned? Decided to wait & see. C.R.T. said he would say at P.M. Mtg that it was unfortunate if our members present should openly contradict him.

I said "Yes, & openly contradicted his leader."

Later at P.M. Mtg C.R.T. started long with L ended up with retreat, on appeal. <sup>Paul had been sitting on platform.</sup> Rose & protested. L said he had no intention of being said on behalf of Paul's Utee. Admitted he had stayed till end of meeting. <sup>Paul said he was going on to back benches.</sup> Rose & walked out of door. I reaffirmed Green meeting. Not very impressive. Paul made

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14/4/54 (31)

Sentimental affect to him to reconsider. <sup>Very little</sup> NAT much support.  
Meeting broke up. I sense that the committee (many  
women) are upset by N's tactics. Bad protest. 11-  
will have done him harm. "Want a ~~lot~~ wonderful  
Easter egg!" said a Tony at the tape.

Talk with W.S. Shepherd, not a very nice little  
Tony, about M.P.'s Pay & Expenses. (P.M. today had  
found it slow.) Rather helpful. Wants to cut C.H.G.

Said I would see Shepherd again after Easter.

Tony, who ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> with me today, has  
seen him <sup>shouting</sup> in the most <sup>prevalent</sup> public  
lavatory in the House.

DIARY

16/4/54

Tomorrow to N.L. on my first  
Yaku journey for 2 months - to  
finish P.F. within the next 10 days. (14)

Good Friday. Televised "In the News" with the inevitable  
Walter Elliot, Van and David Oymore. Subjects  
(1) the Far East - Eden's Declaration to the House.  
(2) the Anglo-French Entente, the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary  
of which we celebrate.

I don't know how it went. I never do. But  
when hearing part of it played back afterwards  
at John Lawrie's where we went for drinks,  
I thought I sounded the most incisive of the  
four! Poor Van is very crippled with  
Osteo-arthritis - far worse, & far more permanent  
I fear, than my slipped disc. But his face is  
lined with pain & sadness. And, though his  
cheer remains - though even his <sup>muscle</sup> weakness is  
a chronically sick man - he is become old  
& rather feeble. He said twice that he was over 70.

Oymore is fat & pompous & slow. I used to  
like him in the 1940s, but they grow dim in the  
Lords. I had two letters protesting against ~~my plans~~  
said that I would prefer to ~~work with~~ <sup>work with</sup> ~~him~~ <sup>him</sup> ~~rather than~~ <sup>rather than</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~him~~ <sup>him</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~House~~ <sup>House</sup>.

DIARY.

15

24/4/54.

R & I have been at W.L. over Easter. I still very disabled by S.D., - now more than two months since ~~it~~ it stopped - & can't garden, or move about much. She, poor pet, having to do all housework, the Morgan family having made a complete muddle about their housing arrangements, first going to a Council House at Ogbourne, & then refusing to move, & being threatened with an eviction & Mrs M now being ill & unavailable - so hysterical that the doctor has had to give her sedatives to make her drowsy.

This uncertainty about Mrs M has decided us to build that long planned cottage - we would have built it in 1945 or 1946, if we could have got permission without a political row. Water is a problem, but Bradford is very helpful, & is willing to let us draw on his supply at a nominal price from Brown's field next door. The cost will be piping. That this will be far cheaper than sinking a well, & the Council <sup>could</sup> supply us from the main (except "sometimes at night"), as we are nearly the height of their reservoir. R sees Martin & Woodbury & says it must cost more than £2000. We have the old plan, & she has collected some new ones. We hope we may be able to begin building in July, & might finish by November.



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24/4/54(2)

↳ So have "a couple" in by Christmas. Much will turn on getting a good couple. ~~My~~ Their wages will be at least £8 a week - as a joint about £2 now for 2 part-timers.

And so we move towards a rural - & one hopes - well tended retirement. All a dimming. I find myself more & more feeling that younger people must settle their own fates & their own fortunes - a sense of disengagement from the hot chase and the detailed responsibilities. I feel very disinclined to run affairs to be Parliamentary Cree - though T ~~has~~ urged me not to take a decision till I had talked again with him & others. But I want to finish my writing.

Yesterday I finished Public Finance (revised edition)

except for a few small points that can be dealt with in London in one day. I was determined to get rid of it this Easter, so as to be able to swing back to Memories Vol II. I shall be a little ahead of my timetable with Routledge. It should be out in September.

Ian Little & Brian Mel-Smith has both been very helpful, & the latter quite enthusiastically assiduous. Both are mentioned in the Preface.

Because week end men a bit uncomfortable about his latest resignation, especially N.S., which says he has probably put up for ever his candidacy of his

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End April, 1954.

H. Wilson has taken his vacant place, due to A.B.'s resignation, on Paul's tree. New Statesman thinks he must have had a "portrait of torment" making of his name. A.J. Irvine announced publicly that he would keep an engagement to speak ~~with~~ in H.W.'s constituency, because in latter's letter of acceptance referred to "interests of party unity", and this implied that A.B. had been guilty of disturbing this unity.

"Wilsonism" we read of now in the Economist. How now is a Wilsonite? His a clever little chap, with a sure political touch. Not yet magnetic.

One original Beveridge on very spirit. Crossman

1 Leon. B. Castle (perhaps a rebound for J. Freeman)

very sick with A.B. Crossman said to him "how

do you expect us to go on supporting you, when

you make a bloody fool of yourself (by resigning)

"without saying a word to us beforehand." Crossman

urged Wilson to take his vacancy. Wilson tried to

let A.B. to let him say he took it with his agreement.

A.B. finally refused. Lower animals like B. and

W. (in)fills (how many he deeply involved it all that he felt so much to strike again that he had to be taken

DIARY.

19

End April 1954 (2).

Home to an independent) fellow A.S. to the end.  
Crossman says that Mikando was also against A.S.'s tactics -  
(but I guess he'll stay because.) C says that he is an  
intelligent individual & whether. Dr. Day is Keegan  
says that A.S. was "gagged and bound" in the Park Lane.  
R. Morley tells me that some say he was "persecuted" in  
U.S.C. Meanwhile, <sup>A.S.</sup> he is obsessed by his car

case - driving recklessly & not stopping after an  
accident (collision with a car at (second) Cross).

The excitement about Indochina, or more the  
resignation move, are debunked (for the moment) by  
Cunliffe's very pacific statement, & the obviously  
discomfited retreat of Dulles. Two good Scottish  
by-election results E. & Edinburgh & Muirhead in

North. For the first time for many months, there is  
a slight percentage gain on way.

And, says someone, Nye may well decline on

the back benches into a Jimmy Maxton!

Our party prospects are improving.

DIARY

5/5/54

And now back in the shit once more!

H. Morrison has an article in Socialist Commentary for May, <sup>containing</sup> the last 3 paragraphs of which are a strong attack by name on A.P. --- "Electoral bids, 2 or 1 year later as much. That one word 'vermin', so increased the intensity of Tory electoral effort and voting in 1950 that it may have cost us 30 to 50 seats. The resignation from the Labour Govt near to the 1951 election hurt us badly. --- " Everyone in P.L.P. is brilliantly excited. Paul's three meetings brilliant. Jim Callaghan says to me beforehand that he must condemn H.M. for a breach of the resolution of U.P.L.P. of 23/10/52 "calls upon all members to refrain from making attacks on one another either in the House, the Press or on the platform." I go in to see C.P.A. before the meeting.

It is disturbed, & says this article is a clear breach of the res<sup>n</sup>. It had no idea this was going to be published. <sup>long H.M.</sup> had shown it to him. (Later to Paul?) C.P.A. he says he didn't realize S. Commentary was published; he thought it was only circulated privately to M.P.'s. Pretty feeble!) ~~After~~ I suggest

he should get H.M. to say he was scared. (If H.M. had said he was scared about the whole thing, it would have been different.)

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5/5/54(2)

Morgan's notes remaining about saying we must let it be

dean; he might resign etc.

Mr Pugh, Mrs Shirewell, Sumnerhill & W. Hall are

all rallying behind it. C.H. had begun by

saying that the attitude was a clear breach. W. Hall,

very not saying much, but for few - H.M., Fleming,

the Primacy & interlocking. (It is never as shaken

a bit by the case of the three wings we voted for

Hydrogen bomb amendment.) I first broke to

Mr Shirewell & Sumnerhill, and said I agreed with

C.H. it was a clear breach. I considered the

Deputy leader had set a very bad example to others in

the party, and that I thought the Primacy was

deplorable. One possible way subsidizing, because

was subsidizing. I noticed the person was held

was Blevin, now he had been picked up out of the

pit and was going about grinning like a Cheshire

Cat. <sup>like had made a lot of</sup> <sup>spontaneous to the point about not actually in position</sup> He defended himself on the ground of provocation

in Prilome, Stakesmen, etc. Many of them were very

amused that a cartoon showing some German Revision

standing round the May Pole with Nazi leaders. I left after an hour to lecture to the Fabians, C.H. having assured me that there would be no dissent

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5/5/54 (3)

At Kew Gardens, judging by the Herald (fed by H.M.) this morning attempts were made by some 2 or 3 more than H.M.; break was only "technical", 2 that is Reproduction did not fully apply to Leader & Deputy Leader. (This would do. One reproduction Sp. all members.)

George Brown, later, told me that H.M. was now saying to him 2 others that they must not all rally round him. That G. B. was afraid that they must force him. But clearly, he said, H.M. had now quite lost his judgment. He looked old and he was old. G. B. blamed me, in a friendly self-talk, for having made it so clear that I was withdrawing from competitive leadership. There were no alternative leaders. I must mention Alf Roberts, but he dismissed him. Jim Callaghan met H.M. in the lobby and said that his policy was to take his wife away with him for 2 or 3 months, on a trial trip. H.M. he said, didn't think this was funny, washing & sleeping till 8.15 p.m. I stay at 2.00 am. There was a mild row at the Mtz of presence to delay discussion.

DIARY.

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6/5/54(2)

Mye suggested that it was a lie that he couldn't  
 get a suitable office near West Hill.  
 I dined late with Palet & Roy Jenkins. I said  
 that if H.M. apologized, instead of saying it was impossible  
 case, he would come back with a bang. That I  
 doubted if he was big enough. Then, rather epigrammatically  
 I cited my own conduct in the Budget incident.  
 They were both a bit more just - H.M. then I  
 (I had <sup>said</sup> he was obviously just it, & on the decline),  
 that his ten was their view. If he would apologize,  
 he could save himself. Palet suggested that  
 Roy should speak to H.G. to try to get him into  
 action on this. If H.M.'s article was considered, the  
 restoration was scrubbed out & we should not be free  
 to talk with L. Hunt. to say & write whatever  
 liked.

I said I would never accept one day for the Leader  
 & Deputy Leader, & another day for the rest. I repeated  
 what I'd said to the JMS about apology. He said he  
 was sure H.M. would do it.  
 He said that Crossin had got H. Cudlipp in D. H. H. H.  
 to attack H.M. as a snacker. That Crossin had tried to  
 persuade H.M. to demand an election, vacancy or P.L. (H.M.)  
 (I think he would do) & that H.M. would never do a victory  
 either & a vindication of the lot of those it would do.

DIARY

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~~5/5/52(3)~~ 6/5/52(3)

There would have been a dozen candidates, & a General  
Shuttle. But A.B. had said it would have been

an act of gross personal to Curran then  
disloyalty to him, if any of his Govt. accepted the vacancy,  
in any form. "Does your regard Wilson as acceptable?"  
said Curran. "Yes, I do too," said A.B.

Tomorrow A.B. is up before the Bench at Beaufield.  
S. Silverman will defend him.

Earlier tonight, I had said to Roy that my inclination  
was to pass the Deputy Leadership down the line. But  
I was afraid Leni wouldn't do. He wouldn't get it  
I H.Q. He, of course, agreed.



DIARY.

12/5/54.

H.G. lunched with me at the Akropolis. Not too crowded. I want a substitute for Joseph, where one is welcomed, but not much seen or heard. Preferably, the cafe, a restaurant slightly in decline. H.G. thinks the A is this, though the food and drink are quite good.

I warned him that A.R., G.B. & J.C., three of his best political contemporaries, have separately told me lately that he's too rigid and doesn't pay attention to what they say. He thinks well of his first two, but distrusts J.C., & so, he says, do a lot of other people. He's a Krimmer. I said I'd often been called that, but I doubt still was. He said that deliberately fence-sitting on a party, and in spite of all - my case - was something, but trying to persuade everyone that he was on the outside of the fence - J.C.'s case - was another. I said J.C. had a better Parliamentary style & posture than any of us. And I'd liked his asking them why he hadn't made his first Lord of the Admiralty instead of Parkham. He said them didn't like it at all, & reminded me of one of my old bits of advice to him "never ask for anything, & never refuse anything."

DIARY.

12/5/54 (2)

We spoke of H. H. & his gaffe in Socialist Commentary.  
 How did I think he should do? I said begin by  
 apologizing, saying he wasn't to have done it & he's  
 sorry. Then he'd have his fall at his feet again,  
 as H. H. would have done in like case recently,  
 H. H. didn't think he would. I said there was a  
 clear case. I thought apart my personal attacks  
 in Tribune, by any one, since the 3 editors were all  
 M.P.'s. He thought it was very difficult to bring  
 home. He asked what I thought of Frank Sostice.  
 I said I liked him and admired his intelligence  
 & his industry. But I didn't think he was a  
 future leader of the Party.

D. D., was lumber at Geneva on D.H. (correspondent  
 at the Indo-China - Korea Conference, told me an old  
 Russian. He'd seen a lot of the Chinese &  
 Russians. When he came home, he wanted to talk  
 with me about rather likes him, & rang up his office.  
 Pitblado (private sec) said he must see Mr. First. So  
 he did - putting - & told me a long story. Then he  
 went to W.C., who received him very defensively, saying  
 "I can't say anything, you must see Mr. First" & then went to his  
 flat in Dolphin Square and noticed several times

DIARY.

(26)

12/5/54 (3)

during the night the house a man, whom he thought  
was a detective, sitting in the hall. Another man  
took from him. The first didn't know who  
these men were. When he saw of Rosemary, his  
wife, now was left Ruth (their house in Pembroke)  
he thought he heard a suspicious click, but thought  
no one was being tapped. When he arrived at  
Ruth, his post next day wasn't delivered.  
He rang up Pittblado, Jim Roth, & said  
that he was being trailed by a detective, his  
telephone was being tapped, and his mail  
tampered with. ~~Was~~ Was it no 10 respectable?  
Pittblado, obviously caught off guard, said "O  
I hope the F.O. haven't done anything silly!"  
Then went away. I came back to say that he  
was sure D was mistaken. Soon afterwards  
D's mail arrived, carried by a special  
distancer rider. He didn't raise particularly  
the d.r. any questions.

DIARY,

12/5/54 (4)

(up. S.E. said "you never see him sitting down & reading a book. & you never hear him say 'I don't know'")

This evening a very cheerful talk in the smoke room & at dinner with M. Foot, Jack back & looking fit and bright from U.S., apparently Mikoyan, Delors & Malabar. I am in good form, speaking of the next volume of my memoirs, now just calling them begin. One event of 1935, when I backed H.A. for his leadership against C.K.T. I said, "I am promising reappraisal;" & in 1945, when H.A. tried to challenge C.K.T., I E.B. warned him, after meeting in a lavatory; in 1947 when S.C. proposed to me & H.A. that E.B. should replace C.K.T., I H.A. argued it should be he.

From Paul's case, I said, "a bundle of old & pensioners," "Competitive Security," "workless in world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your leaders." I spoke to them of more socialism & more contacts, especially in the City. They wanted me to write it in Tribune. I declined.

Earlier. Tea in Tea room. Went to H.B.'s private letter to May in Paris. Two puffing (1) date with U.S. Amb, (2) he'd shot in his driveway. He passed S. Evans, C. H. ... seemed very worked

DIARY.

4/6/54.

TO W.L. with R for Whitsun. I can move more and more easily, but the slipped disc is a slow thing. Willent me to lead them on Parliamentary Rambling Troop rambles no more. It is only pale history now! But Arthur Blankinsopp is rambling with Northumbrian Ramblers and is very pleased that Northumbrian County Council want a big National Park within their boundaries, to include the Kielder Forest and Cheviots and Roman Wall.

~~Father~~ Bevan, following his resignation and in spite of Morrison's attack on him, has lost much ground in the House. In his country, or at least among the Bevanites in the C.L.P.'s, it may be otherwise. There is a bad split in Bevanite leadership. Crossman's Wilson vote against him. He said that he would regard Wilson taking his place on Park's tree as a gross act of personal hostility to myself. Crossman said "Don't you think Harold is expendable." Bevan replied "Yes, & so are you." New Statesman next week declared that neither Morrison nor Bevan could now even lead the L.P. I wonder J.F. assisted to this. No kind man suggested!

I said to someone that I was charged with sitting on the fence but "I'd sooner sit on the fence than lie down in the shit on either side of it." T.C., when I quoted this to him, replied "That is a civilian's mission. You have to lie in the shit."

DIARY.

12/6/54

(29)

We have had the wettest early June for 50 years. Eight days' successive heavy rain at W.L. Everything very green & softening. Good for our 12 newly planted English Yews, with two self-sown transplants.

Planning for The Cottage going ahead well. R looking after all the details. I have a friendly talk with young Anthony Brown about water supply <sup>on his new pipe</sup> from Bonford's pipe. Woodbridge seems <sup>unreliable</sup> businesslike.

It was becoming most precarious to rely on service from a distance - Mrs Morgan and dear old Barratt might disappear at any time & be impossible to replace. Mrs M is difficult enough about her Council House, & refused to move to Oxbow, for which she had previously applied.

I am slowly making a first draft of Memoirs Vol II. Rather oppressed by mass of material. Hope to have a <sup>work</sup> camp of first draft to work on here in August - I still to have some service.

DIARY.

19/6/51.

Walk to N. leaders in morning of 5/6/51, off to  
get horse, & learn all the X's names.

Speak at Cambridge (on football ground, Newmarket  
Road.) Same Remembrance, & the failure of minority  
of Parliamentary class to follow precedent (set in 1937).  
Stay with Waldron, & drive back with Italian Amb.  
Nice man, but not much dynamism.

H.G. has been nominated by Trevelyan of the Party, in  
succession to Macmillan, by T & G.W. I hear that  
Beveridge will oppose him - though this would mean  
that if defeated, B would be off the N.E., & his  
Seniority Unit - Vice-Chair next year, & Chair the  
year after would lapse. It looks likely, though not  
certain, that H.G. will get enough of Union votes  
to win. If so, B commits political suicide.

J.F. to whom I say this, replies that it is all  
a consistent line, resigning from Cab in 1951 & for  
Party after this year, & now probably leaving N.E. in  
order to demonstrate to rank & file that "Beveridge" is  
misleading term. Being told that the media reports  
brought about by the poor wife he got of Party after last  
time, showing that his colleagues don't really want him. He  
was inhibited to all that. Copies of articles & translations furnished by  
L. Wright & Healey at Cambridge.

DIARY.

31

23/6/54.

Sir Cecil Colleton, of Blandford, £XYZ. See 18th picture. He shall find "money smily" when we next pass a Govt. Funds will certainly leave the country. Therefore adopt convertibility! It's must work something out on this. With delay of contracts, he can back to 1930 & his "first class financial crisis".

24/6/54.

P.M. announced Govt would increase Mr. P.'s salaries, but will consider "other alternative" with us. This is greeted with great anger by our people. After unanimous report of select comm. after Govt of free vote of House, and on free vote, majority of over 100 in favour of straight increase, & against expense advances, this seems an outrage. The class war is here again. Most of our people are in financial difficulties, some very serious, & so are some Tories. But with men on 1922 scale have adjusted & withdrawn in a long series of meetings against his decision of the House. Churchill was in favour, but has lost the battle in the Cabinet. We are inclined to think fairly justifiably, to make no more pains.



DIARY.

(32)

9-12/7/54.

Lovely weekend at W.L. (Fri night to Mon morning.) The cottage has been begun. There is lots of sun. I do some sawing & make a bonfire, & inspect the water line from Bradford's sally across Brown's field.

Also I have two books in hand, page proofs of R.F. & typed fragments of Memoirs II. Brian t-s with Jimmie in catching misprints in P.F. He lunched with me last week, after an interval, & I am commending him to C.H., an old Haileysbury & on the W.M.B. & suggesting he be seen. I shall take a good feed at Memo II in the next. In Sept I go to the constituency, a fortnight, & R to France - flying for the first time in her life, from Heathrow to Orly, by night. & then to Cannes.

I spent last week end in the constituency - Durham Women's Club (Eben House & S. Church). Sir Suterre at his house & heard his talk of W.C. Finance & liability. (Madison didn't want them of Sir Suterre's sort, & made a mess-up of a joint draw with Douglas C.L.P.) I said I didn't feel I could subscribe to current exp. This should be dealt with properly. Sale of house, N.M. Mopayada Hunt, N.W.L. & affiliation. If secured, & the individual member subscription. I pointed out that they had not yet begun to build a

DIARY

33

9-12/7/54-12/

General Election Fund. (This might involve me in heavy expenditure. I also told him he couldn't be the Agent - being a teacher employed by Durham C.C. he couldn't get leave. (I knew he was taking a Correspondence Course on Affairs Work, & I think he was thinking he might be the Agent.) He seemed to take all this well, but I don't trust him. I am having to take a bit more trouble to counter-jump, - I am writing Mr & Mrs. to include Will Davis, Will Langford (our President) & Jack Kace (ex President), all very loyal to me. I am thinking Jack Kace is a possible Agent. I should be (could be) away again next week end, - Mission Jile, March in with M. Schilder, Lord Bamber, & stay Sat night with Sam Watson. In September I must spend several days at Durham Castle & in the Teesdale.

If election comes to late autumn, arrangements for next etc would be rather urgent. If not till next year - would seem more likely - we have plenty of time.

DIARY.

9-12/7/54. (3)

Hugh Saitwell last week made some of election  
as Labour Party Treasurer. Nowt settled it  
was his decision of both the Miners and the  
Engineers to vote for him. The Miners'  
decision, at Blackpool, was by more than 2 to 1  
of his opponent Beran, who got only S.W. etc.,  
Scotland & Northumberland. This is a body that

of Beran, repudiated by his own Union! But A.E.  
are against of your Remuneration, were present  
the ~~contest~~ <sup>lineup</sup> for being along this issue. H.S. etc.  
has 14 CLP.; today nominating him - 2 A.S.  
under claimed 16 a day or two ago.

Will A.S. still stand, or withdraw? Either  
way he'll lose prestige. If he stands, he'll be  
beaten, & off to N.E. & his Union members  
postponed till later. People won't like that Party,  
equivalent to resigning for N.E. If he withdraws,  
he can stay on the N.E. But then he'll be running  
away. I feel that the Beran boom is

DIARY

(35)

9-12/7/56 (4)

well just its peak. but he is always so badly advised  
that he is likely to say something silly, work with  
antagonistic intentions. Tony C said to me the  
other day that its surprising how little harm  
his last resignation, from the Paul & Carol, & his  
conviction of dangerous driving & not stopping, have  
done him in the C.P.'s. I'm not sure. but one  
can't separate C.P.'s from TV. definitely. I think it's  
sounding in that he isn't a team man. is  
unreliable, and an egoist.

Bertram has disappeared, as things by magic, for  
the first & their coming to smoking room.  
They must be as well! But he's jangled  
with Wessma & Wilson. N.S. announced to me  
day but neither Morrison nor Bertram can see  
era lead the Party. But Wilson is trying  
to edge his way along on his own.

Meanwhile H.G. has had a great leap up.  
Permanently on N.E. with the TV's, behind him,  
& many C.P.'s. — broad based upon the  
workers' will. I hope will rise to it, & not be too  
unambitious at home, nor too clean cut  
abroad. Both are dangers.

DIARY.

9-12/7/54 (5)

36

Last week (on Wed 12<sup>th</sup> - on way to 8<sup>th</sup>?) I moved a new clause, on the Finance Bill Report stage, for a change in Estate Duty Scale on small estates.

	Present Scale.	Proposed new scale
Up to £2000	0	0
£2000-£3000	1	0
£3000-£4000	2	1
£4000-£5000	2	2

and no change further up.

R. Ascheton at last moment just before the new clause with a different provision of margin came. I moved mine, I think Sir C. Butler accepted, nominally Ascheton's, but the scale was mine. I made a poor speech, saying I felt lonely on the day & now had even helped to pass over Estate Duty. I invited Butler to come & keep me company, and stand with me on some high place, because surely should be invited all. I was firmly collecting by means of the book

~~10~~ DIAKI

(37)

9-12/7/54. (6)

all taken from the large estates of the rich their  
just contribution to the common good. He justly  
relieved the small estates of the poor.

Butler defended large inheritances & expressed  
dislike of Estate Duty. But he said that this  
concession would cost him £1 million &  
full year would wholly exempt up to 17,000  
estates & reduce the duty on another 13,000.

This was a waste waste day.

on the 12<sup>th</sup> H.C. is going down to those who  
took part in Finance Bill of 1954. I must mention  
his health - I refer to Treasurer-Mr  
Bill Beattie <sup>could</sup> be there?

Lately she seems to have passed on  
Dennis Donnelly George John Fullan  
& Tony McNeill -

DIARY.

16/7/54.

TO constituency for the Gala. sleep Manor House.  
C.S. Robinson in train. NOT very fruitful.

17/7/54

Called 5.45 am. Breakfast 6.30. Arrive Guilden, Sutton  
Arrive 7. Lodge officers & members beginning to arrive. Drives  
inside. March toward town with banners & band 7.30 to 8.30.  
Railway stops on holiday, but many people out & come to  
doors to meet us. Stop and play Gressford outside aged  
Muir's Home. Put more & more better propaganda than  
a dozen meetings. Back to Sutton town. More drinks.  
Board buses 9. To Durham, arriving about 9.45. Big  
crowd, bigger than ever. Procession, which he join at the  
Habitat much very steady. Pass the County Hotel -  
Sam Watson, Ernest Jones, Archibald York, Bessie Knudsen,  
Mae Kavan, H. Shawcross (then emboldened - about 10.45)  
Much cheered, especially in last street ~~where~~ <sup>where</sup>, down  
the bank onto the big field. Seamus Francis, Luke  
Chairman, Tom Francis Secretary, Bill Heron Treasurer  
(whose, I forget sea, called Hoje after me, was been on  
last Durham (late Day) are 3 fine stalwart companions  
try to make my way along river bank to back entrance  
to County. But terrific crowd! Almost for first time in

DIARY.

17/7/54 (2)

my life at a gala feel tired in the morning. (Get a job  
in time for a holiday / "Mr. Watson has closed the bar"  
say the attendant.) Then another heavy struggle, then  
crowd with Sir H. Houldsworth, Chairman of the Board, &  
read platform. Shawcross makes a Tory speech. "Don't

think long-haired back-room boys who say you're  
nationalist but in fact in duty." Don't change anything!  
Inevitable words a socialist can get away with here.  
The crowds are unresponsive, except to familiar fighting  
phrases. Why do the union go on voting to hear this

man? I told Sam afterwards that I thought they were  
mostly Conservative - Kettle & Morrison one year, Beram  
& Shawcross the next. Why not some of our former

people, especially H.G.? Bessie spoke a little too long  
& the first band and banner marched off before  
she'd finished. But the speeches here are nothing;

the procession & the crowds are everything. Today  
120 banners; 95 bands; more than 200,000 people.

Beram had been trying, at the other platform, to appeal  
to the union over the heads of their leaders; as he had  
threatened to do. But they didn't. I think realistic would be very  
trying to do. He would always, he said, respect the decision



DIARY.

40

17/7/54(3)

Wife Trade Union (very kind of him!) when they were reached  
democratically by the rank & file, but not when they were  
taken by bureaucrats.

After the official lunch, and when the great gathering had  
dispersed (I watched the band and banners going out  
from the County balcony) I went up to S.W.'s, where I  
am to spend the night. He & Jenny (wonderful good  
housekeeper) had a party of about 50 people, first on the  
lawn outside their house, (old Peter Lee's house) and  
then in the Cathedral; then in 3 sessions for  
a buffet supper. My & Shmoo's came, but can't get a  
night train. My was holding fast - "he'd demand a 1st-

the night before, & was looking very tanned." Jenny's  
said - more & more egoistic, & self-satisfied & boring.

I asked him whether he was going on in his candidature  
"Yes, certainly", he said. He complained that he was never  
allowed to appear on T.V. "How pale he is?" asked "Hobbes  
Mason", he said. I said that had no talk power. I appeared  
on T.V. from time to time & that would please him much.  
O. said My. He can't control anything, but he stops me. I  
was. My attempt, very innocent if I didn't know that. But  
he said "none of this troubles me at all" (it's about  
leaving N.G. too) "my sense of timing tells me that  
it's all over now, and all night."

DIARY.

(4)

17/7/54 (4)

After supper he started haranguing the Police Superintendent, (now is a just political friend of ours). "The police are an organised conspiracy of ~~padding~~ lying. It is a fact that they are vicariously. They tell lies about the speed of motorists, & take bribes from prostitutes. Motoring cases should be heard by special courts. The police & the magistrates are most unkind to motorists." I thought not less kindly next. After his recent experience - ~~refusing~~ <sup>trying</sup> to stop after an accident, & a very mild fine. Mr. Lamb based a railing in a chair, then next standing. I said "I am a hiker. I regard motorists as a small privileged section of the Capitalist class."

Mr. Lamb then went & then there was a simple sing-song, & I nearly went to sleep, until at midnight we went. Then I went to bed, and did sleep.

18/7/54.

Breakfast in bed. Saw Cramer in a talk. He had given "a scathing talk" this morning. He relates a talk with Nye at the top, before the Union's Blackpool Conference when they decided to support H.S. of the Treasury. Nye said he supposed he would get the Union's vote. Sam said he didn't know, but Durham were voting for H.S. Nye said he would denounce S at the Gala. This was a conspiracy by ~~breakfast~~ <sup>very angry</sup> ~~at~~ a dramatic decision. S "When you win a

18/7/54. (2)

removed.

DIARY.

18/7/54 (3)

23/7/54.

N did short (43)

Unpleasant dialogue on Tribunal  
pamphlet on Resent. very poor  
& unconvincing. N's medicine. Can't stand that type of conduct. Note

We spoke of former Resent. I said I was against it. He said "You always were against it. Long before the Beveridge's."

I spoke also of my own constituency. L of the possibility of Jack Race as election agent. S said he could clear this with the Cont Board.

M<sup>to</sup> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> said he thought it was badly timed. It would have been to wait a bit.

It is a most satisfactory chap. Cautious, but of a few lines.

W<sup>to</sup> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> said he would see him on application. N, on Friday night, had been rallied by Joe Shaw, to whom, he said he would see him on application.

I told it. When both afterwards. It is pretty quiet a good rally of C.L.P. 2000 members, some very unexpected.

I said that M<sup>to</sup> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> <sup>visit</sup> <sub>to</sub> "Sense of timing". Probably meant that he hoped to hold a poster at the head of the next Labour. But if it had only a small majority. It is said "better not win than lose!" I said "but the election may just be there."

SPARKS says will go on standing? Treasurer  
Man after Man. Management of present in transformation  
says this with it. There is doubtless. This about a division  
are Jerry. Kestrel B.Bing.



DIARY.

8/9/54 to 26/9/54.

While R is in France (Cairns & Paris,) I go to my  
 constituency, in B.A., addressing women on Int'l Affairs -  
 on the 9<sup>th</sup> - having dined with wife Kendall's the previous  
 night in amval. on the 10<sup>th</sup> I start 5 days in Upper  
 Teesdale, sleeping on 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> at Middleton (Ullswater  
 train), with a walk round of a tea party, by about a dozen  
 stalwarts, on the afternoon of the 11<sup>th</sup>; sleeping on 12<sup>th</sup> at  
 Eggleston (Three Trees), good Man Little Hotel, & spending  
 time with Byde, rather old, but keen; sleeping on  
 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> at Burnard Castle (King's Head), go round  
 Glaxo factory & dine with William & Helen at Mount  
 Arden; recommend candidate at least for V.D.C. election in  
 my district & women, & speak briefly & join Mayday visit  
 Burns Museum. on the 15<sup>th</sup> am picked up by the  
 faithful Mr Gray. & driven to St Bees, via Burnard  
 Castle, Baxby, Beaves, Penrith, Cockerham, Keswick,  
 Wetherill. spend 3 nights (2 day two) at Manchester  
 Great Horn (very comfortable, good looking, see menu, &  
 plenty to drink) at St Bees. Leave from there,  
 on way back to Mr C. Wakefield, - & Jack Adams  
 next morning. Town of ~~Wakefield~~ (Manchester making  
 tremendous strides.) & bring back some very bright  
 silk from Mike Selous. Also visit Sellafield (Atomic  
 Pile, making plutonium, & Calder Hall, growing behind

DIARY

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8/9/54 to 26/9/54 (2)

scalloping, to be first Electrical Licensing Station to be fired  
by atomic energy. on 18<sup>th</sup> open 1000<sup>th</sup> Evening  
stream at Newmarket - having lunch with Corp<sup>s</sup> at  
Sunderland - Hutton Arms. in evening dinner & speech  
at Stoke Hotel. (Memorandum attached) I am  
presented with an inscribed Silver Silver by Laidy, joke  
about Woolliam & Bossom. Drive from Newmarket  
change night in taxi, to St Helen's Market, i 2 3/4 hours.

very hot day.

From 19<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> found at Manor House. But on  
19<sup>th</sup> at Ditchon for so-called "week-end school" - about  
12 people. plus Newcomb, Ted Short & myself - and  
an evening meeting (public) at former Reformat. on 20<sup>th</sup>  
to Ditchon (Spin Hall) with John M.P.'s to discuss  
educ<sup>n</sup> & ind<sup>l</sup> Devt with County Committee officers.  
Leeds is an awful dull, low Compton's! on 21<sup>st</sup> with  
M.P.'s to Team Valley. Jack Hall opens new factory;  
after lunch with S. Foster, we all go to Sunderland to  
see new factory building on Pallion Estate. Then to  
Peterlee to see first factory (Jensen's) built by  
Broadford, first completed; have round table discussion  
with. Then with Peter & others. on 22<sup>nd</sup>, public meeting  
at Lockfield & visit Club afterwards. on 23<sup>rd</sup> to Shields,

DIARY

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8/9/56 to 26/9/56 (3)

see Committee, visit Housing Estate, see wife Fred Munnem.  
Call in at ~~Redwork~~ Redwork Road Club & Elton Road  
Club - call on a <sup>com</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>part</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>club</sup>  
Club - back by bus, first electioneering. on 24<sup>th</sup>  
visit Woodhouse & wait with Jack Race, now doesn't know  
what on 25<sup>th</sup> visit St. Columba's & moving to housing in  
Woodhouse Club & Columba's. In afternoon C.P. Club  
2.30 on night. I say Reachan are out of position  
then there's time to challenge this, but I brush her aside.  
I say I want Jack Race. After a bit - more talk, N. Gray  
comes but very apologetic my support. This is denied  
unanimously. Then at 3 P.M. about 2 dozen to  
house I speak on my movement <sup>& length</sup> and on political  
sit<sup>n</sup>. well received. After 2 dozen present (Sat  
afternoon & football match.) Gutaric says he appears with  
all I say. 2 Num seconds used to talk. I say we  
back to hills. What's happened to Race? Hunt left  
appointment, written, or come to Gutaric? Longest-  
with find out tomorrow morning. Telephone to Munnem.  
He does. Race is ill. & clearly isn't a strong asset.  
Damn! I must say now to get help with.  
on 26<sup>th</sup> back to 2<sup>nd</sup> road, it's been a good day.  
There's near political changes everywhere. Gutaric isn't  
not very strong. Don't trust him as much, but he would put me  
to be open. Longest first class. again in Jan.



DIARY

Mid-Oct 1954 (2)

his work on Socialist Policy. He has been expected to work on it all this vacation. It's very sad, - & I fear, quite expensive for him - this break with Hilary. I wanted him to go to the U.S. before he married her. I quoted the De Freitas case. precedent. Now his constituency is destroyed by Redistribution, if it comes as proposed. But he stands very well with H.C. & H.S. is on the up grade. That will stand him well in the future.

I didn't go to the Annual Conference & Scarborough. I now enjoy not going, as much as I used to enjoy going.

I'm bored stiff and bound with Beran. His hands can't live up to <sup>much</sup> more than Life Size, & he just hates. His personal hatreds of "comrades" stick out like ugly protruding veils, on part of his normal aspect. He poked very badly for Treasurer & H.C. beat him by more than 2 to 1. H.C. will run up his. If he can do something for the Agents, he will steal C.L.P. support away from Nye. Tribune is bitterly attacking him last week for some speech, saying he don't disagree with Tories on Trade Policy. He plays with the enemy's

DIARY.

49

Wed - Oct 1954 (3)

Lands by the office. He is being driven to the Right by the  
Shawcross & Pearson attacks of the "left." Does he really  
want to change British Society? (Poor old Morrison  
looked.) I am very loyal to old friends & their  
cooperation is difficult just now. But H.S. makes me  
skin uneasy in my loyalty. I must talk to him.

Chama Rearman. Must be for on debating it?  
H. Scarborough to N.E. just started though, on an  
equivocal emergency resolution, owing to 2 Textile  
Delegates, or, alternatively, Broken Britain of the  
Woodworkers having changed their mind since to TUC.

Should be trouble in Parliament again about it.  
I have been mixed up with the Berkeley "struggle",  
as has Medolatus call it now.

I'm pondering making an offer to all over 67  
on Party List (leaving out Chairman, Deputy Chair. & Chief  
Wom.) to stand at beginning of new session. - probably  
the last of this Party - so not bring to new people  
- if Charles, Shimwell, W. Hall (I go) - he ~~is~~ will  
in Shadow Cabinet he's like a bunch of old fox  
Pensioners. <sup>Should he win next elect?</sup> Probably not major of  
10. & there will be 20 Berkeleys. Heel!

DIARY.

50

Mid-Oct 1954 (4)

Meanwhile the men are building <sup>on</sup> the cottage, just beyond the hedge. R is fascinated by it, L1 and I are interested. I have paid a first cheque of £1000 to Woodbridge. If we succeed in getting a good couple, it will ~~consequently~~ <sup>greatly</sup> ease our lives down here, & be a cushion to "wearing" retirement."

Meanwhile my new Public Finance is done <sup>out</sup> after delay, in mid-November.

I went last week to Oxford, to lecture to the Clark's Institute. Quite fun. He has 8 sons & 1 daughter. One I saw was quite attractive. His wife is beautiful & interesting, but she's borne him 9 healthy, L1 & L2, also intelligent children.

DIARY

30/10/54 - 1/11/54.

Week end at Port Talbot with Billy Vaughan. In evening a very good host on Saturday drove up to Aberystwyth celebrated 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the Local Labour Party. I had a good concert at night. On Sunday in Coed Morgannwg. 60 to 70 sheep milks. Doing very well. Accompanied in Landover by Billy Vaughan, (a Forestry Commission as well as a National Parks Commission), the Conservator (Williamson, who last met with Roy Robinson in Kent before my NW, 1947, Budget) & two Foresters. A lovely day. Arrived at Rheola (saw hares when prices were low) (my second bird place). I've now had two week ends running in Wales previous week end in Merioneth. Spoke at Dolgellau with Ted Jones. Next day visited Gamllog with Ted & Sir Brynna Jones. My first Land Fund case. Nice results in results from. Much good work has been done here, & some good Forestry too.

DIARY.

(52)

5-8/11/54.

At W.L. Ruminates, half asleep on tactics next week on German Rearmament. We <sup>have</sup> ~~have~~ party meetings on this on Wednesday & Thursday morning & a Parliamentary Committee on Wednesday <sup>evening</sup> ~~afternoon~~. On the Wednesday <sup>morning</sup> the platform is to bring to the floor, in the evening we are to decide on a recommendation to the Thursday morning meeting. I am away on Tuesday at Liverpool for W. Daley by-election. Would maybe a convenient arena. I shall travel back by sleeper in time for the Wednesday morning meeting.

I have decided, to write Attlee a short note on Monday saying that I am much troubled by the Sinn Féin problem and how they are to be handled by us in (1) at the Party Meeting (2) in the House. I shall seek to see him on Monday. I shall say that I am against Sinn Féin and shall argue that we <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ against them. If defeated in Parliamentary Circle, I shall ask, relying on precedents of 1936 & 1937, for members of minority to

DIARY.

5 - 8/11/54 (2)

Paul's offer to have the right to speak & vote according to their convictions in Pt 2 mts. If this is agreed, I shall try from the platform to persuade the Pt 2 mts. If I succeed, I shall be quite content, ~~and~~ willing to ~~allow~~ ~~conscience~~ ~~to~~ ~~absorb~~ ~~absorb~~

I fail. ~~I will vote~~  
I'll accept majority decision and will vote against. If, on the other hand, it is not

conceded that I can speak from platform, I shall resign from Paul's offer on Wednesday night and speak from floor on Thursday morning. I should then also speak from below gangway in House when agreements come on.

I would rather remain on offer & speak from platform. But I shall resign if I do resign from offer. It is <sup>in</sup> ~~being~~ ~~hit~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~Age~~ ~~Pensioners~~. And I shall have

great support in the country.

I won't speak of those tactics! - ~~never~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~I~~ ~~have~~ ~~seen~~ ~~C.R.T.~~ ~~on~~ ~~Monday~~ ~~&~~ ~~felt~~ ~~his~~ ~~reaction~~ ~~R.~~ ~~&~~ ~~would~~ ~~rejoice~~ ~~at~~ ~~this~~ ~~&~~ ~~write~~ ~~in~~ ~~favour~~.

DIARY.

(54)

5-8/11/54. (3)

Passing from large matters to small. Rented 1 saw today (7<sup>15</sup>) Mr & Mrs Wild, recommended by Mr Middleton, <sup>an</sup> electrician at Hempstead, as a possible couple to occupy our <sup>new</sup> cottage. We liked each other, & they liked the <sup>new</sup> cottage and the prospect of the job. I think we may have struck lucky first shot! It ~~would~~ <sup>will</sup> make an enormous difference to our peace and comfort in the future if they come and turn out well.

DIARY.

(55)

14/11/54. (Sunday)

A bad week, in which the Parliamentary Ctee and the Parliamentary Party decided to support the Paris Agreements of last month. These restore West German sovereignty, undertake W. German Rearmament, Commission to maintain <sup>front</sup> Divisions and a Tactical Air Force on the Continent and to pay for them ourselves, instead of charging the Germans with costs of occupation.

The Party Ctee was to meet on Thursday afternoon (9<sup>th</sup>), the PM's Mtg was to be on Wed (10<sup>th</sup>) & if necessary, Thurs (11<sup>th</sup>) (5<sup>th</sup>)

On Monday, I sent a note to C.R.A., saying that I was troubled over the whole thing, & saying that I would like to see him. I did so at 9 pm. Our talk was quite friendly. He, having fought the Germans in N.W.I. is always more conscious, than our Conscientious Objectors, Quakers, reserved occupations & conscripts, of the danger of the ~~imperial~~ rearming them. I said I could not vote for the Paris Agreements. He said that perhaps I could <sup>all</sup> <sup>but</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>vote</sup>. I recalled the precedents of 1936-7, when, in British army votes, all members of the Party Ctee spoke and voted as they thought at the PM's Mtg. (He asked, as usual, for my alternative, and I gave him my <sup>proposal</sup> ~~proposal~~)



DIARY.

(56)

14/11/54 (2)

He said he doubted whether this would be agreed to now. There were no Beveridge then. Now this would colour it. They would be using it as a precedent for everything.

I said I had it in mind to circulate to members of the Parliamentary Club a short note, giving them notice of my intention to raise this point tomorrow. He agreed.

I did so. (Note attached) He thought the Russians might be more reasonable after the Berlin Seminar Re-armament had been decided on. I said no word about resigning. But I then

turned the talk to the great age of the Club. Some of 15 of us, I said, were over 65. And he was called

a "Shadow Cabinet". More shadows than fiction Cabinet Minister, I said. I should like to see some of our younger people in service on the Panel?

Club, though not comparable to service in the Club, was still a very useful experience.

I invited K. Younger's speech on SEATO. He had, I said, about the gifts required for a Foreign Secretary, I would see few others.

He said, with a smile, that he was the object of the Club. I said I didn't <sup>want</sup> him to retire, for several reasons. But I'd like to let rid of some of the others. I heard that old George Isaacs was a new candidate this time. He had no sense of shame, or fitness.

DIARY.

14/11/54(3)

57

C.R.A. rose to N.Y. He said, quite calmly, "he's very near it." He said even younger people only seemed young to us. Between 40 & 50 they were mature & experienced. Those now had come in 1945, had not been in Parliament for 9 years, <sup>though</sup> ~~but~~ he had been when he became Deputy Leader in 1931.

I spoke afterwards with George Chetwynd, very logical and with his ear always to the ground. I said I was inclined to resign if refused freedom to vote & speak in the P.L.C. He says that we shall be easily beaten this time. (He was right.) Many more opponents, than supporters, of G.R. can be found in Russia, China, etc. Had many other opponents here from weans. There's a lead feeling that Scamberg settled it. If I speak, he says, it's important that I should get over that visit Scamberg, & U.N.E.

haven't yet arrived at the Scamberg committee with the European Socialist Parties. Have I, he asks, faced the results of resigning? Do I really want to fall out of the Party tree? I said, yes; we're none too old. I want to see some younger people moving up. He said that, if I went, my place might not be taken by a younger person at all, or it might be the wrong sort of younger person.

JIA RY.

(58)

14/11/54 (4).

on Tuesday morning (9<sup>th</sup>) I rang up Roberts, Callaghan & Wilson. R said that he was found by Scarbro; financial arguments were no good any more. I must try to make success, more than Scarbro's didn't justify his work. Scarbro was the best.

C said that he was with me, & would back me in Paul's case, with my right of freedom to speak LVSH. I said I was inclined to resign, if refused. He said resignations weren't popular. He thought the Pk had lost interest in the whole thing.

W said that Scarbro's habit had been laid out. There had been no consultations as required by the resolution. He would say so at the Paul's case this afternoon. I went to the H of C at 3 pm. Our Paul's case is at 5.

We sat till 7.30, all on this one thing. (We had another meeting tomorrow to discuss other business.) The discussion was calm throughout. I said, now I begin - I spoke longer than usual - that I was feeling the same.

Shirwell was absent (his wife has just died), but the other 14 were there. In the end 4 were in favour of voting against the Paris Agreements (C. Ede,

Callaghan, Wilson & I), the rest in favour. Roberts crossed over, on Scarbro's. I hadn't counted on any of the other others. I had said that the vote for the Paris Agreements

## DIARY.

(59)

14/11/54(5)

would be a Black Letter Day in the history of this country, Europe and the world. We had the usual exchange, quite stereotyped now, about the "alternative", I said, as often before, "one more go" with the Russians, free election & united Govt in Germany, but in W. Germany Remmert, Mrs E. Ullman Disarmt, & occupying troops to remain, 1952 in W & E Germany, to say, 10% can, during which renewed efforts to make for real Disarmt, with nuclear weapons.

There was no intention of ~~from vote~~ the majority that consent had taken place since Scombu. This was fixed for December 6<sup>th</sup> at next meeting of Socialist International. "Events have moved quicker than we expected," said H.M. None really met my argument directly. Sumnerstill said that if I'd been at Scombu, I'd have recognised, as all did, that everyone there to forget it was a straight vote, for or against G.R. And everyone was relieved, when it was settled, one way or the other.

Then I raised the question of the 1936-7 precedents. H.M. said he'd tried to find the minutes, but they had been destroyed with many other papers, in the war. I said I had a typescript, recording the whole thing, in my 2nd and 3rd bits of my next volume of memoirs. If ~~the~~ I had had more time, I could have read it aloud to them. "Angebot"

DIARY.

(60)

14/11/54 (6)

I said to H.G. with a smile, "one mentioned all right." How lucky that, if there is no official record, I have kept an unofficial one." He said, still most appreciably, "others might challenge the accuracy of your record." (Next day, meeting me in the passage, he said "you know ~~it would be very~~ <sup>it would be very</sup> ~~tempting to put~~ you under not to put these accounts of what happened in Party Mtgs. in private conversation. But it is very tempting." I didn't pick this up, or begin to recall the precedents.)

I said it would be "deceitful, cowardly & dishonourable" if I didn't, in the Party Mtgs, stick to the line that all knew ~~to~~ I took. These convictions went very deep down in me.

But several argued that, particularly in view of Beveridge, etc. they must go to the Party Mtgs as a united committee. H.G. said I needn't come to the meeting. I said that would be taking refuge in a "coward's castle."

Finally I said "I will tell you a way out of all your troubles. I will speak tomorrow at the Party Mtgs from the floor, & vote as I feel. I ~~know~~, as from front bench tomorrow, or from some other convenient room, there will be a vacancy on this Ctee. I shall be much happier that way, and so will you." That of course, they ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> accept! And

DIARY.

14/11/54 (7)

all began, in various tones, to try to persuade me to accede.  
 I said very little. <sup>only once, when</sup> when people talked  
 about conscience, <sup>in relation to my points,</sup> they generally talked about such  
 things as Temperance and Birth Control. This went much  
 deeper. "Do you tell me," I said, "that I may have a conscience  
 about beer bottles & Frank Kelton, but not about the life  
 & death of my generation?" Some were a bit shocked by  
 this.

Then someone proposed that the 4 of us should be entitled to  
 abstain at the 12th meeting when he will see to it, - though not to  
 speak against the majority line. Robert, I think, & I  
 went. Jim willites was of his line. I set myself to study  
 my 3 colleagues. H.F. was rather against the proposal.  
 H.P. said he would like to know before he voted whether  
 I accepted this or not. I said I wasn't fixing any sharp  
 answers. I showed little to what was said, &  
 speak to the Chairman later that night. Then Jim  
 Callaghan said "Get <sup>LEAVE</sup> him to me. I'll work on him". Then  
 Boskile made a personal & sympathetic appeal. On the  
 general acclamation, they agreed to the proposal of silent  
 abstention.

Then Jim & I went to drink, & talked, & dined, & it was

DIARY

14/11/54 (8)

Quite clear that he didn't want me to resign, or to resign  
himself. But at the end I said "all right. You come  
with me to see the little man, for some confidential work, &  
we'll say he's agree. Provided he tells the P.M. that

He said the steam ~~was~~ was out of the debate. People  
wanted it finished. I shouldn't be able to swing the vote  
tomorrow.

John & I are abstaining. By special agreement of Paul & I.  
So he went and put it to him, just as he was  
leaving for his train. But, without more ado, he said  
he agreed.

And I put it down on paper. I handed it to him  
next morning, <sup>Wednesday, 10th.</sup> at the P.M. Mtg. & in a shuffling sort of  
way, though not naming us, he said: (the copy of  
my note to L.H. attached)

(Mr. Curran in conviction  
his opponent, except ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> ~~others~~ <sup>others</sup>  
was Schaff.)

The debate at the P.M. Mtg  
was very hesitating. This wouldnt mean war between  
a next year, or the year after... But it was handing over  
the dominant position in Europe to Germany. Some wanted  
to ~~close~~ close the debate, to take the vote, the first day.

DIARY.

14/11/54 (9)

Charlie Pannell & George Brown ~~also~~ present in this. That  
C.R.F. said many more wanted to speak, & he must  
go on tomorrow.

Next day, - Thursday, 11<sup>th</sup> - I went in half an hour after the start.  
I sat 2 or 3rd. Callaghan & Upton & Wilson, in the second row  
of the platform. Rotherham firmly. Mr. Foot was shouting his  
head off when I arrived, not turning a vote, but was very  
of his speakers on either side. G. Strauss moved an  
amendment & Tony Benn was seconded (with a very  
unhappy opening. Upton "debate this morning on a down levelled  
y'day") Upton he should add that we should begin  
discussion with Russians at once, without waiting for ratification.  
No one now was aware of R. Should have voted for Upton but  
most did. He wound up, not either effectively or appealingly.

Amendment defeated by 115 to 82.

Home Question (to support P. presents) carried by 124 to 72.

A very bad result! I could have done nothing with this.

One waste resistance was unmet. One Government  
& Upton discrediting, 2<sup>nd</sup> contributed to this.

Ross in Tribune don't help. Foot and Phillips  
fantasy about freedom! This is just not  
my ~~whole~~ idea of how to run a political



DIARY.

(64)

14/11/54 (10)

I see no reason, except class conservatism, for voting Labour now. One Tories are doing very well, full employment, Bury wants on like - more for all, higher pensions on the way, growing vision of peace. Had the Labour Party, like the Tories, wants to arm the Germans!

This last decision has been taken on NOV 11<sup>th</sup> and Armistice Day too!

When the Italians went into Albania, Halifax expressed regret, "and on Good Friday, too!"

Next day I see Mike W.T. Very much upset. He had told me <sup>very kind</sup> he resign from Shadow Cabinet. I speak my mind at the Party Mtg 2 in the House.

He has been having more trouble with his back. I was hobbling with a stick & his pain. He's just off to Beirut. I hope with rest & contact with (letter attached.) (also to Brian. H. & Mike)

Just for my free copies of new P.F. Same view to H.G. "for the first socialist academe" (also to Brian & Mike) Nov 11<sup>th</sup> 1954

copy (5) [Xerox copy 1966]

House of Commons,

London, S.W.1

9/11/54.

My dear Clem,

Have confirmed our agreement of  
tonight when Jim Callaghan and  
I saw you.

~~[In response to my colleagues'  
requests, and against my own  
strong personal inclination, but  
in order to stop further splits  
and dissension in the Party,  
I won't resign from the  
Parliamentary Committee  
claim to speak at Party meeting  
tomorrow. (but) you must be  
informed.]~~

You undertook to  
tell the Party meeting  
in your opening speech that  
Chuter Ede, Callaghan, Wilson  
and I ~~strongly~~ <sup>strongly</sup> ~~disagree~~ with

~~the~~ recommendation of a majority of  
~~the~~ ~~Party~~ ~~meeting~~ ~~and~~ ~~strongly~~ ~~and~~

that, as an exceptional measure,  
the Parliamentary Committee  
have agreed that we  
shall be entitled to abstain  
when the vote is taken.

if this is not  
made clear, can  
abstain. will  
be noted, & misinterpreted.

# DIARY

(67)

18/11/54.

Voting for Parliamentary Ctee.

253 voted out of 294 papers issued. 3 spoiled.  
252 effective votes.

Gaiz Bell	170		
Griffiths	170	Woodburn	54
Soskice	164	Strachey	51
Dalton	147	Monslow	46
Summerkill	142	Isaacs	45
Robens	140	Rankin	45
Shinwell	126	E. Hughes	44
N. Baker	125	Wigg	43
C. Ede	125	H. Davies	39
Callaghan	124	Craddock	38
Hall	121	Hynd	30
Wilson	120	Wyatt	12

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Greenwood	95
Mitchison	95
Brown	93
Willey	89
Younger	85
Evans	74
Bottomley	73
Benn	63
Bing	61
Strauss	61
Brockway	58
Stewart	56

H.G. thanks to my vote, tied with J.G. (to whom I didn't vote). I pulled in a good place, moving up 2 or 3. Callaghan went down a few. Wilson stayed at the bottom.

DIARY

20/11/54.

Taken ill in the small hours of night. Had arrived the evening before feeling tired, after excitation of German Remembrance discussions, but no more.

Now severe stomach ache and constipation.

26/11/54

Taken by ambulance, with R and a pretty young nurse, from L.L. to London Clinic. A week of wretchedness, especially (R has nurses me single handed! A lot of pain in tummy, ~~but~~ vomit looks in daily, and groaning and sleepless.

Gives me morphia one night. Distinct noise and enema. I faint just after. L fall with a food tray on the floor.

15/12/54.

Leave London Clinic, with, I'm told, beautifully clean intestine. It had been silted up, as well as inflamed. The being started, they say, on gastric juice, with complications. Very comfortable and well doctored and nursed. (One poor old patient kept in awake some nights by sneezing. But, apart from this, no criticism. X-rayed twice, and "washed out" four times, & put under an anaesthetic and my inner parts inspected and two little warts on my colon removed by Laurence Abell, Surgeon,

cooperating with Vennick.

A great start, but I'm very flabby from being in bed nearly a month, & a very light diet until the last few days. And it has cost a lot of money. And G. Chetwood says: Fed. Under the old system...

DIARY.

Christmas 1954. (1)

(and have long telephone  
conversations with Jim  
Callaghan)

After 2 1/2 weeks in the London Clinic, after a week  
in bed, in great discomfort, at W.C. I am pretty  
flabby and have to be cautious about food  
and drink. But I am pleased that we  
have settled down again. I shall be fitter  
than for a long time. (just back from U.S.A.)

I am visited in the flat by Tony, (2 boys  
John & Ian & Dora) and father two children  
lunches at the AKRupers with Tony. Desmond  
Donnelly, who looks rather ill, ~~and is rather~~  
(he is to have his  
tonsils out in January) & disoriented (following his  
row with the Germans) and I'm afraid rather hard up.  
He says all his trips - to Russia, China & E. European  
satellites - only just covered expenses.

I read, at the Clinic, Frank Owen's L.G. -  
not very good - and at the flat Spear's Field  
France, a very fine piece of writing, and Tom  
Jones' Diary with Letters. This is much too  
long, but contains some interesting gossip.

ARY.

Christmas 1954 (2)

Not reading other people's Memoirs is becoming, after a point, only an excuse for not writing my own. Feeling, however, in a gossipy mood, after T.J., I write H.G. a long gossipy letter about his political near future.

Beverin has been committing slow suicide - better, I said, than that Beverin should have seen flaming dramatic battle. Other Beverins are either losing ground, or losing him, or both. Many are now only tense, neurotic bones. 3 W.P.'s for quite different skulls (in part, Callaghan, that was L. Donnelly) have recently said to me that they hope Klee will hold the leadership long enough to pass it straight on to H.G. Write Beverin suicide, & Wilkitt's failure to stay the course (3 years ago I thought he was a possible Third Man) as with melancholy mediocrity of Morrison, growing worse from month to month, the road is open for H.G., especially if he makes more speeches like his last one

DIARY.

(71)

Christmas 1954 (3)

attacking inequality and profiteering.

I denounced the Parliamentary Commission for the old, more than half of them are over 65. I said I had almost refused re-nomination, & issued a ringing declaration in favour of youth, of our aging younger statesmen (1945 vintage) who ~~will~~ should

before now have been let into the sun.

That shadow Cabinet, indeed! More like a shadow ~~to~~ cemetery. I shall take this line next time, but that will probably be after a general election in which we shall lose 50 seats.

I hope he won't feel too legal in Morrison's place for the leadership himself. (R doesn't think he will.)