

**Papers of Hugh Dalton:**  
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EXTRACT FROM DIARY

On Saturday, January 25th, I was in my constituency and was just about to go to Midridge Drift to be present at the opening of the new pithead baths, when I was painfully incapacitated by a sharp attack of sciatica and had to return to bed. After medical treatment I was able to return to London on Sunday, January 26th, but, from then until last Thursday, February 20th, I have not been able, under Doctor's orders, to attend the House of Commons. During a fortnight of this time, indeed, I have been undergoing medical treatment.

Immediately after my return to London on Monday, January 27th, I asked my Secretary, Mrs. Peggy Hughes, to notify the Whips Office that I was out of action and should not be able to attend the House that week. Since then Mrs. Hughes, at my request, has kept the Whips Office constantly informed, for several days ahead, sometimes ringing up more than once a week, of my state of health. As regards the debate on the Bank Rate Tribunal, in which the Party had chosen me to speak on Tuesday, February 4th, I also spoke on the telephone to the Leader of the Party before the weekend, so that my place should be appropriately filled. Finally, Mrs. Hughes had given notice, several days in advance, to the Labour Whips office, that I should be able to vote on Thursday, February 20th in response to the Three Line Whip.

I duly attended the House on this day and heard the later part of the two days debate on Foreign Affairs and, on passing through the Division Lobby at the end of this debate, I duly greeted Mr. Short. It would not have surprised me if, on my return, he had expressed either pleasure at seeing me again or sympathy with me in the minor malady from which I had been suffering. He did neither but in the presence of several other colleagues, asserted to my astonishment that he had heard nothing about me for the past three weeks and had not known that I was ill. I told him that my Private Secretary had regularly kept the Whips Office fully informed of my condition, but he seemed not to believe this, and one member of the group said "Are you sure that your Private Secretary really rang the Labour Whips up?" I then said that I thought it was about time we had a new Tribunal, this time to investigate how the Labour Whips Office was organised.

We then all proceeded, in a comradely manner, to record our votes against the Government.

Next morning, I myself rang up the Labour Whips Office. I was answered by a pleasant male voice. I asked "To whom have I the pleasure of speaking?" The voice replied "Mr. Green of the Labour Whips Office." I said, "Of course. I am so glad that I was able to vote last night. I think my Secretary told you that I should be able to." "Yes", he said, "she did". I said "Has my secretary kept in touch with you,

15/3/58.

p. [1] + (2)

removed.



DIARY.

15/3/58 (3) ~~chosen passenger~~  
read aloud from Shelley and from Byron, but that  
no Cleryman should be present. But just at  
the end of the proceedings, a Cleryman, whom no  
one had previously noticed, bobbed up and  
pronounced the Committal. He had been smuggled  
in by Kitty, C.T.'s daughter (a Catholic, I think) in  
defiance of her father's wishes.

What a change has come to Wallington since  
his death? He disliked dogs and never allowed  
a dog inside the house. Now Molly has a Scott's  
terrier which spends most of its time in her  
boudoir.

He was a great character. We liked each  
other, and, as I have written in Call Back Yesterday,  
he gave me great help and encouragement when I  
was a young politician.

DIARY.

[T.O.] (5)

2/4/58

Party meeting in Westminster Hall to discuss joint declaration of the West Exec and the TUC. on Disarmament and Nuclear War. (Yellow paper attached) The P.L.P. could not approve or disapprove this declaration which

coming from the top level, bound them.

Bevan introduced it. Quite well, without going into detail, but with a good background of tactics. And Brown wound up. When everyone was a bit satiated, with some remarks on different types of weapons. Most speakers gave the declaration general support. Though there was a lot of enjoyment to and fro, eg "expats", Wigg, Shackley, Pajet, etc.

I spoke, having prewarned H.G., towards the end. I had a great success, loudly cheered both in mid career and at the ~~end~~ finish. He was very pleased and shook my hand afterwards. I said "but it better to do it only occasionally, but then rather well?"

I complimented Bevan on his disposition, and said I was delighted with his statement but the headings were rather more united than they had ever been - I said that they were now giving a good lead to the rank & file. "Let us see" I said, "hold fast to the best simplicity, and not let bosses down in <sup>detail</sup> mass of debatable detail, or waste all the expert differed. & what they said could not all be true, and perhaps very little of it may come, and perhaps the hypothetical situations they discussed would even come to pass. [T.O.]



DIARY

Easter Recess.

3/4/58 - 14/4/58

I am at W.L., and R from 31/3/58 - 11/4/58 in Paris and in Belgium.

At W.L. it is tiresomely cold. I write a letter of Vol III a new "Personal Opening", which I like, largely suggested by a talk with M. Edelmann, and some more the troublesome sector on the American Loan. Here I am not completely briefed on the details of negotiations, and must look them up, if necessary, in Cabinet records.

Tommy stays one night  
two most regular  
Bolt very satisfactory.

Here, I make two nights; my  
visitors in the last few years.

Wear different wigs.

I also write an article for the Evening Standard on "Support Costs" of British forces in Germany. (This is due to be published on Monday, 14<sup>th</sup>, the eve of Budget Day. I say that the Germans can & should pay in gold. Their reserves for themselves alone are more than half as large again as ours, held for the whole sterling area.)

H.G., A.B. and George Brown went together during the recess to SHAPE, and bumped and talked with General Norstadt (who impressed me when I met him about a year ago.) I shall be interested



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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (2)

To hear how this trip went:

I am troubled about George Brown. Historically, he has been very much one of my protégés, and I have tried to help him in recently in the last Shadow Cabinet election. <sup>in connection for his election</sup> I thought he would take a small and discrediting vote, even though he retained his seat.

But I am not at all sure whether he is equal to our present Leader, or whether he is not plotting for some new combination. One must not forget that most of the ~~the~~ stories of dissensions among members in the Labour Party are in the enemy press are primarily designed to ~~shake~~ make trouble, and to shake morale in our own ranks. But sometimes these stories have proved true. One story, in a Sunday paper this recess, says that G.B. is planning with A.B., that the latter should become Deputy Leader, in place of Jim Griffiths, and then will be confined to Foreign Affairs, but have a moving Commission. But this would be intolerable for H.G. - two Kings in Babylon. Nor ~~do~~ do I wish it would have much support, unless J.G. voluntarily retired. This must be prevented, & I ~~do~~ do my share.

DIARY.

3/4/58 - 14/4/58. (3)

Next autumn we shall be entering, probably, the last session of this Parliament. It would be a very great mistake to change the leadership pattern so late in the Parliament. The story went on to suggest that G. B. Lough that he should succeed A.B. as Shadow Foreign Secretary. \* I was A.B. became Deputy leader. But this I find most unlikely.

The root of this particular mistake is that G. B. is still most sensitively class conscious. He finds it difficult to be a really good comrade with an "intellectual" defined as a person who has been at a Public School & University. (I hope I may exempt myself from this disqualification in view of my past recalcitrance.) But he said some very silly things to me after reading my Fateful Year, in which I praise him.

I thought a pretty good gift, particularly for his speech in favour of expelling Leiffers in 1939. He said that he & Sophie took a special reading my book, that all my real intimacies and friendships were with "intellectuals" who knew how to play up to me. (I had with little University of I nearly made a list of references to disprove this, but couldn't be bothered.)  
has been interested in University types, es. Jan & Mary

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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (4)

G.B. has also <sup>been</sup> ~~been~~ in the last few months, but he now finds it much easier to discuss things with A.B. than with H.G., and that he finds himself much more often in agreement with A.B. than he used to do.

Frank Cousins is also a relevant figure. G.B. says that F.C. doesn't like H.G., though the latter has taken a lot of trouble socially with ~~H.G.~~ F.C. Mrs. "Nance" <sup>is</sup> Cousins seems a tiresome influence in the background, very class conscious, just a girl from Doncaster; would never accept any help in the house (but now apparently does), would never live anywhere except in a Council House (but now apparently does). G.B. thinks that now this woman wants to be "invited to parties" etc. without paying on the making class plane, and says that, till very recently, she would never leave "the men" to talk alone, when F.C. was entertaining G.B. & others at his own house. But, last time, says G.B., F.C. did drop her a heavy hint & she did disappear for a short while.

G.B. is obviously liable to be influenced by F.C., an obscure teacher at T. & W.U., except

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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (5)

on question of defence, <sup>some</sup> other political issues, G.B. would accept F.C.'s views, e.g. on H. Bombs.

G.B. is also disappointed that, though he's Chairman of Parliamentary T.V. Group, as well as Shadow Defence Minister, F.C. won't give him any official position in his Union's political party-making set up. Before F.C. became Gen. Secy, he used to tell G.B. that he ought to have such a position. Now that F.C. has become G. Secy, he's changed his mind. He doesn't want a rival.

just before Christmas, 1957, I had a very unsatisfactory experience with G.B. <sup>He had</sup> (2 Sophie) spent a week-end at the Walstons. The party should have included Fred Peart, with Cannon & over TV on my suggestion, and

leaders, on G.B.'s suggestion. But none of those came. G.B. finally brought Sophie, but he told me that she had made a scene the day before. She didn't want to come, the Walstons were not the sort of people she wanted to be with, not want she meant by socialism, etc. He said that was <sup>her</sup> "time of life".



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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (6)

and indeed she had a real illness, resulting from this, some months.

But G.B. was Terribly Man - Conscious & thoughtful. I asked that he was not getting better in these respects. It may perhaps still be bad with me. But he was very tiresome in conversation. (TV Catherin whom he said "I'm only a luxury driver's son; not rich like you". Later I heard that he has been having

difficulties about money - in spite of income in M.P.'s salary. Neither of his two daughters are earning.)

He has an obsession about XYZ. He once came on a visit to talk about agriculture. & Richard Kahn, then still a member, had attacked him very rudely and, I thought, destructively. I wasn't there that night.

"With a single Trade Unionist below it", he said. I said that neither

said that not many had much interest in the sort of subjects he discussed, e.g. linguistic ratios.

Exchange control within the Sterling area, etc. TV house he replied "you ask Charlie Parnell & Bob Mellish to join & you'll see". I said that neither

of these, it may be true were good friends of mine, had

even the faintest sign of interest in such matters, either by speaking of them in the House, or even attending

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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (7)

Lukson

meetings of the Economic & Financial Group of the MS;  
when such questions were discussed.

Finally, after I had again repeatedly explained, in  
outline, about XYZ, he "I don't mind your coming together,  
if you don't talk too much about it." I asked when  
talked. He said Jay & Diamond, & added that this  
was a new development. I spoke to WE J & D, who  
denied the accusation!

Further complaint about H.S. not seeing enough of the  
Party I said he & Miss Wimp visited all (Geography)

Wimp's Wimp in Rome, and there could be discussion  
& previous. He thought these visits were too formal.

I disagreed. He said H.S. should sometimes go to the  
tea room. I said this would mean that he would be

represented by one or two. I proposed visits to the house.

Then he & Sophie said H.S. & Dora should give a  
series of tea parties for Lukson MS, & L.V.S. "And

hires!  
hires!  
hires!  
good food!" I said, in a real angry outbreak.  
else do they & Party leaders had to do.

All this was tiresome enough & this week-  
end left a bad taste in my mouth. That's all

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3/4/58 - 14/4/58 (8)

The above was in the presence of strangers to the Labour Party.

There was also before Xmas a burst of anti-Saitzwell stuff in the Sunday Press (written chief & Dean Variation) Observer, Sunday Times and Sunday Express (Wentworth) in con etc.

"Among T.V. it's a vast distaste for intellectuals. A middle class woman suffering etc Party asked me "is it true?" I said "the enemy press prints stuff like this, we can't let people like you shall not let working people like me."

Malicious Privileges. "Who has leader's private telephone number?" (writely not in book, as mine then since 1924!) "how calls in <sup>regularly</sup> on the <sup>con</sup> Sunday morning, on the heights of Hampstead, for a very dry sherry?" "The wealthy and personable Jack Diamond" greeted much more warmly by the leader than recent T.V. victors at by-elections. The leader, entering the dining room, sits by Dingle Foot & Megan, and "springs" the table when T.V. it sits

I half suspect George Brown of fixing some of this "back home to correct" to the Press. H.E. "Lago"? But John Callaghan says it's his. <sup>most likely in reply to the press as</sup> <sup>long one of MASSINGHAM's</sup> <sup>secretly to Oswald</sup>

DIARY

18/6/58

Good gossip with H.G. whom I had not seen since before Whitson. An extra week's Parliamentary recess at Whitson, racking just over a fortnight, is very appreciable.

H.G. seems happy and fit and full of commonsense and good judgment; particularly happy at the rapid flowering of Julia, now 19, living in Rome with a family. She writes, he says, most remarkable letters; most intelligent <sup>full of</sup> and striking phrases.

Hence to education. I praise the Party's latest Policy Pamphlet on this subject. Best of the series so far. Well written - exceptionally well for such a document. ~~Intelligent~~ Emphasises the important obvious, with clarity & for an occasional real ray of fresh sunlight. Tawdry even on the working party. Chaired by Michael Stewart. He can still help others to write.

I am particularly glad that they propose to do nothing about public schools in the next five years. This avoids a political blunder of the first magnitude \* the rousing of a most violent opposition among Old Boys, worse than "Lions than veni". This would have been the fiercest resistance to any Labour proposal since 1945, would have been very skillfully conducted, & would have distracted attention from many other much more important educational (and other) problems. ~~horrible~~ We must solve first. And, in the last resort, there would have been a new Eton in Canada or N. France, and a new Winchester in ~~S. Ireland~~ Eire! Flemington maybe would cost too much.

H.G. isn't sure yet whom should be M of Educ. Not V. Keen or Stewart, whom has no children. I am for D. Jan, - a more plausible



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figure many teachers, children and local authorities than among business men (as P.B.T.) I've said this to H.G. before, but don't repeat it today. But I shall return to it, particularly as I like the Educ Report very much, & should like to see a big push in educ<sup>n</sup> on our biggest home front effort next time.

H.G. has in Europe; in Switzerland lecturing on the role of the opp<sup>n</sup>, very well received he said, and he looked at ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> looked at by the men of Zurich; at the international at Brussels. Here he heard from Jules Moch, who <sup>and</sup> is the strong man <sup>in</sup> in charge of police and public security in the last Pflimlin - pre de Gaule - Govt. The Fourth Republic <sup>at the time</sup> was more powerful than we thought. There would have been no civil war. There would

have been no significant resistance to a military coup <sup>from</sup> them

was <sup>no</sup> unit, Moch said, either in the Army, Air Force or Navy, <sup>or</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>all</sup> <sup>of</sup> the Civil Government could have relied. Nor

Moch found, could he rely on the police. The military coup was well prepared, both for the arrival of paratroops and other from Algeria, and for parallel action in metropolitan France. And probably the invaders from Algeria

would have landed in the South of France, not in Paris. Where, Moch said, they could have obstructed the airfields.

The Communists were not armed, on any scale, and could not have stood up to the paratroops, or done any good by a general strike. Had Moscow probably told them to keep quiet, preferring a neutralist to an aggressively nationalist France.

In those circumstances, H.G., though not an enthusiast for

Mallet, though he had done right to say for de Gaule is the only alternative, though a precarious & uncertain one, to a military dictatorship. And perhaps it was <sup>best</sup> ~~better~~ that

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The French Socialists were divided. If all had voted against de Gaulle, he might not have taken over; if all had voted for him, he might have seemed to get it too easily. If this story, largely derived from Moch, is true - and I am inclined to believe it - France is in a more dangerous state than I had realised. Maybe a military dictatorship, ultra than a reformed Republican democracy, will come within six months. O those contemptible, even intriguing, otherwise ineffectual, politicians, with their dozen "parties" and their hundred cliques!

Bevan was with H.G. at the International, and at the British Embassy in Brussels. This relationship is fascinating. H.G. is ~~some~~ the stronger character, as well as much the best friend. When the two are together, he can prevent A.B. from running wild, though he makes concessions, not of great importance, to his excitable moods. When A.B. is on his own, he is inclined to run out of control, e.g. in his first article in Tribune attacking de G. This habit of writing regular articles, said H.G., is a great nuisance, & very undesirable in a future Foreign Secretary.

A.B. enjoyed himself in our Brussels Embassy, where George Labouche, our Amb., is very keen on modern art. A.B. was released to off political shop, and without Jesus, can be very charming & amusing. To avoid what happened

in our Washington Embassy, where H.G. gave me tips & didn't write a note. H.G. asked, at Brussels Embassy, what tipping scale was, and paid for H.B. as well, informing him. And he hinted at the roof, Lady L. having pleased A.B.

He also discussed with A.B. the question of evening dress.

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They had quite a talk about this. It would be natural to wear a dinner jacket to dine at the Earl's, L.H.G. did. A.B. didn't. H.G. said to A.B. that he would really like to see A.B. appearing in evening dress soon. A.B. said that he liked to be well dressed. He was not one of those who deliberately put on old clothes in order to meet his constituents, or to address a meeting of unemployed men. (Thus, I said to H.G., is a repetition of what Jimmy Lee wrote in last week's Tribune) But, said A.B., he objected to being told by other people what to wear, and he objected to uniform. H.G. suggested that he might like to wear a purple velvet smoking jacket with a black tie to the evening. A.B. seemed rather taken with this idea, but finally said that he realised that, if he were Foreign Secretary, he would have to conform to wearing evening dress.

H.G. said that A.B.'s relations with Mr. Foot were now very bad, & that Foot was trying to stir up Beaverbrook to attack A.B. He also said that Foot still had a cottage on Beaverbrook's Cherkley estate. I saw a good deal of the old man. He had heard from an American journalist that Foot was down there last week-end. I said that I noticed references to A.B. in the Express (both Sunday & Daily) which suggested that A.B. was in trouble on the White List. Crombecher recently had a paragraph, estimating the Bevan family income at £11,600 pa.

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And the Daily Express reported that he & Jenny were  
judgments to children of Howard Samuel - wealthy  
property owner ... and director of the Socialist magazine  
Tribune, now being sued for divorce by his 34-year-old  
artist wife, Miss Jane Lane.

And in Cambridge on 22/6/58 the team, for  
once, is not H.C., always on the back list, but how  
ATS. would like reunion with M. Foot and might  
find it by switching to unilateral nuclear disarmament.)  
Finally H.C. spoke of Cousins, now, in effect, is  
surrendering after 7 weeks London bus strike. H.C.  
says that all E.C. of T.U.C. now <sup>either hate</sup> C so much,  
that the danger is that they will "move too much to the  
right. Ted Hill, good old boilermaker's leader, very  
craft & crude, spoke contemptuously of H.C. & C's failure  
to lead, taking his <sup>London</sup> ~~own~~ negotiating Ctee of 13  
men round with him & everyone.

H.C. & I agreed that there is nothing seriously  
wrong with the internal state of the Party, politics must  
excite, to most people, now, & you can't change that at  
present. After 7 years in opposition it's not surprising  
that many M.P.s are bored and don't attend debates.  
All this would change if we won the election and, had  
though the Tory press tries to prove the contrary, all the  
indications are that, unless we make bloody fools of  
ourselves, we shall win it easily.