

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
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Diary. (Mainly Political)

~~1927~~ 1927 — Nov 1929.

End of 1927.

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"Jealousy and vanity are the politician's chief temptations."
So I wrote just before Christmas, at the Session's end, stimulated to this opinion by P.S. & the Surtace, by J.R.M.'s general attitude & by some good talks with C.T., best of political colleagues.

But out at the Trayons, with R., I read the first volume of Sir Henry Wilson's life & diaries, and I find that soldiers are just as ^{susceptible} as politicians.

Also I find that H.W. Keft a diary, even in the full rush of war, & am the more determined, the same!

Before starting on 1928 I note some events & feelings of the end of 1927.

In the summer we were campaigning against the Govt's Trade Union Bill & making very little headway. Very poor attendances at meetings. No real keenness. Apathy & whipped dogginess. A "liberal revival" not quite a fantastic claim, though by-elections had fallen wonderfully well for the liberals. If Govt had asked h-g

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where he would have liked four or five legs, he could not have chosen better for himself than he has. N. Southwell, Trosworth, etc. - or worse for us. So having regard to his weighting of the scales, I refused to become rattled, as some were, but was content to be watchful. After the British G. election Uncle said "for the first time since the last general election I feel there is a check." But Conference at Blackpool was a good show in October, apart from my sideslip off the Nat'l Exec. though this was much less surprising than my sideslip on the year before. There were signs of greater determination & unity. But in the autumn session I became aware of a great sense of caution and anti-leftism in the Parliamentary Party, simultaneous with the G.C.'s new inclination towards industrial peace & talks with employers. There is a distinct danger of comae evaporating peacefully.

~~I want to mention~~ The following points are worth mentioning. (1) Programme Committee, (2) P.S. & Sun Tax, (3) Our leaders generally, (4) Parliamentary Executive discussion & "at homes", (5) P. Exec.

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election for the new session.

(1) Programme Ctee. Uncle has wanted a Programme for next election for some time. He brought up a draft in the summer, the contents of which were not bad, but which was much too long and awfully dull written. (Poor overworked A.G.'s composition.) This was turned down by the Parliamentary Exec, partly on contents, I was left objecting to certain omissions & partly on style. The Nat'l Exec then thought it best not to proceed with this particular document, but to get a resolution from Blackpool authorising the preparation of a Programme, with a special view to the next election & the possibility of achievement by a Lab Govt in the course of a Party of normal length. This resolution was got at Blackpool, the Programme to be submitted to the next Annual Conference or, if practicable, to a special Conf^{ce} if an election came earlier. The new Nat'l Exec at its first meeting appointed a Programme Ctee. - J.R.M., Uncle, F.D., Camp, H. Morrison, C.T., G.H., Ella Wilkinson, Mosley. The last pro

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were put on by Uncle in accordance with his habitual practice of (1) encouraging the young & (2) crushing extremists under a weight of official responsibility. On the whole, however, a distinctly good Ctee.

But it has had some severe rows already. One last 4 sent in a joint ^{signed} document & gave the unwise appearance of being a left-wing Ctee. Then O.M., who often shows a surprising lack of judgment, rang up Middleton & asked for an advance copy of certain official drafts, because he wanted to "talk them over with some of other members before the next meeting of the full Ctee." G.L. Very displeased with him over this.

Then a great row over drink! E.W. moved that "there should be no reference to the drink question in the programme." (I had urged her to do this.) This was carried by 7 to 2, only V.M. & J.R.M. voting against. On this Uncle offered his resignation from the Ctee, silly old ass, & the Nat'l Exec only asked him to take

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it back by 7 votes to 6! He told me this, on one of our walks home from the House, at the end of the session. I urged him to stay on, & said that we must recognise that the Party was very divided on drink policy & that many of our members were much embarrassed about it. I thought the furthest we could go was to set up a Royal Commission on it, if we came in, as the Mr. Lab. Govt had promised to do in its election manifesto of 1924. He was not averse from this last idea, but said that the P.C. had ^{not} even left a loophole for him. But I suspect that he hadn't raised this ^{at the Ctee,} but only his damned old local opinion. His electoral sense on drink is very much at fault. He thinks of Temperance people as an important electoral asset, which they aren't, - particularly as compared with moderate drinkers, - & also of a Temperance vote which would be won by us from the Liberals, - which it couldn't be, whatever we said about drink. He also said there was more drinking in the House among Labour M.P.'s

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than ever before, which may be regrettable, but would not be altered ~~either~~ even if we adopted local options. C.T. & I had a good, in a conversation early in 1927, that Vack would be the best successor to J.M. (whose health was then so bad that ~~such speculation~~ the question of succession seemed as though it might be imminent), C.T. remarking that he was the type of man who had been an excellent Labour Premier in the Dominion. But his bad temper on C.T.s, & his habit of "dancing on everyone", is an awful pity. I think C.T. is a little shaken in his view, but how else would he be better?

(2) P.S. & Surtax. This is a tiresome tale. At the beginning of 1925 J.M. personally appointed a number of ~~sub~~ C.T.s from the Parl's Exec to work out various branches of policy. Most of these seem to have died out, but one showed great ~~virtu~~ activity. This was a ~~sub~~ C.T. on

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Finance, — Graham & Arnold. They were appointed without Snowden's knowledge. It is intelligible that P.S., on hearing of this C.T. much later, should have been piqued. The relations of J.M. & P.S. during the last part, as before it, had been very bad. Graham had the thankless task of go-between. They were not often on private speaking terms, & P.S. ~~was~~ ^{was} on the point of resignation over the London Agreement (on the Dowry Plan), J.M. having neglected his finance himself, without saying anything to P.S. until it was all settled. P.S., who thought the agreement much too kind to France & much too hard on Germany, in addition to thinking that he had been personally slighted, had gone as far as sending for the Manchester Guardian correspondent, in order to give him a statement of his reasons of resignation. Then he was dissuaded. His Moody sort of a wife keeps stating up his hatred of J.M. & is said to have a plot of L.S., who lives next door to them in Surrey, over her

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London fireplace. It is said that if L.G. holds the balance in the next Parliament, he will support a Lab Govt on condition that J.M. is sacked, & replaced by P.S. as P.M. This, I have through good sources, was his attitude in the summer. It is believed that they have many quiet political talks in Surrey & plan cooperation. The rumour (that L.G. would want him in J.M.'s place,) was referred to at one of our P.S. & C. informal "at Home" in **NOVEMBER**. P.S. said nothing! And then, after an interval of other talk, remarked that he very seldom saw L.G. in Surrey, & that the last occasion was some months ago when he had been up to ^{see} a private cinema show at L.G.'s. But no direct denial! It was very clear, during his particular talk, that P.S. was all for the clearest possible understanding with the Liberals. "I want a Parliament of action," he said, & praised the quality of the Liberal Party in the last Parliament, & scouted the possibility of our winning more than 250 seats, & the result we should

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have seen in London. He, & also J.H.T. ^{was} however saw the practical difficulties more clearly, ^{especially} ~~particularly~~ ^{of} a Labour - Liberal Coalition Cabinet. But I think no one else did! Tom Johnston said to me afterwards that many had back to Suttan! Graham & Arnold ^{of our people's hair would stand on end, if they could have heard his particular discussion.} Geoffrey Lees Smith, Patrick Lawrence, Gillett & myself, making a Ctee of 6, which had many meetings in Graham's room upstairs ^{during 1926 & 1927.} One earlier meeting was during the sitting of the Colwyn Ctee, on which Lees Smith sat. We evolved the idea of the Suttan, as an alternative to the Capital City. I was alone in desiring to return C.L., but they thinking that "the time had passed." I could have played the part of Casablanca, but honestly & with some political instinct, probably, rather left. But I decided against him & in favour of cooperating to find an alternative. The Suttan, in the end, was the chief feature of the Colwyn Minority Report, which came out just before the Budget of 1927. It was

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then a question of considering whether the Party should back his idea officially. Gen Cree of G. made a short memorandum, proposing that the next budget should raise at least £100 million of new revenue, £85 from a surtax of about 2/- in the £ on unearned income, but graduated & exempting the first £500, plus £15 million from higher death duties and land values. Further that ^{about} 1/4 of this should go to increase the Sinking Fund, & the remaining 3/4 for taking taxes off food & increased social expenditure. P.S. at this stage was called in. It was an awkward business explaining to him what our Ctee. was! Graham faked him, but Arnold did it, Shilly & Brumby. P.S., however, swallowed the plan whole, raising no criticism, but saying with a sly smile, that he was surprised at our moderation & that he thought such a programme could be realised "in the course of 2 or 3 budgets!" I had thought of it as tying him, or his successor, down to do it in his first budget!

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P.S. also took the Chair for Lees Smith, when the latter explained the Surtax, in relation to the Budget Ref. to the Parliamentary Party. He showed no sign of disapproval. I think that, on both these occasions, he was so diligant to have got rid of C.L. that he was not greatly interested in the details of his substitute. So we went ahead. The dropping of C.L. was not seriously ^{objected to by any one, & taken to my surprise.} hata. However, two controversies developed, one within the Party, the other with outsiders, (1) as to use of proceeds, (2) as to yield.

(1) was initiated by the I.L.P., led by Mosley, who wanted nothing to be added to the Sinking Fund, & weren't even very keen about taking taxes off food, but wanted the whole for social services, ~~etc~~ particularly for child allowances, recently advocated in the living wage, the pamphlet by Brailsford, Hudson, Wike & Creech Jones. M attacked Snowden, Graham & myself for advocating increased S.F. in the House. He talked a lot of absurd nonsense, but criticized & had economy, & played hard to the gallery. Hata I had a vigorous controversy with him

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in the New Leader, arising from a gratuitous attack on me made by him in the last number before the Blackfoot Conf. designed, almost certainly, to deflect votes in the Nat^l Exec election.

(2) was started by Hubert Henderson in the Nation who attacked our yield & said that it was £40 million too high. A controversy followed in which Arnold wrote a long, rather bad, letter which he sent to me signed. But, on the merits, we had quite a good answer.

H.H. assumed that we weren't going to bring in undistributed profits, whereas we certainly intended to do so. (though in the first case this was not clearly stated), & also that we intended to exempt everyone's first £500, even if his unearned income was > £500. This was our intention, so far as the formula of graduation went, but not so far as excluding from averaging ~~profits~~ the rate of 2/- went.

Mr P.S., however, took issue, & began writing to the Inland Revenue, who had originally given L.S. the figure of £85 m on the Collyer Case. He

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was told by me, ^{feebly &} rather inconsistently, that they couldn't really be sure of any estimate. He also wrote to a correspondent a letter which got into the Press, saying that he had had no part in drawing up the scheme & that, "of course, if the estimate was wrong, the whole scheme fell to the ground." That was after Blackfoot.

He did not come to Blackfoot, & he did not raise any objection to the memorandum for Blackfoot which was passed, after much redrafting, by the N. Exec.

At Blackfoot the Statute resolution was moved by L.S., seconded by me & supported by Arnold & carried unanimously. It specified ~~the~~ social services, tax & debt reduction, in that order, as the objects in view, & the I.L.P., after rather ineffective speeches by O.M. & Marton, didn't pass their amendment.

Some P.S.'s letter to a correspondent, & a letter in the Mag. opposing the Protocol, after J.M.H. had written in defence of it, raised a storm.

Arnold & L.S. were sent down to see him in Surrey at the beginning of October on Statute & found him

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Very intransigent. He didn't care a rap for the Party Conference. What did they know about finance? etc. The proceeds must all go to debt reduction & he wouldn't consent to including undistributed profits. And the yield was all wrong anyway.

Subsequent row on P. Exec & questions at the Party meeting. Enemy Press full of joy! P.S. at first very isolated, & seemed likely to fall out of active leadership, if not actually to resign from the Party. But it was decided that he should have further conference with our Ctee of 6. These were long & very irritating. We had 3 in Graham's room. Finally (I think he had come up to the edge of the precipice ^{of resignation} & looked over, & drawn back) he agreed to a document which admitted that the yield could be got, but hedged on undistributed profits, & stressing debt reduction rather more heavily, though leaving in the other 2 subjects well. Arnold, who squabbled badly with P.S., was very unwilling to agree to his, but eventually came into line. It was

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also agreed that P.S. should now make a public speech on the situation. This, he said, he was anxious to do. Meanwhile the Party Meeting was just off. He spoke on Dec 10th at Hindley, very unsatisfactorily, putting all the stress on the debt & throwing doubt again on the yield. That to my disgust, he got away with it at the Party Meeting on the following Tuesday, speaking "impressively" as usual & impressing a lot of ^{the} simpler minded people. But a resolution was unanimously carried, (I don't think he quite tumbled to what he was agreeing to), "approving the situation & instructing the P. Exec to arrange for a vigorous propaganda on its behalf." This, looked to the Press like a vote of censure on him, & he afterwards gizzled at the P. Exec about a cartoon of himself in the Evening News & other misrepresentation. An unsatisfactory ending, & only for the moment!

(3) Our leaders! What a crochety lot they are! J. K. M., Uncle & P.S. are all, in their way, very difficult.

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C.T. & I agreed that it was the very devil! You have to focus them so carefully, & pick your words & approaches so gingerly, that time & energy don't evaporate before you can get to the point. I thought it is to be able to be just straight & direct, as C.T. & I, for instance, can be with one another.

(4) P. Exec elections. These, at the end of the session, showed a remarkable love for the Old Gang, but very little for the left outside. Smillie noticed, as he should have done long before, for he is very feeble & feeble now, & we were all re-elected along with Tom Shaw, who had been ~~on~~ on in 1925-6. Voting, (136 members voted)

| | | | |
|-----------|-----|---------|----|
| Snowden | 119 | H.D. | 88 |
| Uncle | 115 | Adamsen | 86 |
| W. Graham | 110 | Webb | 85 |
| T.J. | 108 | G.L. | 81 |
| J.H.T. | 98 | C.T. | 81 |
| Les Smith | 93 | Shaw | 78 |

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Unsuccessful

| | | | |
|-----------|----|-----------------|----|
| Maxton | 54 | Mosley | 19 |
| Lawson | 43 | T. Williams | 19 |
| D. Graham | 35 | Short | 18 |
| Petrick | 29 | Rhys Davies | 17 |
| Scour | 23 | Morgan Jones | 17 |
| Dunnico | 21 | Kenworthy | 15 |
| Wedgwood | 21 | Ellen Wilkinson | 14 |
| Hardie | 19 | Beckett | 9 |

Maxton, like the I.L.P. generally, is out of favour, & O.M. can't buy votes with money here, as he can for the Nat' Exec. We're solidifying anyhow! It's a war to the hilt for the scraps.

(5) P. Exec discussion & "At Home". We are trying to be a "well balanced" Exec. On India there was a definite split at one point, but we all came into agreement in the end. G.L., C.T., T.J. & I generally act together pretty well. We did on India. But it's often heavy work! They have risen from nothing to very high positions, as C.T. put it, & they aren't quite sure whether they will be displaced. Hence friction & insecurity, a by-product of democracy. J.K.M., as he is

once said is like a
jealous Prima Donna,
Suspicion of everyone except J.H.T.

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After Christmas & New Year with R at Aiguebelle & Le Trayon, sun & reading books about Arabs, (Gustave Kell & Lawrence,) I got back on Jan 8th R staying at Aiguebelle another week.

Jan 14th. My 10 free copies of Toward the League Nations arrive, looking very nice. I give one to Uncle, one to me, & one to C.T.

Other copies taken to J.R.M., Clynes, Crawford, Phil, Will, Harry Taylor, Goldie, Olive, Allyn Young, Gregory, Robbins, J.W.D., Pousouly. First greetings good!

Jan 30th. Haski has been hearing from Vivian Phillips & other anti L-S liberals about his L-S fund. Every liberal candidate is in a hole when asked how much he is getting from the L-S fund. Either acceptance or refusal damn his party. VP thought his fund amounted to about £2½ million. Most of it is invested in the Daily Chronicle & accumulating at 8% compound interest.

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Samuel has only had £300,000 for General election & preparation. Lord & Nation have had £200,000. R.G. is still putting candidates of his own into constituencies & financing them from his residue.

Feb 2nd. Day opens well! A most important letter from Baldwin to R & Blake about money of L.C.C. election. This man is getting more & more impossible, but it is damned difficult to dislodge him. Walter, whom I see later in the morning, tells me that he has recently applied for his Kent's job at E. Hewisham, or well on at Deptford. But neither put him on their short list. His reputation as a general is well known in S.E. London.

First meeting of P. Exec at Ecclesham Sq before opening of session. All very calm & J.R.M., fortunately, not grizzling about anything or anybody. Smith, Cook, Crawford & Pugh come in to talk over mines. Sd C looks in good mood. Agreed that we should push programme

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immediate palliatives plus repeal of 8 hours Act,
while making clear that we are still for
nationalisation.

Feb 6th. Meeting of P. Exec at 4 at Tpt House. Bills
& motions for the new session. T.J. says he gave me
3 columns on the front page of last week's Forward on
P.Y.W., which was sold out in Glasgow at the week-end.
I said I hoped he agreed with the general line of
the book. He said he never looked at books from
that point of view, but only considered whether
they contained material for propaganda. C.T.
has had a talk with Houghton, the U.S. Ambassador,
& thinks him a sound chap. Trusting the
people & mistrusting the Govts. Suggests a
further private meeting with 2 or 3 of us. P.S.
is sick, having strained himself at a recent
meeting. J.K.M. thinks - a little sleepfully
I thought - but it may be rupture. T.J.
says J.K.M. seems to have had "a sniff of the
bottle" today, & Uncle thinks him less alert

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than usual. Eve of session exec dinner at
National Labour Club. Rather a cold affair. Two
vacant seats on J.K.M.'s right. J.K.M. tells us that
he has had a most pressing invitation to go to
the Lendondarys' official (Tory) reception. Would
our Party object more than the Tories if he went?
(This is a typical sub-joke.) Uncle says he
ought to take David Kirkwood or Cook with him,
to show the latter a nice woman's hotel. (When
J.K.M. was P.M., he asked the Lendondarys to stay
a week end at Cheques. But no such invitation
was given to any of his colleagues.)

Eve of session Reception at Victoria Hall,
Wassersbury. I walk there with Uncle from N.L.C.
~~And~~ He says Programme Ctee is still fighting.
J.K.M. & O.M. still hostile to one another. He
thanks me for P.Y.W., which, however, he hasn't yet
read. I say I want him to go to the F.O. in
his next Lab Govt, & so do many others, including
the Geneva Secretariat. He tells me again

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of his difficulties with J.P.M., especially at the Brunley by-election in 1923, when he advocated Revision of the Peace Treaties, especially in regard to Reparations, & how J.P.M. repudiated him in the House & sent a telephone message from a Civil Servant in Downing Street to a clerk in his office near West "the P.M. wishes Mr Henderson to 'pull up' a bit in his speeches he is making at the by-election." He agrees with me that J.P.M. is like a star actress, jealous of every other leading performer in the cast. Unless we feed him with adulation & admiration, we can't get hope even to get very near him. Feb 7th. Session begins. Arthur Shepherd likes P.M. Personally thinks "his interest never flags", & agrees with a great deal, especially his part on minorities. But he will answer my criticism of the Peace better later. J.P.M. not in good form. Obviously suffering from neuritis. A makes a good speech on Dulwich at the L.C.C. & exasperates the Tories.

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At the speech on Feb 6th, I had a talk with Dance, one of Headlam's underground staff, who doesn't think much of our students. Using the word in its ultra-modern sense he thinks most of them are "illiterate". Labour's Wealth & Money are textbooks written with a bias. Students are either rabbits or Daltonians! This young man, plebeian, with nice ^{brown} eyes & plenty of self-possession, is a member of the Executive of the N. Southampton Labour Party, & was in the Chair when I spoke there during the by-election last year. Feb 9th. We have shocking luck in the Parliamentary ballot. Uncle moves on next to the Address (on unemployment) quite well, less tied to notes than usual. But I think I foresee a dull & uninteresting session. Looking for a candidate for St Ive. Will A.F. want stand. We want someone young, idealistic & vigorous. How far such were seen to be available! In the morning give evidence before living Wage Ctee on Child Allowances. Trade Unionists

afraid it may reduce wages, or raise prices, or empty the prisons, or any old horror! Maggie Handfield afraid we can't afford any more. But I think I move them on a bit towards acceptance of the thin end of the wedge. They are rather impressed with perspective fall in number of children. This hadn't struck them before.

Feb 26th. Preach at Whitefields on Economics & Human Nature. Rather successful. ~~We~~ We

are in the midst of the L.C.C. election campaign & I am canvassing in Peckham most week days.

Feb 28th. Dine at C.T.'s to meet Ambassador Huntington of U.S. Lees Smith, Phil, Mrs T. Pauline.

It is awfully slow, even for a Yankee. Very Anti-League, regarding it as a facade behind which the old European Balance of Power works. Wants an unconditional renunciation of war both U.S., us, France & Germany. Plebiscite for the initial treaty & plebiscite again if war threatens. No trust in party, or party, but only in "the plain

people." As to Anglo-American relations further we two must decide on a formula for the "laying of a blockade" which we could both recognize.

March 8th. L.C.C. Polling. Peckham Results.

Dalton (Lab) 7705

Blake (Lab) 7380

Oakey (C) 4835

Steer (C) 4833

Williams (Lib) 1810

Stepney (Lib) 1791

Carter (Ind. Lab) 182

42% poll.

These results are good, & distinctly better than I expected. We have put on 1300 votes compared with 1925, though comparison is difficult for other candidates, as in 1925 there were 1 Lib & 3 Tories. Carter's poll is surprisingly insignificant. I had given him 400 to 500. We have a clear majority over all. (In the rest of London we made 8 net gains, Tories 7 net losses & Liberals 1 net loss. Mr. S. J. Liberal revival in London, only

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5 of the candidates being returned out of 82!

Peckham is very sound in the mass. But it has been hard work. I have been canvassing myself since Feb 21st, every day except Saturdays & Sundays. No Ward Secretaries in two wards, Goldsmith & Nye Lane. Canvassers are fully slow to follow. L. Terry & Holmes do valiant work night after night in Goldsmith. Howlikan comes down & tips out on Polling Day. Also Kenworthy's car! But want a comment on the tip! on polling day. I walk round & round all day, shaking hands with some, knocking up others. Looking in at Ctee Rooms. This is the real way, not just drifting about in a car in the evening. Tony & Liberal ^{cases of Harold} there aren't very many. ^{could be held in only} are hosted by groups of small boys at Summer Rd School & elsewhere. I think this helps to terrify the enemy! R very plucky, ^{most adequate} through it all. Polling Day is on the eve of her 38th birthday.

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I plan to get her off to Aiguebelle as soon as the new Council has met.

March 12th. Sunday talk at Exec on Tinovief letter. J.P.M. has a confidential letter from one Dombrowski, Passage Clichy, Paris, offering to put at our disposal some real information as to authorship of the ^{document} letter. The English of the letter is so bad that we can't make out whether the suggestion is that the ~~letter~~ document is forged or authentic. But, in view of next Monday's debate, we decide to leave no channel unexplored & send off Tom Shaw to Paris by the next train to interview Mr. D. Quite like a film story! Speak shortly on the Air Estimates following Home. My first speech this session. Evening Exec "At Home". J.P.M. complains of overwork, too many Ctees, etc, too little time to think & prepare speeches. All very fine. C.T. says that he wants more high class secretarial assistance. Also very fine. But

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no money to pay the sort of person required.
And no available person who could afford to
do it for nothing.

Then back to the Zimovell letter. J.K.M. says that
in the F.O. there were always two schools of
thought on Russia, one, typified by Eyre Crowe,
which attacked no important attempts to
improve Anglo-Russian relations, which regarded
the Russians as dirt & thought it not worth
while to specify particular instances of
breaches of the Trade Agreement, (this school
triumphed as soon as Austen came in); the other,
~~refusing~~ hoping for & believing in the
possibility of improved relations, and
willing to take up, firmly & in detail, particular
breaches of the T.A. This second school represented

J.K.M.'s own view. He was having a dossier
prepared of money sent over to C.P., etc., on
basis of a detailed despatch.

But Crowe was too easily convinced of the...

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authenticity of the letter, on the grounds (1) that the
secret service agent who gave the letter to the
F.O. had received it from a man who "had
never been known to make a mistake" (2)
that a police spy had reported a meeting
of the C.P. Exec at Great King Street at
which it had been stated, a few days before, that
an important letter from Zimovell was on the way.
So convinced was Crowe that he had not doubted
it until J.K.M. gave him his information.
The whole stage had been set ~~by~~ by previous
events, for the busting of the bombshell. The
steady anti-Bolshevik propaganda of the Tories, the
mishandled Campbell case, the Russian Treaty,
with its guaranteed loan. And the insatiable
effect of the mere publication of the Z letter
was found to be tremendous, whatever J.K.M.
or any one else had said or done. chiefly
it swung liberal votes to the Tories, & brought
up, to vote Tory masses who would otherwise have

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remained apathetic. The number of votes actually
divided from Labour were relatively few, & our
total vote in the country rose by 1 1/4 millions.
March 15th. See discussion on Shaw's mission to
Paris. Dombrowski, whose real ^{name} is Richevski,
is a degenerate in consumption. He & a
companion, both educated & with strange
personality, are, admittedly, professional forgers.
They claim to have forged the 2 letter documents,
& sold it to a person, whose photograph
they have kept but whose name they don't
know, who alleged that he was acting for the
British Secret Service. They ~~or~~ sold forged
documents to most newspapers, including Spain
& Portugal. One last named said what
particular document they ^{wanted} forged & it was done.
Next two are Russians (?) Russian Poles)
& asked for the white Russians who
have now given them the check. They
were denounced 3 years ago by the Soviet

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Ambassador in Paris, found guilty of forgery in the
course of a private excursion only in French
papers, & one of them is now officially "en
fuite". In fact, the police know that he has
simply changed his name from R to D &
is still in Paris. This pair offered
Shaw "an ~~for~~ exact copy of the forged Zimrieff
letter, including the ~~letter's~~ signature, & a
dossier showing how the business was handled by
them." The price of this would be £ 20.
Shaw had already paid several hundred
francs!

At a meeting this morning J.H.M., J.H.T. &
Morton, - the speakers in Monday's debate -
with Shaw & Ponsbury had had a discussion
& agreed that Shaw ought to go back
to France & pay £ 20 for his - dossier.
J.H.T. has since had 2nd thoughts. What if
these rascals are double crossing? What if
the Govt know what is happening, & if we are

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confronted during the debate, with the challenge to deny that we have just been sending an ex-Cabinet Minister to Paris July 20 to bribe two white Russian spies, & etc... He moves that we postpone action till after the debate on Monday. I second. Supported by C.T., T.J. I wrote ^{and} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} P.S., G.L., Shaw, Murray & one other. Uncle in chain J.R.M. away. (H.T.) insisted that my report and what would be the "dossier" be worked? And why don't they ask for more than £20 for it? And how ~~to~~ convenient to be able to sidetrack the whole debate from the leak to the D.M. back to the authenticity of the letter! —

J.R.M. said on Monday at the Home that there was clear evidence of leakage of Cabinet minutes from the Admiralty,

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while the Lab Govt was in. A minute on the Campbell ^{was} ~~was~~ all round the West End ~~Club~~ service clubs & in the Middle Temple the day after circulation. J.R.M. asked Ammon, who was Paul's secret to the Admiralty & enquired to have seen anything of Cabinet minutes, to go across to Admiralty & ask of Cabinet minutes. He went innocently & like a bird & brought them all back! Some secretary had them. Chesford took no pains to keep them close. Snowden added that whenever he had a private conversation with Chesford about the Naval Estimates, it was always in the room next day.

Paul Baker has suspected an Admiralty leak over 2 months from the start, because in the autumn of 1924 they were very hot against the Lab Govt then because of the

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abandonment of Singapore, & because of the Protocol.
 Phil says they sent people out to Geneva
 to undermine our delegation over the P.
 March 16th-18th. 5 meetings, two in the Frome Division,
 one at Neath & two in the Aberdare Division.

Specially warm greeting at Neath, from
 Jenkins, President of T.C., Councilor E.J. Hopes of
 Neath (agent) and Johnny Morris, the little publican
 at the Castle Hotel, a liberal, but friendly to
 us all individually, & remembers my grandparents
 being pulled up to the front in a carriage by
 a crowd who had taken out their horses. They
 openly say they would like me as MP for
 Neath. It sounds all right, if anything happened to
 Jenkins. But there would be difficulties with
 the miners, I suspect, as well as other sections. And
 they would expect me to pay out a lot of money.
 And it would be a bloody heavy way off.

Strike - - -

It's a horrible business coming down to speak

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in purely stricken mining areas like Mountain
 Top. One feeling that one has no real message, & it's
 almost indecent to try to make them laugh.
 March 19th.

Back to London. Zimovietz debate rather a fizzle.
 Baldwin, in the course of his speech, said that he had
 understood we were going to produce an affidavit
 by the real forgers of the 7 letters. (Doesn't he
 know we were wise to stop Tom Shaw before he
 had committed us too far! Uncle nudged me on
 the bench at his point & winked.)

R off tomorrow to Aiguebelle. She saw her Redgrave
 on Friday, now was full of Baldwin's disgust
 to me. R very noisy & thinks I may have
 to the Neath resignation to get him out. He has
 collected a clique round him, whose minds he is
 steadily poisoning against me. One fellow has no
 sense of his own self interest. I had to be
 a little off his stump. But it is a bloody
 nuisance to have all his fuss, when things might

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he going so well.

March 20th.

R off to France. Leslie Terry to see me about his "Leslie" affairs. Went back off, but doesn't intend anything definite at present. Says he prizes my friendship more than anything. I suspect he is impotent, poor Lamb!

Talk to Wake about Walden. He thinks he could interview when the new gets to his Special Committee. Meanwhile he advises me to prepare him ground.

March 21st.

Speech on Naval Estimates. Consolidated Conf^o, etc. Row because Krideman doesn't arrive till 7 pm. Less Smith & I are tending to become defence experts! J.M. is in a good mood with me now, isn't he?

March 22nd.

R.A. Boscawen to lunch at the House. Talk pretty frankly about Peckham. I think he will be all right, though he may be inclined

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to be timid, if a new comes.

After a meeting at St Pancras, go round to C.T.'s to celebrate the Thirtieth Year of the Hunt, 1898-1928. A crowd well spaced across the years, including Geoffrey Young whom I last saw 11 years ago in a garden at Sorizia, the week before he lost his leg on the Bainsizza Plateau, & Vincent Ruddle, who keeps the First Lord straight, & Herbert Richmond, the Admiral, & a crowd of Civil Servants, & Reveries, & Joad. Geoffrey Young, in his beautiful voice, recites a new Hunt Poem. And then much singing.

March 24th.

In Reveries' car to Mitcham to see the School in the Ruggles Final against Wye, who win by 11 pts to 3.

Rafter & Millie Somerset to supper, on Rafter's own invitation. I give him a copy of the Peace of Nations, which, incidentally, has so pleased Skirmint that he has ordered 200 copies for distribution. I suppose what touched him was the argument against

frank revision.

Raylan has a new Walsh story. SW, gravelled for small talk in the presence of six Generals, said "well, we must all be ~~to~~ loyal to the King."

Another story, told by Snowden at a Paul's Exec the other day, was that SW, on his first day of office, sent for the C.I.G.S. & asked "Is the Suez Canal ^{quite} safe?" heard a lot of good tales about the first but first! Mr Walsh watching over Stephen ~~at the~~ in his room at the W.O. & Canon, arriving on highly confidential business, being told to "never mind Mother. She's always there"; Willy Lunn knocking at Walslow's door, & being asked for advice and lodging, "somewhere near the office, but they must be quite respectable"; Walslow telling the King that, of course, "women Capitalism for the moment will go for her, but I hope there'll be no ill feeling on either side"; J.H.T. arriving at the General's office & asking for the ^{secretary} of State, greeted with a fitting glance

~~the~~ and "another shell shock case!"; J.H.T. on Broadway, during short railway strike at end of 1924, "speaking as usual to man, Jean Majesty, 'e's a bloody 'ound!'"

March 28th.

Made one of my best Parliamentary speeches in opposition to a Tory motion (later withdrawn) for disfranchisement of recipients of poor relief at franchise elections. Quite pleased with myself as a result, & very affable at Annual Meeting of General Club at Beckham, which passed off very quietly in spite of undercurrents. I think my position will be pretty strong following out Baldwin later, after my Easter holiday.

March 30th.

Interview with Blake, Baldwin & Britton at County Hall on accounts of L.C.C. Elections. Still £30 short! Got Britton a cheque of £15, to come out of my £100. This happens in moment of shortage.

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April 16th

Back from Aiguebelle, Franceville & Grimand. R staying on till end of month.

Movements in Peckham!

April 19th

Rajchman to see me at the House. Feels that a lot of work in this country would be heavily on the German side in controversy with Poland. Wants J.K.M. to visit Warsaw. Claims that he warned J.K.M. against his beautiful Polish lady, who was sent to spy on him by the British intelligence during the war. I had said that his lady, ~~of whom~~ J.K.M. often talks, typified modern Poland to him.

He says Zaleski would like, he thinks, to become Minister in London later. I abused Skirmunt, telling him both about the Daily Mail incident & the purchase of 200 copies of the Peace of Nations. He quite agrees with my estimate. He says Z took office aiming at 4 things, (1) the stabilization loan, (2) the commercial treaty with Germany, (3) an

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agreement with Lithuania, (4) a Polish seat on the League Council. (1) & (4) are achieved. (2) will probably come after the German elections. (3) is the most difficult. But recent conversations at Kiszpaly are not unhelpful. That of Val Demunan ^{reached} agreed with Poland, his domestic raison d'être would be gone! He says the Poles are considering, or willing to consider, all sorts of mollifying dodges such as ^{free} motor roads across the corridor, if his demand for frontier revision is put to sleep.

April 26th

Peckham E.C. from 8.15 pm till about 1 am! For the first time in my life, almost, I don't sleep a wink! Adjourned till following evening.

April 27th

Here Peckham! At 11.30 pm I get them to send it to National H.Q. for "help & guidance". During the beginning of the end of Haldry. But what a disgusting job it all is!

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April 29th.

R. back from Highville, very brown.

May 1st.

The spring is not too dingy this year. Sweeney is in a good mood. J.M. looks me between his eyes & listens quite interestedly to what I say. I think he has been reading T.P.N. on his side, & enjoying his references to himself. P.S. also is full of smiles. Probably we are all too tired, & that is all.

May 3rd.

First hearing of Peckham case by Camp (Chair), Uncle Arthur & H. Morrison. Present Shepherd & Windle, "for Peckham, myself, Baldwin, Com. Abel. I put in a formal statement. Com. W. & Priest excuse everyone. Abel says that I could have put it much more strongly. The Baldwin begins one of his tedious, long affairs, "point by point", full of priests and half-truths. Then we adjourn for a week!

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May 4th.

Salter (General) to lunch at the Hawk. Also Greenwood. I complain to S of the short notice which Generals always give us of their coming. This makes cooperation much less easy. He wants Pugh pushed into an active attitude at the forthcoming Economic Ctee. Greenwood will try. W.H. Green (R.A.S.) to tea. I explain the Peckham position to him, making it clear that, unless Baldwin goes, I shall go.

May 6th.

May ^{den} Demonstration on Peckham Kye. Second year in succession. Baldwin, of course, has failed to organize the thing properly, but swarms of my personal supporters are there. They are full of the spirit against B, but there is a terrible lack of local leadership!

May 9th.

We have a meeting in the Wm's Room to decide our attitude to the Govt's Currency & Bank Note Bill. Last session I tried driving P.S. without much success, even in the Sun. Now I try leading him. Rather successful!

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We get him to agree to a motion of rejection, pending an international action under lines of the Geneva Resolution & "an investigation into the constitution, position and policy of the Bank of England." This will put everything in order with any of our people who want to say.
May 10th.

Second meeting of Nat' Exec Ctee of Enquiry with Peckham Delegation. Baldwin asked up early & seen by Uncle & Shepherd. They suggest that he should resign, but he refuses. At the subsequent meeting Baldwin continues his reply "point by point" to my statement, dodging many of the most serious points & twisting on the others. He wears the Ctee & comes rather badly out of some of the questions put to him. His ^{final} suggestion is that he & I should "agree to work together." Camp asks me what I think of this. I say that it is quite impossible, either he or I or both of us must leave Peckham.

Meeting of P.E.C. in Clynes' Room. Agreed that we seek to transfer J.H.M. from Abercrom to Seaham.

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May 15th. (Sunday.)

Play 5 sets of Tennis at Malden & feel immensely fit as a result.

May 14th.

Currency Bill Second Reading. Snowden does quite well, except that he doesn't understand that the "fiduciary issue" means the issue not covered by GSD! Our great essay in adult education has done pretty well. I make a short & rather bored speech late in the evening, after the debate has been interrupted by a Private Bill & has rather fallen out of step. At the last minute P.S., at our E.C., was in doubt whether to divide on our amendment! Fortunately I was able to push him into a division. None of the industrial Tories supported us either by speech or vote!

May 16th.

O' Wolfe & Marten to see me. Highly excited by a summons to meet Nat' Exec next Tuesday, in absence of Baldwin & myself, to discuss Peckham shares.

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May 19th - 20th

Week end with Mamie writes. Rather uncomfortable cottage, newly built on old model, with lots of dogs & draughts. Went company quite pleasant & good wood near. He rather solemn ^{& earnest} & less of an intellectual snob than he was. She still talking of "Hq." & her ^{past} conquests. Now an authority on currency & very busy working Peitch on amendments to first Bill.

May 21st.

Overwhelmed with Parliamentary Executives, - 2 o'clock, 6.30 & 7.30. Fun over Savidge case & terms of reference of enquiry, & personnel. Lee Smith finally nominated for us, though Uncle wanted Thomas. Uncle very touchy because terms of reference criticized. C.T. trying to drag in J.H.'s coming speech on the Kellogg note & to put him up against Chamberlain. Then a row, ~~about~~ in which Hartsorn has involved himself, has to be tabled. Communists led by Sakhitvada making violent campaign in H's constituency (oppose) against H & the Simon Commission.

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H, in reply to provocative question, said at a public meeting that Tatas, with whom he associated Sakhitvada, were "the worst capitalists in the world" & that the Indian capitalist, & not the British capitalist, was the oppressor of the workers in Bombay. Tatas were threatening a rift ^{under a apologized divorce} for Sakhitvada. H wanted to resign his seat & fight a by-election to smash the Communists. We dissuaded him from his folly & at his wit, advised him to refuse to apologise or withdraw & let the wit be saved. This was what he himself wanted. The case could not come on for months, & accommodation might be possible later.

May 23rd.

Uncle, Campbell & Morrison trying to patch up Peckham. Afraid, after their meeting with E.C. last Monday, that there will be a serious split in the Party if either B or I go. I told them my view, that it was impossible to make a dignified man loyal by talking to him, & that I had taken my political life in my hand before &

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Should do so again, preferring to fight with the enemy in the open than to be poisoned in a corner. Percy says we agree to their seeing B & talking to him as he has never been talked to before. I say I don't disagree, though I have no hope of their turning out to be miracle workers.

R very anxious to have no compromise, but a clean decision quickly. She loathes the prospect of continuance of a hair-shirt, & subjective costs have been, & will be, much heavier than can really be worth while.

May 24th.

Away to "Trevethan Man Hunt." Take Fulton with me. He fits in very well. ~~Get~~ Set to Scotcher in time for supper. The next day (25th) C.T. & I, Fulton & Beckett (Colonial Office) walk up Great Gable & the Trevethan & R. Mayn Dean in valley. I tell C.T. about Peckham, & we discuss possible northern constituencies. I could have had Elland a few weeks ago, if

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he had known! The transition will be difficult to explain, I fear, unless we can be talk behind his scenes. But C.T. will keep his ears open.
May 26th, 27th, 28th.

Hunting. Good fun & except 27th which is misty & rainy, good weather. Sing songs at night. Beer & Stimulant. This is new! The party, much of whom only sees each other at Hunts, fits together surprisingly well.

I got a blister on my left heel when quite diabolical on the third day. I became a very lame hound indeed. But no matter!

The party included, C.T. & his wife, Bert T without his, neither George T nor his, Beveridge, Vincent Baddley, Beckett, Donie (who left the Educⁿ office owing to lack of prospects under Percy & became Sec of U.C.L.); he must himself rather badly in the first day's hunting), John & Arthur Downer, (the latter a very attractive fellow), Phillips Price, (rather inclined to talk shop on Kirk Fell), J. Wilkie, (ex-Educⁿ office for some

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reunion at Doris, but part Empire Marketing Board, -
 a 'great entertainment'), his good looking younger
 brother, lately at Oxford. North, a solicitor, fairly
 young. Robin Mayor, his eldest of all, except Atkinson,
 from death of O'Leary who has come every year
 since the beginning, has twice, his son Oliver A,
 who supplied me with sticking plaster for my wounds,
 a Pease from Darlington. Kemaitre, a vivacious
 & very physically vigorous, though rather crippled
 person from the Admiralty. Beckett, local
 official. Fraser, Treasury, dull dog, Noel
 Shauf, nephew of Kenneth Swann, & a good substitute,
 just left Shauf's & going to ~~London~~ School of
 Mines in London, Fulton, who made a good
 impression. Pauline Trevelyan, - his only main
 woman beside her mother.

May 29th.

Back to London.

May 30th.

R back from Cornwall, where she had a

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good 4 days with Will & Mark. Ka staying with
 Salta at Geneva!

June 2nd.

Bechler, of Danzig, to dine with Phil & Irene
 & Susan Lawrence. He & Phil talk more running
 shop than international relations! He says that the
 socialist - ~~liberal~~ - centre Govt which is now in power
 in Danzig is not getting any better terms from
 the Poles than the Nationalists did. There is plenty of
 business in the Port, but by a decision of the High
 Commissioner one kind of the workmen employed there
 have to be Poles. On the other hand, one reason
 why the Poles are not more agreeable is because
 even the new left Govt in Danzig goes on sending
 Salim & the old gang to negotiate. Phil reminds
 me that Salim was No 1 on the old list of
 War Criminals!

June 4th.

Broadcast for the first time - 15 minutes on
 "Poland & its people" in between Polish music.

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An interesting experience. Speaking to an invisible multitude of scattered listeners. I felt handicapped by having to read, word for word, from a prepared type script. This unaccustomed procedure, as distinct from speaking from notes, increases my natural tendency to speak in a level, monotonous voice. But the subsequent comments from M.P.'s & others spoken very sincerely laudatory. They say that I was very clear & distinctly interesting. Price Ten guineas.

June 5th.

Wind up on Second Reading of Finance Bill. Not very interesting. I hate speaking in the House at present. Everything is so dull, including our own people.

June 10th (Sunday)

May Dinner at Belmont with Mrs. Sheen (hostess), G. Pennington & a ^{male} cousin.

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June 11th.

Meet Baldwin, at his request. Done in presence of Widdie, by my request, at London Labour Party office. This is the day before the second meeting of the P.L.P. Executive with Uncle, Camp & Morrison. These three have been damned weak, counselling conciliation on me. It has been hard work resisting Uncle, but I have dug my feet in at last. I have offered, if he will resign, to pay him 3 months' salary, give him a testimonial and clear him from his ^{subsequent} obligation under the mortgage on the Club. Uncle says he is full of conviction, but I doubt for a moment believe him.

At an interview, he ~~asked~~ asks whether I don't think the time has come when we should ^{effect} work together. No suggestion of coalition, or any faintest glimmer of it. I say that I have come to the conclusion, based on experience, that this is quite impossible and that either he or I must go. I then expound my offer, conditionally on his clearing

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out. He says that it is no doubt "a good offer",
that some people no doubt would take time to
consider it, but that he cannot agree to accept it.
After a few more verbal skirmishes, we end the
interview & shake hands.

I see the Nat' Exec but Cree again talks &
rell them I can't shift.

June 14th.

Prayer Book thrown out again. Damn! I
see a vision of religion coming back into
British politics & distracting attention from
all the matters & subjects, incidentally reviving
the Librals.

On June 12th P.L.P. Exec
met Vnch, C & M. They had first a short
meeting, it being stated that no agreement
had been reached. There was then all the
matters of a first class row, but Camp
closed the meeting, it being agreed that a
meeting of the G.M.C. should be summoned
to decide the thing. My God how it has

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drapped on & possessed everything for months! I
really wish, at times, that they would so act
out make my resignation inescapable!

June 20th.

Peckham SAC meeting, with Camp in the chair &
Windle in attendance. Packing & unpacking on
all sides. B & I both address the meeting
& answer questions in each other's absence,
(though I am told that, after my speech, Godsmite,
Brookwell & Clarke run out & ~~ask~~ tell him
what I have said so that he can reply to it.) he
then end a motion to terminate his services is
~~lost~~ defeated by 23 to 19, & the thing is referred
again to Nat' Exec. I am now free, having
clearly explained this to them at the start, &
no longer regard myself as the prospective
candidate. The meeting was unrepresentative,
the N.H.S. were one short, & ^{several} ~~many~~ ^{visions}
were not represented, who would have voted
against B. Well, they must muck about with it
themselves now!

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Coming out soon after 11 hrs. a crowd, chiefly
Goldsmit & Rye Lane, cheered me 2 ~~times~~
Baldwin, now followed a few minutes later, in
Albat Road. This must have struck camp!

June 28th.

National Executive have unanimously passed a
resolution in Uncle's absence, recommending that
Baldwin be "asked to resign", but ~~and~~ rather
spoil it by adding "with a view to retaining
the constituency for Labour, & without regard to
the merits of the case." Deacons & Mosley
spoke of B's past activities in Walsall & W.
Birmingham.

Uncle, on returning from the
~~Committee~~ Committee by-election, cut up
rough & was obviously afraid of the Agak's
Association, & a row at the ^{Annual} Conference.

Damn them all! My friends under sack,
- Deacons, Compton, Hayes etc - think they
have been helping me, & indeed that they
have finally settled the matter in my

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favor. But I still foresee immense
difficulties & delay.

June 29th.

With R for a week end with Philip Price
at Tugby, near Stone. Leigh Annan
& his wife also there and, for one day,
Mrs Trevelyan & Dutch wife. The latter in
most sympathetic of the bunch. The
atmosphere is, on the one hand, vague & con-
fused, fussy. But we eat lots of vegetables,
& fruit, & May has sets of tennis, -
without side nets! \$

July 7th.

Speak for N.E.S. on a Saturday afternoon
gatherings at Hleywood. Amplifiers among the
press. A gathering of political farewell
at London.

July 11th-12th.

Mr Halifax for the wind up of the by-election.
Longbottom is a good, sound candidate, though not

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Dramatic. Walk returned S.L. with me for the
election post. Walk & I march Longborton.
Like a drunk between two bottles, through the
main streets up to Walk Green, where an
undecidable demonstration in his favour
ends the campaign at 11 pm. I have never
seen a finer cheering practice in the open
air!

On the same night, July 12th, while I am
being engaged (as Longborton had a 5300
majority on the matter) the Peckham Sp.C.,
painted & awaked, ~~was engaged with the~~
was a bear garden for ~~the~~ ~~senior~~
hours. They decided by 21 (1) to "take no
action" on the Natl Exec's recommendation
that Baldwin be asked to resign. Then
most of the minority walked out, & it was
decided to appoint a Sub-Committee
to interview the members of the "out"
to try to bridge the difference", etc. Then

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anyhow frees me at last from an undecidable
morning.

July 15th. (Sunday)

Play tennis in a jolly sun at Malvern.

July 18th.

Wilby ^{formal} at Gatehead & Bishop Auckland. I
think I prefer the former also have more
chance of getting it. But there are still
intervening difficulties.

July 19th.

Party meeting to consider Wheatley & Merton's
statements. A patriotic show. Very feebly
defence of the culprits. Motion of implied censure
carried by 65 to 12. This sort of thing always
happens in the summer!

July 20th.

To Liverpool to spend the night with the Welles and
walk next morning.

This morning I send off my letter to Peckham,
definitely resigning the candidature, & recapitulating

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the case against Baldwin. I also read a news paper to the Herald for Monday morning. The voting for next session's executive will be finished by then. I don't want a sort of Red letter ^{sentiment} ~~impression~~ ^{impressions} created in the minds of my colleagues.

The Webbs are getting old gently but surely. But she ^{is} ~~is~~ further of the two, & the more self-conscious. They think of leaving the house & garden at Parsfield Corner to the School - when they die. I think it might be very useful. We talk rather flatly, about people and, rather old-fashioned, about unemployment & poor law and, rather inconclusively, about constitutions. She thinks Lord Oswald, with his connections & wealth, had a sure and early future with the Tories & might have become their leader, a prospect very remote, she thought, with us, though I pointed out that he was still very young. But we all agree that he is very unimpaired. Whately, Webb says, is a ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~type~~ ^{type} Tammany type.

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His stock has never been lower than now. J.K.M.'s smothery is terrible, but he is the only leader, not least because of his hold in the country among the simpler people who incline one way. Graham Waller was wrong when he said that one of the secrets of the working of the British Constitution was that Nos. 10 & 11 Downing Street intercommunicated, so that the two leading members of the Govt were always in consultation. When J.K.M. was at No 10 he hardly ever saw Clynes, at No 11, except in the House & at Cabinets & Mrs Clynes was never once asked inside No 10. When J.K.M. & Isabel had the Duchess of York to tea, no wives of Cabinet Ministers were invited, though Mrs Trevelyan went, thinking that it must have been a mistake that she had received no invitation. No Cabinet colleagues ever spent a week end at Cheques, though the ~~hundreds~~ ^{hundreds} ~~did~~ ^{did}, at least once. The lack of French was so bad that, after a while, it was agreed that

Clynes, Thomas, Snowden, Henderson & Webb should lunch once a week at No 10, but 19th & the Dutch housekeeper were always there too, so that no intimate political conversation was ever possible. The Webbs are not enthusiastic about C.T. They once went round the world with him, & thought him very mean. Their ~~man~~^{servant} often had to pay his cat fares. He was assertive and used to shout people down in argument. He once declared, at their house, that he considered himself Mr Gladstone's intellectual superior, because he did not believe in God. This, however, was only facing the logical conclusion of a heated argument. ~~Since then~~ He was so unpopular with the Liberal heads in 1906 that, though C.B. circulated his name on a list of possible Under-Secretaries to members of the Cabinet, none of them would have him. It was not till his friend Runciman became President of the Board of Education some years later that C.T. became an Under-Secretary. But, since his

resignation on the outbreak of war, he had done well, Webb thought. He had, however, never really grown up, though he had mellowed a bit with age. More than long, he had often been rather assertive in the Cabinet on Foreign Policy & other matters on which he had no special knowledge. I said that I admired his courage & directness & the way in which he kept clear of personal quarrels within the Party. Webb said that, perhaps, his best attribute was calculated, & that, if there was a heavy mortality amongst the leaders, C.T. might have to fall back on C.T. as Chairman. I said I didn't think he thought of this, or was ambitious for it.

Then Webb spoke well of Cole's work & influence at Oxford. He, too, she thought, had much improved. She quipped, half maliciously & half after a rough, his tribute to the Webbs was now done the homage of their obsolescence.

Webb ~~was~~^{was} we can't get a majority at the next election, but we shall poll more than the

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Tories, though we shall win fewer seats. The forecasts 100 gain for us & 20 losses, a net gain of 80 bringing us up to about 230, with 65 Liberals and a Tory majority of ^{about} 25 over all. In practice a little more, because some Liberals will always vote with them. He doesn't see the Liberals winning anything much, except in the West Country & the agricultural East.

Mr C. constituency, his initial reaction is against both Gateshead & B.A. But here, since neither can be favourable to either. He is a little spiteful by Graham. He says he heard that Mrs. Bouchier came back from South Africa with Bouchier's car and Beckett in the same cabin, & wonders how her wealth may not have been wholly absent from Beckett's mind.

July 21st.

From Liphook to Windsor. The old man's health seems wonderfully much better than a year ago. One heat, enabling us to be out of doors all the

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time, makes the week end bus hand work than usual.

July 26th.

Voting for Executive shows again a strong support for the old gang, though Webb only just saves his seat by one vote. There was a feeling that he ought not to stand again, ^{as} ^{he} was resigning at the end of the Parliament. That we are all neglected, with Uncle at the top instead of Snowden. It's splendid change this! hard O only misses the wooden Spoon by one vote.

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Uncle | 125 |
| Snowden | 118 |
| Johnston | 117 |
| Graham | 115 |
| Les Smith | 111 (The Savidge case has pulled him up!) |
| S-L | 94 |
| H.D. | 87 |
| J.H.T. | 87 (rather a slump!) |
| C.T. | 78 |
| Shaw | 75 |
| Adams | 69 |
| Webb | 63 |

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NOT elected

| | | | |
|--------------|----|------------|----|
| Monsonby | 62 | Wedgwood | 26 |
| Susan | 46 | Petrick | 25 |
| Lunn | 31 | D. Graham | 24 |
| Phyll Davis | 30 | Montagne | 23 |
| Sevan | 28 | Mosley | 20 |
| Morgan Jones | 26 | Jack Jones | 19 |

All the names are re-elected, including Tom Kennedy who beat Thurtle by 98 to 29. Kenworth an "old" much interest & friendly ^{rain of junior work.} concern among my friends over the Peckham announcement. They mostly assume it must be C.P. I rather tire of explaining. I have also to write a letter of explanation to the Press in S. London. Uncle is playing up well & encouraging Whiteley to help things along in B.A.

July 26th

A lunch at the Home to Uncle to celebrate his 25th anniversary of his return from Bismarck Castle, the first Labour victory in a three cornered fight. He makes a good speech. Willie Hall

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pleases me rather by saying, across the table, that he doesn't think I am ever afraid of anything. But is afraid of Peckham.

(In France with R, Pyrenees, following an International Socialist Conference at Brussels, & ride with Tillier to Dijon.)

Sept 8th.

At Bishop Auckland. Address meeting of workers & supporters in the afternoon. Good reception.

Sept 15th.

Again at B.A., this time with R. Second weekend in succession. Address meetings at Eldon & Shildon. Prospects of the candidature look promising, but nothing is certain yet.

Sept 16th - 29th.

Mostly working on new edition of Public Finance. Very fine theorising, late into the night. Quite mosquito. No one knows I am in London!

Sept 30th.

To Annual L.P. Conference at Birmingham. I am the
Delegat, & Nominat of the Executive, of Cambridge University
Labour Party. Motored up by John Beckett, living so far
happily with Kyle Bellew on Beuchies' inheritance.
Stay at the Grand Hotel.
Oct 1st - 5th.

The Conference passes the Programme. Critics & opponents
cut a very poor figure. Good ~~short~~ series of speeches
on Peace & Disarmament. Moxon's personal popularity
with the great majority carries him through, but generally
reception is very frigid. Uncle makes a good
statement on child allowances. Barring a Trade Union
veto, it will be in the Election Manifesto. He says
that a ^{large} majority of the Joint Utee is in favour of the
principle, & that he is himself in favour of it. I weigh
in with the Banking Supplement. It is generally thought that
I make one of the best speeches of the Conference, - short and
pithy, following two much-too-long utterances by Snowden &
Wise. The latter is rather a disappointment. He isn't

intellectually honest; he has got the I.L.P. Suspicion mania;
he speaks dully without any sense of atmosphere. I,
on the other hand, back the Banking Supplement as an immediate
programme of practical Socialism. I say that it is
nationalisation of the Bank of England, with the most
convenient governing mechanism; that ^{a change} municipal banks,
with increased power, are part of the structure of Socialism;
that I didn't believe in all his "penetration wind-up"; that,
if the Big Five wouldn't play, we would get another
eleven in the field; that back chairman ~~was~~ didn't stay on
deck in heavy seas; that banks didn't want a panic, which
would cause a run on their banks; that the Levergham
electors, backed by the T.U. movement, would prevail over
"sabotage"; that ~~at~~ in Aug 1914 it was the strong hands of
the State & the organised community that led the faint &
tottering figures of the bank chairmen through the crisis.
A great ovation & a reassured conference. Some said
that they liked the way I said it - even better than what
I said!
Elected again, after a year's interval, to the National

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Executive, displacing Jack Hayes by a great head. Figures in constituency Party Section, in round ~~to~~ hundred thousands,

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| Lansbury | 3,100,000 |
| H. Morrison | 2,800,000 |
| Mosley | 2,100,000 |
| Trevdyan | 1,800,000 |
| Dalton | 1,700,000 |
| <hr/> Hayes | <hr/> 1,700,000 |

Over a long tail, including Ruggs Davis, Morgan Jones, Armeson & many others. All winners, except C.T., get the Minister's vote, as does Hayes. This is a good year to be in the N.E., with the first stages of the Mohammed, & the General Election, & after. I said to D.M. "How reassuring to find that his little words is large enough to hold us both!" He, rather taken aback I think, said "Yes, rather a surprise isn't it?" How the fellow strikes of money & insincerity! A row at the first meeting of the new Exec over J.R. Melville & Galsworthy. One Gillis, a young barrister, has been to G. trying to get nominations reversed for Melville on ground that J.R.M. & Uncle

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best want him in the House, & that he is certain to be in the next Labour Govt, either as solicitor general or Home Secretary, & "in any case with a seat in the Cabinet." J.R.M. hotly denies. W.A. Robinson, who is also on the list for Galsworthy, is very furious & persistent in his criticisms, not unreasonably.

Oct 6th & 8th.

At Cambridge, ~~to~~ R, staying with Donald & Petica. Opening ceremony of new Ramsey Labour Club.

Oct 7th.

Wire from Hodgson & Worden that I have got Bishop Auckland! This should be a seat for life, barring grave accidents. Voting at selection Conference Dalton 108, Fern 17, Rutherford 4. Then an unanimous vote for me. Clouds pass away. My position, with a safe seat & a place on both Executives in this critical year, is a very strong one, come what may.

Oct 8th.

School M.T. begins. I take charge of four bright young lumps, with 3 scholarships & a bursary. When other

changes don't pass for now, I quite love the school!
Oct 16th.

Conversation with Lees Smith. He says that Tony H.G. estimate that, at worst, they will come back with a clear majority of 30 over all parties. I will probably do better than this. He thinks we should not take office on a Ministry yet. We two & some others should take counsel together before long. There may be a heavy mortality among the older leaders soon, & an uncertain situation will then arise. The present Parliamentary Executive must be kept in being until a new one can be elected at the beginning of the new Parliament.

Nov 5th.

We of last session of this Parliament. Have just got new edition of P.F. off my hands. This has meant some late hours, but there has been much improvement and a good deal of extension.

R has had first a cold, which is slow to go, then laryngitis, running into bronchial catarrh, with

Diarhoea, etc. This is an awful plague, - especially for her. But we discover, through some Kobaltson, a new doctor, Martin, who is said to be better than most others. I don't give high praise!

National Executive from 10.30. The case of Melville at Salshead comes up. Robinson in action, through N.V.D.H.W., to circulate all T.V.'s on the incursion of middle class candidates. Quite a state of class-war in the air! We are rather intimidated by him, but shouldn't have endorsed M anyway. It is alleged that M offered Foster (the ex-Salshead Secretary, Robinson's chief backer) his refusal of the Agency at £350 a year ^{with} a five year contract. This greatly shocked Campbell & others. It need not have done so, owing to irregularities, but that Uncle & Morrison see M & try to persuade him to withdraw altogether, & also that they go to Salshead. A fine mess to be made of these affairs! More important. Discussion on policy for General

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Uncomfortable lot, than colleagues. No lack of merriment.
 onto Albert Hall. J.K.M. & Morrison announce
 that we shall run two candidates. But the large
 place is only half full. It is too big & in the
 wrong part of London.

Nov 6th.

Parliament meets. Everyone very complimentary about
 Kishor, Auckland. J.K.M. in good form in his opening
 speech. "He has still got plenty of fresh air
 inside him," says someone. Lunch with John
 Beckett who is after Neekham. (Good luck to him!)
 Silkin, Blake, W.A. Robinson & an unknown Plasterer are
 also said to be after it! Dinner with Arnold, fussing
 about Free Trade & T.J.'s "protectionist tendencies" &
 "lack of Parliamentary judgment." I try to pacify him.
 J.B. says that J.K.M. is now being motorised about by
 Paddy Nasmith, a film actor, said to be engaged to
 Decent Hall Cairne, - a little bit of fluff with an
 elegant car. I saw her hanging round at Birmingham.
 They motor to & from Wolverhampton. People are

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wondering when they really slept!

~~THE~~ Nov 9th-12th.

In B.A., staying with Roberts. Good spirit. Attend
 two Armistice Day services & speak in the evening
 on lessons of A.D. They are unused to
 Sunday meetings in B.A. town.

Nov 23rd.

With R to see at home of Mrs Wood. Run into
 Melville and P. Symonds. Very indignant about
 his refusal of the Nat'l Exec to endorse him &
 very hot against Uncle. But says the Irish
 Catholics have captured the machine now, &
 he is strongly entrenched. If he sticks to it, he will
 get the nomination soon & in good order.

Nov 30th.

With R to Oxford for the weekend. I haven't
 been very happy about her lately. One poison, it
 seems, hasn't been got out of her system yet, & is
 even properly traced to the source. WANT DAMNED
DUFFERS these doctors are! Even White Reptson.

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Her nerves have been inclined to get faint again and her blood pressure is much too low. She gets tired too easily & doesn't mature properly. But in the last few days she has been better, under influence of new drugs, while they are hunting for new signs of bugs in her gums. — Damn! —

^{It is not the} Oxford week end is very good fun. The Furniss household is very comfortable & easy.

He is a surprisingly cheerful & widely interested blind man. Naturally worried about present state of Russia. Dred & insignificant staff. Elvin & Temple trying to boss the place and running it to ruin. Tale from Luton that they are working overtime making black hats, in expectation of the King's death. (He seems pretty bad.)

Dec 1st.

Lunch with L.R. in New College. He is making a reputation as a teacher and is, I think, rather happy at Oxford. Tea with Cannon, who is getting on with his book.

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Dec 2nd.

Meet about a dozen Labour Club Undergraduates. Rather a good lot. Tea with Madariaga, to whom R loses her heart. His mind is very quick & his movements and appearance very graceful. His Spanish chain is attached to Eneta. The ~~man~~ don at this college had never heard of Beves, whom he wanted to take into Hall the other night. One of them said to M, who is scotch and used to translate economic books out of German for Smart, "Now that you have come from Geneva to Oxford you must feel much more at the centre of things." M said of the 3 young "one lost an ^{arm} and became a Conservative; one lost a leg and became a Liberal; the third lost his head & joined the Labour Party." He also told a jolly tale of a boy at school, being ~~asked~~ asked the English equivalents of the French names of nations. "Allemagne; Germany; Belgique, Belgium; — — — Ethiopie? — — — Utopia!"

Furniss tells awful tales of drunk American exiles. Meanwhile Britain, not being prohibitionist or even local optionist, drinks hard & long each year.

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Dec 3rd.

Back to London. Will A-F staying with us. Donald Robertson
the new Professor of Speech at Cambridge. Hours of
delight!

Dec 4th.

Arranged for Will to see J.M. last night. Tonight he
has coffee with Uncle. The latter is very expressive, &
tells of his resignation from the War Cabinet, & of
the Protocol. L.G. had secretly sent a telegram to
Albert Thomas favouring an Allied Conference immediately
after the first Russian Revolution in 1917. Uncle had
a copy of this & confronted L.G. with it, when the latter
abused him on his return. The source of trouble was
that Uncle went on as Secretary to the Labour Party,
in addition to being a member of the War Cabinet. There
was bound to be a clash.

As to the Protocol, there were no clear principles laid
down by the Cabinet before Uncle & the others went to
Geneva. Uncle & Thomas finished their job at 1 am.
Uncle was awakened, soon after he had gone to bed,

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by a visit from an Admiral. Dialogue somewhat like
Admiral. I am Admiral X.
Uncle. Are you?

A. The Admiralty are very much alarmed at the reports
in the Press about what you & your colleagues have
been doing here.

V. Are they?

A. I have brought ~~out~~ with me a Memorandum
suggesting various changes in the ^{draft of the} Protocol.

V. You are too late. We finished our work at
one o'clock this morning.

A. But you could have had the Commission
called together again.

V. You don't know much about International
Conferences, if you had? ~~The~~ Commission like this
can be recalled after its work is finished. You
are too late, I tell you. You should have
come here before if you had anything important
to say to me.

Such Admiral, now proceeds to pull strings &
rig the Press against the Labour Party.

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Dec 5th.

Paul & Snee confronts the problem of what a Labour Govt should put in its first King's Speech & do in its first session. Snowden, Webb, Shaw & Graham to draft a plan, with special ref to Unemployment! Snowden thinks the repeal of the Betting Tax would be very popular. I say afterwards to C.T. that this will be a poor starveling of a policy that the Big Four of the Right will produce. He & I & L. & T.J. must act together to stillen it.

C.T. & others are worrying of the political repercussions of the King's death, if it comes. A legal reaction, for what it's worth, will help the Tories. And there will be a difficult situation over the new Civil List, with every possibility of internal squabbling in the Party & loss of heads and judgment between left & right.

Dec 7th.

Debate with Wickham stood on Socialism in Manchester. W.S. is not really anti-Socialist. He believes in ordered

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freedom" in the duty to work, and in the face of ^{public} ~~social~~ opinion to make men do what is right. But, I think, he is not much used to being treated lightly!

Dec 9th.

Highly successful Young Labour speech at 5 C.M. Ellen in central figure; also Arthur Shepherd, Will Henderson, (very Head office!), a bunch of candidates under 40, and a bunch of young Socialists from the School, headed by Fraser & Bakstansky. Will A.F., whom we have been looking after in the flat, - rather a little piece of wreckage, going through the same treatment as R for unhealthy gums - over Fraser & others, to spend Christmas at St Ives. I have my eye on Fraser, as a future politician of importance.

Dec 11th.

Find myself in J.R.M.'s room at the House after a division and talking about Spoon and B.A. He is very close and unexpansive, as usual, but not unfriendly. Very pleased with his trip to Paris

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and with the compliments, were everywhere, including Pomicani, Jané, etc. He was the only person who could make P smile; P was preparing himself to face a hot fight, etc. (Petica said the other night that she had the most profound distrust of J.R.M.; she always felt like that about people who might equally well be actors or clergymen.)

Dec 13th

Meeting of I.L.P. M.P.'s at the House, arising out of Dr Salter's move against Marton. This is an adjournment from a previous meeting, at which Salter & others ("No Drink in Our Time" brigade, every one of them!) had attacked Marton, & the New Leader, & "Twenty-Seven", who was writing articles on Sex. C.T. & I & a few others were anxious for an adjournment sine die, but hadn't prepared anything, though we had canvassed for peace. The No Drinkers were terribly combative, & had prepared a resolution of course, & were talking of "mintz supporters" &

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wholesale resignations. They were, I think, in touch with J.R.M. (silly ass!) behind the scenes. But most of them had exhausted their right to speak last time. Except John Potts moved, straight away, an adjournment sine die, and C.T. seconded. Marton made a wandering, but not too provocative, defence from the chair, and, among other speakers, Willy Lunn made a good appeal for unity, & Bob Smillie pronounced his customary blessing. Immediately on this, the clause was moved & carried by 29 to 11, and then Potts' motion was carried by 35 to 10. A very good ending. The enemy were not willing to bite on, & were greatly disappointed. Marton & Brochway will, I think, have learned a lesson. Salter & Co were absolutely furious, & said this wouldn't be the end of it. But they were badly outnumbered & discomfited. Their front 10 were Salter, Morgan Jones, Amerson, W. Graham, Hudson, Vicat, Cecil Wilson, & 3 others. Allys Davin & M. Bondfield reported absence. But

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every miner, and all the left and left-centre, were for Peace, & couldn't see "the fundamental differences," which so agitated Salter & his friends. Mr. King was for common sense! I laughed a lot afterwards over the discomfiture of his silly minority.

Dec 17th.

Spoke at Hertsford for R.S. Edwards, a nice young candidate, elementary school boy with London degree (Royal College of Science), now a Research Chemist, only 24 with lots of pep!

Dec 19th.

National Executive all day. Row with Lord O all about nothing, arising out of my remark that it was abominable how some seats were simply auctioned to rich men. Beckett endorsed for Peckham! We couldn't, it was felt, be a Court of Morals, & nothing in his case was really public. ^{int} Socialist Conf on Feb 8th & 9th in London on "Reparations & Rhineland." I am appointed to be one of six; (Stones Snowden, Graham,

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Shaw, Henderson & Camp. J.K.M. also, of course.)

At a recent Parliamentary Exec J.K.M. said that Dawson of Pecon had told him that he "would like to give Mr. King a good kick on the backside." One reason why he was making such a show ^{seemed to have lost his} recovery was because he ~~lacked~~ ^{lacked} ~~the~~ ^{will to} get better. Olivebrigam had corroborated him, written Langstaff, over the telephone.

Beckett had said to Max Beerstein, when shown a photo of Row and I went to see at the Leicester Galleries, that "you Sir Edward Grey is very slow. If he had not been quite so slow, there might not have been a War." Beckett is a War Criminal, if ever there was one!

Dec 20th.

I make my first speech this session - on the Adjournment, asking Austin a number of questions in a residuary rail-end of time. And so the House separates for Christmas, & all seems calm & straight sailing. But —

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Dec 23rd.

I am running up Glyn D.H. at 10.30 pm. to ask what I am going to do at B.A. in view of Ben Spoon's death last night! This is a business. If I contact the bye myself, there will be consequential byes at Beckham (!) and Javarhead. And if I don't, what will B.A. say? And there are only six months left before the General, perhaps less, and the bye can't happen for another month and a half! Uncle is out of London. It is Christmas eve! That Wik, a possible *deus ex machina*, pops up, & would be willing, - indeed, I gather, is really very anxious, - to ^{inform me} ~~put~~ have a month or two in the House, & go back to Leicester at the General.

To Windsor in the evening. One old man rather collapsed & fearful about the King, but cheered up by his recent improvement.

Dec 26th.

Back from Windsor in time for tea. Still no Uncle on the telephone!

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Dec 27th.

Attended Spoon's funeral. local party at B.A. want R to stand.

I say I am very doubtful about her health. They don't want any other woman. ^{Get people interested in getting Datta}

To Langdon Beck Hotel late that night. She has arrived & Uncle has told her on the telephone in London late last night that she ought to stand. She is willing, - though she says she has been more interested in an ^{iniller} ~~Edgar~~ Wallace, than in the prospect of being an M.P.!

Dec 29th
I go down to B.A., meet the Exec, some 70 in number, & they unanimously decide that R shall ^{be asked} stand. No other name mentioned. I say she is willing. - - - -

Then we stay on for a week at Langdon Beck Hotel; a jolly spot, even under snow, though the snows monstrous after a few days. We walk down to High Face & across to Weardale (St John's Chapel,) deep to Cauldron Summit, & back along the Tees in the dusk, picking up a young guide at

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Widdowbank Farm for the last few days. We shall, I think, come back to Langdon Beck.

R is stronger already, I hope, as a result of his latest treatment by the Heavenly Lament, who seems to be saving Will A.F.'s life & health!

They strangely & dramatically ends 1928.

And in 1929 anything may happen, as a result of the General Election. May it be an

Annus Mirabilis, & a turning point in British, & in World, History!

1929.

Jan 7th - 12th.

21 meetings in 6 days, at all of which R speaks as well as I. And she speaks jolly well, & they like her. She is less tired at the end than I had feared. The poverty & hopelessness are shocking! But they are wonderful people.

Travel back to London on night of 12th with Ernest Hunter.

Jan 13th - 25th.

In London. R finishes her treatment by Lament. Meanwhile in B.A. Gibbin is in charge, slow & funny but safe & experienced, breaking halls & speakers, (probably too many, on A. Club's will), & getting on with his clerical work.

School Year begins, & Parliament meets. To end after a holiday, all in good spirits. The General Election seems very near now, & hopes run high. We are inclined almost to take for granted a Labour Govt in a few months time.

A very interesting talk with C.T. & A.P. at the great

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College St. Partly suggested by Haldane's posthumous recollection of his influence on J.K.M. Vitrally important but his next time J.K.M. should have a sound labour man as Principal Private Secretary. Haldane persuaded him to keep on Waterhouse next time. C.T. Jones will answer Foster for his job. We all agree.

Shall J.K.M. make his cabinet unaided, or rather unofficially aided by a few intriguers and lickspittles, or shall he have something in the nature of an official advisory committee? On every ground we all favour the latter. Preferably a C.M.C. of 5, - Clynes, Vane, Snowden, Pugh & C.T., we think. We are to rain his wife Vane & L.

A small minor point. Gano Jones, if possible, to be stroked and brought across the Gano way before the general election. I am to see to his affair in B.A. part is over.

Jan 25th.

TV B.A. had been till Feb 7th an election campaign, rather exhausting physically, but with the

curious new quality of victory since hardly the size of the majority uncertain.

~~There being no one obviously suited to be Agent, Gibbin is sent down by H.P.~~ A dreary old pedant, - heavy, slow, unfriendly, traditional, but foolproof! He brings Keedale with him, unadvised by us, & keeps him in the office. This is better than sending him about, but even his causes bad feeling. Many too many meetings are arranged, & too many national speakers. But the constituency has been very starved of meetings for years, & a lot of this ought to do for the general without much repetition.

Two most valuable & likeable visitors are John Morgan & Harry Stoddart. The former is always running off his line on the by-election, but getting something out of it, in speaker & experience, for himself. Very live & on the spot. H.S. has long been faithful eyes, out of which he looks at R. Wonderfully good at getting on with all types, - in Wither Park & elsewhere.

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The Tories seem only half awake. The liberals rather more formidable. Curry is one of the specious kind, - quotations & misquotations, much more advanced than the Labour Party, etc. Rather an irritating little boulder.

We got the poll meeting out King's Hall, B.A. addressed by Snowden, C.T., F.O. & about 12 others, very impressive. On polling day R & I go round practically every polling station & take names. One thing has been pretty well done.

Particularly F.O.'s leading certain visiting community singing. R arrives very late, having been in a decayed taxi with a drunken driver, who broke down at Eldon. She had had to walk, push up bars, etc. in order to get round a long list of meetings. When she arrived, she had a great reception, & spoke very well for 5 minutes. Then F.O. started "For this a jolly good fellow!" R immediately afterwards turned up "Abide with me" sung with great fervour by the audience. Really very funny & very English! (Snowden is the first time since the day to the future?)

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Feb 8th Declaration.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Ruth Dalton (Lab) | 14,797 |
| Curry (Lib) | 7,725 |
| Thompson (Con) | <u>3,357</u> |
| Lab majority over Lib | 7,072 |
| over Lib + Con | 3,715 |

This is better than Spens ever did. His best majority over 2 combined votes only a few hundred, in 1923. And his best in a straight fight was 2,900 last time. R wonderfully adequate to the end. We can only speak to a small crowd in the street after the declaration; then a workers' meeting at the Temperance Hall, B.A.; then motor to Darlington, stopping for 1/4 hour at the Club at Shildon, & catch train for London.

R almost fainting with fatigue, & collapses on arriving at the flat. A journalist in waiting at the flat! I have to drive him off with only no thanks!

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Feb 9th

R in bed, but slowly recovering from fatigue, & buried under letters and telegrams of congratulation. It takes her some days - poor little object! - to begin to see herself as a Conqueror, & as the momentary centre of all eyes.

But it comes gradually. That ~~tooth~~ tooth treatment must really have done a lot, or she would have broken down simply! I am very proud of her.

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Feb 12th

R takes her seat, walking up between ~~my~~ ^{my} and Tom Kennedy. Everyone very congratulatory ^{in a friendly} on side; we ~~blow~~ rather interested & watchful. She does it jolly well, of course.

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Feb 13rd.

19th Exec meeting to consider the draft programme for 1st session of Lab Govt. Uncle, G.L. & T.J. all absent. C.T. & I the only two stalwarts present. Rather tiresome but 'chancey business'. We had fed together beforehand and agreed to praise in general, but to ask for a stiffening on mining. J.R.M. got round the circle and came to me pronto.

I say that I am not satisfied at Nationalisation of Mines not being in. C.T. backs me up. But then old Adamson, the only miner on the Ex., says that he no doubt takes even more interest in this question than either of us and that he quite approves of the programme as it stands! Full of suspicion & resentment that we should even mention mines! If this sort of thing goes on we know outside, what a row there'd be!

Personaly has now got a new candidate for Secretary J.R.M., a Naval Commander named King-Hall.

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Feb 14th.

Further meeting of P. Exec. Uncle, still ill, had seen J.R.M. and persuaded him that it was necessary to have consultations before the Election with the Miners and the T.V.C. This was agreed, & solves many difficulties.

Feb 19th.

See Lees Smith for the first time since his illness. He is impressed with the need for drive in political heads, & in the Civil Service, in which there are too many men "without energy and without ideas". (One such is T.C. Macnaughton, Overseas Settlement, whom I talk to last night - a regular ^{my} old woman! No wonder migration caps!)

Dine with Shandens at the House to meet Beckett of the French Embassy. My relations with P.S. are good at the moment.

J.R.M. talking ghastly nonsense in the Lobby about the difficulty of a British Foreign Minister having to consult the Dominions about everything, the consequent impossibility of carrying out a

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Party policy and the desirability of "taking the F.O. out of Party politics, like the Speaker's". That such ideas should even cross the brain of this tired man is a disaster. Rumour of J.H.T. for the F.O. link up with his line of helplessness. C.T. & I

discuss, & he says, for the first time, that he wants Uncle so he at the F.O. I had never told him that was my view, since I thought that both he & A.P. might be thinking of themselves for his job. But I am delighted at C.T.'s opinion & urge him to tell Uncle, & to raise again the question of an Advisory Ctee for J.H.M. in making a Lab Govt. He goes off to see Uncle (still ill) last afternoon. The latter is to think things over. He should be back, after a somewhat long absence at working, in a fortnight's time Feb 20th.

R asks her first questions (very confidentially). The question of a private secretary for J.H.M. is still in many eyes' minds. Personally is remaining

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King still very hard, & has taken him to see J.H.M. & talked to him about Constituencies, etc, but ended by advising him not to leave the Admiralty till next August, when his present appointment expires. A.P. has also been telling O.M. about all this, & there is talk of amalgamating Research Dept's, - I.L.P. information, & O.M.'s & Hedwood Brown's private enterprise affairs - and giving K.H. a salary on the strength of this. This does not sound at all pleasing, & I warn Ernest Hunter.

Thought, however, A.P. asked C.T., Arnold & me to meet K.H. at dinner. (O.M. want. have come too, but is in bed with flu). K.H. is very sharp & has wide interests (of a Naval officer), but really knows nothing about our movement. He would be much more use at the Admiralty with a Labour First Lord, than in politics.

I looked through our Institute candidates this morning for possible, & find in addition to

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Will A-F, Usher, K.L. Reiss, Moller & Will Hall
 on J Smith - probably in that order of likelihood.
 What any, in all, under set in next election!
 Later have a talk with (also Jones) on
 the possibility of his crossing the gangway, & joining
 us publicly before the election. He is quite
 inclined, I want, & will resume his discussion
 after a period for reflection.

St. Louisdale Webster, Chief Clerk of the House, ^{and}
 £12,000 for J. Smith's debts, in a conference of
 Party leaders was held. £-£- paid for the
 bulk of these debts, & the Tories for a little.
 £-£- & I put this rate together from scraps
 of separate information.
 Feb 22nd.

Dine, along with rest of front opposition bench, with the
 speaker. R comes in afterwards & leaves.

Shivering on the way home. Had to be ^{flashed}!
 Feb 23rd - March 2nd.

in bed. Feverish, coughing & contemptibly weak.
 Miss a National Executive & comit for the B.A. on

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March 1st as arranged, with R. So she goes alone!

March 2nd.

Allowed up, but what a weak rat!

March 3rd.

R.B. Franks to see me. Rather heavy & too political!

March 4th.

To tea with Mrs. Main, but in a taxi both ways! Too
 weak to dream of lecturing.

March 5th.

To a Party Meeting. Miserably limp. Taxi back with
 Tom Shaw who has had the same thing, ^{says he} feels
 like a jelly. Quite wearied out by 10 minutes
 slow walk in the afternoon! Damn!

March 13th.

R makes her maiden speech in the House
 on the Lord Mayor's Fund. A great success. Our
 people very delighted with it. "Composed & compact"
 says the Times. Listening to Eustace Percy's
 account of how no one was hungry, or ill clad,

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a depressed any more, being nervousness she may have felt turned to indignation. And she went for him with a vigor unusual in maiden speeches. Many congratulations afterwards.

Earlier in the day the Election Manifesto Ctee met in J.R.M.'s room. A thin attendance. Only Uncle, Morrison, Mosley & myself, in addition to J.R.M. Mrs Greenwood, Will Henderson, Middleton & Tansley. One letter

passed J.R.M. out papers for increased unemployment benefit, larger pensions at an earlier age, etc. J.R.M. very sticky. Doesn't want to be "flashed" & "attractive". That said Tansley is from Puritan upbringing. Tansley is cheerful & irreverent. But ^{my} indulging sense is one of intense amusement. We are letting L.S. & Mond-Turner & the rest simply march past us. We are led by timid, nervous old men.

At the P. Exec in the afternoon. J.R.M.

But she of J.R.M. by
saying
Lee. better.

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order of Snowden & Thomas to join the Electⁿ Manifesto Ctee. This is agreed to. He also lets Tansley down by saying that he was "amazed" to see him at the morning's meeting, & "disturbed" at some of the suggestions made. P.S. & J.H.T. both sniffing & asking "who is Tansley?"

I am still a little limp after flu, but thank the Lord I am getting stronger & shall be able, I hope, to make a row if necessary at the next meeting of the Ctee.
March 28th.

Early break. R to Cornwall, to stay with Will & Ka. I write by car with Bob Fraser. An ^{amusement!}
March 29th - April 6th.

My experiment is a very great success. Sleep Kettleby & then to Ousby, where we leave the car and walk Ousby - Crossfell - Ousby - Keston - Langdon Beck (2 nights) - Cauldron Street. High up Nick - Duffton - Ousby. Glorious weather, & very

good companionship. He is quite 2 for politics, though only, I think, 3+ for academics. Having enough money not to have to earn his living, & also a high moral tone in public things, he ought to go quite far. Only 24, & only 18 months in England. Spotted as an introvert by R at her first sight of him. Not self-possessed, easy & capable of falling ^{quickly} into a good relationship of casual, slumpy equality.

Two days in U.S.A. at the end of our walk opened his eyes, especially a morning walking round West Auckland with D.R. Thomas.

April 10th.

Election manifesto Ctee. Snowden bogging at maintenance allowances, increased pensions, etc. Not fair progress made.

Living Wage Ctee in ^{on Family Allowances} afternoon. The majority of 8 to 3 had declared in favour of the principle, M. Bondfield, Citrine & Elwin alone dissenting. But the Union had returned halting & uncertain replies, so that was

nothing can be done. This great redistribution must come in the second wave! How many years hence? Can people be positively versified of anything that would win votes!

Uncle went off with J.R.M., Clynes, Snowden & Thomas, to discuss at Brunch somewhere in next Sat Govt. I must find out next week what happened! -----

[NOT for some time do I discuss. Then Uncle says that the talk was rather inconclusive. J.R.M. said that he hoped they would all put themselves in his hands, or rather into the iron ones hands. He seemed to contemplate, without any formal departure from the constitutional practice of what the P.M. alone selects his ministers, an ^{informal} committee to discuss & advise. J.R.M. hinted that he wouldn't do the two jobs, P.M. & F.O., again, & that someone else would have to take F.O. No ^{names} mentioned for this. J.R.M. would lead the House, & perhaps mend some unemployment committee. Clynes

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would have to take a deft in time. When J.P.M. said he hoped they would leave themselves in his or each other's hands, J.H.T. said "that's all very well for Philip. His job's decided already," L.P.S. said, rather solemnly, "Is it?"

And so the weeks drift past until election draws nearer. All the life goes out of Parliament.

R. speaks, very successfully, at the Albert Hall for five minutes on April 27th, along with the other by-election victors, & J.P.M. makes a disappointing programme speech. She is very popular with the comrades in the House.

We both go up to Durham for the May Day weekend, & launch our campaign in advance.

One Election Manifesto is completed. Not a brilliant document, but improved as we go on discussing it. One British Labour Party is very British! (cf. Madariaga on national characteristics.)

At the School I work to secure the return of

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Lionel Robbins as junior professor of Economics, & to keep the main chair open, with Beveridge as Head of the Dept. Great jealousy of Lionel in the Ghetto, but I think I shall succeed in getting him back.

May 10th.

Parliament dissolved. Spoke yesterday in N. Dorset for Colin Clark & was howled at by disappointed Liberals at Walsford (may thought they were going to have a straight fight with the Tories & win the seat back); spoke today in N. Ballysea for Saunders, (howled from followers of Saklatvala).

May 11th

Spoke at Wellingborough for Dallas. Told men about the Winfrey Press & Tactics at Hilliers - with - Boston in 1924. Young Winfrey evidently new man about here. I met him in the market place before the meeting, & he shook hands effusively, and, leading me aside, explained quite unashamedly, that he wasn't responsible for

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May 31st.

At 1 am. King's Hall class down. I and I go round the
Mills to be hear further results on the wireless.
Our gains are much bigger, at this stage, than I expected.

I hear of Sir John Hanworth's defeat at York & Street
Maitland's in Birmingham. And then to bed at 3 am.

Proceed to our own count in very leisurely fashion after
noon. It is efficiently conducted & finished by 2-30

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Dalton | 17,838 |
| Curry. (Lib) | 9,635 |
| Overman. (Con) | <u>4,503</u> |
| Lab majority over Lib | 8,203 |
| Lib + Con. | 3,700 |

There is an increase in the absolute majority since Feb.
but a slight decrease relatively. I am
disappointed not to have 10,000. We were very
weak in Bishop Auckland itself. Still! There
is nothing very much to grumble at!

After speaking from the Town Hall balcony, I am
carried up the Newgate Street as far as our

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Committee Room, & then board a bus up Webb-
Hill. We motor to Shildon, speak again, & on
to Darlington to catch the 5-15 for London.

A great crowd at the station, waiting for J.P.M.
I have a few words with him, but only a few, on
the train. He is looking very well, considering his
strenuous campaign work here, however, been
very well managed by Arnold. At each stop,
York, Doncaster, Grantham, great crowds gather on
the platform, cheering & calling for a speech, and
we buy new editions of the evening paper. Our
gains go mounting up. It is clear now that we
shall have the largest party, but fall a little short
of a clean majority. Clear, too, that the Liberal
revival is a myth & that my estimate of the
Liberal total will be very near the truth.
At King's Cross at 11 pm. a vast crowd, cheering
like mad, outside the station. We go home to bed.
June 1st.

I read in my D.H. book at J.P.M.'s house last night

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There was "quite a family party." Malcolm was twice,
"and Sir Oswald & Lady Cynthia Mosley". So they
went there at once!

The question now is Will Baldwin resign? A Labour
Govt a practical certainty now. To Windfall or
not to Windfall? ~~either~~ I decide not to windfall.

June 2nd.

Arnold to see ^{in the afternoon} me. J.R.M. is talking with Clynes,
Henderson, Snowden & Thomas. Nothing known. Arnold
says Josell has told him that a bunch of 20 letters
will back us, regardless of H-5.

See Uncle Nathan in the evening. Aunt also present.
F.O. not yet settled, - nor anything else!

June 3rd.

See Lees Suite at the school. Discussion on our
future arrangements, here if we go into the port.
Baldwin is resigning. The crisis of that sort
making is right over!

June 4th.

See Greenwood in the morning. The press is

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beginning to be full of fancy cabinets. Even the
staid Times take a run. I am suggested for the
War Office! Not very attractive, nor even very
likely. Laski says he saw J.R.M. on Sunday
& Uncle yesterday. He is such a liar that one has
to discount all he says. He seems, however, to have told
them all just now except, I now suspect, to be
in each job! Uncle & Thomas for F.O. still
reging. Snowden said to be indifferent to everything,
provided he is Chancellor. Clynes a broken
reed. He says Mosley stayed with J.R.M. till 1 am.
He might be got back from the north, was in again
next day, & took J.R.M. out to lunch the day
after! The War Kenwood was on the doorstep &
couldn't be moved ~~for~~ for several hours yesterday.
I end the day feeling very tired. I have wired
C.T., who won't have been at Durham tomorrow
for an honorary degree, to come back without
fail. He is coming.

Baldwin has been seen to Windsor today to resign. J.R.M.
Snowden tomorrow.

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June 5th.
 Breakfast
 Lunch with C.T. at 8. What a good fellow he is! straight, simple, honest talk. Horrified at idea of Thomas at F.O. Will do what he can to back Uncle for the job. But what can he do? Will see J.R.M. if he can, about it. Remember Lee, Smith, Tom Johnston and I should be in the Cabinet. For myself, wants to go on with Education. I support Admiralty. He says he wouldn't take it, except on clear terms that the Navy is to be cut down ruthlessly. Fears he may be offered India, owing to family tradition, but wouldn't take it, for he is conscious of knowing nothing about India & has never visited it. I say that I would prefer the Board of Education if I had a clear field of choice. He says I am quite right. Enough, for Viceroy's reasons, the job won't be quite so easy this time.

National Executive at 10.30. Routine business & reports arising out of election. J.R.M. at Windsor. C.T. sees Uncle in a corner, & reports that

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Thomas is still being baldheaded for F.O., but last consultation with Mr. V.C. is still proceeding. Lee Smith to lunch. More talk about school.

2.30 Joint meeting of National & Parliamentary Execs. J.R.M. comes in at 3. Very exhausted. Says King has commissioned him to form a Govt; that J.R.M. was very friendly; that Mr. Ministers will hand over Stak on Friday & new ones be sworn in on Saturday; that can supply of capable people far exceeds demand; that he is having a terrible time trying to fit people in; appears for Yeaman spirit & loyalty; those who have to take less important parts than they expected may be assured that, if they acquit themselves well, "the ladder is open right to the top"; that he is very much exhausted & is going to take a holiday next week; that he has already given orders to certain depts, with Viceroy's consent, for memoranda to be prepared which will enable a quick start to be made. Ends rather more brightly by referring to our great victory & great opportunities.

A lot of hanging about in passages afterwards. I

bring Tom Johnston back to tea. J.K.M. saw him just after the meeting & offered him Under Secretary for Scotland, under Willie Hanson was in the make-a-peer!! But he being not quite settled because W.A. has a son, which J.K.M. didn't know, & now says may make King unwilling to agree to the Peerage. T.J. should be in the Cabinet. Such a poor offer to him suggests equally poor, or poorer, offers to some of the rest of us! He is inclined to accept, if Hanson goes to the Lords, but otherwise doubtful.

8-40 pm Telephone message by manservant from C.T. "He's done the best he possibly could at the top. He's just rushed straight out again!" ^{just before midnight}
 June 6th. ^{just before midnight} ^{was frank}
 (He wrote a letter to C.T. saying ^{that he would be glad to serve under} ^{him at the Board.})
 Times says Vucel may go to F.O.; Herald says Thomson will deal with unemployment. I conclude that Vucel has won. To Tpt House about 11. Meet Mil Gaining downstairs. Vucel is at F.O., he says, & has asked him to be his p.p.s. Perfect! 18c

at 8.0.M., to whom I first sent in a confidential letter, provisionally congratulating him & saying that, as far as I am concerned, it all is in the cabinet. The only two jobs that really attract me are Fin^l Sec^y ^(Treasury) & Under Sec^y at F.O., the latter especially under him. He is full of smiles, not unattractively. "I stuck to it," he says, "though it was rather painful at times." P.S. ~~was~~ said "I'm sorry, but I can't help you in this." Having got what he wanted, he didn't care ^{much} about anyone else. But indirectly the P.S. had put Vucel in. For, when it had been proposed that Thomson should be at F.O., & Vucel Lord Privy Seal to deal with unemployment Vucel had said that he would only accept if his job carried Deputy-Headship of the House, & P.S. had objected that Deputy-Headship belonged to the Chancellor of Exchequer. So Vucel refused & wouldn't budge, & yesterday Norman had said, when they met after the

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Joint Exec. "Well, Arthur, you'd better take the P.O." And J.R.M. when a favor, said "Well, Henderson, will you take it?" And Uncle said "Yes, if you want me to," (I here he wanted head.) at me in his narration. And then Uncle said "Well, Jim, you'd better take Lord North Seal & deal with unemployment." And J.H.T. said "All right, if you'll all back me & if Phillips will find the money" (At an earlier stage J.R.M. had talked of again passing to other matter. Uncle said that Tom Shaw would be offered War Office, Greenwood was going to be Ministry of Health, Wrentham being left out, which he personally thought was a mistake. It had remained to be filled in. Lord North Seal had been filled in. But I gathered our names were on a list that meant something, though not necessarily now even probably Cabinet. Of the two jobs mentioned Gene & Patrick Lawrence was to go to the Treasury. He would

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like very much to have me at P.O. & would say so, if he got a chance, but J.R.M. might want to allocate Under Secretaries without consultⁿ. Last time, when Uncle was Home Secretary, he had actually asked Frank Hodges to be his Under Sec., & then Philip Davies walked in." For the rest, he

Uncle had ~~not~~ discontinued his idea of No 2 at Education, but suggested impossibility, on merits, of Under Secretary at H.O. Clayton would be a good head, but work would be unimportant & varied. ^{Uncle had pressed for one woman to be in Cabinet on this side. There had been offer to give J.R.M. his own. But Uncle had insisted, to stop that pressing any one name.}

3. Call at C.T.'s. He thinks he may have had something to do with keeping Thomas out of P.O.; he appealed very solemnly to J.R.M. concerning, negatively, not mentioning Uncle. He pressed very claims on J.R.M., but apparently without ^{getting} much response. C.T., indeed, was obviously vexed at his lack of response. Usher is to be J.R.M.'s private Secretary, or one of them. C.T. thinks that at his board I could get a good show, but perhaps

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realises that his would be very frank & sincere. He will come & see Uncle right away, ^{congratulate him} & urge him to ask for me at F.O.

4.10. C.T. rings up Uncle, of his own accord, says that he wanted me & would ask for me, but J.K.M. might want to make the allocation himself. This, said I, in view of J.K.M.'s general attitude about me, & his special interest in the F.O., may be unsatisfactory! But C.T. has done all he could, & has been a great brick. He said "I know what a rotten business this is. I've been through it all myself. But 'vita longa' & can, if the worst comes to the worst, afford to wait a year or two."

June 7th.

10.30 Ring from Uncle, surprised that I have heard nothing. A little later a ring from Scott, on behalf of Uncle, saying that it is all right & I am to call at No 10 at 2.45.

This I do & find Usher, very pale and rattled, only

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a day and a half as P.M.'s Private Secretary. After a quarter of an hour wait, I go into the Cabinet Room where J.K.M. is alone. He is friendly in manner, though, I thought, a little apprehensive. He begins by explaining that there are "3 or 4 of us", with about equal claims, for whom he has had to try to find roughly equal positions. (I assume he means Messrs. T.J. & Lord O.) Some are more of us to be in the Cabinet. Henderson has asked for me at the F.O. At this I endeavor to become very agreeable. This, I say, is the Dept. the subject matter of which most appeals to me. In other Depts I have intellectual interests or social sympathies, but here a passion. I should be proud of the chance to do something for peace and to carry on his work. He says that he can offer me the Under-Secretaryship at the F.O., subject to its being one of about 20 appointments which have to be fitted in together. This, ^{however} is practically certain not to have to be changed. I express

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sympathy with him in his job. "Yes, he says, it has been terrible. I have had people in here weeping & even fainting!" (I wonder who?) Earlier on he said, as to the 3 or 4 of his not being in the Cabinet, "some people have taken a different view but I can't help it. You will all have to win your spurs, like we had to do."

Spring out I meet Uncle, with whom I am snapped on the doorstep of No 10, & Jesuit, in quick change outfit. Uncle & I go to Hampstead by car with Bill & Little Arthur. One Henderson family are to do a talkie film. General air of satisfaction.

Uncle says that when he asked for me & said he had just Phil as P.P.S., J.R.M. said, as though a match had been stolen on him. "Quite a strong record." Uncle replied "Yes, that's what I wanted."

Off to Blanca writes for weekend. They are dependent on the hand of the... and day war is always wet. And my know little of foreign affairs. And she talks endlessly of currency. That Anna Jane is an attractive girl.

Wren is doing very well at the school - that it is a jolly rest & I see my fall.

June 10th (Monday)

still no official announcement. This is very vexatious. But Uncle asks me to go round to the office at 2-30 on the assumption that I can't be his Under-Secretary if he is the tale told to all the officials.

2-30-5. A fascinating 2 1/2 hours! Selby, Austen's Secretary in attendance. Uncle in great form. We see first Sir Ronald Lindsay, - rather shy & reactionary. Then the three Principal Assistant Secs - Montgomery, Wellerley & Elphinstone. Then a crowd of about 20. Then 3 lawyers. Uncle makes a speech to them. This is the 4th Dept who would he has been associated. Contrary to an opposite opinion "which is widely held in our movement" he believes that we can count on their loyal support, "in spite of the aristocratic character of the present administration." (Loud laughter by the Secy & others.) He recalled with great pleasure his work

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at Geneva in 1924. Although the Protocol, which he was instrumental in drawing up, came to nothing, we must now make a fresh start. He believes that much can be done in the direction of disarmament & arbitration, & he ^{believes} he can count on their support.

Selby ^{has opened} a letter ^{to Vuch} from Austen, signed in his own hand, offering to come & have a talk. Vuch is very offhand & ungratefully about this. He will be away at Brighton till next Monday. When he comes back he will consider it. Let Selby draft a letter to this effect. Selby tries to warm up his formula, but Vuch is surly. I don't think he wants to see Austen!

Then a long talk a Paris with Lindsay. Vuch says there can be too much continuity in foreign policy. I interpose that there was no continuity over the G. Protocol. "On point of view" says Vuch "is diametrically opposed to that of the late Govt^r on the optional clause." Also on recognition of Russia, to which we are definitely committed. He is very cautious, even with ~~canal~~ signatures of

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comparatively unimportant ^{minutes} ~~documents~~. Lindsay tries to rush one or two things past him, but fails! Vuch declines to congratulate Mussolini & the Pope on the Lateran Treaty, or to forbid Trotsky to come to England. Both of these are matters for discussion with the A.M. & can wait he says. As to the Lateran Treaty, "we have a Marxist Russian P.M. & I am a Wesleyan" (Horror in his words!) Shall Warsaw be made an Embassy? But not feelers. The Press Service - Vuch says it should be under him & me, & his P.P.S. will be helpful here. "We find" says Lindsay "that a P.P.S. is not ~~so~~ no use for work like this. He is a very inexperienced person." "That will not be so long time," says Vuch. "My P.P.S. is a man of very great knowledge & experience. I dare say you know him. Phil Baker." I could hear Lindsay's jaw drop! "I didn't know he was in Paris," he says. The office, I think, is not having a happy day. As to Trotsky, he says "from our point of view there is no advantage in letting him in; from the point of view of H.O.

There are obvious objections." Uncle. "That is a new way of approaching the matter to ask whether there is any advantage to us in letting him in. What about the right of signature?" He is reduced to passing that there shall be no undue delay in deciding. Uncle gets on to the M. who is obviously in favour of delay. Uncle says afterwards to me "These fellows ought to have had the sanction not to bring me back papers just as we were doing. They should have held them up."

He decides to take on Selby till the end of the Assembly. Selby says he was in very close association with Austen for 4 1/2 years, would obviously have been quite glad to have got out of it, but accepts, protesting that he is greatly honoured. On the other hand, take advantage of a rather bleak description of my predecessor's ^(John Robertson) P.S. to express a preference for someone fresher & younger, & him to have gladly felt, who he says is very bright.

A good opening. Uncle will stand firm on simple principles, & won't let them put it across him. ^{He says he has been with me since I was 10} Lees Smith, whom I see at the School, is very disappointed

at the exclusion of himself, - & also, he says, of T.J. & myself - from the Cabinet. The Party he says put us high on the Executive Session after session & J.R.M. has put us all very low.

'See Phil in the evening & they to impression that we need for discussion & for care in handling Uncle. June 17th.

Begin real work at the office. Working on Optional Clause, Rhineland & Russia. On O.C. the lawyers are full of reservations. They had manufactured mine for Austen! I find that the Doms were in advance of the Home Govt. Canada was forcing the pace & even Australia, often supposed to be an adversary, had recently declared that "a non-possessum attitude cannot be maintained much longer" & favoured signing the clause with reservations.

Uncle summoned Huntley, Hunt, Malvern, Selby & met in his room. He sat stubbornly in his chair and said that the Govt was in favour of signing the clause with the least possible delay. He did not wish to hear

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"a lot of legal arguments" about reservations. He in his speeches had not spoken about reservations, but about signing the clause. If, however, there were any real difficulties which they could put up, he was willing to consider them, but he expected that when they put up difficulties, they would also find some means of overcoming them. All this produced rather a shattering effect! Hurst & Lindsay both coughed a bit, though necessarily. Malkin sat silent. ("Did you notice how Malkin behaved?" Uncle asked me afterwards. "He never said a word, but he looked as though he was going to burst!") I remarked, at one point in the discussion, that the Deans had been in London on all this, & that "the block had been in London." One late Govt. I said, had refused to do anything, either to sign the clause, or to make bilateral treaties. Hurst, slightly nettled, said that the late Govt was not really malignant. "No," I said, "they were not malignant, but they suffered from mental laziness & lack of grip." After the meeting

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Uncle said to me - ~~was~~ "Just those chaps know what our policy is?"
 A couple given held next day ^{on the 20th} at the Lindsays, Hurst, Malkin, Cadogan, Campbell, Phil (whose presence had been suggested by Hurst!), Kirkpatrick, - Pearson, Harding & Dixon from Deans Office, - Walker & Turner from India Office. I had asked Lindsay beforehand what procedure he suggested, he to take the chair, or I, or Hurst, & in whose room? Grave problem this! He suggested Hurst & in Hurst's room. I agreed, but I had taken the chair at an earlier meeting of a similar Ctee.

We reviewed 9 possible resolutions. One mercifully with ingenious caution could invent. Several were by general consent, dismissed. Others were discussed at length. I said of several that they were flatly contrary to the policy of the Govt, & of others that the Ctee should not lead the Cabinet, but simply put up proposals & copy. Lindsay demurred to this, & suggested that recommendations should be made. The atmosphere was bad at first, but gradually improved. The

Down office, especially Harding, were distinctly helpful. At the end Hunt went to draft a report for the S of S on the basis of our discussions. I know I held my own pretty well at his very first real trial of wits. Hunt said to me afterwards that he hoped I no longer thought there was any desire to obstruct policy in the office. I ^{had} said sweetly that I had never thought such a thing. He thanked me for consenting to come to his room.

On June 17th I accompanied Vuch when he received the Ambassador, Lajoin on the 15th when he received Ministers. No official was present. The Portuguese, the Albanian & the one of the South American could only speak French, & I translated. I hear that my presence has caused comment in diplomatic circles. They think I am to be an influence in the office! of the Ambassador in Spain (Mey del Val) was much to his taste. He spoke of Spain love of peace, & said that she prized especially good relations with G. B. & France;

he deliberately, he said, placed them in his order; he offered at any time to conclude an all-in arbitration treaty. He looked every inch an Ambassador, with none of the others did. Pleurican, the Frenchman, was a little thin wisp of a man. St. Haver, the German, a crumpled old thing. The Brazilian, sallow, elegant & siled, spoke only of trade. The Italian was away on leave.

The Ministers were hustled past at the double. Only three minutes each were allowed. Vuch said "I shall ask them to sit down, or I shall never get them out." Looking at the long type-written list of their countries, he said "So this is what self-determination leads us to!" He also spoke of "all these wretched little places. Many of them must only be about half the size of Yorkshire!"

I brought the Hungarian to the door for his next after-noon. Perhaps he had heard me say, just before he came in, that we might have to put him on the next train on for the undemocratic

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practices of his country.

In Russia, there is no question of recognition. That came since 1924. The problem is the method of restoration of diplomatic relations. Even, as then pro-Bolsheviks say, with nothing short of an immediate exchange of Ambassadors will soothe Soviet pride, suspicion & inferiority complex. Uncle is not prepared for this. He proposes an invitation to Moscow to send a ^{deputy} representative to discuss all questions in dispute. If they refuse, he will have no hesitation in telling Parliament so.

In the Rhineland, France is the most dangerous obstacle to early evacuation. He wants to reopen the Poleson question, baffle over the Young Report Plan, & allow the French & Italians to pay to clear back some millions a year from each. A hopeless policy! The view of the Office, I surmise, is that a few millions are dust in the balance, compared with the gains of an early & complete evacuation which will also certainly follow swiftly upon a general acceptance of the Y.P. But Uncle, through soundness

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his principles, is a bit afraid of P.S.!

I wish Jett's secretary was like he is an R.C. One, I think, is a good F.O. gambler. He says "No": am I? I say that I was brought up in the C.E., but lost my X¹³ on the playing fields of Eton.

June 23rd.

Can ride with Zilly, Will, Ka & R to Widdowson. Zilly & Will very helpful on D.S., etc.

Cecil is prepared for our delight to Geneva. I think well of this. Will might become his private secretary.

June 24th.

A series of good interviews.

Wraithford, ~~has~~ - a French Communist lady - Westheimer - Murray - filling - Bartlett. Lunch with G.L. Dinner with Pehardt at the Cecil with P.M., 1st Lt, Mrs - Cabinet Minister & their wives.

The F.C.L. common behalf of Trotsky, not skillful.

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I say his case is before the Cabinet. I can make no statement, but will pass on her observations to the S. S. I ask why T. prefers Say and to France Germany. She says that Germany has found him down, either representing the Soviet in Russia, & he has not applied to France, because he hears that the S. A. in Paris has persuaded the French Govt. to refuse. That here we have a Labour Govt. She says, "No relations with the Soviet."

Kutsumi wants the Government what at the School. He says the American want Gilbert Murray.

Westminster is very quick & intelligent. He says the diplomatic corps has been told that V. will always require a written statement to be brought & left behind, whenever an Ambassador - Minister comes to see him. This is interpreted to mean that he must submit everything to the P. M. I say that his interpretation is wrong. V. is cautious & knows his limits. His friend says in the Observer last Sunday "he is not exactly a rascal, but he is a moving weight."

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W also says that it is being patronised now I am pro-French and "even" intimate houses, "pro-Polish" - I say that his may come from reading between the lines of my book. In truth, I am simply objective. I have no pet lambs. All foreigners are comrades. I seek sometimes correct the lack of objectivity of my party, & sections of it. Even Poles have a case, of sorts, & should be given the credit for it. Now, I say, says man says of me. The German says, he replies.

I say that the worst enemy of Germany is France, with his anti-French passions, which may delay evacuation. Let some of U.S. (German friends) advise him, for Germany's sake, not to attack France publicly & to accept the T. P.

W agrees that one of Germany's worst friends was Morel.

He asks my view about the T. P. I advise him (German) to contact the members of the movement, with the Ministry, & not to ask for a second helping.

their meeting full.

S.L. says J.H.I. having begun by pitching in more vigorously is now terrified of the difficulties everywhere. He is especially worried on pensions & the school leaving age. S.L. & Lord O have not been consulted till yesterday. They will have to fight.

He is an old man, & careless of reputation. But J.H.I. & Lord O will be broken by failure.

Bartlett says the notes at Madrid were delightful at my appointment.

June 25th.

New Parliament assemblies. One great beacon and a glorious spectacle! S.L. said it almost made him cry. How upon now of Labour victors. Much younger in the bulk than I had imagined. I felt really proud of our Party. Young middle age predominates.

June 26th.

Another Ctee, Lindsay, Hurst, Malkin & myself, with O.C. Hurst has come a

good way to meet us. Yesterday he had a talk to Uncle & assured him that the reforms would be comparatively few. Uncle says to me that he wishes it had been complaining to the P.M. - that we are unreasonably reading him, & impatiently brushing aside his legal subtleties! We moved on a bit at today's Ctee, but ~~not~~ are not ended yet. I said I reserved the right to make a separate political report to the S.P.S. Lindsay hastened to assure me that I might!

Today today a fight, in alliance with J.H.I. against his removal & substitution by Kennell, a soft mannered fellow with a red nose. I think I'm winning!

C.T. says the Cabinet decision today were not very good. Raising the school age is not to be in the King's Speech. J.H.I., Swanton, Pomeroy, Clegg, Shaw & Thomson against! Our bloody Cabinet is far behind our Party

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Ever's "Secret Impasse" of last session.

June 29th.

Ever has been trying to settle the Russian question for us. He has been over to Paris talking to some of his Russian friends, & sends me on a sheet of 16 pages certain conversations. He has probably done more harm than good, having aroused suspicion as to our intentions and expectations as to his ability to interject, & even to modify them. This is an interesting example of his fellow's style. He is a tiresome busy body. I mentioned his escapade to Uncle, who snorted & said that if his kind of thing was to go on, he would have to change his attitude to the D.H. I am to see Meller on Monday & will use his & incident to damp down Ever.

Wick is also busy-bodying about Russia, as was to be expected. He came, very uncleanly, to see me yesterday (1) to warn me against Kennard's (!), to whom, he said, he had no great objection as long as put me Ambassador to Moscow. (He himself, he explained, had no ambitions in

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his direction), but now, he said, had not a good name in his city & should not be allowed to have anything to do with the Trade negotiations. (1) to propose that the F.O. should stand clear of Trade & Debt negotiations, & simply put the Russians in touch with the City & leave them to it; last time it was a very awkward mix-up; he would be willing to act as an assessor in the negotiations; (3) to explain to the rest of the new Trade Facilities Act would not, in any way, exclude Russia.

I had another sitting today of the off' U.S. Ctee at the F.O. with Lindsay, Hurd & Malin. They & I want to load the Cabinet paper with doubts as to whether the League Covenant, or the Kellogg Pact, would stand the strain of a crisis, to point out the tremendously important new departure in policy involved in the D.C., & generally speaking to smother Hurd's proposal in a featherbed of cautionary considerations. I said to him bluntly "this is becoming more & more your paper, less & less a cooperative venture."

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I had already given notice that I should put in a paper of my own on political considerations, & I was prepared in this to defend Hirst's draft of acceptance, but all his elaboration of L's, I said, would simply make the document too long for most of the Cabinet to read, & would make sense of them, so in off the deep end. I said also to L "Should you not add, at the end of H's exposition, 'These considerations, pressed to their logical conclusion, make it undesirable that the D.C. should be signed at all.'" He said "No, but would be a caricature." The poor man has never, I think, been to Geneva. He said he thought that "L's" in his hands would become strong enough for its tasks. (cf Dalton P.M. H 292-3. This touches Lindsay with one fist, & Zilly with the other.)

H had wanted to show the part of his paper dealing with belligerent rights to the Admiralty. I was doubtful of the expediency of this, but insisted that he must get the consent of the S of S. He was, I

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thought, a little unwilling to do this. But I insisted. He came back from an interview to say that the S of S ^{had} agreed.

Uncle & I walked out together at lunch time. He told me that he had had his first row with Lindsay, who, in conversation with his chief, had remarked that he had suggested to the P.M. Sir P. Lorraine to succeed Lloyd at Cairo, & had hinted at difficulties over the signing of the D.C. Uncle had "pulled him up" & said he didn't quite understand the intention of all this. L had asked whether this meant that he was never to speak to the P.M. Uncle had refused to be caught in this trap & had repeated that he didn't understand the intention, etc. There had been an estrangement between ^{them} for two days. He had mentioned it to Selby & they who had said that he brought L to ~~take~~ ^{welcome} a rapprochement.

I then told him about H wanting to talk to the Admiralty, & my insistence on his getting

Uncle's consent. Uncle said that I had taken too much time in any case, & particularly so having regard to the incident with L. He had told H, he said, that he consented on condition it was made clear to the A that he intended to sign the O.C., & that he would welcome their help in getting it signed.

Mr. Elyott, the C.M. was rather inclined to send Mahmud back & tell him to get a constitution & then come back & talk.

June 30th.

Can picnic with R, Tilly & Bob Fraser. In the evening go round to see Uncle's half-shop-half-socials. ^{Uncle's} Very firm about the O.C. Very indifferent about Trotsky, gradually walking up to the Special Act. ^{to be included} ^{to meet me in} ^{Cuba del.} ^{Tant miera!} July, or.

A great day! Good jaw with Phil. Draft delgated in P.M. Uncle, Graham, Cecil, Hunt, Women No I, Dalton, Phil & Women No II. Swannell & M. Hamilton or the Women, probably. Cecil

has been asked by Uncle to join the Party. Got hesitating. There are arguments both ways, but the argument for his joining is the stronger. Still ~~but~~ he may join in a few days. Meanwhile he will be damned useful. He wants to come & talk to me, & to have a room at the F.O., & to empty Will. All splendid! We will get those buffers on the run before long.

Sir E. Drummond is to come & see me at 4.15. At 4.45 Jas Hunt comes in, with the latest edition of his cautionary treatise on the O.C. I say that W.S.P.S has told me that he simply won't have the British Monroe Doctrine Reserve. It very worried. I also say that ~~the~~ he looks that can help in getting very long, & that something shorter is needed for the Cabinet. It looks it might perhaps be shortened a little. It is now 4.10 & I produce a Ministry of A's draft acceptance. I suffer, I remember vividly, but he has no objection to my showing him to the S.C. of the League, who is coming

to see my in a few minutes. It wonders whether it would be wise, at this stage. Would it not, I ask, be interesting & helpful to have his view? It would like to say No, but that would be childish & ungentlemanly. ^{Here} Jeff announces that S.G. has now arrived. It would, I persist, help us, to hear a judgment not from the Geneva end. Look from the Geneva end. But, of course, I would not have liked to show it to S.G. without first getting H's permission. It was, I continue, very fortunate that he had been in just at that moment. It says that the Geneva is not the only point of view which is important. I cordially agree, but I feel that it is one of the points of view which we should bear in mind. It seems on the point of saying something further, but I suggest to him that I don't feel I ought to keep the S.G. waiting any longer. See it Hurst. See S.G. with Phil. --- I may have played my cards brutally, but I think I have played them well.

A good jaw with S.G. I like the fellow, & am strengthened in my belief that we ought to get him into Landsay's job here. He is horrified at the B.M.D. Keser. It would create a disastrous impression, he thinks, at Geneva. Better not sign the Communiqué at all. Either we must impartial judgment or not. etc. --- good league stuff! --- He doesn't believe in the risks. Maria never made any proposal for membership of the League without our permission. "Some people in the F.O.", he says, with, of course, he frightened out of their lives by the idea of arbitration. That Hurst's rail, about the commissions, is "simply cheating." At Geneva now they talk more or less for granted, & are talking ^{in D.C.} ^{a talking about} the Geneva Act. I beg him to put his views before the S.G. if he gives ^{the point} ^{we shall make him a state treasury.} ^{with defend his budget.} See S.G.

I send for Cadogan, who, Phil says, has been feeling rather out of it, & saying that he doesn't know whether he will be taken to Geneva any more. He says we shall wish he isn't ~~so~~ internationally minded enough. I talk sympathetically to him about the understaffing of his Dept, & its lack of status. Then of the reputation of the British delegⁿ at Geneva on bad mixes. He admits the substance of this, & will try to get the Treasury to grant a large sum for entertaining his party!

I send for Wellesley & talk, ~~on~~ ^{on} Viceroy's instructions, about China. Show at the War Office wants the Shanghai Defence Force withdrawn. Someone in the R.O. has suggested that this can't be done till 1931. This seems a long time. W is solemn & perturbed. We must not hurry. Early withdrawal by this force would be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Similar trouble might follow. The Chinese are so unreliable. So careful. They are all alike, & so unlike us.

They have not ^{an} sense of right & wrong. It is all very complicated & difficult. At Shanghai we have such preponderant vested interests. Such valuable property, & the Chinese are trying to get a footing on the Municipal Council. One Chinese at Shanghai don't really want our troops to go away, although they have to say so. One oriental mind is so unlike ----- etc. He hopes we shall do nothing hurriedly, though he quite understands the point of view of the W.O.

July 3.

Cecil to see me. He will be a great new strength. He will have a room here, & will inspect with us. We are rapidly building up a superiority of staffs over the officials!

Lindsay looked in while Cecil, Phil & I were together. He retreated hastily. Cecil said to me "Now you are found out!" He is even stronger than the rest against Kowloon & the V.C. He is quite impatient of the officials.

July 5.

I worried!

My main speech in a Min. (of the House) today's Friday sitting (11-4) is all on Foreign Affairs. Uncle does pretty well, though he has to correct a lot of the House & after an interval of several hours, a Colson Lingard on "legal responsibility" Messia and "diplomatic relations".

My speech is short, only 1/2 hour, picking up odds and ends, & showing fight at the Tories. Some people like its manner, though its matter was not commending. "There shall be no changes in our time." But most people didn't understand the allusion. R also brought, allowing for the minimum of matter, but it was all right, & they mostly critical!

July 6-8.

Weekend at Aveling with Reverend, Mrs. Main, Elphie & My. Gilla. R very critical here too! V & M are chipping at each other a good deal. One little man can't rest & is always snatching the place where his

carro ought to be!

July 8.

J.H. said to Phil "We must be very careful about the opt^l Clause. The Liberals are just waiting to pounce on us & turn us out. I have been consulting today with some of the great Powers. I hear that the Liberals will turn us out if we make no reservation on Egypt. I wish we might be able to find a few of words." Phil very indignant at this - Suspects Hankey at work. ^{Don't believe his rumour.} I wish Wilson Harcourt, concealing all names. He was it a highly unlikely story, but will enquire. He doesn't know who speaks for the Libs on Foreign Affairs.

July 9.

J.H. had an hour & a half with Phil on O.C. Uncle a little vexed at this news. But Phil says J.H. was much more reasonable, & saw what must be done. The doctrine reserved what do.

July 10.

Decided in Cabinet to appoint Cree on O.C.,

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P.M., Uncle, Pannor, Sankay, Kuan & Pasjico. Not a bad
 crew! Also agreed that Uncle go ~~visit~~ to Russian
 language Norwegian Minister, to send a special representative
 to talk.

We have let a little grass grow here, & nothing
 matters are busy on both sides. Once done
 haven't answer, C, N.Z. & S.A. A has sent a
 financial answer. So has got a 1. But we
 need not take too much notice of these.

Wise very busy. He at F.D. in morning &
 in Uncle's room at night. Will fly to Germany
 tomorrow & get in touch with Russian & tell
 them it's all right. Uncle asks my view of his
 reliability. I say that he's all right if you want
 him to leak to the Russian, as on his
 occasion, but ^{not} otherwise!

Message for raising school leaving age going
 on well. J.N.M. & J.H.T. backed by P.S. in Snags.
 And I can't believe that C.T. can have persuaded
 his case very effectively.

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July 12th.

Puncture says that Uncle answering questions
 reminds him of C.B.

Cecil's reason for F.D. I tell Selby, jokingly,
 that, if difficulties continue, the insupportable politician
 will be forced to draw the conclusion that Cecil's
 cooperation is unwelcome to the Office.

July 13th.

Decided that Russian note shall go. It states that
 we are prepared to establish machinery of normal
 relations, & with a view to this invites Soviet Govt to
 send a "special representative" to discuss with French
 Secretary direct ~~the~~ all outstanding ~~of~~ etc.
 Wick, meanwhile, has gone to Barcelona, with some
 knowledge & with some knowledge of the views of the
 note but without official authority to meet
 Litvinov. He is to telegraph ^{with} "Dispatch" or
 "Delay" to Tft House. The telegraph has
 not arrived, though he should have met L. today.
 Cecil's reason. Selby brings him up again in present

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of Uncle & me. I spoke my saying of my day, about
 C's cooperation being ^{undoubtedly} unwilling. Uncle says
 "nuffly" of course, I could see that from the beginning."
 S, rather surprised, says he understood from Lindsay
 that Uncle was going to speak to P.M. about a
 reason for C elsewhere. Uncle says that it's
 really a pity that L & I seem so often to
 misunderstand each other. "Actually he had
 said 'It will be a fine thing if I have to go &
 tell the P.M. that I can't find C a room in
 his great building.' We mean to respect
 his cabinet reason. S says that 'it is
 sometimes wanted for comfort.' U asks 'How
 often?' S says 'twice in the last year.' U
 says 'well, when it is wanted, C can be
 asked to clear out.' Meanwhile he is to
 have a desk by the window ^{under his picture portrait.}

July 15th - 15th

Rd 1 with family at Barrington - Sunny
 & jolly weekend. Newspaper, looking for

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through with camp of special knowledge talks tomorrow
 July 15th.

General from in office over P.O.'s. I am
 rather ratty & there felt to them about.
 Topics asking many of, on Russia, including one
 which suggests that they may have knowledge of
 wife's movements.

M. More didn't, in fact, go till this morning. Wick
 had telegraphed advising delay but his hadn't
 reached U till this morning. He is vexed at
 Wick's indirections & self-importance.

In the result there are no stickers sufficient
 to U, but P.M. commits himself, under
 cross-examination, to statement that Russian
 Ambassador can't come in till P.M. has
 ratified first decision to invite him. At this
 season of the year, his may mean nothing
 done till October! Damn his mess

Caution!

July 17.
 Storm has saturated in the Park over the Russian

Delay implied in P.M.'s answer. Uncle & father, made a row about it at the Cabinet today. Tonight I am suddenly summoned to P.M.'s room. He wants me to be there for the F.O., while he receives a ^{conkassia} deputation. This runs out to the Snell & Scurry of the C.C., and Latta Wise & Mills. P.M. like a vain, fractious child, complaining of complaints, threatening & desiring, etc. All call him "Sui" every other word, except Mills who ^{calls him "the Macdonald" and} is the only one of the four not obviously terrified. Wise, of course, jaws at immense length, but doesn't really make his point. Involved quibbling between him & J.K.M. Then a Division intervenes. Then I catch J.K.M. who doesn't want to go back to his room, or to with the discussion. I corner him & explain how the points are two, (1) we shall lose 4 months, ^{but way} (2) the Liberals wd have backed us the other way. He expresses great astonishment at no (2), but in the end drafts a motion of prospective authorisation of resumed relations, with just one

tomorrow for an early day.

I show him to Uncle at St. Esmé at midnight. He smiles sardonically, ~~but~~ today, he says, J.K.M. persuaded everyone but him at the Cabinet that everything was all right!

Earlier in the day Uncle & I & other officials went through the Egyptian Treaty. It is a thundering good Treaty, — all Kroops to Suez Canal Zone, Sudan Condominium, payment of Sudan's debts to Egypt, Consular Courts abolished, Egypt to be responsible for welfare of foreigners ^{to enter the zone} — the F.O. is very good on Egypt. Selby & Murray are both Mitmerites. Mahmud wants to fight an election under Treaty, & is thought to have at least a sporting chance of winning. Meanwhile Eled & other Wafdites are very active & have caught our left wing Foreign Affairs folk. An early settlement with Egypt would ease things everywhere.

Continuation of Cecil's Room Saga. He came to see me today. He is installed in

the Cabinet Room with a desk at the window, ^{with} ~~in~~ the portrait of his father looking down on him. He said I feel like the ^{Latin} alphabet "N is a No. 1 in a large room!" He has found W.A.F. on his p.s. The office has jumped at it, not willing to ^{have} provide a secretary from their own staff. They don't realize Will! Cecil said he had been at the Admiralty during the war, working with me at the blockade. This ^{had} sounded all right, or at any rate not so dangerously advanced.

I told Cecil that Uncle was rather too immersed in detail. He said "Yes, the office will try to discuss him in detail, so that he shall have time to do any mischief." One important thing for Stella was not to be bound too tight with Cabinet instructions. Then we could go out there & use our own discretion.

July 18.

Russia has fallen down again! Uncle, the morning after, takes the view that we can't now

go back on J.R.M.'s supplementary answer, wrong though it was. We should have all the Press at us, & the danger of 1924 over again. "Russia has been put in down once. We can't afford to let it happen twice." Russia, after all, is not the only pebble on the beach. Uncle has made his views prevail with J.R.M. He is certainly right, I feel, on second thoughts, though it is a heavy burden making fruitless efforts to recover ground which need never have been lost. Terribly like bad staff work in the war!

School Age to be raised on April 18, 1931. C.T. makes the announcement in the House this afternoon. This is a triumph for back bench pressure. The date is rather late. On educational grounds it is better to delay, but we delay also the effect on unemployment. It may be useful, however, if we lost three years or more, to have something in hand as a reducing factor. But, like other things, we have done it badly & undramatically & unwillingly, so far as the Cabinet is concerned.

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July 19.

I send out a Circular on Lubson & the Nation for general guidance, to all Depts.

I wonder if this has ever been done before! There will now be some 20 copies of this historic document in the F.O.

Lunch with Treitschke & Wertheimer at Carlton Club. I urge it to be Snowden & persuade him that, in hitting ^{at} France, he is really hitting Germany, & endangering the Evacuation & German finances.

July 23.

The Reparations Conference is becoming a sheer farce. We invite them all to London, it being very inconvenient for our new Ministers to go abroad. All accept except France, who suggests Lausanne or Lucerne. We press hard for London but without avail. We then offer, as alternatives, either The Hague or Brussels as being nearer home. But the Germans won't come to Brussels, nor the Belgians to the Hague, (unless, they add in a month, they

This arose, at my suggestion, on Uncle remaining. I don't believe any of these chaps have ever read any of our Public Conference documents. He had instructed me to keep them of P.F.'s, attaching a copy of me & see we kept in close with him

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can be assumed that the seat of the new International Bank is to be Brussels.) What a farce! And time is slipping by, and there are hints that the French will suggest the postponement of the League Assembly which meets in the first days of September. The French are deliberately wasting time, to postpone evacuation, & to embarrass us.

July 24.

A great day! (1) The Russians, contrary to my fears & contrary, indeed, to the general expectation, have accepted our invitation, though with some quibbling, & are sending Dvoglevsky, their Ambassador in Paris to talk to us. Paris is convenient, because it allows of working & going, rather than of a steady sitting in London which might become tiresome. This decision is brought to be a victory for Stalin. (2) Optional Clause. My draft of Article by Uncle for Cabinet Cttee is approved by him.

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only substantial reservation in the so-called "French
jokers" report of H.M.G. to refer any dispute to the
Council & to suspend proceedings before the Council
until Council is considering it. This blocks
out belligerent rights, British Monroe Doctrine
(reservation for unnamed regions, or for Egypt, etc.
specifically named), & all arbitration (compulsory
Cent. Panel & Hammer ^{of business reluctantly public line.} Hunt. This part
form is the own second line of defence. The
first is no reservation at all. Hunt has little
maintainable & for demonstration purposes. I tell
Hunt that the Sec's desire a minimum of this
reservation impossible. Hunt will be glad to be a
judge soon, & we to be rid of him.

(3) We staff a private ^{man} ~~man~~ on work under
Kells the House that Lloyd has resigned &
his resignation been accepted. Winstan & certain
Tony back benches howling with fury. Uncle
is quite splendid in standing up to them. He
squares his shoulders and answers a shower of

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angry supplementaries with slow deliberation. His
letter to Lord Lloyd was couched in such terms as
would have led most people to anticipate that
their resignation was expected; he will make
a statement, if desired, on Friday; the laying of
papers is a matter which needs careful consideration
in the public interest. Roars of cheers
from our delighted supporters!

(4) J.R.M.'s statement on Anglo-American Naval
negotiations. Well planned & good content. More
fury from Winstan, Guinness & others. More
cheers from our benches.

Our morale in the House today is the highest
since the first day of the session. A buzz of
triumph everywhere. "If only we could have
a day like this once a month, we should be
quite content," said one. One Tinker
began to react that they are out of office, & we
are taking & enacting decisions.

Winstan was half-drunk. He sneaked across

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Wm floor to me "you can't bully us." (we had been shouting "Oida" at Tories who tried to put supplementary questions when the speaker was on his feet.) I called back "Neither you nor I are speaker here."

July 25.

Debate in the Lords on Lloyd's resignation. Parameter much at sea. Orgies of alarm by Birkenhead. I finally persuade them to send a similar invitation to D to come on Monday. Long jaw on Russia. The Vnch preparing his speech for tomorrow on Egypt. 6-10.30 pm.

(He couldn't come today: Tynell wants authorization to send him a visa!)

Time with Mum? & Vnch at James's Club. Old man very slow but sane.

O.C. acceptance through Cabinet Cttee with French joker. Will very delightful.

July 26.

Lloyd debate on the Adjournment. An overwhelming Parliamentary triumph for the Govt. Uncle direct, frank & self-asserted. Disclosing

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all the clashes between Lloyd & Asquith, whom the Cabinet several times overruled in Lloyd's favour. Winston in a venible state. Rose without a Troy cheer. Attached to K.O. Got the worst gift in exchange with Uncle. Even began to lose the House. J.R.M. attacked him very effectively. Samuel supported us.

Tremendous elation in our Party. A strong faith to this first bit of the session. "If only the other Defts do as well as the F.O.", several say to me rather wisely ---

R in the speaker's gallery, but some supporters of the Govt amid a cloud of Lloydite ladies, the lady Lady Lloyd herself.

Uncle told me afterwards he hadn't slept last night, & is very tired. So am I, with few less cause.

Preside over an inter-depart Cttee on League Assembly work, & so go by an evening train to Rochester, following R who went down earlier. It is a heavy, encircled by us with a cushion

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1 golden memories, rammed by deep intertwining
sadness, - Helen & the war, - of ~~the~~ Her, for fear of
rean, I never speak.

July 27th & 28th.

Peace & rest at Lockridge.

July 29.

Dorogalevski arrives. In hour & a half alone with
Uncle. Apparently a good start.

Echoes go reverberating round the political
sky, still twinkling with Lloyd's fogging. Little
people have been running about ^{behind} the scenes. King
Knud has leaked the main heads of the draft
treaty. King George is in a fuss. The ~~four~~
kings have been running to the Palace, & so have
Lloyd's friends. Stamfordham is leaning to the
No. tomorrow. ~~the~~ J.K.M. writes a funny
letter about Mahmud: "a dreaming man", he
turns - about Sudan, hesitating about our
rean. Uncle says that, if he is to be pulled
about much more, he will suggest that J.K.M.

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should become Foreign Secretary himself, & be
done with it.

The O.C. isn't safe yet. We never seem to
reach an end. The Services are to come &
argue with Hurst. Their political heads'
assent to our formula is not treated as
conclusive.

July 30.

Hurst has dealt with the reluctant Service Dept,
over the D.C. The Air Ministry has feared & thought
we should lose the next war. But the dispatch
to the Doms, defending our proposed formula, has
gone this morning. At last! Only just over
a month before the Assembly meets.

More stew over Egypt. Stamfordham & J.K.M.
both in a terrible state over the Sudan.

King George very indignant, Sept 5, because not
Heft informed of great war being done at the F.O.
Has written "I protest" in the margin of some
of the Egyptian documents. The Sudan is a place in

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which he has always taken a very keen interest; it always takes him long he can't sit the Commission of Officers in the Sudanese Defenc Force; he has always insisted on a fair share of decorations going there; he always remembers the welcome the chiefs gave him at Port Sudan many years ago; he wants it to be a British colony; he has kicked the Egyptians out & we must let them come back; he has kicked Lord Lloyd very badly. J.M. also saying at the proposed Egyptian battalion in the Sudan. Uncle says to me, & the officials, that the Palace & the P.M. seem to be echoing one another, & that it's difficult to get such a combination. He will try to convince the P.M., who said to him that last night, however, that he didn't want to discuss the matter with Uncle, as he had seen Lindsay. That Lindsay's interview was very unsatisfactory. Uncle says to me (alone, I think) that, if it was only the Palace, he would be prepared to tackle it in another way, especially Wilson.

* It was he who had turned the Egyptians out in 1924. The P.M. has a die-hard streak, for Keesi said Selby once, with special reference to his point.

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can people." After all, we are a constitutional monarchy. The Kaiser has been expelled at the Palace, but what does it mean? ^{Woods is disagreeing with him behind his back.} Woods writes very appealing letter to me to let me ask to be given the succession to Lloyd! What an idea!

Anglo-American negotiations going well, — almost too well, Cecil thinks, & we may be getting such good results from our visit to U.S. that Hoover might be able to get an agreement through the Senate. Treaty of Versailles over again?

It is clear, by the way, that not only Lloyd & Winston, but Admirals & Generals, are in the habit of running to the Palace behind the backs of Ministers & this must be checked. One Siria Dept's ^{evidently} leak all over the floor when it suits them. It is sad to hear that the F.O. officials should be the objects of attack & abuse now, & that on Egypt they should be to the left of J.R.M!

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July 31.

J.M. rather easy, in view of Sir J. Maffey's excellent letter on the Sudan.

Dorjolevski calls, late at night, on Uncle & hands him a note recalling him to Paris.

Aug 1.

Two Cabinet items on Egypt - Uncle, Shaw, Parnfield, Thomson - with myself, M. Patrick & a Cabinet Secretary Chap.

Finally decided, after much pushing by Patrick & me, that Uncle sh'd see Mahmud on Saturday & give him our proposals. The Egyptⁿ Beltation in the Sudan is to go into a Note, & to be moved in when British troops leave Cairo, provided things have worked well in the interval.

Uncle lacks a sense of the time factor.

(P.S. to Lloyd debate in the House. Uncle was greeted by his colleagues in the Cabinet, immediately after his speech, with "Well the Congressing here comes!" J.M. at head of table sat silent. "He has never thanked me for anything I have done

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was sized twenty years," says Uncle to me.)

A typist, who came down from K.O. post to the House the same day, & found me sitting in Uncle's chair to dictate to her "Minute by Sir S of S," brought I say Sir S of S, & that Phil was me! Hence a document which went astray, & a good tale for the Office.

To the Stamfordham & the rest, Lindsay says "It is not the work which wears one out; it is the trouble bees!"

August 2.

Dine at Uncle's, to interpret for Vandervalden. V is an old satyr, terribly deaf, & very suspicious about the Katanga radium mines, much aware to international engineering. Pro argues for Brussels as seat of new International Bank.

Aug 3-5.

At Lockside. Greenwood down for week end. A.G. terribly tired, but revives. Will be a first class Minister of Health. Full of plans and ideas. If we have time to turn round, say three years, we shall, I think, do substantial things. And

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We shall hold the Libach, for a long while, 14th, on the string of electoral reform enquiry!

J.H.T. & the Boardfield are weak spots. I fancy that in the autumn there will have to be a better machine set up for dealing with unemployment.

Aug 7.

We splash our Egyptian proposals in the Press today after careful preparation by the Press Dept. I interview C.M. Lloyd, H. Wignat & E. Hunter myself in order to get a good week end barrage. In the whole, favourable reception.

M. Ghid has an apitahed interview with me. Suggests that the Wafd must attack the Treaty, in order to defeat Mahmud. Wants a "neutral committee" to conduct the elections. I deliver a piece and a moral appeal!

Lindsay, I find, is inclined to favour a coalition Ministry under Adly, containing Mahmud & a Wafdist both without portfolio. But the time for him is not yet, he writes.

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Uncle is at the Hague. Private letter to me from J.M. setting out a reasonable version of our requirements on Russian propaganda and debts. This he wants conveyed discreetly to some of our Russophiles. I select Green & White for this purpose. Aug 9.

Speak at Welwyn I.L.P. Summer School. Motored down by Bob Fross, & back next morning.

I thought my speech, which is widely reported, ~~the~~ being supplied in advance to the Press Association by the News Dept, was highly statesmanlike. But two of my references to Egypt, (a) that Uncle had made it a condition that the Egypt-Parliament, destroyed in the days of Lloyd, was to be restored, & (b) that "there was, moreover, to be no change in the electoral law", created a venible stew. Mahmud said he had been "let down" & threatened to resign. He was pacified by Lindsay at the Egyptian Dept, I being at Lockeridge. One I.L.P. liked my speech. Only Ken Turner

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1. of the Minister, had accepted their invitation to the School.

Aug 10-19.

At Lockeridge. Peace & some sun, but a F.O. punch with my breakfast each morning to remind me that I'm not really on holiday. Mechanized evenings with wireless & gramophone.

Nightly news of Sweden. Cripple psychology. Waving his cut-throat round & round his head, & yelling insults at foreigners, amid rapturous applause from all the worst elements in England. Like a man with £8000 a year turning his whole upside down for the sake of £2.10.0, as *Trailford* says. Swollen headed & fanatical he begins even to talk of his duty to restore England to her rightful place in international affairs, & of our "prestige" & even our "supremacy". Poor, pale, historical pacifist!

Petice, the perfect guest for two nights. Very interested & intelligent in all that concerns us.

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Lord Lloyd in Embassy, ^{Amfarratt had told me,} ~~the Sept~~, used to sit down when the National Anthem was being played & expect everyone to back out of his place, & always come 20 minutes ^{late} to dinner parties etc, everyone having to stand measure, & some ladies fainting in the hot night air.

Lionel Robbins comes over for a Sunday, & we have a good jaw about the School. He says we are the most popular part since the war, chiefly due to the P.M.'s flying about in Service aeroplanes, & Sweden standing up to her foreigners.

Aug 17. (Sat)

There trouble with O.C. Bruce of Australia says, two strong Velepman, calling for delay & more personal consultation. Lindsay has suggested to P.M. (not to Uncle!) that this is a very serious matter & that Cabinet Sub Cttee on Optional Clause should be reassembled. He suggests that we ought to

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came in the house, & merely had Uncle a copy of all this. Bad! The Hague is not much further from Lussiermont. That his habit of running to the P.M. behind Uncle's back has been manifested before.

The King has protested against the reception of a Soviet Ambassador in his country. Lantzen has told Stamfordham that he is very much embarrassed by HM's expression of opinion, & that he does not propose to reply to Stamfordham's letter. This tittle from Jett!

Tennis & then with S. Waterhouse. O so pompous! We are sending him to Sofia.

Wise appeared on Aug 12th & spent the night. He brought a memorandum which he wished us to sign & deliver to him to show the Russians our representative views. This arose out of the P.M.'s letter to me. I had a wire from P.M. in the office on Wednesday Sat. saying "Wise give nothing writing, but suggesting being along with

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a statement might be made. Wise finally took him away with him to the Hague, but Uncle refused to sanction even this.

Waterhouse, who was in London last week, had a good story about P.M.'s wire to Snowden at the Hague backing up his stand. M. Norman & Lament had been to see P.M. & told him that effects, in spite of international friends, of breakdown at the Hague would be grave. P.M. ∴ sent Pilegrom in clear to Treasury telling Snowden to ease up. & instructing Treasury to send him in code to the Hague. The Pilegrom arrived at the Treasury on Saturday afternoon. Everyone had gone, except a second division clerk who, wishing to show initiative, telephoned the Pilegrom in plain English to the Hague. Everyone, of course, had listened in, & knew what it contained. P.S. ∴ wired back to P.M. that we were all in the soup & that P.M. must now send another Pilegrom for publication, backing him up. P.M. caved in & did!

Aug 19.

Back in office. N.Z. are also being speculators about the pace at which our foreign policy is marching.

Aug 20.

P.M. has called in again! Cabinet Sat Chce to be summoned. He needs it, he thinks, he thinks. (And Uncle won't be there, I fear, though I write privately asking him, if at all possible, to come over, & saying I disapprove of Lindsay's

methods of approaching P.M. direct with recommendations, which he thinks is contrary to S & S's point of view).

Lindsay, when I say it is unfortunate that S & S won't be there, remarks, "O, of course, we know his point of view. He wants to sign anything. But one simply can't take that line in a ^{situation} like this. It's much too big a question for any one Dept."

I am very angry at all this, but open feelings would do no good.

Cecil is furious. He writes minutes & letters

to P.M. & Uncle urging signature all the same, & complaining that we are getting to a state of Liberal Veto in the British Empire's foreign policy. Hence, he thinks, doesn't want to sign at all & ~~he~~ hopes that, if he ^{can} put it off for a year, we might catch the Tories back again.

Note on Washington Embassy. Lindsay says that, if Tories had stayed in, Gustave Mackay or S. Hoare would have succeeded Esme Howard.

Aug 21-22.

Stewing round over D.C. ~~From~~ Sat Chce of Cabinet on Friday afternoon. Parkinson, well primed up by Will, says that ^{he} may even resign if we give way over D.C. There is something rather dignified in his attitude. "I am an old man, with very little time left now, but I was hopeful that we could do something quickly on behalf of Peace. If not, I can be of no further use to the Govt." I say to him that it is hard to find him so strong, when others are so weak. He is evidently

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pleased. Uncle sends a good wire for Australia
 & a good covering memo. The wire must not
 be delayed till Friday meeting. Damn Lindsay!
 if Alaska had been at his Hague & Baldwin in
 Washington, would he have acted similarly?

Nothing but obstruction have we encountered, except
 on the one question of Egypt, - obstructing
 our officials, & our legal advisers, & our
 Dept, & the Poms! Red tape ^{would just} ~~is~~ ^{is}
 legs. No movement anywhere along the
 front. And we may soon be bombed out of
 our offices, & driven back into impotent
 opposition. - - - - -

Suggestion that everything
 Dept & every Dept should be consulted before
 anything is finally agreed to be said even at
 Geneva. Master Strong at me about this. I
 refuse more delay. No finality anywhere,
 (except that Uncle seems to be going to move
 our troops out of the Rhineland by Clemenceau.)

I mistake will, quite unpolitely, to make

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contracts with the Irish, & stimulate them to declare
 that the I.F.S. will give the D.C. anyhow. (A
 certain White front held today on this account.)
 That would limit the United Empire doing nothing
 in particular. Cecil says we shall, if we admit
 the right of veto of our own, have a woman
 committed to the U.S. Senate. More like the
 Polish Liberman veto.

Last night (21st), dined with Bob Francis's parents
 & told them my views on his possibilities in
 British public life. They were very willing
 he should do British Lab politics, if he
 desired it, & very appreciative of my interest
 in him. Good parents to have!

Dine tonight (22nd) with Lindsay, tête-à-tête,
 at 222 Strand, at 52 Eaton Sq. A
 maid-servant; a simple meal; everything
 diplomatically adjusted to ~~the~~ ^{the} suit an
 American Luban Under Secretary. I have
 an easy manner, which does not ^{show} ~~conceal~~

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a certain quality of sleep without depth. We speak
 of foreign lands, & the Army after war, & personalities.
 The Happe fills us both with pleasure. P.S., he says,
 has created a real war mentality in his country.
 I quote A.G. ^{He says, before the war began,} ~~that~~ P.S. has had no
 experience of negotiation all through his life. He
 says his is shown by his failure to divide the
 French from the Italians. One he is sure done
 by ~~not~~ sticking to his claim to 5% percentage.
 But weakening on ratio of land to uncond^{ed} currency.
 One two sections of the delegⁿ, to hear, hardly ^{even see} ~~meet~~
 each other.

Aug 23.

official claim text of cabinet: Sankley, Pansfield,
 Pannear, Alexandra, Kern. I report to. Decided
 to adhere to formula previously laid down, to send
 Uncle's telegram to Australia. (Very good, & only slight
 amended); Similarly to N.Z. & I.F.S. (L.S. send an
 unhelpful message all about water - Imperial
 disputes); to scratch to J. L. Deen representative for

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Tuesday, at the League matter in House of H.M. & Foreign
 Sec^y to pursue at Geneva, with suggestion that
 reduction in length of period might be considered
 if you would win assent. Not a bad result.

I am informed by poor old Pansfield reading
 certain P.O. view. Lind says minute to P.M. morning
 in view that unity of Empire is more important
 than signature of O.C. It is difficult, in absence
 of Valle, to make a protest against Lind's
 report with P.M. But it is a bad, distorted
 business. Cecil lunch with Sankley, even is good.

Alexandra again raises belligerent rights, but
 hasn't got his heart in it.

Aug 24 - 26.

Lockridge. Our last week end there. It has
 been a great success, especially for R. She
 did walk 22 miles on Sat, (24) to Maitland
 for week end. I play tennis & then with
 Walsley on Sunday.

Aug 26. I am 42! Many happy returns

on a Minister of the Crown! We've never said that before.

Aug 27.

A long detailed day on the eve of going to Geneva. D.C. Cabinet sat till at noon at the 10. P.M. in Chair, Phipps, Palmer, Cecil, Bevan, Henderson & a number of others including Mason and Harrison Moore of Australia, Pass & N.Z., Lewis of S.A., Scully of Ireland. All goes really well. P.M. doesn't play his cards too soon. A d.N.Z. say they're bound by instructions & can't sign without fuller consult.

After some words P.M. says "Well, we're all agreed on signing. We only differ on reserve". This is new light to A d.N.Z., & Phipps is inclined to protest.

But so we end it. Consultation to go on at Geneva, & all to sign before the end. P.M. is at his best when just back from Lugger's & Brittain for much time to waste.

Later hear that Australia thinks she may be a candidate in succession - Canada next. Alexander says we go in for "wider dressing" & can't go to Persia, says we go in for "wider dressing" & can't go to Persia. This, I believe, is Admirals' jargon.

year, but few with canvas in 1929. I agree to speak to Dandourand about this. It will help me with Australians & help to educate them in League & international questions.

The Hague, - what a shameful misnomer of a Conference! - has gone on & on. It is still on tonight. Tomorrow we go to Geneva. R d l & Hunt & Selby called for order Arrow! Seen off at various stops by Home Office, Customs, Embassies etc.

What a spectacle at Geneva if Sweden have marched the Hague! Kneel in the streets of Paris?

(There was, however, a settlement at Geneva. Described in another diary, was a wonderful experience. P.C. was signed on Sept 15th.)

Back in England after four full weeks.

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Sept 27th - Oct 4th

At Brighton for Annual Conference. Incriminated by a cold. Outstanding event of the conference is Uncle's speech on the Wednesday, Oct 2nd. A plain survey of all that has been done, - Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, Evacuation of Munich, Geneva, Russia. (His meeting with Drogalevski at Geneva the day before just closed in perfectly.) At the end an ovation such as I had never heard before at a Party conference. Not carried away by rhetoric or self-stuff, but conscious of honest big achievement all along the line. Applause, quiet at first, but rising to steadily to crescendo till everyone was on their feet, - the applause of appreciation of straightforward policy and straightforward character. He had been squinting for days, & had been dealing also with all the small change of the conference, just as if he still ^{was} simple the Secretary of the Party. Pearson the day before, & Snowden the day after, were mutually party comparison.

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Few changes in the Nat'l Executive. Krumm was the winner, (reduced from 800,000 to 400,000 in 7 years), would vote against all members of the Govt, Krumm not to be re-elected. I was re-elected with a better vote, & higher, than ever before. Travels & stays didn't stand. That Mosley was defeated, & so too was Ellen. In sum list is the voting was

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Lansbury. | 2,016,000 |
| H. Morrison. | 1,693,000 |
| Dalton | 1,575,000 |
| Morgan Jones. | 1,121,000 |
| Dallas | 935,000 |
| Mosley. | 928,000 |
| C. Drake | 909,000 |

At least fifteen stars with less than 500,000 key vote was, no doubt, partly due to solid satisfaction at the work of the F.O.

Oct 5th - 10th.

At Aldbourne. sleeping & walking.

Oct 11th

A rush to Kithof Auckland & back. Leave Kings X 10; arrive B.A. 3.38; motor with Hull to Dean Hall; receive deputation of members 4; Conference on relief with Urban District Council 4.15; similar conference with Kernal District Council 5.30; Tea with Mrs Bull 6.45; motor to Dean Hall; receive deputation from British Legion 7.30; Lecture with C. Curry in Chair 7.45 - 9.15 on "Impressions of an Eye Witness at Geneva," jointly of L.N.U., Wesley Guild & Historical Dramatic Society; talk to constituents after meeting; supper with Mrs Moore 9.45, & conversation with Parry, Thomas, Hodgson & Park; catch train for B.A. Station 11.25. Arrive Kings X.

Oct 12th

5.15 AM!

--- Oct 12th - 28th a lull before the meeting of Parliament. Greenwood's Widows Pension Bill is the first legislation shot on the Home Front. Had a good one to be going on with! Had accounts of the coal negotiations. Thomas & the Bondfield one not good enough!

Cabinet Ctee. B. Turner is a Washout. Only Graham inspires any confidence. On the other hand the few officials in M.F.S. are familiar faces! H. Smith is said to have told B. Turner "to go back to your spiders, & talk of what you know summer about!" On international conference on hours etc next June may contribute something, & a return to pre-1926 hours must clearly come in two stages, & without reduction of earnings, if grave trouble is to be avoided.

Oct 17th.

Dine at Carlton with Dalantz (dull dog!), Jositt & Melville, McFillohan, Costelloe & 2 I.F.S. Civil Servants. Important to keep in touch with the Irish, on Empire foreign group. I remember that important afternoon in the summer, evening with W.A.F. because we had no personal contacts with Dublin. Now now I can write private letters to McFillohan, if the need arises again. Jositt is the perfect gentleman, Melville surprisingly quick & b.g.

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Oct 18th-20th. Kildonan. Very successful & restful.

Oct 21st. L.R. to Dine. He has made a very good start this year, as I knew he would. Professor at 31, (H. Jan, I think was Prof at 26), he has a ~~good~~ long run home. Success is the great stimulant.

Oct 22nd. A row in the Cabinet over the bondfield's unemployment insurance bill. Uncle has pushed her to ward the left, saying it is common sense that N.G.S.W. must go. There is a grimly gathering storm in the Party about this.

I meet King Albert, First Lord of the Admiralty, in Whitehall. The Admiralty, I fear, have got a firm grip on him. They talk unemployment, whenever he talks of reduced estimates. He is horrified by his prospect. He has been to sea with the battle fleet, & believes that there is a new gun which will shoot down aeroplanes from the sky. "I could fire it myself," he says, "I write my name in the sky in letters of smoke. No aeroplane could live under such fire." He denounces the Air Force. They are very dangerous. They have the

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ear of the Cabinet, of every Cabinet. They undertake to do all the work of the Navy & the Army, & do it on the cheap, but they can't deliver the goods. We, with all our commitments, can't afford to give a leader in disarmament. Etc. Departmental loyalty is easily given, I know that. But O my poor cooperator! I interview the new boss at the F.O. This has never been done before. They seem a good bunch. Oct 23rd. National Executive all morning & half afternoon. Uncle is not looking very fit yet, & has heavy days ahead of him. I am not very happy about this. Phil, on the other hand, ^{seems} very well rested.

H. Nicholson comes to see me. I like him, & think well of his brains. Full of constructive ideas. His manner in law has behaved so badly that he is leaving the service & writing for the heaven book. But we must use him, one way or another. He would like to come into politics on our side. I doubt whether this is the best use that can be made of him. But we shall see.

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Oct 24th. O.C. Bloody Admirals still blocking! Maxanda is simply a towed barge. Now he wants the C.I.D. to curtail, before ratification, the last clause of our formula, limiting power of Council to send matters back for Court for 12 months. Fleet of the Admiralty has also written to Matkin suggesting (not quite innocently, (haz)) that we should introduce a Bill to establish Int'l Court as final court of appeal from our Prize Courts in time of war.

Oct 25th. W.A.F. shows me some papers which ^{illustrate} the practices of the Service Dept. The Chiefs of Staff Subcttee is in the habit of meeting, without the Service Ministers, & issuing pronouncements. Recently they met & took a strong line against any statement on freedom of seas by J.K.M. uttered in their joint declaration after the Rapidan Conference. The telegram of the C.S. Subcttee was sent by Hankay, who backed it up, to J.K.M. through Snowden, acting P.M. One proposed reference

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was accordingly deleted!

In the evening to Cambridge. Addressed last meeting of C.V. Lat. Cont. Slept in King's as Jordan's guest. He very much rejuvenated, & ^{very} cheerful at our foreign doings.

Oct 26th. At Cambridge. Lunch with young men of C.V.L.C., talk to Dennis Robertson, make the acquaintance of Geoffrey Lloyd, an intelligent & pleasant young Tory adventurer, now one of Baldwin's P.S.'s. He doesn't know much of the F.O. staff. ^{on diplomatic matters, he has} ~~only~~ ^{one} contact with people who matter abroad. E.g. in U.S. they only know Washington & Florida. When our first came in, there was great consternation in parts of the Civil Service, & at the Admiralty, when the order was issued that Cabinet boxes were only to be opened by Cabinet Ministers. Tea with Rackham. Dine at Emmanuel. Talk to E.C.V.L.P. in Wood's room afterwards, & sit up with Branthwaite in King's till 1.15 am.

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Oct 27th.

Catch 9.5 train for London. Cambridge always lefts my heart. - - -

Alex & Gillies call in the evening. A very pessimistic & alarmist about Austria. Brings an uncompromising document from Bauer. Wants us to intervene, either on ^{grounds of} disarmament or League loan. Fear a coup d'état & civil war, with possible intervention by Italy, Hungary, Czechos. Near work.

Rec'd a private letter a few days ago, stressing dangers, ^{admitting} difficulty of intervention in Austrian internal affairs. I replied in private paper review, telling him of Uncle's letter to Stresemann & saying that we were watching situation, but realized difficulty of doing anything effective. I told A that I would put all this up to Uncle when he returns on Tuesday. It was difficult for us to take initiative. Why didn't Benes send his minister in London to talk to Uncle? Best solution would be a peaceful compromise between Austrian part & Socialists. We

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must do nothing to stiffen Socialists against us.

Oct 28th.

Sargent (Central Dept) still optimistic about Austria.

Oct 29th.

Paul meets. Spirit of our men seems good.

Oct 30th.

Met Alexander at lunch with Wells at L.S.S. He is cheerful, very pleased with himself & his job, ^{not} ~~and~~ very clever at putting in Admiralty case. I speak to him about a recent intercept, which I have been sitting on for a day or two. The Japanese Naval Attaché reported to his Admiralty at Tokyo that he had a conversation with one of our Naval Officers. (Head of Far Eastern section of Intelligence), who said that "a certain politician" had ~~assured~~ told him that the Liberals would support a vote of no confidence in Haig, owing to their having negotiated with Doygelski. One result would be the defeat of the Govt & a dissolution. Whatever Govt was formed

after the election, it was clear that "there would be a certain change in the situation as regard naval disarmament." Intercepts ~~have~~ ^{have} been ~~found~~ ^{found} in unexpected places! This ^{British} Naval Officer was certainly very indiscreet, almost certainly very ill informed, possibly somewhat disloyal to H.M.G.'s policy & willing to encourage the Japs not to take it very seriously. I told King Albert I would send him a note about this. A word from him, I said, might prevent a repetition of such incidents. He said he would gladly look into it. I consequently sent him ^{last evening} a "personal & secret" letter, giving him reference numbers, etc.

^{on the} intercept itself I wrote a minute ^{drawing attention to} on the indiscretion of this Naval Officer, & giving it on my opinion that in a few days it would be found that his estimate of the Paul's situation was utterly worthless. I added that the fact that such a conversation should have taken place at all was very unpleasant, but I had written privately to

the First Lord suggesting an admonition, & that we should ^{watch} for similar incidents in the future.

~~And~~ ^{the} letter to King Albert having been written, Jett appeared to say ^{in effect} that Voland suggested that I should hold it up until Lindsay had had an opportunity of seeing me about it!! Lindsay, just back from leave, was at the Home with Uncle. Voland had merely read my minute. I told Jett to send the letter off at once. Later in the evening, to cover my tracks, I mentioned to Uncle that I had spoken to ~~the~~ King Albert at lunch & had written to him this evening.

Uncle is taken up with fights in the Cabinet to get the damned fellows to move in internal affairs. Industrial Transfers, etc, etc. He takes him much more from the office. He has also T.P. Home on his hands. "The only damned man of them who's any good," says Row Johnston.

Spoke at Halkey of Harbat Morrison - a damned able chap, I think he may be a future P.M.

Oct 31st

Party meeting. M. Bondfield on her defence. Left at noon, with discussion in full swing "because she" had to see Parliamentary draftsman. Discussion adjourned and General Disenthrall disintegration. She is very nice! She would have Mr P.D. to come & see her at any hour that suited her. It's a good Party, with a sense of drive. If it's well handled, it'll do great things. P.S. makes a "powerful appeal" for largely a year work. If just defeated by vote of its own supporters, it will resign. They must resist temptation to support specious "widening" amendments by Liberals & Tories.

A.P. wants to be Ambassador to Moscow. He springs this on me today. Already dead! He has left it much too late. It is practically decided now that it is to be a diplomatist. The thing is very uncomfortable. I said that I had thought of him long ago as an excellent candidate, but had supposed that his wife's health would be an insuperable bar. He said "No. She & I have had

it all out together." He hates his present job. He thinks he is specially qualified for Moscow, but Mr P.D. couldn't object to him & that with some view Party & the Bolshevs would warmly approve his appointment. He would like me to speak to Uncle. He is going to blow his own trumpet now, he adds rather pathetically. He is kind of keeping quiet and being treated like dirt. He is going to speak to J.R.M. & others.

Uncle, to whom I speak later, has no use for the idea at all. His mind is incessantly set on a diplomat & a Russian speaker. The office, on his assumption that it is to be a diplomat, put up Sir G. Clerk, Sir E. Phiffer & Sir E. Ovey, first in his order. But Ovey's Russian is good, Clerk's very rusty, & Phiffer nil. So Uncle leans heavily toward Ovey, Lindsay somewhat toward Clerk. Uncle will take a Calomiel ^{decision} on his brand of diplomat or outside.

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I have a word with Lindsay on the intercept. He is quite friendly, but says that "nothing happens at the F.O. for the first time." They have had similar incidents before. There is always an indignant denial of authenticity, followed by an awkward period of paralysis, during which no one dares to say anything to anyone. "One Man's Meat" on several occasions took up such a job, & began telegraphing protests all over the world. But nothing ever happened. "Dolce far niente" as usual! ^(of course, his sailors denied to King Albert on his occasion)

Similarly with Austria. Lindsay, Sargent & the others are very reluctant that we should do anything, very unaware of any British interest being involved, very optimistic that nothing much will happen in Austria. But we have some questions put down for Parliament next Monday, & at Selby's suggestion, I ask Rumbold at Berlin to sound the Germans as to their expectations, & their willingness to join in any démarche at Vienna.

Nov 1st. Welcome J.R.M. home at Euston. He looks very

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fit & happy. He has made for himself an eternal niche in the Republic's history. Our American Dept at the F.O. contains some pessimists, notably Thompson. But the immediate prospects seem good.

Pass A.P. see Uncle, but gets nothing out of it, & is very unhappy at his stupid reception. Uncle tells me that he said he recalled a Prussian speaking diplomat, but that, if the Cabinet turn down his idea, he will submit A.P.'s name along with the large number of others which have already been brought to his notice.

He adds to me, that J.R.M. brought so much of A.P. but "he ~~was~~ nearly left him out altogether", ^{later} as he was making up his list. ~~He~~ This afternoon the Cabinet, at J.R.M.'s strong suggestion, decided that this was an F.O. matter.

Nov 3rd. Sunday in the Home! Preparing for Russian debate on Tuesday.

Nov 4th. Events march. Uncle sees J.R.M. Remit

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John + Uncle "Casper" +
Uncle "Icky"

Over to Moscow; heading to Washington; Van Sittant to be head of the office. Probably also myself to be on the Council meeting in January, as Uncle will be at the Persa Conf. I don't know Van Sittant; he must be about running to J.P.M. behind Uncle's back, as heading to D. on the O.C. & Lorraine. Phil, however, says he's weak & pleasant & helpful.

J.H.T. makes a most useful speech on unemployment. How much longer is he to go on uncontrolled?

King Albert joins Uncle & me on our walk home down Victoria St. Still at the O.C. He says that his legal advisor, - the Procurator General - ~~is not~~ not the sea lords his time he explains - wants to clean up questions of procedure under the V.C. in regard Prize Law. He suggests a conference with F.O. officials. Evidently his is more obstruction. Uncle says "You people never will be satisfied. I believe they're feeding the other side." (There had been two questions in the last day or two on Prize Law) Was it to be suggested that we should hold up ratification,

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or reopen correspondence with the Dominions on a new formula, & make ourselves the laughing stock of the world. "You people never will understand. They can't think of the Kellogg Pact as anything but a scrap of paper, or imagine anything but a lot of ships, & big guns, & millions of money to be spent on them. The sooner you put your President those people, the better." King Albert again struck me as weak in argument, & lacking in real conviction. Unsatisfactory, but not dangerous, I think.

Nov 5th.

Russian debate in the House. Thought we were pretty sure of liberal support & a good majority, but Uncle & I were feeling for the last few days that we should be glad to get this over. It turns out to be very easy money. Uncle makes another strong, solid speech, much approved by our people. He says, *inter alia*, that he told Dougalovski very clearly that we interpreted their pledge on

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propaganda to cover the Third International, 2/21 last Hqs.
 "would not recommend Platt to pledge the credit of the
 British Treasury to any loan raised by the Soviet
 Govt." For this (2) I am responsible. I passed it
 on thru several days before, partly - I knew the
 Nation, & probably many Liberals, attached importance
 to it, & if we didn't make our position clear, might
 be embarrassed ~~in the House~~ in the House, but partly, & even more,
 because, in my view, this was the cardinal error
 we made in 1924. Such a guaranteed loan is quite
 indefensible finance. Uncle spoke to the P.M.
 about it, & both agreed ^{with} it should be refused in
 advance. ~~It~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~following~~ ~~was~~ The Tory
 leader, Baldwin & Austen, were both very
 half hearted in opposition. ~~It~~ backed us all
 the way, & made no criticisms. Indeed he ended
 by wishing "God speed to the Foreign Secretary."
 Phil made a perfect maiden speech, well proportioned
 well planned, (sometimes an echo of Pigeon in his speech),
 well planned, well argued, ably a touch of emotion at the

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end. I wound up at 10.30 following Austen. The
 House was very full. I got an excellent reception,
 & good backing all through. (Our people backed
 up very well in this House, - a great contrast to
 the last Parliament, when they used to sit like
 grave-stones behind the Front Bench.) My
 speech was a B. I picked up too many interruptions
 from the other side, even unimportant ones from
 unimportant people. The Tories were, indeed, flushed
 with wine & noisy in this last half hour. I made
 a provocative fighting speech, a counter-offensive.
 But our people were delighted with it. I had
 a wonderful cheer at the end, though some Tories
 who had intended to vote with us wouldn't, & the
 my speech, ^(I think did, however.) & some Liberals. I heard, however, &
 were annoyed, though I didn't attack them. I
 had many individual ^{including one from Snowden.} ~~congratulations,~~ ^{congratulations,} & this was my
 first wind up for the Government in an important
 debate.

Uncle had some difficulty with the King about the

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Soviet Ambassador. The King couldn't shake hands with one of the gang who had murdered his poor dear cousin the Tsar. (He didn't find it unparliamentary to greet the German Ambassador 3 years ago!) However, the Prince of Wales would be a suitable substitute. We have to try to keep the appointments of Ovey, Lindsay & Vansittart out of the press until the King can announce them officially. We have to ask the agreement of Washington & Moscow, & there will be leaks from the other end, if not from here. Let him ^{answer certainly} return on ^{uncle, recalling to scene at Sandringham, said "I got here. Let him return on" and then I said, "Well, for Nov 6th. Majesty, that's the Cabinet decision."}

Studying Austrian repercussions of Uncle's answer of last Monday (Nov 4th) ~~ex~~ Saluting, I think. Pliffs seems to be in constant touch with the Austrian Socialists now. Sargent's private letter to the Pliffs, indicating my astonishment at the Komptel's lack of contact with Socialists, may have done good.

I meant a class of "No Distribution" Telegrams, as we have telegrams been withheld from me. This includes both trivial & rather important communications.

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e.g. reports from Tynell & Kumbard on the possible attitude of the French & German Governments towards a dénouement at Vienna. I feel just to arrange that all the Telegrams come to me in future; if there is any objection he is to tell the officials concerned that I shall go straight to the S of S and secure confidentiality. This is agreed to, though it is explained that this has never been done for my predecessor!

King Albert tells me that he has looked into the question of the intercept. Denville assures him that there is no truth whatever in the alleged conversation of his intelligence officer with the Japanese N.A. They have found the latter's message before. I thank King A for receiving my letter in such a friendly spirit, & add that it will no doubt be useful to the Admiralty to have this additional evidence of the unreliability of the J.N.A. It will also, I think, though I don't say so, be a warning to the Admiralty to baffle their tongues.

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Nov 8th.

Ask Ovey to see me. I think he should do well in Moscow. He is keen & has a sense of humor. He does not take "propaganda" seriously. He suggests that we might give special passports, marked "propaganda" to many Russians in case to come to England, & insure them police protection & all facilities. He is anxious to get in touch with as many leading people in Moscow as he can, "even if they don't come to put on evening dress" when they come to the Embassy. He doesn't want anyone ~~but~~ on his staff who will abuse the Bolsheviks "if he has had a couple of glasses of port after dinner." He would like to do his share of negotiations on debts & claims at the Moscow end.

Vansittart also calls, to make my acquaintance. Begins with Eben & Canon D. Then to business. My first impressions are favorable. Relations will undoubtedly be easier than with Lindsay. He is younger, has easier manner & is much more adaptable, & with few prejudices. His views on appointments are

much more in line with mine. He is all for passing over dues, & wants to bring in Communist people occasionally on their merits & in order to encourage consuls etc. I tell him that I don't like the block of names sticking among the Under Secretaries, - Welleley has been 23 years continuously in the office, Oliphant 18 and Mowbray 10. This block, e.g., Selby's promotion to Under-Secretary. I think one at least of the time should go to S. America, where his and Wrenner's times are both vacant now. The fact that Vansittart has no wife will be a great help to personal intercourse. Also the fact that he is on friendly terms with Phil.

In the afternoon an appointments tree. I ask him point blank whether one or other of the Under-Secretaries wouldn't like to go to Rio or B.A. They all make excuse, & say they haven't the private means required for B.A. (This is absurd. We ought to adjust the frais de representation.) Then Welleley hurriedly proposes Watkinson for Rio, & the others all

casualty support his idea. They know that I have backed
 Waterhouse & think I can't resist him. It is agreed
 that Waterhouse shall have the offer. I head off the
 proposal of Maclean for V.A. V had told me this
 morning that he was against him, & thought little of
 Maclean, of whom ^{at home} Kemic Smith had reported rather
 unfavorably. Oveij's Councillor comes up. Osborne,
 now at Lisbon, is suggested, but Selby sends back to me
 his telegram of acceptance, in which he says "I detest
 Bolshevik principles & practice so much that the idea of
 going to Moscow is sometimes like a nightmare. None the
 less . . . I say abruptly that, in view of his ~~own~~ if the
 Ctee were to recommend him to the S. I should have
 to recommend the other way. We do not require that
 our people at Moscow should be pro-Bolshevik, but at least
 they should be objective. Lindsay says, rather feebly,
 that his telegram shows that Osborne is objective!
 That they don't pass him. O'Malley & Ashton-Jatkin
 are the next on the list, & I don't offer either of
 them. (Laka O'Malley cries off.)

Nov 11. Bolskies being helpful! Masha & Izvostia say they
 can't contact third international. They propose to send us
 Kemer, whom they called for Kopyayeva & for selling jewels

↳ Gatsidik words D.H! 1929.
 Laka Sokolnikoff substituted (Nov 13/29)
 Nov 12 Vnuk & I to lunch at American Legation. Sostojing spent
 Nov 19. ^{passed over us!} Nov 13th Tach with T.J. over Retiring Pension.
 still very unlikely to be adopted.

An amazing proposal is made to me by the P.M. Will I
 go to the House of Lords, while retaining my present
 office? He has inadvertently violated the Acts of
 Parliament governing the matter by having seven
 Under Secretaries of State in the Commons, whereas the
 law only allows six! A Bill of Indemnity will
 in any case be required. We are liable, (or some
 one of us, and guess which one) to a fine of
 £500 for each day we have sat & voted in the
 Parliament. This will tot up to about £19,000
 each, or for the undetermined ~~seventh~~.

My initial reply is emphatically no, but I agree
 to think it over, & give a final answer tomorrow,
 only speaking to Vnuk & R.

To Vnuk I say that the whole thing is
 repulsive, on democratic grounds & on the ground that
 I should lose touch with & influence with the Party.
 Also impossible on financial grounds, for, apart from
 increased cost of living with a 10% wage would involve,

I should lose my Parliamentary salary when we go out of office, & it would be a trifling gratuity for a Peer to return to the teaching of economics. Uncle advises me to base my refusal on financial grounds alone. R is clearly for refusal, but indeed am I, though I try to make her hear his arguments on the other side, - freedom from continuing labours, more time for P.O. & general work, more time together for the two of us.

Nov 20th.

I see P.M. & refuse the Peerage on financial grounds, using no other arguments. He accepts this at once, saying "I did not know how you were situated."

There was a terrific row in the Cabinet between Uncle & P.S. over the liquidation of German ex-enemy property, & P.S.'s harsh note to the German Ambassador, which got into the Press & has roused a storm in Germany. Uncle says that

P.S.'s reference to the P.O. & the Phil were "absolutely scandalous". P.S. wanted to refuse to let the House accept Young Plan, unless Germany

Balfour's. Gairie tells me the Admiralty want and intend to withdraw claim to surplus on liquidation & proposed to compensate her own nationals.

to begin building again, though smaller & cheaper than before 1936. He thinks that may just give up his idea if pressed in the 5 Years Conference.

They meant yet prepared to scrap the battlefleet, in whole or part. Our supporters are rather sleepy about this, except Balfour.

Nov 22nd ^{Nov 21st} ^{Had a} ^{dine at Vauxhall} ^{house.} ^{He has} ^{good} ^{park,} ^{but is} ^{almost} ^{too} ^{small} [&] ^{pleasant!}

Dine with Pilgrim in house of Kellogg. He draws his title of Navens Nellie. He & Cecil both speak, very badly, though the substance is all right.

Rumours that Cecil is thinking of joining us and that, if he did, Lytton & Balfour & Balfour would follow. Cecil sat for the first time on the Cross benches in the Lords last week.

I have secured a great reform at the P.O. In future we are to have a "League of Nations and Workers" Dept. & Cadogan is to be called "Aviser on L.N. Affairs."

The Austrian situation seems to be safe against violence now! Uncle's answer in Parliament contributed much.