

A LETTER FROM LADY VIOLET

Among the scant papers of Lady Megan Lloyd George (1902-66) in the custody of the National Library of Wales are two stray letters from Lady Violet Bonham-Carter (1887-1969), headstrong daughter of Liberal premier H. H. Asquith and, eventually, the mother-in-law of Liberal leader Jo Grimond. The second letter, dated 17 November 1947, mid way through the lifetime of the post-war Labour government headed by Clement Attlee, is of some considerable significance:

Nov. 17th 1947.

Private

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Megan dear

I feel I must write you a personal line about the Party - & my present feelings about its present, & prospects – because I know that you & I, tho' we very occasionally differ on isolated issues (like the H[ouse] of Lords!) are fundamentally at one – in the sense that it is the soil in which our roots were planted – almost at birth – & from which they never cld be torn.

I have given the bulk of my life to working for it – usually in times of disaster! (I hope not 'cause & effect' - -) & I have not even had the reward of a *hope* that I shld ever be in Parliament. (The only seat I was ever offered was Middlesbrough – under the Party Truce – which I refused because I did not want a straight fight with Labour at the Election – with dependence on Tory support. (I shld probably have lost it anyway at the General Election.)

I worked very hard for 3 years in the organization while I was President - & even the Election didn't really dishearten me – I still believed we *cld* stage a come-back – a great revival, a 'democratic fund' etc – Well now quite probably I no longer believe that that can happen – (certainly not by 1950) – merely for the very reasons you gave so admirably in yr. speech last night. (They are amplified & expanded in the McCallum book which I quoted from at the Party Committee – a book written by Liberals.) It estimates that ¾ million *new* votes cld only give us *at most* 6 seats. Meanwhile what is going to happen to the 10 we've got? I'd value *your* view on this – because I do want to hope more than I can at present. I think Archie [Sir Archibald Sinclair] ought to get back, & it is just possible my son-in-law Jo Grimond *might* win Orkney & Shetland! (He was only beaten by 200). But these are the *only 2* 'near-wins' I can find – after scouring the figures.

I thought Hopkin Morris & Emrys Roberts were safe. But, as you heard, they both denied it. You have I believe a Tory against you? - your majority was 2000 ? 3000. One must face the *possibility* of Parliamentary extinction. *Or do you think this an exaggerated fear?*

Money. The 3rd Fund has been a deep disappointment to me. Martell estimated the Lib[eral] News cld have a 50,000 circulation in a year. It is now 29,000 – (after 18

months). The tide is flowing too strongly against the Govt. to be healthy for us. Things are going to get much worse - & there is a great danger of its swinging once more over our heads. In times of *acute* crisis one does not cast an 'academic' vote for the principles one fancies. One wants to get something practical *done* - & done *immediately*.

What can a Party of 10 *do*? Containing at most 4 'effectives'?? (& even these not always agreed on major issues?). These are my reasons for pessimism. If you can dissipate it by refuting them I shall be *really* grateful.

Assuming you agree (as you seemed to do at the Party Committee), & elect for the 1st alternative I proposed (the 'stainless end'!), isn't it rather difficult to lead people 'down the garden-path' to a 'stainless end', without telling them where they're going? I should find it impossible to be convincing unless I really believed (however resignedly) what I was saying. The other alternative is highly distasteful - & quite possibly - impossible.

A) It may not be open to us, even if we opted for it.

B) It might be quite impossible to deliver the goods. It would certainly involve a split - just as our present course involves a 'crumble'.

('Wellingboroughs' are happening & will happen. Your brother Gwilym **is** speaking with Harold Macmillan etc.)

But I am convinced that the only condition which will ensure the ultimate *survival* of any 3rd Party in this country is Electoral Reform, & in saying this I'm thinking ahead - far beyond the next General Election.

The only other chance could be a split in both the other Parties - with the 'Liberals' which exist in both joining us. But this is off the map at present. We are too weak to govern. They (the other Parties) are too strong to leave. Forgive this very long letter scratched in pencil by five - & do either write or tell me what you feel.

And, lest there shld be any misunderstanding, I shld be strongly opposed to any sort of 'alliance' on policy - or Coalition - or agreement to put or keep anyone in. (This was the price we paid Labour for the bill in the early Thirties.)

My one desire is that there shld be *a* Liberal Party (an independent one of course) in being in this country. *If* we are swept out of Parl't at the next Election there will be none. Peers & L.P.O. won't fill the bill.

Ever yrs

Violet

Both women, ironically, although in one sense arch-rivals, had a great deal in common. Both were, of course, the daughters of successive Liberal prime ministers, and, as headstrong, wilful individuals, were passionately committed to protecting and indeed enhancing the good names and reputations of their respective fathers. Both women had received a rather unconventional, generally informal education, often at home from a succession of spirited, competent governesses. They had later been 'finished' at Paris, both emerging as notably independent women of high intellect with strongly held opinions. After the Liberals, following more than ten long, frustrating years in opposition, had been able to form a government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the end of 1905, both Asquith (a former home secretary under Gladstone and Rosebery) and Lloyd George (hitherto confined to the backbenches of the House of Commons for more than fifteen and a half years) became cabinet ministers. The former was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and the latter the President of the Board of Trade. In April 1908, Asquith succeeded the ailing Campbell-

Bannerman as prime minister and appointed Lloyd George to be his own successor at the Treasury. Consequently the Asquiths lived at 10 Downing Street and the Lloyd Georges next door at number 11. Relations between the two families were at best stiff and formal, at worst hostile and acrimonious. The underlying coolness and potential friction rubbed off on the two daughters, although at this point Megan was just six years of age and Violet twenty-one and thus an adult who was frequently invited to high society dinner parties at London. It is doubtful how much notice she really took at this time of the little girl who lived next door at number 11. Both of them clearly savoured life at Downing Street and looked up admiringly to their fathers. The close bond between Lloyd George and Megan grew even closer after the death of the eldest (and favourite) daughter Mair Eluned at the tender age of just seventeen years in November 1907 following emergency surgery at the Lloyd George family home at Routh Road, London for appendicitis. At around this time Lloyd George, like many other Liberal ministers and MPs, was converted to the cause of women's suffrage, assuring successive deputations of his heartfelt commitment to the now burning issue. Asquith disagreed strongly, although, ironically, his own daughter Violet, now fully twenty years of age, displayed signs of the potential to become a professional politician. Following lunch with the Lloyd George family at 11 Downing Street in April 1910, Violet noted in her diary, 'Quite an amusing meal – I sat next to Ll. G. who has charm no doubt but no sense of humour & I think an inferior sense of words to Winston [Churchill]'s. Mrs Ll.G. very homely & pathetic & Megan delightful'.²

In December 1916, at the height of the Great War, Lloyd George succeeded Asquith as Prime Minister following a feverish week of intrigue and machination at the heart of government. Asquith's second wife the infamous, eccentric Margot summed up in her memoirs the profound sense of bitterness and betrayal experienced by the family – 'I was shocked and wounded by the meanness, ingratitude and lack of loyalty'.³ Her feelings were shared by her step-daughter Violet who experienced great difficulty in accepting that she was no longer the daughter of the prime minister of the day and that she had been unceremoniously ousted from 10 Downing Street, her home ever since April 1908. For the rest of her days she remained convinced that her adored father had been the innocent victim of a nefarious, treacherous coup headed by the unscrupulous Lloyd George. Moreover, Megan Lloyd George had now at a stroke usurped Violet's cherished role as the Prime Minister's daughter and occupant of 10 Downing Street. Megan now also enjoyed a new role and prestige as the daughter of 'the man of push and go', the nation's potential saviour it was hoped, dramatically catapulted to the helm of the ship of state by the unprecedented demands of total warfare. Violet had been relegated to the sidelines; it was a bitter snub which she was never to forgive or forget for the rest of her long life. These harsh experiences were

reinforced at the end of 1918 when the Tory dominated coalition government formed in December 1916 remained intact and won a dramatic victory at the polls in the 'coupon' general election. At its head remained Lloyd George, now enjoying an immense personal prestige as 'the man who won the war' and who was equally certain, it was thought, to secure the peace. Poor Herbert Asquith lost East Fife, the constituency which he had represented continuously ever since 1886, by a margin of some 2000 votes, and many of his independent Liberal colleagues similarly went down to defeat. Fully five years later, as another general election loomed, with her father now standing for re-election at Paisley, Violet Bonham-Carter wrote in her diary of Lloyd George, 'Having no fidelities he also has no rancours'.⁴ She had made a significant contribution to her father's dramatic victory in a by-election at Paisley in January 1920 and also helped to secure his re-election there in 1922 and 1923. In 1924, however, an electoral debacle for the Liberals throughout the realm, he again went down to defeat. Lloyd George succeeded Asquith as Liberal leader in 1926, while Asquith died in February 1928.

Thereafter, deprived of her father's influence, Violet's participation in political life was at best intermittent and peripheral. But she did voice support for the formation of the so-called national government in August 1931, and two years later, enraged above all by the unrelenting Nazi persecution of the Jews, she protested virulently against the rise of fascism in Germany. She became a vocal critic of Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policies and championed the role of the floundering League of Nations Union. During the war years Violet's entrenched patriotism found expression in her role as an assiduous air-raid warden. Her loyalty to the Liberal Party also re-surfaced in her re-election as president of the Women's Liberal Federation throughout the war years, a position which she had already occupied from 1923 until 1925. In 1943 Lady Violet was one of the participants in the ultimately abortive 'unity negotiations' between the mainstream Liberals and the National Liberal group formerly led by Sir John Simon. She eagerly hoped that a positive outcome might lead to a doubling of the strength of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, but her unrealistic hopes were soon dashed. The following year she was chosen president-elect of the Liberal Party Organisation, and at the 1945 party assembly she was elected its first ever woman president, remaining in the key position for the next two years.

In the 1945 general election Violet Bonham-Carter stood enthusiastically as the Liberal candidate for Wells, but finished at the bottom of the poll. In April she had attended the memorial service to Lloyd George at Westminster Abbey – 'I sat near Winston [Churchill] who looked extraordinarily well – young & buoyant. He sat in the 1st Choir Stall quite near us. ... All the family were opposite us including Miss Stevenson in Widow's

Weeds. Megan looking very pale & stricken. I hear she feels it deeply that L.I.G. has left all his papers to Miss S. Lunched with Dingle [Foot] at the House'.⁵ Weeks later Megan, who had represented Anglesey since May 1929, was to be one of the tiny cohort of only twelve Liberal MPs returned at the July general election. Many leading Liberals had gone down to defeat, among them the party leader Sir Archibald Sinclair at Caithness and Sutherland, agonizingly defeated by just 61 votes. Other prominent Liberal casualties included the deputy party leader Sir Percy Harris at Bethnal Green South West, Dingle Foot at Dundee and James de Rothschild at the Isle of Ely. Even Lloyd George's old seat the Caernarfon Boroughs, retained by the Liberals in the by-election in May, now also fell to the Tories. Among prominent Liberals, well-known national figures, who failed to secure election to parliament following spirited local campaigns were, not only Lady Violet, but also Sir William Beveridge (author of the seminal 1942 report *Social Insurance and Allied Services* and one whom Violet had helped to convert to political Liberalism in 1944), Roy Harrod and Isaac Foot (father of Michael), a former Liberal MP. The Liberal Party had put up a total of 307 candidates in 1945; more than 200 were at the foot of the poll. Were the party's days as a major political player now numbered?

Lady Violet, who had harboured unrealistic hopes of victory at Wells, and now consequently licking her wounds, must have looked askance at the newfound status enjoyed by Lady Megan Lloyd George, easily the most well-known member of the post-war Parliamentary Liberal Party. The beneficiary of a famous name, she had won Anglesey in four successive general elections, although in 1945 her majority had been sharply axed to just 1081 votes in a straight fight against her Labour opponent Cledwyn Hughes, himself a former Liberal. Rumours of a local pact with the Conservatives were without foundation, but Megan had stood firmly on the left-wing of the Liberal Party throughout her political career. The personal and political gulf between the two leading Liberal ladies was wide indeed. At the beginning of September Lady Violet recorded in her diary that Major Gwilym Lloyd-George, recently re-elected in Pembrokeshire, '& Megan have both been left very poor by L.I.G. & only given empty farms & country houses "in trust". Miss Stevenson has got away with the whole swag'.⁶ Nor was she much impressed by the election of E. Clement Davies, the highly maverick, idiosyncratic MP for Montgomeryshire, as the party's temporary 'chairman' (rather than leader) in July 1945, pending, it was hoped, the imminent re-election of Sinclair to the House of Commons in a by-election. Violet certainly harboured grave doubts; she had always rather mistrusted Clem Davies, a former National Liberal (from 1931 until 1942) and one who had not always been totally loyal to the allied war effort.

Apparently still retaining some illusions of grandeur, the twelve-strong post-war Parliamentary Liberal Party still ostentatiously referred to itself as the Liberal Shadow Cabinet. It met for the first time under Clement Davies's chairmanship in Lord Samuel's room at the House of Lords on 28 November 1945. Lady Violet noted in her diary, 'Nothing very new said or decided. Clem very "agreeable" & full of blarney to Megan – whom he had so hotly abused to me! I can't understand these Welsh! but perhaps they understand each other! ...'.⁷ Both ladies were to remain especially active and prominent in the affairs of the Liberal Party in the post-war world. Both were undoubtedly national figures. Perched firmly on the right wing of the party, and a long-term personal friend of the Conservative leader Winston Churchill, Lady Violet was one of those most likely to respond most positively to Tory overtures. In May 1947 a formal agreement known as the Woolton-Teviot Pact, was reached between the Conservative Party and the National Liberals, formalising a near merger between the two parties. The Liberals had some grounds for guarded optimism: new schemes were set afoot in 1946-47 to attract additional sources of revenue to the party; there was a dramatic increase in the number of constituency associations from about 200 in 1946 to more than 500 in 1947; there was a definite influx of young, committed people, with imaginative, positive ideas, into the party's ranks; and some modest gains were recorded in local government by-elections. Moreover, Clem Davies had found his feet as party leader, securing for himself more widespread support and respect. In September he spelled out the nub of his convictions in a speech to the Council of the Party Organisation: 'If we are an independent Party, we will have no truck with anybody, we will stand on our own feet. We will fight in 600 constituencies. Turn these words into action, or acknowledge defeat here and now'.⁸

In spite of these encouraging indices, major problems still remained. In seven successive by-elections, the Liberal candidate had forfeited his deposit. There was clearly a steady haemorrhaging of support to both the Conservatives and to the Labour Party, especially the latter, marked by a number of high profile defections of prominent Liberal politicians like Tom Horabin, the MP for North Cornwall, and Sir Geoffrey Mander, a former Liberal MP, still highly regarded. Would Lady Megan Lloyd George also soon follow suit? Such was the intensity of conjecture that she intended 'crossing the line' to the Labour Party that in December Liberal Party headquarters felt impelled to issue a public statement repudiating the persistent rumours. Lady Violet meanwhile was engaged in discussions with the party's chief whip Frank Byers, the MP for North Dorset. Their deliberations convinced her that there was a very real risk that their party might well be completely eliminated from parliamentary participation at the next general election, generally expected to come in 1950. As she noted in her diary on 13 October 1947:

Again lovely hot day. Spent the whole day at work except for a break at luncheon when I went down to the H of C to see Frank Byers. We lunched together in a quite empty dining-room on potted shrimps & roast beef. I spoke to him very frankly about the Party position & the choice which seemed to face us. We must face the possibility of being completely wiped out at the next Election as a Parliamentary force. ...

The alternative wld be a deal over seats with the Tories with P.R. as a condition & an agreed programme. I shldn't like it & it might split the Party in half & give the Left Wing to Labour. I see all the rocks & shoals very clearly but I fear complete Parliamentary extinction. Frank sees it all too. He was very sensible. We agreed that anyway we were in too low water at this moment to do anything but try & strengthen our position – whether for independence or a bargain.

He then sounded me on the question of making Clem the official leader of the Party – on the ground that he (Frank) cld control him better in this capacity. I said I cldn't possibly accept him as my political Pope to give the 'Party line' as I had no respect for his political judgement.⁹

During the course of their deliberations, Byers and Lady Violet calculated that, even if every Liberal candidate captured 15 per cent of the Labour vote and 10 per cent of the Conservative, the net result would be just six Liberal gains throughout the country. It was even likely that several seats would be lost if the existing Liberal MPs faced three-cornered contests.

Just a month later she wrote to Lady Megan the letter printed above, again underlining her heartfelt conviction that electoral reform might well be their party's only saviour. Her view that only Caithness and Sutherland, where Sir Archibald Sinclair had been extremely narrowly defeated in 1945, and Orkney and Shetland, where her son-in-law Jo Grimond had quite remarkably come within 200 votes of victory in the same election, were the only real prospects of Liberal gains at the next general election, was balanced and realistic. The very fact of having penned this letter to Lady Megan was curious. The two ladies stood on opposite poles of the post-war Liberal Party and shared but little personal rapport. But in a very recent speech at the Royal Albert Hall Lady Megan had reflected the optimism of many Liberals by announcing that the political circumstances of late 1947 had prepared the ground for a Liberal breakthrough: 'Must this country ... be condemned to the choice of two evils?'.¹⁰ Lady Violet, moved by Megan's speech, had come to the conclusion that an electoral alliance with the Conservative Party might well emerge as the electoral saviour of the beleaguered Liberals; Lady Megan was diametrically opposed, totally hostile to the very idea of any such pact, even at election time. Lady Violet, therefore had to temper her comments to ensure that she did not unnerve unduly the left-wing Liberal MP for Anglesey. A little earlier, however, Harold Nicholson had gained a much clearer picture of her thinking, 'She abuses the Government for abandoning all moral principle. Until now she had believed that the Liberal Party were closer to the Socialists than to any other party. Now she doubts it. ... No, she feels closer to the left-wing Tories today. All of which suggests that the Liberal Party are about to create a common anti-communist front'.¹¹ Indeed, Lady Violet had already been in contact with her old associate Winston Churchill, a former Liberal who had served in

her father's cabinets nigh on forty years earlier, on the questions of electoral reform and possible electoral arrangements, 'Cld he for instance " deliver" Electoral Reform? He couldn't say "yes". He wld speak to his party about it etc. – but I felt that he was not confident. He touches me very much & I feel a certain pathos about him. He harks back to his beginnings – I think he definitely – emotionally – desires a rapprochement with Liberals'.¹²

During 1948 there were fresh rumours that Lady Megan was on the point of joining the Labour Party, probably the foremost consideration which led to Clem Davies appointing her to the position of deputy party leader the following January. In 1948 Emlyn Hooson, who had recently been chosen as the Liberal candidate for Lloyd George's old seat of the Caernarfon Boroughs, was invited to join the anomalous Liberal Party Committee which to a large extent determined party policy. Here he found proceedings to be 'to put it mildly, vitriolic' and largely dominated by the incessant bickering between Lady Violet and Lady Megan. At one meeting, when the colour to be adopted by the party at the next general election was under discussion, Megan commented tartly, 'I don't mind what colour they have provided, of course, it's not violet'!¹³ Lady Violet grew even more convinced that her beloved party was still 'advancing open-eyed towards extinction'. Consequently, as she wrote to her party leader in the upper house Lord Samuel, 'I believe that it might be quite possible to make an arrangement about seats, coupled with a pledge on Electoral Reform, which would be consistent with our sovereign independence and which would ensure our survival'.¹⁴ In the general election of February 1950, Megan Lloyd George, against the odds, held on to Anglesey. Lady Violet was offered one of the Conservative election broadcast slots by Churchill, but, faced with the total intransigence of Clem Davies and Lord Samuel, felt obliged to refuse. Now the number of Liberal MPs re-elected fell to an all-time low of nine amongst whom friction and dissension abounded. At a meeting of Liberal MPs the following November to discuss the line which they should take on the King's Speech at the state opening of parliament, Clem Davies voiced his genuine concern that they were 'badly split', to which Emrys Roberts, the left-wing Liberal MP for Merioneth, at once responded 'badly led'. He insisted that Lady Megan should be much more involved in policy formulation alongside the party leader. Meanwhile, at a meeting of the influential Liberal Party Committee, Lady Megan asserted, 'The Liberal ship is listing to the right and almost sunk beneath the waves'. In response Lady Violet bluntly attributed the party's woes to her old rival Lady Megan Lloyd George.¹⁵

Then, in the general election of November 1951, Lady Megan was finally defeated in Anglesey by Cledwyn Hughes at his third dogged attempt, and Lady Violet, relieved of Tory

opposition and supported by an auspicious campaign visit from Churchill, failed in her audacious bid to wrest Colne Valley from the hands of the Labour Party. Speculation that in the new House of Commons there would be a severe tussle between Lady Megan and Lady Violet for the position of deputy party leader had been proved highly premature – neither woman was to be a MP. There was to be further anguish in store for Megan as a result of the defeats of her radical colleagues Emrys Roberts and Edgar Granville which meant that the new PLP, just six in number, now simply had no left wing. After a great deal of dithering, Megan announced in November 1952 that she would not stand again as the Liberal candidate for Anglesey which she had represented for twenty-two years – ‘The Liberal Party left me, not the other way around’. In April 1955 she formally joined the Labour Party, but the change of allegiance occurred too late for her to stand as a Labour candidate in the May general election. Nor was Lady Violet a candidate in 1955 (or, in fact, ever again). Both women, however, embarked on extensive personal speaking tours. At Kendal on 16 May Lady Violet assailed the Labour Party for its ‘schizophrenic caterwaulings’, then remarking, ‘The Labour Party is bursting at the seams, and, to judge from her speeches, Lady Megan is not going to stitch up the seams but to tear them wider apart’. She then came to Lady Megan’s old stomping ground of Anglesey, urging the county’s electors to vote for the Liberal candidate as the best means of achieving the ‘common aim’ of defeating Socialism. The electorate there should not be hoodwinked by the appeal of the Labour Party – ‘the hook is baited with the Radical tradition, dangling between free teeth and spectacles’. Although Lady Violet stopped short of referring to Lady Megan by name, she asserted pointedly, ‘You won’t find me scrambling on to any bandwagon, whether it is painted red or blue. I hold fast to the Liberal faith which is the heritage my father left me’.¹⁶

When the House of Commons debated the Suez affair on 5 December 1956, both Lady Violet and Lady Megan were present in the strangers’ gallery of the Commons to hear Aneurin Bevan deliver what was probably the best parliamentary performance of his career. Violet recorded in her diary: ‘Then Bevan followed in a really masterly speech. I had never heard him “good” before & was astonished at his performance. He was witty – almost “urbane” – yet devastating, speaking very quietly & heard without interruption. Megan was sitting some rows behind me & caught my eye with sympathetic ecstasy! It was a really remarkable Parliamentary triumph & changed my estimate of his potential power (though it did nothing to reassure me about the way it might be used!)’.¹⁷ Lady Megan felt impelled to write personally to Bevan, an extremely rare event, describing his impassioned peroration as ‘a brilliant and withering speech. You can judge of its revolutionary character and effect by the fact that it brought Violet Bonham-Carter and me together in almost glowing unity in the gallery. A thousand congratulations!’.¹⁸ Perhaps the two ladies were not such bitter sworn

enemies after all. Lady Violet's son Lord (Mark) Bonham-Carter reflected on their relationship in 1989, fully twenty years after his mother's death, 'It was not close but it was certainly not "acutely hostile". They did not agree on a number of political issues, both past and present, but my mother always enjoyed her company despite this fact. She thought that Megan was uneasy if she thought there was anyone politically to the left of her. She also thought she was lazy, though full of charm'.¹⁹

J. Graham Jones

The National Library of Wales

- 1 NLW MS 20,475C, no. 1368, Violet Bonham-Carter to Megan Lloyd George, 17 November 1947.
- 2 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Violet Bonham-Carter Papers, diary entry for 18 April 1910.
- 3 Margot Asquith, *Autobiography* (London, 1962), 319.
- 4 Mark Pottle (ed.), *Champion Redoubtable: the Diaries and Letters of Violet Bonham-Carter* (London, 1998), 156, diary entry for late November or early December 1923.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 337, diary entry for 10 April 1945.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 362, diary entry for 5 September 1945.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 367, diary entry for 28 November 1945.
- 8 *Liberal News*, 19 September 1947.
- 9 Mark Pottle (ed.), *Daring to Hope: the Diaries and Letters of Violet Bonham Carter, 1946-1969*, 36, diary entry for 13 October 1947.
- 10 NLW MS 20,491E, no. 3429, unlabelled press cutting.
- 11 Nigel Nicolson (ed.), *Harold Nicolson: Diaries and Letters, 1945-62* (London, 1962), 111-12.
- 12 See *Daring to Hope*, 28-29, diary entry for 22 April 1947.
- 13 Emlyn Hooson, 'Clement Davies: an underestimated Welshman and politician', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1997 (New series, Vol. 4, 1998), 180.
- 14 Parliamentary Archive, House of Lords, Samuel Papers A/155 (xiii) ii, Violet Bonham-Carter to Samuel, 4 February 1948. See also the article in *The Economist*, 31 January 1948, 176.
- 15 Mervyn Jones, *A Radical Life: the Biography of Megan Lloyd George, 1902-66* (London, 1991), 213-14.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 249-50.
- 17 *Daring to Hope*, 180, diary entry for 5 December 1956.
- 18 Michael Foot, *Aneurin Bevan: a Biography, vol. 2: 1945-1960* (London, 1973), 532-33.
- 19 Mark Bonham-Carter to Mervyn Jones, 1989, cited in Jones, *op. cit.*, 197.