The Labour Party and the Pursuit of the Liberal Vote, 1945-1959

Labour made a determined effort to absorb the Liberal vote when the party seemed to be in terminal decline after 1945. **Peter Joyce** *tells the story.*

The relationship between the Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party has been a subject of political significance in recent years. This brief article plots a relatively neglected area of British postwar political history and examines attempts made by the Labour Party to make inroads into the electoral support of the Liberal Party. The period chosen for this study, c. 1945–59, was a time when the Liberal Party was a declining political force, prompting Labour to seek the absorption of Liberal support into their party by arguing the case for progressives to ally themselves under one political banner. The 1959 general election evidenced a revival of Liberal fortunes. This situation not only caused some within the Labour Party to rethink their attitude towards the Liberal Party but also made it possible for Liberals to go on the offensive and seek, through Grimond's strategy of the realignment of the left, to offer progressives the possibility of securing joint action within a newly-constructed political vehicle.

This article seeks to examine the arguments which were presented by the Labour Party to secure progressive unity, the rationale for pursuing such an objective and the implications which it posed for the subsequent development of both political parties.

Progressive Unity

The 'Popular Front'

The project of a 'popular front' originated in the 1930s and sought to unite all parties on the left of the political spectrum in opposition to the Conservative Party and the National Government. Its pivot was 'an understanding between the two largest parties – Liberal and Labour'.[1] Although this form of joint action attracted support from members of the Labour and Liberal Parties (Lady Megan Lloyd George being active in discussions to promote such an objective[2]), it failed to secure official endorsement by either. The leaders of both parties were signatories to a manifesto which was issued following a meeting at the Albert Hall in December 1936, but were unable to agree on any further progress which was compatible with the concept of a popular front. Against a background of unhappiness with the treatment they had received from Labour when they put this party into office in 1924 and supported the government between 1929 and 1931, Liberals put forward two basic objections to a popular front in the 1930s.

First, they opposed Labour's socialist programme, as this entailed abolishing private enterprise. Liberals supported the latter but wished to diffuse ownership. It was further perceived that the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange would involve the suppression of liberty which Liberals sought to promote.[3] Second, Liberals were sceptical about the effectiveness of the electoral arrangements in the constituencies which would be required unless a change first occurred to the electoral system. They believed that local associations of both parties would disregard any arrangement concluded by their national organisations and, more importantly, voters who were denied the possibility of voting for a candidate of their own party would not necessarily support one put forward by another participant to the popular front. In particular Liberals feared that voters who had the choice of voting Conservative or socialist would support the former and thus the popular front would ironically become a mechanism 'to perpetuate the dominance of the 'National' government'.[4]

The subject of a popular front was again raised towards the end of the war and was debated at the 1944 Labour Party conference when the report of the Conference Arrangements Committee was discussed. Although the Liberal Party was not universally viewed as a potential participant in 'a coalition of the left for the purpose of bringing socialism in our time',[5] some speakers expressed their desire to include the Liberal Party in any arrangements which might be constructed to bring about 'the unity of left forces'.[6] The following year an attempt was made to refer back a section of the report of the Conference Arrangements Committee because the conference agenda contained no specific resolution concerning the conclusion of arrangements with other progressive parties at the forthcoming general election. This motion was defeated on a card vote by the narrow margin of 1,314,000 to 1,219,000.

Labour's Quest for Progressive Unity at the 1945 General Election

The Labour leadership was sceptical of the value of working with other political parties and instead sought to secure a fusion of progressive forces under what Arthur Greenwood described as the 'umbrella' of the Labour Party. This involved

Labour making a direct appeal to progressives to support Labour. Accordingly its 1945 manifesto urged progressive voters to vote for the Labour Party. It was argued that the Liberal Party would not be able to form a government as the consequence of its involvement in that contest and that if Liberals supported their own party the result could be instability, confusion and the possible return of a Conservative administration. Thus progressive voters were urged to ensure that the next government was a Labour government which would act in accordance with the principles of policy set out in its manifesto.[7]

The sentiments contained in this declaration were reinforced by the activities of the Labour Party research department. A document was prepared for the use of its candidates which emphasised that the two parties were in agreement in many policy areas, including the desire to nationalise certain industries, to control monopolies, to direct investment and to increase public spending. Progressive Liberal voters were thus informed that no radical difference separated the programmes of the two parties and they were warned that the intention of the Liberal Party to contest the election independently of Labour 'might split the progressive vote and therefore wipe out the possibility of anything akin to the Liberal election programme being put into operation'.[8]

Thus the Labour Party sought to secure progressive unity by securing the support of Liberal voters rather than through cooperation with the official Liberal hierarchy. Their main arguments for securing this objective focused on a perceived joint desire to defeat Conservatism and similarities in certain policies. The socialist ideology of the Labour Party was specifically downplayed in order to capture Liberal votes.

Progressive Unity 1945–1950

Labour propaganda continued to seek Liberal support following its 1945 election victory. The Liberal performance in 1945, and more especially in subsequent byelections, encouraged the Labour Party to pursue its attempt to secure the alliance of progressive forces. The spectre of Liberal decline was emphasised in order to urge this course of action. The publication *Talking Points* on 14 January 1950 urged Liberals to consider how the radical tradition could continue to make a contribution to British politics. Particular use was made of prominent Liberal defectors to the Labour Party to advance such an argument.

In 1950 Sir Geoffrey Mander (the Liberal Member for East Wolverhampton, 1929–45, who had served as Archibald Sinclair's PPS when the Liberal Leader was Secretary for State for Air in Churchill's coalition government) published a pamphlet which was designed to secure Liberal support for the Labour Party. He argued that both parties shared a similar outlook and that the Labour Party had taken over the mantle of the radical tradition by embarking upon a constructive programme built upon the 'radical foundations

of freedom and democratic rights' that had been originally constructed by the Liberal Party.[9] In a separate publication he argued that Labour's welfare state was built on the policy which Asquith's government had implemented between 1906 and 1914, and he cautioned Liberals against supporting the Conservative Party. He stated that no matter how progressive individual Conservatives might be, the vested interests which that party represented constituted a reactionary force which Liberals had opposed throughout its history. He contrasted the attitude adopted by the Liberal Party to Labour's nationalisation programme with the doctrinaire opposition mounted by the Conservative Party.[10] Other Labour publications of this period emphasised the support given by the Liberal Party to other items of the government's domestic programme such as house building.[11]

The Strategic Importance of the Liberal Vote Following the 1950 Election

Labour's interest in the Liberal vote heightened following the 1950 general election. The Liberal Party's poor performance in that contest (which suggested that a reduced number of Liberal candidates would contest future general elections) and Labour's narrow victory emphasised the importance of Labour securing new sources of electoral support in order to retain power. It was estimated that a net Labour gain over the Conservative Party of 10% of the vote obtained by the Liberals in 1950 would have given the government an additional 11 seats and an overall majority of 28 in the new House of Commons. A 20% net gain of the Liberal vote would have increased the government's majority to 44 while a 30% net gain would have secured Labour a majority of 68.[12] Although such figures ignored the vital question as to whether such a net gain was realisable, the Labour Party was warned that if the Conservatives managed to secure a large proportion of the Liberal vote at the next election, 'we are almost certainly beaten'.[13]

Opinion polls did not provide Labour with much comfort concerning their ability to eat into the Liberal Party's support in future general elections. A Gallup poll suggested

the Conservative Party stood to gain a larger share of the Liberal vote in the absence of a Liberal candidate[14] and the party's National Agent repeated this view in his report to the National Executive Committee.[15] However, research which suggested that one quarter of Liberal supporters in 1950 had voted Labour in 1945 and that 27% of Liberal voters derived from a working class background[16] induced Labour to make its appeal to Liberal voters more specific than had previously been the case. It was conceded that Labour could make no appeal to the 'Tory sort of Liberal' and, instead, an appeal to support and vote for the Labour Party was addressed to 'the progressive Liberal, who stands for ideas and not for labels and outworn dogma'.[17] It was thus perceived that while 'Liberal Tories' would never vote Labour, other Liberals were by instinct anti-Conservative. The party was thus informed it was its 'duty and .... job' to convert such support.[18]

A number of arguments were put forward in Labour propaganda to achieve this objective. Following the 1950 general election, progressive opinion within the Liberal Party continued to be wooed by assertions that the actions of the aims of the radical wing of the Liberal Party were compatible with the actions of the Labour government. In May 1950 a number of former Liberals were joint signatories to a letter in the *Times* which urged radicals to concentrate on reconciling political democracy and personal freedom with the planning of social justice and economic fair shares. It was argued that the Labour Party was the best vehicle to achieve such an objective and radicals were urged to join this party.[19] It was alleged that Labour offered the best opportunity for the implementation of Liberal policies such as the advancement of freedom, social reform and peace[20] and such a theme was actively put forward during the 1951

general election. It was asserted that Labour was 'clearly the heir of the radical tradition. The government have been doing thoroughly radical things during the last six years'. Policies such as the welfare state, fair shares and full employment were stated to have been built on Liberal foundations and the nationalisation of industries on their merits was stated to be the Liberal approach.[21] The attempt by Labour to discover a solution to the problem of poverty was referred to as one which would have 'warmed the cockles of David Lloyd George's heart'.[22]

In an attempt to retain some control over the actions of Liberal supporters in constituencies which the party would not contest in 1951, the Liberal Party Organisation drew up a questionnaire which local parties could address to candidates of the other parties. On the basis of the replies received, advice could be given to Liberal voters concerning how to vote locally. The Labour Party was aware of the potential which this mechanism provided for the capture of progressive Liberal support. One Minister recalled the manner in which the League of Nations Union questionnaire had been used in the 1929 general election to secure support from Liberal voters in places where there was no Liberal candidate. He concluded that 'we must bear in mind that the Liberal vote (I think it is not much less than four million) may not only decide this election but two or three elections more'. He warned that once Liberals had voted Conservative 'they may do so much more easily another time'.[23]

Labour's research department prepared a covering letter which their local parties could send with their replies to the Liberal questionnaire. This argued that Labour had 'taken up the banner which William Gladstone and David Lloyd George bore so well'. Local Labour parties were further advised to

refer to 'the very large measure of agreement that exists between our parties'. It suggested that such a level of agreement was not surprising given the origins of the Labour Party, 'whose early members had more often than not learnt their politics in the Liberal Working Men's Clubs in the last century'.[24] It was argued that if all the government's past achievements and proposals for the future with which Liberals agreed were put on one side of a scale and all the actions and policies which Liberals disapproved of were put on the other, 'the balance will come down strongly in Labour's favour'. Assertions of the compatibility of radical liberalism with the Labour government were coupled with allegations that the Conservative and Liberal Parties were 'traditional enemies';[25] it was argued that 'the traditions of Liberalism – freedom and social justice – meet in the Conservative Party their historic enemy' whereas the Labour Party was the 'champion and friend' of such Liberal ideals'.[26]

Aftermath of the 1951 General Election

Labour's analysis of the 1951 general election suggested that the party had failed in its quest to capture a significant share of the Liberal vote. It was believed that the presence of Liberal candidates in 1951 made little difference to the outcome of the election[27] but that the withdrawal of Liberal candidates resulted in a disproportionate share of their 1950 vote being taken by the Conservative Party. Seventeen of the 22 seats lost by Labour in 1951 were affected by the withdrawal of a Liberal candidate and it was estimated that in these constituencies the Liberal vote transferred to the Conservative party in preference to Labour in the ratio of three votes to one.[28]

The Labour Party thus put forward a different argument to benefit from Liberal abstentionism in future contests. Progressive Liberals were now courted by the accusation that the Liberal Party had moved to the right of the political spectrum and was no longer deserving of the support of radicals. This view had been articulated before the 1951 general election, when it had been alleged that the Liberal leadership might be manoeuvred into concluding an agreement with the Conservative Party despite the feelings of its rank-and-file supporters,[29] but was voiced more prominently following this contest. In October 1953 the Labour journal *Forward* reported that Dingle Foot had resigned as a prospective Liberal Parliamentary candidate as he was disturbed by the party's 'right wing' policy. He was later quoted as having said that whereas in 1945 the Liberal Party had been an alternative to the Labour Party, by 1950 it had become an alternative to the Conservatives.[30] Similar sentiments were voiced by the former Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party, Lady Megan Lloyd George. In 1955 she defected to the Labour Party, alleging that 'the official Liberal Party of 1955 seems to have lost faith with the radical tradition which inspired it'.[31] She later claimed that she had not left the Liberal Party but that the latter had

deserted her. She thus urged Liberal supporters to vote Labour in the 1955 general election.[32]

Labour propaganda issued during the 1951 contest pointed out that of the six successful Liberal candidates, only Grimond had faced Conservative opposition in 1951 and that these two parties had concluded local agreements which in Colne Valley resulted in the 'amazing spectacle' of the leader of the Conservative Party supporting the candidature of Lady Violet Bonham Carter. After 1951 it was alleged that Liberal Members of Parliament overwhelmingly supported the Conservative Party in the division lobbies.[33] Liberal leaders were thus accused of pursuing actions which had transformed their party into 'a mere appendage of the Tories'.[34]

The attack on the alleged right-wing drift of the Liberal Party was coupled with the more traditional assertion that Labour's policies were compatible with radical ideals. It was argued that much of the work of the Labour Party had been to extend and amplify the measures initiated by radicals, and it was alleged that the introduction of the National Health Service completed the work initiated by Lloyd George. Labour's educational reforms were similarly alleged to have been built on foundations laid by the Liberal Party.[35] It was thus concluded that 'Labour ideals are those which any good Liberal can support'. They were said to 'spring from a fundamental belief in the brotherhood of man and a determination that all people all over the world deserve a fair start in life'.[36]

A Revision of Labour Actions Towards the Liberal Party

The tactics pursued by the Labour Party towards the Liberal Party between 1945 and 1955 sought to capture the support of progressive Liberal supporters and thereby further the decline of the Liberal Party. However, Labour's examination of the 1955 general election suggested that Labour's best interests were not necessarily served by the demise of the Liberal Party. The belief that Liberal voters without a candidate tended to overwhelmingly support the Conservative Party[37] implied that Liberal intervention would harm the Conservatives and that such loss of support could be of vital significance in marginal constituencies. The journal *Labour Organiser* in October 1957 assumed that Labour's victory in the Gloucester byelection in 1957 was aided by the decision of the Liberal Party to field a candidate. However, the extent to which Liberal intervention would aid the Labour Party was not universally accepted within Labour circles. It was argued that Liberal intervention would not automatically win back that party's former support since voting Liberal 'is sometimes a half-way house to voting Tory, and once the elector has taken the plunge he may continue to vote for the Tory'.[38] The publication *Talking Points* expressed concern in 1958 that the Conservative support attracted to the Liberal Party in byelections would not necessarily be retained at a general election.

of power after the election it would support the major party with most seats in the new House of Commons. Radical Liberals were informed that should the Conservative Party achieve a narrow election victory, Grimond would lead his Parliamentary supporters behind 'the men of Suez, and Cyprus, Hola and Nyasaland'.[45]

Liberal Responses

A number of leading Liberals were opposed to progressive unity, as they believed that the Labour Party's socialist ideology would become the dominant political philosophy underlying the actions of a postwar union of progressive forces.[46] This view was substantiated by some Labour propaganda of that period which espoused the merits of socialism. One publication argued that a key problem faced by the Liberal Party was that, like Labour, it was committed to reform but did not possess economic policies with which such could be paid for. Thus while Liberalism 'stands for the sincere will to reform, without recognition of the means' to achieve it, Labour's commitment to socialism made it possible to transform society and ensure that reforms in areas such as social services and slum clearance would be permanent.[47]

Other Labour propaganda issued between 1945 and 1959 did, however, seek to play down the party's socialist ideology. Liberals countered this by asserting their belief that even if the party put forward a moderate image at election times, socialist 'extremists' would come to the fore when the contest was over. Thus during the 1951 general election campaign, the Liberal leader argued that if Labour secured a majority in the new House of Commons the subsequent government would be taken over by the socialists. The spectre was raised of Bevan and Wilson securing positions of dominance, with Attlee being relegated to the position of Minister of Health and Gaitskell being dismissed.[48]

However, although the constitution of the Labour Party committed it to socialism, it was possible to argue that the entry into this organisation of a number of radical Liberals would have ideological consequences. Following his defeat in 1945, Beveridge informed Lady Violet Bonham Carter that he did not view Labour as a natural enemy and that he had discussed the possibility of his joining Labour with Herbert Morrison. He stated that 'if I were young enough I should go into the Labour Party in the hope of liberalising it from within'.[49] Other Liberals such as Jo Grimond also considered such an option,[50] although generally they arrived at the view that the most appropriate course of action was to remain independent of Labour. One reason for this was that the radical influence, as a minority position within the Labour Party, would be sidelined.[51]

The 'Radical Liberals'

Some Liberals did, however, accept the validity of Labour's call for progressive unity. This position was forcibly put

Accordingly, the Labour Party also continued with its former tactic of seeking to convert the radical Liberal vote using the same arguments as had been presented previously concerning Labour's radical actions and the right-wing posture of the contemporary Liberal Party.

In 1956 a further group of Liberal defectors joined the Labour Party, alleging that 'there is a great deal of common ground between radicals and the Labour Party and that the difference between them now largely belongs to the past'.[39] Labour literature described Lady Megan Lloyd George as 'a bonny defender of those radical values which she and other direct inheritors of the true Liberal tradition .... realise can only be fought for effectively within the Labour Party'.[40] The Labour leader also sought to identify the two traditions by arguing that the greatest achievement of the Liberal Party in its history was the social reform programme enacted by the 1906 government: 'in many ways what the Labour Party has done .... is to carry on and carry much further what they started then'.[41]

Arguments alleging that the Liberal Party had moved in a right-wing political direction were also put forward as the 1959 general election approached. References were made to cooperation between the two parties both in constituencies[42] and in the House of Commons, where it was alleged that Liberal MPs had given the government what amounted to 'general support'.[43] It was asserted that the party's 'right wing' leadership was out on line with the radically-minded rank-and-file,[44] and reference was made to Grimond's remark that if the Liberal Party held the balance

forward by Lady Megan Lloyd George, Emrys Roberts and Edgar Granville during the 1950–51 Parliament. Collectively these three MPs were termed the 'radical Liberals'. Their arguments concerning progressive unity brought them into opposition with their own Parliamentary party.

The three 'radicals' were initially concerned with the manner in which the Conservative Party used the tactic of pressing constant divisions in the House of Commons as a tactic to wear the government down. They believed that this had the effect of turning the lobby into an instrument of Conservative politics. In pursuit of this view, they supported the government in the division on the King's Speech on 6 November 1950, whereas the remainder of the Parliamentary party voted with the opposition. The following day this group voted against their own party's amendment related to the cost of living (which had Conservative support) and supported the Government concerning controls and nationalisation, contrary to the action of the other Liberal members. The *Times* on 11 November 1950 stated that such actions implied these MPs opposed all cooperation with the Conservative Party and were unlikely to join with the opposition in any division that threatened to bring the government down. These MPs put forward diverse reasons to explain their actions. Lady Megan contended that the Liberal Party had drifted to the right and away from the old radical tradition.[52] Another suggested that the Liberal Parliamentary party should support the government and assure it of a stable position in Parliament so that it could effectively face the challenge posed by communism.[53] Latterly Lady Megan Lloyd George, sought to link the ideologies of liberalism and socialism by arguing that the fundamental aims of radicals and socialists were essentially the same and that 'the radicals of yesterday are the socialists of today'.[54]

Proposals for Liberal cooperation with the Labour government emanated from other quarters. In 1951 a conference of the Welsh Liberal Party discussed the relationship between the two parties and proposed that the Liberal Party should announce its support for measures adopted by the Labour government to safeguard full employment and the welfare state. It was further suggested that the Parliamentary party should issue a statement that it would not vote to bring down the government unless a vital principle was at stake on which the Liberal Party was prepared to fight an ensuing general election. It was further proposed that in Wales the Liberal Party should not oppose sitting Labour MPs who supported the 'Parliament for Wales' campaign, in return for which the Labour Party would withdraw its candidates from constituencies in which a Liberal candidate stood a better chance of victory than a Labour one.[55] The *Economist* on 23 April 1955 referred to unsuccessful attempts having been made to negotiate a number of straight fights against Conservative candidates at that election.

The Liberal hierarchy did not, however, accept the wisdom of progressive unity. With the exception of Thomas Horabin, many of the leading Liberal advocates of progressive unity who followed the logic of their beliefs and joined the Labour Party (such as Sir Geoffrey Mander, Wilfrid Roberts, Lady Megan Lloyd George and Edgar Granville) did so following their defeat as Liberal candidates. This opened them to the accusation of political opportunism by their former political allies. In 1956 Geoffrey Acland publicly rejected Dingle Foot's proposition that they should both apply for Labour Party membership. He argued that there would always be some Liberals 'who will seek to align themselves with one or other of the best alternatives, in order to more speedily fulfil their political ambitions'.[56]

Implications of Labour's Pursuit of Progressive Unity

The suggestion of inter-party cooperation (discussed at the 1944 and 1945 Labour conferences) had an influence on subsequent political arrangements which were advocated or which actually took place. The main difficulty of the popular front was that progressive opinion was united on the importance of achieving an essentially negative objective, that of defeating Conservatism, but (because of the ideological differences separating socialists and liberals) in disagreement concerning how the defects of contemporary society could be best remedied. However, discussions in the 1930s and 1940s did succeed in placing the theme of inter-party cooperation onto the political agenda and the idea was acted upon in the 1970s with the Lib-Lab Pact. However, its main impact (that of preserving the Labour government) seemed to many not to be a noble objective.[57] This did pave the way, however, for inter-party cooperation in the form of the Liberal-SDP Alliance which involved agreements of key policy issues. Ultimately a merger of the two parties occurred, based on an ideological meeting of minds.

With the exception of inter-party cooperation discussed at Labour conferences in 1944 and 1945, Labour's pursuit of the objective of progressive unity was at the expense of the continued existence of the Liberal Party. Figures produced after the 1950 general election could have been used as the basis to justify Labour abstention in constituencies in which the Liberal Party posed the most serious threat to the Conservative candidate. Labour had stood aside in a number of such areas in 1945, but had formally abandoned this position for the 1950 general election. However, rather than seeking to offset potential Conservative gains derived at the expense of Liberal abstentionism with Liberal gains secured by Labour withdrawal in selected constituencies, Labour instead sought to secure long term advantage from the Liberal Party's decline by courting the support of the progressive Liberal voter. This heightened Liberal fears that one of Labour's key aims was to smash their party and in particular to secure the defeat of Liberal Members of Parliament. This contrasted with the Conservative attempt

to secure Liberal support which included offering straight fights against Labour opponents in selected constituencies. Although such a course of action had implications for Liberal political freedom of action, it did hold out to the party the hope of survival which Labour tactics did not.

The Liberal antagonistic response to Labour's attempt to secure progressive unity had further political implications. Hostility towards Labour's strategy intensified opposition to that party's actions and gave substance to a view that under Clement Davies' leadership the party had 'swung to the right'. This view is not a totally accurate one. Liberal opposition to the actions of the postwar Labour governments was based on a variety of factors. These included a genuine distaste for actions which were deemed socialist. Leading Liberals argued that Labour's nationalisation programme was far more doctrinaire than 'technical' and that the government's concentration on 'matters which first appeared in their programme 50 years ago' was a major cause of the recurrent economic problems after 1945.[58] Socialism was viewed as the negation of freedom which in practice was associated with 'controls, dictatorships, direction from Whitehall, direction of labour, conscription in peace time, monopolies, restrictions and the doctrine of government by Order in Council'. It was thus concluded that 'no government in the history of Britain has done so much as this government to destroy liberty'.[59] Additionally, Liberal enthusiasm for postwar Conservatism was based on a genuinely held belief by leading Liberals (including Davies and Lady Violet Bonham Carter) that Churchill remained a Liberal and was trying his best to aid the Liberal cause via the Conservative Party.

The extent to which Liberal support was absorbed into the Labour Party (either permanently or as a tactical vote in the absence of Liberal candidates) after 1945 cannot be precisely determined. However, both parties were aware of the importance of this factor. The non-socialist support which the Labour Party wished to secure was one factor which prompted the party to review its ideology during the 1950s, questioning the continued relevance and electoral appeal of fundamentalist socialism. The support given to Labour by non-socialists after 1945 also served to legitimise Jo Grimond's attempts to seek a realignment of the left. Labour's pursuit of progressive unity served to justify an attempt to pursue this process and place all progressives under one political roof.

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Notes

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14. Morgan Phillips (1950), *op cit.*, p. 3.
15. R. T. Windle, *General Election – National Agent's Report* (unpublished report to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, 22 March 1950), p. 3.
16. Labour Party Research Department, *Notes on the Findings of Opinion Polls, General Election 1950* (unpublished report, April 1950), p. 10.
17. Herbert Morrison, speech at Tain, 6 June 1950. Quoted in *Manchester Guardian*, 7 June 1950.
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19. Richard Acland, Leslie Hale, Thomas Horabin and Sir Geoffrey Mander, letter in *Times,* 11 May 1950.

In this month ...

September 1952 (*Liberal News*)
'The first prize of a £20 travel voucher for the best essay by "under-eighteens" was won by 17 year-old David Marquand, London, who wrote on "why I support European unity".'

September 1962 (*Liberal News*)
'We have now reached the state where all normal activity in the city and country is being throttled by road congestion .... unless the government acts now to coordinate town and country planning and transport policies, Britain will be reduced to standstill in another decade.'

September 1972 (*Liberal News*)
'One of Britain's leading authorities on the House of Commons has come out forcefully in support of the Liberals' proposals for a register of MPs' business interests.'

September 1977 (*Liberal News*)
'Peter Hain, former chairman of the Young Liberals, and Simon Hebditch .... have announced their resignation from the Liberal Party. They are to join the Labour Party .... They said they believed the position of radicals in the Liberal Party had become untenable.'

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21.   Sir Geoffrey Mander, *Draft Copy of a Letter from Sir Geoffrey Mander to Labour Candidates*, outlined in a letter from Sir Geoffrey Mander to Morgan Phillips, 12 October 1951.
22.   *A Word to the Impartial Voter* (London: The Labour Party, 1951, leaflet).
23.   Philip Noel Baker, unpublished letter to Morgan Phillips, 8 October 1951.
24.   Labour Party Research Department, *Specimen Replies to Liberal Questionnaire – A Specimen Covering Letter* (unpublished election material, 1951), p. 1.
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34.   *Ibid.*, p. 42.
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41.   Hugh Gaitskell, speech at Colston Hall, Bristol, 22 September 1959.
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43.   *The Liberal Background* (London: The Labour Party, 1959, leaflet).
44.   Lady Megan Lloyd George in *Why Liberals Should Vote For Labour* (London: The Labour Party, 1959, leaflet).
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47.   Licinius, *Vote Labour? Why?* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1945), pp. 20–21.
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50.   Jo Grimond, letter to Philip Fothergill, 11 July 1945. *Ibid.*, section 6, item 14.
51.   Emrys Roberts, *Times*, 6 May 1950.
52.   Lady Megan Lloyd George, speech at Menai Bridge, 24 November 1950. Quoted in *Times*, 25 November 1950.
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56.   Geoffrey Acland, statement issued on 29 June 1956. Quoted in *Times*, 30 June 1956.
57.   Jo Grimond, *Memoirs* (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 250.
58.   Clement Davies, speech at Lanhydrock, 6 August 1949.
59.   Clement Davies, speech at Kingsway Hall, London, 28 January 1950.

Unpublished Labour Party election material is housed in the Labour Party Library. The Beveridge Papers are housed in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics.