

House of Lords

Matt Cole analyses the record of Liberals and Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords since the early twentieth century.

‘Like the early Christians in Rome’

Have Liberal Lords been so isolated and powerless?

THE YEAR 1911 marked what appeared to be a decisive achievement in the Liberal tradition’s campaign to create a ‘popular’ Upper House¹ when the Conservative-dominated Lords lost its legislative veto after a two-year constitutional struggle. The 83 Liberal peers showed resilience in leading this battle at its hardest flank, and one triumphant commentator at the time wrote that:

The prolonged campaign between Lords and Commons was over, and as shrewd observers from the time of James Mill and Macaulay down to Gladstone, Bright and Morley had foreseen, victory was inscribed on the banner of the representatives of the people.²

However, the victory over the veto only opened up new challenges and dilemmas which were to hang over Liberal Lords for the next century. From within the government J.M. Robertson acknowledged in 1912 that ‘on the theme of the Second Chamber, there is notable diversity of view among Liberals as well as between them and Conservatives’.³

Liberals in the House of Lords since then have occupied the distinctive and unenviable position of a weak group in a weakened

chamber. Never holding even a fifth of peerages, they suffered the additional burden of representing a party which did not believe in their right to sit, whilst being susceptible to the same outside forces and internal splits as the party generally. Lord Strabolgi joined the group briefly in 1954, finding that ‘they liked to feel they were a little persecuted group hanging together. They reminded me of the early Christians in Ancient Rome’.⁴ Near the end of the century, and after a lifetime of service to the party, Richard Wainwright refused the prospect of a peerage, nicknaming the Lords ‘the crematorium’.⁵

Yet in all but three years since the First World War, Liberal peers have been stronger in numbers and proportionately than the party’s MPs,⁶ and have brought prestige, ideas and activity which were at times in short supply elsewhere. The role and significance of the Liberals in the House of Lords can be assessed by four themes: membership; activity; identity; and impact outside the House. In all of these areas there is evidence that without its peers, the Liberal Party would have struggled even harder than it actually did in the twentieth century, particularly when it was at its most vulnerable.

Membership

The number of Liberal Peers peaked after 1918, and became perilously low in the 1950s. However, they remained the second largest party group until the 1950s and eventually recovered to their 1911 strength. The key determinants of the size of the group were defections in and out by existing peers; the creation of peerages granted to Liberals, or deaths of Liberal lords; and reforms to the membership of the chamber.

A loud note of caution should be sounded about methodology in assessing the size of the group, especially at its most fragile. Party loyalties are less compelling in the Lords than the Commons, particularly when the very existence of the party was in question.

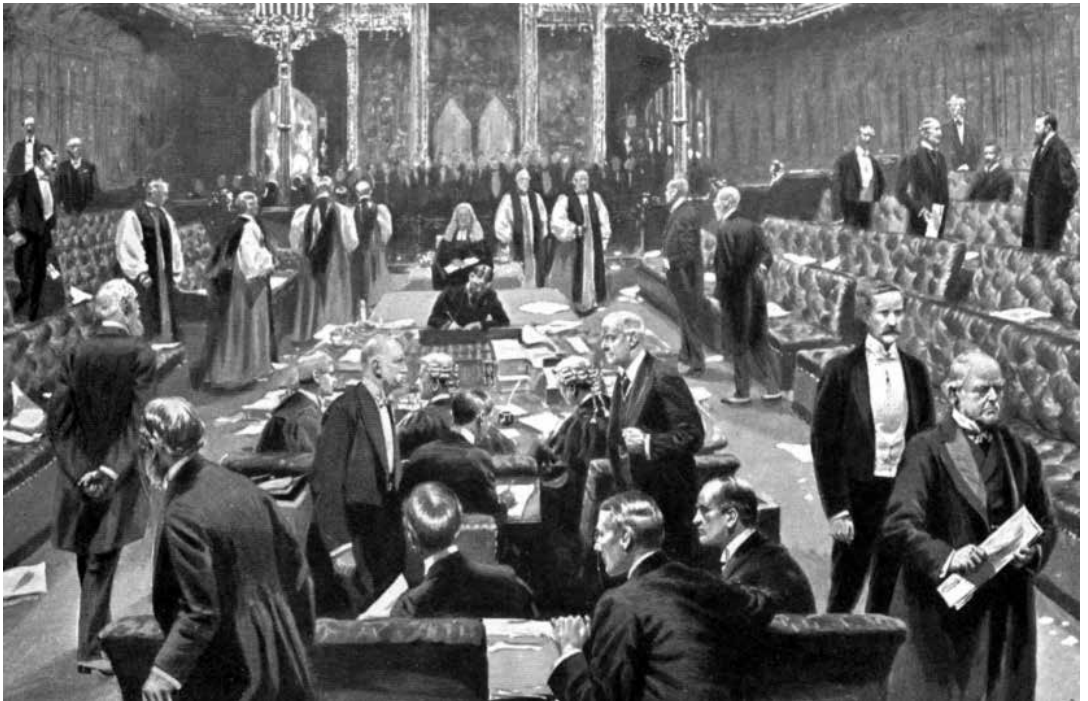
For example, the designation 'a Liberal' is adopted in *Dod's Parliamentary Companion* of 1945 by 78 peers, although at least five of these were prominent National Liberals. Not so designated at the time on the other hand were Chief

Whip Lord Rea, nor Beveridge and Mottistone, both of whom were intimately involved in party campaigns and debates for years.

The fluid nature of Party status was reflected in Lord Kimberley's 1927 *Dod's* entry as 'A Liberal; has supported the Labour movement'. Kimberley had in fact been elected a Labour councillor five years earlier. On receiving his peerage in 1942 Keynes wrote to Samuel that 'I must be regarded, I suppose – and indeed I should like to be – as an Independent. But, in truth, I am still a Liberal, and, if you will agree, I should like to indicate that by sitting on your benches'.⁷ Though he acted as a key Liberal organiser for over two decades, Pratap Chitnis sat as a cross-bencher when David Steel secured his place in the Lords in 1977.

Nonetheless, using *Dod's*, modified by party records and other contemporary sources such as HMSO papers, we can observe that the number of Liberal peers fell from its height of 120 (following the notorious generosity of Lloyd

Division in the House of Lords on the 1911 Parliament Bill (*Illustrated London News*, 19 August 1911)



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	<i>No. Lib Peers</i>	<i>% of all Peers</i>
1910	83	13.3
1920	120	16.8
1930	79	10.5
1939	55	7.0
1945	72	8.8
1950	62	7.3
1960	41	4.5
1968	41	3.9
1984	82	9.6
1998	67	5.9
2009	72	9.9
2020	83	10.9

George) to a low of 41 throughout the 1960s and 1970s.⁸ This resulted from waves of desertion and defection to other parties (mostly on the right), and the paucity of new creations of Liberal peers.

In the 1920s the Liberal group in the Lords withered on the vine. Of the thirty-six peers changing their designation away from 'a Liberal' between 1920 and 1927, ten had defected to the Conservatives and their allies; three to Labour (including Asquith's close ally Viscount Haldane and Lord Frank Russell, son of Victorian prime minister John); but ten abandoned any political label, whilst thirteen gave way to successors who did the same. The Party no longer had the clout to rely upon personal or family loyalties. Even Asquith did not describe himself as a Liberal in *Dod's* after he joined the Lords.⁹

The next decade saw defection to other parties growing. The formation of the Liberal Nationals in 1931 drew twenty-three of the Liberal group into an alliance with the Conservatives. It must also have disheartened Liberal peers to see the Labour team in the Lords joined by former Liberal MPs including Christopher Addison (1937), William Wedgwood Benn (1942) and William Jowitt (1945).

The post-war period saw more departures: twenty-nine peers listed as Liberals in 1945 were not designated that way in 1950: twelve abandoned any party description; eight (in addition to those already in the National Liberals) went to the Conservatives. Eleven others followed them later, three more moving to the National Liberals. Twelve more Liberal peers' deaths gave way to non-Liberal successors. In 1962 the 87-year-old Baron Monkswell, who had been in the Lords since 1909 altered his description from 'Liberal' to 'Independent' for his last two years.

New recruits were sparse. Joining the Lords in 1937, Samuel complained that 'in ordinary years the members of Opposition parties have no place in the Honours list'.¹⁰ By 1950 he was pleading to Attlee that 'the ranks of the Liberal Party in the Lords have become very thin, owing to the Party having been so long out of office. Your nominations ... do not meet the needs of the existing situation, which has become a matter of urgency.'¹¹

After the War Archibald Sinclair had to await Churchill's second premiership to join the Lords, and illness prevented him playing the 'important part in the politics of the Liberal Party and in the House of Lords' which Churchill had anticipated.¹² Grantchester was the lone other Liberal new creation before Jo Grimond raised the situation again in his Assembly speech of 1958, complaining that peerages 'are showered on those whom the Prime Minister chooses to honour. The first thing that wants doing is to burst open patronage and privilege by which the Socialists and Tories manipulate our politics and maintain their rigid, out-of-date party structure.'¹³ In all, in a period of nearly twenty years after 1945, only six creations out of a total of 181 joined the Liberal benches – mostly not for reasons of service to the Party.

The introduction of life peerages in 1958 benefitted the Liberals little initially. It was not until 1964 that the first such titles were granted in consultation with the Liberal Leader, and

the daughter of one of those ennobled, Frank Byers, remembered the challenges Grimond faced:

In '64 Harold Wilson said 'you can have two'. Harold didn't want Dad. They had been enemies since Oxford, when Harold left the Liberal Party. But Jo quite rightly said 'no, it's got to be Frank' and the other one was Violet. Actually they were only going to give one, but when they discovered Jo was adamant it would be Frank, they gave it to Violet, because by that time she was such a grand-dame.¹⁴

Wilson ennobled five more Liberals by 1970, Heath adding two more the following year, but during this time they created 83 Labour and Conservative Peers. Former Liberal MPs found chances of a peerage scarcer as their numbers increased: three of five who retired or were defeated in the elections of 1959–66 were ennobled; of twelve who left during the 1970s, five received titles; and during the Thatcher drought of 1983–92 numbers outran patronage even further, with 11 departures gaining only three peerages. The SDP had to wait a full four years before its first Peerage was created.¹⁵

There was limited traffic into the party, mostly from the left. Six peers succeeding chose to take the Liberal whip in the 1950s, including former Liberal MP Lord Elibank, and a further four joined in the 1960s. The most useful converts from Labour were former colonial governor Lord Milverton and former MP and junior minister Baron Ogmores. The Agent's report of the Kendal Liberal Association hoped that 'the coming into the party of Lord Milverton should give us encouragement, and shows that a large body of the electorate are ready to join us if only we show we are capable of becoming a political force in the land'.¹⁶

The later twentieth century saw fuller infusions of new blood. The formation of the SDP brought forty-one new peers into what David Steel called "an effective Alliance partnership."¹⁷ Though most of the SDP peers did

not join the Liberal Democrat group in 1988, it started with sixty-one.¹⁸ Since then, better relations with sitting prime ministers, greater credibility in claiming representation for the Party, and recruiting previously non-party figures boosted the Liberal Democrat benches to the strength of Asquith's leadership. The Blair years, for instance, saw 17 of 28 former MPs enter the Lords, and their wait for elevation was shorter than previously.

The greatest boost to Liberal peers' impact, however, was the House of Lords Act 1999, which, removing most of the overwhelmingly Tory hereditary peerages which frustrated Gladstone and Asquith, made Liberal Democrats once more over a tenth of the Lords, and gave them, with crossbench peers, a 'veto' or 'pivotal' role in the Upper House. By 2006 the UCL Constitution Unit could assert that "the third party can no longer be dismissed as peripheral".¹⁹

Activity

The position of the party whip in the Lords is notoriously thankless, because members' incentives to participate in the House are weaker than in the Lower House. Most peers had other interests, some abroad. The Duke of Manchester, for instance, made his only appearance in the Upper House during 1953–54, six years after his succession and seven years after his family moved to Kenya. As the party lost office and influence, the stimulus to represent it in the house weakened.

Those speaking regularly from the Liberal benches were thus a minority of the group, at times almost vanishingly small. Figures from the period 1945–62 give evidence of how heavily the Liberal voice in the Lords relied on a tiny band of stalwarts including Beveridge and Ogmores along with group leaders Samuel and Rea:

Despite this dangerous low in activity, however, a string of studies of party work in the Lords showed that the Liberals sat between the

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Liberal speakers in the House of Lords, 1945–62			
	<i>Speaking 1 or more times</i>	<i>Speaking 10 or more times</i>	<i>Total number of interventions</i>
1945–46	26	7	299
1946–47	26	5	235
1947–48	27	6	220
1948–49	24	9	247
1950*	13	2	77
1950–51	16	3	157
1951–52	15	4	112
1952–53	14	5	140
1953–54	21	5	174
1955*	17	1	73
1955–56	18	10	266
1956–57	18	5	167
1957–58	18	5	180
1958–59	14	4	205
1959–60	16	8	308
1960–61	18	5	289
1961–62	16	5	247
* <i>Short session</i>			
<i>Source: Official Record</i>			

two main parties in terms of the proportion of their peers who attended the House, and that their impact grew over time.

Bromhead showed that during 1951–54 only four Liberals spoke 25 times or more and a further five spoke between ten and 25 times. Nearly half of Labour peers had qualified for the first category, but under a tenth of the more numerous Conservatives.²⁰ Similarly, the Lords Reform White Paper shows that in 1967–68, 19 of 41 Liberal peers had attended a third of parliamentary days; barely a third of Conservatives had reached this threshold, whereas four out of five Labour Peers had done.²¹

In the 1980s Adonis found that 51 of the Alliance's 82 Peers attended a third of sessions, and commended them that 'the assiduity of Alliance Peers is remarkable', together with

Labour being 'so active in committee that they create an impression of virtual equality with the Conservatives'.²² The twenty-first century saw the mean attendance rate of Liberal Democrat peers outstrip that of their Labour and Conservative counterparts under both the Blair and Coalition governments.²³

Identity

Just as they are freer to be inactive, peers have more latitude to be idiosyncratic and disruptive. Liberal lords took advantage of this, but also used their platform to generate and sustain some distinctive Liberal policies at times of weakness for the Party.

Liberal peers stood out from other parties, from Liberal MPs and from each other in

both substance and style. To begin with, some enjoyed an isolated and glamorous lifestyle: Reading, Rennell, Manchester and Cowdray were certainly wealthy, and Crewe led the Liberal peers between the wars from his 17th-century Cheshire hall served by 100 staff. In the 1930s, Sherwood facetiously told a heckler who accused him of having lost £1,000 at roulette in Le Touquet:

This charge against me is most damaging. It illustrates the way in which a politician’s reputation can be soiled by innuendo. It was not Le Touquet, it was Monte Carlo, it was not roulette it was baccarat, and it was not £1,000 it was £2,000.²⁴

The biographer of Lord Thurso (former party leader Archibald Sinclair) notes his dated response to a party organised by his family:

Sinclair, who enjoyed himself immensely, nevertheless commented afterwards how surprising it was that almost everyone, even the women, had jobs. The incident demonstrates how different Sinclair’s life was from that of his children. Men of his background and generation had vocations – politics, the Church, the Army – but they tended not to have jobs.²⁵

These expectations are reflected in Rea’s plea to Samuel for some days’ grace before succeeding him as Liberal Leader in the Lords in 1955, to seek redeployment from his position in the Foreign Office. Rea explained embarrassedly that he could not relinquish paid employment because of the straitened circumstances in which estate duties and unsuccessful investments had left him upon succession two years earlier.²⁶ Asked in divorce court, Lord Kimberley could not remember how many bedrooms were in Kimberley Hall, and he sold the property in 1958 with over 4,000 acres because ‘all I could think about was getting a new Aston Martin’.²⁷

In these years the Liberal lords’ annual social was a caviar dinner at the Reform Club with a mock ‘Queen’s speech’,²⁸ the Duke of

Montrose addressed the Lords in full uniform as Commodore RNVR,²⁹ and the Third Viscount Esher teased a life peer who helped him with his fur-lined coat saying: ‘I wear this inside out as a concession to you Labour fellers’.³⁰ Their exclusive atmosphere – Strabolgi used the terms ‘dilettante’ and ‘smug’, and remembered chief whip Amulree’s ‘debonair way’ – was intensified by isolation from the Party’s MPs.³¹

The separation of Liberal lords from their party colleagues and even from each other was structural as well as social. As early as 1924 Beauchamp wrote to Buxton that ‘the party hardly exists now as an organized unit in the House’,³² and by the 1940s the group’s contact with MPs was extremely limited, an issue raised with Samuel by both Reading and Violet Bonham Carter.³³

Jo Grimond’s diary shows only one meeting with a peer (the party treasurer) from the time he became chief whip in 1952 to his assumption of the party leadership in 1956; in the four years after that, Grimond met with his opposite number in the Upper House Lord Rea a mere three times at intervals of 14 months.³⁴

This distinct identity was confirmed two decades later when Liberal leader in the Lords Frank Byers rebuked former MP and Party Chairman Richard Wainwright for his criticisms of the Upper House as ‘a total travesty and based on your complete inexperience of how the place works’ which had left Liberal peers ‘absolutely shocked’.³⁵ Byers took aim at Wainwright again as one of two Liberal MPs who planned to wear T-shirts bearing the slogan ‘Electoral Reform Now’ to the 1975 Queen’s Speech, and chant the slogan after the speech. ‘I would take the gravest exception’ warned Byers, ‘to anyone embarrassing me in front of the Queen in my house’.³⁶

The Lords’ distinctiveness was reflected in policy, too, where individual peers were able to voice sometimes idiosyncratic and reactionary values at odds with party policy and arguably

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with Liberalism itself in a way which was not always helpful.

Lord Samuel expressed 'dismay' at the spread of homosexuality;³⁷ Reading insisted on supporting peacetime conscription when the Party had rejected it; and Beveridge used his last speech in the Lords in 1961 to condemn images on television which were 'so disgusting to decent minds, so corrupting to clean minds, that they were a disgrace to the inventors'.³⁸ Lord Bannerman defied the whip to vote down sanctions against Rhodesia – partly because of his closeness to the Duke of Montrose, who was in the Smith cabinet;³⁹ and a band of rebels in the Lords led by David Steel resisted the party leadership's call for their replacement by elected representatives in the Lords reform debate of 2007.⁴⁰

More significant than these examples, however, are the occasions when Liberal lords used their platform to develop and promote distinctive Liberal policies, some of which were at length brought into effect.

From 1947 to 1957, Reading, Grantchester and lastly Rea introduced Bills to entrench the powers of Parliament over ministers and individuals *vis-à-vis* the state, unions and corporations, usually winning the support of some peers from other parties. Bromhead argued that the debate over the first of these 'provided the House of Lords with an excellent opportunity to perform its educative function'.⁴¹ Lord Wade similarly promoted legislation for local ombudsmen in the 1960s and Norton later wrote that "on certain issues, Liberals have been in the van of a growing and influential movement favouring change. ... A Bill of Rights has been ... such [an] issue, especially so in the House of Lords."⁴²

This pressure paid dividends in legislation on sex discrimination pioneered by Baroness Seear in the 1970s and extended after work by Lord Byers,⁴³ and the Human Rights Act of 1998, introduced by Lord Lester and heralded by Baroness Williams as crossing a 'constitutional Rubicon'.⁴⁴

Another Liberal policy promoted successfully through the Lords was devolution – another of the enthusiasms, along with Highlands economic and cultural interests, of Bannerman, but earlier promoted by a previous generation of the Montrose dynasty – the fifth duke, who joined the Liberals in 1936 from the Conservatives via the SNP almost exclusively on this issue.⁴⁵

Liberal Lords have successfully introduced private members' legislation on everything from fisheries to forced marriage and live music since the 1970s.⁴⁶ As their numbers grew in the later twentieth century, and under the experienced leadership of Roy Jenkins, the Liberal Democrats were credited by one observer with an effective 'guerilla' campaign in the Upper House, in which they won votes by hiding until the Lords was nearly empty, and launching an 'ambush', populating the chamber.⁴⁷ In 2005, Liberal Democrat group leader Lord McNally even brought into question the Salisbury–Addison convention by which the Lords accept the right of a government to proceed with its mandate unimpeded.⁴⁸ Amongst other victories, they ended controversial plans for a giant casino in Manchester in 2007.⁴⁹

Sometimes even the dissenting voices in the Lords might be seen as assisting Liberal policy by acting as the Party's conscience, or the voice of its otherwise disenfranchised. Doubtless many would see this as the role of Avebury (formerly Orpington MP Eric Lubbock) in opposing the 'bedroom tax' welfare reforms under the Cameron–Clegg coalition.

Thus the independent spirit of Liberal Peers was more often an asset than a liability. This was especially true at times of the Party's greatest weakness and on policies for which it could gain little sympathy and air time outside the Lords because they were characteristically Liberal. This impact of course relied upon recognition outside the Upper House and the Party as a whole to be most effective.

Impact

Liberal Peers also made a contribution to the Party’s fortunes by their liaison with the world outside their House. Though their links with their opposite numbers in the Commons were sometimes tenuous, their work in the wider Party and their public profile could be significant.

Liberal Lords could firstly provide a link between parliament and the party organisation in the country, especially when numbers in the Lower House were limited. Treasurers throughout the period between 1941 and 1962 were Lords Rea, Moynihan, Wimbourne and Grantchester, and for six years after 1977 that position was held by Lord Lloyd of Kilgerran. The party presidency was won in the 1960s by Lords Wade and Beaumont (the latter after serving as party chair) and in the 1980s by Lord Tordoff. Moynihan served again as Chair of the Executive Committee in 1949, as did Lord Henley in 1967.

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public recognition to the battle. Just prior to entering the Lords, Beveridge was Chairman of the 1945 Campaign Committee, and remembered with pride addressing 154 meetings throughout Great Britain during three months’ campaigning, as well as contributing ‘a continuous stream of articles, letters, messages to candidates, gramophone records and a national broadcast’.⁵⁰ He was the only Liberal to be named by Mass Observation’s respondents as an ‘outstanding personality’ at that election.⁵¹

Samuel also had a high profile in the 1945 campaign, delivering a more modest 17

speeches, but also a radio broadcast heard by 47 per cent of the population. In 1950 Samuel was heard again by 27 per cent of voters when he made the first of three Liberal broadcasts; and in 1951 he was chosen to be the first British politician to make a party political broadcast on television. Even at the age of 84, Samuel was called upon to make a further television broadcast in the course of the 1955 campaign, when another one was led by his successor as Liberal leader in the Lords, Lord Rea, who had chaired the 1951 Campaign Committee. Lord Byers took over the latter role and made party broadcasts in the 1960s; David Steel’s 1979 battlebus itinerary was run by Lord Chitnis; newly-ennobled Chris Rennard was Campaign Director in 2001, and Paddy Ashdown led the campaign of 2015 from the Lords.

Liberal Peers also served in, or were formally consulted by, governments under eight prime ministers after 1911, during wartime coalitions, and in governments led by both main parties. Asquith’s peacetime cabinet included nine Liberal lords, amongst whom Crewe, Morley and Grey had served under Gladstone. When Lloyd George created the five-member War Cabinet in 1916 he included Lord Milner, and retained his services in the Conservative-dominated government until 1921. Otherwise the inter-war

years saw only Crewe called upon to serve in cabinet briefly as Secretary for War in MacDonald’s first National Government, and a decade later Churchill recruited Hugh Seeley, Lord Sherwood to work for party leader Archibald Sinclair as Under-Secretary for Air.

As the Party engaged with government again in the last half-century, Liberal lords’ expertise was called upon. A third of the ‘Shadow Administration’ consulted by Labour ministers in the Lib–Lab Pact of 1977–78 was made up of peers; in the 1980s Alliance supporters even touted crossbencher Lord Scarman as

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Lord Chancellor in a future Liberal–SDP government.⁵² Lord Holme of Cheltenham joined Tony Blair's Joint Consultative Cabinet Committee on the Constitution ten years later as Lord Jenkins led the government's ill-fated Commission on electoral reform; and Lord Carlile and Lady Neuberger were appointed as advisers to Blair's and Gordon Brown's governments, on anti-terrorism legislation and volunteering respectively. Baroness Williams was also recruited by Brown, who paid tribute to Williams 'whom I admired greatly from across party lines':

I worked with her before and after I became prime minister on issues from disarmament to Europe, and to be honest tried to persuade her on a number of occasions to rejoin Labour.⁵³

Under the Cameron–Clegg coalition Liberal Democrats were needed to answer for the government in the Upper House, where Baroness Northover appeared as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for International Development, Susan Kramer was Minister for Transport, and the Under-Secretary for Wales was Baroness Randerson. As a government whip Lord (William) Wallace answered for other departments. Long-serving former MP Lord (Jim) Wallace served throughout the coalition as Advocate General for Scotland and in 2013 took over from Lord McNally, who had been a Minister of State at the Justice Department, as Deputy Leader of the Lords.

In addition to the celebrated individuals mentioned above, lords from press baron Walter Layton, Appeal Court judge Norman Birkett or Gladwyn Jebb (joint founder of the UN) to Derek Ezra, Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, Brian Paddick and Floella Benjamin brought acknowledged expertise and experience to a party starved of office, and were capable of networking in a less partisan way with other parties' peers. In the 1930s, Crewe was consulted by George V about international relations, and Baldwin during the abdication crisis.⁵⁴ Today, as

for most of the last century, the Liberal municipal, parliamentary and ministerial experience sitting on the red benches far exceeds that on the green – stretching back over fifty years. It is fair to say that without Liberal peers, the Party's profile – and consequently its prospects of survival as a national force – would have been significantly poorer in its darkest hours.

Conclusion

Strabolgi's dismissive description of the Liberal peers in mid-century was the account of a disillusioned if informed sceptic. It is true that at their weakest they were isolated, declining and ill-organised. Yet both in the 1950s, and throughout the last century, Liberal peers lent valuable support to the Party, sometimes relatively unsung. Another, though similarly supercilious, description of the group given a generation later by Simon Winchester, might be more fitting: 'a small but vociferous band'.⁵⁵

By the time Lords reform could be proposed by a Liberal Democrat leader in 2011, the Party's peers united behind it as a century earlier, and it was again the Conservatives who defended the old Upper House. As the issue of reform of the Lords nears the horizon again, it is worth the Liberal Democrats considering what may be lost to the Party as well as gained by democracy in any transition.

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- 1 This term was used in the preamble to the 1911 Parliament Act as a description of the final intended form the reformed Second Chamber would take; though it seems likely that some Liberals were more eager for this to be realised than others.
- 2 H. Jones, *Liberalism and the House of Lords: the story of the veto battle 1832–1911* (Methuen 1912) p. 339.
- 3 J.M. Robertson, MP, *The Meaning of Liberalism* (Methuen 1912) p. 102.
- 4 Strabolgi, interview, 19 August 2003.

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- 5 Michael Meadowcroft, obituary for Richard Wainwright, *The Guardian* 17 January 2003. For a fuller explanation of Wainwright's view of the Lords, see M. Cole, *Richard Wainwright, the Liberals and Liberal Democrats: Unfinished Business* (Manchester 2011) pp. 210–11.
- 6 These years were 1923–24 and 1997–99.
- 7 24 June 1942, cited in R. Harrod, *The Life of John Maynard Keynes* (Macmillan 1951) p. 537.
- 8 The lowest estimate came in the LPO Annual Report of 1957, which claimed only 38 Liberal Peers.
- 9 See his entry as the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, *Dod's* 1927 p. 123.
- 10 H. Samuel, *Memoirs* (The Cresset Press 1945) p. 266.
- 11 14 December 1950, Samuel Papers SAM A/130.
- 12 19 October 1952, cited in Hunter, I. (Ed), *Winston & Archie*, London: Politico's 2005 p. 442.
- 13 20 September 1958, cited in Watkins, A., *The Liberal Dilemma* (Macgibbon & Kee 1966) pp. 92–93.
- 14 Luise Nandy (nee Byers), interview 18 January 2009.
- 15 The recipient was Dick Crawshaw, introduced by Baroness Seear and Lord Diamond and treated to a reception for 60 people. *The Social Democrat* 14 June 1985 p. 2.
- 16 Westmorland Liberal Association minute book, Agent's AGM report, 24 June 1949.
- 17 Steel, D., *Against Goliath* (1989) p. 258.
- 18 'Over sixty Peers take SLD whip', *Social and Liberal Democrats News* No 2 p. 8 (18 March 1988).
- 19 Russell, M. and Sciarra, M., *The House of Lords in 2005: A More Representative and Assertive Chamber?* UCL Constitution Unit Briefing 2006, p. 14.
- 20 P.A. Bromhead, *The House of Lords and Contemporary Politics, 1911–57* (Routledge 1958).
- 21 HMSO 1968 Cmnd 3799, cited in D. Butler & G. Butler, *British Political Facts 1900–94* (Macmillan 1994) p. 207.
- 22 A. Adonis, 'The House of Lords in the 1980s', *Parliamentary Affairs* (Oxford 1988) pp. 381–82.
- 23 M. Russell, *The Contemporary House of Lords* (Oxford 2013) p. 109.
- 24 Quoted in W.D. Home, *Mr Home Pronounced Hume* (Harper Collins 1979) p. 86.
- 25 De Groot, G., *Liberal Crusader: The Life of Sir Archibald Sinclair* (New York University Press, 1993) pp. 236 & 239.
- 26 Rea to Samuel, Samuel papers SAM A/130.
- 27 Obituaries, *The Times* 28 May 2002; *The Guardian* 30 May 2002.
- 28 Strabolgi, interview, 19 August 2003, and J. Thorpe, *In My Own Time: Reminiscences of a Liberal Leader* (Politico's 1999) p. 69.
- 29 Montrose, *My Ditty Box* (Jonathan Cape 1952) p. 202.
- 30 L. Brett, *Our Selves Unknown* (Victor Gollancz 1985) p. 155.
- 31 Strabolgi interview, 19 August 2003.
- 32 Quoted in D. Waley, *A Liberal Life: Sydney, Earl Buxton 1853–1934* (Newtimber Publications 1999) p. 351.
- 33 Reading to Samuel, 24 March 1950, Samuel papers SAM A/130 4. Bonham Carter's view is reported in J. Thorpe, op.cit. pp. 132–33.
- 34 Grimond papers Dep 363 Box 1.
- 35 Byers to Wainwright 13 June 1973. Cited in M. Cole, *Unfinished Business: Richard Wainwright, the Liberals and Liberal Democrats* (Manchester 2011) p. 210.
- 36 C. Smith, *Big Cyril: The Autobiography of Cyril Smith* (W.H. Allen 1977) p. 182. The emphasis is Smith's, presumably reporting Byers's.
- 37 Samuel made these remarks on 4 November 1953. Quoted in B. Wasserstein, *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life* (Oxford 1992) p. 397.
- 38 J. Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford 1977) p. 456.
- 39 J. Bannerman, *Bannerman: The Memoirs of Lord Bannerman of Kildonan* (1972) pp. 130–31.
- 40 D. Steel, 'Don't Destroy the Lords', Letters, *The Guardian* 5 February 2007.
- 41 Bromhead *The House of Lords and Contemporary Politics*, p. 205, where Reading is quoted.
- 42 P. Norton, in V. Bogdanor, (ed) *Liberal Party Politics* (OUP, 19830, p.170.
- 43 <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/c30f95f3-3932-35e8-a1e1-7ca3483d730e?component=8f91471b-fd17-30bb-97d6-962a65dc0f13>.
- 44 See K. Ewing, 'The Human Rights Act and Parliamentary Democracy', *The Modern Law Review*, 62: 1 (Jan 1999) pp. 79–99.
- 45 Montrose, *My Ditty Box* p. 192.
- 46 See for example on these subjects acts introduced by Thurso (1977–78), Lester (2006–07) and Clement-Jones (2012).
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