

# Mavis Tate and the Horrors of Buchenwald

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Men at Buchenwald who had been forced into slave labour (taken by Private H. Miller of the US Army, 16 April 1945)

On 18 April 1945 General Eisenhower telephoned Churchill from Germany. His troops had just liberated the first concentration camp at Ohrdruf. For twelve days, they had encountered the emaciated corpses of thousands of victims of Nazi brutality. The next morning, Eisenhower's chief of staff Walter Bedell Smith called again to inform Churchill of

new discoveries 'even indescribably more horrible than those about which General Eisenhower spoke to you yesterday'. The main camp at Buchenwald was 'the acme of atrocity'.<sup>1</sup>

That afternoon, Churchill told the House of Commons: 'No words can express the horror which is felt by His Majesty's Government and their principal Allies at the proofs of these frightful crimes now

daily coming into view'. He explained that Eisenhower had invited him 'to send a body of Members of Parliament at once to his Headquarters in order that they may themselves have ocular and first-hand proof of these atrocities' – adding, grimly, that the matter was one 'of urgency, as of course it is not possible to arrest the process of decay in many cases.' Members who wished to volunteer 'for this extremely unpleasant but nonetheless necessary duty' were asked to give their names to their Whips so a group could be chosen: 'I should propose that they start tomorrow'.<sup>2</sup>

The ten parliamentarians selected – eight MPs and two peers – were drawn from all parties. The sole woman among was asked to present the Pathé newsreel which reported their visit to cinema-goers across Britain from 30 April:

*Germany's crimes are no longer hidden from sight. At last the eyes of the world are opened. We believe it our duty to screen these pictures as a warning to future generations... Here is a woman who went to Buchenwald... Mrs. Mavis Tate MP.*<sup>3</sup>

The footage is no less shocking seventy years on. Dead prisoners heaped onto a lorry; emaciated corpses hardly recognizable as human; vast ovens with burnt victims still inside. Its final, haunting shot is of mass graves being dug for the charred bodies laid out across a seemingly endless field. The only voice in the film is Mavis Tate's. 'Do believe me when I tell you,' she urges viewers, 'that the reality was indescribably worse than these pictures.' It was a reality which would continue to haunt her – with tragic consequences.

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Maybird Constance Hogg (she disliked her baptismal name, later changing it by deed poll) was born on 17 August 1893, the daughter of Constance Marsden and Guy Hogg, British Vice-Consul at Monaco and Sheriff of St. Helena. It was a political family: her great-grandfather James Hogg had been a Liberal Conservative MP (for Beverley, 1834–47, and Honiton, 1847–57) as well as a judge and Chairman of the East India Company. He was given a baronetcy and had fourteen children.

His grandson by the youngest of these – Tate's first cousin – was Douglas Hogg, twice Lord Chancellor and later the 1st Viscount Hailsham.<sup>4</sup> Tate was also related on her paternal grandmother's side to Sir Walter Stirling, Bt., MP for Gatton (1799–1802) and St. Ives (1807–20).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Tate became politically active. Her interest was awoken when she helped her cousin in St. Marylebone (which he represented 1922–28). In March 1931 she contested a London County Council seat at Islington; seven months later, aged 38, she was elected MP for Willesden West – aided by the National Government's landslide, which helped her to turn a 7,804 Labour majority into an 8,360 one of her own.

Tate found herself one of fifteen women MPs – all but two of them Conservatives. She was also something of an anomaly as a divorcee – a status which still carried a social stigma. In 1915, aged 22, she had married Captain Gerald Gott of the Bedfordshire Regiment. But this ill-fated wartime marriage ended in divorce ten years later. That same year, Mavis married Henry Tate, grandson of the sugar merchant and philanthropist Sir Henry Tate, Bt. Her new husband, also a divorcee, was a man of independent means. But there were early signs that this, too, would be an unhappy marriage: when Mrs. Tate made the deed poll to change her Christian name to Mavis in November 1930, she also switched her legal surname back to her maiden name of Hogg.

But it was as Mrs. Mavis Tate that the new MP for Willesden West was known. With her 'striking appearance as well as her wit and vivacity and splendid speaking powers', Tate made an early name for herself.<sup>5</sup> Earl Winterton remembered her as 'one of the most energetic women members at the time'.<sup>6</sup> She worked hard outside the Commons too, setting up an office in Willesden which was 'a combination of labour exchange, house agency and centre for pension and accident claims' – an early constituency surgery.<sup>7</sup>

With her marginal, urban seat, Tate was exposed to the many social challenges of the early 1930s. Raising issues such as the cost of living, maternal mortality rates, and birth control clinics, 'she found herself taking an increasingly feminist stance' and 'had found her vocation at



*Tate in 1935, the year she switched from Willesden to Frome (Bassano, NPG)*

last'.<sup>8</sup> But such a precarious seat was not an ideal berth – and in 1935 she switched to the very different Frome division of Somerset. Tate maintained that the move 'was dictated by family reasons and the health of her husband', but it was certainly a smart move electorally: the Labour Minister she had unseated in 1931 regained Willesden West by 2,930 votes, and held it until his retirement in 1959.<sup>9</sup>

Frome Conservative Association seems to have been delighted to welcome its new female candidate. The retiring Member



*The 7th Earl Stanhope, who led the delegation to Buchenwald (H. Walter Barnett, NPG)*

was Viscount Weymouth (later, as the 7th Marquess of Bath, the founder of the safari park at Longleat). Lord Weymouth, a friend of Evelyn Waugh at Oxford, did not really take to Westminster: 'He disliked his years in the House, making but one speech there, to an unreceptive audience, on the subject of tea'.<sup>10</sup> His majority in 1931, at 7,110, had actually been smaller than Tate's in Willesden; in 1935, with the unwelcome addition of a Liberal candidate, Tate only scraped home by 994 votes.

Aware of her slender majority, Tate became as assiduous a representative of her new constituency as she had been in Willesden. Independent in defence of her constituents, she also pushed herself into accepting otherwise unwelcome engagements. She appeared regularly on the BBC's 'Brains Trust', telling another panellist 'that she always dreaded sitting in a session but she did it because it pleased her constituents ... the publicity was good for anyone who sat for a marginal constituency as she did'.<sup>11</sup>

A qualified pilot, Tate was a passionate enthusiast for aviation. But above all it was the issue of women's rights on which Mavis Tate made her greatest mark in Parliament. Like many women of her class and generation she 'was not originally a feminist,' but the social changes of the 1920s and '30s – which she both witnessed as an MP and reflected personally – made her an increasingly passionate champion of women's rights. Working closely with her Labour and Liberal counterparts, Tate 'harassed the coalition government for its neglect of women's interests' – creating 'what, in effect, was a women's party for the duration of the war'.<sup>12</sup>

Her two great campaigns were for equal compensation – ensuring that women who sustained civilian injuries were compensated at the same rate as men – and equal pay. She worked diligently for both, 'an example of almost bulldozing determination'.<sup>13</sup> She chaired a national 'campaign committee' for each cause – the Equal Pay Campaign Committee representing around a hundred organizations, and some four million women.<sup>14</sup> It held mass meetings throughout the country, but it was in Parliament that Tate was at her most effective: tirelessly lobbying her fellow MPs, presenting petitions, and raising



*Female Tory MPs, 1931. Mavis Tate is fourth from the left, looking at Thelma Cazalet, Irene Ward, and Lady Iveagh*

the matter repeatedly on the floor of the House.<sup>15</sup> In November 1942, she let it be known that she would move an amendment to the Loyal Address following the King's Speech – a rare occurrence, particularly in the middle of a war. No fewer than 95 Members voted with her: not enough to win the vote, but enough to compel the Government to establish a Select Committee to look into the issue – of which Tate naturally became a member. In April 1943 the Government announced it would accept the committee's recommendations in full.<sup>16</sup> When Tate rose to thank the Minister, 'she was cheered on both sides of the House'.<sup>17</sup>

She employed similar tactics in the campaign for equal pay. Despite their increasing role in the war effort, female workers were paid between half and two-thirds as much as men, but there was little support in Government to address this iniquity. Ernest Bevin, the socialist Minister of Labour, warned that if the issue were raised, 'industrial peace might be endangered for the rest of the war'.<sup>18</sup>

Tate, and her fellow Tory Irene Ward, were 'among the most vigorous of equal pay supporters in Parliament'.<sup>19</sup> By March 1944, she had collected the signatures of 160 MPs calling for a debate on equal pay.<sup>20</sup> When the Government refused to grant one, they resorted to more direct tactics. On 28 March, Churchill's National Government suffered its only defeat in Parliament when an amendment to Rab Butler's Education Bill requiring equal

pay for teachers was passed by 117 votes to 116. Churchill was furious: he came to the House the following day and turned the issue into a vote of confidence. Threatened with the resignation of the Government, the House reversed its decision and the offending clauses were removed from the Bill by a large margin. Another concession was granted – this time a Royal Commission – but it was not until 1955 that the first equal pay scheme was introduced (by Rab Butler, the man whose Education Bill had been hijacked, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer).<sup>21</sup>

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In May 1939, the anti-Semitic Unionist MP Archibald Ramsay established a secret society, the Right Club, 'to oppose and expose the activities of Organized Jewry'.<sup>22</sup> The unhinged Ramsay was monitored by Special Branch: during the war, he had the ignominious accolade of being the only sitting MP to be interned under Defence Regulation 18B. The members of his secret society were listed in its 'Red Book', an infamous item presumed lost until its rediscovery in the filing cabinet of a London solicitor's office in the late 1980s. Male and female members were listed separately – with Mavis Tate's name appearing among the latter, recording a donation of ten shillings.

Tate's inclusion in this list is surprising, and does not sit easily with other details

of her character. Richard Griffiths, in his detailed study of the group, cautions that 'many of those who joined the Right Club may not have been aware of all the attitudes and activities of the more active membership' – although there can have been no ignorance about Ramsay's anti-Semitic views. Griffiths breaks down the names listed in the Red Book into three categories: 'known activists', 'fellow travellers', and 'innocents at large'. It is in this last category that he places Tate – those 'for whom we have no external evidence of right-wing activity of an extremist kind':

*Her later public statements, after a nervous breakdown in early 1940, were entirely patriotic and anti-German ... it is hard to work out exactly why she was on the Right Club list.*<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, there is even earlier evidence that Tate was no fascist sympathizer. In May 1934, she flew to Germany to effect 'a dramatic rescue operation from a Nazi concentration camp'.<sup>24</sup> An interned Socialist member of the Reichstag, Gerhard Seger, had escaped from Oranienburg and fled to Prague. His wife and child were still imprisoned, and a number of organizations had taken up their case without success. Tate, under her own steam, travelled to Berlin and got herself introduced to 'Putzi' Hanfstaengl, a piano-playing friend of Hitler's. She persuaded him that it would be good propaganda to release the Segers and he agreed to take the matter up with the Führer. Not only were Frau Seger and her child released, they – and Tate – were flown back to Britain at German expense and met at Croydon airport by Prince von Bismarck from the German Embassy. During this visit, Tate's Nazi hosts took her to Oranienburg to try and dissuade her of Seger's claims about the conditions there. It is not clear to what extent they succeeded – but Nick Crowson, in his study on the Conservative Party's attitudes towards fascism, is clear: 'One of the earliest to recognize the dangers of the [Nazi] regime was Mavis Tate'.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, in November 1938 – when many in Britain were still turning a blind eye – she was one of more than ninety parliamentarians who wrote a stark but simple letter to the editor of *The Times*:

*Sir,—We wish to record our solemn protest, before the conscience of civilization, against the persecution of the Jews in Germany.*<sup>26</sup>

It seems unlikely, therefore, that Tate would have supported the anti-Semitism of the Right Club only months later. But this uncertainty over her views casts an interesting light on her selection for the Parliamentary delegation which went to see the concentration camps at the end of the war – a voyage which was to change her life irrevocably.

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The name Buchenwald means ‘beech forest’. Near Weimar, this tranquil, sylvan setting is an incongruous backdrop for the SS concentration camp which opened in 1937. More than 238,000 inmates passed through its gates between April 1938 and the end of the war. It is not known precisely how many were murdered: the number of deaths is estimated at 56,000 – with some 25,500 killed as the SS hurried to evacuate the camp in April 1945.<sup>27</sup>

The worst atrocities at Buchenwald were committed under the camp’s first commandant, Karl-Otto Koch, and his wife, Ilse, the notorious ‘Hexe’ or witch of Buchenwald. Both were sexual sadists who used the inmates to satisfy their brutal desires. Herr Koch had a ‘twisted, foaming mind’ and acted ‘with an abandoned wantonness [and] care-free fiendishness which astounded even his masters’.<sup>28</sup> His wife had a particular fetish for tattoos, and gruesome tales have emerged about the objects – including a lampshade – she had made from the skin of murdered prisoners.

More than fifty MPs put their names forward for the Parliamentary delegation who went to see this evil place for themselves. The Speaker, Douglas Clifton-Brown, made the selection. As a back-bencher, he had been a supporter of equal pay: perhaps this, or his observance of Tate’s independence and articulacy in the chamber, swayed him in her favour – at any rate, she was chosen as the representative of the fifteen women MPs.

The cross-party group left London in an RAF Dakota on Friday 20 April. They flew first to Rheims, joining Eisenhower at Supreme Headquarters of the Allied



*More than 238,000 people passed through the gates of Buchenwald, 1938–45*

Expeditionary Force, and flying with him to Weimar the following morning. They stayed under guard in an hotel and were ‘not allowed out of doors, for there was much shooting in the streets’.<sup>29</sup> The war was not yet over: Hitler was still in his bunker, and VE Day three weeks off.

It was a fifteen minute drive through the woods to Buchenwald. They arrived on 21 April, ten days after its liberation. Even Sir Henry Morris-Jones (Liberal National, Denbigh), a doctor who had served as a medical officer in the First World War, was shocked by what they saw:

*A busy week of thorough cleaning and disinfecting by the Americans had not removed the general squalor and the odour of disease and dissolution which pervaded the place ... Malnutrition was intense. Many lay in semi-coma from starvation, the only thing that could be called living about them being their dull, cavernous, lustreless eyes, following us as we moved past them.*<sup>30</sup>

There were still 21,000 prisoners in the camp, and the party spent time talking to those who were well enough to speak to them. Earl Stanhope, a former Leader of the House of Lords who headed the delegation, tried to explain this ordeal:

*Much the most painful thing that I saw was the condition of those who*

*were still alive. The corpses we saw were merely skeletons covered with skin. They did not look like human beings ... Men lifted up their legs to show me bruises and cuts which had been inflicted upon them. Children whom we met were nothing but eyes. And we were told that in spite of all the wonderfully fine attention and skill devoted to them by the medical authorities of the United States Army, still a large number of those people would die. At the time when the United States Army reached the camp, deaths were taking place at the rate of a hundred a day. The day before we got to the camp the rate was still thirty-five.*<sup>31</sup>

The task of writing the report was given to Tom Driberg, the *Daily Express* columnist who had been elected the independent MP for Maldon in a June 1942 by-election. He also described the scene for his newspaper column:

*Worse than any sight or sound was the smell that overhung the whole place, even after a week’s intensive cleaning-up: a stuffy, sweetish-sour smell, not unlike the ordinary prison smell plus death and decay; a stench, compounded of excrement, dirty blankets, disinfectant and decomposing flesh, which seemed to seep pervadingly into every channel of our heads and cranny of our clothing and to linger in everything that one took away from the camp ... I think that carrion stink will always haunt me.*<sup>32</sup>

This sense – of ‘haunting’ – was one which affected the whole delegation, echoed in the final paragraph of the report they presented to Parliament on 27 April:

*... it is our considered and unanimous opinion, on the evidence available to us, that a policy of steady starvation and inhuman brutality was carried out at Buchenwald for a very long period of time; and that such camps as this mark the lowest point of degradation to which humanity has yet descended. The memory of what we saw and heard at Buchenwald will ineffaceably haunt us for many years.*<sup>33</sup>

It is clear that each member of the group was profoundly affected by their experiences. For some, the effects were physical: almost all of the group fell ill on their return to the UK. Labour's Sydney Silverman, the only Jewish member of the delegation, 'came back with a throat infection which persisted for many years', while Sir Archibald Southby, Bt., a former Naval commander, required an extended convalescence to recover from influenza and 'near-jaundice' attributed to the visit.<sup>34</sup> He took the Chiltern Hundreds and left Parliament in 1947.

Another member of the delegation, Ness Edwards, was followed into Labour politics by his daughter Llin (MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1986–2001, and now Baroness Golding). More than four decades later, she vividly recalled the effect the trip had on him:

*I remember him telling me about the horrors of what went on in that camp. They are engraved for ever on my mind and heart ... I was but a child on the day when I opened the door to my father on his return. He stood there, grey and drawn, and said, "Do not touch me. I am covered with lice. Everyone in the camps is covered with lice. We have been deloused many times, but I am still covered with lice." He could not sleep for many weeks, and he had nightmares for many years.<sup>35</sup>*

At first, it seemed that Tate had shown remarkable fortitude: Driberg was impressed by her calmness as she studied the stacks of dead bodies.<sup>36</sup> But there were early signs of the strain she had been put under. She felt moved to write to *Picture Post* in May 1945:

*Appalling as are your photographs of the concentration camps, they are infinitely less terrible than the reality we saw. There still appears to be a number of people who wish to believe the photographs are fakes ... They can take our assurance that no appreciation of the full horror is conveyed even by your pictures, because you can photograph results of suffering, but never suffering itself.<sup>37</sup>*



*The future US Vice President Alben Barkley views the corpses at Buchenwald, 24 April 1945 (US National Archives)*

Shortly afterwards, she too was taken ill: a notice in *The Times* on 9 June said that 'Mrs. Mavis Tate, MP, who has been seriously ill with a septic throat, is now making an excellent recovery'. She will have been eager to do so – for the first general election in a decade was about to begin. An election report a few days later maintained that, in Frome, 'Mrs. Mavis Tate has not allowed her indisposition, which resulted from her visit to the German concentration camps, to interfere with her strenuous campaign'.<sup>38</sup> Even if she had been in rude health, she would have struggled to hold back the tide of the Labour landslide – and, in a straight fight, she was swept away by more than 5,500 votes.

To any MP, an unexpected defeat is a terrible blow. To Mavis Tate, who had made the House of Commons the focus of her life – and was just learning how to use it to further the causes in which she strongly believed – it must have been particularly crushing. She had only recently come through a period in which she contemplated quitting Parliament. The breakdown of her marriage to Henry Tate had left her with financial difficulties and, early in 1939, she told the Frome Tories that she could not afford to contest the seat again. Her vocation

was costing her considerably. She had financed her previous election campaign (some £1,153) herself, and donated her MP's salary (£400) to her Association each year in addition to the £5,000 she estimated she had given to the party over ten years. The executive committee of her Association was split over whether to accept her resignation. Most did not want to, but the 'tremendous upheaval' it provoked caused the resignation of the entire committee; a new one was elected and chose to stand by her.<sup>39</sup>

Tate's thoughts must have been driven by the expectation of a 1940 general election and the slim majority she had to defend. Coupled with the unravelling of her marriage and financial pressures, this seems to have brought about a nervous breakdown during 1940. There are, perhaps, clues to Tate's awareness of her own health in the frequent contributions she made to Parliament about mental health.<sup>40</sup>

Her defeat in 1945 capped a miserable three years in Tate's personal life. Her father had died in April 1943, and the long break-up of her second marriage finally ended with another divorce in 1944. After a few quiet months she returned to the political fray – being readopted as the Conservative candidate for Frome in March 1946, and accepting national speaking engagements.<sup>41</sup> She remained active in the Equal Pay Campaign Committee, agreeing to lead a deputation to discuss the issue with her erstwhile colleagues in Parliament. Pamela Brookes thinks it 'very probable' that she would have succeeded in rejoining them had she contested the 1950 election.<sup>42</sup>

This, alas, was not to be. On 5 June 1947, Mavis Tate was found dead in her home at Bloomfield Terrace, Pimlico. She was fifty-four. The note she left to her brother Kenneth was read at the inquest:

*As I have no one dependent on me it seems to me the wiser thing to do to end my life. An invalid is only a national liability to-day, and I cannot endure the extensive and constant pain in my head and practically no sleep at all week after week.<sup>43</sup>*

The medical details provided said that she had long suffered acute pain and had undergone several operations, with no

clear diagnosis. The coroner's verdict was that she had died 'of coal gas poisoning self-administered, at a time when the balance of her mind was disturbed by ill-health'. Reference was made during the inquest to her visit to Buchenwald, 'and to her habit over many years of over-working'.<sup>44</sup> She had worked hard right up to the end: she was due to speak at a branch event in Frome the day after she died, and only a few hours before her death had written, as Chairman of the Equal Pay Campaign Committee, to all Labour MPs 'expressing the committee's pleasure at the victory achieved for the principle of equal pay at the Labour Party Conference at Margate'.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the very day she died Herbert Morrison, as Leader of the House of Commons, had told MPs that a statement on the question of equal pay 'will be during next week'.<sup>46</sup>

Nancy Astor had no doubt of the effect that her trip to Buchenwald had taken on her friend: she 'had suffered greatly' after it and 'been struck down by a mysterious disease'. In Astor's view, 'Mavis became crushed by depression, which by the summer of 1947 had become too hard to bear'.

The House of Commons had not fully learned to embrace its female members during Mavis Tate's years there, but she had certainly won its respect and affection. Her 'vivacious personality, ready wit ... and striking appearance gave her an advantage as a public figure'.<sup>47</sup> She was 'a woman of considerable ability' and, although she could be emotional and highly strung, 'her independence, enterprise, and vigour made her a valuable member'.<sup>48</sup> She was never afraid to take on the Government – even her own, in the midst of a world war – in defence of her principles, and achieved more during her fourteen years in the Commons than many MPs who served for longer. Harold Nicolson was full of admiration: 'Mrs. Tate sails like a frigate into battle, aiming trimly and unerringly at the very centre of the enemy's line'.<sup>49</sup> She thrived on the battle. It seems somehow fitting, therefore, that her fate was sealed not in the midst of battle, but on the terrifying cusp of peace.

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- 1 Quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill. Volume VII: Road to Victory, 1941–1945* (London: Heinemann, 1986), p. 1305.
- 2 *Hansard*, 19 April 1945.
- 3 The full, shocking film can be viewed online at [www.britishpathe.com/video/german-atrocities](http://www.britishpathe.com/video/german-atrocities)
- 4 See Christopher Cooper, 'The first but forgotten Lord Hailsham', *Conservative History Journal*, vol. II, issue 2 (Autumn 2013), pp. 13–19.
- 5 Pamela Brookes, *Women at Westminster: An Account of Women in the British Parliament, 1918–1966* (London: Peter Davies, 1967), pp. 99, 101.
- 6 The Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton PC, *Orders of the Day* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 301.
- 7 *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 November 1935, cited in Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
- 8 Martin Pugh, 'Tate, Mavis Constance (1893–1947)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Hereafter 'DNB'.
- 9 Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
- 10 Obituary (by Hugo Vickers) in *The Independent*, 1 July 1992.
- 11 Cmdr. A.B. Campbell, *When I was in Patagonia* (London: Christopher Johnson, 1953), p. 77.
- 12 Pugh, *DNB*.
- 13 Stuart Ball, *Portrait of a Party: The Conservative Party in Britain 1918–1945* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 327.
- 14 Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain, 1939–1945* (Oxford University Press: 2003), p. 116. See also Allen Potter, 'The Equal Pay Campaign Committee: a case-study of a pressure group', *Political Studies*, vol. V, no. 1 (1957), pp. 49–64.
- 15 e.g. in May 1941 and April 1942.
- 16 For more on the Select Committee, see Mari Takayanagi, '“They Have Made Their Mark Entirely Out of Proportion to Their Numbers”: Women and Parliamentary Committees, c. 1918–1945', in Julie Gottlieb and Richard Toye (eds.), *The Aftermath of Suffrage: Women, Gender, and Politics in Britain, 1918–1945*, pp. 193–4.
- 17 Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
- 18 Harold Smith, 'The Problem of “Equal Pay for Equal Work” in Great Britain during World War II', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 53 (December 1981), p. 652.
- 19 Olive Banks, *The Politics of British Feminism, 1918–1970* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1993), p. 47.
- 20 Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain: Social, Cultural and Political Change*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 270.
- 21 For more, see Harold L. Smith, 'The Politics of Conservative Reform: The Equal Pay for Equal Work Issue, 1945–1955', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1992), pp. 401–415.
- 22 Capt. A.H.M. Ramsay, *The Nameless War* (4th edn.; London: Britons Publishing Co., 1962), p. 105.
- 23 Richard Griffiths, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, the Right Club and British Anti-Semitism, 1939–40* (London: Constable, 1998), pp. 4, 158–160. The only connection Griffiths can establish is Tate's support in Parliament for the return of Basque refugees to Spain in July 1937, a cause also championed by other, more active members of the Right Club.
- 24 Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- 25 Nick Crowson, *Facing Fascism: The Conservative Party and The European Dictators 1935–1940* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 30.
- 26 *The Times*, 22 November 1938.
- 27 Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 89; [www.buchenwald.de](http://www.buchenwald.de)
- 28 Christopher Burney, *The Dungeon Democracy* (London: Heinemann, 1946), pp. 5–6.
- 29 Sir Henry Morris-Jones, *Doctor in the Whips' Room* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1955), p. 136.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 31 *House of Lords Hansard*, 1 May 1945, cols. 71–72.
- 32 *Reynolds News*, 29 April 1945, quoted in Francis Wheen, *Tom Driberg: His Life and Indiscretions* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990), p. 205.
- 33 *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation*, Cmd. 6626 (London: HMSO, April 1945).
- 34 Emrys Hughes MP, *Sydney Silverman: Rebel in Parliament* (London: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1969), p. 85; Myfanwy Lloyd, 'The Parliamentary Delegation to Buchenwald Concentration Camp – 70 Years On', History of Parliament weblog, 21 April 2015.
- 35 *Hansard*, 12 December 1989, col. 901.
- 36 Wheen, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- 37 *Picture Post*, 12 May 1945.
- 38 *The Times*, 9 June 1945; 29 June 1945.
- 39 Brookes, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–6; J.F.S. Ross, *Parliamentary Representation*, 2nd edn. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), p. 131.
- 40 e.g. *Hansard*, 3 March 1936, cols. 1196–7; 23 March 1937, cols. 2754–5; 17 February 1938, cols. 2088–9W; 16 May 1938, cols. 30–1; 11 May 1939, col. 674.
- 41 *The Times*, 22 March, 9 July and 7 October 1946.
- 42 Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
- 43 *The Times*, 11 June 1947
- 44 *ibid.*
- 45 *The Glasgow Herald*, 6 June 1947.
- 46 *Hansard*, 5 June 1947, col. 393.
- 47 Pugh, *DNB*.
- 48 Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
- 49 Harold Nicolson, 'Women in Parliament', *The Spectator*, 12 February 1943, reprinted in *Friday Mornings 1941–1944* (London: Constable, 1944), p. 126.