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with the governed as well as the government, which is illustrated so effectively in this book, becomes part of an academic tradition taken up by Rudé, Hobsbawm and Thompson. One of the tragedies from the Liberal Party's point of view is that this moral outrage has been hijacked so effectively by the socialist left. We can remind ourselves in this book, however, of the radicalism which still nourishes the soul of British liberalism.

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- 1 S. A. Weaver, *The Hammonds: A marriage in history* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 111–12.
- 2 P. Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 246.

society than a country governed centrally from Westminster' (p. x). Using Lloyd George's own early correspondence and diaries and those of his political contemporaries, and a great deal of searching through national and local newspapers over many years, the author has quarried a large amount of evidence to support his contentions.

The volume is consequently a thorough and detailed account of Lloyd George's political career in a Welsh context before his election as the Liberal MP for the Caernarfon Boroughs in a by-election in April 1890, and his record as a MP until about 1899. This is followed by a brief closing chapter which examines the Lloyd George legacy to Welsh life in the twentieth century. There is much fascinating material on Lloyd George's intervention in the politics of Merionethshire in 1886 when he came close to selection as the Liberal candidate for the county, eventually happy to stand down in favour of his young radical associate Thomas Edward Ellis (1859–99). This is followed by detailed accounts of Lloyd George's contribution to the tithe and disestablishment debates, his founding of the short-lived newspaper *Udgorn Rhyddid* (throughout his career LG was always fully aware of the potential power of the press), and the battle to secure the Liberal nomination for the six highly disparate boroughs within the Caernarfon District in 1888–89. Some new material emerges of Lloyd George's firm commitment to labour issues and the welfare of the Welsh language even at this very early stage of his career.

A full analysis ensues of the closely contested by-election in the Boroughs in April 1890 when Lloyd George secured election to parliament by a wafer-thin majority of just eighteen votes. After he had arrived at Westminster Lloyd George remained true to his commitment to Welsh home

The young Lloyd George and Wales

Emyr Price: *David Lloyd George* (University of Wales Press, 2006)

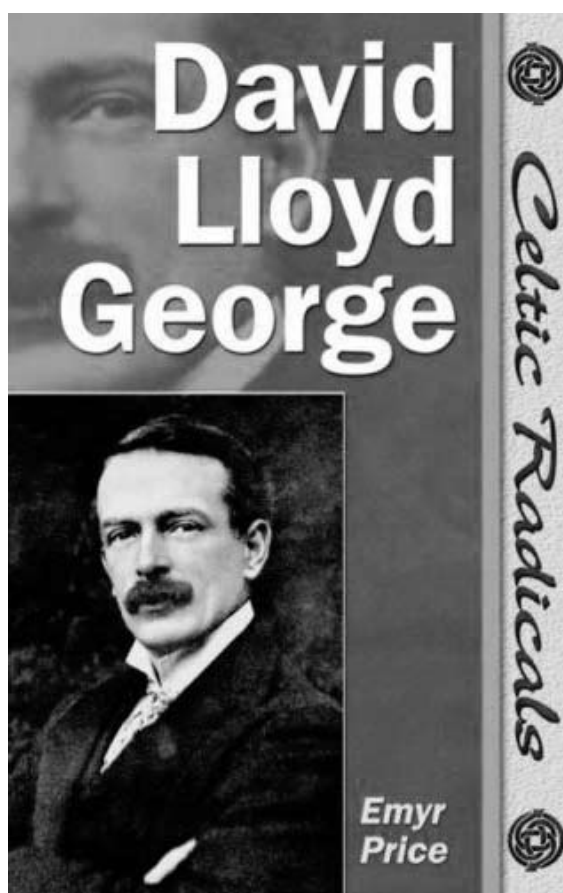
Reviewed by **Dr J. Graham Jones**

With the publication of this important volume, the new 'Celtic Radicals' series recently launched by the University of Wales Press and edited by Dr Paul O'Leary (senior lecturer in Welsh History at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth), has got off to an auspicious start. The author, Emyr Price, is well known in Wales as a prolific author, lecturer and broadcaster and as one of our acknowledged experts on the life and career of David Lloyd George. Indeed, his preoccupation with Lloyd George now extends back more than three decades, beginning with a pioneering MA thesis 'Lloyd George's Pre-parliamentary Career', presented to the University of Wales as long ago as 1974. Since then he has published a substantial number of monographs and scholarly articles which have enhanced our understanding of Lloyd George. A few years ago he published the well-received Welsh volume *Lloyd George: y Cenedlaetholwr Cymreig: Bradur neu Awyr?* (Gomer Press, 1999). In two reviews published in

Welsh journals at the time, the present reviewer expressed the hope that the author would soon adapt his work for an English audience.¹

To some extent the present volume is an English version or adaptation of the Welsh volume published seven years ago. In both volumes Emyr Price confidently challenges head-on the view of other biographers of Lloyd George – such as Bentley B. Gilbert, the late John Grigg and Kenneth O. Morgan – who tend to interpret Lloyd George's early career as a relatively insignificant precursor to his success as a radical British politician from 1905. Their argument tends to be that during his early career Lloyd George paid little more than lip-service to the national rights of Wales as a convenient stepping-stone towards stardom and career success as a radical British politician at Westminster. Mr Price takes a totally different line. In his opinion, 'Lloyd George had a committed and visionary view of a self-governing Wales which could create a vibrant, more progressive and a more equal

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rule, disestablishment and devolutionary solutions. This important volume includes much valuable information on the neglected *Cymru Fydd* movement, its significance, the reasons for its eventual breakdown and failure in 1895–96 and the half-hearted attempts to revive it during subsequent years.

By far the least satisfactory part of the book is the rather brief epilogue-like Chapter XI, 'The British-Welsh Politician, 1899–1945, and the Legacy of Young Wales' (pp. 186–208) where Price valiantly attempts to look for evidence to support the view that Lloyd George still sought to safeguard Welsh interests from 1900 onwards. Even less convincing is his effort to portray devolutionary successes in the second half of the twentieth century, culminating in the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999, as the direct legacy of LG's devotion to Welsh issues. On the very last page of the text (p. 208), we read that the Welsh politicians who oversaw the

creation of the Welsh Assembly, individuals as diverse as Ron Davies (Labour), Richard Livsey (Liberal Democrat) and Dafydd Wigley (Plaid Cymru), were 'the inheritors of the Lloyd George mantle of Young Wales'. As Kenneth Morgan rightly wrote in a review of this volume's Welsh language predecessor, 'The effort to make his hero more of a consistent Welsh nationalist than previous historians have done smacks of the devolution enthusiasm of the 1990s rather than the Liberal politics of a hundred years earlier ... The author's wider speculations on the movements of the time owe as much to his patriotic heart as to his head'.²

It is especially pleasing that the author has provided this volume (unlike the Welsh version) with helpful scholarly footnotes, but disappointing that these often fail to give the full call numbers of the documents cited. This is true of important archival sources like the Lloyd George Papers, the William George Papers and the Sir John Herbert Lewis Papers in the custody of the National Library of Wales. Indeed, I am surprised that more use was not made of the William George Papers which contain a great deal of extremely valuable source material relating to the themes outlined in this book. To some extent the volume has a rather dated air and smacks of research undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s and not subsequently updated in the light of archival collections which have become available and listed in the meantime. To some extent, the author is happy to cite from published materials rather than consult the original documents himself.

The general standard of accuracy is high. It is clear that Price has fully mastered the minutiae and detail of his subject's early life and career. Factual slips are few. But we read (p. 53) that LG's younger brother William shared 'much

of the financial burden of Lloyd George's pre-parliamentary and parliamentary career up to 1911', the date of the introduction of the payment of MPs, whereas of course LG began to draw a (relatively generous) ministerial salary from the time of his entry into the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade in December 1905. The Liberal Party did not 'emerge triumphant' 'throughout Wales' in the first county council elections in January 1889 (p. 67), as Brecknockshire fell to the Conservatives. Stuart Rendel, the Liberal MP for Montgomeryshire from 1880 until his retirement in 1894, is described (p. 127) as 'the unofficial leader of Welsh Liberals', but, in fact, he had been elected the chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary Party in 1888. Frank Edwards MP represented not Brecknock and Radnor (p. 138), but simply Radnorshire. In 1920, LG urged Welsh devolutionists to seek, not 'Welsh Home Rule' (p. 187), but 'federal Home Rule'. Mair Eluned's death in 1907 did not 'cause the beginning of the long estrangement' (p. 190) between Lloyd George and his wife Margaret; there had been severe difficulties in the relationship ever since LG had first entered parliament back in 1890. Finally, the propaganda body launched by Lloyd George to accompany his dramatic 'New Deal' proposals in 1934–35 was the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction, not the Council for Economic and Social Reconstruction (p. 204). While the volume has a number of attractive photographs, all of these are well-known and most have been published many times before in earlier volumes.

In conclusion, this important volume must be warmly welcomed as the latest addition to the ever-growing body of literature on David Lloyd George. It is especially valuable for the focus which it provides on LG's early career within Wales and his abiding commitment to Welsh causes. Not all historians

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will accept Emyr Price's emphasis and arguments, but he has certainly produced a volume which is stimulating, thought-provoking and highly original. It will be eagerly received.

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- 1 *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, Vol. XIII, no. IV (2001), 407–08; *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 61 (2000), pp. 135–38.
- 2 *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 21, no. 1 (June 2002), p. 205.

David and Frances

John Campbell: *If Love Were All ... The Story of Frances Stevenson and David Lloyd George* (Jonathan Cape, 2006)

Reviewed by **Dr J. Graham Jones**

Mr John Campbell first earned our eternal gratitude and commendation almost thirty years ago with the publication of the volume *Lloyd George: The Goat in the Wilderness, 1922–1931* (Cape, 1977), an authoritative, pioneering study of LG's so-called 'wilderness years', which has stood the test of time and has never been superseded. Since then he has published substantial, well-received biographies of a host of eminent political figures, among them F. E. Smith (Earl Birkenhead), Roy Jenkins, Aneurin Bevan, Edward Heath and Margaret Thatcher. The publication of *If Love Were All* reflects the recent upsurge of interest in Lloyd George. Previously the Lloyd George industry seemed rather to have run out of steam since its conspicuous heyday in the late 1960s and 1970s when works seemed to pour from the presses.

The present offering is probably the most substantial. The main theme of the book is, of course, familiar enough. In 1911, David Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, employed Frances Stevenson,

a twenty-two year old recent classics graduate, as a temporary tutor for his youngest daughter Megan, who had received but little formal schooling. Frances was intelligent, organised, highly attractive, feminine and ambitious. She immediately caught the Chancellor's roving eye, was appointed his private secretary in 1912 and the following year became his long-term mistress. As A. J. Sylvester, LG's trusted 'Principal Private Secretary', noted in an interview decades later, 'No one would suspect her of a sexual relationship with anybody. You'd take her to be a prim schoolteacher.' John Campbell shows how the 'restless schoolteacher, following politics only through the newspapers' was dramatically catapulted into a position where she enjoyed regularly 'the company of Cabinet ministers, Prime Ministers, generals and foreign statesmen' at No. 11 and subsequently No. 10 Downing Street (p. 15). From 1913 until 1922 she lived out her life at the hub of British politics.

This bizarre situation continued for more than thirty years – while the press and the media unfailingly observed a

tactful silence. After LG fell from power in the autumn of 1922 (forever, as it happened), he set up home with Frances at a new house called Bron-y-de near Churt in Surrey. Thereafter Frances's long-term role was 'still in public LG's devoted secretary, still in private sharing him with Maggie, the eternal mistress still subordinate to the wife and obliged to make herself scarce whenever Maggie came out of Wales – even when she came to Churt' (pp. 254–55). Eventually, after the death of his wife Dame Margaret in January 1941, he made an honest woman of Frances by marrying her in October 1943. In January 1945 he accepted an earldom and she thus became a countess. Less than three months later he was dead. Not long afterwards Frances left north Wales to return to Surrey where, as the Dowager Countess Lloyd-George of Dwyfor, she outlived him by more than twenty-seven years, eventually dying in December 1972 at the age of 84.

The backbone of Mr Campbell's sources is the private diaries of some of the leading actors involved in this bizarre saga: those of Frances herself at the Parliamentary Archive at the House of Lords, together with those of Lord Hankey at Cambridge, Lord Riddell at London and A. J. Sylvester at Aberystwyth. These are supplemented by the voluminous correspondence between Lloyd George and Frances at the House of Lords and the Lloyd George family correspondence and papers at Aberystwyth. In every case there are existing published volumes containing edited and annotated selections from each of these sources, but John Campbell has in each case used the original source materials himself, meticulously transcribing and re-interpreting with a fresh eye the mass of intricate information they contain. In so doing, he draws attention to the many omissions, transcription errors, misinterpretations and

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