

histrionic, plans to protect those rights created the right balance of public drama and litigious embarrassment to expose a wide array of government officials who had grown to believe that inheritance and appointment trumped fundamental principles and the rational application of law and history. However complicated the man, meritorious in some areas, offensive in others, he was a critically important figure in British – and American – political and legal history.

With this wonderful new biography, light is shone on his amazingly rich and interesting character, accomplished and influential far beyond traditional teaching.

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The two great wartime leaders

Richard Toye, *Lloyd George & Churchill: Rivals for Greatness* (Macmillan, 2007)

Reviewed by Dr J. Graham Jones

IN 2005 Robert Lloyd George (Lloyd George's great-grandson and the second son of the present Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor) published a very readable, attractive volume, *David & Winston: How a Friendship Changed History* (reviewed by the present writer in *Journal of Liberal History* 48 (Autumn 2005), pp. 49–50). This book was hailed, on publication, as 'the remarkable story of the enduring friendship between David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill', a clear indication of the line adopted by the author. Now Dr Richard Toye, one of the most able political historians at the University of Cambridge (since moved on to pastures new at Exeter University) has produced an outstandingly full and balanced survey of the political and personal relationship between the two great wartime leaders, spanning five decades. He sets the scene for what follows in his introduction, with a pungent quotation from Lloyd George about Churchill in February 1934 – 'He would make a drum out

of the skin of his own mother in order to sound his own praises' (p. 5). The book's central theme, to which Toye returns time and again (see the telling comments on pp. 146–47 and 149) is that 'Churchill's loyalty to Lloyd George was episodic' (p. 98), and the converse was certainly equally true, perhaps even more so; Lloyd George made many unpleasant, bitchy comments about Churchill. There is, throughout, a nice balance of political and personal history with a store of fascinating anecdotes and asides.

The amount of research and reading which underpins the present volume is humbly complete. Dr Toye has consulted a rich array of archival sources scattered in libraries and record offices throughout the UK. Some have not been used before. The present reviewer was delighted to see the extensive use made of the various Lloyd George archives in the custody of the Welsh Political Archive at the National Library of Wales. Especially effective use has

been made of the revealing letters from Lloyd George to his younger brother William over several decades (though it would seem that these were not quarried to illuminate those crucial weeks during November and early December 1916 which saw Lloyd George's inexorable rise to the premiership as Asquith's successor). In the case of the letters from Lloyd George to his first wife Dame Margaret, however, the author relies exclusively on the published volume of correspondence *Lloyd George: Family Letters, 1885–1936* edited by Kenneth Morgan in 1973, rather than consulting the original letters at Aberystwyth. This is a shame as only a selection of the correspondence was published by Morgan and much of interest was omitted.

There is an admirable sense of balance and fair play throughout the book as the author uses a judicious selection of sources, both published and unpublished, to tell his tale. He displays an absolute mastery of such complex themes as Lloyd George's and Churchill's involvement in the framing of the 'People's Budget' of 1909; the military, diplomatic and political manoeuvres of World War One; the Anglo-Irish negotiations and ensuing treaty of 1921; and the steps which led to the fateful Carlton Club meeting of October 1922, which heralded the end of Lloyd George's ministerial career – for ever, as it was to prove. The author has an eagle eye for the many, many myths which have grown up around both Churchill and Lloyd George as individuals and around the long, complex relationship between them. He totally debunks the widely-held, grossly over-sentimental myth, perpetuated by Robert Lloyd-George and other writers such as Martin Rintala, that the two men always remained close personal allies no matter how bitterly

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they might disagree on policy matters.

The text is also genuinely helpful to and supportive of the non-specialist reader. Dr Toye does not presuppose a specialist knowledge and explains the identities of less well-known individuals in his account. Freddie Guest, we are told, was 'Churchill's cousin and Lloyd George's ex-Chief Whip' (p. 148), Kerensky was 'the leading figure in the Russian provisional government toppled by the Bolsheviks in 1917' (p. 261); and potted accounts of the political careers of Neville Chamberlain and his less well-known half-brother Austen are presented on page 252. Sir William Berry is recorded as 'soon to become Lord Camrose, an influential newspaper owner whose titles included *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Times*' (p. 266).

Given the wide scope of the book, it would be impossible not to disagree with some of Dr Toye's comments

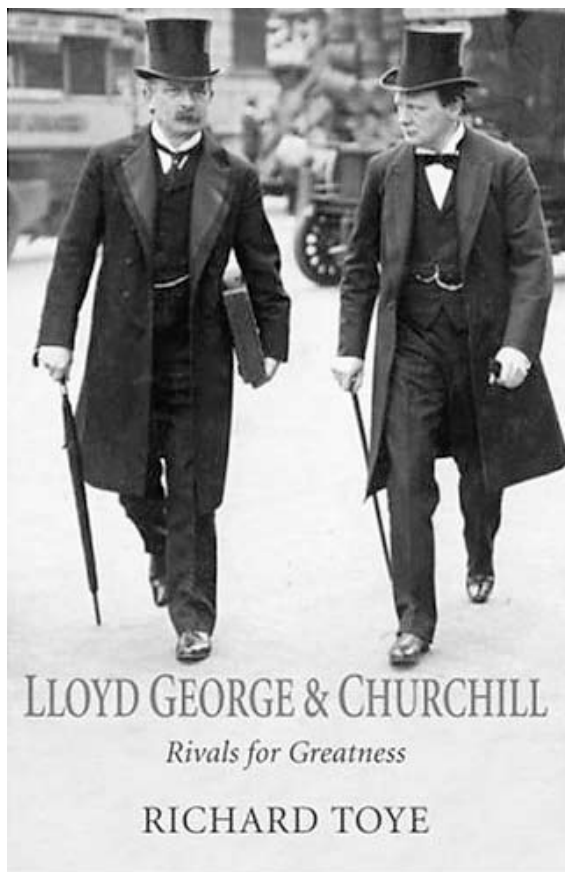
and interpretations. Boldly to bracket Lloyd George with Churchill as simply 'non-Christian' in the introductory section (p. 2) is surely a great exaggeration. Lloyd George was at least a regular chapel-goer both at Criccieth and in London, on occasion expressing a belief in an after-life and a curious interest in spiritualism. It is strange that the enthralling account of the suffragette campaigns does not include any reference to the agitation which accompanied the opening of the Llanystumdwy Village Institute by Lloyd George in 1912 and at the Wrexham National Eisteddfod the same year. The all-important 'Green Book' (*The Land and the Nation*) and 'Brown Book' (*Towns and the Land*), both published in 1925, are tersely passed over in just one sentence (p. 260), while the Liberal Party captured a total of fifty-nine seats, not fifty-six (p. 270), in the all-important general election of 30 May 1929.

Moreover, is it really accurate to describe the newly-elected Aneurin Bevan as, almost overnight, 'a rising Labour star' (p. 275) immediately upon his election to the Commons? It is by no means certain that Jennifer Stevenson (born in 1929) was Lloyd George's natural daughter (p. 372); the weight of evidence now available would seem to suggest that she was fathered by Colonel T. F. Tweed, Lloyd George's Chief-of-Staff at Liberal Party Headquarters and Frances's lover for a long period. Finally, Dame Margaret Lloyd George suffered her fall (which ultimately led to her death) not 'at their North Wales home' Brynawelon, Criccieth, during January 1941 (p. 378), but at Garthcelyn, the home of William and Anita George, her in-laws, on 28 December 1940. But these are, of course, relatively minor points of detail which do not detract in any way from the value of Dr Toye's admirable and pioneering volume.

Throughout the book, the analysis is extremely full, with an immense amount of fascinating detail packed into its pages. Just occasionally, however, one feels that there is an element of 'overkill' as one battles to absorb all the detailed facts and the sometimes-complicated analysis supporting them. This is especially true of Chapter Six, 'Master and Servant', which is devoted to the complexities of the post-war coalition government of 1918–22, and of Chapter Ten, 'I shall wait until Winston is bust', which chronicles the repeated, but ultimately abortive, attempts to persuade the ailing Lloyd George to accept a governmental or official position, possibly even a cabinet post, during the early years of the Second World War.

This latter chapter raises the utterly baffling issue of whether secretly, in his heart of hearts, Lloyd George hoped to wait until Churchill had failed and then to succeed him as Prime Minister himself and negotiate a compromise peace with Hitler, for whom he still had a lingering regard. These two chapters could well have been pruned a little to make them an easier, less demanding read. As it is, Dr Toye can rest assured that he has written perhaps the last word on a sometimes tempestuous relationship, which extended over several decades and influenced the course of history.

Overall, this volume is a compelling, illuminating read. It is certain to command an immense amount of interest and respect. The revelation concerning an unpublished article allegedly written by Winston Churchill in 1937 on 'How the Jews Can Combat Persecution' has already given rise to fierce, partisan debate amongst academics. One now looks forward with great anticipation to the publication, scheduled for later this year, by



Mr Ian Hunter of his edition of the correspondence which passed between Churchill and Lloyd George, more than 1,000 communications in all, dating from 1904 to 1945. It will undoubtedly be an admirable

companion volume to the present tome.

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Liberalism in Germany and the Netherlands

Patrick van Schie and Gerrit Voerman (eds.) *The Dividing Line between Success and Failure* (Lit Verlag, 2006)

Reviewed by Saeed Rahman

MY FIRST encounter with continental liberalism was a happy one, some time in the mid 1970s. Steve Atack, then Chair of the National League of Young Liberals, brought a delegation from the Youth Wing of D66 down to Maldon to meet a Young Liberal branch. The meeting over, we all went to the pub, returned home and we, as hosts, skinned up. 'Ahhh, ze Eenglich joint' said one of our Dutch *fraters* (we didn't even have joint-sized Rizlas). They then produced their stash ...

This book bears an unpromising title, and when it goes on to explain that it is 'a comparison of liberalism in the Netherlands and Germany in the 19th and 20th centuries', are we greatly encouraged? Mark Smulian, reviewing the anthology for *Liberator*, wasn't, but as I pointed out, he was wrong.

It was not only in Britain that liberalism suffered a decline after the First World War, and whilst there are generalisations that can be gleaned from the study of our sister liberal movements, it is evident that local factors played a part in both decline and recovery. There was little interplay between the liberal movements of Germany and the Netherlands until relatively recently. On the Liberal International (LI) stage nowadays

one tends to see a synergy between the Dutch Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie – VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) and the German Freie Demokratische Partei – FDP (Free Democratic Party) on the right or economic wing. The Dutch Democraten 66 – D66 (Democrats 66) on the other hand represents the left or social wing of LI and is more commonly allied with the British Liberals.

This split between economic and social liberals is common in Europe and was also the case in Germany before the shameful capitulation to Hitler. It is unfortunate that the contributors to this anthology do not touch on this matter – why not is perhaps the most pressing question we would put to them. Both the Deutsche Demokratische Partei – DDP (German Democratic Party) on the left and the Deutsche Volkspartei – DVP (German People's Party) were important, if declining, players in the Weimar Republic, but signed away constitutional powers to Hitler in the belief that he was a politician whom they would be able to moderate.

German liberalism has a proud intellectual heritage, counting Kant and Hegel among its ranks, though Humboldt (through John Stuart Mill) is its main influence on British

liberalism. It was heavily associated with the 1848 revolutions and things went downhill from there on. Despite being the main voice for German unification, its regionalism stifled its development – always looking towards the state instead of the people, whom it might be said to fear. Not only the National-liberale Partei (National Liberal Party) on the right but also the Deutsche Volkspartei and Fortschrittliche Volkspartei (Progressive People's Party) on the left (in particular) had a chequered history under Bismarck and the Kaiser; while they had some successes, they were increasingly marginalised on the national stage. However, the *Kulturkampf* was as much their policy as Bismarck's, reflecting the anti-clericalism that characterises much continental liberalism (and the fact that Roman Catholicism was a major force for the darkest forms of Conservatism for many years to come).

The precursors of D66 and the VVD in the Netherlands enjoyed a less traumatic history. Despite what one might expect

