by Chris Wrigley

J.P. Taylor (1906–90) played a major role in the reassessment of David Lloyd George that took place in the 1960s and after. He did so through his own writings and through his encouragement of other people's research at the Beaverbrook Library between 1967 and 1976.

When Taylor's 1959 and 1961 lectures, 'Politics in the First World War' and 'Lloyd George: Rise and Fall' were given, the history of Liberal politics in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by accounts highly sympathetic to H. H. Asquith and his independent Liberals of 1916-23.1 Not only had Asquith published his memoirs and reflections first but also, after his death, his papers were available in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, before those of Lloyd George became generally available with the opening of the Beaverbrook Library in May 1967.2

Taylor's essays on Lloyd George and the politics of 1914–22 were harbingers of change. In the early and mid 1960s it was normal to depict Lloyd George detrimentally when considered with Asquith. Perhaps the nadir of Lloyd George denigration was marked in 1963 by Donald McCormick's The Mask of Merlin, a biography which usually took the worst view of its subject. That Lloyd George was a villain, at least in 1916, even if not of the dimensions of Shakespeare's Richard III, was taken for granted in David Thomson's 1965 Penguin history, England in the Twentieth Century, where the author wrote without qualification that Lloyd George ousted Asquith with 'ruthless skill' by a 'complex intrigue'.3 While views

differ as to Lloyd George's activities in December 1916, the details of the 'complex intrigue' have so far eluded later historians. 4 Trevor Wilson's far more significant study published in 1966, The Downfall of the Liberal Party, painted a tawdry picture of Lloyd George's manoeuvres within the Liberal Party, drawing often on the hostile comments in the correspondence between Asquith's ardent followers. Wilson balanced this towards the end of the book by paying tribute to Lloyd George's dynamism and daring, as a radical and as a war leader: 'Time and again Lloyd George proved himself to be the necessary man.' Nevertheless, otherwise Lloyd George does not come out well. He was a man of 'sharp practice' and was 'often unscrupulous and disloyal', with his plotting in December 1916 still assumed.5 From 1960, Roy Jenkins used Asquith's papers and also Asquith's letters to Venetia Stanley for his 1964 biography of Herbert Henry Asquith, in which a chapter is headed with Asquith's illustrious sobriquet, 'The Last of the Romans', presumably indicating nobility in politics before the advent of the barbarians. Jenkins' biographer John Campbell shrewdly observed that Jenkins' portrait of Asquith presented him 'as calm, rational, unhurried and superior' and 'his magisterial view of politics prevails over all'. This was very much a contrast with Lloyd George. Jenkins was critical of Asquith, but later biographers of Asquith were more so.6

Alan Taylor came to reassess Lloyd George as part of his early work for his Oxford History of England volume on the period

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1914–1945, published in November 1965.7 He had taken on writing the volume in 1957. He later recalled of his wide reading for the book that it resulted in 'two spin-offs: the Raleigh lecture to the British Academy on Politics in the First World War and the Leslie Stephen lecture at Cambridge on Lloyd George: Rise and Fall'.8 Neither lecture drew on archival research but both were based on printed diaries and autobiographies, Hansard (House of Commons Debates) and secondary sources. Both dealt with Lloyd George. The lecture on wartime politics was a dazzling study of Lloyd George's ascent to the premiership and the political circumstances that kept him there, giving attention to the role of backbenchers and also the press. He rightly judged it 'the best lecture I have ever given, in form and content'.9 The distinguished American historian Alfred Gollin commented that it 'is a contribution of vital consequence ... it opens up the entire subject in a way that has not been done by anyone else'.10

Taylor's most substantial reassessment of Lloyd George was made in his 1961 Leslie Stephen lecture, which complements the earlier lecture. In his autobiography he wrote that: 'I am assured, [it] launched Lloyd George studies on a new, more rewarding course, which was not my intention though I am glad of it.' In this he referred, among others, to Stephen Koss, who had written that the lecture was a 'tour de force that captured Lloyd George's incandescent sparkle, his restlessness, and, not least of all, his predicament as a permanent outsider in British politics'.11

In his 1961 Lloyd George essay Taylor, when referring to his accession to the premiership in 1916, commented that 'even the incomparable dissection by Lord Beaverbrook, which will be read as long as men are interested in political tactics, leaves much unsaid.' Beaverbrook had published Politicians and the War 1914-16, two volumes, in 1928 and 1932, and *Men and* Power, 1917-18, in 1956. Alan Taylor reviewed Men and Power in The Observer on 26 October 1956. He praised it as 'equally exciting and equally entertaining' as the earlier two volumes but wisely added, 'He may sometimes exaggerate the part that he has played in events'. While Beaverbrook also emphasised, and even exaggerated, the role of his political mentor, Andrew Bonar Law, his three books on First World War politics also shone a bright light on Lloyd George, as did his later book The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George (1963). Taylor tackled the wartime politics and the role of Lloyd George in these two lectures of 1959 and 1961 primarily because he was working on the early chapters of English History 1914-1945 but also in selecting these themes he was consciously following in the footsteps of Beaverbrook, now a friend and even patron in terms of newspaper opportunities.12

Alan Taylor's history of 1914-1945 has David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill as its heroes, though the book is marked by reappraisals of many leading politicians. His verdict on the Liberal divide of 1916 was: 'Asquith in fact, not Lloyd George, pursued a personal vendetta. He split the Liberal Party and riveted on his adherents, however unwillingly, the appearance of opposing a government that was fighting the war.'13 Taylor wrote his Oxford history ahead of the release of the British government archives under the then fifty-year rule of closure. As a result he could not check many assumptions. He was often brilliantly right in his surmises as to what occurred, but sometimes was not.14 Nevertheless, nearly fifty years on, the book remains influential in its judgements of politics and politicians of its period, not least on Lloyd George and Churchill.

Taylor further contributed to the study of Lloyd George by editing the records of Frances Stevenson, his long-term mistress and Alan Taylor's history of 1914–1945 has David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill as its heroes, though the book is marked by reappraisals of many leading politicians.

eventual second wife. Taylor visited her and was impressed, 'seeing flashes of the Frances who had charmed Lloyd George and other men also'.15 Frances Stevenson's diaries are a notably useful source for Lloyd George both 'as a man as well as a statesman', giving Lloyd George's versions of events as told to an admiring much younger woman. The diaries' value is vitiated to some extent by sizeable gaps in entries for some crucial periods.16 Much the same applies to the edited correspondence between Lloyd George and Stevenson, which illuminates Lloyd George in love as well as throwing some light on politics.17

Alan Taylor's innovatory lectures on Lloyd George were not the only important fresh work on Lloyd George before his papers became available. There was much written from 1960 on Lloyd George's Welsh political context by Kenneth O. Morgan. In 1963 Morgan marked the centenary of Lloyd George's birth with a superb short booklet (eighty pages of text) in which he explored 'the place of Lloyd George in the history of modern Wales' and 'the importance of his Welsh background in his general career in British and world politics'.18 This re-evaluation of Lloyd George complemented Morgan's seminal work on Welsh modern political history, Wales In British Politics 1868-1922. This thoroughly researched book, written before either the London or Aberystwyth sets of Lloyd George's papers were available, provided a rich, detailed study of his Welsh political context, something that needed doing since the enthusiastic, even eulogistic, biographies written before the First World War and after. 19 Alongside these books, Kenneth Morgan published from 1960 a great many articles and essays on Lloyd George and the Welsh politics of his time, twenty-six of which were later collected together in a large volume which is also essential reading for Lloyd George's career.20 Morgan also provided much fresh primary material for those interested in Lloyd George's career and first marriage by editing Lloyd George's letters to his wife, Margaret, with some additional family material.21

The combination of the opening of the Beaverbrook Library on 25 May 1967 eighty-eight years to the day after Beaverbrook's birth) and the amendment of the Public Records Act 1958 in 1967 so that most government records became available after thirty, not fifty, years (so in January 1968, papers of 1937, not 1917, were the latest for public inspection) gave a great boost to the study of Lloyd George's career. Beaverbrook had bought collections of early twentieth-century political papers much as lesser mortals buy rare postage stamps. He had secured Frank Owen, a journalist and former Liberal MP, to write a biography of Lloyd George (with inputs from himself and Lloyd George's widow, the former Frances Stevenson). He also gave the historian Robert Blake access to the Bonar Law Papers for a biography of Andrew Bonar Law. Beaverbrook gave both authors access to his own papers and to those of the subjects of their biographies, while Blake in addition had access to Lloyd George's papers.22 Thereafter, Beaverbrook and his assistants quarried his archive up to his death on 9 June 1964. A select few authors were allowed to see the Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Beaverbrook Papers either at Beaverbrook's home, Cherkley Court, near Leatherhead, Surrey, or to see selections at the Express offices in London. These included Alfred Gollin, John Grigg (politician and biographer of Lloyd George), Arthur Marder (the distinguished naval historian) and Alan Taylor (after Beaverbrook's death).

The main Beaverbrook Library collections (Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Beaverbrook) were so important that they inevitably led to major work on British political history of the first four decades of the twentieth century. Taylor's involvement did not greatly affect this basic point. Nevertheless, the research was fostered by Alan Taylor as Honorary Director of the Library. His presence added to its attraction. He was punctilious in his relationship with readers at the archive. He enquired eagerly after the research of both the established academics and the newest of postgraduates. The Library was very modern, air-conditioned, with attractive display cases for cartoons, letters and other documents, framed David Low cartoons on the walls, Beaverbrook's own early twentieth-century political history books on shelves below wooden

counters around the circumference of the readers' part of the room, modern wooden tables to work on and even Walter Sickert's portrait of Beaverbrook within the entrance to this big room located above a store for huge reels of newsprint.

The number of researchers at any one time was limited usually to between six and eight. When I worked there regularly in 1968-71 the others present included the politicians Richard Law and Dingle Foot; the North American historians Louis Bisceglia, Peter Cline, Michael Fry, Bentley B. Gilbert, Alfred Gollin, Stephen Koss, W. Roger Louis, Chuck Bullitt Lowry and Jon Sumida; older British historians Maurice Cowling, David Dilks, Michael Dockrill, Roy Douglas, John Grigg, Peter Lowe, Kenneth O. Morgan, Charles Loch Mowat, Henry Pelling, Keith Robbins, Peter Rowland and Stephen Roskill; Australian scholars such as David Cuthbert and Cameron Hazlehurst; and younger researchers such as Paul Addison, Michael Bentley, John Campbell, Martin Ceadel, Chris Cook, Patricia Jalland, Gillian Peele, Martin Pugh, John Ramsden, Alan Sked, John Spiers and John Turner. As a result of the presence of such an array of distinguished scholars, for young researchers there was a sense of occasion being there and a feeling of the desirability of upping one's game in writing history. The Library and the seminar were also important for networking, with valuable contacts and friendships made. For young British historians the contacts with North American historians were especially valuable.

Alan Taylor made the Beaverbrook Library more of a research centre than just an archive by running a research seminar during university vacations from December 1968 until its closure in April 1975. The quality level of the papers at the seminar was high. Alan Taylor sat through the papers like a bird resting with its head lowered on one side. Any notion that he had fallen asleep went swiftly at the end when he made usually very acute comments on the papers. He also made impish comments which contained shrewdness. After a paper by Roy Douglas, Alan Taylor commented, 'Whilst the

Liberal Party declined, the leading figures did nothing to stop it, even helped it. However, they saw to it that the whole process was well documented!'23 He continued to chair early twentieth-century research papers, including some on Lloyd George, when, along with John Ramsden, Martin Ceadel and Kathy Burk, he ran a seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London University, from 1977 to 1985. Many of the regular attenders of the Beaverbrook Library seminar attended the seminars at the Institute, along with a fresh cohort of younger researchers such as Josie Howie, Helen Jones and Duncan Tanner. His contributions after seminar papers continued to be stimulating. For instance, after a paper by John Ramsden on the National Governments of the 1930s, he observed waspishly of the National Liberal Party that:

It was one episode from 1922 to the present day in the long search for Liberal voters ... [T] he differences between the Samuelites and Simonites were very thin. Samuel, despite his air of Liberal rectitude, was less radical than the younger Simonites. The Samuelites were a decaying cause, whereas the Simonites did attract young people. By the late 1930s the National pretence did not help the Tories but it did enable the Liberals to survive. The Samuelites could return, nearly as high, to office in the Grand Coalition of the Second World War.24

Even before the first pair of seminars in December 1968 he was planning a book of essays on Lloyd George, based on research undertaken in large part at the Beaverbrook Library. He wrote to his publisher, Roger Machell of Hamish Hamilton, on 14 October 1968: 'I have had something like 150 researchers here during the last eighteen months and should like to see something of their researches. Between a dozen and twenty of them are willing to contribute an article (I suppose 10,000 words) to a Lloyd George volume.' At that stage he was predicting essays on Lloyd George and the 1909 budget, housing, Ireland and Hitler.25 He may have had in mind Bruce Murray, Frank Honigsbaum, George

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Boyce and Paul Addison. However, the contents were different, though George Boyce and Paul Addison did contribute to the resulting volume, Lloyd George: Twelve Essays (Hamish Hamilton, 1973). Taylor included most of the best Lloyd George papers given to his seminar between the first one by Michael Dockrill on 12 December 1968 and one given by George Boyce on 1 January 1970. He had hopes of editing a second volume of Lloyd George essays on foreign policy after 1914, but this never happened. As it was, the one volume added to the seminar in disseminating research on Lloyd George.

The period in which the Lloyd George Papers were in the Beaverbrook Library (1967–75), between being located in the former cinema room at Cherkley and, since 1975, in the House of Lords Record Office, was a notably fruitful time for Lloyd George research (with the resulting work often published later). Among very notable work by overseas established scholars, Bentley B. Gilbert carried out research on his detailed biography of Lloyd George (two volumes). Michael Fry worked on Lloyd George and foreign policy (two volumes), Bruce Murray researched 'The People's Budget' and R. Q. Adams wrote on Lloyd George and munitions.26 Of well-established British scholars, Kenneth O. Morgan continued to publish outstanding work on Lloyd George, notably on the post-war coalition government, Maurice Cowling's major work crossed Lloyd George's political career, and Michael Dockrill produced important work on aspects of foreign policy.27 After the publication of two volumes on the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith Liberal governments, Peter Rowland researched the archives for his large one-volume biography of Lloyd George.²⁸ Among the postgraduates who researched aspects of Lloyd George's career in the Beaverbrook Library were John Campbell, whose subsequent book provided the best account of Lloyd George between 1922 and 1929, Chris Cook, who analysed Liberal decline from 1922 to 1929, John Turner, who examined Lloyd George's 'Garden Suburb', and the current author, who investigated Lloyd George's relationship with labour.29

Alan Taylor played a substantial role in the re-evaluation of Lloyd George's career. His publications were very significant in moving away from the denigration of Lloyd George that was common well in to the 1960s. He played a further role at the Beaverbrook Library. The collections of papers themselves were the major impetus to fresh views, but Taylor added to this by his presence, by his editing of the Frances Stevenson material and the Lloyd George research essays, and by running a greatly appreciated research seminar.

However, the new evaluations of Lloyd George's career were driven primarily by the availability of private papers, not only those of Lloyd George and Bonar Law but also of other Welsh, English, Scottish and Irish politicians, as well as the very abundant public records available at the Public Record Office (now the National Archive). Frances Stevenson played a major role from 1912 - the year she started work as Lloyd George's secretary - in ensuring that the main collection of Lloyd George's papers is voluminous. Lloyd George himself played a big role in the expansion of Cabinet and related records when he altered the administration of the Cabinet in December 1916, with Sir Maurice Hankey and Thomas Jones executing these changes.

By the 1980s Lloyd George's career was more fully understood than it had been twenty years earlier. He was not liable to be seen as some mysterious being, a view immortalised by the economist J. M. Keynes who wrote after the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, 'Lloyd George is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings'30 Sixty years later, the considerable research that had been undertaken for two decades in the Welsh context from which he stemmed made it very clear that he was rooted in something - Welsh radical politics - and that there were key issues, such as land reform, which mattered to him throughout his career. The research undertaken in the era of the Beaverbrook Library, both there and elsewhere, moved assessments of Lloyd George on from such attitudes towards him as 'the bounder from Wales' to more sympathetic and more complex views.31

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- A. J. P. Taylor, 'Politics in the First World War', Raleigh Lecture on History, 4 February 1959, British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1959, and Lloyd George: Rise and Fall, Leslie Stephen Lecture, 21 April 1961, Cambridge University Press, 1961 (both reprinted in A. J. P. Taylor, From the Boer War to the Cold War, Hamish Hamilton, pp197-249). For an example of an earlier hostile biography see Sir Charles Mallet, Mr Lloyd George: A Study (Benn, 1930), pp. 309-13. For Kenneth O. Morgan's 1972 survey of writing on Lloyd George, see his collected Welsh history essays, Modern Wales: Politics, Places and People, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1995, pp. 380–99.
- 2 Asquith's papers were given to Balliol College in 1941 and made over to the Bodleian Library in 1964. Further papers were deposited in 1980, and given to the Bodleian in 1982.
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- 4 Cameron Hazlehurst, 'The Conspiracy Myth' in Martin Gilbert, ed., *Lloyd George*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1968, pp.148–57.
- 5 Trevor Wilson, The Downfall of the Liberal Party 1914–1935 (Collins, 1966, pp. 91, 95 and 387–88).
- 6 Roy Jenkins, Asquith, Collins, 1964, second edition, 1978. Jenkins deemed it his best book. Roy Jenkins, A Life at the Centre, Macmillan, 1991, pp. 134–35. John Campbell, Roy Jenkins: A Biography, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983, pp.45–46. For a more critical reassessment, see Stephen Koss, Asquith, Allen Lane, 1976.
- 7 A. J. P. Taylor, English History 1914– 1945, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965.
- 8 A. J. P. Taylor, A Personal History, Hamish Hamilton, 1983, p. 233.
-) Ibid.
- 10 A.F. Gollin to author (CJW), 4 February 1977; quoted in Chris Wrigley, A. J. P. Taylor: A Complete Bibliography, Hassocks, Harvester

- Press, 1980, p. 50.
- II Ibid., p. 233. Stephen Koss, 'Asquith versus Lloyd George: The Last Phase and Beyond' in Alan Sked and Chris Cook, eds., Crisis and Controversy: Essays in Honour of A. J. P. Taylor, Macmillan, 1976, pp. 66–89 (quotation at p. 69).
- 12 On Beaverbrook's role in Taylor's

 Express contracts see Chris Wrigley,
 A. J. P. Taylor: Radical Historian of

 Europe, IB Tauris, 2006, pp. 278–81.

 On Taylor being unduly kind to

 Beaverbrook's history books, see

 Peter Fraser, 'Lord Beaverbrook's

 fabrications in Politicians and the War,

 1914–1916', Historical Journal, 25, 1982,

 pp. 147–66.
- 13 Taylor, English History, p. 70.
- 14 After the public records were opened under a new thirty-year rule in 1967, Taylor spoke of correcting his book, but he never did (though there were minor corrections and an updated bibliography in 1973). The current author (CJW) corrected many errors, added a further updated bibliography and an introduction to the Folio Society edition in 2000.
- 15 Wrigley, Taylor: Radical Historian, p. 314.
- 16 A. J. P. Taylor, ed., Lloyd George: A Diary by Frances Stevenson, Hutchinson, 1971, p. ix.
- 17 A J P. Taylor, ed., My Darling Pussy: The Letters of Lloyd George and Frances Stevenson 1913–41, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975.
- 18 Kenneth O. Morgan, David Lloyd
 George: Welsh Radical as World
 Statesman, Cardiff, University of
 Wales Press, 1963, p. 3. He later wrote
 an outstanding short biography,
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 Nicolson, 1974, in a series edited by
 A. J. P. Taylor.
- Kenneth O. Morgan, Wales in British Politics 1868-1922, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1970 (with later editions in 1970 and 1992). This was supplemented by his Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981, volume 6 of the Oxford History of Wales. Examples of enthusiastic early biographies include two four-volume works by H. Du Parq (1912–13) and J. Hugh Edwards (1913) and one-volume books by J. T. Davies in Welsh (1910) and Beriah Evans (1916). Perhaps the best of the pre-Second World War biographies on Lloyd George's career before the First World War was by W. Watkin Davies (1939).
- 20 Kenneth O. Morgan, Modern Wales: Politics, Places and People, Cardiff,

- University of Wales Press, 1995. Most of the essays were first published in Welsh learned journals. The Welsh dimension was further examined by Lloyd George's nephew, drawing on his father's papers W. R. P. George, The Making of Lloyd George, Faber and Faber, 1976, and Lloyd George: Backbencher, Llandysul, Gomer, 1983 and by J. Graham Jones with a series of articles in learned journals between 1982 and 2001, collected in his David Lloyd George and Welsh Liberalism, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 2011.
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- 24 15 March 1978; author's notes.
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- 26 Bentley B. Gilbert, David Lloyd
 George: The Architect of Change 1863–
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- 28 Peter Rowland, *Lloyd George*, Barrie and Jenkins, 1975.

- 29 John Campbell, Lloyd George: the Goat in the Wilderness, Jonathan Cape, 1977. Chris Cook, The Age of Alignment: Electoral Politics in Britain 1922-1929, Macmillan, 1975. John Turner, Lloyd George's Secretariat, Cambridge University Press, 1980 and British Politics and the Great War: Coalition and Conflict 1915-1918, Yale University Press, 1992. Chris Wrigley, David Lloyd George and the British Labour Movement: Peace and War, Hassocks, Harvester Press, 1976, Lloyd George and the Challenge of Labour: Postwar Coalition 1918-22, Brighton, Harvester-Wheatsheaf, 1990, and 'Lloyd George and the Labour Party after 1922' in Judith Loades, ed., Life and Times of David Lloyd George, Bangor, Headstart Publications, 1991, pp. 49-69.
- 30 John Maynard Keynes, Essays in Biography, Macmillan, 1933, p.36.
- 31 This sneer was used (without approval) by Don Cregier for the title of his study, Bounder from Wales:

 Lloyd George's career before the First

 World War, Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1976.

LLOYD GEORGE ARCHIVES

by J. Graham Jones

Parliamentary Archive, House of Lords

At his death in March 1945, Lloyd George bequeathed to his second wife Frances, Countess Lloyd-George of Dwyfor, a substantial archive of both political and personal papers, primarily the former. She then sold the entire archive in 1949 to Lord Beaverbrook. The papers are still owned by the Beaverbrook Foundation, but since 1975 they have been deposited at the House of Lords Record Office (now called the Parliamentary Archive). Substantial numbers of official papers survive among the Lloyd George Papers at the House of Lords.

The archive runs to no fewer than 1041 boxes. They have been listed, divided into nine series, each distinguished by a letter of the alphabet; the first seven series correspond to the main divisions in Lloyd George's political career:

Political Papers

Class A Member of Parliament, 1890–1905 (13 boxes) Class B President of the Board of Trade, 1905–08 (5 boxes) Class C Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1908–15 (36 boxes) Class D Minister of Munitions, 1915–16 (27 boxes) Class E Secretary of State for War, June – December 1916 (10 boxes)

Class F Prime Minister, 1916–22 (254 boxes)

Class G 1922–45 (264 boxes)
Class H Press cuttings (390 boxes)

Personal Papers

Class I Personal correspondence and papers (42 boxes)

Also deposited at the Parliamentary Archive at the House of Lords is a substantial group of the papers of Frances Stevenson, Lloyd George's secretary, mistress and eventually