

LLOYD GEORGE CARNARVON BOROUGH

Dr J. Graham Jones examines the history of the Carnarvon Boroughs constituency when it was first represented by David Lloyd George between 1890 and 1895.



GEORGE AND THE BOROUGHS, 1890–95

THE ANOMALOUS CARNARVON district of Boroughs constituency, distributed widely over some twenty-five miles in remote north-west Wales, comprised six scattered contributory boroughs. The voters in each participating borough cast ballots, which were added together over the whole district to decide the result of the poll. The three largest – Bangor, Caernarvon and Conway (which included the then rapidly developing town of Llandudno) – all in the north of the county, included a significant middle-class element in their electorates; while the remainder – Criccieth (Lloyd George's home borough), Nevin and Pwllheli in the south – were much more rural and agrarian in character and distinctively Welsh-speaking, and were thus more natural Liberal territory. The castle borough of Caernarfon lay very much at the heart of the constituency, but inevitably the division lacked any kind of territorial cohesion, as all six boroughs were separated from one another by substantial tracts of agricultural land and by towns which had been established more recently like Porthmadog with its port trade, railway terminus and distinctly more industrial character than the other towns within the constituency. The Carnarvon Boroughs

Left: Carnarvon Castle, photographed by Francis Frith (1822–98) in the mid-nineteenth century (1850s–1870s). (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

had returned a MP to the House of Commons ever since the passage of the union legislation by Henry VIII in 1536, but the borough of Bangor was not added to the other five until the redistribution of parliamentary constituencies which had accompanied the passage of the Great Reform Act in 1832. Traditionally many of the electorate of the Carnarvon Boroughs had comprised shopkeepers and tradesmen, innately middle-of-the-road conservative (even if not Conservative) by nature, displaying but little zeal for radical initiatives and social reform impulses.

Lloyd George first captured the division for the Liberals by a wafer-thin majority of just eighteen votes in a precarious and unexpected by-election in April 1890, his success highly dependent on substantial polls in the three Welsh boroughs.¹ The constituency had actually been won by a Conservative, Edmund Swetenham, in the general election of 1886, the result of some local antagonism towards Irish home rule, and the failure of the rural vote to turn out in full in support of Gladstone, disappointed by lack of progress on the 'unauthorised programme'. Lloyd George did not win a majority of the votes in all six boroughs until 1906 by which time he was very much a national political figure and had already

entered the Liberal Cabinet of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as President of the Board of Trade, a position which certainly augured well for the future political career progression of its holder. In all the intervening general elections, the outcome in the Boroughs was uncertain and keenly debated.² At Bangor in particular there was a distinctive Anglican interest closely associated with the cathedral, indigenously Conservative politically, and a large number of urban slum-dwellers whose very existence depended on the support of church charities. At Caernarfon and Conway, too, local Conservative strength had been underlined in recent municipal elections.

When Lloyd George first entered parliament, his constituency was already something of an anomaly as it had a population of no more than 30,000 (at a time when the average for Welsh constituencies exceeded 45,000 individuals), and an electorate of less than 5,000, many of these 'sober' shopkeepers and professional men with no great inclination to radicalism. Some English constituencies had an even smaller electorate at this time; others had an electorate well in excess of 10,000 individuals. It was also true that a significant number of householders who had been enfranchised by the Third

Reform Act of 1884 were simply unaware of their newfound right to be registered as voters. A large number of obstacles and technicalities, especially in relation to registration, still stood in the way of complete male suffrage. Indeed, in the year 1891 no more than 33.7 per cent of the male population of the Carnarvon Boroughs had the right to vote. In the key borough of Caernarfon almost all of the electorate, a total of 1,746 individuals, were the heads of families, and a tiny number of just fifteen men were registered there as service or lodger voters.³ Many of the working classes there still remained disenfranchised.⁴ Very shortly after Lloyd George had been adopted as the parliamentary candidate there, Thomas Edward Ellis, the MP for Merioneth, wrote to congratulate him, 'I was delighted to find that your choice was so unanimous', and then urging him, above all else, to attend conscientiously to the electoral register which, he stressed, was 'the great mine to work. Do not be satisfied till all the [Carnarvon] Boroughs realise its importance'.⁵ These were very wise words which the youthful Lloyd George would undoubtedly have heeded. It should be noted, too, that the Caernarvon county constituency had been divided into South Caernarvonshire (Eifion) and North Caernarfonshire (Arfon) in the redistribution of 1885, both having a population in excess of 42,000 individuals.

By January 1885 Lloyd George, admitted as a qualified solicitor at the beginning of the previous year, had set up his own solicitor's business in an office at Portmadoc, later to be called Porthmadog (and thus breaking away from the Whig-like clutches of the legal company Breese, Jones and Casson, where he had served his articles), and he soon found to his intense delight that much of his legal work related to political issues. He clearly sought much greater financial and political independence at this time. Lloyd George had quickly become a familiar figure in the police courts and the county courts of Porthmadog, Ffestiniog, Pwllheli and Dolgellau, where he was generally highly regarded as a quick-witted, sharp-tongued, contentious advocate, fully capable of mastering a brief very quickly and completely.

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Breaches of the law at the expense of landlords, notably petty theft and poaching, or the established church were considered acts of political defiance in rural Wales. Although he was primarily interested in the Carnarvon Boroughs, Lloyd George had actually come close to selection as the Liberal candidate for Merionethshire in 1886, but he had eventually gladly withdrawn his name there in favour of his close associate Thomas Edward Ellis, a native of Cefniddwysarn near Bala within the county, whose local claims clearly much exceeded his own. Moreover, in his heart of hearts, Lloyd George knew full well that his 'pecuniary, oratorical [and] intellectual quality' were certain to develop considerably during the next few years so that he would, by then, be far less likely to find himself 'in endless pecuniary difficulties', while at Westminster, he would possibly be regarded as even 'an object of contempt in a House of snobs'.⁶ Lloyd George had also seriously considered joining Chamberlain's Radical Union in June 1886, but had apparently missed his train to Birmingham on the crucial day.⁷

During the general election of July 1886, Lloyd George was to campaign with gusto on behalf of his newfound friend T. E. Ellis, and indeed earned a formidable reputation as a fiery young orator and potential career politician, a possible Liberal parliamentary candidate for one of the divisions in north-west Wales at the next general election which was then widely expected to take place in 1892 (as, of course, happened). His local standing was further enhanced by his avid and committed participation in the anti-tithe agitation in south Caernarfonshire in 1886–87 in his home area where he was singled out by the local Tory press as the primary instigator of the trouble.⁸ He was active in the establishment of the local anti-tithe league for Llyn and Eifionydd of which he soon became joint-secretary.⁹ During these years, too, he delivered a succession of belligerent speeches on the key issues of the disestablishment of the Welsh church, the land campaign, temperance, and other equally controversial political themes, all of which enhanced his local standing and reputation. The Tithe War indeed blazed in north Wales during the high

summer of 1887, Lloyd George taking full advantage of the hiring fairs at Llyn to arrange impromptu meetings to stir up local agitation by making highly eloquent and impassioned speeches. Tithes were traditional payments which entitled the Church to a tenth of people's annual income. Usually the payments were made in kind in the form of crops, wool, milk and other produce, to represent a tenth of the yearly production. This payment was demanded whether or not the parishioner attended Church, and in a predominantly Nonconformist country such as Wales, this naturally caused contention. Many refused to pay the tithe, and during the 1880s enforced sales of possessions were made by the authorities in order to collect the taxes owed. This naturally led to confrontation and farmers and authorities came to blows across the country. During the late 1880s many farmers decided to take direct action and refused to pay their tithe. This led to further enforced sales of land and property and violent protests took place in Llangwm in May 1887, Mochdre in June 1887 and Llanefydd in May 1888.

On 4 September Lloyd George wrote in his pocket diary:

Got an invitation this morning. I want to cultivate boroughs as, if the Unionist Govt holds together another 3 years, I may stand a good chance to be nominated as Liberal candidate. There are two or three impressions I must be careful to make in the meantime. 1st & foremost that I am a good speaker. 2^{ndly} that I am a sound & thorough politician. 3^{rdly} that I can afford to attend to parliamentary duties. To succeed in the first I must avail myself of every opportunity to speak in public so as to perfect myself & attain some reputation as a speaker. To succeed in the 2nd point I must put into those speeches good sound matter well arranged so as to catch the year [sic] of the intelligent who always lead & gain the name of sound as well as fluent speaker. I must also write political articles on Welsh politics so as to show my mastery of them. To attain the 3rd reputation I must (1) attend to my business well so as to build up a good

practice (2) practise economy so as to accumulate some measure of wealth (3) Get all my cases well advertised (4) subscribe judiciously.¹⁰

This is the first clear intimation of a definite interest on Lloyd George's part in the Liberal candidature for the Caernarfon Boroughs.

In January 1888 Lloyd George also joined forces with journalist D. R. Daniel to set up a pioneering Welsh newspaper by the name of *Udgoron Rhyddid* ('the Trumpet of Freedom') – 'a nationalist and Socialist regenerator' he himself called it¹¹ – designed to promote radical principles and cultivate his reputation in the south of Caernarfonshire, but its influence soon proved to be localised and notably transient. The new paper was launched at Pwllheli, the area's main publishing base. By this time Lloyd George (having wisely given up any hope of contesting John Bryn Roberts, the securely entrenched, highly orthodox, Gladstonian loyalist Liberal MP for the Eifion [Caernarfonshire South] constituency, and soon expected to be called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn) had determined to devote his prodigious energies into securing the Liberal nomination for the marginal division of the Carnarvon Boroughs, and the paper had helped him to build his reputation locally. Aware that success was nigh on assured for him in the Liberal associations of Criccieth, Pwllheli and Nefyn, as was indeed confirmed by the backing of these local associations by the high summer of 1888, Lloyd George then focused his burgeoning political energies on the borough of Caernarfon where he established a new Liberal club. His aim was to counterbalance the deep-rooted, extensive influence of the Conservative club in the town, with all the social opportunities which it presented to its members, which he knew was the focal point of the party's strength in the borough. Indeed, by the year 1889 all six boroughs had influential Conservative clubs. Within the borough of Bangor there were three independent Conservative clubs – the Caernarfonshire and Anglesey Conservative Club, the Bangor Conservative Workingmen's Club, and the Glanadda Conservative Club, as well

as a flourishing branch of the Primrose League, an important Tory organisation.¹² Lloyd George delivered a pungent series of carefully prepared speeches in the small rural villages outside Caernarfon, was notably well received, and thus built up substantial support for the new Liberal club in the town. At one such meeting in July 1888, the highly impressed chairman hailed Lloyd George as 'one of the stars of the future'.¹³ He was ever ready to leave Criccieth at weekends during 1888 to organise and address such meetings at local chapels on Sunday mornings, where he frequently lectured on the evils of drink – as a kind of sequel to a political meeting on the previous Saturday evening. His uncle Richard Lloyd, who naturally felt deeply aggrieved that his nephew was absenting himself from the Sunday services at the chapel at Criccieth, felt impelled to note in his diary, 'Don't believe in his Saturday and Sunday off policy'.¹⁴ On 24 August 1888, Lloyd George, then visiting Glasgow with his wife Margaret, was able to write home gleefully to the family at Criccieth:

Received a telegram from Morgan Richards this morning that I had been unanimously selected at Bangor last night. He also wrote me that my speech had made a very favourable impression. I could quite see for myself at the Monday evening meeting that I was the popular candidate. Despite all the machinations of my enemies, I will succeed. I am now sailing before the wind and they against it.¹⁵

Above all else, it was the notable Llanfrothen legal case which propelled Lloyd George to the notice of these localities, clearly establishing him as a firm defender of the rights of Nonconformists against the entrenched power of the Church of England.¹⁶ He won on appeal to the Divisional Court of Queen's Bench the Llanfrothen burial case; this established the right of Nonconformists to be buried according to their own denominational rites in parish burial grounds, a right given by the Burial Act 1880 that had up to then been ignored by the Anglican clergy. It was this case, which was hailed as a great victory throughout Wales, together with his writings in *Udgoron Rhyddid*,

that led to his adoption as the Liberal candidate for the Caernarvon Boroughs on 20 December 1888. The cause of the tenant farmer and quarryman had been decisively championed, and Lloyd George's supreme self-confidence buoyed up even further to such an extent that he could now convince himself that he could both make a success of his law practice and also become a Liberal parliamentary candidate. The timing of the Llanfrothen case had also augured well for the career of the ambitious young Welsh attorney; his prowess as an advocate had been underlined and publicised, building on his reputation as an orator of distinction. The local Liberal associations of the three southern boroughs of Nevin, Pwllheli and Criccieth were only too glad to endorse Lloyd George's nomination as a parliamentary candidate, but much greater reluctance prevailed at the cathedral city of Bangor, which included an extra-large number of Church people, and the rather Anglicised resort town of Conway, where many local Liberals disapproved of Lloyd George's extreme youth, his obvious blinding ambition to succeed, and his apparent support of so-called 'Socialist ideas', left-wing initiatives unacceptable to the more staid, middle-of-the-road, traditional Liberals in the locality.¹⁷ But his striking success in connection with the Llanfrothen case had helped to convince the disaffected of the strength of his claims and had impressed Nonconformists by establishing him as 'the scourge of the Established Church', and on 20 December 1888 (within just days of the triumphant outcome of the Llanfrothen burial case) David Lloyd George was thus officially selected as the parliamentary candidate of the Caernarvon Boroughs Central Liberal Association. During the long campaign to secure the nomination he had been proud to label himself 'a Welsh nationalist of the Ellis type'.¹⁸

His selection could be attributed to the fact that he was a local man, one who certainly had the personality and the capacity to fight a parliamentary election, and one whose distinctive brand of progressive Liberalism and Welsh nationalism was increasingly capturing the public imagination in the locality. His recent success in the Llanfrothen

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case meant that, by the high summer of 1888, Lloyd George was a household name, not only in Caernarfonshire, but throughout much of Wales. His main rival for the selection, Arthur C. Humphreys-Owen (who was later to serve as the Liberal MP for Montgomeryshire from 1894 until 1905), had called Lloyd George nothing but ‘a second rate country attorney’. The MP for the North Caernarvonshire county division of Arfon (William Rathbone) thought that Lloyd George’s nomination would lead to the loss of the seat.¹⁹ At the time of his selection both Lloyd George and his young bride Margaret, who certainly possessed no great enthusiasm to see her husband elected to parliament at this juncture, naturally assumed that the next parliamentary election in the division would take place several years in the future, probably at some point during 1892.

In the meantime the implementation of the Local Government Act of 1888 meant that the first county council elections were convened the following January. Lloyd George, invited to stand in Caernarfonshire, declined to do so, but he was much in evidence during the local election campaign, touring the extensive county from end to end, and delivering a succession of effective,

hard-hitting addresses in support of radical Liberal candidates, many of whom had supported his campaign to be selected as the parliamentary candidate for the Borough. Interestingly, it was at this time that he first shared a political platform with Arthur Acland, the Liberal MP for Rotherham who owned a property at Clynnog in Caernarfonshire and had already displayed a profound interest in Welsh political issues. Shortly afterwards, in recognition of his important contribution during the local election campaign, Lloyd George became an alderman of the Caernarvonshire County Council, a position which he was then to retain for the rest of his long life. Acland was also chosen an alderman of the local county council at the same time and was indeed to deliver several powerful speeches in support of Lloyd George’s candidature during the April 1890 by-election campaign.²⁰ Lloyd George’s local esteem and popularity grew apace as a result of his addresses to the county council and even more so in consequence of his activities in the Caernarvonshire County Magistrates’ Court. Both spheres of activity gave him the publicity that he desperately needed and craved. But the outstandingly able and ambitious David Lloyd George was obviously

not cut out for parish-pump politics: he craved a political career on a far higher plane – the coveted green benches at Westminster.

The prospect of a seat at Westminster in fact came much earlier than anyone had anticipated. Only fifteen short months separated Lloyd George’s selection and the April 1890 by-election campaign. The sudden death of Edmund Swetenham QC on 19 March 1890 came as a huge shock to Lloyd George and his wife (who were on the point of departing on a short holiday when they heard the staggering news). In 1940, after her husband had represented the Boroughs for a full half century, Dame Margaret, only months before her own death, reflected, ‘I thought I was marrying a Caernarvonshire lawyer. Some people even then said he was sure to get on, but it was success as a lawyer that they had in mind. I am sure neither of us guessed then what lay before us. Even when he accepted nomination as the Liberal candidate for the Caernarvon Boroughs it did not seem to make any particular difference. I comforted myself that the general election was two years distant and that we had those two years in which to enjoy ourselves.’²¹ Swetenham’s untimely death propelled the Caernarvon Boroughs into a wholly unexpected

Old cottage near Carnarvon, photographed by Francis Frith (1822–98) in the mid-nineteenth century (1850s–1870s). (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)



by-election campaign which saw ‘the boy alderman’ sent to parliament as ‘the boy MP’ by a mere hair’s breadth. But he had batted on a distinctly auspicious wicket, as he knew the Carnarvon Boroughs like the back of his hand: he was a native of one of them – Criccieth – and he had already formed extensive professional and political links with all five others. A rich local Methodist also gave him substantial financial support. He enjoyed, too, the avid backing of two of the most influential political figures in north Wales, the Revd Herber Evans (by now Lloyd George’s colleague on the local county council), and the redoubtable veteran Thomas Gee, the Denbigh-based seventy-four-year-old editor and publisher of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* [‘the Banner and Times of Wales’], at the time by far the most widely read Welsh language newspaper. In the words of Herbert du Parcq, ‘Though advanced in age, [Thomas Gee] was still fresh enough in his mind to adjudge the creed of the “boy Alderman” healthy and sound. ... He sympathised with the aspirations of the Welsh Nationalists’.²³ Having questioned Lloyd George thoroughly on the tithe question, the need to secure the freedom of the rivers, and the urgent necessity to reform the land laws (to which question Lloyd George had replied unhesitatingly, ‘I am very strong on that point’), Gee had exuberantly declared the radical young candidate to be ‘thoroughly healthy in the faith’.²³ To some extent Swetenham’s victory in the Boroughs back in 1886 had been viewed as something of a fluke, and some believed that there was still a majority of some 300 committed Liberal voters in the division.²⁴

During the by-election campaign Lloyd George advocated, albeit with studious moderation, Welsh home rule, disestablishment, land reform and temperance legislation, as well as ‘Mr. Gladstone’s noble policy of justice for Ireland’, the necessary ritual genuflection, while his one truly radical suggestion was a proposal that ground rents should be taxed. The necessity for the introduction of a graduated system of taxation received no more than a passing reference in his election address. The contents of his election address were

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duly approved by the venerable Gladstone. The omens were far from favourable for Lloyd George. His status in the constituency had certainly been weakened by his audacious attacks on the elders of the Liberal Party, the local party machinery remained weak and voter registration had still been neglected. The age of the automobile had not yet dawned, and the constituency was scattered across some twenty-five miles, which led to intense difficulties for party canvassers. Lloyd George and his supporters dashed around the key towns by train, horse carriage, and on foot, visiting remote cottages and farmsteads some of which had never before been approached personally by an electioneering politician, eagerly shaking the hands of the voters, new and old alike, and dishing out election leaflets and yellow rosettes. The height of the by-election campaign had coincided with the Easter holidays, not the best time to engage in political canvassing. The local Conservative organisation, in striking contrast, was much more efficient and professional, possessed greater resources and was blessed with a substantial squad of campaign workers.

Yet, in spite of all these formidable difficulties, after a short campaign conducted at fever pitch and attracting interest and speculation throughout Britain, Lloyd George was elected, following recount after recount at the insistence of the Tories, by a majority of no more than eighteen votes out of 3,908 cast: 1,963 votes for Lloyd George, and 1,945 for local squire Ellis Nanney, his Conservative opponent.²⁵ Nanney was a popular figure locally, hailed for his friendly disposition and reputation for much lavish philanthropy in the locality, but his health was poor and he was a rather reluctant candidate, cajoled to stand only after several more promising local Tory aspirants had declined the honour. His oratorical prowess was poor, and he was unable to address campaign meetings in the Welsh language. He had previously contested the county seat of Caernarvonshire in 1880 and Eifion in 1885. The local newspaper *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, which tended to be at best lukewarm towards Lloyd George’s candidature, suggested that Nanney’s success was sure to bring distinct economic

benefits to the area. The squire of Llanystumdwy was contesting the seat against the upstart nephew of Richard Lloyd, the respected shoemaker and impressive autodidact of Llanystumdwy, but Lloyd George at least was highly articulate and persuasive in both languages. At the eleventh hour local Liberals had amassed the princely sum of some £200 which they estimated was what was required to wage the campaign, and, sensing the prospect of the victory which they so ardently desired, a number of fellow-lawyers at Bangor and Caernarfon readily agreed to offer their services wholly free of charge as election agents and sub-agents.

Indeed, the by-election margin was so fine that a local Tory newspaper could claim rather spuriously that Lloyd George’s victory could be attributed only to the fact that a number of fishermen from the borough of Nefyn, all of them devout Conservatives, had been prevented from reaching port and casting their votes by extremely inclement weather on the polling days.²⁶ *The Times* newspaper, which had taken an avid interest throughout the frenzied course of the campaign, now admitted that it was ‘annoying’ to reflect that just ten votes differently cast would have made all the difference to the outcome.²⁷ Lloyd George’s very narrow success could be attributed to solid Liberal polls in the three Welsh boroughs which, following ‘exceptionally heavy’ voting, had just about outweighed the votes of the middle-class Tories and Liberal Unionists of Bangor, Conway and Caernarfon.²⁸ Indeed, the exceptional turnout of 89.5 per cent (an increase of 11.2 per cent since 1886) was the highest ever in the history of the constituency, a total of 404 votes greater than in the general election of 1886. Both candidates had scored the highest ever polls for their respective parties in the division.²⁹ This was indeed to be for Lloyd George the first of an unbroken series of fourteen electoral triumphs in the same parliamentary division. Had Lloyd George not won through in April 1890, it is possible that he could well have been consigned thereafter to a backwater career far removed from the green benches at Westminster, for he had already made enemies within the Liberal Party. As it was, the career of a truly great

parliamentarian had been forged, and his victory was hailed at once as 'a gain for the Gladstonian Liberal Party'.³⁰

Lloyd George, the self-styled 'Man of Destiny' whose hour had now struck two years earlier than expected, thus first entered parliament as one of a cohort of new Liberal members from Wales, all returned between 1888 and 1890: David Randell in Gower, D. A. Thomas and W. Pritchard Morgan in Merthyr Tydfil, John Lloyd Morgan and Abel Thomas in West and East Carmarthen, and S. T. Evans in Mid-Glamorgan. All the new members were relatively young, most were barristers or solicitors (D. A. Thomas was an industrialist), almost all had been born in Wales (Lloyd George, born in Manchester, was a bizarre exception), and all were, at least by origins, Nonconformists. Their election to Westminster marked a notable step in the erosion of the older landed element in Welsh parliamentary Liberalism as they were depicted as a group of resurgent and militant radical nationalist politicians.³¹

David Lloyd George, who took his seat at Westminster on 17 April 1890 (introduced by Stuart Rendel and Arthur Acland), soon became a hard-working constituency MP, and made his maiden speech in mid-June on the familiar, well-worn theme of temperance. At the same time he made important contacts within his party, proved himself to be a radical of distinctive style and outlook, and he was much in demand as an eloquent platform performer. He scored especially impressive performances in the Commons in leading, together with Samuel T. Evans, Mid-Glamorgan, his party's opposition to the Tithe Recovery Bill in February 1891, and in helping to carry a second reading for a Welsh Veto Bill in March. From the very outset Lloyd George did not confine his parliamentary activities to his parliamentary division. He became closely associated with the activities of both the Liberation Society and the United Kingdom Alliance. From the time of his first election to the Commons until the dissolution of parliament in June 1892, Lloyd George railed relentlessly against the alleged reluctance of the Salisbury administration to deal with

the pressing demands of Wales and he pressed both at Westminster and in the country at large for the programme of reforms which he had advocated, albeit rather cautiously, during the by-election campaign.

Lloyd George's personal problems were formidable. His innate sympathy for the ruined Charles Stewart Parnell (whose fall at the end of 1890 had greatly unnerved Lloyd George) was, in part at least, a reflection of his own awareness of the potential disaster awaiting him if one of his numerous extramarital affairs should erupt into scandal. He received no salary as an MP, and he was thus forced to depend almost totally on the profits of the family legal practice, Lloyd George and George, to which he himself contributed only during parliamentary recesses. Indeed, on more than one occasion, he seriously considered abandoning his promising political career to resume full-time legal work as a solicitor or else to apply to the Bar. When, in the spring of 1892, the Salisbury government introduced the Clergy Discipline Bill to facilitate the removal of dishonest and immoral Anglican clergymen, Lloyd George determined to fight the measure on the grounds that its passage would only serve to fortify the position of the Welsh Church and thus delay the prospect of disestablishment. He moved a string of amendments and forced the House into twenty-one divisions at report stage. His energetic railing against the measure in the Commons incurred the wrath of Gladstone and other senior Liberals as he insisted that the grievances of Wales should be settled. When his first parliament drew to a close, the young Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs had indeed acquired 'a newsworthy reputation as firebrand and spellbinder, polemicist and iconoclast'.³² He was already known as the representative of 'the New Wales' and sometimes 'The Parnell of Wales'.³³

As general election year – 1892 – dawned, the next election in the Carnarvon Boroughs was widely viewed as 'one of the keenest contests in the whole of Wales', *The Times* leader writer venturing the opinion, 'I shall be surprised if the verdict of the bye-election is not reversed'.³⁴ Now the Conservative candidate, potentially a more formidable opponent than Ellis

Nanney had been in April 1890, was Sir John Puleston, personally highly regarded and well known in the locality, whose status at Caernarfon at least had been much enhanced by his recent appointment as the constable of the local castle. Aware that the forthcoming contest might well be extremely finely balanced, Lloyd George had, during the early months of 1892, made a determined effort to focus on issues of local importance likely to reflect credit on him personally – harbours and fisheries, railway rates, and slate royalties. The Liberal organisation in the Carnarvon Boroughs went to great lengths to streamline the local campaign, and each individual contributory borough was canvassed thoroughly during the weeks preceding the poll.³⁵ Once the Clergy Discipline Bill had received its third reading, Lloyd George left London for his constituency, and, from the second week of June, he launched himself into an exhausting round of election meetings and canvassing programmes, primarily within the key marginal towns of Bangor, Caernarfon and Conwy. The main thrust of his speeches was that the Conservative government, and his own party to a lesser extent, were devoting overmuch attention to the Irish question at the expense of other pressing problems.³⁶ His public utterances were buttressed by actions designed to reflect favourably on his standing in the local community. In January he had fought unflinchingly to defeat a private railway rate bill likely to affect adversely the fortunes of the Nantlle slate quarry; in February he had protested against the appointment of a monoglot English-speaking judge, with no Welsh, to Caernarfon; and in April he had proposed legislation to open private streams to public fishing.³⁷

While Lloyd George's personal electioneering activities were mainly confined to the three highly precarious northern boroughs, his wife Maggie spared no effort to canvass at Nevin and her native Criccieth, where her family was well known and highly respected. Her parents, Richard and Mary Owen of Mynydd Ednyfed Fawr, Criccieth, were most influential in the locality, where her father, a substantial, prosperous tenant farmer, was also a highly respected elder

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and pillar of Berea, the local Calvinistic Methodist chapel. Lloyd George's younger brother William also eagerly served as an energetic election sub-agent, although he was undoubtedly also severely hard pressed by his brother's continual absences from the office of Lloyd George and George, solicitors, because of the ever spiralling demands of his political career. William George wrote in his diary on Easter Monday, 7 April 1890:

We are in the thick of the fight. Personal rather than party feeling runs high. The Tories began by ridiculing Lloyd George's candidature; they have now changed their tune. Each party looks upon it as a stiff fight. ... The main issue is between county squire and upstart democrat.³⁸

'I must honestly admit that I am not at all sanguine about the result. ... The other side are bringing unheard of pressure to bear upon the electors', confided Lloyd

George to his uncle and mentor Richard Lloyd.³⁹ Inevitably, the influence of the Nonconformist denominations was all-powerful within the boroughs, although by no means did Nonconformity present a united front, and local politics was invariably dogged by a sectarian jealousy which penetrated deep into the community. Lloyd George, originally a fervent Campbellite Baptist whose early religious faith was somewhat on the wane by this time, had long been mistrusted by a Calvinistic Methodist faction led by the Revd Evan Jones. Although Jones was won over to support Lloyd George in 1892 and indeed spoke on his behalf during the election campaign,⁴⁰ the attitude of local Methodists remained a perpetual bogey threatening to deprive the young MP of his seat.⁴¹

After the results of the local government elections in the previous March, Lloyd George had voiced his very real concern to his brother – 'With the exception [of] Criccieth & Pwllheli they are all eminently unsatisfactory' for the

David Lloyd George (1863–1945), photographed by John Thomas (1838–1905), c. 1885 (photograph reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Wales)

Liberals.⁴² The forecast of the *North Wales Observer* was, however, notably sensible:

Though to prophesy is a hazardous task, yet we feel sure that if only the Liberals in the northern part of the constituency will adhere to their traditions with as much tenacity and earnestness as their friends in the southern boroughs, the party would not have the slightest fear that they will achieve a great victory when the day of battle dawns.⁴³

Although the paper detected that 'things' were 'a little mixed' at Nefyn, it sensed 'strong hopes' of Liberal success at Criccieth and 'not the shadow of a doubt' at Pwllheli.⁴⁴ Sir John Puleston had chosen Conwy as his campaign headquarters, displaying a 'judicious appreciation' of what was believed to be 'the key of the situation', and where he was to discover 'congenial society'.⁴⁵ Disestablishment was accorded the first place in Lloyd George's 1892 general

election address and in his campaign speeches, with other Welsh issues well to the fore. By now he had the advantage of two years' experience as the sitting MP for the Boroughs, he was the beneficiary of an enviable reputation for his prominent, belligerent role in parliament since April 1890, and he was appreciated by electors in the area for his record of an avid interest in issues of crucial importance locally. He benefited, too, from his sponsorship of a new Caernarfon based press combine, the Welsh National Press Co. Ltd, and he had the support of an efficient new election agent in R. O. Roberts. The services of the generally inefficient J. T. Roberts, whose contribution had been distinctly lacklustre during the 1890 by-election campaign, were summarily dispensed with – evidence of Lloyd George's early ability ruthlessly to cast aside incompetent political colleagues, a skill later finely honed to become much in evidence during the Great War in relation to both government ministers and military leaders.

Lloyd George's very real fears proved groundless, for he succeeded in increasing his majority to 196 votes, a more impressive and secure margin:

D. Lloyd George – Liberal	2,154
Sir John Puleston – Conservative	1,958

His total vote of 2,154 was again a new record in the chequered history of the small constituency. Even so, his majority of just 196 votes was the smallest of all the Liberal MPs returned in north Wales, and almost the smallest Liberal majority in the whole of Wales.⁴⁶ Carnarvon Boroughs remained perhaps the most marginal Liberal seat throughout the Principality. The future was still uncertain within the parliamentary division, but the narrowness of the Liberal victory at Westminster – there was an overall Liberal majority of just forty seats as the ageing Gladstone formed his fourth and last ministry – gave an enhanced status and potential clout to the Liberal representatives from Wales, among whom Lloyd George was already viewed as a leading tribune. But, at this early stage in his parliamentary career, his energies were devoted mainly to the

Cymru Fydd movement. Founded in 1886 by some of the London Welsh, including J. E. Lloyd, O. M. Edwards, T. E. Ellis (the nominal leader of the movement, and the MP for Merioneth, 1886–1899), Beriah Gwynfe Evans and Alfred Thomas, *Cymru Fydd* was intended to fulfil several roles, some of which were perhaps contradictory: it sought to be the Welsh expression of the Liberal Party, to further an awareness of Welsh nationality, and to advance the cause of limited Welsh devolution. In the 1890s it also became the vehicle for the personal ambition of Lloyd George who made tireless efforts to ensure that the Liberal politics of Wales had a stronger Welsh identity. His aim was to take over the Liberal Federations of North and South Wales in order to promote Welsh home rule. The movement lost some of its impetus following the withdrawal of T. E. Ellis to join the Gladstone government as its junior whip in 1892, after which the leadership of the movement was taken over by Lloyd George and J. Herbert Lewis (MP for the Flint Boroughs). In consequence, *Cymru Fydd* was then relaunched on a narrower, more political basis.

Within the Liberal organisation in the Carnarvon Boroughs, financial problems were pressing. Lloyd George, by no means a rich man and one who received no parliamentary salary at this point, had incurred personal expenses of no less than £338-5^s-8½^d during the 1892 general election campaign. When all the bills had been settled, an overdraft of some £220 still remained.⁴⁷ Lloyd George's personal financial position remained precarious, causing him seriously to consider retiring from political life. Indeed this was a step which he almost took in July 1894. As he explained to his wife:

The Executive passed off very well this afternoon. I told them that I could not afford to pay any more election expenses as elections were coming on so frequently & so I placed my resignation in the hands of the Association. They were quite dumbfounded & two or three men who were strongly opposed to my later tactics – Dr. Price, Henry Owen & John Jones – they got up & made very

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touching little speeches as to the 'love' felt for me by everyone & that no one could carry the boroughs except me although I had gone wrong. They then determined to consult the local leaders at each of their boroughs & get a meeting soon. I think it will be alright.⁴⁸

When the next general election took place in July 1895 following the collapse of the unpopular Rosebery administration, Lloyd George was soon unnerved by local conjecture that his electoral fate was now to 'be out by 30' votes.⁴⁹

But the local Conservatives' curious selection of the defeated 1890 by-election candidate local squire H. J. Ellis Nanney to stand in the Boroughs again enhanced Lloyd George's prospects there, especially as by this time he had more than five years' experience as an established parliamentarian. But his personal financial difficulties remained a perpetual bogey, threatening to deprive Lloyd George of his hard-earned seat. At the end of May, Caernarfon solicitor R. D. Williams, who served as secretary to both the Carnarvon Boroughs and the Arfon (North Caernarvonshire) local Liberal Associations, wrote bluntly to Lloyd George:

I am sorry to say that it is quite impossible to carry out the work in a really efficient state with the sum you offer. ... As I mentioned to you, my salary has not been paid for over 12 months, and I have for years done the work of secretary, for £5 a year (which is never paid in full).⁵⁰

In the light of Lloyd George's precipitate conduct during the closing stages of the Rosebery administration, it was an easy task for the local Tory press to condemn him relentlessly as 'the spokesman of the wildest and most revolutionary proposals, and his escapades in the House of Commons have filled his moderate supporters with alarm and disgust, whilst they have raised the indignation of English Radicals'.⁵¹ 'The time has come', it went on, 'when the electors of Carnarvon Boroughs should take steps to be represented by one who is not the laughing stock of the whole of the United Kingdom'.⁵² With the succession of the imperialist

aristocrat Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister after Gladstone's resignation in 1894, Lloyd George had readily joined three other Welsh Liberal MPs, J. Herbert Lewis (Flint Boroughs) and Frank Edwards (Radnorshire), and D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydfil) (later Lord Rhondda), in a short-term revolt against the party whips. When a Welsh Disestablishment Bill had come before the Commons in May 1895, Lloyd George had engaged in complex manoeuvres to try to get a form of Welsh home rule tacked on to the disendowment parts of the measure. When the government resigned after defeat on the trivial 'cordite' vote in June, there were those who blamed Lloyd George and his dodgy freelance activities. The Home Secretary responsible for the Welsh Church Bill, Herbert Asquith, believed Lloyd George to be guilty of disloyalty and remembered these events long after. Generally it would be fair to say that Lloyd George's attitude towards Gladstone had been considerably warmer than towards Rosebery, mainly on the grounds that the former had Welsh roots and was far more supportive of the concept of a distinct Welsh nationality and more ready to consider and to yield to concerted Welsh demands.

Lloyd George's disquiet at the time of the 1895 general election is again revealed in the words of his brother, William, who confessed to his diary on the day of the election count, 'D., Maggie and I left Criccieth by the mail – 6 a.m. The journey was the most anxious time of all. D. was very agitated poor chap. The Tory reaction throughout the country, and the Tory confidence here, has made him feel depressed and anxious. ... I was convinced [Ellis] Nanney was preparing his triumphant speech, but then his heart went down with a thud, and his attitude was that of a man inwardly cursing and swearing till his heart bled'.³³ But, in spite of a sharp swing to the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists nationally, Lloyd George's majority in the Carnarvon Boroughs fell by no more than four votes – to 192, a considerable personal triumph for him. The early ballot boxes which had arrived for the count at Caernarfon had indicated a clear majority for Nanney, but a crucial box from Bangor, by far the most

precarious and difficult of all the Boroughs for Lloyd George, tipped the balance in his favour. As the Liberals had lost six seats in Wales in 1895, and many party candidates had gone down to defeat throughout the realm, Lloyd George's success was all the more striking as it ran contrary to the national trend, a singular personal triumph.

In the spring of 1890 a proud Lloyd George had been in the happy position of being able to turn down the offer of a public fund to cover his recent by-election expenses, which had amounted to a considerable total of £250. Thereafter, however, in the general election campaigns of 1892, 1895 and 1900, the Carnarvon Boroughs Liberal Association gladly raised the resources required for the campaigns, an arrangement for which their MP was deeply grateful. From 1906 onwards, he was in a position to contribute extensively himself to his personal election expenses.

Throughout the period under consideration, it is striking that Lloyd George and his camp made almost no effort to exploit the novel approaches to political organisation that were being eagerly pioneered at this time by Joseph Chamberlain and his Birmingham-based political 'caucus'. The new means of electioneering – among them posters, pamphlets and flyers, and club-based organisations – were all but ignored in the Carnarvon Boroughs in favour of retaining the traditional tools of face-to-face canvassing (always the favourite tack of Margaret Lloyd George throughout her frequently absentee husband's long political career), numerous public speeches and an array of articles and columns in newspapers. It is indeed difficult to avoid the conclusion that, at the end of the day, Lloyd George's election policies and his (ever finer) reputation were far more important in assisting him to enlist the support of less promising areas of his constituency than were the means of campaigning which he employed there.

Lloyd George's initial success in the April 1890 by-election could be attributed, in part at least, to his firm emphasis on Welsh nationalism and Welsh issues and to the resilience of the deeply entrenched Nonconformist tradition in the constituency which carried much more weight locally

than the broad-based appeal of Liberal Unionism. After all, only one Liberal Unionist parliamentary candidate – namely Sir John Jones Jenkins in the Carmarthen District of Boroughs in the general election of July–August 1895 – ever captured a Welsh division, and even then by the tiny margin of only fifty-two votes. But, with the passing of the years, and as Lloyd George established himself ever more firmly at Westminster as a politician of some standing, many of his constituents were undoubtedly proud of their MP as a national politician of some standing, a 'local boy made good' par excellence who had put the Carnarvon Boroughs firmly on the political map. Given the political conventions of the 1890s, the rareness of his appearances in the constituency were tolerated with equanimity, even his well-known conspicuous laxity in dealing with correspondence embodying pleas for assistance. Personal interviews were much preferred by him to tedious letter writing, and much of his personal postbag often went unopened, even more went unanswered. His long absences from the constituency were more than compensated for by the almost continuous presence of his devoted wife Margaret at home, together with the Lloyd George children, a total of two sons and two daughters – Richard (b. 1889), Mair Eluned (b. 1890), Olwen Elizabeth (b. 1892) and Gwilym (b. 1894) – by 1894. At this time the family spent only a few short weeks at London each year. Also it cannot be denied that their MP was an effective ambassador at Westminster for his constituents, constantly championing issues of key importance locally like foreshore rights and harbour improvements and communications. The interests of local quarrymen, too, were pressed by their dynamic young MP. The electorates of this string of remote little coastal towns consequently all warmed to the effective role of Lloyd George in this capacity.

But only gradually did his position become more secure as a result of his innate personal acumen and ability and growing prestige in national politics, factors which by 1906 had enabled him to win a majority in all six boroughs, in the wake of his appointment to the Liberal Cabinet by

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Campbell-Bannerman as President of the Board of Trade in December 1905. Even as late as the 'khaki' general election of 1900, while Lloyd George had achieved a majority vote in five boroughs, at Bangor his Conservative opponent, the bumbling army Major Henry Platt, by no means an impressive candidate, still polled 795 votes to Lloyd George's 716. Of the four wards at Bangor, Lloyd George had polled a majority of the votes cast in only one of these – the North ward, where the votes were 263 Liberal and 212 Conservative. As late as 1900, his majority at Conwy was no more than thirty, and at Caernarfon just fifty-three votes.⁵⁴ Although by this time he had represented the Boroughs for a full decade, the constituency still remained decidedly marginal, with the three northern boroughs still displaying strong Conservative support. Socially, linguistically and politically, the Boroughs were by no means a Liberal stronghold and stood in striking contrast to many other north Wales constituencies like the Eifion (South Caernarfonshire) division, thoroughly Welsh and Nonconformist, and devotedly true Liberal.

Even as late as the general election of January 1910, by which time Lloyd George was at the height of his prestige as the reforming Chancellor of the Exchequer and fully embroiled in his passionate crusade against the House of Lords following its outright rejection of his 'People's Budget' the previous year, the popular local Tory aspirant H. C. Vincent won through at Bangor, while the Chancellor headed the poll in the other five constituent boroughs.⁵⁵ In the general elections of 1906 and December 1910, Lloyd George won a majority of the votes in all six boroughs.⁵⁶ His entrenched, unrelenting opposition to the Boer War and his escapades at the Birmingham Town Hall back in 1901 had, it would seem, been forgotten or at least forgiven by the majority of his constituents a few years later. It is interesting to record that the Conservative candidates won a high proportion of the total poll in the division in every general election from 1885 until 1900: 49.1 per cent in 1885, 51.9 per cent in 1886, 49.8 per cent in 1890 (parliamentary by-election), 47.6 per cent in 1892, 47.8 per cent in 1895, and

46.7 per cent in 1900. Only in 1906 did their vote fall to 38.3 per cent and remained very similar in both the general elections held in 1910.⁵⁷

When Lloyd George became the Prime Minister in December 1916, the Carnarvon Boroughs became the first ever Welsh constituency to be represented by a serving Prime Minister. While all the other contributory districts of boroughs constituencies were abolished in the sweeping redistribution of 1918, the Carnarvon Boroughs, then the seat of the Prime Minister who was widely fêted at the time as 'the man who won the war' so recently, was allowed to continue in existence, and in fact remained until 1950.⁵⁸ In 1918 the constituency was redefined, so that it included the then local government areas of the Municipal Boroughs of Bangor, Caernarvon, Conway, and Pwllheli; the Urban Districts of Criccieth, Llandudno, Llanfairfechan, and Penmaenmawr as well as the Lleyrn Rural District. There is indeed something of an irony in the fact that David Lloyd George, the champion of democracy par excellence, should have spent the whole of his political career representing a parliamentary constituency which was a flagrant violation of the basic political principle 'One vote, one value'. But, in conclusion, the key point which should be stressed is perhaps Lloyd George's outstanding success in withstanding the opposition of the Unionist parties in a difficult constituency from 1890 right through until 1906. From then on it was all relatively plain sailing.

Dr J. Graham Jones was until recently Senior Archivist and Head of the

Welsh Political Archive at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

- 1 See Henry Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections, 1885–1910* (Macmillan, 1967), pp. 351 and 356.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- 3 Emyr Price, 'Lloyd George and the by-election in the Carnarvon Boroughs', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions*, vol. xxxvi (1975), pp. 140–42.
- 4 R. Emyr Price, 'Lloyd George's Pre-parliamentary Political Career', unpublished University of Wales MA thesis, 1974, p. 198.
- 5 T. E. Ellis to Lloyd George, 8 Jan. 1889, as cited in John Grigg, *The Young Lloyd George* (Eyre Methuen, 1973), p. 85, and in Herbert du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George*, vol. i (Caxton Publishing Company Ltd., 1912), p. 97.
- 6 National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), William George Papers 1, diary entry for 20 June 1886, also cited in William George, *My Brother and I* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1958), p. 131.
- 7 See J. Hugh Edwards, *Life of David Lloyd George*, vol. ii (Waverley Book Company, 1913), pp. 142–44.
- 8 *Y Genedl Gymreig*, 5 Jan. 1887; *Gwalia*, 12 Jan. 1887.
- 9 *Y Genedl Gymreig*, 2 Feb. 1887; *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 2 Feb. 1887.
- 10 NLW MS 20,443A (Lloyd George Papers 2093), Lloyd George's pocket diary for 1887, entry for 4 September 1887.
- 11 See Price, 'Political Career', p. 260.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 W. R. P. George, *The Making of Lloyd George* (Faber, 1976), p. 156.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- 15 Lloyd George to his family circle at Criccieth, 24 Aug. 1888, as cited in du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George*, vol.

Lloyd George Society: Survey of Welsh History

The Lloyd George Society is pleased to announce a special event in the Lloyd George Room at the National Liberal Club, starting at 7.30pm on the evening of Monday 21 July, to celebrate the publication of Professor Russell Deacon's book, *The Welsh Liberals: The History of the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Parties in Wales*.

The meeting will hear Professor Deacon introduce his book; to be followed by a round of debate and discussion with some of the people who have helped create and sustain the party in Wales. In the first session, Martin Thomas (Lord Thomas of Gresford, President of the Lloyd George Society) and Roger Roberts (Lord Roberts of Llandudno) will talk about and answer questions on the Welsh Liberal Party. The second session will feature Baroness Jenny Randerson, Baroness Christine Humphreys and Mike German (Lord German) who will take us into the era of the Liberal Democrats.

The meeting should appeal to anyone with an interest in Welsh or modern British political history, the history of the Liberal Party or the Liberal Democrats. There will be free admission to the meeting and copies of Professor Deacon's book will be available to buy.

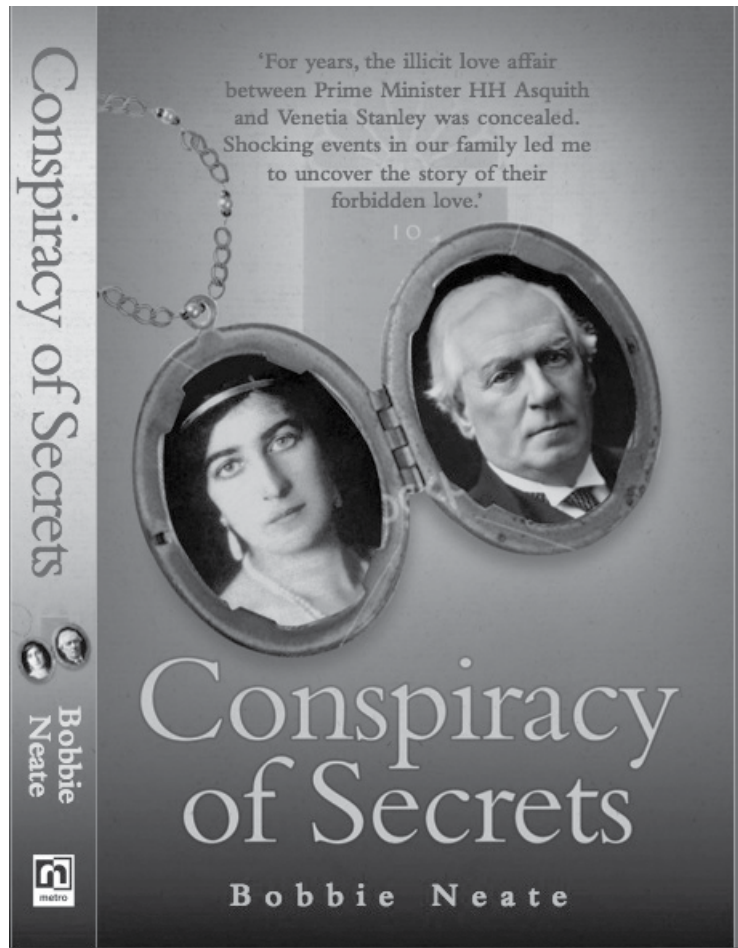
Was Herbert Henry Asquith a serial groper?

'I postponed my interview with the king ... so that we might have the hour together.' (One of Asquith's many letters to Venetia Stanley.)

Did our WW1 Prime Minister take his eye off the ball?

Who was Louis Stanley?

'Intriguing; we couldn't put it down' (Morley Family History Group)



- i, p. 83.
- 16 On this, see the convenient account *ibid.*, pp. 153–56.
- 17 The phrase is that used in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 July 1888.
- 18 NLW, D. R. Daniel Papers 2751, D. Lloyd George to Daniel, 5 July 1888.
- 19 Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868–1922*, 4th ed. (University of Wales Press, 1991), p. 114.
- 20 See *The Times*, 2 Apr. 1890, p. 7, and 3 Apr. 1890, p. 7: 'Election intelligence' columns.
- 21 NLW, E. Morgan Humphreys Papers A/1157(i), Dame Margaret Lloyd George interviewed by Humphreys, Apr. 1940.
- 22 Cited in du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George*, vol. 1, p. 91.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 24 *Cardiff Times*, 29 Mar. 1890.
- 25 See Don M. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales: Lloyd George's Career before the First World War* (Colombia and London, 1976), pp. 34–36.
- 26 *Y Gwalia*, 16 Apr. 1890.
- 27 See *The Times*, 11 Apr. 1890, p. 6.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 *North Wales Chronicle*, 9 July 1890.
- 30 *The Times*, 12 Apr. 1890, p. 8.
- 31 See Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, pp. 111–14.
- 32 Cregier, *Bounder from Wales*, p. 44.
- 33 Emyr Price, *David Lloyd George* (University of Wales Press 'Celtic Radicals series', 2006), p. 124.
- 34 *The Times*, 11 Feb. 1892.
- 35 J. Graham Jones, 'Lloyd George and the Caernarfon Boroughs election of 1892', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions*, no. 52–53 (1991–92), pp. 31–50, and now reprinted in Jones, *David Lloyd George and Welsh Liberalism* (National Library of Wales, 2010), pp. 30–46.
- 36 *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 29 May 1892.
- 37 See Cyril Parry, *David Lloyd George* (Dinbych, 1984), pp. 33–34.
- 38 Cited in George, *Making of Lloyd George*, p. 169.
- 39 NLW, William George Papers 3317, D. Lloyd George to Richard Lloyd, [June 1892].
- 40 *British Weekly*, 21 July 1892.
- 41 NLW, William George Papers, 1892 election papers, file 9, William Anthony, Pwllheli, to D. Lloyd George, 20 June 1892.
- 42 NLW, William George Papers, 1892 election papers, file 9, D. Lloyd George to William George, 7 Mar. 1892.
- 43 *North Wales Observer*, 17 June 1892.
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 *Ibid.*, 24 June 1892.
- 46 In Pembroke and Haverfordwest District C. F. E. Allen was returned by 195 votes.
- 47 W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales ... 1541–1895* (Brecknock, 1895), p. vii.
- 48 NLW MS 20,413C, no. 460, D. Lloyd George to Margaret Lloyd George, 5 July 1894 (written at Caernarfon).
- 49 NLW MS 20,415C, no. 561, DLG to MLG, 14 July 1895 (written at R.hyl).
- 50 R. D. Williams, Caernarfon, to D. Lloyd George, 29 May 1895, cited in W. R. P. George, *Lloyd George: Backbencher* (Gomer, 1983), pp. 180–81.
- 51 *North Wales Chronicle*, 29 June 1895.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 NLW, William George Papers 6890, WG's diary entry for 21 July 1895.
- 54 Bangor University Library, Belmont Papers (Henry Lewis MSS) no. 61.
- 55 *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 16 Dec. 1910; Pelling, *Social Geography*, p. 356.
- 56 See *Cambrian News*, 23 Jan. 1906.
- 57 Pelling, *Social Geography*, p. 351.
- 58 Other single borough constituencies continued in existence after 1918, among them the Ayr District and the Montrose District in Scotland.