

- 6 D. Lloyd George, *The Truth about Reparations and War Debt* (Heinemann, 1932).
- 7 M. Muggerridge in C. Eade (ed.), *Churchill by His Contemporaries* (Hutchinson, 1953), p. 237.
- 8 D. Lough, *No More Champagne: Churchill and his Money* (Head of Zeus, 2015).
- 9 B. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour: First Earl of Balfour*, vol. ii (Hutchinson, 1936) p. 337.
- 10 Churchill, *World Crisis*, vol. i, p. 6.
- 11 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 9.
- 12 *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 15.
- 13 M. Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. iv (Heinemann, 1976), p. 755.
- 14 R. Prior, *Churchill's World Crisis as History* (Croom Helm, 1983), p. 252.
- 15 E. Marsh, *A Number of People* (Heinemann, 1939), p. 339.
- 16 C. Hassall, *Edward Marsh* (Longman, 1959), p. 498.
- 17 Churchill, *World Crisis*, vol. i, p. 15.
- 18 Lloyd George, *Is It Peace?*, p. 239.
- 19 Gilbert, *Churchill*, vol. v, p. 14.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 21 F. Maurice, 'Review of The World Crisis', *The Spectator*, 3 Nov. 1923, p. 657.
- 22 Colonel Sydenham, *The World Crisis, by Winston Churchill: A Criticism* (Hutchinson, 1927), p. 5.
- 23 J. Rose, *The Literary Churchill: Author, Reader, Actor* (Yale University Press, 2014), p. 205.
- 24 A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *My Darling Pussy: The Letters of Lloyd George and Frances Stevenson 1913–41* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1975), p. 155.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 26 Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. xi.
- 27 A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: A Diary by Frances Stevenson* (Hutchinson, 1971), p. 255.
- 28 R. H. Bruce Lockhart, 'Lloyd George's 500,000 Words', *Evening Standard*, 7 Sep. 1933, p. 64.
- 29 T. Jones, *Lloyd George* (Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 268.
- 30 A. J. Sylvester, *Life with Lloyd George* (Macmillan, 1975), p. 81.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 32 P. Fraser, 'Cabinet Secrecy & War Memoirs', *History*, vol. 70, 1985, p. 405.
- 33 Sylvester, *Life with Lloyd George*, p. 141.
- 34 Parliamentary Archives LG 226.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: A Diary*, p. 226.
- 37 F. Lloyd George, *The Years That Are Past: The Autobiography of Frances Lloyd George* (Hutchinson, 1967) p. 225.
- 38 Sylvester, *Life with Lloyd George*, p. 193.
- 39 P. Rowland, *Lloyd George* (Barrie & Jenkins, 1976), p. 703.
- 40 B. Liddell Hart, *The Memoirs of Captain Liddell Hart*, vol. i (Cassell, 1965), p. 361.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- 42 Parliamentary Archives LG 212.
- 43 D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, abridged edn (Odhams, 1938), p. viii.
- 44 Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: A Diary*, p. 278.
- 45 Fraser, 'Cabinet Secrecy', p. 405.
- 46 M. Woolf (ed.), *The Collected Essays of Sir Winston Churchill*, vol. iii (Library of Imperial History, 1976), p. 92.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 48 Gilbert, *Churchill*, vol. iv, p. 754.
- 49 G. W. Egerton, 'The Lloyd George War Memoirs: A Study in the Politics of Memory', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 60, March 1988, p. 79.
- 50 I. Packer, *Lloyd George* (Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 105.
- 51 K. Theakston, *After Number Ten: Former Prime Ministers in British Politics* (Palgrave, 2011), p. 124.
- 52 M. Thomson, *David Lloyd George* (Hutchinson, 1948).
- 53 F. Owen, *Tempestuous Journey* (Hutchinson, 1954); P. Rowland, *Lloyd George* (Barrie & Jenkins, 1975); T. Jones, *Lloyd George* (Oxford University Press, 1951).
- 54 R. Hattersley, *David Lloyd George* (Little Brown, 2010).
- 55 T. L. Crosby, *The Unknown Lloyd George* (IB Travers, 2013).
- 56 A. Suttie, *Rewriting the First World War: Lloyd George Politics and Strategy 1914–18* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) pp.11, 13.
- 57 D. Reynolds, *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War* (Allen Lane, 2004).
- 58 P. Clarke, *Mr Churchill's Profession: Statesman, Orator, Writer* (Bloomsbury, 2012).
- 59 M. Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (Secker & Walberg, 1968).
- 60 R. Jenkins, *Churchill* (Macmillan, 2001), pp. 418–432.
- 61 R. Prior, *Churchill's World Crisis as History* (Croom Helm, 1983).
- 62 J. Ramsden, *Man of the Century: Churchill and his Legend since 1945* (Harper Collins, 2002), p. 201.
- 63 Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, abridged edn., p. v.
- 64 Egerton, 'The Lloyd George War Memoirs', p. 66.

Archive sources

Churchill Archives Centre

Liberal archives at the Churchill Archives Centre at Cambridge
by Dr J. Graham Jones

THE CHURCHILL ARCHIVES Centre was purpose-built in 1973 to house Sir Winston Churchill's papers – some 3,000 boxes of letters and documents ranging from his first childhood letters, via his great wartime speeches, to the writings which earned him the Nobel Prize for Literature. They form an incomparable documentary treasure trove.

The Churchill Papers served as the inspiration and the starting point for a larger endeavour – the creation of a wide-ranging archive of the Churchill era and after, covering those fields of public life in which Sir Winston played a personal role or took a personal interest. Today the centre holds the papers of almost 600 important figures and the number is still growing. Contemporaries

of Winston Churchill, including friends and family, sit alongside major political, military and scientific figures like Margaret Thatcher, Ernest Bevin, John Major, Neil Kinnock, Admiral Ramsay, Field Marshal Slim, Frank Whittle and Rosalind Franklin.

The following archival collections would be of interest to students of the Liberal Party:

Broadwater collection

Churchill family photograph albums and press-cutting books, and other

Archive sources: Churchill Archives Centre

papers relating to the Churchill family, 1803–1973
BRDW 90 albums and 20 boxes

Includes: Churchill family photograph albums and press-cutting books, with photographs of Churchill and his family throughout his life, and press-cuttings covering Churchill's political, military and literary career; some papers relating to Lord Randolph Churchill; papers relating to Lady Randolph Churchill, particularly scripts for various plays which she wrote, and albums from the hospital ship, *Maine*, during the Boer War; papers relating to Winston Churchill, including public and private correspondence and various historical items which were given to him; photographs of Clementine Churchill; albums kept by 'Jack' Churchill relating to his service in the Oxfordshire Hussars.

Churchill Archives Centre holds the papers of Sir Winston Churchill (references GBR/014/CHAR and GBR/014/CHUR) plus a range of related archive collections. These include the papers of Churchill's wife, Clementine Spencer-Churchill, those of his son Randolph, the family of his brother Jack, press photographs, press cuttings and additional Churchill material (GBR/014/WCHL).

Churchill Archives Centre also has a microfilm copy of Churchill's Prime Ministerial Office papers, 1940–45 (Public Record Office classes PREM 3 and PREM 4) and holds the papers of several people whose careers were closely linked with Churchill, such as Sir John Colville, Sir George Harvie-Watt, and Sir John Martin.

Dilke family archive

DILKE, Ashton Wentworth (1850–83), Liberal MP; journalist, writer on Russia.

DILKE, Charles Wentworth (1789–1864), editor and critic.

DILKE, Sir Charles Wentworth, 1st Bt (1810–69), organiser of the 1851 and 1862 exhibitions.

DILKE, Rt Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth, 2nd Bt (1843–1911), Liberal MP; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1880–82; author. Correspondence and papers.

REND 9 boxes

The purpose of this archive is to bring together in convenient form papers concerning the two chief actors in perhaps the most notorious politico-social drama of the nineteenth century – namely the two law suits involving Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart, MP (1843–1911) and Mrs Virginia Mary Crawford (1863–1948) the wife of Donald Crawford, MP. The first of the two cases was Crawford's petition for divorce from Virginia Crawford in which he cited Charles W-D as co-respondent.

For reasons given by CWD's counsel which now seem ill-advised, he did not go into the witness box at the trial. The second and more sensational trial took place when, at CWD's request, the Queen's Proctor intervened to show reason why the divorce decree granted to Crawford should not be made absolute. This trial took place in an atmosphere already poisoned against CWD by W. T. Stead and others, and in it CWD was denied legal representation. He was subjected to a very rigorous cross-examination by Henry Mathews, appearing for Crawford, and proved an extremely bad witness. The intervention by the Queen's Proctor was unsuccessful, and so CWD's name was not cleared – as had been his object.

The political interest in the above cases lies chiefly in the fact that, but for the success of Donald Crawford in obtaining a divorce from VMC and the subsequent failure of CWD to establish his innocence, CWD could well have succeeded Gladstone as leader of the Liberal Party, and would then have been likely to become prime minister instead of Campbell-Bannerman in 1905.

But the divorce cases also provide the background for an interesting study in late-nineteenth-century social history and mores; and it is partly for this reason that it has been thought worth while to bring these papers together. It should however be made plain that, although the papers throw interesting light on the background, upbringing and character of both CWD and VMC, the student who may hope to find here the long-sought answer to the question 'Which was the guilty (or guiltier) party?' will be disappointed.

FOOT, Rt Hon. Sir Dingle Mackintosh (1905–78)

Liberal and Labour MP; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Economic

Warfare, 1940–45; Solicitor General, 1964–67.
Political, legal and personal papers, 1925–78.
DGFT 49 boxes

The material held at Churchill Archives Centre deals with Sir Dingle's career as a Liberal and then a Labour member of parliament, as well as with his distinguished position in the legal profession, particularly with regard to Commonwealth countries, and with his literary skills.

GLADWYN, Hubert Miles Gladwyn Jebb, 1st Baron (1900–96)

Diplomat. Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 1937–40; Ambassador to France, 1954–60; MEP, 1973–76; President of the European Movement; Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, and Liberal Spokesman on Foreign Affairs and Defence, 1965–88.
Diplomatic, personal and political papers, 1875–2002.
GLAD 103 boxes

The material at Churchill Archives Centre begins with Lord Gladwyn's school and college notebooks, and runs to his final articles, but with the exception of his personal and family correspondence, was chiefly created after Lord Gladwyn's retirement from the Diplomatic Service. A large proportion of the papers consists of notes, reports, articles, speeches and correspondence amassed from Lord Gladwyn's work as the deputy leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords and Liberal spokesman on foreign affairs and defence (1965–88), his place on parliamentary delegations to the Council of Europe and WEU Assemblies (1966–73), and particularly his work as a member of the European Parliament and vice-president of the European Parliament Political Committee (1973–76). The collection also includes photographs, press cuttings and other material from his time as British Ambassador to France.

There is also a large amount of literary material, including research notes, interviews, and drafts of Lord Gladwyn's works, chiefly on European affairs and defence and also a series of diaries and notebooks from 1929–95.

The papers also include the memoirs of Irene Hunter, Lord Gladwyn's



secretary, under Gladwyn Associated. Although these memoirs cover Mrs Hunter's whole career, they do include reminiscences of her work for Lord Gladwyn while he was British Representative to the United Nations and British Ambassador in Paris, and also after his retirement from 1968 onwards.

HORE-BELISHA, Isaac Leslie, 1st Baron (1893–1957)

Conservative MP; Minister of Transport, 1934–37; Secretary of State for War, 1937–40.

Letters and diaries, mainly relating to work as Minister of Transport and Secretary of State for War.

HOBE 11 boxes

The collection, though small, is interesting as no other papers appear to have been left by Hore-Belisha. It comprises letters, diaries, some photographs and documents (mainly copies) covering most of Hore-Belisha's career but concentrating on his most important position as War Minister from 1937–39 and particularly the events surrounding his dismissal by Neville Chamberlain.

McKENNA, Reginald (1863–1943)

Liberal MP; President of the Board of Education, 1907–08; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1908–11; Home Secretary, 1911–15; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1915–16.

Personal and political papers and correspondence and family papers, 1883–1994.

MCKN 52 boxes

The collection includes: personal papers, particularly on McKenna's property and financial affairs; a small amount of material on the 1907 education bill; a large amount of correspondence and papers from McKenna's tenure as First Lord of the Admiralty; some Home Office correspondence; speeches and correspondence from McKenna's time as Chancellor of the Exchequer; correspondence with Admiral of the Fleet 1st Lord Fisher; papers on McKenna's career following his departure from politics, particularly relating to his chairmanship of Midland Bank and of a war reparations committee; correspondence between the McKennas and their immediate family; personal and general correspondence between the McKennas and their friends and colleagues; a small amount of election material; photographs, political cartoons and press cuttings; Pamela McKenna's travel journals and diaries.

Saunders family

SAUNDERS, David Hogg (d.1904)

Member of Liberal Party. Political and social correspondence, 1862–1904.

SAUNDERS, George (1859–1922)

Journalist; Berlin and Paris correspondent of *The Times*, 1897–1914. Correspondence, 1872–1922.

SAUNDERS, miscellaneous family members

Correspondence, 1858–1922.

SAUN 11 boxes.

The Saunders Family Papers fall into three main groups: the correspondence of David Hogg Saunders; the letters and papers of his son, George, whose hostility towards German militarism is reflected in his private letters, providing a great deal of information about life and manners in contemporary Berlin; and a variety of letters and miscellaneous documents relating to members of the Saunders family. This third group comprises the correspondence between George's sister, Margaret, his son, Malcolm, and other members of the Saunders family. It is by no means confined to domestic affairs, since they all maintained a lively interest in politics and history.

SPEARS, Major-General Sir Edward Louis (1886–1974)

Liberal and Unionist MP; liaison officer with the French Army, First World War; Prime Minister's Personal Representative to French Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, May–June 1940; Head of British Mission to General de Gaulle, June 1940; Head of Spears Mission, Syria and the Lebanon, July 1941; First Minister to Republics of Syria and the Lebanon, 1942–44; Chairman of Institute of Directors, 1954–65.

Military, political and literary papers, 1847–1989.

SPRS 340 boxes

The papers include: correspondence; domestic and personal papers; early family correspondence, particularly among ELS's mother's relatives; diaries, including ELS's journals as a liaison officer with the French from the First

Archive sources: Churchill Archives Centre

World War and as Head of the British Mission to de Gaulle during the Second World War; some political papers and military maps; speeches and articles; manuscripts of books and short stories, with literary correspondence and original and copied source material from Spears's work as Churchill's personal representative to the French Government in 1940; press cuttings; family photographs; business papers, mainly relating to ELS's chairmanship of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and the Institute of Directors.

The archive also includes the papers of ELS's first wife, Mary Borden, particularly her correspondence with ELS, and her letters and diaries relating to her First World War hospital and the work of the Hadfield-Spears Mobile Hospital Unit during the Second World War.

THURSO, Archibald Henry Macdonald Sinclair, 1st Viscount (1890–1970)

Leader of the Liberal Party, 1935–45; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1931–32; Secretary of State for Air, 1940–45.

Includes papers, 1913–63; political correspondence, 1923–39; Scottish Office correspondence, 1923–36. THRS 223 boxes

The collection held at Churchill Archives Centre includes correspondence (including general, official, political, constituency, parliamentary and family correspondence); speeches; Liberal Organisation and Scottish Liberal organisation and Federation material; press cuttings; business papers; and Scottish Office, Scottish Board of Health and Secretary of State for Scotland material.

For the most part, the collection is made up of constituency, parliamentary and Liberal Party correspondence of the 1920s and 1930s. There is very little wartime material but Section IV contains correspondence (arranged alphabetically by correspondents' names) and press cuttings from 1945 on into the 1950s. The papers transferred from the Scottish Record Office form a separate and coherent group, consisting of papers of 1923–37 relating to the

Scottish Office, the Scottish Board of Health and Thurso's period as Secretary of State for Scotland. The papers in the first box of Section I are also particularly noteworthy as they include Thurso's correspondence with Winston Churchill from 1915 to 1920.

Contact details

Churchill Archives Centre is open from Monday to Friday, 9am–5pm. A prior appointment and two forms of identification are required.

Churchill Archives Centre
Churchill College
Cambridge
CB3 0DS

Telephone: (01223) 336087
Fax: (01223) 336135
archives@chu.cam.ac.uk

Dr J. Graham Jones is Archive Sources Editor of the Journal of Liberal History, and was formerly Senior Archivist and Head of the Welsh Political Archive at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Reviews

The Pact

Jonathan Kirkup, *The Lib–Lab Pact – A Parliamentary Agreement, 1977–78* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Review by **Michael Meadowcroft**

THE FIRST THING to say about this book is that it is an important addition to modern British political history. Following the enabling of access to the crucial parliamentary documents in 2008, under the thirty-year rule, a mature assessment of this political episode has become possible and full marks should go to Jonathan Kirkup for undertaking it. However, it soon becomes evident from the style and structure of the book that it derives from an academic thesis. A little research does indeed show that the Dr Kirkup completed a

PhD in 2012 on this subject. Clearly it is perfectly legitimate to use all one's detailed academic research to produce a book on the same subject, but it should be in a very different style. A book is a narrative and a thesis is an academic exercise. The book's editor should have insisted on stylistic changes but then, given more than a score of typographical errors, more could also have been expected from such a reputable publisher as Palgrave Macmillan. Quite apart from annoying misspellings and errors of date perhaps someone can explain what the following comment

means, on industrial democracy in the Post Office:

[I]n some ways this issue encapsulates one of the structural problems of a parliamentary arrangement only the lines of the Pact.

Also the author twice calls the Joseph-Rowntree-Reform-Trust-funded, and politically independent, Outer Circle Policy Unit, the 'Liberal Outer Policy Unit'.

However, setting these solecisms and its overly academic style aside, this is an important book and the best analysis and commentary on the pact and on what was certainly an interesting period. The Liberal Party's response to the pact's formation in March 1977 was singularly different from the reaction to Jeremy Thorpe's discussions with Edward Heath on the possibility of a