

The Nonconformist Min

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE has often proved to be an elusive figure to pin down, both for his contemporaries and, later, for historians. Like Disraeli, he was not part of the English public schoolboys' milieu; nor was he aided by family connections in the way that Arthur Balfour was by the 'Hotel Cecil', the term used to describe Lord Salisbury's governments with its many places for his relatives. Lloyd George was, as he liked to put it, a 'cottage-bred man' or, as opponents put it in doggerel verse, a 'bounder from Wales'.¹ He reached Westminster through grass-roots activism, not family or social connections.

Keynes famously wrote:

Lloyd George is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings; he is an instrument and a player at the same time which plays on the company and is played on them too; he is a prism ... which collects light and distorts it and is most brilliant if the light comes from many quarters at once; a vampire and a medium in one.²

In fact, Lloyd George was rooted in Nonconformity, and in radical Welsh politics. Whether he remained a believer in redemption through faith is debateable, but he did continue to be embedded in Nonconformist culture. This was shown in many ways, not least in his rhetoric, which was rich in Biblical, historical and literary allusions drawn from a Nonconformist perspective.

Lloyd George was born in January 1863, a little short of midway through Queen Victoria's reign. He grew up in north Wales in the era of Disraeli and Gladstone. He eagerly walked from his home in Llanystumdwy to Robert's shop at Portmadoc to buy his uncle, Richard Lloyd, a London newspaper so they both could read the detailed reports of the major speeches of Gladstone, Disraeli, Chamberlain, Parnell and other leading politicians. Later, he vividly remembered that, when an articulated clerk in Portmadoc, he stood outside the shop reading 'the great news about Gladstone' returning to the premiership in 1880.³

As Colin Matthew argued, the period from 1872 was 'the era ... [of] the growth of regular

extra-parliamentary speechmaking' which made for a national political debate. He further commented:

The decline of Whiggery and the loss of Chamberlain meant that the upper levels of the Liberal Party increasingly depended on rhetoric as their link with the party as well as the electorate. Men such as Gladstone, Morley and Asquith had no base for power within their party save their rhetoric and their legislative achievements. They controlled no machine, they spent no money on politics, they had no base in the localities, no real patronage except when in office.⁴

Lloyd George was different in so far as he did have a base in north Wales and more broadly in Nonconformity, at least until the First World War but arguably later. He nurtured his Welsh base directly as well as through his wife, Margaret, his uncle Richard Lloyd, his brother, William George and such colleagues as J. Herbert Lewis. He also carefully cultivated the local press. He assiduously maintained strong links to Nonconformity through leading Nonconformists such as Dr John Clifford and through being on the executive board of the Liberation Society (which sought to disestablish the Church of England) and on the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches.

Like most other leaders, Conservative and Liberal Unionist as well as Liberal, Lloyd George made his name by his skills in speaking on public platforms as well as debating in the House of Commons. Once he was established as a major politician, he made major speeches that were intended to be read as well as heard. Like Gladstone, Lloyd George arranged the timing of his speeches to accommodate the press. When, as a major politician, he spoke at 2.30 pm, his speech was available on the streets by 4.30 pm. Lloyd George was inordinately impressed by the press. He helped in the 1901 takeover by George Cadbury of the *Daily News* and the reversal of its pro-Boer War stance.⁵ He and Sir George Riddell were friends for a long time and he cultivated other newspaper proprietors, recommending Riddell, Harold Harmsworth and Max Aitken

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for peerages. He also put Beaverbrook and Rothermere in to his wartime government and made Northcliffe Director of Propaganda. In October 1918, Lloyd George took over the *Daily Chronicle*, which had become supportive of military figures critical of him, and so controlled until 1926 a major London newspaper.⁶ The historian A. J. P. Taylor commented, 'Editors of *The Times* have often thought that they were more important than the Prime Minister. Lloyd George was the only prime minister who apparently agreed with them.'⁷

Lloyd George's Nonconformist roots were deep. Yet with John Grigg's otherwise excellent volumes, it became almost an orthodox view for some years that Lloyd George was not a believer. Grigg observed of Lloyd George emerging as the national Nonconformist champion that he had

done so 'with a strict economy of sincerity, undetected at the time and, more surprisingly overlooked by historians.' Grigg also argued,

In reality, his instincts were more secularist than Nonconformist. He rejected dogmatic Christianity of every kind, and had a special dislike for the Nonconformist kind, because he had more direct experience of it than of any other and because its moral atmosphere was in many ways so alien to him.⁸

David, his sister Mary Ellen (known as Polly) and his brother William were brought up by their uncle, Richard Lloyd, an unpaid pastor in Criccieth of the Disciples of Christ, a sect which believed that the New Testament was a reliable and sufficient guide to a godly life. Founded by

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Alexander Campbell, a Scotch Baptist who emigrated to the United States, it was a breakaway Baptist group which had a small membership, some 200 in Wales, when Lloyd George was born. More generally, Welsh Baptists remained wedded to beliefs in eternal punishment and rejected the new theology which was undercutting fundamentalism in England. The Welsh religious revival of 1904–5, strongest in Welsh speaking areas, was very much fundamentalist.⁹ Mary Ellen remained a devout believer in the values of the Disciples of Christ and was critical of her brother David's moral lapses.¹⁰

It seems to me that a key question is what was the faith that Lloyd George lost? Was it Christianity generally or was it the faith of his uncle? It seems that Lloyd George felt major doubts before or on the day he was baptised in 1875. He doubted the certainties of the Campbellite Baptists. In this he was far from unusual. In the 1860s and 1870s there was a great turning away from belief in eternal damnation. Charles Haddon Spurgeon defended the verities of hellfire for those not converted to his fundamentalist form of Christianity, but by 1888 a majority of the members of the Baptist Union had moved in favour of a gentler and more liberal Christianity.¹¹ This approach, characterised by Dr John Clifford, was more to Lloyd George's taste. Lloyd George's loss of faith was with the fundamentalism of the Disciples of Christ, and this was lasting. His son recollected, that his father 'found it difficult to accept ... one of its cardinal tenets ... the literal interpretation of the Bible'. Lloyd George later recalled that when he was eleven 'he suddenly came face to face with the fact that religion, as he was taught it, was a mockery.' At this age, his was a general loss of faith, a belief 'that there was no one at the other end of the telephone'.¹² He vividly pointed to the exact spot on the road from Llanystumdwy to Criccieth where his loss of faith occurred, when later he was with Frances Stevenson, his mistress and later second wife. Yet he also told her that he remembered 'the exact moment – he was in bed – when the whole structure and fabric of religion fell before him with a crash, nothing remained.'¹³ He talked about this experience to his uncle, who expressed understanding. Other members of his family appear to have been more stern and puritanical, notably his grandmother Rebecca Llwyd, who died when he was five, his sister, who was two years older than him, and his younger brother, William.¹⁴ However, it seems clear that he recovered belief, albeit not in his grandmother's and uncle's certainties.

Lloyd George lost the faith he was raised in when he was between 11 or 12 and about 20, but found peace of mind with a more liberal Baptist belief. Lloyd George's son Richard, who was a severe critic of his father, stated in his memoir of his father, 'My father's religious beliefs fluctuated, and there were periods in his life when he lost faith'. Professor Ian Machin, a notable expert on

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Victorian and later religion in Britain, accepted this view, and commented, 'It would seem that Lloyd George did not, like Joseph Chamberlain, move from belief into agnosticism, but fluctuated between periods of belief and doubt, like Parnell.' Machin concluded, 'Lloyd George can best be described as a broad and speculative Baptist.'¹⁵

Visiting London for a court case in 1888, he visited the scenes of the Jack the Ripper murders with a policeman from Caernarvonshire on a Saturday night, but on the Sunday morning he heard Charles Haddon Spurgeon preach in the Metropolitan Tabernacle, in the afternoon he listened to Frederick Harrison at the Positivist Hall and, in the evening, he went to hear the Wesleyan Hugh Price Hughes on 'The Words of Life' at St James's Hall. Elected to parliament in 1890, Lloyd George spent many Sundays in London going to hear leading Nonconformist preachers in their chapels, drawing on the lists of 'preachers for tomorrow' from Saturday newspapers. On Sunday morning 20 April 1891, for example, he went to Westbourne Grove chapel. In the afternoon, he chaired a meeting at which John Clifford gave a lecture on gambling. In a letter home, Lloyd George's sister wrote that Dr Clifford was very pleased with her brother's address from the chair. As for her brother, 'I never saw him more taken with anyone than he was with Dr Clifford. His sermons were so practical, he said, and yet so refined and cultured.'¹⁶ On another occasion, in response to an angry and highly critical letter from his wife, Lloyd George defended himself from not going to a chapel meeting but going on the Thames to Kew Gardens by hitting back with a much-quoted sneer that in Criccieth he would have had 'the pleasure of being cramped up in a suffocating malodorous chapel listening to some superstitious rot'.¹⁷ Most probably, this was him ignoring his mother's sound marriage advice to not say harsh things to Margaret if he lost his temper rather than giving a considered religious view, though he did express similar views on another occasion.

Lloyd George had a notable taste for reading Nonconformist sermons and other literature. These books were a substantial part of his private library which was sold by his son Gwilym (then Lord Tenby) in 1964 to the library of the University of Kent. Riddell wrote in his diary in 1908 of a dinner held at his house with Lloyd George and Charles Masterman as his guests. He called at Downing Street for Lloyd George: 'Found there an old Welsh parson who had been turned out of his farm ... because he had proposed a Radical candidate in opposition to his landlord's nominee'. Lloyd George took with him to Riddell's house 'a small Welsh book, the life of a well-known minister. He entertained us by translating passages from the minister's sermons – very homely and amusing: the sermon on Jonah, for example – but how much is due to the original and how much to L.G., I cannot say.'¹⁸ Frances Stevenson recalled,

‘One of the things’, he would say, ‘that I would like to enjoy when I enter Paradise is a Preaching Festival, with John Elias, Christmas Evans, William [Williams] of Wern and others occupying the pulpit.’¹⁹

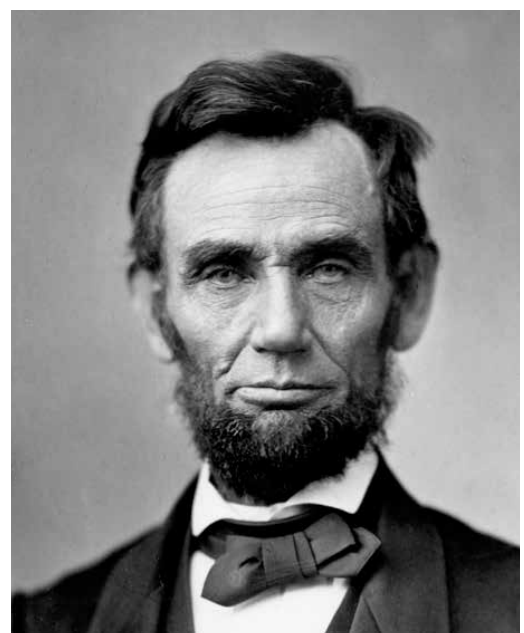
His other favourite Welsh preachers included Herber Evans (Caernarvon), John Jones (Talsarn), Edward Matthews (Ewenni) and Robert Roberts (Clynnog). Frances Stevenson observed that ‘there was no subject more dear to L.G.’s heart’ than ‘the subject of the old Welshmen who had achieved fame as preachers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.’ Lloyd George collected material on outstanding Welsh preachers with the intention of writing a book about them.²⁰

Lloyd George was also embedded in another major aspect of Welsh Nonconformist culture: hymn singing. He had a very good voice and in his youth often began the singing at the ‘Little Bethel’ of the Disciples of Christ at Criccieth.²¹ In March 1913 Riddell went to 11 Downing Street for a Welsh hymn singing evening with Welsh professional singers. Riddell noted, ‘Lloyd George himself sang fervently and vigorously. Sitting on the arm of my chair and translating the words for my benefit, he gave vivid descriptions of the hymns and the lives of their authors and composers.’²²

The notion of Lloyd George being ‘rooted in nothing’ was also attached to his reading or lack of reading. G. M. Trevelyan, a Liberal and from 1927 Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, joked, when criticising Lloyd George’s *War Memoirs* for attacking Sir Edward Grey, ‘Mr Lloyd George’s great gifts are not strictly historical. He lives so heavily in the present that he cannot recall his own past ...’²³ Yet Lloyd George did read widely, including history and literature, as well as theology.

Lloyd George’s use of history is instructive. He was interested in history (contrary to Trevelyan’s comment) and used it to further his Nonconformist causes. Not surprisingly, Oliver Cromwell was a particular favourite, especially in the decade 1895–1904 when he was working hard to be the political leader of British, and not just Welsh, Nonconformity. Without making an exhaustive search I have found fourteen speeches in that decade where Lloyd George invoked Cromwell, all but one at public meetings and only one at a specifically Nonconformist meeting. Cromwell was brought into play for the major Nonconformist issues of education and temperance, but also as a soldier who knew when to make peace, unlike the Conservatives and Unionists during the Boer War. The choice of Cromwell was two sided. While appeals to the memory of Cromwell and Hampden were norms of Nonconformist and radical oratory in many areas of Britain in the nineteenth century, Cromwell had many other connotations, and not just to Thomas Carlyle.

Lloyd George’s heroes included Oliver Cromwell, Maximilien Robespierre and Abraham Lincoln



After launching the Welsh Disestablishment campaign at Pontypridd in the autumn of 1891, Lloyd George was reported in a local newspaper. He instanced the example of Cromwell as a pattern of procedure. Cromwell had put forward his guns and had smashed the castle walls before negotiating terms. They might do the same with the Established Church; smash the encampment first, and then enter into the question of terms.²⁴ The Cromwell allusions gave a message of militant Protestantism, and while the enemy was the Established Church, his vigorous condemnations of the priesthood had a wider significance.

In the later 1890s Lloyd George positioned himself as a politician sympathetic to the most ardent anti-ritualists at a time when Nonconformity was roused to oppose the Conservatives' 1896 Education Bill and the revised 1897 Education Act.²⁵ On 24 May 1898 he moved the motion setting up the Nonconformist Parliamentary Council, and that motion complained of 'recent legislation seriously affecting the interests of Nonconformists and the efforts now being made by organisations connected with the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches to carry the nation in the same direction.'²⁶ Vigorous action then was being taken by John Kensit, the founder in 1889 of the Protestant Truth Society and in 1898 of 'Wickliffe preachers', who disrupted Established Church services if they deemed them ritualistic. Lloyd George spoke warmly of Wycliffe in several speeches. He appears to have been influenced by the Congregationalist Robert Forman Horton, whose book of sermons entitled *England's Danger* (1898) warned of the danger from Rome. At a meeting of the Baptist Union on 29 September 1898, Lloyd George was reported as saying that 'they were face to face with the most resolute, pertinacious and best organised attempt to re-establish the power of the priesthood in this country since the days of the Reformation.'²⁷ Lloyd George had no love of Anglicanism or Catholicism, but given his moving away from the beliefs of his uncle, his vigorous taking up of such views, after the fading of his nationalist endeavours through Cymru Fydd, seem at the very least partly opportunistic.

He returned to these themes when attacking Arthur Balfour's Education Bill. Speaking in Swansea on 25 April 1902, he stated:

There was a famous scripture reader with Welsh blood in his veins of the name of Oliver Cromwell. He had mastered all the revolutionary and explosive texts in that Book, and the result was destructive to that State priesthood. The bench of bishops was blown up; the House of Lords disappeared; and the aristocracy of this land rocked as though an earthquake had shaken them.²⁸

After the Irish Parliamentary Party voted with the Conservative government over the 1902 Education Bill, Lloyd George was again emphatic

that the Nonconformists' enemies were priests, Catholic or Established Church. At a huge Free Church demonstration against the London Education Bill, held in the Albert Hall, London, on 11 July 1903, Lloyd George asked, 'Should England, the refuge of the slave, the land of Wycliffe and of Oliver Cromwell, put on now the manacles of the priest?'²⁹

Although Lloyd George went out of his way to identify himself with the most anti-ritualist groups, he wrote to *Freeman's Journal*, in response to comments by Cardinal Vaughan, 'I would appeal to Irishmen whether they have not found less racial and religious bigotry amongst Nonconformists than amongst the classes who are promoting the Education Bill.'³⁰ However, he had support for his opposition to the Education Bill elsewhere. The local press report of a speech he made in Bangor noted, 'The Protestants of the North of Ireland, who were against him on Home Rule and the war question, had written to him to say that Ulster was agreed against the measure.'³¹

Lloyd George was loyal to Gladstonian Liberalism's commitment to Irish home rule, though Joseph Chamberlain's Home Rule All Round had appealed to him. Yet his Nonconformist roots left him with residual Orange sympathies. After Lloyd George's death, when Tom Jones was collecting recollections for his biography, Professor W. G. S. Adams, head of his prime ministerial secretariat, wrote, 'I remember feeling as I talked with him that when I got below the surface of his mind there was this deep primitive "No Pope here" of Ulster – something that stirred depths in his makeup and that explains despite all his efforts to get over it ... the settlement with Ulster.'³² Adams might have added also Lloyd George's willingness to use the Black and Tans in Ireland.

Lloyd George liked to claim that in this he was following the precedent of Gladstone's phase of coercion in Ireland in the early 1880s, and surprisingly Gladstone's former lieutenant, John Morley, agreed with Lloyd George. Lloyd George could have claimed Cromwell's horrendous massacres in Ireland as a precedent. Yet despite Ireland and his treatment of the Levellers, Cromwell appealed to some Radicals for his overturning of some aristocrats, the bishops and the monarchy. Lloyd George's enthusiasm for Cromwell can be contrasted with Winston Churchill's views. The historian Maurice Ashley, who drafted the Cromwell section of Churchill's *History of the English Speaking Peoples* (1956–8) recalled that when he read the book,

I was astonished to find some of my facts and phrases embedded in it, but the whole draft had been stood on its head. For Churchill was convinced that Cromwell was a dictator of the stamp of Adolf Hitler, and though a few things might be said in favour of the Lord Protector (he was, after all, a patriot) he was none the less, Churchill thought, a bad man.³³

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Lloyd George's other heroes were often lawyers or Nonconformist businessmen. The lawyers included Abraham Lincoln and Maximilien Robespierre. He admired Lincoln for his oratory, especially his Gettysburg address, as well as for his career. When he was preparing a speech for the unveiling of a statue of Lincoln in the Canning Enclosure, Parliament Square on 28 July 1920, Lloyd George expressed the view that Lincoln was 'the biggest man ever thrown up by American politics – a much bigger man than Washington, who was always so correct that he was uninteresting.'³⁴ He used Lincoln in his appeals to the American people during the First World War. Somewhat bizarrely, after that war Lloyd George tried to justify Britain holding on to the north of Ireland by reference to Lincoln and the southern states.

As for Robespierre, Lloyd George deemed him 'a great man'. He told Riddell, 'If you read his speeches you will see that he adumbrated and foretold most of the modern reforms. They are all in his speeches.' Lloyd George also admired Robespierre for the way that he, like himself, had come up the hard way. 'It is a terrible struggle,' he told Riddell, 'the struggle to secure recognition.'³⁵ Lloyd George had arrived in parliament through his grass-roots endeavours, a contrast with several of his leading political contemporaries such as Arthur Balfour and Winston Churchill whose entries in to politics were aided by family connections. Moreover, as Lloyd George commented, when he arrived in parliament he 'never dreamed that he would become a Cabinet minister', in contrast with someone like Churchill 'who started in politics with the object and intention of getting high office.' He added in best 'pot calling the kettle black' manner, 'Winston was a very nice man, but self-centred.'³⁶

Lloyd George was enthusiastic about the French Revolution, which he dubbed on one occasion 'the biggest event since the crucifixion.'³⁷ He eagerly read widely about it, from Thomas Carlyle, who saw the French Revolution as a continuing process, to the anarchist Prince Kropotkin, whose *The Great French Revolution* was published in English in 1909. His enthusiasm for the principles of the revolution was real, unlike Winston Churchill who only consistently admired Napoleon. Like Lord Rosebery, Lloyd George also admired Napoleon, and even put Napoleon's hat on to see if it fitted when in Paris in 1919 at the Peace Conference. This trying on of the hat had added significance given Lloyd George's belief in phrenology.

Lloyd George's choices in reading included Whig or Liberal historians. When articulated in Portmadoc, he was noticed spending his lunch hours in the office reading Henry Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* (1828) while eating. Hugh Edwards also wrote of Lloyd George reading and eating, 'He read without ceasing' and he read quickly.³⁸ He read Edward Gibbon's *Decline*

and Fall of the Roman Empire several times. In 1902, when on a Swiss holiday, Lloyd George went to Lausanne out of a 'keen desire to honour' Gibbon, but was bitterly disappointed to find that the site of his home had been cleared for a Post Office.³⁹ In old age, Lloyd George observed, 'I was brought up on Macaulay, Carlyle, Dumas and, later, Ruskin.' He often read Macaulay's essays, sometimes out loud to guests. He said approvingly of the essays, 'his first object was to be interesting. His second was to hit hard.' He also liked to read J. A. Froude's essays for mental stimulation.⁴⁰

Lloyd George was well read in literature as well as theology and history. He read George Elliot and Dickens, Carlyle and Ruskin, and Disraeli as well as Robert Louis Stevenson and Alexandre Dumas. Nevertheless, he was aware, and others made sure he remained aware, that he lacked public school and Oxford or Cambridge university education. He said he loathed Eton and Balliol types, but excluded Asquith from this condemnation. He also disliked the superior airs of many barristers, but again exempted Asquith from this criticism. His comment to A. J. Sylvester, his principal private secretary for twenty-two years, is revealing:

The worst thing Asquith had ever done, said L.G., had been to join the Church of England. He had been the son of a Nonconformist minister ... He himself had always belonged in the Church of Christ and had become associated with the Baptists. He held no great belief in their doctrines, but he had been brought up amongst them and having progressed among them, he would never have it thought that, once he had made his position, he had let them down by transferring to some other faith.⁴¹

Lloyd George stayed all his life a member not just of the Disciples of Christ in Criccieth but also of his Baptist Church in London. In 1939 Watkin Davies, who lived most of his life in Criccieth and knew the family well, observed:

In his allegiance to the religious interests of his boyhood he has never wavered; and although his theology would no longer be considered orthodox by the old Llanystumdwy neighbours, there has been no falling away on his part from any of the essentials of the Free Churchman's creed. Chamberlain was lost to Unitarianism, as Asquith was to Congregationalism; but Lloyd George is still in every sense of the term a Baptist.⁴²

Similarly, for all his political opportunism, Lloyd George remained a Liberal. He held to many causes for most or all his career including remedying unemployment, land reform, disestablishment and free trade. It was when he was prime minister that Welsh Disestablishment was achieved (on 31 March 1920), the 1914 Welsh Church Bill needing

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the provisions of the 1911 Parliament Act, and, like Irish home rule, being suspended during the war. Unlike Joseph Chamberlain, after being in coalition with the Conservatives, he returned to the Liberal Party and promoted fresh ideas in the 1920s. He also looked to Nonconformity for support. It helped provide him with a seat in the House of Commons into his eighties, long after Liberalism in other parts of Britain had diminished. The weakening of religion in politics was one of the causes of the decline of the Liberal Party after the First World War.⁴³

Lloyd George tried to rally the forces of Nonconformity for a last time in 1935. Lloyd George and the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction secured much newspaper coverage and big audiences at meetings around the country but its impact on the 1935 general election was very limited. The National Liberal and Transport Minister Leslie Hore-Belisha was perceptive when he commented to W. P. Crozier, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, that Lloyd George was assuming the existence of ‘a “Nonconformist vote” of the old kind’. He added that Lloyd George had talked a great deal of what had happened in the days of Gladstone ... and seemed to think things had not changed.⁴⁴

Lloyd George had shown flair and imagination in his years of office (1905–22) and in the 1920s. Yet his career owed much to his Nonconformist base. Other than his extraordinary laxity with adultery, he remained grounded in the Nonconformist culture of north Wales. He did not seek to be buried in some prestigious English place but instead chose to be buried beside the River Dwyfor at Llanystumdwy.

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1 Don M. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales: Lloyd George's Career before the First World War* (University of Missouri Press, 1976), pp. 128–9.

2 J. M. Keynes, *Essays in Biography* (Macmillan, 1936), p. 36.

3 Diary entry, 27 Jan. 1933. Tom Clarke, *My Lloyd George Diary* (Methuen, 1939), p. 187.

4 H. C. G. Matthew, ‘Rhetoric and Politics in Great Britain, 1860–1950’ in P. J. Waller (ed.), *Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain: Essays Presented to A. F. Thompson* (Harvester, 1987), pp. 39 and 52.

5 Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, vol. 2: *The Twentieth Century* (Hamish Hamilton, 1984), pp. 5 and 45.

6 J. M. McEwan, ‘Lloyd George's Acquisition of the *Daily Chronicle*’, *Journal of British Studies*, 22, 1, Autumn 1982, pp. 127–44.

7 A. J. P. Taylor, ‘Lloyd George: Rise and Fall’, reprinted in his *From the Boer War to the Cold War* (Hamish Hamilton, 1995), p. 234.

8 John Grigg, *Lloyd George: The People's Champion* (Methuen, 1978), pp. 32 and 29.

9 David M. Thompson, *Let Sects and Parties Fall: A Short History of Association Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland* (Borean Publishing Trusts, 1980), pp. 8–59 and 100; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, vol. 3: *The Crisis and Conscience of Nonconformity* (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 220–7.

10 Grigg, *People's Champion*, p. 228.

11 Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp. 42–71.

12 Earl Lloyd George, *Lloyd George* (Frederick Muller, 1960), pp. 20–1.

13 Frances Lloyd George, *The Years That are Past* (Hutchinson, 1967), p. 19; Diary entry, 24 Nov. 1915, A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: A Diary by Frances Stevenson* (Hutchinson, 1971), p. 79. Her autobiography includes memories of others, such as Richard Lloyd George, that she had read, as well as her own memories.

14 J. Hugh Edwards MP, *The Life of David Lloyd George* (Waverley Book Company, 1913), vol. 2, pp. 66–8.

15 Lloyd George, *Lloyd George*, p. 20; G. I. T. Machin, ‘Lloyd George and Nonconformity’, in Judith Loades (ed.), *The Life and Times of David Lloyd George* (Headstart History, 1991), p. 36.

16 Sir Alfred T. Davies, *The Lloyd George I Knew* (Henry Walter, 1948), pp. 21–2. Lloyd George admired Harrison's addresses to the Positivist Society but believed such truths were taught better by Christianity. Lloyd George's diary, 2 Jan. 1884 in William George, *My Brother and I* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1958), p. 78. Mary Ellen to her mother, 20 Apr. 1891, printed in W. R. P. George, *Lloyd George: Backbencher* (Gomer, 1983), p. 50.

17 On 13 August 1890. Kenneth O. Morgan (ed.), *Lloyd George Family Letters, 1885–1936* (Clarendon Press and Wales University Press, 1973), p. 35.

18 Diary entry, 22 Mar. 1913, Lord Riddell, *More Pages from My Diary, 1908–1914* (Country Life, 1934), p. 133.

19 Frances Lloyd George, *The Years That Are Past*, p. 251.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 248–51.

21 W. Watkin Davies, *Lloyd George 1863–1914* (Constable, 1939), pp. 38–9.

22 Diary entry, 16 Mar. 1913, Riddell, *More Pages*, p. 129.

23 G. M. Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon* (Longmans Green, 1937), p. 255.

24 Meeting of 10 Sep. 1891, *Pontypridd Chronicle*, 18 Sep. 1891. Rosebery, disliked by Nonconformists for his horse racing, gained some approval when it came out that he had paid for the 1899 tercentenary statue of Cromwell at Westminster.

25 David Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870–1914* (Allen and Unwin, 1982), pp. 137–8.

26 *Daily News*, 25 May 1898.

27 *Birmingham Daily Express*, 30 Sep. 1898; Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 32–4.

28 *Cambria Daily Leader*, 26 Apr. 1902.

29 *Daily News*, 13 Jul. 1903.

30 *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Oct. 1902.

31 Speech of 17 Sep. 1902, *Carnarvon Herald*, 19 Sep. 1902.

32 Adams to Tom Jones, 31 Jan. 1948, National Library of Wales, Thomas Jones Papers, A2/24.

33 Maurice Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (Secker and Warburg, 1968), pp. 33–4.

34 Diary entry, 25 Jul. 1920, Lord Riddell, *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After, 1918–1923* (Gollancz, 1933), p. 226.

35 Diary entry, 11 Oct. 1914, Lord Riddell, *Lord Riddell's War Diary, 1914–1918* (Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1933), p. 35.

36 Riddell's diary entry, 31 Oct. 1908, Riddell Papers, British Library, Add. Ms. 62969, f. 22.

37 Diary entry, 5 Dec. 1912, Riddell, *More Pages*, p. 107.

38 Peter Rowland, *Lloyd George* (Barrie and Jenkins, 1975), p. 22; Edwards, *Lloyd George*, vol. 2, p. 115.

39 Colin Cross (ed.), *Life with Lloyd George: The Diary of A. J. Sylvester* (Macmillan, 1975), p. 251; Davies, *The Lloyd George I Knew*, p. 34.

40 Diary, 7 Jul. 1939, Cross (ed.), *Life with Lloyd George*, p. 231; diary entry, 21 Jul. 1918, Riddell, *War Diary*, p. 342.

41 Diary, 30 Jul. 1936. Cross (ed.), *Life with Lloyd George*, pp. 143–4. Cross points out that Asquith's father was a Congregationalist layman.

42 Davies, *Lloyd George*, p. 217.

43 See, for example, K. D. Wald, *Crosses on the Ballot Paper: Patterns of British Voter Alignment since 1885* (Princeton University Press, 1983).

44 Interview, 19 Jul. 1935, A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *Off the Record: Political Interviews, 1933–1943* (Hutchinson, 1973), p. 49. Crozier had also heard Lloyd George speaking similarly. Stephen Koss, *Nonconformity in Modern British Politics* (Batsford, 1975), pp. 187–215.