

SYLVESTER ON T.J.

'I had such a revulsion reading Sylvester on Sylvester that I was determined mine should not be TJ on TJ. I've probably gone too far in the other direction'.¹ Thus wrote Thomas Jones, the former deputy secretary to the Cabinet, to his close friend Violet Markham, the well-known Liberal socialite, in July 1948 on reading the celebrated volume *The Real Lloyd George*, a highly personal quasi-biographical account of David Lloyd George written by his long-serving 'Principal Private Secretary' A. J. Sylvester the previous year. At the time Jones was in the advanced stages of preparing his own full-length biography of Lloyd George (eventually to be published in October 1951), and was sensitive to the possible impact of any rival works.

In June 2008 Mrs Pamela Ellis of Aberystwyth donated to the Welsh Political Archive at the National Library a file of correspondence and papers accumulated by her late husband Dr E. L. Ellis (1922–2008), the author of a magisterial biography of Thomas Jones published by the University of Wales Press in 1992. During the initial stages of his research work, between 1978 and 1982, Dr Ellis had approached some of TJ's contemporaries who were still alive and had asked them to pen their personal reminiscences of Jones. Those who responded in the affirmative included David Astor (son of Lady Astor), Ruth Evans (widow of Ifor Leslie Evans, former Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth), A. J. Sylvester, Lady Eirene White (TJ's daughter) and Marlene Yeo. These typescript recollections have now been designated NLW ex 2563. Those of A. J. Sylvester are printed below. They are dated January 1975 as they had originally been prepared at the request of Dr Trevor Williams of the University of Victoria, British Columbia, who had begun drafting a biography of Thomas Jones at the request of Lady White, his daughter, a project which had fallen by the wayside within a few years of its inception. When approached by Dr Ellis in August 1979, Sylvester saw no need to revise what he had first written more than four years earlier: 'I certainly cannot improve on this: it gives a picture of T.J. who I knew so well, and admired so much: moreover, it gives background information and creates atmosphere of those far off days, and shows beyond all possible doubt how very much LG made use of his great talents. I was THERE and I saw it happen'.²

Albert James Sylvester, a native of Harlaston in Staffordshire, having attained champion speeds in shorthand and typing while in his teens, migrated to London in 1910, eventually setting up his own business as a freelance shorthand writer based at Chancery Lane. His undoubted professional prowess immediately attracted to him a large number of potential clients, and it was only the outbreak of the First World War which brought to an abrupt end a

potentially thriving business. At the beginning of hostilities Sylvester undertook some temporary work for the Admiralty at the princely salary of three gold sovereigns a week. Soon the illness of a colleague led to his appointment as a stenographer (a shorthand writer) in the office of Colonel M. P. A. (later Lord) Hankey, at the time Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence and thus at the heart of the allied war campaign. This move was to launch Sylvester on his professional career. He was to become in December 1915 the first ever shorthand writer to take notes of the proceedings of a Cabinet committee. He thus undertook truly pioneering work, for no written record of decisions taken at Cabinet level had previously been kept. At the same time he came into regular contact with David Lloyd George who had been appointed Minister of Munitions in May 1915.

In *The Real Lloyd George* Sylvester proudly recalled that he had first come ‘into close touch with L.G.’ on 16 December 1915 (almost exactly a year before he acceded to the premiership) when, as Minister of Munitions, he was at ‘the centre of the great storm over expenditure on guns, shells and other vital equipment for the armies of France’.³ Sixteen years later, following the publication of Winston Churchill’s reminiscences of the First World War, a volume which Lloyd George perused with total absorption, Sylvester wrote in his detailed diary, ‘It deals with 1915 and the Dardanelles. I am particularly interested because I dealt with the whole of the records of that committee, formerly the War Committee, then developed into the Dardanelles Committee, and later became the War Council. Through the whole of these stages I was the one who kept the record for Hankey. He dictated them to me, and I typed and circulated them and all the associated memoranda. L.G. reminded me that he was not a member of this committee and that things happened of which he knew nothing. He was too busy with munitions’.⁴

By the high summer of 1916, when a growing impetus was building up that Lloyd George should succeed the generally ineffectual Asquith as Prime Minister, both LG (recently appointed Secretary of State for War) and David Davies, Liberal MP for Montgomeryshire, were ‘very anxious’ that Tom Jones would be of very much more use within the House of Commons as a Liberal MP, and suggested that he might well contest the South Glamorgan division at the next general election. This came to nothing, the idea at once scotched by TJ’s innate reluctance to enter politics, and by the deep-rooted opposition of his wife Rene. But Tom Jones was to come very close to the hub of political life when Lloyd George eventually succeeded to the premiership on 7 December 1916 – an experience which Jones vividly re-captured when he came to pen LG’s biography at Aberystwyth some thirty years later.⁵ TJ, it is clear, was set to assume a key post at the heart of Lloyd George’s new government. In the event he became, first Principal Assistant Secretary, and later Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

Secretariat, where he was to work in tandem with M. P. A. Hankey, the Secretary. Jones's brief was to work mainly on domestic questions, especially labour and industrial relations. Although different in character, and in personal relations rather aloof, Tom Jones and Hankey collaborated generally harmoniously. With Lloyd George, TJ's relationship grew ever closer. As Jones's biographer has written:

Tom Jones could be classed as a friend, and was certainly a trusted agent, at least in certain areas of business. Above all he was supremely useful to the Prime Minister ... Tom Jones wrote and received letters constantly from people in many different parts of the country in several walks of life. He moved freely in political and governmental circles; he was in close touch with intellectual opinion; he was an excellent sounding board for likely Welsh reactions; but, above all, he knew the world of labour, of industry and the trade unions, and he was on good terms personally with many of the leaders of working-class organizations. Tom Jones was Lloyd George's most useful, most trusted industrial scout whose political and social partialities he knew, whose discretion was a byword, and whose opinions, though not of course always right, were never less than honest. Small wonder, therefore, that Lloyd George made such extensive use of him.⁶

In the introduction to his notable volume *A Diary with Letters, 1931-1950*, published in 1954, Thomas Jones recalled his experiences of joining the Cabinet Secretariat fully thirty-eight years earlier:

On December 7 Lloyd George became Prime Minister and in a few days I joined the new Cabinet Secretariat under Colonel Hankey. My official post at the time was that of Secretary to the Welsh National Health Insurance Commission at Cardiff. Sir Ernest Swinton was fond of telling me with what curiosity I was surveyed on my arrival at the Cabinet Office, 2 Whitehall Gardens, where rumour reported I was a disguised Bolshevik whom Lloyd George had discovered somewhere in a Welsh coalpit. Swinton expected I would carry at least a revolver if not a bomb and he had equipped himself to deal with me. It was some years after this that a retired police officer, whom I met in Dolgelly, admitted to me that he had watched my Hampstead flat in the evenings for signs of seditious callers.⁷

Days later, his position now confirmed as secretary to the Cabinet, Sir Maurice Hankey wrote to his wife, 'I have entirely reorganised my office, and to-day I looked over my new premises. All this on top of at least one meeting of the War Cabinet every day and sometimes more ... I am aiming at remaining the *sole* Secretary, in which case I shall divide my office into three sections ... I intend to have a private secretary to look after my personal needs. There is a good deal of detail still to be worked out, but I shall have it all completed next week ... Lloyd George is still ill and I only saw him in bed for a minute or two to-day'.⁸ It was at this point that A. J. Sylvester was appointed Hankey's private secretary as successor to Cyril Longhurst who then assumed responsibility for the administration of the War cabinet office. Sylvester was to remain in this position until 1921 when Lloyd George, by then prime minister of the post-war coalition government, in Hankey's own words, 'carried him off as his own private secretary'.⁹ Sylvester was thus in a wholly unique key position during the second half of the First World War and throughout the lifetime of the post-war coalition government. Hence his

commentary on the working relationship between Hankey and Thomas Jones in the reminiscences printed below, written when their author was fully 85 years of age, is worthy of close study. Six years earlier, approached by the distinguished naval historian (and former captain in the Royal Navy) Captain Stephen Roskill for his memories of Hankey, he had written:

In my judgement he was the finest 'Civil Servant' who ever functioned in Whitehall. He was solely dedicated to his work, which he performed with machine-like efficiency and integrity. He had a most amazing memory, never spared himself and did not spare others. In his work he was ruthless, had very little consideration; little if any humour, and little or no sentimentalism in his nature ... He was very abstemious, hated the limelight, avoided most kinds of social engagements and distractions, and disliked the Press. He was a very happy family man, and very simple in all his tastes ... I really grew up with him. I was with him from 1914 till 1921, through the fateful years of the First World War, including the Allied Conferences at home and abroad, the Peace Conference, and the aftermath – including the Great Strike of 1919 ... Then for the first time in the history of this country records were kept of the proceedings of the Cabinet, made by Hankey ...¹⁰

Many of Sylvester's observations on Hankey's personality, working methods and relationships with colleagues, even Tom Jones, his immediate subordinate, are reflected in his reminiscences of TJ. Roskill, however, also makes the very valid point that in his family life Hankey was much more relaxed and displayed much greater sentiment, humanity and humour than Sylvester and his colleagues can ever have experienced in their working life at 2 Whitehall Gardens. He quotes the opinion of the historian Arnold Toynbee, then a relatively junior clerk at the Foreign Office, at the time of the Paris Peace Conference, who recalled that Hankey, although 'already a grandee ... had no pomp or self-conceit'.¹¹

Thomas Jones was there primarily as a result of the intervention of David Davies MP (Montgomeryshire) with the newly installed prime minister.¹² There were those who pressed for TJ to be appointed private secretary to Lloyd George or else that he should take up the position of under-secretary at the Board of Education or the Local Government Board. A revolution was certainly underway at the heart of British government as a direct result of the pressures and demands of 'total war', a wholly unique situation. Hankey was required to find staff for what amounted to a new system of government. Initially he had been filled with suspicion and dread when Lloyd George appeared 'very anxious to foist upon me a Welshman called Thomas Jones'. Jones was, of course, LG's fellow countryman; was he also intended to be his spy at the heart of government? Moreover, Hankey's alarm had already increased as he had previously been warned by J. T. Davies, Lloyd George's private secretary, who had told him in no uncertain terms that the upstart Jones was potentially 'a peace monger and a syndicalist'. But face-to-face contact with TJ had rather helped to quell his very real fears – 'Still I rather liked the man, despite rather a sly face like Lloyd George's

and I think I could use him on the industrial side. Anyhow he had ideas, and as a result of our interview I caught on to a scheme of organisation of the office into two groups – machinery and ideas ...’.¹³

The two men, secretary and assistant (soon to be appointed deputy) secretary to the Cabinet, had evidently formed some kind of rapport, the genesis of a generally amicable working relationship which was to continue for the next fourteen years. The very next day Jones wrote to his wife, ‘I saw Sir Maurice Hankey and talked over the sort of work I might do. L.G. had spoken to him. I explained I didn’t want to touch office machinery but rather to act as *a fluid person moving amongst people who mattered and keeping the P.M. on the right path as far as possible*. He quite understood. He is to see L.G. again. His place is at 2 Whitehall Gardens and they will overflow on both sides into 1 and 3 I think. Curzon, Milner and Henderson will be there each with his secretary’.¹⁴ Hankey’s outstanding organisational skills made a very favourable impression on TJ from the outset of their partnership – ‘the prince of secretaries, to whom my debt is great’ as he was later to describe him.¹⁵ Their mutually complementary range of interests, talents and enthusiasms soon forged them into ‘a superb team’ who divided the pressing tasks between them in a way which was ‘obvious and mutually satisfying’.¹⁶

By the end of the war A. J. Sylvester had become a high grade career civil servant who shared the status of university graduates who had entered the civil service through competitive examination. In the same year – 1918 – he was awarded the OBE (later to be advanced to CBE in 1920). Just before hostilities had come to an end in the autumn of 1918, Hankey had ‘a long discussion’ with Stanley Baldwin, then a junior minister at the Treasury – apparently the first such encounter between the two men whose paths were to cross so often during the 1920s and the 1930s – on the question of ‘increased pay for my subordinates. The Treasury refuse to admit that the War Cabinet Secretariat has become a permanent institution, and to give us an “establishment” ... I made an impassioned appeal for my office from a “stony-hearted” Treasury’. He had already made a similar approach to Bonar Law, the Conservative leader – ‘I put Sylvester first; the clerks second, and Longhurst third in my demands’.¹⁷ Sylvester was still proving an invaluable aide to Hankey during a lengthy period of hectic, exhausting activity. From October 1918 onwards Hankey was generally absent at Paris, leaving the equally harassed Tom Jones to serve as his ‘simply splendid deputy’ at ‘a very gruelling time’ for him.¹⁸ Only the previous day Hankey’s position had indeed been confirmed by Lloyd George as the official ‘British Secretary to the Peace Conference’ at a most attractive annual salary of between £3000 and £4000, while his secretariat (including A. J. Sylvester) was thence to become the secretariat of the Paris Peace Conference. He did not, however, enjoy the confidence and trust of the American President Woodrow Wilson who did

his utmost to exclude Hankey from the secret, top-level talks. Consequently, no record was kept of these vital discussions. Before any meeting which he was due to attend, Hankey invariably went to immense lengths to ensure that his famous 'box' contained all the documents likely to be required during the course of the meeting. Sylvester played a big role in checking and re-checking with meticulous accuracy the contents of the 'box'. Yet Hankey still felt somewhat vulnerable away from London for extended periods. 'Is it possible that Tom Jones is trying to cut me out?', he asked his wife nervously; 'I thought my position was too strong for that. Anyhow I have always said that only the best man available ought to have my job, and if he is better than me, he shall have it ... My soul is a little disquieted within me'.¹⁹ Sylvester accompanied Hankey at all key meetings at home and abroad.

In 1921 A. J. Sylvester participated in the extended negotiations which led to the celebrated Anglo-Irish treaty. Tom Jones was secretary of the British delegation. Both men were present at the signing of the treaty at 2.10am on 6 December 1921.²⁰ During the same year Sylvester had left Hankey's employ to become Lloyd George's private secretary based at 10 Downing Street. When LG fell from power (permanently as it transpired) in October 1922, Sylvester remained in post and served under the Conservative Prime Ministers Andrew Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin. In this role he felt somehow out of place and probably welcomed the call which came from Lloyd George in the autumn of 1923 when he was appointed (at his own vain insistence) 'Principal Private Secretary' to the former Prime Minister. The immediate occasion for the approach was the need for an experienced, dedicated private secretary to organise and attend an extended speaking tour of the USA and Canada. On their return from North America at the end of the year, Sylvester told TJ, 'I've been through hell'. Although the speaking tour had undeniably been 'an immense public success' from beginning to end, 'those in LG's immediate entourage had a gruelling time'. Lloyd George had 'fumed and raged and swore he would not do this nor would he do that – but he did everything and more. On the boat going out he was like a prima donna in a green room ... in a fever about his first impact on the American people on landing and its effect on Canada'.²¹

While Tom Jones, against expectations, formed a very close bond of personal friendship with Stanley Baldwin, the Tory Premier from 1923, he still retained his links with Lloyd George and thus with A. J. Sylvester. In 1925 TJ, anxious to assist Richard Bonar Law with his research for a biography of his recently deceased father, approached Sylvester to sound out LG on the matter.²² Sylvester continued to telephone TJ to discuss political questions. In 1934 when the 're-making' of the so called national government was under discussion, Jones impressed upon Stanley Baldwin the desirability of bringing Lloyd George back into government.²³ He made the same determined attempt the following January in the wake of

the dramatic launch of LG's radical 'New Deal' proposals. Thanks largely to TJ, Lloyd George's suggestions received some attention in government circles, LG writing to Jones in March:

Thanks for the trouble you took to go through that rough draft. Your suggestions were very helpful, and I incorporated them almost all in the final draft. If the names given by 'The Times' to-day constitute the Committee of Examination, then I am not very hopeful of results. There is hardly a single name on the panel which would ensure an unprejudiced consideration of my proposals. Most of them are committed by their public utterances to a condemnation of the basic ideas underneath my plan. Baldwin is not on as far as I can see. The young men of the Ministry who would be predisposed in favour of action on new lines are excluded. The composition of this examining body as it stands reminds me of what is known in academy circles as 'The Hanging Committee'! However, that is their business. I shall await results patiently, and than act.²⁴

TJ and LG sometimes lunched together to discuss political trends.²⁵

When during the following year Lloyd George's famous visit to Hitler at Berchtesgaden was being planned, he urged Sylvester to persuade Tom Jones to accompany him as, 'Tom was connected with Baldwin and if he joined the party it would take off any appearance of L.G. interfering'.²⁶ TJ actually joined the party at Munich before the meeting with the Fuehrer. The very same day Lloyd George confided to Sylvester that he was 'very disappointed with Tom Jones. "He's nothing like the Radical he used to be. He actually hopes that the Rebels in Spain will win the day"'.²⁷ Exactly the same words were used by Sylvester in the reminiscences printed below. During the German visit, Lloyd George and Lord Dawson of Penn, the well-known physician, discussed the possibility of LG publishing a series of newspaper articles on the situation in Germany, and deemed it wise that he should confine himself to industrial and economic matters (thus avoiding political issues like Locarno and the precise points which he had discussed with Hitler). TJ was charged to see Baldwin on his return home and arrange a meeting between the PM and Lloyd George.²⁸ LG might then bring out these themes in a speech in the House of Commons.

From about the outbreak of World War Two the relationship between Tom Jones and Lloyd George rapidly deteriorated. From the beginning of hostilities it was Jones's heartfelt belief that the former Liberal leader should display readiness to become a member of a reconstituted war cabinet, and possibly even lead it.²⁹ TJ kept up the pressure on Lloyd George in 1941, but to no avail. In August 1942 Jones met up with Lloyd George, his P. P. S. A. J. Sylvester and his youngest daughter Megan at the national eisteddfod at Cardigan. LG spoke at the chairing ceremony on Thursday, taking advantage of the opportunity to speak out on political issues.³⁰ Tom Jones and Sylvester had a highly confidential conversation on the eisteddfod field which TJ later recorded:

August 1942,
Cardigan.

Record of conversation, Sylvester to T. J.³¹

Threat to marry F[rances] S[tevenson] led to heart talk between L. G. and Megan. Reconciliation at Criccieth on a short holiday, and at Cardigan great friendliness, because M[egan] thinks danger [of Lloyd George getting married to Frances Stevenson] is past. But Sylvester says that F. S. is openly and aggressively claiming her 'rights'.

In 1929 to secure *alibi* L. G. bundled family himself to France and visited nine countries. S[yvester] toiled like a slave. F. S. was at Vimereux but returned to London for birth of child. Caesarian [sic] operation. S[yvester] is certain from physical resemblance that father of the girl is Tweed,²² same slowness and stoop. During period of intimate relations of F. S. and T[weed] former had a Welsh girl as maid in flat. Maid had a religious turn and 'spilt the beans' to the women of the L. G. family. L. G. had been suspicious of T[weed] and had cross-examined S[yvester] about T[weed]'s relations with F. S. Told L. G. that they went out to restaurants together. 'L. G. is as jealous as hell, and as suspicious as Satan'. Tweed left the girl one-fifth of his fortune – same as to his wife, viz. £7000 each.

TJ's opinion of Lloyd George was rapidly plummeting. He looked askance at the details given him by Sylvester of the venomous family disputes which had erupted during 1943 in the build-up to the marriage between LG and his long-term mistress Frances Stevenson in October. Jones's animosity grew apace.

In April 1943 Tom Jones received 'a sudden and urgent request' to prepare an obituary notice for Lloyd George and almost instinctively turned to Sylvester for assistance in relation to his *War Memoirs*, his method of preparing speeches, and LG's record as a businessman. Sylvester readily replied at length. 'Most interesting and authentic' responded a grateful TJ.³² The following month – May 1943 – he made a recording for the BBC on Lloyd George which would then be immediately available in the event of the old man's death. As it became clear that at long last hostilities were drawing to a close, TJ harboured real fears that Lloyd George might well face defeat in the Caernarfon Boroughs at the next general election: 'The women have turned against L.G. because they liked Dame Margaret. The younger generation have never come under the spell of L.G.'.³³ Even so, Jones reacted very badly to the shock news on 1 January 1945 that 'the great Commoner' himself was now to become Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor and Viscount Gwynedd. Soon afterwards it became more generally known that LG's rapidly deteriorating health was now becoming a cause of real concern. On 22 February 1945 Tom Jones, travelling from Bangor back to Harlech, broke his journey at Criccieth to have lunch with Sylvester at the Lion Hotel '& before he arrived from Tŷ Newydd I gossiped with Mrs Sylvester in their sitting room upstairs. Downstairs were a dozen pressmen hanging around for news. On the top floor Sylvester's private secretary who joined us at lunch'.³⁴ On the day of Lloyd George's death – 26 March 1945 – Tom Jones broadcast a tribute to him on the BBC, while *The Observer* newspaper published a lengthy obituary also penned by Jones.³⁵ Both conspicuously failed to impress the Lloyd George family. TJ also failed to attend Lloyd George's funeral service, pleading the likelihood of 'a fresh attack of fibrositis' in

consequence, but, urged by Sylvester to put in an appearance, he reluctantly made the long journey to London to attend one of the three memorial services for Lloyd George.³⁶ By this time Jones, his decision somehow facilitated by LG's death, had resolved to accept an invitation from Harvard University Press to write a full-length biographical work, a task to which he now turned with obvious relish. Having resolved to resign as secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, a position which he had occupied with obvious commitment and distinction since 1930, he decided to move to Aberystwyth where he took up residence at a property within a stone's throw of the National Library of Wales with a view to making extensive use of that institution's magnificent resources for a study of Lloyd George. This exacting and demanding task was in fact to prove his main preoccupation for the next six years.³⁷

Poor Sylvester was meanwhile conspicuously down on his luck. He had given Lloyd George nigh on twenty-two years of unstinting, loyal service, way beyond the call of duty, and had remained in his employ long after it was to his personal advantage to do so. Yet within days of his master's death he had been summarily dismissed by Frances, now the Dowager Countess, and forbidden from participating in future projects designed to commemorate and perpetuate Lloyd George's good name and memory, including the preparation of an 'official' biography. For the first time in his life A. J. Sylvester, a proud man now aged 55, was out of a job. One of the many approaches he made was to TJ whose assistance he sought to ensure that he might be considered for the vacant position of secretary to the Pilgrim Trust: 'Almost at once I expect to be free, and I am, therefore, anxious to get a position of trust to which I can devote my energies and my interest. I have touched life at many angles and have an immense background of experience upon which to draw and to base judgement. I have been known to the most important ministers of the Crown, statesmen and parliamentarians over the last thirty years. Have served three Prime Ministers personally and another – Asquith – indirectly, and nobody knows better than you the nature of the work I did at the war cabinet for seven years under Hankey as his Private Secretary. I have travelled widely'.³⁸ He was, however, one of more than twenty applicants for the coveted position and was predictably unsuccessful.

One of the tasks Sylvester began to pursue almost at once with great eagerness was the preparation of a semi-biographical volume about his 'old chief', a work eventually to be published in 1947 as *The Real Lloyd George*. Thus both Jones and Sylvester were to some extent engaged upon very similar tasks. At the end of 1946 TJ read in the press that *The Real Lloyd George* was to be published at some point during 1947. Although he must have felt some resentment that Sylvester had to some extent 'stolen his thunder' by bringing out his book so promptly, Jones wrote to him, 'You must have worked very hard on it & it is sure to

meet with great success. For myself my pace is that of a septuagenarian & a slow one at that'.³⁹ In response Sylvester anticipated TJ's 'frank expression of opinion on the work which has been executed against time', and continued, 'But I am waiting for your Life, for you can give the Celtic touch, with your knowledge and experience of the subject, which no other can excel'.⁴⁰ During February and March 1947 lengthy, potentially sensational extracts from Sylvester's forthcoming book were published in the *Sunday Dispatch* and gave rise to much interest and general commendation.⁴¹

TJ, undaunted, plodded on resolutely with the task in hand. 'I go to the [National] Library almost daily', he wrote to his old friend Abraham Flexner, the highly distinguished former educational administrator in the United States, at the end of April, 'but am experiencing a great decline in my powers of work which I suppose is to be expected!'.⁴² He was somewhat frustrated by the long delay in the appearance of Sylvester's eagerly anticipated *The Real Lloyd George* caused by an acute paper shortage, problems over binding, and the severe austerity which was the inevitable fate of post-war Britain. He arranged to meet Sylvester at London at the beginning of July: 'I wish I had gone into partnership with you over it – sharing the profits and supplying the ballast! My effort makes slow progress and of course I blame the weather'. Both men were much annoyed by the lack of availability of pre-publication copies of Sylvester's book, the author responding to Jones, 'When I think how I sweated and rushed everything through, and how long I have waited – well, it's just too bad'. Sylvester was apparently most anxious that Tom Jones, whose views and opinions he respected, should write a full review of the volume.⁴³ By September TJ had evidently received an advance copy of *The Real Lloyd George* and sent an effusive congratulatory message to his old associate – 'So long as interest is taken in L.G., your book will be indispensable to an intimate understanding of his character' – while Sylvester duly replied, 'Coming from an old friend and colleague, who knew LG so well, I value it all the more'. Indeed Sylvester would feel 'honoured' should TJ wish to quote from the book in his own writings.⁴⁴ Within a week Jones had sent to Sylvester a list of minor factual errors within the volume expressing the hope that they might perhaps be corrected in a second edition.⁴⁵

On the face of it, relations between the two authors were amicable and harmonious enough. But the following July, by which time TJ had already drafted a considerable part of his proposed biography, he did not mince his words in a private letter to Violet Markham: 'I had such a revulsion reading Sylvester on Sylvester that I was determined mine should not be T.J. on T.J. I've probably gone too far in the other direction'.⁴⁶ Reading Sylvester's work had clearly induced him to eschew ruthlessly much of his personal knowledge of Lloyd George

which he had originally planned to include. Now he was very conscious of the potential risks of submitting to excessive personal prejudice.

Then at the beginning of 1949 there appeared the 'official biography' of Lloyd George, authored by Malcolm Thomson, also one of LG's former private secretaries who, like Sylvester, had played an important role in the research for, and preparation of the *War Memoirs* in the first half of the 1930s. This work had been undertaken with Frances's unstinting co-operation, encouragement and support and full, unrestricted access to the massive archive of papers which LG had bequeathed to her in his will (the papers now in the Parliamentary Archive at the House of Lords). Sylvester was still fuming that from the outset he had been totally excluded by Frances from playing any part in the enterprise – one reason for his anxiety to publish *The Real Lloyd George* as quickly as possible, and thus gain some advantage over Frances and Thomson. When the 'official biography' did see the light of day, Sylvester wrote to Jones:

The Dowager's book is out. Have you read it? I am waiting to get it from the Library, though I have just had an opportunity of taking a hurried glance at it. It does not seem to have had a very good reception. There are mis-statements of fact in it, according to some of the Reviews, and that is not good publicity.

Judging by what I have so far seen, it seems to be inadequate. The Dowager's Preface about Thomson and L.G. is poppycock. He was NEVER 'Literary Secretary' to L.G. That is a purely self-styled position. When it was once mooted, L.G. got wild at the mere thought that HE should require a 'Literary Secretary'!

I have no intention of popularising the book by commenting upon it in public. Between them they have presented to the public the L.G. the Dowager wanted to produce. That is scarcely the great dynamic figure you and I knew so well and, with it all, thought so much of. Now, when will your own book be published? That is the one I am waiting to read. Can we meet when you are next in town? I should much like to have a chat.⁴⁷

The friendship between Sylvester and Jones continued until the latter's death in October 1955 at the age of 85. Sylvester in particular greatly valued TJ's opinions and on occasion sought his advice. The two men shared rumours and gossip in relation to the forthcoming biography of LG being prepared by Frank Owen, conjecture that a volume of Lloyd George's letters was about to be published, and the present likely whereabouts of the LG Papers originally owned by the Countess. Sylvester was most alarmed at unconfirmed reports that she had already sold them to Lord Beaverbrook who had then presented them to the university at New Brunswick at a ceremony which she herself had personally attended.⁴⁸ Sylvester was truly delighted when Jones sent him a copy of his biography of Lloyd George eventually published (after numerous pitfalls and setbacks) in October 1951 after its author had become an octogenarian – 'You are a wonderful man, especially at your age to have produced such a book'.⁴⁹ Jones continued to consult Sylvester while preparing his extensive volume *A Diary with Letters, 1931-1950* and sought his help in locating suitable photographs.⁵⁰ In the lengthy

introduction to the volume he justified his keeping of a diary. During his period as Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet from 1916, he had of necessity frequently been ‘involved in confidential exchanges with opposed parties during labour and other disputes, or in secret conversations with Ministers’, and had consequently felt ‘the need of written proof that I had faithfully interpreted the instructions of my principals’. His habit of keeping a diary had been pursued ‘furtively’ until he had come to understand that his immediate superior Sir Maurice Hankey was also keeping a diary ‘in a stoutly bound locked book’. Jones then felt fully justified – ‘He could do no wrong’.⁵¹

J. GRAHAM JONES

The National Library of Wales

ROUGH NOTES ON PROFESSOR THOMAS JONES, C.H., LL.D.,
by A. J. SYLVESTER, C.B.E., J.P.

One day in December 1916 Lt.-Colonel M.P.A. Hankey (later Sir Maurice: then Lord Hankey) returned from 10 Downing Street to his office of the Committee of Imperial Defence at 2 Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W., where he was Secretary.

He had something on his mind which caused him much concern.

Lloyd George had just become Prime Minister and had commissioned Hankey to organise the first War Cabinet Secretariat. The Committee of Imperial Defence was to form the nucleus. What concerned Hankey was that the Prime Minister had introduced to him Professor Thomas Jones, popularly known as T.J. or Tom. The Prime Minister had intimated to Hankey that he would like Tom Jones to be associated with the new organisation. Hankey did not know Lloyd George so well then as he did later, and was suspicious of his motives.

This was not surprising, for at that very moment he had some doubts about the security of his own position. There were those of high status, backed by powerful sponsors, who aspired to the secretaryship of the newly formed War Cabinet secretariat. Lord Milner had a group of influential followers, among them Captain Basil Liddell Hart, who had a great reputation as a military writer; and there were others.

Tom Jones had been brought up from the South Wales mining valleys: it was said that he was keenly interested in industrial, social and educational questions, and in politics belonged to the Left.

This, then, was the atmosphere in the new organisation formed in the premises of the Committee of Imperial Defence, formerly the residence of Disraeli, and where I was the first Private Secretary.

Hankey was a man of action. He had won the confidence of the Heads of all the Departments of State in Whitehall, both from the ministerial and the Civil Service point of view, and had long been in the full confidence of Asquith, the former Prime Minister. Now he had 'clicked' with Lloyd George, and he was greatly relieved when he found that he had been able to arrange with Tom Jones that he should become as Assistant Secretary of the War Cabinet Secretariat.

From that moment Tom and I became good friends for the rest of his life.

It was a very clever move on the part of Lloyd George to bring in Tom Jones, as will be seen by his record. He was a hard worker, and was liked by the whole of the staff, and highly respected by them for he had held very high academic positions and was a man of high status and very efficient.

Hankey and Tom were entirely different in most respects. If Hankey had measured up Tom, Tom had measured up Hankey. They always worked well together, but Hankey held Tom at a distance and was aloof: that was his nature.

I have always regarded Hankey as the most remarkable man I knew in the Civil Service. He was super efficient with a great mind. He was scarcely human in the office, but loving and devoted in his family life: he was a taskmaster with little consideration for others. He had little or no humour. Tom had humour, and was human. He had a fine mind, Celtic, of course, flexible and subtle and quick, and perhaps calculating. He had steel blue grey eyes which suggested to me a degree of hardness in his nature. He was a good listener; he was sparing in the words he used; he did not waste words and he certainly did not waste money. He lived simply and dressed simply. Now and then we lunched at a little restaurant in a court opposite the Admiralty in Whitehall and had a 1s 6d lunch. In later years we met at the Reform Club or the Athenaeum. He gave the impression of being shy: in action and enterprise he was the reverse. I do not know that he ever had any outside hobbies: outside his official duties he engaged himself in writing and was the author of a number of books.

He kept a diary, which must have taken up a lot of his time: his best known production was his volumes entitled WHITEHALL DIARY.

He knew that I kept a diary, and at one point suggested that we should pool our material to produce a book. I felt that my material was likely to be so different and much more intimate than his and this decided me against the idea.

* * * * *

T. J. was now Deputy Secretary. In order to relieve the War Cabinet of a lot of domestic problems these were henceforth dealt with by a body set up to deal with them known as the Home Affairs Committee of which Tom became Secretary.

During the Peace Conference in Paris where Hankey was the Secretary of the British Delegation and the Secretary of the Council of Four, TJ was Acting Secretary of the Cabinet at home. On his return from the signature of Peace at Versailles in June 1919, Lloyd George was immediately confronted by the great strike. Herein, one sees the foresight of the Prime Minister in using Tom Jones's services. With his connections and his reputation, with his Celtic mind and his knowledge of the Welsh language, often used in talking to the Prime Minister, he worked behind the scenes talking unofficially to the strikers, and gathering vital

information, and reaching understandings which played a most valuable part in enabling the Prime Minister to reach a settlement.

In 1921 during the negotiations of the Irish Peace Treaty the Prime Minister chose T.J. as the Secretary of the British side. Erskine Childers represented the Irish. With his Celtic mind LG felt that he [TJ] would be able to understand the Irish mentality better than Hankey. It fell to TJ, assisted by Captain Lawrence Rargis, to arrange a special Cabinet meeting in Inverness whilst LG was on holiday at Cairloch to consider urgent questions which had suddenly arisen in the Irish negotiations. In my experience that is the only Cabinet meeting held outside 10 Downing Street and the House of Commons, and Church House during the Second World War.

During the whole of the negotiations TJ worked hard behind the scenes. There was another very remarkable man who worked closely with the Irish in Ireland; he was Sir Alfred Cope, of whom little is known publicly, but from my personal knowledge of him, and my friendship for him, I know what a vital part he played. That is another story, which one day may be revealed.

T.J. and I were present at the signature in 10 Downing Street of the Irish Treaty; I typed it. (See my account in *THE REAL LLOYD GEORGE*, which is factual; the account by Frances Stevenson in *THE YEARS THAT ARE PAST* is inaccurate).

In 1922 the Cannes Conference was held on the initiative of the Prime Minister. T.J. was the Secretary of the British delegation, Hankey either being at the Washington Disarmament Conference or preparing to go.

The Genoa Conference followed soon afterwards in the same year: Hankey was the Secretary of the British team along with TJ. This conference is regarded by many as the most important conference ever held up to that time. It had an enormous potential which, because of the attitude of the French delegation, and particularly because of the behaviour of the French President, then Monsieur Poincare, was not realised: yet, it still had its results.

Signor Mussolini was a reporter at the Cannes Conference: an approach was made by him, through T.J. for an interview with Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister. LG knew nothing of this at the time. He knew of the request only much later. (See visit to Germany in these notes later).

In 1922 Lloyd George resigned and was succeeded by Bonar Law. As the result of pledges given by the Tories during the change there was a drive to make changes, scrapping those ideas of LG which included the 'Garden Suburb': unfortunately the Cabinet Office got mixed up with this issue, and its estimates were severely cut. Tom still remained, and became closely associated with Bonar Law, though not on anything like the same scale as that with LG.

After the short premiership of Bonar Law, who resigned because of ill health, Baldwin became Prime Minister. From that moment T.J. became on very close terms with the new Prime Minister, which lasted during Baldwin's lifetime. He was his confidential adviser; he provided him with the material for his speeches, and wrote some of them. I have always felt that T.J. should have been the one to write the Life of Baldwin.

In 1924 Ramsay MacDonald became the first Labour Prime Minister: Tom was still at the Cabinet Office. One would have supposed that with a Socialist Prime Minister, and Tom with his radical views and his unique experience, would have been warmly welcomed by the Prime Minister as an adviser, like L.G., Bonar Law and Baldwin. Not so. I never knew the reason: what I do know is that Ramsay made a great mistake. Tom could have guided him on a

number of vital issues: at that time, for instance, there were some 2,000,000 unemployed in this country. Ramsay had had no previous administrative experience; he had not been even a junior Minister in any Government: now he had not only become Prime Minister, but had taken upon himself to become the Foreign Secretary as well.

* * * * *

CONFIDENTIAL

Wednesday, January 30, 1924:

I paid a visit to the Cabinet Office and saw T.J. I have never seen him so 'glum'.

It appears that he left his own affairs in the hands of Hankey. DAYS before Ramsay MacDonald became Prime Minister, Hankey had had a private interview with him at Hampstead. He returned from that interview to tell T.J. that 'he had not been able to get as far as his case!'

On the night of Ramsay's appointment as Prime Minister Hankey dined alone with him. Again he returned with the same tale.

A day or two afterwards he did mention the matter to the Prime Minister, but ere this Warren Fisher and the Treasury folks had been at the Prime Minister and had stated fully their view of the case.

T.J. had long since been promised the position of Secretary to the Welsh Education Board now held by Sir Alfred T. Davies. This was at the time when L.G. was in office, but Davies had remained on for an extra year in order to help him in the matter of a slightly increased pension.

Meantime, Bonar Law had become Prime Minister and then Baldwin. Tom Jones had been a sort of super private secretary to both in succession, and although he had kept the Cabinet Office as his headquarters, he was taken off Hankey's list of staff and his name appeared in none of the official or unofficial books. He occupied a similar position to Grigg (Sir Edward) and Philip Kerr.

T.J. of course ought to have gone to Ramsay MacDonald himself, or to have seen J. H. (Thomas) and got the latter to put his case. But T.J. is a shy fellow.

Hankey has all along been persuading T. J. to return to his old job. On the other hand, Lord Haldane and other educationalists have been putting forward's Tom's name for the position of permanent Under Secretary to the Minister in succession to Selby Bigge.

When Hankey did mention Tom's name to the Prime Minister, the latter asked what his salary was. When Hankey replied: '£1,500', Ramsay said that 'he ought to be glad to have a roof over his head', and expressed amazement at the big salary he was receiving.

Hankey actually told Tom 'that when the Prime Minister spoke like this I thought it best to let the matter drop lest he should ask me about my salary'. (Hankey's salary is £3,000).

The Treasury are against Tom going to the Ministry of Education. Whether they will actually do him out of the Secretaryship to the Welsh Board I do not know. In regard to the bigger position they talk of Evelyn Murray who has been to this college at Oxford or that college at Cambridge. Tom is a Glasgow University man.

The net result, which is very significant, is that he is now in the position which Hankey has been outlining for him for some time!

On leaving the Cabinet Office had had a distinguished career in various fields. Amongst others he became closely associated with the Pilgrim Trust, was Governor of the National Library of Wales, and President of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth. They are all listed in WHO's WHO.

In 1936 he was a member of Lloyd George's party which visited Germany and met Hitler at the Eagle's Nest. It was during that tour that L.G. told me that he was very disappointed with Tom. 'He's nothing like the Radical he used to be' he said. 'He actually hopes that the Rebels in Spain will win the day' (page 195 THE REAL LLOYD GEORGE).

The outstanding feature in the life of Tom Jones as I knew him was that from an obscure home in South Wales by hard study and diligence he had acquired high academic qualifications and had risen to fame. From a mining area he had become the adviser to Prime Ministers of the day and a keeper of State secrets which he recorded in Cabinet meetings at 10 Downing Street. He was welcomed in all shades of Society, spelled with a capital S. He was IN the Cliveden set in a way but not OF it.

He was born TOM JONES; and he always remained TOM JONES. He was a good friend to me and to many others.

Incidentally, I feel that my judgement in not pooling my diary material with that of his was wise, especially in the light of present circumstances.

In the light of statements and misstatements made by the late Dowager Countess Lloyd-George, my diaries, edited by Mr. Colin Cross, are to be published by Macmillan in March 1975, and present an opportunity of giving 'another view'.

NOTE – I have not before me the precise record made at the time to which reference is made at the bottom of page 2, but the substance is as follows:

At the Genoa Conference Signer Giannini, one of the representatives of the Italian Government, asked T. J. if he would arrange for Signor Mussolini, then a reporter at the conference, to have an interview with the Prime Minister Lloyd George. T. J. refused, and the two men never met. The Prime Minister knew nothing of it at the time.

Many years later T. J. casually mentioned the request he had had to L.G. He was very disappointed, and showed his displeasure. In a flash he said: You were far too busy thinking of the dead (Mazzini) of years ago to have any thought of the living, and Mussolini marched an army on Rome, took it without force, and became the Dictator of Italy.

January 1975.

APPENDIX

On 16 April 1943, Dr Thomas Jones CH, having received a request to write an advance obituary for Lloyd George (who had recently celebrated his 80th birthday), wrote to A. J. Sylvester:

HARLECH
NORTH WALES

16th April 1943

Private and Personal

My dear Sylvester,

I have a sudden and urgent request to prepare an obituary notice for L.G., and though of course I know something about the subject, you know more. I want you to put down rapidly (don't bother about style) answers to three points in order to confirm or correct my own impressions.

1. His Memoirs. What was his technique in writing these six volumes?
2. His speeches. What was his technique in preparing his big speeches? Tell me also what you told me about the Mozart speech at Bangor. I cannot remember that occasion or ever seeing a report of it.
3. Would you say that L.G. was a good, bad or indifferent business man where his own affairs were concerned? It is notorious that Chatham got his affairs into a muddle because though living simply he embarked on palatial residences. I heard that L.G. did very well out of his syndicated newspaper articles, but if a balance sheet were kept of his Churt enterprise, would it show a profit?

Of course you know that I will use anything you say with infinite discretion, and only in the broadest way.

As I am being pressed for this article, do let me have an early reply, as untidily as you like.

Thanks
Yours ever
T.J.⁵²

Within three days Sylvester had indeed replied:

19th April, 1943.

PRIVATE & PERSONAL.

My dear T.J.,

I have only just received your latter, as I have been away and hasten to reply to you at once.

1. With regard to his Memoirs, he had the great advantage of possessing or being able to acquire all the necessary material. He read this up and studied it most carefully. The bulk was enormous. He has a wonderful memory. With this combination he started to write in his own hand the six volumes which, according to my recollection, amounted to 1¼ to 1½ million words. They were all finished by the end of 1936, which was at the rate of about two volumes a year. He did most of his effective work in the early hours of the morning starting very often at about 4 o'clock. Typescripts were made of his manuscript, and one draft after another followed until he was satisfied. The two volumes on the Peace Conference followed in like manner.

2. Very much the same technique is observed by him in the preparation of his speeches. Masses of material are obtained, briefs galore from anybody who knows anything about the subject in hand. He reads everything that he can lay his hands on, whether the speech is long or short. The shorter the speech often the greater the amount of material he gets proportionately. This is exemplified by the ten-minute speech he made at a musical festival some years [ago] on Mozart at a chapel (? Pendref) Bangor. He read three or four different works on the life of Mozart and his music in order to get the material for that 10 minute speech. His best speeches are those which are not written out verbatim; but which are skeletonised; he goes on to his meeting merely with a list of headlines. These act as sign-posts to him but leave him free to sense the atmosphere of his audience and adapt himself to the mood of the moment.

3. I should say that L.G. was a better man on public affairs than on his own private affairs. He has a bigger appreciation of finance measured in millions of pounds sterling than he has of shillings and pence.

He has also made a bigger income out of his syndicated newspaper articles over a longer period than anybody else I have heard of. He started writing for the American and British press in 1922, and those contracts went on until after this war had started, - and that without a break. He has often been asked whether he makes his farm pay at Churt. During the whole of the years he has been in occupation he has continually been developing and extending it. As you will appreciate it takes some years after the planting of trees for them to produce fruit on a commercial basis. He claims that that part of his farm which has reached maturity does pay him. It stands to his credit that in the worst soil to be found in Surrey which is pure sand he has found and developed a water supply to irrigate the land which now produces fruit including apples and soft fruits, which, in open competition with the growers of the whole British Empire, have taken first prizes and a Silver Cup. All this out of soil which previously produced nothing but bracken. From sand he sank a well which is capable of yielding 500 thousand gallons a day. On that same land twenty years ago three people were employed. To-day there are 88 on the farm permanent list, to say nothing of the members of the families which are maintained by those 88.

Again on the personal side he carried through one of the biggest newspaper deals ever known. *Lloyds Sunday News* and the old *Daily Chronicle* were in a pretty bad shape in 1922. He took an active interest in the running of the newspaper and some years later was instrumental by his own efforts in disposing of the property for a colossal sum.

I hope this may prove useful.

Kindest regards,
Yours ever,⁵³

Immediately on receipt of the letter, Tom Jones replied:

21 APR 1943

My dear Sylvester

Most interesting & authentic & I am ever so grateful for your help & promptitude. Got it first post today.

Ever

T.J.⁵⁴

- 1 National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers T8/89, Jones to Violet Markham, 1 July 1948.
- 2 NLW ex 2563, A. J. Sylvester to Dr E. L. Ellis, 14 August 1979 ('Private'). A helpful, brief account of A. J. Sylvester's life and career is now available in John Grigg's article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 53 (Oxford, 2004), 566-67. See also J. Graham Jones, 'Keeper of Secrets', *Journal of Liberal History* 44 (Autumn 2004), 24-29. A much fuller account by the same author also appeared in the *National Library of Wales Journal* Vol. 33, no. 2 (Winter 2003), 169-200. There is also much helpful material in Colin Cross (ed.), *Life with Lloyd George: the Diary of A. J. Sylvester, 1931-45* (London, 1975), 11-18 (introduction to the volume).
- 3 A. J. Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George* (London, 1947), 2-3; *Life with Lloyd George*, 11-12.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 57, diary entry for 27 November 1931.
- 5 Thomas Jones, *Lloyd George* (London, 1951), 84-86.
- 6 E. L. Ellis, *T.J.: a Life of Dr Thomas Jones CH* (Cardiff, 1992), 194.
- 7 Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters, 1931-1950* (London, 1954), xviii.

8 Sir Maurice Hankey to Lady Hankey, 16 December 1916, cited in Stephen Roskill, *Hankey: Man of Secrets, Vol. 1, 1877-1918* (London, 1970), 345.

9 Lord Hankey, *The Supreme Command*, Vol. 2 (London, 1961), 591.

10 A. J. Sylvester to Captain Stephen Roskill, 8 October 1968, cited in Roskill, op. cit., 632-33.

11 Arnold Toynbee to Roskill, 7 August 1968, cited *ibid.*, 633. On 17 November 1938 Lloyd George recalled Hankey as ‘a man with no humour. He had once offered to help L.G. to draft a speech. L.G. had replied that he already had everything except the peroration. Hankey drafted a peroration. L.G. roared with laughter and said that Hankey’s peroration had been composed of contradictory similes, something like the ship of state going up a mountain. “I wish I had kept it”, said L.G.’ (*Life with Lloyd George*, 221, diary entry for 17 November 1938).

12 See John Turner, *Lloyd George’s Secretariat* (Cambridge, 1980), 19.

13 Hankey’s diary entry for 11 December 1916, cited in Roskill, op. cit., 339.

14 Thomas Jones to Eirene Theodora Jones, 12 December 1916, cited in Keith Middlemas (ed.), *Thomas Jones Whitehall Diary, Vol. 1, 1916-1925* (London, 1969), 15. The emphasis is mine.

15 *A Diary with Letters*, xviii.

16 Ellis, op. cit., 193.

17 Hankey’s diary entry for 11 October 1918, cited in Roskill, op. cit., 611-12.

18 Hankey to Jones, 18 January 1919, cited in *Whitehall Diary*, vol. 1, 72.

19 Hankey to Lady Hankey, 10 February 1919, cited in Roskill, op. cit., 58-59.

20 *Whitehall Diary, Vol. 3, Ireland, 1918-1925* (London, 1971), 182.

21 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 259.

22 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers A5/91, Jones to A. J. Sylvester, 18 November 1925 (copy).

23 *A Diary with Letters*, 123, TJ’s diary entry for 27 February 1934.

24 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers A1/41, D. Lloyd George to Jones, 16 March 1935.

25 *Ibid.* A1/42, A. J. Sylvester to Jones, 2 April 1935. See also Ellis, op. cit., 377.

26 *Life with Lloyd George*, 145, diary entry for 26 August 1936. Sylvester made the same point in his *The Real Lloyd George*, 194, ‘L.G. also asked me to invite Dr Tom Jones to join the party. At that time he was Deputy Secretary of the Cabinet and the close confidant of Prime Minister Baldwin’. In this Sylvester was mistaken for Jones had retired as Deputy Secretary of the Cabinet in 1930.

27 *Ibid.*, 196.

28 *Ibid.*, 199.

29 See *A Diary with Letters*, 457, diary entry for 7 May 1940, under the heading ‘Luncheon party to “sound” L.G.’. Here Jones quoted the opinion recently expressed by J. L. Garvin, the editor of *The Observer*, who had stated his conviction that ‘L.G. was still good for six hours a day and it would be six hours of pure radium’. See also *The Real Lloyd George*, 272.

30 Jones, *Diary with Letters*, 501, diary entry for 4-8 August 1942.

31 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers A1/50.

32 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file B73, Jones to Sylvester, 16 April 1943 (‘Private and Personal’); Sylvester to Jones, 19 April 1943 (‘Private and Personal’) (copy); Jones to Sylvester, 20 April 1943.

33 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers T7/122, TJ to Violet Markham, 14 October 1944 (sent from Harlech).

34 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers, T7/135, TJ to Violet Markham, 23 February 1945.

35 The broadcast was published in *The Listener*, March 1945, and was also made available in pamphlet form. There is a copy in the NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers, file 7/58. The obituary by TJ appeared in *The Observer*, 1 April 1945. See also Thomas Jones, ‘Lloyd George: some personal memories’, *Contemporary Review*, May 1948, 260-64.

36 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers T7/140, TJ to Violet Markham, 30 March 1945; *ibid.* T7/140, TJ to Violet Markham, 30 March 1945

37 See J. Graham Jones, ‘Thomas Jones’s *Lloyd George*’, *Journal of Liberal History* 58 (Spring 2008), 22-33.

38 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file B77, Sylvester to TJ, 18 April 1945 (‘Private and Confidential’) (copy).

39 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file D6, TJ to Sylvester, 23 December 1946.

40 *Ibid.*, Sylvester to TJ, 29 December 1946 (copy).

41 See J. Graham Jones, ‘*The Real Lloyd George*’, *Journal of Liberal History* 51 (Summer 2006), 4-12.

- 42 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers S3/81, TJ to Abraham Flexner, 24 April 1947.
- 43 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file D6, TJ to Sylvester, 10 June 1947; *ibid.*, Sylvester to TJ, 17 June 1947 (copy).
- 44 *Ibid.*, Thomas Jones to Sylvester, 18 September 1947; NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers 7/79, A. J. Sylvester to TJ, 25 September 1947.
- 45 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file D6, TJ to Sylvester, 2 October 1947; NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers 7/79, Sylvester to TJ, 7 October 1947.
- 46 *Ibid.*, T8/89, TJ to Violet Markham, 1 July 1948.
- 47 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C94, Sylvester to TJ, 4 January 1949 ('Personal') (copy).
- 48 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C95, TJ to Sylvester, 11 June 1951; NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers A1/87, Sylvester to TJ, 12 June 1951.
- 49 NLW, Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers WW 27/38, Sylvester to TJ, 4 October 1951.
- 50 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C95, TJ to Sylvester, 11 August and 15 September 1953 and 10 November 1954.
- 51 *A Diary with Letters*, xiii.
- 52 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file B73, Jones to Sylvester, 16 April 1943 ('Private and Personal').
- 53 *Ibid.*, Sylvester to Jones, 19 April 1943 ('Private & Personal') (copy).
- 54 *Ibid.*, Jones to Sylvester, 21 April 1943.