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After Number 10: What Do Former Prime Ministers Do?

Kevin Theakston

‘Wonderful thing, you know, to be a former prime minister’, James Callaghan said to Denis Thatcher, husband of the then-prime minister, in 1984. ‘You go where you like. You have a wonderful time. Really good.’ Denis Thatcher looked straight ahead. ‘Can’t wait’, he replied. ‘Can’t wait.’ It cannot be said that his wife agreed: one of her closest aides, Lord (Charles) Powell, said that after Margaret Thatcher left Number 10 ‘she never had a happy day.’[1]

Former prime ministers are members of a small, exclusive club. With the deaths in 2005 of Lord Callaghan and Sir Edward Heath, there are currently only two members - Lady Thatcher and Sir John Major - though Tony Blair will join soon. There is no fixed or predetermined role for former prime ministers. What they do after they leave office depends very much on personal choices and on circumstances. Reviewing the experience of former prime ministers in the 20th century suggests little in the way of a common pattern.

‘It is tempting, perhaps, but unrewarding to hang about the greenroom after final retirement from the stage’, was Harold Macmillan’s view.[2] Some former prime ministers do largely disappear from the political stage after they retire, such as Baldwin, Attlee, Eden, Wilson and Major. Those who stay on as Leader of the Opposition after an election defeat often do not last long in that role or impress with their performance in it. Some dream of the possibility of a come-back as prime minister: Asquith, Lloyd George, Chamberlain, Macmillan, Wilson and Heath all reportedly entertained hopes / fantasies (however fleeting or implausible in some cases) of this nature. There may be minor, low-key government assignments - chairing an inquiry for instance (like Wilson’s Committee on the City of London or Attlee’s review of ‘the burden on ministers’ for Macmillan) – or something similar for the party (at different times Douglas-Home chaired groups on devolution policy, Lords’ reform, and party-leadership rules for the Conservatives). Invitations back into Number 10 may be relished: Macmillan delighted in advising Thatcher how to set up a ‘War Cabinet’ and run the Falklands campaign; Blair outraged Labour loyalists by asking Thatcher for private advice on how to handle EU summits, keeping in touch with her reasonably regularly to tap her experience over international issues such as Kosovo.

Travel, visits, conferences, speeches and lectures as an international elder statesman (or -woman) nowadays feature heavily on the agendas of former PMs. Heath emerged as a great friend of the Chinese regime with his regular visits there over a 20 year period. Callaghan was involved in the ‘Vail Group’, led by ex-US President Gerald Ford, with regular meetings of former heads of government including ex-Chancellor of Germany Helmut Schmidt and ex-French President Giscard D’Estaing, to discuss international issues. Schmidt called this ‘a conspiracy of former world leaders against present world leaders. But thank God none of us has

the power to do anything anymore.’ [3]

In the 1920s and ‘30s Lloyd George controlled substantial political funds of his own, used for organisation, campaigning and propaganda (funding teams of advisers and experts). He was one of the most creative politicians of the period, and was in many ways a critical player in the politics of the 1920s, but never again held office after his fall in 1922. Thatcher set up the Thatcher Foundation to try to secure her legacy and promote Thatcherite ideas around the world, but though she personally could command huge prestige and ready audiences, the Foundation itself struggled to make an impact. In 2005, with funding all-but dried up, it closed down in the UK and the focus switched to the USA where the right-wing Heritage Foundation set up a Margaret Thatcher Center.

When Baldwin retired in 1937 he is said to have resolved to make no political speeches, neither to speak to the man at the wheel nor to spit on the deck. (In the event, Baldwin’s reputation remained high and he kept some political influence for the last two years of peace but came in for considerable criticism, abuse and scape-goating after 1940, and his last years were rather dismal and unhappy.) ‘It is useful to have a few ex-Prime Ministers around who have experience, provided that they don’t keep interfering and saying how everything should be done when they are not seeing all the [official] papers’, is how Harold Wilson put it. [4] Wilson and Callaghan occasionally embarrassed Labour leaders in the early 1980s by criticising the party’s lurch to the left, the power of the unions or (in Callaghan’s case) its unilateralist defence policy. But they did not seriously attack or undermine their successors in the way that Heath and Thatcher did.

Both Heath and Thatcher were bad ex-prime ministers - examples of ‘how not to do it’. Part of the problem was that neither left office at a moment of their own choosing, so their post-premiership years were fuelled by bitterness and resentment. To be sure, Heath showed that he was capable of constructive political work, as in his role in the ‘yes’ campaign in the 1975 Common Market referendum and later on the Brandt Commission on international development issues. He also had a large ‘hinterland’ of personal interests to occupy him. But his root-and-branch, highly vocal and personalised criticisms of the policies and philosophy of his successor and her government, sustained through her tenure (and beyond), left him increasingly isolated in his own party and were, in a way, self-defeating, costing him any influence he may have been able to exert as an elder statesman and party grandee. Thatcher was also unable or unwilling to play the role of the dignified, supportive, loyal-but-worried elder stateswoman, exercising occasional influence. She did not stage a ‘Great Sulk’ but, rather, more actively plotted against and tried to undermine John Major, whom she soon came to regret backing as her successor. She mocked his style of leadership and absence of political ideas; and she gave support and sustenance to Tory Euro-sceptic rebels, helping to intensify and prolong the fatally damaging party civil war in the process. Most ex-PMs seem to mellow with age, but as she got older, she actually got more ideologically radical and fundamentalist, playing a destabilising role in her party.

In government office after being prime minister

'Anyone who has played the main stage of theatre land shouldn't attempt to come back in provincial repertory', Harold Macmillan once said. In the whole history of the office, back into the 18th century, fourteen former prime ministers have 'come back' and served in the governments of later administrations and under other prime ministers, five of these in the 20th century: Balfour, Baldwin, MacDonald, Chamberlain and Douglas-Home. (In the case of Baldwin - as with Russell in the 19th century and Portland in the late-18th century - this service occurred before coming back to be prime minister for a final time, after which no other posts were held). A further four 20th century ex-PMs were offered ministerial posts by successor prime ministers, with varying degrees of seriousness, but refused them: Asquith, Lloyd George, Churchill and Wilson. Another - Heath - seemed at one time to be angling for and may have accepted an offer of a Cabinet post, but one never came.

Balfour's post-Number 10 record is an extraordinary one, involving eleven years in ministerial office. First Lord of the Admiralty under Asquith (1915-16), he went on to serve as Foreign Secretary (1916-19) and then Lord President of the Council (1919-22) under Lloyd George, returning as Lord President again under Baldwin (1925-29). Successive prime ministers wanted his 'elder statesman' prestige, political weight and experience to bolster their governments. He seemed to have an unusual position 'above party politics', particularly on matters of defence and imperial relations. Asquith had brought him into Committee of Imperial Defence deliberations before 1914 and, once war broke out, he joined the Liberal government's War Council even though the Conservatives were still at that stage in Opposition. But Balfour's great political flexibility was also a factor in keeping him in the political game - he passed from serving one prime minister to another, from one coalition government to another, and eventually back into a Conservative government, 'like a powerful graceful cat walking delicately and unsoiled across a rather muddy street', as Churchill memorably put it. Some of his most important achievements came in these post-premiership years: the famous 'Balfour Declaration' of 1917 about a Jewish homeland in Palestine; negotiating at the Washington Naval Conference in 1921; work at the League of Nations and on Commonwealth relations; and promoting scientific research in Whitehall. Balfour was a better ex-prime minister than as prime minister.

Baldwin held the post of Lord President of the Council under MacDonald in the National government 1931-35 before returning for a final two years as prime minister in his own right. Head of the largest party in the coalition, he concentrated in these years on party and House of Commons management and on the India issue. MacDonald swapped offices with Baldwin, serving as Lord President 1935-37. It was a tragic mistake: physically and intellectually decrepit, politically isolated and ignored by his Tory colleagues, he should have retired completely. When he finally went in May 1937 almost no one noticed or cared. Six months later, he was dead.

After Chamberlain was overthrown in May 1940 he spent five months as Lord President and as a key member of Churchill's War Cabinet before resigning on 30 September and dying on 9 November 1940. Politically and governmentally, he actually played a crucial role in that period. He remained Conservative Party leader and loyally supported Churchill at a time when many Tories were deeply suspicious of the new prime minister. He chaired the War Cabinet when Churchill was out of the country and his main task was coordinating domestic policy on the 'Home Front'. Pretty soon, however, it was discovered that he was seriously - indeed, terminally - ill, though Churchill was loath to see him depart from office.

Somewhat like Balfour, Douglas-Home's time as prime minister was a brief and unsuccessful interlude in a longer ministerial career which in his case continued with a four-year stint as Foreign Secretary under Heath in 1970-74. Home and Heath worked well together, though Home was from a different wing of the party and was never part of the Heathite 'inner circle'. Home was revered in the wider Conservative Party and so reassured party traditionalists. While Heath pursued his European ambitions, Home concentrated more on relations with the USA (he was highly-regarded in Washington DC and got on well with Nixon and Kissinger), on the Commonwealth, and on the Rhodesia issue. Home was modest and amiable but should not be under-estimated as one of the 'great survivors' of British politics.

There were, in other words, former prime ministers serving in other posts in the successors' Cabinets for a total of over 21 years in the 20th century. A quarter of the 20 PMs holding office in the 20th century actually 'reappeared' in this guise. Though it remains unusual and for two-thirds of the time was associated with wartime and/or coalition governments, this collective experience hardly bears out Lord Rosebery's comment that to have an ex-prime minister in a Cabinet was 'a fleeting and dangerous luxury'.^[5] For the prime ministers who made these appointments, they were not luxuries but rather seen as essential steps to strengthen their governments in the circumstances they faced.

Indeed, if offers of Cabinet posts made to other former prime ministers had been accepted, then this pattern would have been more common. On a number of occasions, for instance, Lloyd George tried to lure Asquith back into government during the first world war, meeting with refusals. In October 1956, at the height of the Suez crisis, Eden offered Churchill (then nearly 82 years old and out of the country, recovering from a minor stroke) a seat in the Cabinet without portfolio. The old man's private secretary said that he would not like 'the opposite of the harlot's prerogative' (i.e. responsibility without power). Twenty years later, when Callaghan succeeded Wilson, he offered him the post of Foreign Secretary, though he apparently did not really expect him to accept it. Wilson had had enough and did not want to stay in office in any capacity, even in a non-departmental post such as Lord President.

There were several occasions on which Lloyd George almost came back into government during his long years in the wilderness after 1922. In 1931, and again in 1934-5, there were hints that MacDonald was toying with the idea. Later, Churchill

made a number of definite offers in 1940. Lloyd George was then 77 years old and might be good for only six hours work a day, it was said, 'but they would be six hours of pure radium'. In the end, Lloyd George held back from taking ministerial office and he also turned down the offer to become Ambassador to the USA. (Three former prime ministers - Rosebery in 1906, Lloyd George in 1940, and Heath in 1979 - have refused that post, perhaps suspecting the motivation behind the offer of a job 3,000 miles away from Westminster!)

In April 1979, at an election meeting, Heath indicated that he would accept an appointment in a Thatcher government, if offered one. Foreign Secretary was the post he had in mind. John Campbell, Heath's biographer, argues that had Thatcher won very narrowly in 1979 she might have been constrained to bring him back, but with a comfortable majority (of 43) she could firmly shut the door. It is hard to see Heath fitting into a Thatcher Cabinet: he would have found the reversal of political seniority involved too difficult to accept, and their political and personal differences were too serious. (Though in his memoirs Heath suggested that he could have served loyally under Willie Whitelaw, had he won the leadership in 1975.)

In 1990 Major, wondering what to do about Thatcher, soon realised that 'there was no credible job to offer her'. Like some of his predecessors, thoughts of the Washington ambassadorship crossed his mind. Rows over Europe ruled out the Treasury and the Foreign Office. Fundamentally, after eleven years in power, she was not able to take a subordinate position in someone else's Cabinet, being too sharp-edged a character and too associated with controversial policies that had cost her support both with the public and in her own Cabinet (most of whom had wanted her to resign). [6]

Honours

Only four prime ministers in the last 140 years ended their days as plain 'Mr' and never accepted a peerage or knighthood (despite, in some cases, repeated offers): Gladstone, Bonar Law, MacDonald and Chamberlain. Even Lloyd George - scourge of the House of Lords 1908-11 - became Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor a few months before he died in 1945. From the mid-19th century, until comparatively recently, an hereditary Earldom was 'the going rate' for prime ministers who were not already peers. Seven of the prime ministers who served in the 20th century became Earls after leaving office. Twelve of them also accepted the Order of the Garter (an honour within the personal gift of the monarch and limited to a group of 24).

Tony Blair is reported to have said that the Lords 'is not my scene' and MacDonald to have exclaimed, 'Me an Earl? How ridiculous.' [7] But other Labour ex-prime ministers, such as Attlee and Wilson, positively delighted in accumulating honours (in Attlee's case a CH, OM, Earldom and a KG). In 1978 Callaghan told a colleague that he would not take a peerage when he retired and would prefer to commute from his farm to take seminars at Sussex University, thereby meeting

intelligent young people and not the 'old fogies' in the Lords. [8] In 1987, however, Callaghan joined the Lords.

Churchill (who had become a KG in 1953) was offered a Dukedom when he retired in 1955, but only after discreet enquiries by the Palace confirmed that he would refuse it. There was apparently a last-minute 'wobble' when it seemed - to the Queen's alarm - that he might, after all, accept. (Disraeli and Salisbury had earlier both refused Queen Victoria's offers of Dukedoms.) Macmillan was the last former prime minister to accept an hereditary Earldom, on his ninetieth birthday in 1984 - more than 20 years after stepping down as PM. Alec Home, of course, gave up an Earldom to become prime minister - eventually retiring back to the Lords with a life peerage in 1974. Wilson (in 1983), Callaghan (in 1987) and Thatcher (in 1992) also accepted life peerages (as life barons). After a 20-year break, Thatcher had reintroduced hereditary titles in the 1980s - for Macmillan and for her loyal deputy Willie Whitelaw (made a Viscount in 1983). There was speculation that she might take one herself when the time came, but she felt that she lacked the resources to support an hereditary title and the idea of her becoming a life Countess was ruled out. Both Heath and Major became Knights of the Garter (in 1992 and 2005, respectively) but seem to have either declined or made it known that they did not wish to go to the Lords.

Some former prime ministers have had a low opinion of the Lords. Asquith thought that it was 'an impossible audience . . . like speaking by torchlight to corpses in a charnel-house'. To Balfour, it was 'like talking to a lot of tombstones'. Macmillan called it 'the morgue'; the Lords 'was not worth belonging to', he once said.

The advantage of the Lords for former prime ministers is that it offers a recognised platform, enabling them to remain in political life, air their views and contribute to political debate. Some - like Attlee, Home and Callaghan - have been conscientious and respected peers, attending regularly and making some effective interventions. Others - like Baldwin and Eden - did not attend or speak often or make much of a mark in the Lords. Macmillan enjoyed a remarkable political renaissance in the Lords. Bored, unable to read because of failing eyesight, and no longer worried that his son's political career would be damaged by inheriting a peerage, he seized a last chance to strut the political stage. 'In the House of Lords it really doesn't matter if you're blind . . . or deaf or dumb', he remarked. He had joked to Heath that he did not know on which side of the chamber he was going to sit and, once installed, proceeded to make a number of witty, memorable and politically-mischievous speeches attacking the policies of the Thatcher government. [9]

Setting the record straight

We are now used to the door-stopper size prime-ministerial memoirs: Major's and Heath's autobiographies were over 700 pages long, while Thatcher's account of her

time in Downing Street was 900 pages, with a second 600-page volume telling her version of her 'path to power'. Earlier, Macmillan's memoirs ran to six volumes totalling nearly 4,000 pages. Eden published three volumes of political memoirs and, in the last year of his life, a more personal book about his early years and war service. And in the 1930s Lloyd George re-fought his battles with the generals in his six-volumes of *War Memoirs* and then wrote two more bulky volumes about the Paris peace conference. In contrast, Alec Home's *The Way the Wind Blows*, was a slighter and more anecdotal book. Although Eden's *Another World* is a minor classic of autobiographical writing, no former prime minister has written anything about politics as compelling, revealing and fun to read as, say, Alan Clark's *Diaries*. Rather the aims are usually detailed historical self-justification, settling of scores, and making money (Thatcher's memoirs brought her £3.5 million; Lloyd George got £90,000 for his from the *Daily Telegraph* in the 1930s - equivalent to about £3 million today).

Three 20th century prime ministers - Campbell-Bannerman, Bonar Law and Chamberlain - had little or no opportunity to write memoirs before they died. MacDonald had turned down an offer of £50,000 for his memoirs in the 1920s (there was 'nothing I shrink from more than making public personal impressions of people', he said), but later did contemplate an autobiography though he got little further than beginning what he hoped would be the opening chapter. Baldwin was adamant that he would write 'no memoirs or nonsense of that kind', believing that 'no man can write the truth about himself'. He also distrusted biographers and what he called 'the Higher Cannibalism', only reluctantly agreeing that G.M. Young should write an official life to be published after his death - in the event, he was badly served by Young's inadequate and unsympathetic biography. [10]

Balfour produced a number of heavyweight philosophical essays, papers and lectures in his post-premiership years, on subjects like 'Decadence', 'Beauty and the Criticism of Beauty', and 'Theism and Humanism'. But only at the end of his life did he publish an autobiographical fragment, largely pulled together by his niece Blanche Dugdale (who later wrote the official biography). In the 1920s, Asquith wrote several impersonal and unrevealing volumes of reminiscences and memoirs which did not sell as well as his wife Margot's more colourful and indiscreet autobiography. The problem was that like many top politicians, 'he had no desire to tell the world what really happened', as Roy Jenkins noted, 'and he was insufficiently interested in himself.' [11]

Even the authors sometimes find prime-ministerial memoirs hard-going. Attlee described his memoirs, *As It Happened*, as 'not very good'. Harold Wilson admitted that his book on his 1974-76 government, *Final Term*, was 'boring'. [12]

Churchill did not publish any memoirs after finally leaving Downing Street, instead working with a team of historians and other aides to complete his four-volume *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, originally begun before the second world war. Thatcher's (2002) book *Statecraft*, about world politics and international problems, was similarly 'written' by the former PM, backed up by a group of experts

and advisers. Reluctant to admit that his political career was over, Heath dragged his feet over his memoirs, which did not finally appear until 24 years after he left Number 10, but he had considerable success in the 1970s with best-selling books about his wider interests in sailing, music and travel.

Money matters

Pensions for former prime ministers were introduced only in 1937 at the rate of £2,000 per year. In 1972, the pension was fixed at 15/40ths of the PM's salary, and since 1991 all former PMs have been eligible for a pension equal to half of the PM's ministerial salary, immediately they leave office, however long they have served (so currently worth £63,000 per year). A 'Public Duties Cost Allowance' was also introduced in 1991, now worth £84,000 per year, to help former PMs with the costs of maintaining an office and secretarial support. Earlier, Churchill had had unique official support as an ex-PM, with a Foreign Office diplomat seconded to be his private secretary after 1955, though Churchill reimbursed the government for the cost of his salary. A government-provided car and driver for all ex-PMs was made available from 1975 - they, at least, do not need to share the shock of some former ministers who, it is said, realise that they are out of office only when they get into the back of their cars and they do not set off.

The retirements of some former prime ministers have been clouded by money-worries. Asquith's financial position was so bad that some of his friends organised an appeal for a fund to pay his debts and give him a private pension for the last few years of his life; he left only £9,345 on his death in 1928. Careless management and bungled speculative investments had drained away Balfour's substantial inherited wealth by the end. Attlee lived modestly on his pension, the House of Lords attendance allowance and whatever he could make from lectures and journalism ('payment is in inverse ratio to the character of the paper', he once noted). He left only £7,295 in his will - the smallest sum left by any of the 20th century's former PMs.

Some other former PMs have enjoyed private wealth from business or inherited property. Salisbury left £300,000 in 1903 (equivalent perhaps to £20 million today); Rosebery left £1.7 million in 1929 (the equivalent of nearly £60 million today). Lloyd George left public life substantially wealthier than when he entered it. The Lloyd George Fund (funded by honours sales) was a political war-chest. Personally, he received an annuity of £2,000 a year from Andrew Carnegie and he made serious money from his writing and journalism, being paid £1 per word for thousand-word articles given world syndication, helping him to build up and farm on his estate at Churt.

Labour former-premiers like Attlee, Wilson and Callaghan do not seem to have acquired lucrative directorships or business appointments in the way that some Conservatives have. Wilson made some money from books, lectures and television, even appearing on the 'Morecambe and Wise Christmas special' and for a while

hosting his own TV chat-show. Callaghan enjoyed his farm and was involved with a range of charitable, educational and environmental good causes. Macmillan was active in the family publishing firm. Heath left £5.4 million on his death in 2005. His big book sales and earnings from the international lecture circuit helped, and although he never sat on a British company's board he was for 20 years a member of the public review board of the international accountancy firm, Arthur Andersen. Thatcher and Major signed on with the Washington Speakers' Bureau when they left Number 10, the former reportedly receiving fees of \$50,000 a lecture. With a substantial publishing deal and reported fees of £1 million a year as a consultant to the giant US tobacco firm Philip Morris, Thatcher's personal wealth was estimated at £9 million in 1992. Major has also earned very large sums from his business activities after leaving Number 10, notably his work for the Carlyle Group, a powerful but discreet American investment firm.

'Outlive the bastards'

As in the case of former US presidents, longevity and good health are essential ingredients for a successful post-premiership ('I outlived the bastards', the long-living Herbert Hoover is reported to have said of his critics and political foes). The average age at the end of their premierships of those holding office since 1900 was 65, with four aged over 70. Five died within two-and-a-half years of leaving Number 10. Overall, the average age on death was 80 years, but six of them lasted into their eighties and four into their nineties. Callaghan was the longest-lived, dying a day before his 93rd birthday. The longest post-premiership in this group was Heath's at just over 31 years, with Home's close behind. Seven in all clocked up 20 years or more after Number 10; the average post-premiership measuring a little over 14 years.

Major once admitted that it had taken him a year to recover from the physical strain of being prime minister for seven years and he was only in his mid-fifties. Not surprisingly, some of the older ex-PMs never really fully recovered in terms of energy levels and capabilities, though Macmillan stayed in good mental shape far longer than his skilfully deceptive 'old-man act' might have suggested. Asquith was a fairly heavy drinker for the last 10-15 years of his life but experienced good general health until the last two years before the end. Wilson lasted 19 years after stepping down at age 60 but, sadly, was in effect robbed of what could have been a more fruitful period in his life when he succumbed to Alzheimer's disease. Even those famous for their phenomenal work-rates - such as Lloyd George and Thatcher - are eventually slowed down by age and illness. A workaholic with no interests outside politics, Thatcher hated the whole idea of retirement and continued to put in long hours at her office at her Foundation, and to travel and take on speaking engagements, until her doctors called time in March 2002 on health grounds, after she had had a series of small strokes and it was realised that she was having serious memory problems.

What will Blair do?

Ex-prime ministers are getting younger. Major was only 54 when he stepped down: the youngest 'ex' for a century. Blair will be only in his mid-fifties too. Becoming prime minister at the age of 47, Major admits that he knew that he would be an ex-PM before he was 60, unless something extraordinary happened, and planned accordingly to be prepared for the day he would leave office. He carefully protected his non-political interests. After 1997 he kept a low profile and stayed out of front-line politics, concentrating on his business career. He had seen the consequences of doing a 'Thatcher' or a 'Heath'. He appeared reconciled to the political part of his life being in the past.

There are indications that Blair will not choose to hang around as an MP once he leaves office (nor will he go to the Lords). He will not copy those ex-PMs who stayed on the backbenches long enough after leaving Number 10 to qualify as Father of the House (Lloyd George, Churchill, Callaghan and Heath). His memoirs and a star role on the international lecture circuit will surely bring him in plenty of money. There are suggestions that he has no intention of haunting or interfering with his successor - who will surely in any case not want a 'back seat driver' hanging around. But the nature of the role he will play in future Labour Party politics and domestic political debate remains to be seen. His friend Bill Clinton has publicly advised him that 'once you leave one of these [political] jobs you've got to let them go'. There has been plenty of speculation about a major international job, perhaps with the UN or the EU, but a full-time fixed institutional role in either organisation seems unlikely, though a roving UN ambassadorship for Africa or in relation to world poverty is perhaps possible. If he is not to go to the House of Lords, Blair will need a platform from which to remain engaged with politics and to travel the world. Clinton and Thatcher set up their own Foundations, and there has been speculation about a possible 'Blair School of Government' at the LSE, akin to Harvard's Kennedy School. There is also the model of the US-based Carter Center, set up by ex-president Jimmy Carter, to work on international conflict mediation. Blair could even perhaps find an internationally-oriented faith-focused role? With lots of energy, ideas and time to fill, Blair could continue to be an influential and important figure in his post-premiership years.

Notes

[1] Terry Coleman, *Movers and Shakers*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1987, p. 117; John Sergeant, *Maggie: Her Fatal Legacy*, London, Macmillan, 2005, p.202.

[2] Alistair Horne, *Macmillan 1957-1986*, London, Macmillan, 1989, p. 567.

- [3] Gerald Ford, 'Personal Reflections on My Experiences as a Former President', in Richard Norton Smith and Timothy Walch (eds), *Farewell to the Chief: Former Presidents in American Public Life*, Worland, Wyoming, High Plains Publishing Co., 1990, p. 173.
- [4] *The Times*, 2 August 1976.
- [5] D.R. Thorpe, *Alec Douglas-Home*, London, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996, p. 404.
- [6] John Major, *The Autobiography*, London, HarperCollins, 1999, pp. 206-7.
- [7] *The Guardian*, 14 December 2005; James Margach, *The Abuse of Power*, London, W.H. Allen, 1978, p. 48.
- [8] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Callaghan*, Oxford, OUP, 1997, pp. 510-11.
- [9] Edward Heath, *The Course of My Life*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1998, p. 678; Horne, *Macmillan 1957-1986*, pp. 622-27.
- [10] Philip Williamson, 'Baldwin's Reputation: Politics and History 1937-1967', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2004, pp. 127-168.
- [11] Roy Jenkins, *Asquith*, London, Collins, 1978, p. 257.
- [12] Kenneth Harris, *Attlee*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982, p. 519; *The Times*, 7 April 1981.