INTRODUCTION
Between 1880 and the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United Kingdom became a full political democracy based on universal suffrage, and witnessed major party-political realignments as well as the rise of social rights, identity politics and new non-governmental movements. The UK also experienced civil war (in Ireland, 1919-21 and in Northern Ireland during the ‘Troubles’), total war (in 1914-18 and 1939-45), and the loss of a global empire. Throughout the period there was a vigorous debate on the role of the state and the freedom of the markets in a globalized and deeply unequal economic system. This
was accompanied by struggles over what it meant to be a citizen of the United Kingdom and who had the right to belong.

All had profound political consequences, although these have not always been immediately obvious. The party system and much of the constitution remains in place, parliamentary democracy has survived the challenges of Fascism and Communism apparently unscathed, and politicians have spent much of the past hundred years congratulating themselves on the country’s remarkable capacity to ‘return to normal’ in the aftermath of major crises. Many recent or on-going political controversies, such as devolution, independence movements, the future of the House of Lords, or Britain’s relationship with Europe have obvious parallels with late Victorian debates. Yet, while continuity undoubtedly forms an important element of modern British political history, it would be wrong to obscure the fundamental changes that have occurred. Religion no longer assumes a central importance in determining political allegiance (with the partial exception of Northern Ireland). Politicians now communicate with their audiences primarily through the filter of television, social media and the wider internet. Women outnumber men among the electorate.

Nonetheless, the weight of the past upon contemporary party politics is so powerful that this paper promises to throw unique light on the competing narratives of twentieth-century history that continue to shape popular political discourse as well as the identities of the three main political parties. New Labour sought to distance itself from the supposed sins of Labour’s past, whilst under the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn, the legacy of the Blairite ‘modernizers’ was problematized. Conservative leaders continue to be dogged by the shadow of Margaret Thatcher, who herself had sought to free her party from its post-war ‘consensual’ past. The Liberal Democrats ultimately found it necessary to keep the ‘Liberal’ label, despite the desire of the original pioneers of the Social Democratic Party (1981-88) to ‘break the mould’ of British politics through creating a new progressive centre party. The Liberal Democrats and Conservatives returned in 2010 to coalition politics, something with which the late Victorians and the wartime generations would have been familiar, because of the governments of 1886-1905, 1916-22, and 1931-45. Add to this the continuing polemical power of phrases such as ‘Victorian values’, ‘appeasement’, ‘austerity’, ‘national crisis’, ‘the Dunkirk spirit’, ‘the Establishment’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘One Nation Tory’, ‘Unionism’, and ‘Britishness’ itself, and the continued centrality of recent British history to political debate is clear. To study this period involves a sceptical re-appraisal of many cherished assumptions about Britain’s recent past, and in the process, grounds for endless debate.

In the essays you write on this paper you may be dealing with relatively short periods, but you should always be prepared to relate your knowledge of such detailed events and processes to the wider themes of the paper. Concepts relating to the constitution, the role of the state, and national identity play an important part in the paper, alongside underlying intellectual, cultural, religious, and linguistic developments. Those candidates who have already studied this period at school should find this approach both novel and refreshing, while those who have not may be reassured that they will not be at any disadvantage.

The reading list

The diversity of approaches to studying modern British political history are reflected in the vast literature produced by historians working in this field. The reading list aims to give you and your supervisor a sense of that variety and a chance to shape your own reading programme from within it, by selecting a range of titles which are suitable to the particular question angle you have decided to explore. The examiners do not expect you to master more than a small proportion of the books and articles on the list. The aim of studying the paper is to gain a sense of the dynamics of your chosen period and a range of entry-points through which to explore those dynamics.

The sections of the reading list are not a straitjacket and they are certainly not intended to privilege any particular schemes of interpretation. They are designed instead to encourage you to reflect upon the contested meanings of Britain’s political past, and to think about how and why different historians have described and explained that past in different ways.
The reading list is divided into two sections. Those in the first section follow a political chronology, while those in the second focus on the most important themes of the period. In order to study political history effectively, you will need a grasp of the political narrative covered in the first section, and so most supervisors will want you to cover at least four consecutive chronological topics. It is essential to ensure that by the time of the examination you are familiar with at least 75-80 years of the period. It is for supervisors and candidates to work out their own preferred combination of chronological and thematic topics, since there is such a wide choice.

The distinction between chronological and thematic topics is not, of course, absolute, since the chronological topics also privilege particular themes where relevant. It is probably a good idea to start with some broadly chronological topics in order to gain familiarity with the period and its political culture, encompassing political ideas, identities and policy approaches. It is helpful, when writing essays about particular governments or parties, to cross-reference those thematic topics that deal with appropriate policy issues (e.g. foreign policy, social policy, gender). Similarly, when writing on the broader thematic topics, you will need enough chronological detail to make your generalizations convincing. Your supervisor should give you guidance on how best to do this.

Some of the thematic topics feature problems such as the place of national identity in politics, the complexity of gender as a historical factor, the role of the media or the impact of particular economic doctrines, such as Keynesianism, on policy-making. Students should note that they will usually be required to answer questions in the Part I exam on these topics covering a period of a considerable number of years. While questions vary from year to year, some broad issues have become standard features of the paper: please look at the most recent past papers for the best guide.

You should see your weekly topics as the foundation of a general intellectual understanding of your chosen period, which will need to be supplemented by targeted reading after the supervisions have been completed and when revising.

Note that this document opens with a list of general works on the period, including items that relate to the general economic and social background. Most of these are not listed again under individual topics, even though they may be extremely relevant to some of them. So whenever you start on a week’s work, remember to look first at the general section.

The exam

The various topics in this booklist are the ones around which the examination questions will be structured, but you cannot assume that the same topics will appear every year. Examination papers usually contain about 21 questions (including ‘either/or’ alternatives as two questions) and the paper has more topics available than the number of exam questions permitted. Similarly, you should not assume that there will be a straightforward question on each topic.

Students are strongly advised to look at the ‘examination guidance and past papers’ webpage to get a sense of what previous exams for this course have looked like. Visit https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/examination-guidance-and-past-papers

Similarly, both students and supervisors should consult the examiners’ reports for past papers to understand what examiners are looking for, what previous candidates did well in their submitted essays and what was not done so well. These are available on Moodle at https://www.vle.cam.ac.uk/course/view.php?id=199161&sectionid=3111911

The criteria of assessments which examiners will use in marking scripts are also freely available, indicating the strengths and qualities which essays should display in order to qualify for a certain class and range of marks. The criteria can be found at https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/Part_I_and_Part_II_Marking_criteria_2021_%28for_website%29_0.pdf
What examiners are looking for above all is an ability to conceptualize political problems effectively – for example: by comparing different periods and personalities or different intellectual approaches to the subject – but in a way that appreciates the richness and subtlety of the historical material.

Questions rooted in the chronological section will usually focus on a shorter time scale, but you cannot assume that this will replicate the particular periodization used in this reading list. Some questions may straddle more than one period. Some may pursue a prominent political theme across time. These might, for example, include controversies over a particular category of policy issue, or questions about the qualities required for political leadership or the reasons for ministerial success or failure. Sometimes you will be specifically invited to relate your close knowledge of an individual or period to wider themes, as for example in the question, ‘What was x’s legacy for British politics?’ Examiners may want to encourage candidates to discuss, say, whether there was a coherent tradition behind the policies adopted by a particular party and how it changed over time, or how attitudes to party shifted at different periods.

A favourite device of examiners is to disguise a question in the form of a proposition in quotation marks, followed by an injunction to ‘Discuss’. It is perfectly legitimate in such cases to take a middle view by showing the ways in which the proposition seems true and the ways in which it seems false. It is equally legitimate to agree or disagree wholly with the proposition. However, if you decide to disagree with it, you must include some recognition of why it might be true, since the examiner would not have included a proposition which he or she believed to be wholly false. It is not wise to deny an assertion without having the knowledge to appreciate why a case for it might be made. If you cannot even see what a question might be getting at, better not to answer the question.
Lectures

Michaelmas Term: **Tuesdays at 12 noon and Wednesdays at 11 a.m for SIX weeks.**
DR. N. GALLAGHER, DR C. JEPESESEN, DR H. MCCARTHY, DR. P. SLOMAN

1. T 12 Oct McCarthy: Ideas and identities
2. W 13 Oct Gallagher: Liberalism and Late-Victorian Conservatism
3. T 19 Oct McCarthy: Radicalism, Labour and New Liberalism
5. T 26 Oct Jeppesen: Imperial nation, Britain 1880-1939
7. T 2 Nov Oct McCarthy: Baldwin and interwar Conservatism
8. W 3 Nov Gallagher: Ireland, 1880-1916
9. T 9 Nov Gallagher: Scotland, 1880-present
10. W 10 Nov Sloman: Political economy and party politics since the 1930s
12. W 17 Nov Griffin: Gender and politics

Lent Term: **Mondays and Tuesdays at 12 noon for SEVEN weeks.**
PROF E. BIAGINI, DR N. GALLAGHER, DR. B. GRIFFIN, DR C. JEPESESEN, DR M. JOSEPH, DR H. MCCARTHY, DR. G. THOMAS

2. T 25 Jan McCarthy: Foreign policy and internationalism between the wars
4. T 1 Feb McCarthy: Conservatism and post-war affluence
5. M 7 Feb Biagini: Wilson, Heath & the breakdown of consensus
6. T 8 Feb Joseph: The politics of race and immigration
7. M 14 Feb Biagini: Political communication and the media
8. T 15 Feb Mace: Britain, Europe and the World since 1945
10. T 22 Feb McCarthy: Thatcherism
11. M 28 Feb Biagini: The end of Empire
12. T 1 Mar McCarthy: Old Labour, New Labour

Easter Term: **Revision. (Two 1.5 hour classes, weeks 2-3), Wednesday at 11 a.m.**

PROF E. BIAGINI
SECTION A ~ Chronology

1. Gladstonian Liberalism
2. Late Victorian Conservatism and Unionism
3. Labour and Working-class Politics before the First World War
4. New Liberalism and the Politics of Welfare
5. Ireland, 1880-1925
6. The Northern Ireland “Troubles”, peace and devolution
7. Scotland since 1880
8. Wales since 1880
9. Party Realignment, 1910-1924
10. Conservative hegemony?
12. Politics in the 1940s
13. Post-war Affluence and Conservatism
15. Thatcherism
16. New Labour and Politics after Thatcher

SECTION B ~ Themes and issues

2. The British Constitution in the Twentieth Century
3. Political Communication
4. Electoral Behaviour Since 1918
5. Women, Gender and Politics since 1880
6. War, State and Society, 1900-1945
7. Keynes, Economic Policy and the State
8. Britain Abroad: Free Trade, Europe and Empire, 1880-1914
9. Britain, Europe and the World Between the Wars
10. Britain, Europe and the World Since 1945
Course Website
The course organizers maintain a ‘Moodle’ website to support the course at https://www.vle.cam.ac.uk/course/view.php?id=90991

Here you will see a variety of materials to support Faculty and college teaching including lecture hand-outs, links to other web sources and a discussion page. Members will also be able to receive email reading updates during the year. You should be automatically enrolled for the site by week 2. If you need help you should email Dr Gallagher (nag31@cam.ac.uk) in MT and Prof. Biagini (efb21@cam.ac.uk) in LT.

Some useful introductory books

N.B. All candidates are advised also to consult the Paper 11 reading-list on areas where themes overlap (e.g. race and immigration, welfare policy, ‘affluence’ and Thatcherism)

General texts

Available digitally

- Pat Thane, *Divided Kingdom. A History of Britain since 1900* (2018)
- Emma Peplow, Priscila Pivatto (eds), *The Political Lives of Postwar British MPs* (2020)

Available in hard copy

- Callum Brown & Hamish Fraser, *Britain since 1707* (2007)
- Gwyn Williams and John Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia: a political history of Britain, 1688-1988*

**Party Politics**

Available digitally

• A. Seldon & S. Ball (eds.), *Conservative Century: The Conservative Party Since 1900* (1994)
• *J. Lawrence, Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair* (2009)
• J. Lawrence, ‘Labour – the myths it has lived by’, in D. Tanner, P. Thane & N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *Labour’s First Century* (2000) [scanned and available on Moodle]
• R Toye and D Thackeray, *Age of Promises: Electoral Pledges in Twentieth Century Britain* (2021)

Available in hard copy

• *P. Clarke, A Question of Leadership: Gladstone to Blair* (1999)

**Social, Economic and Religious Contexts of Political Change**

*Candidates are also advised to view the Paper 11 reading list for further information on these topics*

Available digitally

• *R. McKibbin, The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (1990) and
• *J. Tomlinson, ‘Thrice Denied: “Declinism” as a Recurrent Theme in British History in the
  Long Twentieth Century,’ TCBH, 20 (2009)*

Available in hard copy

• Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit, a social history of Britain, 1870-1914* (1993)
• *D. Cannadine, Class in Britain* (1998)
• D. Vincent *Poor Citizens: the State and the Poor in the Twentieth Century* (1991)
• Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption, and Civil Society in Modern
  Britain* (2009)
• *A.H. Halsey (ed.), British Social Trends since 1900* (1988)

For reference

Available digitally

• Irish DNB @ [https://dib.cambridge.org/](https://dib.cambridge.org/) [Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography via UL e-resources]

Available in hard copy

edns]

Abbreviations of Journals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AmHR</td>
<td>American Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJIS</td>
<td>British Journal of International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIPS</td>
<td>British Journal of Political Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJPIR</td>
<td>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJS</td>
<td>British Journal of Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBH</td>
<td>Contemporary British History [formerly Contemporary Record, CR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Contemporary Irish Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EcHR</td>
<td>Economic History Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHR</td>
<td>English Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEQ</td>
<td>History of Education Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HJ</td>
<td>Historical Journal [formerly Cambridge Historical Journal, CBH]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Journal Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>Historical Research [Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, BIHR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HW</td>
<td>History Workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>International Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRSH</td>
<td>International Review of Social History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBS</td>
<td>Journal of British Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCH</td>
<td>Journal of Contemporary History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JICH</td>
<td>Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRLS</td>
<td>Journal of Regional and Local Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSH</td>
<td>Journal of Social History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRB</td>
<td>London Review of Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHR</td>
<td>Labour History Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P&amp;P</td>
<td>Past and Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Parliamentary Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the British Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PH</td>
<td>Parliamentary History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PQ</td>
<td>Political Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proc.BA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the British Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Social History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCBH</td>
<td>Twentieth Century British History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRHS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Victorian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHA</td>
<td>Women’s History Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHR</td>
<td>Welsh History Review</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION A ~ Party politics

Topic Reading Lists: Most sections begin with starred works (*). These represent contemporary primary sources, historiographical classics, plays, films or novels which are interesting as background reading. Your supervisor will identify the most important secondary works for the particular essay topic you have been assigned.

A1  Gladstonian Liberalism, 1880-95

Gladstone's appeal as Liberal leader; his populist political approach; his relations with lower-class groups and with the Whig-Liberal tradition; the influence of extra-parliamentary pressure groups – ‘faddists’, nonconformists, Celts – on Liberal policy; the Irish question; the relative importance of these various tensions in the split of 1886. (See also reading list A3)


Introductory/General

J. Davis  A History of Britain, 1885-1939 (1999) [intro. and ch. 1]
M. Bentley  The Climax of Liberal Politics, 1868-1918 (1987)
J. Parry  The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain (1993)
T. Jenkins  The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830-86 (1994)
G.R. Searle  The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration, 1886-1929 (2nd edn 2001)

Biographies and ‘High Political’ Studies

E.F. Biagini  Gladstone (2000) [Ch. 6 ‘Ireland’ available on Moodle]
R. Jenkins  Gladstone: a biography (2012)
H.C.G. Matthew  Gladstone, 1875-98 (1995)
M. Daly and T. Hoppen (eds.)  Gladstone: Ireland and Beyond (2011)
D. Omissi  “A most arduous but most noble duty”: Gladstone and the British Raj in India, 1868-98’ in M. Daily and T. Hoppen (eds.), Gladstone: Ireland and Beyond (2011)
Popular Liberalism, Radicals and the Lib-Labs


E. Biagini & A. Reid *Currents of Radicalism* (1991)


---

**A2 Late Victorian Conservatism and Unionism**

How successfully the traditional landed Tory Party responded to the challenge of mass politics under Disraeli; how Salisbury's strategic vision of Conservatism intermeshed with the issue of Home Rule to create a Unionist ascendancy after 1886; Unionism in Britain and Ireland; the reasons for Conservative electoral success in 1874 and 1886-1900; the extent and nature of working-class and ‘villa’ Conservatism; the legacy of Salisbury's governments (for Liberal Unionism, see A1; see also reading lists A3 & A5).

*Mrs Humphry Ward* *Marcella* (1894; Virago paperback)

*G. & W. Grossmith* *Diary of a Nobody* (1892; Penguin paperback)

---

**Introductory/General**


---

**Salisbury and Unionism**

A. Roberts *Salisbury* (1999)

D. Steele *Lord Salisbury. A political Biography* (1999; revised 2002) [selections from ch. 8, 9 and 14 scanned & available on Moodle]

M. Bentley  
*Lord Salisbury’s World: Conservative Environments in Late Victorian Britain* (2001)

R. Blake & H. Cecil  

A.B. Cooke & J.R. Vincent  

K.T. Hoppen  

E.H.H. Green  

G.I.T. Machin  
*Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869-1921* (1987), chs 3, 5, 6

P. Marsh  

R. Shannon  

**Popular Conservatism and ‘Villa Toryism’**

D. Thackeray  
*Conservatism for the Democratic Age: Conservative Cultures and the Challenge of mass politics in early twentieth century England* (2013), chs 1-2


M. Brodie  

H. McLeod  
*Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (2016)

M. Roberts  

M. Roberts  

M. Roberts  

F. Coetzee  

P. Joyce  
*Work, Society and Politics* (1980)

J. Lawrence  
‘Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism,’ *EHR* (1993)

Lloyd-Jones, Naomi.  

M. Pugh  
*The Tories and the People, 1880-1935* (1985)

K. Rix  
‘Go out into the Highways and the Hedges’: the Diary of Michael Sykes, Conservative Political Lecturer, 1895 and 1907-8’, *PH*, 20:2 (2001)

C. Stevens  

R. Price  
‘Society, Status and Jingoism: Lower-middle-class Patriotism 1870-1900,’ in *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, ed. G. Crossick (1977)

P. Waller  
*Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939* (1981)

D.M. Jackson  
*Popular Opposition to Irish Home Rule in Edwardian Britain* (2009)

A. Windscheffel  

**A3  Labour and Working-class Politics before the First World War**

The significance of citizenship and community; the nature and membership of the trade union movement; the reasons for its turn from lobbying methods to direct parliamentary representation, and
the significance of the shift from “Lib-Lab” to “progressive” politics; the role of class and the labour movement in voting; the coherence, radicalism and electoral attractiveness of the Liberals' response after 1906; the significance of socialist parties and movements before 1914; the place of politics in working-class life before the First World War.

*Robert Tressell  
*Hannah Mitchell  

Introductory/General

E. Biagini (ed.)  

E. Biagini & P.F. Clarke  
‘The Electoral Sociology of Modern Britain’, History (1972)

M. Pugh  
Speak for Britain!: A New History of the Labour Party (2011)

A. Reid (eds.)  
Currents of Radicalism (1991)

A. Thorpe  
A History of the British Labour Party (1997; revised 2001)

The State, Trade Unionism & Class Law

E.F. Biagini  

C.G. Hanson  
‘Craft Unions, Welfare Benefits and the Case for Trade Union Reform, 1865-75’, EchHR, xxviii (1975) and debate ibid., xxix (1976)

A. Reid  

P. Johnson  

N. McCord  

D. Powell  

J. Spain  

J. Thompson  

C. Wrigley  

Working-class Life & Politics

A. August  

M. Brodie  

T. Griffiths  
The Lancashire Working Classes, c. 1880-1930 (2001)

G. Stedman Jones  

P. Joyce  
Work, Society and Politics: the Culture of the later Victorian Factory (1980)

K.O. Morgan  

J. Lawrence  
‘The British sense of class’ JCH (2000)

R. McKibbin  
‘Why was There no Marxism in Great Britain?’, EHR, xcix (1984), reprinted in McKibbin, Ideologies of Class (1990)

M. Pugh,  

A. Reid  
A4  **New Liberalism and the Politics of Welfare**

The role of nonconformity and other sectional elements in Liberal party organisation; what was new about the New Liberalism, both as a political theory and as an electoral strategy for the Edwardian Liberal Party; the extent of increased central government activity; the reasons for the Liberal electoral revival from 1902; the politics of collectivism and social reform, and its popularity; the problems of sustaining popular Conservatism in Edwardian Britain. See also reading list B6.

*M. & E. Brock (eds.) H.H. Asquith: Letters to Venetia Stanley (1985)*
H.G. Wells  The New Machiavelli (1911; Penguin paperback)

Introductory/General

and his TCBH article: https://academic.oup.com/tcbh/advance-article-
abstract/doi/10.1093/tcbh/hwaa014/5830819

Andrew Adonis  Making aristocracy work [Oxford scholarship]


C. Mulvagh  The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster, 1900-18 (2016), ch. 3

Transition: British Politics, 1880-1914 (1997) [sp. edn of PH]


The Edwardian Politics of Social Reform


J. Doherty  Irish liberty, British democracy: The third Irish Home Rule crisis, 1909–14
(2019)

M. Daunton  ‘Payment and Participation: Welfare and State Formation in Britain, 1900-51’,


S.J.D. Green & R.C. Whiting (eds.)  The Boundaries of the State in Modern Britain (1996)


29, 2, (1986) 369-93

M. Pugh  ‘Working-class Experience and State Social Welfare: Old Age Pensions
Reconsidered’, HJ, 45 (2002)

B. Semmel  Imperialism and Social Reform, 1895-1914 (1980)


D. Vincent  Poor Citizens: the State and the Poor in the Twentieth Century (1991)

P. Waller  ‘Altercation Over Civil Society: the Bitter Cry of the Edwardian Middle
Classes’, in J. Harris (ed.), Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities,
Institutions (2003)

New Liberal Politics


P. F. Clarke  Lancashire and the New Liberalism (1971; repr. 2007)

G.L. Bernstein  ‘Liberalism and the Progressive Alliance in the Constituencies, 1900-1914’ HJ
(1983)


N. Blewett  The Peers, the Parties and the People: the General Elections of 1910 (1972)

P.F. Clarke  Liberals and Social Democrats (1978)

S. Collini  Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England,
1880-1914 (1979)

M. Freeden  The New Liberalism (1978)
H.C.G. Matthew The Liberal Imperialists (1973)
B.K. Murray The People's Budget, 1909-10 (1980)
I. Packer Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land (2001)
M. Pugh Lloyd George (1988)
F. Trentmann Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption & Civil Society (2008) chs 1-4

The Crisis of the Edwardian Right

F. Coetzee For Party or Country: Nationalism and Popular Conservatism (1990)
A. Sykes Tariff Reform and British Politics, 1903-13 (1979)
A. Sykes ‘The Radical Right and the Crisis of Conservatism Before World War One,’ HJ (1983)
D. Thackeray ‘Rethinking the Edwardian Crisis of Conservatism’, HJ (2011)

A5 Ireland, 1880-1923

Nationalist grievances over land and religion; the use of parliamentary channels to seek redress; the extent to which British politicians understood the problems of Ireland; Parnellite politics, Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party; the Home Rule crises and the development of intractable Unionist opposition; the impact of the First World War on the third Home Rule Bill; the 1916 Easter Rising and the rise of Sinn Féin; the Anglo-Irish War, partition and the settlements of 1920-2; the Irish civil war and the establishment of the Irish Free State. See also reading list B6.

*G.B. Shaw John Bull's Other Island (1903)
* W.B Yeats Collected Poems (various edns) for 'Easter 1916', 'The Second Coming'

Introductory

B. Jenkins Irish nationalism and the British state. From repeal to revolutionary nationalism (2006)

Land

P. Bew Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82 (1978)
F. Campbell Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland, 1891-1921 (2005)

Governing Ireland

F. Campbell ‘Who ruled Ireland? The Irish administration, 1879-1914, HJ, 50, 3 (2006)
F. Lane & V. Crossman Politics, Law and Order in 19th Century Ireland (1996)
L.P. Curtis Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, 1880-1892 (Princeton, 1963)
M. O’Callaghan British high politics and Nationalist Ireland: criminality, land and the law under Forster and Balfour (1994)
David R. C. Hudson The Ireland That We Made: Arthur and Gerald Balfour's Contributions to the Origins of Modern Ireland (2003)

The Third Home Rule Crisis and Wars, 1912-1923 (See also B6 on WWI)

Aidan Beatty Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884-1938 (2016)
D.M. Jackson Popular Opposition to Irish Home Rule in Edwardian Britain (2009) [chapter 3 and 6 scanned & available on Moodle]
N. Gallagher Ireland and the Great War: A social and political history (2020), chp. 6
S. Pašeta Irish Nationalist Women 1900-1918 (2013), chs.4 ff
*J. McConnell The Irish Parliamentary party and the Third Home Rule Crisis (2013)


P. Cottrell *The Irish Civil War, 1922-23* (2008)

**Unionism**

A. Jackson ‘The Origins, Politics, and Culture of Irish Unionism, c.1880-1916 in Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland Volume IV 1880 to the Present* or P. Buckland *Irish Unionism, 1885-1922* (1973)


P. Gibbon *The Origins of Ulster Unionism* (1985)


A. Gailey ‘Unionist rhetoric and Irish local government reform, 1895-9’, *IHS*, 93 (May 1984)

**The Irish Free State and the Republic c. 1923-1967**


P. Taylor *Heroes or traitors. Experiences of Southern Irish soldiers returning from the Great War 1919-1939* (2015)


R. Fanning *Éamon de Valera* (2016)


**A6 Northern Ireland and the “Troubles”**

Partition and the establishment of the Stormont regime; how to explain the origins and descent of the “Troubles”; O’Neillism and Paisleyism; the Civil Rights Movement and the international context; the
Labour and Conservative governments’ response to domestic crisis; the role of the British Army; hunger strikes and Bloody Sunday; republican and loyalist paramilitarism; ceasefires, decommissioning and the Agreements (Sunningdale, Good Friday, St Andrews); the peace process; from direct rule to devolution.

**Introductory/General**

See generally *https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/politics/source2.htm*


R. Bourke *Peace in Ireland: the war of ideas* (2012) [introduction scanned & available on Moodle]


C. Cruise O’Brien *States of Ireland* (London, 1972)


**Northern Ireland since 1920**


H. Patterson *The British State and the Ulster Crisis: From Wilson to Thatcher* (1985)

M. Elliot *The Catholics of Ulster* (2000), chp. 11


M. McGovern (eds.) *Who are 'the People'? Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland* (1997)

**The Troubles**

**Introductory**


BBC Pop goes Northern Ireland [https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07v8hhf/episodes/player?page=1](https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07v8hhf/episodes/player?page=1)

BBC Spotlight on the Troubles: a secret history [https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episodes/m0008yrj/spotlight-on-the-troubles-a-secret-history](https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episodes/m0008yrj/spotlight-on-the-troubles-a-secret-history)


**Primary**


Reasons for conflict


D. Birrell *Direct Rule and the Governance of Northern Ireland* (2009)


F. Gaffikin & M. Morrisey *Northern Ireland: the Thatcher Years* (1990)


P. O’Malley *Biting at the grave: the Irish hunger strikes and the politics of despair* (1990)


S. Prince *Northern Ireland’s 68* (2007)

P. Catterall & S. MacDoughall *The Northern Ireland Question in British Politics* (1996)


J. Tonge *Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (2005)


R. Ward *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland: from 'tea-makers' to political actors* (2006)

Paramilitarism


S. Nelson *Ulster’s Uncertain Defenders: loyalist political paramilitary and community groups and the Northern Ireland conflict* (1984)


High political biographies and studies


E. Moloney *Paisley* (2008)


The Peace Process and devolution

Primary

**Secondary**

M. Elliot (ed.)  *The Long Road to Peace in Northern Ireland: Peace lectures from the Institute of Irish Studies at Liverpool University* (2007, 2nd ed.)
J. McGarry et al  *Northern Ireland and the Divided World: Post-Agreement Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective* (2001)
Jessie Blackbourn & Kacper Rekawek  ‘Ten Years On: Who are the Winners and Losers from the Belfast Agreement?’
https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/blackbourn_rekawek_08.pdf
C. Knox  *Devolution and the governance of Northern Ireland* (2010)

**A7 Scotland since 1880**

The relative success of the Union; the rebirth of British nationalism; Liberalism, Unionism and the rise of Labour; rural Scotland, land reform, crofters and religious tensions; the SNP and the development of independent nationalist parties; the establishment of representative assemblies; national and supranational identities in the British Isles; the 2014 Independence referendum.

*Alex Salmond  *The Dream Shall Never Die: 100 Days that Changed Scotland Forever* (2015)

**The rebirth of British nationalism**

A. Aughey  *Nationalism, Devolution and the Challenge to the United Kingdom State* (2001)
E. Biagini (ed.)  *Citizenship and Community* (1996), chps 10, 12 & 13
V. Bogadanor  *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (1999)
P. Hitchens  *The Abolition of Britain* (2000)
P. Ward  
**Britishness since 1870** (2004)

R. Weight  
**Patriots. National identity in Britain 1940-2000** (2003), chapt. 6 and 11

**Introductory/General**

E. Cameron  
*Impaled Upon a Thistle. Scotland since 1880* (2010), chs. 11-14

T.M. Devine  

T.M. Devine & J. Wormald (eds.)  
*The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (2012), esp. chp by McLean

R. Finlay  

T.M. Devine  
*To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010* (2011)

I.G.C. Hutchison  
*Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century* (2001), chs. 3-4

J.M.D MacKenzie & T.M. Devine (eds.)  
*Scotland and the British Empire* (2011)

H. Trevor Roper  

G. Walker & T. Gallagher (eds.)  
*Sermons & Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Scotland* (1990)

**Land, crofters and religion**

A. Brown, D. McCrone & G. Newby  
*Ireland, radicalism and the Scottish Highlands, 1870-1912* (2007)

E. Cameron  

A.W. MacColl  

**The decline of Scottish Unionism & rise of Labour**

C. Macdonald (ed.)  

I. Donnachie et al  

A. McKinlay & R.J. Morris (eds.)  
*The ILP on Clydeside, 1892-1932* (1991)

S. Kendrick et al  

J. Curtice et al  
‘The decline of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist party: religion, ideology or economics?’, *Contemporary Record*, 9 (1995), 319-42

M. Dyer  
‘The evolution of the centre-right and the state of Scottish Conservatism’, *Political Studies*, xlix (2001), 30-50

T. Saleh  

M. Petrie  

J. Phillips et al  
‘Deindustrialization, the Linwood car plant and Scotland’s political divergence from England in the 1960s and 1970s’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 30 (2016)

G. Walker  
*The Labour Party in Scotland: Religion, the Union, and the Irish Dimension* (2016)

**Scottish nationalism**
B. Jackson  
*The Case for Scottish Independence: A History of Nationalist Political Thought in Modern Scotland* (2020)

R. J. Finlay  

B. Jackson  
‘The political thought of Scottish Nationalism’, *Political Quarterly*, 85 (2014), 50-56

B. Jackson  

G. Hassan (ed.)  
*The Modern SNP from Protest to Power* (2009)

P. Geoghegan  
*The People’s Referendum: Why Scotland Will Never Be the Same Again* (2015)

C. Harvie  

C. Harvie  
*Scotland and Nationalism* (1994)

G. Hassan & S. Barrow  
*A Nation Changed: The SNP and Scotland Ten Years On* (2017)

I. Macwhirter  

J. Mitchell (ed.)  
*The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power* (2012)

J. Mitchell  

T. Nairn  

T. Nairn  
*The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (1981)

D. Torrance  
*Nicola Sturgeon: a political life* (2016)

D. Torrance  
*Salmond: Against the Odds* (2010)

D. Torrance  
*The Battle for Britain: Scotland and the independence referendum* (2013)

**A8 Wales since 1880**

Nonconformism and Liberal politics in the late nineteenth century; the evolution of Welsh nationalism and the extent to which it challenged Liberal ideas; the rise of Labour and trade unions, especially the important history of the miners; why has the Conservative Party performed badly in Wales; the unification of nationalist groups under Plaid Cymru; devolution and the question of Unionism. Also see reading list A7, ‘The rebirth of British nationalism’.

**Introductory/General**

J. Davies  
*A History of Wales* (1993)

D. Beddoe  

G. H. Jenkins  
*A Concise History of Wales* (2007)

M. Johnes  
*Wales since 1939* (2012)

K.O. Morgan  

D. Tanner et al (ed.)  

C. Williams  

C. Williams (eds.)  

**Pre-WWI Wales**

J.S. Ellis  
‘Reconciling the Celt: British national identity, Empire and the 1911 investiture of the Prince of Wales,’ *Journal of British Studies* (1998), 391-418

D.G. Evans  
*A History of Wales, 1815-1906* (1989)
D.G. Evans  

J. Graham Jones  
'Michael Davitt, David Lloyd George and T.E. Ellis: the Welsh Experience, 1886', *WHR*, xviii (1996-7)

J. Graham Jones  
*David Lloyd George and Welsh liberalism* (2010)

---

**The Labour and Conservative Parties in Wales**

H. Francis & D. Smith  

S. Bruley  

K. O. Morgan  

K.O. Morgan  

D. R. Hopkin et al  

R.Pope  

P. O’Leary  

G. Thomas  

M. Cragoe  
“‘We like local patriotism’ The Conservative party and the discourse of decentralisation, 1945-51”, *EHR* (2007)

A. Edwards  

A. Edwards et al  

C. Williams  

---

**The rise of Welsh nationalism**

G. Williams  
*Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (1979)

G. Williams  
*When was Wales?* (1985)

K. O. Morgan  

J.G. Evans  

D.H. Davies  

J. Davies  

A. Edwards & W. Griffith  

W. Griffith  

L. McAllister  
*Plaid Cymru: the Emergence of a Political Party* (2001)

R. W. Jones & R. Scully  

---

**A9  Party Realignment, c.1910-1924**

Why the Liberal Party declined so precipitately between 1910 and 1924, and how the Labour Party displaced it in Parliament and the constituencies; the course of politics during the First World War and
the significance of the franchise changes of 1918; how Conservatism adapted to the challenges of 1914-24; why the ‘progressive alliance’ collapsed in British politics; the impact of Irish independence on British politics. Also see reading lists B6 on WWI and A5.

*George Dangerfield  *The Strange Death of Liberal England, 1910-14* (1936; various edns)

**Introductory/General**


D. Larsen  *Plotting for Peace: American Peacemakers, British Codebreakers, and Britain at War, 1914–1917* (2021)


M. Pugh  *Electoral Reform in Peace and War 1906-18* (1978)


**Liberal and Irish Nationalist decline (See also reading list A10)**

*G. Dangerfield  *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935)


A. Sykes  *The rise and fall of British Liberalism, 1776-1918* (2014 ed), chp 7-8


M. Hart  ‘The Liberals, the War and the Franchise,’  *EHR* (1982)


C. Mulvagh  *The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster, 1900-18* (2016), chs. 4-6

I. Packer  *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land* (2001)


**The Rise of Labour (See also reading lists A3 & A11)**


J. Davis  ‘Slums and the Vote’,  *HR*, lxix (1991)


McKibbin, *Ideologies of Class* - see also P.F. Clarke’s reply, *EHR* [1977])


R. McKibbin ‘Why was There no Marxism in Great Britain?’, *EHR* (1984)


D. Tanner *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-18* (1990)

C. Wrigley *Lloyd George and the Challenge of Labour 1918-22* (1990)


Conservative Revival (See also reading lists A4 & A10)

D. Thackeray *Conservatism for the Democratic Age: Conservative Cultures and the Challenge of Mass Politics in the Early Twentieth Century* (2013) chs 4-10


J. Ramsden *The Age of Balfour and Baldwin* (1978)


**A10 Conservative hegemony?**

The nature of inter-war Conservatism, especially as practised by Baldwin; the relative success and failure of Conservatism in Scotland and Wales; Conservatives and the female electorate; the extent to which the media popularized an ‘Establishment’ definition of politics; the dimensions of the political and economic crisis of 1931 and the extent to which this was a watershed in British politics; the character of the ‘National’ Government [see also reading lists A7, A8, and A9].

*Stanley Baldwin* *On England* (1926; Penguin 1937)

*Malcolm Muggeridge* *The Thirties* (1940; paperback 1989)

Introductory/General

M. Cowling *The Impact of Labour, 1920-24* (1971) [introduction scanned & available on Moodle]

G. Thomas ‘Political modernity and “government” in the construction of inter-war democracy’ in L. Beers & G. Thomas (eds) *Brave New World* (2011)


H. McCarthy ‘Whose democracy? Histories of British political culture between the wars’, *HJ* (2012), pp. 221-38

H. McCarthy ‘Parties, Voluntary Associations and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain’ *HJ*, 50(4), 2007, pp. 891-912


Inter-war Conservatism


D Cannadine,  ‘Emollience: Stanley Baldwin and Francis Brett Young’ in *In Churchill’s Shadow: Confronting the Past in Modern Britain* (2003), pp. 159-185

EHH Green  *Ideologies of Conservatism* (2002), especially chapter 5


D. Jarvis  ‘Mrs Maggs and Betty: the Conservative Appeal to Women Voters in the 1920s’, *TCBH*, v (1994)


G. Love  A ‘Mixture of Britannia and Boadicea’: Dorothy Crisp’s Conservatism and the Limits of Right-Wing Women’s Political Activism, 1927–48’ *TCBH* 30 (2019)


G. Thomas  *Popular Conservatism and the Culture of National Government in Inter-War Britain* (2020)


---

**The Crisis of 1931 and Its Legacy**


A11  Labour’s Long March, 1914-1939

The character of interwar Labour politics; the accommodation of Labour in the political system; the battle between reformism and ‘direct action’; the extent to which Labour sought to transcend class and sectionalism; alternatives to MacDonald’s strategy; the political impact of the General Strike; the origins and consequence of the 1931 split; the prospects of a Labour victory before the Second World War; the factors helping to contain political extremism in inter-war Britain [see also lists A3, A9 & B10]

*Ellen Wilkinson, Clash! (1926) [novel of the General Strike]

Introductory/General

P. Williamson  National Crisis and National Government: British Politics, the Economy and Empire, 1926-1932 (1992)
M. Pugh  Speak for Britain!: A New History of the Labour Party (2011), chps 5-9
C. Griffiths  Labour and the Countryside: the Politics of Rural Britain, 1918-1939 (2007)

Leadership, Organization & Policy

B. Barker (ed.)  Ramsay MacDonald’s Political Writings (1972)
N. Ridell, J Shepherd, J Davis, D. Tanner, P. Thane, A. Thorpe, R. Toye, M. Worley

"Britain's Second Labour Government, 1929-31: A Reappraisal" (2011)
"‘I am in the Cabinet’: J.H. Thomas’s Decision to Join the National Government in 1931,’ HR (1991)
"‘Perfectly parliamentary’? The Labour party and the House of Commons in the inter-war years’, TCBH (2014)
"Labour inside the Gate: A History of the British Labour Party between the Wars" (2005)
"Labour’s Grass Roots: Essays on ... Local Labour Parties, 1918-1945" (2005)

Ideas, Culture & Popular Politics

M. Petrie, L. Beers, A. Bingham, P. Catterall, S. Davies, M. Pugh, M. Savage, D. Tanner

"'Contests of vital importance': by-elections, the Labour party, and the reshaping of British radicalism, 1924-1929," HJ (2017)
‘Representing the People? The Daily Mirror, Class and Political Culture in Inter-War Britain’, in L. Beers & G. Thomas (eds), Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain Between the Wars (2012)
‘Morality and Politics: the Free Churches and Labour between the wars’ HJ (1993)

"Jennie Lee: A Life" (1997)
‘The rise of the Labour party in local perspective’ JRLS (1990) UL L474.c.239
The Eclipse of the Extremes


N Copsey & A Olechnowicz, eds., *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-War Period* (Basingstoke, 2010)


H McCarthy, ‘Leading from the Centre: The League of Nations Union, foreign policy and “political agreement” in the 1930s’ *CBH*, 23(4), 2009, pp. 527-542


M. Pugh, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars* (2005)


R. Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (1975)


M. Worley, *Class against Class: The Communist Party in Britain Between the Wars* (2001)


A12 Politics in the 1940s

The impact of the Second World War on British domestic politics; the utility of the concepts of ‘a People’s War’ and ‘post-war consensus’; the policies of the 1945-51 Labour governments, and their legacy; Labour’s role in the emergence of a ‘welfare state’; contested meanings of ‘socialism’; reasons for Labour’s 1945 landslide and 1951 defeat; the extent of the erosion of GB global power and its significance; declinism and strategies to preserve British power.

*F.A. von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (1945)

*H. Cornelius (dir.), *Passport to Pimlico* (1949; 2006 DVD, [1993 VCR])

Introductory/General


B. Brivati & H. Jones (eds.), *What Difference did the War Make?* (1993) [chapter by P. Summerfield available on Moodle]

M. Stears  
*Out of the Ordinary: How Everyday Life Inspired a Nation and How It Can Again* (2021)

D. Todman  
*Into Battle: Britain’s War, 1937-41* (2016)

D. Todman  

I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska  

The Impact of War (see also reading list B6)

- **P. Addison**, *The Road to 1945* (2nd edn, 1994)
- **C. Barnett** *The Audit of War* (1986)
- **L. Beers** ‘Labour’s Britain, Fight for it Now!’ *HJ* 52 (2009)
- **S. Brooke** *Labour’s War* (1992)
- **G.G. Field** *Blood, Sweat, and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class* (2011)
- **A. Thorpe** *Parties at War: Political Organization in Second World War Britain* (2009)
- **R. Weight** *Patriots: National identity in Britain 1940-2000* (2003), pp. 21-118

Labour in Government

- **J. Bew** *Citizen Clem* (2017)
- **M. Pugh** Speak for Britain!: A New History of the Labour Party (2010) ch. 10-11)
- **P. Clarke & P. Clarke** *The Cripps Version* (2002)
- **S. Fielding** ‘The Second World War and Popular Radicalism: The Significance of the Movement Away from Party’, *History* 80, 258 (1995), 38-58
- **R. Hansen** ‘The politics of citizenship in 1940s Britain: the British Nationality Act’, *TCBH*, 10 (1999)

Britain’s global role and declinism


P. Clarke  The last thousand days of the British Empire (2007), chapters 11-14


C. Trebilcock (eds.)  Understanding Decline (1997): chs. by Clarke, Harris and Alford

P. Hennessy  Never Again. Britain 1945-1951 (1992) particularly chapters 4-6

The Politics of the Welfare State

S. Pedersen  Family, dependence and the origins of the welfare state, Britain and France 1914-1945 (1995)

D. Edgerton  Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970 (2005), ch. 2


D Edgerton  Britain’s War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War (2011)

J. Harris  William Beveridge (1977)


C. Webster  The National Health Service: a Political History (1998)

R. Whiting  The Labour Party and Taxation (2000)

A13 Post-war Affluence and Conservatism

The nature and limitations of the ‘affluent society’ which was identified in Britain in the 1950s; how far such sociological shifts underwrote Conservative electoral success; whether the Conservatives had a coherent political strategy; the extent to which the post-war Conservative Party accepted a new, more Statist post-war ‘consensus’; the role of the Cold War in domestic politics; the reasons for Labour’s electoral defeats in 1955 and 1959, and its revived fortunes after 1960.

*Anthony Crosland  The Future of Socialism (1955)

Introductory/General

L. Black  Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism, and Participation (2010)

*L. Black & H. Pemberton (eds.)  An Affluent Society? Britain’s post-war ‘golden age’ revisited (2017) [chapters 5-7 scanned and available on Moodle]; for a contrasting view, see Peter Hennessy, Having it So Good: Britain in the Fifties (2007)


J Lawrence  Me Me Me? The search for community in post-war England (2019), chs 4-5


M. Pugh ‘Labour, consensus and affluence, 1945-59’ in *Speak for Britain* (2010), ch. 11 [scanned & available on Moodle]


**Policy and Leaders**

P. Addison *Churchill on the Home Front 1900-55* (1992)


P. Hennessy *The Prime Minister: The Office and its Holders since 1945* (2000)

M. Jarvis *Conservative Governments: Morality and Social Change in Affluent Britain, 1957-64* (2005)

D. Sandbrook *Never had it So Good* (2005) chs. 1 & 3

A. Seldon & S. Ball (eds.) *Conservative Century* (1994)


**Political Culture & Popular Politics**


L. Black ‘The Lost World of Young Conservatism’, *HJ* (Dec 2008)


D. Cowan ‘The “Progress of a Slogan”: Youth, Culture, and the Shaping of Everyday Political Languages in Late 1940s Britain’ *20thCBH*, 29 (2018)


### A14 The Post-War Settlement in Crisis, 1964-1979

Did Wilson’s leadership heal or temporarily conceal Labour’s post-war ideological wounds; how should we judge the record of Labour and Conservative Governments in power between 1964 and 1979; was European accession a response to domestic political crisis; how widespread was the sense of ‘crisis’ in 1970s Britain?; the emerging domestic crisis in Northern Ireland; why did trade unions come to the centre of political life in this period; had social democracy failed by 1976? (see also A15).

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/thedecade.shtml - 3 programmes on the 1970s


#### Introductory/General


P. Thane (eds.) Reassessing 1970s Britain (2013), to section 10

D. Sandbrook White heat: a history of Britain in the swinging sixties (2015)


J. Tomlinson ‘De-industrialization Not Decline: A New Meta-narrative for Post-war British

**Heath & Conservatism**

E. Caines *Heath and Thatcher in Opposition* (2017)

E. Heath *The course of my life: my autobiography* (1998)


J. Campbell *Edward Heath* (1992)


C. Schofield *Enoch Powell and the making of postcolonial Britain* (2013), ch. 4-5


**Labour in Hard Times**


R. Jobson *Nostalgia and the Post-war Labour Party: Prisoners of the Past* (2018), ch2-3


B. Brivati *Hugh Gaitskell* (1996)


S. Middleton ‘“Affluence” and the Left in Britain, c.1958-74’, *EHR* (2014)


K. Paul — *Whitewashing Britain* (1997) ch. 7

E. Pearce — *Denis Healey* (2002)

A. J. Reid — *United We Stand: a History of Britain’s Trade Unions* (2004)

R. Saunders — *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (2018)


**Diagnoses of Crisis**


L. Marley (ed.) — *The British Labour Party and twentieth-century: the cause of Ireland, the cause of Labour* (2015), chs. 9-10


T. Lopez — *The winter of discontent: myth, memory and history* (2014)


G. Stedman Jones — ‘Why is the Labour Party in a Mess?’ in *Languages of Class* (1983)


**A15 Thatcherism**

What is meant by “Thatcherism”; how far its political salience was dependent on the leadership of Thatcher herself; the success of her policies in terms of economic performance and of altering institutional structures and political assumptions; the social constituency for Thatcherism and the reasons for Conservative electoral predominance; gender, Thatcher and Thatcherism; the relationship between Thatcher and the media; waging “war” at home and abroad. Also see reading lists A6 and B3.

*M. Thatcher — *The Downing Street Years* (1993)

Introductory/General

D. Thackeray & R. Toye (eds.) *Electoral Pledges in Britain since 1918: The Politics of Promises* (2020), chapters by Thackeray and Lawrence

D. Cannadine *Margaret Thatcher: A Life and Legacy* (2017)


*A. Clark* *Diaries* (1993)


*John O’Farrell* *Things Can Only Get Better* (1998)

*M. Thatcher* *The Downing Street Years* (1993)

*Crisis, What Crisis?’* Conservative Party Election Broadcast, 1979 @ BFI screen online.

M. Hilton, C. Moores and


R. Barker ‘Political Ideas Since 1945, or How Long was the Twentieth Century?’ *CBH*, x (1996)

P. Clarke ‘The Rise and Fall of Thatcherism’, *HR* 72 (1999)

A. Gamble 'The Thatcher Myth', *British Politics*, 2015

A. Gamble *Britain in Decline* (4th edn, 1994)


P. Jenkins *Mrs Thatcher’s Revolution* (1987) is still useful – esp. chs 1, 2, 5, 8, & 13-16


R. Vinen *Thatcher’s Britain* (2009)

The Origins of Thatcherism


R. Cockett *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think Tanks and the Economic Counter-revolution* (1994)

C. Schofield *Enoch Powell and the making of postcolonial Britain* (2013)


The Practice of Thatcherism

A. Edwards “‘Financial Consumerism’”: citizenship, consumerism and capital ownership in the 1980s, CBH (2017)
J. Ward ‘Financing the Information Age: London TeleCity, the legacy of IT-82 and the selling of British Telecom’ TCBH (2019)
E Barrett ‘King Caz: Cazenove, Thatcherism and the 1980s financial revolution’ TCBH 30 (2019)

D.G. Boyce The Falklands War (Palgrave, 2005)
D. Cannadine Class in Britain (1998) conclusion

P. Clarke ‘Margaret Thatcher's Leadership in Historical Perspective’, PA, xlv (1992)

S. Evans ‘The Not So Odd Couple: Margaret Thatcher and One Nation Conservatism,’ CBH (2009)
R. Finlay Thatcherism, unionism and nationalism: a comparative study of Scotland and Wales, in B. Jackson and R. Saunders, Making Thatcher’s Britain
M. Mulholland ‘Just another country’? The Irish question in the Thatcher years’, in R. Saunders Making Thatcher’s Britain, pch. 10

S. Hall The Hard Road to Renewal (1988)


D. Torrance  ‘We in Scotland’: Thatcherism in a Cold Climate (2009)
H. Young One of Us: a Biography of Margaret Thatcher (1989)

A16 New Labour and Politics after Thatcher

The extent to which ‘Thatcherism’ outlived Mrs Thatcher’s premiership; the growing problems of the Conservative Party in the 1990s; Labour’s fortunes in the 1980s; the “triumph of New Labour” and the electoral transformation of 1997; political communication and media management; the relationship between Blair’s Labour party and twentieth-century social democracy; the social bases of ‘New Labour’ through three election victories; Scottish and Welsh devolution and implementing “peace” in N. Ireland; the reasons for New Labour’s downfall; Conservative ‘re-positioning’ and the politics of Coalition. See also reading lists A6, A7 and A8.

*A. Campbell The Blair Years: Extracts from the Alastair Campbell Diaries (2011)
Sasha Swire Diary of an MP’s Wife: Inside and Outside Power (2020)

Introductory/General

T. Bale The Conservatives since 1945: the drivers of party change (2012)
A. Jackson The Two Unions. Ireland, Scotland and the survival of the United Kingdom, 1707-2007 (2012)
D. Kavanagh The Re-ordering of British Politics (1997)
M. Scammell Designer Politics: how Elections are Won (1995)

Conservatism after Thatcher

B. Anderson John Major: the Making of the Prime Minister (1991)
T. Bale The Conservative Party from Thatcher to Cameron (2010)
J. Gray & D. Willetts Is Conservatism Dead? (1997)
P. Hennessy The Prime minister. The office and its holders since 1945 (2000)
D. Kavanagh & A. Seldon (eds.) The Major Effect (1994)
S. Ludlam & M. Smith (eds.) Contemporary Conservatism (1996)
A. Rawnssley The End of the Party (2010)
J. Turner *The Tories and Europe* (2000), chs. 5-7

**The Making of “New Labour”**

Daisy Payling, ‘Socialist republic of South Yorkshire’: Grassroots activism and leftwing solidarity in 1980s Sheffield’ *TCBH* 25 (2014)
S. Lee (eds) *Ten Years of New Labour* (2007)
G. Hassan *Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (2012), ch. 5

**Leadership**

M. Westlake *Kinnock: the biography* (2001)
L. Minkin *The Blair Supremacy: A study in the politics of Labour Party management* (2014), review by Eric Shaw available at:
A. Seldon *Blair* (2004)
A. Seldon *Blair Unbound* (2007)

**New Labour, social democracy and Thatcherism**

S. Jenkins *Thatcher and Sons* (2006)
M. Pugh *Speak for Britain*, ch. 14
R. Jobson *Nostalgia and the post-war Labour party: prisoners of the past* (2018), chps 4-6
A. Campsie "Socialism will never be the same again". Re-imagining left-wing ideas for the "New Times", *CBH* (2017)

A. Giddens *The Third Way and Its Critics* (2000)


R. Heffernan *New Labour and Thatcherism: Political Change in Britain* (2000)

M. Beech et al *The struggle for labour's soul: understanding labour's political thought since 1945* (2018)


Jon Davis and Jon Rentoul *Heroes or Villains? The Blair Government Reconsidered* (2019)

**War in domestic and foreign policy**


P. Jones *America and the British Left* (1997)

J. Kampfner *Blair’s Wars* (2004 edn)


SECTION B ~ Themes and Issues

B1 Adjusting to Democracy: Parliament, Parties and the Constitution, 1880-1914

The effects of the Second Reform Act and subsequent constitutional changes on the political structure; the extent of the challenge to 'parliamentary government' posed by the growth of extra-parliamentary parties and pressure groups, and by the increasing careerism of MPs; the causes and consequences of growing tension between Lords and Commons; the effect of these changes on the power of the Crown (the cabinet, the monarchy). See also reading list A4.

Introductory/General

A. Birch
The British system of government (1998)

T. Gourvish &
A. O'Day
Later Victorian Britain (1988), chs. 5 & 6

J. Lawrence &
M. Taylor (eds.)
Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820 (1997)

J. Vernon (ed.)
Re-reading the Constitution (1996)

B. Griffin
The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, political culture and the struggle for women’s rights (2012), part 3

Monarchy and the House of Lords

A. Adonis
Making Aristocracy Work 1884-1914 (1993), chs. 5 and 7

N. Blewett
The Peers, the Parties and the People: the General Elections of 1910 (1972), Part I

D. Cannadine

J. Cannon

E.A. Smith
The House of Lords in British Politics and Society 1815-1911 (1992)

D. Thompson
Queen Victoria: Gender and Power (1990)

Electoral Reform and the Party System

E.F. Biagini
British democracy and Irish nationalism, 1876-1906 (2007), chapt. 4

N. Blewett
'The Franchise in the United Kingdom, 1885-1918', P&P (1965)

M. Cowling
1867, Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution: the Making of the Second Reform Bill (1967)

C. Eustance

J. Garrard,
C. Hall &
K. McClelland

& J. Rendall
Act of 1867 (2000)

H.J. Hanham
Elections and Party Management (1978 edn.)

W.A. Hayes
The Background and Passage of the Third Reform Act (1982)

B.L. Kinzer
The Ballot Question in Nineteenth-century English Politics (1982)

J. Lawrence

J. Lewis (ed.)
Before the Vote was Won: Arguments For and Against Women's Suffrage (1987)

M. Pinto-Duschinsky
M. Pugh  
*Electoral Reform in War and Peace, 1906-1918 (1978)*

J. Roper  
*Democracy and its Critics (1989)*

R. Saunders  
*Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867* (2011), intro., ch. 8 and epilogue

---

**B2  The British Constitution in the Twentieth Century**

Whether Britain has a 'constitution', and the extent to which its image belies the reality of the distribution of power; the extent to which it has changed under key Prime Ministers including Lloyd George, Thatcher and Blair; how to understand the processes of 'prime-ministerial' or cabinet government, and of the power network centred on Whitehall; the political significance, if any, of the modern monarchy.

*Walter Bagehot*  
*The English Constitution*, intro. R.H.S. Crossman (1963; Fontana)

*P. Smith*  

---

**Introductory/General**

V. Bogdanor (ed.)  

P. Catterall et alii  

J. Cronin  
*The Politics of State Expansion* (1991)

P.B. Evans et alii  
*Bringing the State Back In* (1985)

B. Harrison  

P. Hennessy  

G.H. LeMay  
*The Victorian Constitution: Conventions, Usages and Contingencies* (1979)

K. Middlemas  
*Politics in Industrial Society: the Experience of the British System Since 1911* (1979)

K. Middlemas  
*Power, Competition and the State* (3 vols, on 1940-61, 1961-74, 1974-91) (published 1986-91)

J. Paxman  

A. Sampson  
*Anatomy of Britain*, various eds. (1965-)

D. Vincent  

---

**Parliament and Government**

S. Ball  

E. Dell  
*The Chancellors* (1996)

B. Donoughue  

P. Joyce  

M.O. Furner & B. Supple (eds.)  
*The State and Economic Knowledge* (1990)

P. Hall  
*Governing the Economy* (1986)

H. Heclo & A. Wildavsky  

P. Hennessy  

A. King (ed)  
*The British Prime Minister: a Reader* (1969)

J. Lawrence  
‘What is to be done with the Second Chamber?’ @ http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/what-is-to-be-done-with-the-second-chamber
B. Lenman  

M. Rush  
*The Role of the Member of Parliament since 1868: from Gentlemen to Players* (2001)

P Thane & H. McCarthy  

R. Toye  

**Civil Service & Monarchy**

A. Blick & G Jones  
*At Power’s Elbow: Aides to the Prime Minister from Robert Walpole to David Cameron* (2013)

D. Cannadine  

J. Cannon  

P. Hennessy  
*Whitehall* (1989)

S. Jenkins  
*Accountable to None* (1995)

A. Olechnowicz (ed)  
*The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present* (2008)

T. Nairn  

J. Pearson  

B. Pimlott  
*The Queen* (2002 edn)

J. Plunkett  
*Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (2003)

F. Prochaska  

A. Sampson  

D. Sinclair  

Z. Steiner  
*The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898-1914* (1969)

**B3 Political Communication**

The role of the mass communications, especially the newspaper press, in influencing the political process and shaping popular attitudes; the impact of broadcasting and digital media, especially film, television and the internet; the influence of the media on voting habits, on the political agenda, and on perceptions of the role and stature of politicians; the influence of professional marketing on late twentieth-century politics.

*R. Hoggart  

*B. Ingham  
*Kill the Messenger* (1991)

J. Bartlett  
*The People versus Tech: How the Internet is Killing Democracy* (2018)

**Introductory/General**

*J. Lawrence  
*Election Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair* (2009)

S. Anthony  

D. LeMahieau  

M. Rosenbaum From Soapbox to Soundbite: Party Political Campaigning in Britain Since 1945 (1997)

C. Seymour-Ure The British Press and Broadcasting Since 1945 (2nd ed. 1996)
M. O’Brien Political communication in the Republic of Ireland (2014)

The Press

A. Bingham Gender, modernity, and the popular press in inter-war Britain (2004)
A. Bingham ‘Representing the people? The Daily Mirror, class and political culture in inter-war Britain’ in L. Beers and G. Thomas (eds), Brave new world (2011)


Broadcasting, Film and Visual Propaganda

M. Cockerell Live From Number Ten: the Inside Story of Prime Ministers and Television (1988)
R. Cockett ‘The Party, publicity and the media’ in A. Seldon and S. Ball (eds), Conservative Century (1994)
S. Fielding A State of Play: British Politics on Screen, Stage and Page from Anthony Trollope to ‘The Thick of It’ (2014)
S. Nicholas The Echo of War: Home Front Propaganda and the Wartime BBC, 1939-1945 (1997)
J. Ramsden ‘Baldwin and Film’ in N. Pronay and D.W. Spring (eds), Propaganda, Politics and Film, 1918-45 (1982)
J. Richards ‘Film and National Identity’ (1997)

Political Marketing

S. Ball Doles, queues and demons: British election posters from the Conservative party archives (2012)
D. Cowan ‘The “Progress of a Slogan”: Youth, Culture, and the Shaping of Everyday Political Culture in Late 1940s Britain’ 20thCBH (2018)
B. Franklin Packaging Politics: Political Communications in Britain’s Media Democracy 2nd ed. (2004)
D. Kavanagh Election campaigning: the marketing of politics (1995)
P. Norris et al On Message: Communicating the Campaign (1999)
M. Scammell Designer politics: how elections are won (1995)
J. Street Mass Media, Politics and Democracy (2001)

B4 Electoral Behaviour since 1918

The nature of the electoral system; the extent to which consumerism has replaced class as the important determinant of voting behaviour; the ‘gender gap’: the persistence of ‘third party politics’; the role of non-governmental activism.

Introductory/General

D. Thackeray &
R. Toye (eds) Electoral Pledges in Britain Since 1918 (2020) and their article
https://academic.oup.com/tcbh/article-abstract/31/1/1/5610607


P. Norris, Electoral Change since 1945 (1997)
J. Stevenson Third Party Politics since 1945 (1993)

Voting Behaviour

P. Clarke ‘Electoral Sociology of Modern Britain,’ History, 57 (1972)
J. Curtice How Britain Votes (1985)
J. Goldthorpe The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behaviour (1968)
S. Koss Nonconformity in British Politics (1975)
D. Lockwood & I. McLean Rational Choice and British Politics: An Analysis of Rhetoric and Manipulation from Peel to Blair (2001)
W.L. Miller Electoral Dynamics in Britain since 1918 (1977)
I. McAllister Voters Begin to Choose: From Closed Class to Open Elections in Great Britain (1986)

Non-Governmental Activism

H. McCarthy 'Parties, voluntary associations and democratic politics in interwar Britain', HJ (2007)
N. Crowson et al NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945 (2009)
Wyn Grant Pressure Groups and British Politics (2000)
**Matthew Hilton, James McKay et al** *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945* (Basingstoke, 2012)

**Adam Lent** *British Social Movements since 1945: Sex, Colour, Peace and Power* (Basingstoke, 2001)


**Maggie Black** *A Cause for Our Times: Oxfam, the first fifty years* (Oxford, 1992)


**Chris Moores** ‘The progressive professionals: the National Council for Civil Liberties and the politics of activism in the 1960s’ *Twentieth Century British History*, 20(4), 2009, pp. 538-60


**Stephen Hopgood** *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International* (Ithaca, 2006)

**Hilda Kean** *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London, 2000)

**B5 Women, Gender and Politics since 1880**

The history of British and Irish feminism; the suffrage campaign and its aftermath; women’s experiences of party politics before and after 1918; the existence or otherwise of a ‘women’s agenda’ in politics; political masculinities.

**Women MPs** special collection of articles in OHL on Nancy Astor


**Virginia Woolf** *A Room of One's Own* (1929: Penguin, 2002)


**G. Bock & P. Thane** (eds) *Maternity and Gender Policies* (1991), essays by Thane & Lewis


**I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska** *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (2001), chs. 16-18

**Gender**

**B Caine** *English Feminism, 1780-1980* (1997)


**J. Gottlieb &**
*S. Pašeta* *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918* (2013)
*S. Browne* *The Women’s Liberation Movement in Scotland* (2017)
*H. Smith* (ed.) *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century* (1990)

Feminism, Suffrage and Political Participation before 1914

J. Bush *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-suffragism in Britain,* (2007)
J Hannam & K. Hunt *Socialist women: Britain 1880s to 1920s* (2002)
S.S. Holton *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-18* (1986)
S.K. Kent *Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914* (1987)
J. Lewis (ed.) *Before the Vote was Won: Arguments For and Against Women's Suffrage* (1987)
M. Pugh *The Pankhursts* (2002)

D. Thackeray 'Home and politics: women and conservative activism in early twentieth-century Britain' *JBS* (2010)

**Women’s Political Activism since 1918**


M. Andrews *The acceptable face of feminism: the Women’s Institute as a social movement* (1997)


D. Jarvis 'Mrs Maggs and Betty: the Conservative appeal to women voters in the 1920s', *TCBH*, Vol. 5.2 (1994)

S.K. Kent *Making Peace: the Reconstruction of Gender in Inter-war Britain* (1993)

H. McCarthy 'Parties, voluntary associations and democratic politics in interwar Britain', *HJ* (2007)


S. Pedersen ‘Gender, Welfare and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War’ *AmHR*, xcv (1990)


M. Pugh *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain, 1914-59* (1992)

H. Smith (ed.) *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century* (1990)


**Women in Party Politics**


K. Cowman *Mrs Brown is a Man and a Brother* (2004)


Patricia Holls *Jennie Lee: A Life* (1997)

David Howell *MacDonald's Party* (2002), ch. 20-1


M. Pugh Women and the Women's Movement in Britain, 1914-59 (1992)

A. Seldon & S. Ball (eds.) Conservative Century (1994) ch. 16


S. Ward ‘Labour Activism and the Political Self in Interwar Working-Class women’s politics’ TCBH 30 (2019)

G. Love A ‘Mixture of Britannia and Boadicea’: Dorothy Crisp’s Conservatism and the Limits of Right-Wing Women’s Political Activism, 1927–48’ TCBH 30 (2019)

Gender, Masculinity and Politics


B. Griffin ‘Masculinities and parliamentary culture in modern Britain’ in Sean Brady, Christopher Fletcher, Rachel Moss and Lucy Riall, eds., The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe (2018).

*B. Griffin The politics of gender in Victorian Britain: masculinity, political culture and the struggle for women’s rights (366 pages; Cambridge, 2012), chapters 3, 6 and conclusion.

N. Gullace The Blood of Our Sons’: Men, women and the renegotiation of British citizenship during the First World War (2002).

M. Johnson ‘Leading from the Front: the ‘service members’ in parliament, the armed forces, and British politics during the Great War’, EHR 130 (2015)


B6 War, State and Society, 1900-1945

From imperial to world wars; the impact of world war upon British and Irish societies; mobilisation and the role of the state; conscription and pacifism; grand strategy and war aims; civil-military relations; Lloyd George and Churchill as war leaders; press and propaganda; mortality and remembrance.

*Vera Brittain Testament of Youth (1933: Virago, 2004)
*Noel Coward & David Lean (dirs.) In Which We Serve (1942: 2002 DVD/1998 VCR)

Introductory/General

J. Harris ‘Society and State in the 20thC Britain’ in F.M.L. Thompson, Cambridge Social History of Britain vol. 3 (1990)
M.R. Higonnet et al Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars (1987)

The Boer War

P. Laity The British peace movement 1870-1914 (2001)
P. M. Krebs Gender, race, and the writing of empire public discourse and the Boer War (1999)
T. Pakenham The Boer War (New York, 1979)
R. Price An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War 1899-1902 (1972)

First World War (see also reading list A9)

N. Gallagher Ireland and the Great War: A social and political history (2020) esp. Ch. 6
A. Gregory The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War (2008) and The Silence of Memory (1994)
H. Jones For King and Country: The British Monarchy and the First World War (2021)
C. Pennell A Kingdom United. Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland (2012)
C. MacDonald, E. McFarland *Scotland and the Great War* (1999)


P. Dehne ‘The Ministry of Blockade during the First World War and the demise of Free Trade’ *TCBH* 3 (2016)


M. Ceadel *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-45* (1980)


P. Fussell *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1989 & subsequent editions)

J. Grigg *Lloyd George: vol. 3, From Peace to War, 1912-16* (1985)

N. Gullace “The Blood of Our Sons”: men, women and the renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War (2002) [intro and ch. 8 scanned & available on Moodle]


A. Tooze *The Deluge* (2015)


**Second World War (see also reading lists A12 and B7)**

P. Addison *The Road to 1945* (1975)

B. Brivati et al *What Difference did the War Make?* (1993)


A. Calder *The Myth of the Blitz* (1991) [ch.1 scanned & available on Moodle]

M. Donnelly *Britain in the Second World War* (1999)


W. R. Louis (eds.) *Churchill* (1993)


P. Bew *Churchill and Ireland* (2016)


A. Stewart *Empire Lost: Britain, the Dominions and the Second World War* (2008)


A. Thorpe *Parties at War: Political Organization in Second World War Britain* (2009)


C. Ponting *1940: Myth and Reality* (1990)


B7 Keynes, Economic Policy and the State

Policy responses to the ‘Great Depression’ and the changing economic role of the state in the 1930s and 1940s; what we mean by ‘Keynesian’ policies; how far they were unique to J.M. Keynes and how appropriate as a political strategy for managing the economy; why Keynesianism was resisted before the Second World War, then ostensibly adopted, and with what implications for post-war politics.

*J.M Keynes* *Essays in Persuasion* (1930 etc) for 'The Economic Consequences of Mr Churchill' (1925) and 'Can Lloyd George Do It?' (1929)

**Introductory/General**


P. Clarke ‘The Historical Keynes and the History of Keynesianism’ in D Cannadine and T Blanning (eds.) *History and Biography* (1996)

D. Edgerton *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation* (2018)

M. Fourcade *Economists and Societies: Discipline and Profession in the United States, Britain, and France, 1890s to 1990s* (2009)


K. Middlemas *Politics in Industrial Society* (1979)


G. Peden *Keynes, the Treasury and British Economic Policy* (1988)


J. Tomlinson *Public Policy and the Economy since 1900* (1990)

J. Tomlinson *Managing the Economy, Managing the People: Narratives of Economic Life in Britain from Beveridge to Brexit* (2017)

**Inter-War Debates**


E. Durbin *New Jerusalems* (1985)


R. Skidelsky *Politicians and the Slump* (1994 ed.)


**Policy After 1939**


G. O’Hara *From Dreams to Disillusionment: Economic and Social Planning in 1960s Britain* (2007)


J. Tomlinson ‘Re-inventing the Moral Economy in Post-War Britain’, *HR* (2011)


**B8 Britain Abroad: Free Trade, Europe and Empire, 1880-1914**

Britain’s interests as a European, imperial and commercial power; the strategic implications of Free Trade and its relation to empire; Britain’s response to the changing balance of power in Europe; attitudes to continental engagements; the logic of entry into World War One.

*J Seeley *The Expansion of England* (1887)

J.A. Hobson *Imperialism: A Study* (1902)

**Introductory/General**

P. Brendon *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (2010)


J. Darwin  *The Empire Project: the Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (2009), chs 6 & 7
*D. Reynolds*  *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the 20th Century,* 2nd edition (2000), chs 1-3
*A. Thompson*  *The Empire strikes back: the impact of imperialism in Britain since the nineteenth century* (2005)

**Foreign Policy (General)**

R. Bickers  *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils and the Qing Empire* (2011), ch.11
M. Howard  *The Continental Commitment* (1972)
M. Swartz  *The Politics of British Foreign Policy in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli* (1985)

**Imperialism & Imperial Policy**

D. Cannadine  *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (2001)
S. Dubow  ‘How British was the British World? The Case of South Africa’,  *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37:1 (2009), 1-27
Wm. R. Louis  *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization* (2006), pp. 35-184
R. Robinson & J. Gallagher  ‘The Imperialism of Free Trade’, *EcHR* (1953)

**Empire at Home**

A.M. Burton  ‘British Feminists and the Indian Women’ in N. Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (eds.) *Western Women and Imperialism Complicity and Resistance* (1992)
C. Hall & S. Rose (eds.)  *At Home with the Empire* (2006)
C. Hall  ‘Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain’ in S.E. Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (2008)
M. Jones  *The last great quest: Captain Scott’s Antarctic sacrifice* (2003)
M. Matikkala  *Empire & Imperial ambition. Liberty, Englishness and anti-Imperialism in Victorian Britain* (2011)
R. Price  *An Imperial War and the British Working Class* (1972)
R. Price  ‘One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture’, *JBS*, 45:3 (2006), 602-27
B. Schwarz | *Memories of empire, volume I: the white man’s world* (Oxford, 2011), chs 2-4

B. Sebe | *Heroic imperialists in Africa: the promotion of British and French colonial heroes*, 1870-1939 (Manchester, 2013)


**B9 Britain, Europe and the World between the Wars**

The extent and timing of Britain’s loss of international standing and of her adjustment to this; the role of economic pressures and domestic politics on foreign policy-making; the extent of popular internationalism and pacifism after 1918; the roots of ‘appeasement’ in the 1920s; what we mean by ‘appeasement’; how far it was a rational response to global over-stretch; the possible alternatives to Chamberlain’s policies; the politics of rearmament; the possibility of a negotiated peace in 1940.

* ‘Cato’ | *Guilty Men* (1940; Penguin, 1998) [enough information online]

E. H. Carr | *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939* (1939)

J. M. Keynes | *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919)

**Introductory/General**

E. Buettner | *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (2016), sections on Britain

T. Bouverie | *Appeasing Hitler* (2019)


M. Gilbert | *The Roots of Appeasement* (1966)


W.R. Rock | *British Appeasement in the 1930s* (1977)

A.D. Stedman | *Alternatives to Appeasement: Neville Chamberlain and Hitler’s Germany* (2011)

AJP Taylor | *The Trouble Makers: Dissent over Foreign Policy 1792-1939* (1957)

D.C. Watt | *How War Came* (1989) (conclusion)

**The Political Context**


R.S. Grayson  *Austen Chamberlain and the Commitment to Europe: British Foreign Policy, 1924-29* (1997), chs 1, 2 & 3


C. Kaul  *Reporting the Raj: the British Press and India c.1880-1922* (2003), ch.8


H. McCarthy  ‘Leading from the Centre: The League of Nations Union, Foreign Policy and “Political Agreement” in the 1930s,’ *CBH* (2009)


W. Mulligan  *The Great War for Peace* (2014), chs 8-10

L Passerini  *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and Politics in Britain between the wars* (1999), chs 3 and 6


P. Satia  *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (2010)

A. Sharp  *The Peace Conferences of 1919-23 and their aftermath* (2011)

Z. Steiner  *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919-33* (2005)


Appeasement and Its Critics


G. Batonyi  *Britain and Central Europe, 1918-1933* (1999)


M. Cowling  *The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy, 1933-40* (1975)


D. Dutton  *Neville Chamberlain* (2001)

J Gottlieb  *Guilty Women: Foreign Policy and Appeasement in Interwar Britain* (2015)


K. Neilson  ‘The Defence Requirements sub-committee, British strategic foreign policy, Neville Chamberlain and the path to appeasement’, *EHR*, 118:447 (2003), 651-84


D. Reynolds  ‘Churchill and the Decision to Fight on in 1940: Right Policy, Wrong Reasons’ in R. Langhorne (ed.), *Diplomacy and Intelligence During the Second World War* (1985)


B10  *Britain, Europe and the World since 1945*

How far post-war foreign policy recognised new realities; British reactions to European integration; gains and losses from alliance with the USA; the impact of the Suez crisis; the ‘special relationship’ – myth or reality?; the end of empire as a planned retreat or a chaotic scuttle; the end of Empire and the making of “post-colonial” Britain.

*John Osborne *The Entertainer* (1957; film 1960)
**Introductory/General**

E. Buettner  
*Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (2016), sections on Britain

P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins  

J. Darwin  
*The Empire Project* (2009), chs. 13-14

S. Greenwood  
*Britain and the Cold War, 1945-91* (2000)

B. Harrison  

B. Harrison  

D. Reynolds  

C. Schenk  

S. Stockwell  

A. Thompson (ed.)  
*Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (2012)

R. Saunders  

**The Cold War and the ‘Special Relationship’**

A. Bullock  
*Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary, 1945-51* (1983)

K. Burk  

J. Charmley  

A. Deighton  

A. Deighton  

M. Grant  
“‘Civil defence gives meaning to your leisure”: Citizenship, participation, and cultural change in cold war recruitment propaganda, 1949-54’ *TCBH*, 22 (2011), pp. 52-78

M. Grant  
*The British way in cold warfare: Intelligence, diplomacy and the bomb 1945-1975* (2009)

M. Jones  
‘Great Britain, the United States, and consultation over use of the atomic bomb, 1950-1954’, *HJ*, 54:3 (2011), 797-828

W.R. Louis & H. Bull (eds.)  
*The 'Special Relationship': Anglo-American Relations Since 1945* (1986)

P. M. McGarr  
*The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965* (2013)

A. Mumford  

R. Ovendale  
*Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century (British History in Perspective)* (1998)

J. Ramsden  

D. Reynolds  

D. Reynolds (ed.)  
*The Origins of the Cold War in Europe* (1994), essay 3
K. Ruane  

K. Ruane & J. Ellison  

A. Scott  

M. Thatcher  

D.R. Thorpe  

R. Vinen  

C. Walton  
*Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War and the Twilight of Empire* (2013)

G. Warner  

J. Young  
*Churchill’s Last Campaign: Britain and the Cold War, 1951-5* (1996)

J. Young  

---

**The Ends of Empire**

D. Anderson  

C. Bayly & T. Harper  
*Forgotten wars: The end of Britain’s Asian Empire* (2008)

P. Brooke  
*Duncan Sandys and the Informal Politics of Britain's Late Decolonisation* (2017)

L. Butler & S. Stockwell (eds)  

P. Clarke  
*The last thousand days of the British Empire* (2007), chs 11-14

F. Cooper  

F. Heinlein  

J.M. Hodge  

A.G. Hopkins  

R. Hyam  
*Britain’s Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonization, 1918-1968* (2007)

P. Keleman  

J. Lewis  

W.R. Louis  
*Ends of British Imperialism* (2006), chapters 21-31 on various aspects of the imperial crisis in the late 1950s

A. May (ed)  
*Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe* (2001)

M. Mazower  
*No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire & the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (2009), chs.1 & 4

P. Murphy  

P. Murphy  

R. Ovendale  

N. Owen  
C. Prior  “‘This community which nobody can define’: meanings of Commonwealth in the late 1940s and 1950s’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 47:3 (2019), 568-90
M. Thomas  *Fight or flight. Britain, France, and their roads from empire* (2014)
J. Tomlinson  ‘The decline of Empire and the economic “decline” of Britain’, *TCBH*, 14:3 (2003), 201-221

The Making of Post-Colonial Britain

J. Bailkin  *The afterlife of empire* (2012)
A. Bocking-Welch  *British civic society at the end of empire: Decolonisation, globalisation, and international responsibility* (2018)
E. Buettner  “‘This is Staffordshire not Alabama’: Racial Geographies of Commonwealth Immigration in Early 1960s Britain’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:4 (2014), 710-40
P. Gilroy  *Postcolonial melancholia* (2005)
P. Gilroy  *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (2013)
M. Matera  *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (2015)
K Hammond Perry  *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship and the Politics of Race* (2016)
C. Schofield  *Enoch Powell and the making of postcolonial Britain* (2013)
B. Schwarz  *The White Man’s World: Memories of Empire* (2011)
S. Ward  *British Culture and the End of Empire* (2001)
Z. Smith  *Feel free: essays* (2018), chs. 3 & 4
W. Webster  *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (2005)
C. Wills  *Lovers and Strangers: An Immigrant History of Post-War Britain* (2017)
European Integration


B. Grob-Fitzgibbon  *Continental Drift: Britain and Europe from the end of Empire to the Rise of Euro-Scepticism* (2016)


M. Haeussler  Helmut Schmidt and British-German Relations: a European misunderstanding (2019)


C. Lord  *British Entry to the European Community under the Heath Government* (1993)


R. Saunders  *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain* (2018)

P. Stephens  *Politics and the Pound: the Tories, the economy and Europe* (1997)


H. Young  *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (1998)


F. O’Toole  *Heroic Failure: Brexit and the Politics of Pain* (2019)

