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, 1916-1923 and in Northern Ireland from 1972 to 1998), 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, 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 and the internet. Women outnumber men among the electorate.

This paper provides a unique opportunity to ponder and contextualize this complex narrative of continuity and change, while affording students access to many of the new types of source material (primarily oral, audio-visual and digital) that make the study of the twentieth (and twenty-first) century so distinctive.

Modern historians are rightly wary of claiming that their subject can straightforwardly ‘explain the present’. 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 current leadership of Jeremy Corbyn it is the Blairite ‘modernizers’ whose legacy has been 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’ and ‘the Establishment’, 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, Ireland, 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 focus on particular dimensions, such as the history of Ireland and Scotland. Others 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.

**Tripos questions**

The various topics in this booklist are the ones around which the examination questions will be structured. This is appropriate, since examination papers usually contain about 21 questions (including ‘either/or’ alternatives as two questions). However you should not assume that there will be a straightforward question on each topic. Because of the many ways in which connections between thematic and chronological topics can be traced, questions may appear in a somewhat indirect form (see under ‘Tripos questions’ below). Candidates should understand this inter-relationship and should revise the great majority of the topics that they have studied, rather than treat them as entirely discrete topics.

Before setting a Tripos question paper the examiners will consult with all those who lecture on and supervise in that paper in order to find out what subjects the undergraduates taking that paper have covered. Examiners will expect you to be able to argue a case, to back it up with detailed factual examples, and to consider and counter possible objections to the case you have made. You should consider supporting your arguments by references to the historiography, for while it is not necessary (on
this paper) to do so simply for the sake of it, it can often be an efficient way of getting your understanding across. There are some topics, for example politics in the age of Gladstone and Salisbury or international relations in the inter-war period, which have been so defined by the historiography that substantial reference to it is more or less essential. But you will certainly not be penalized merely for making a case which the examiner happens not to agree with.

**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.**

Most Tripos papers will contain a substantial number of thematic questions covering long periods. Naturally, the longer the period, the less comprehensive detail is expected; however, simplification can easily be taken too far, since politics is necessarily a complex process at all times. Candidates will need to show both the ability to generalize and an appreciation of when generalization is inappropriate.

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 wholly with the proposition or else to disagree with it wholly. 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.

Finally, it might be useful to turn from these generalizations to what various examiners have reported on Paper 6 in recent years. They will help you to identify the features examiners most value in scripts, and structure your approach to the paper in a way which is both comprehensive and balanced. Both past exam papers and the examiners' reports are available on the History Faculty website. So are the criteria of assessments which examiners will use in marking scripts, indicating clearly the strengths and the qualities which essays should display in order to qualify for a certain class and range of marks.
Lectures

Michaelmas Term: Tuesdays at 11 a.m. and Wednesdays at 11 a.m for SEVEN weeks.

DR. N. GALLAGHER, DR H. MCCARTHY, DR. B. GRIFFIN, DR C. JEPPESEN, DR. G. THOMAS, DR P. SLOMAN, B. JOHNSON

1. T 15 Oct McCarthy: Ideas and identities
2. W 16 Oct Gallagher: Liberalism and Late-Victorian Conservatism
3. T 22 Oct McCarthy: Radicalism, Labour and New Liberalism
4. W 23 Oct Griffin: Gender and politics
5. T 29 Oct McCarthy: Women’s suffrage and feminism, 1880-1939
7. T 5 Nov Gallagher: War and realignment, 1914-1924
8. W 6 Nov Thomas: Baldwin and interwar Conservatism
11. T 19 Nov Johnson: Wales, 1880-1939
13. T 26 Nov McCarthy: Foreign policy and internationalism between the wars
14. W 27 Nov Sloman: Political economy and party politics since the 1930s

Lent Term: Mondays and Tuesdays at 12 noon for SEVEN weeks.

DR H. MCCARTHY, DR N. GALLAGHER, DR L. AQUI, DR. G. THOMAS, TAYM SALEH & H. HANLEY

1. M 20 Jan Gallagher: Building the 'New Jerusalem', 1945-51
2. T 21 Jan McCarthy: Conservatism and post-war affluence
3. M 27 Jan Gallagher: Wilson, Heath & the breakdown of consensus
5. M 3 Feb Aqui: Britain and the process of European integration
7. M 10 Feb Thomas: Wales since 1939
8. T 11 Feb Saleh: Scotland since 1939
9. M 17 Feb Hanley: The Northern Irish Troubles and the peace process
10. T 18 Feb McCarthy: Thatcherism
11. M 24 Feb Gallagher: The end of Empire
12. T 25 Feb McCarthy: The politics of race and immigration
13. M 2 Mar Gallagher: Political communication and the media

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

DRS N. GALLAGHER & H. MCCARTHY
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, 1880-1923
6. Northern Ireland and The “Troubles”
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, unpublished papers, 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).

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 textbooks

- J. Vernon, Modern Britain. 1750 to the Present (2017)
- Callum Brown & Hamish Fraser, Britain since 1707 (2007)
- Peter Clarke, Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000 (2nd edn, 2004)
- Martin Pugh, State and Society. A social and political history of Britain since 1870 (2017) and
- David Reynolds, Britannia Overruled: British policy and world power in the twentieth century
  (2nd edn, 2000)
- R. Hyam, Britain’s Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918-1968 (2006)
  Twentieth Century (1999)
- B. Harrison, Seeking a Role: the United Kingdom, 1951-1970 (2009) and Finding a Role? The
- Pat Thane, Divided Kingdom. A History of Britain since 1900 (2018)
- Gwyn Williams and John Ramsden, Ruling Britannia: a political history of Britain, 1688-1988
- A. Jackson, The Two Unions. Ireland, Scotland and the survival of the United Kingdom, 1707-
  2007 (2012)
- Ewen Cameron, Impaled Upon a Thistle. Scotland since 1880 (2010)
- R. Davies, People, Places and Passions: Pain and Pleasure: A Social History of Wales and the
- P. Thane, Divided Kingdom: A History of Britain, 1900 to the Present (2018)

Party Politics

- *P. Clarke, A Question of Leadership: Gladstone to Blair (1999)
  (1996)
- *J. Lawrence, Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair* (2009)

**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*

- *D. Cannadine, Class in Britain* (1998)

**For reference**

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

Abbreviations of Journals

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

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)
P. Marsh  An Entrepreneur in Politics: Joseph Chamberlain (1994)

M. Daily 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  *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone 1860-80* (1992) (esp. chas 4 and 6) and *British democracy and Irish nationalism, 1876-1906* (2007), esp. chas 1 and 2

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


J. Lawrence  ‘Popular Radicalism and the Socialist Revival in Britain,’ *JBS* (1992)


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**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 (see also reading lists A3 & A5).

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

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

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**Introductory/General**

J. Cornford  ‘The Transformation of the Conservative Party in the Late Nineteenth Century,’ *VS* (1963-4)


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**Salisbury and Unionism**

A. Roberts  *Salisbury* (1999)


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


P. Marsh An Entrepreneur in Politics: Joseph Chamberlain (1994)
G.I.T. Machin Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869-1921 (1987), chs 3, 5, 6

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. Roberts Political Movements in Urban England 1832-1914 (2009) chs 6-7
P. Joyce Work, Society and Politics (1980)
J. Lawrence ‘Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism,’ EHR (1993)
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)
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)

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.


Introductory/General
A. Thorpe  A History of the British Labour Party (1997; revised 2001)
E. Biagini & A. Reid (eds.)  Currents of Radicalism (1991)
P. Joyce  Work, Society and Politics: the Culture of the later Victorian Factory (1980)
L. Marley (ed.)  The British Labour Party and Twentieth-Century Ireland: the cause of Ireland, the cause of Labour (2016)

The State, Trade Unionism & Class Law

C.G. Hanson  ‘Craft Unions, Welfare Benefits and the Case for Trade Union Reform, 1865-75’, EcHR, xxviii (1975) and debate ibid., xxix (1976)
C. Wrigley  A History of British Industrial Relations, 1875-1914 (1982)

Working-class Life & Politics

S. Todd  The People; the rise and fall of the working class, 1910-2010 (2014)
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. Savage & A. Miles  The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940 (1994)

The Origins and Early Development of the Labour Party
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.

*H.G. Wells The New Machiavelli (1911; Penguin paperback)

Introductory/General

C. Mulvagh The Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster, 1900-18 (2016), ch. 3
The Edwardian Politics of Social Reform

Jane Lewis  
*The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain: The Charity Organization Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (1995)

J. Cooper  

M. Daunton  

G. Finlayson  
*Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (1994)

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

J. Harris  

J. Harris  

M. Pugh  

B. Semmel  

P. Thane  

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

P. Waller  

New Liberal Politics

K. Rix  

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)

G.L. Bernstein  

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  

M. Freedon  
*The New Liberalism* (1978)

A. Howe  

J. Lawrence  

H.C.G. Matthew  
*The Liberal Imperialists* (1973)

B.K. Murray  
*The People's Budget, 1909-10* (1980)

A. Offer  

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

I. Packer  

M. Pugh  
*Lloyd George* (1988)

P. Readman  
‘The Liberal Party and Patriotism in Early Twentieth Century Britain’, *TCBH* (2001)

F. Trentmann  
*Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption & Civil Society* (2008) chs 1-4

The Crisis of the Edwardian Right

A. Thompson  

F. Coetzee  
*For Party or Country: Nationalism and Popular Conservatism* (1990)

E.H.H. Green  
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’
R. Foster W.B Yeats (2 vols.)

**Introductory**

T. Bartlett Ireland: A history (2010)
A. Jackson The Two Unions (2013)
B. Jenkins Irish nationalism and the British state. From repeal to revolutionary nationalism (2006)
R. F. Foster Modern Ireland, 1600-1972 (1988)
C. Nic Dháibhéid & C. Reid From Parnell to Paisley: Constitutional and Revolutionary Politics in Modern Ireland (2010)

**Land and the national question**


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)


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)

P. Bew Enigma. A New Life of Charles Stewart Parnell (2011)


F. Campbell ‘Who ruled Ireland? The Irish administration, 1879-1914, HJ, 50, 3 (2006)

F. Lane & D. Meleady John Redmond. The National Leader (2014)

S. Pašeta Before the revolution: nationalism, social change and Ireland’s Catholic elite (1999)


Aidan Beatty Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884-1938 (2016)

J. Loughlin The British monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the present (2007)

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


P. Buckland Irish Unionism, 1885-1922 (1973)

P. Gibbon The Origins of Ulster Unionism (1985)

A. Jackson The Ulster party. Irish Unionists in the House of Commons, 1884-1911 (1989)


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

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

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

A. Jackson Home Rule: An Irish History, chapters 8 & 9


N. Gallagher  Ireland and the Great War: A social and political history, 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)


D. Ferriter A Nation and not a rabble. The Irish Revolution 1913-1923 (2015)

M. T. Foy Michael Collins’s Intelligence War: The Struggle Between the British and the IRA, 1919-1921 (2006)

R. Bennett The Black and Tans (2006)


M. Hopkinson The Irish War of Independence (2004)


C. Townshend The Republic: the fight for Irish Independence (2013)

C. Townshend Easter 1916 (2005)

F. McGarry The Rising: Ireland Easter 1916 (2016)

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


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 Eamon de Valera (2016)

D. Ferriter Judging DeV: a reassessment of the life and legacy of Eamon De Valera (2007)


P. Bew Churchill and Ireland (2016)

I. Milne & I. D’Alton Protestant and Irish: The minority’s search for place in independent Ireland (2019)

** 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**

*M. Mulholland*  


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

*T. Bartlett*  
Ireland: A History (2010), see relevant chapters

*P. Bew*  
Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006 (2007), see relevant chapters

*K. Bloomfield*  
A tragedy of errors: the government and misgovernment of Northern Ireland (2007)

**Northern Ireland since 1920**

*H. Patterson*  

*N. C. Fleming*  

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

*D. Kennedy*  
The widening gulf: Northern attitudes to the independent Irish Free State (Belfast, 1988)

*M. Harris*  
The Catholic Church and the Foundation of the Northern Ireland State 1912-30 (1993)

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

*Niall Ó Dochartaigh*  

*R. Rees*  

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

**The Troubles**

*G. Adams*  
Falls Memoirs (1983)

*D. Beresford*  

*R. Bourke*  

*J. McGarry & B. O’Leary*  

*P. Bew & Gillespie, G.*  

*P. Bew et al*  

*D. Ó Beacháin*  
From Partition to Brexit: The Irish Government and Northern Ireland (2018)

*G. Walker*  
The Politics of Frustration: Harry Midgely and the Failure of Labour in Northern Ireland (1985)

*J. H. Whyte*  
Interpreting Northern Ireland (1990)

*R. Ward*  
Women, Unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland (2006)

*P. Bew, P. Gibbon & F. Cochrane*  
P. Bew 'The political history of Northern Ireland since Partition: the prospects for North-South cooperation', Proceedings of the British Academy, 98 (1999), pp.401-18
P. Catterall & S. MacDoughall The Northern Ireland Question in British Politics (1996)
F. Gaffikin & M. Morrisey Northern Ireland: the Thatcher Years (1990)
Y. Galligan Women and Politics in Contemporary Ireland. From the Margins to the Mainstream (1998)
T. Hennessey Northern Ireland: the origins of the Troubles (2005)
E. Moloney Paisley (2008)
N. Ó'Dochartaigh From civil rights to Armalites: Derry and the birth of Irish Troubles (2005)
P. O'Malley Biting at the grave: the Irish hunger strikes and the politics of despair (1990)
S. Prince 'The global revolt of 1968 and Northern Ireland', HJ, 49 (2006), 851-77
S. Prince Northern Ireland's 68 (2007)
J. Ruane & J. Todd The dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland (2000), chps 1 and 11
P. Shirlow & R. Ward Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland: from 'tea-makers' to political actors (2006)

The Peace Process and devolution

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
G. Spencer (ed.) The British and peace in Northern Ireland: the process and practice of reaching agreement (2015)
J. Tonge Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation (2005)
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

E. Biagini (ed.) Citizenship and Community (1996), chps 10, 12 & 13
V. Bogadanor Devolution in the United Kingdom (1999)
A. Grant & K. Stringer, eds. Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History (1995)
P. Hitchens The Abolition of Britain (2000)
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 & J. Wormald (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History (2012), esp. chp by McLean
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)


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**Land, crofters and religion**


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


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


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


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**Scottish nationalism**


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


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 *Scotland and Nationalism* (1994)
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>Barrow</td>
<td><em>A Nation Changed: The SNP and Scotland Ten Years On</em> (2017)</td>
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<td>T. Nairn</td>
<td><em>The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism</em> (1981)</td>
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<td>D. Torrance</td>
<td><em>Nicola Sturgeon: a political life</em> (2016)</td>
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<td>D. Torrance</td>
<td><em>Salmond: Against the Odds</em> (2010)</td>
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<td>D. Torrance</td>
<td><em>The Battle for Britain: Scotland and the independence referendum</em> (2013)</td>
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### 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* (2011)
- **J. Graham Jones**  
- **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**  


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


The rise of Welsh nationalism

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

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


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


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

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


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

J. Turner  
*British Politics and the Great War* (1992) chs 10 & 11

**Liberal Decline (See also reading list A10)**

- A. Sykes  
  *The rise and fall of British Liberalism, 1776-1918* (2014 ed), chp 7-8
- M. Bentley  
- B. Doyle  
- M. Dawson  
- M. Hart  
  ‘The Liberals, the War and the Franchise,’ *EHR* (1982)
- R. McKibbin  
- I. Packer  
  *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land* (2001)
- G.R. Searle  
- T. Wilson  

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

- S. Wolistencroft  
- M. Childs  
- J. Davis  
  ‘Slums and the Vote’, *HR*, lxix (1991)
- K. Laybourn  
- H.C.G. Matthew et al  
- R. McKibbin  
- R. McKibbin  
  ‘Why was There no Marxism in Great Britain?’ *EHR* (1984)
- D. Tanner  
- D. Tanner  
  *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-18* (1990)
- C. Wrigley  
  *Lloyd George and the Challenge of Labour 1918-22* (1990)
- M. Worley  

**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
- A. Windscheffel  
- N. Keohane  
- D. Jarvis  
- J. Ramsden  
  *The Age of Balfour and Baldwin* (1978)
- D. Evans  

**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)
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

S. Ball & I. Holliday  Mass Conservatism: The Conservatives and the Public since the 1880s (2002)
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
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)
P. Mandler  The English National Character (2006), ch. 5.
R. McKibbin  ‘Class and Conventional Wisdom’ in McKibbin, Ideologies of Class (1990)


C. MacDonald ‘Scottish Unionism between the two World Wars’ in Unionist Scotland, 1800-1997 (1998)


P. Williamson Stanley Baldwin: Conservative Leadership and National Values (1999)

The Crisis of 1931 and Its Legacy


M. Cowling The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy, 1933-1940 (1975)


A. Thorpe The British General Election of 1931 (1991)


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)

J. Lawrence  

R. McKibbin  
*Parties and People, England 1914-1951* (2010), ch. 2-3

D. Tanner  

D. Tanner  

A. Thorpe  

M. Pugh  
*Speak for Britain!: A New History of the Labour Party* (2011), chps 5-9

C. Griffiths  

**Leadership, Organization & Policy**

B. Barker (ed.)  
*Ramsay MacDonald’s Political Writings* (1972)

D. Howell  

N. Owen  

N. Ridell  

J. Shepherd, J. Davis & Wrigley, eds.  

D. Tanner  

P. Thane  

A. Thorpe  

A. Thorpe  
‘“I am in the Cabinet”: J.H. Thomas’s Decision to Join the National Government in 1931,’ *HR* (1991)

R. Toye  
‘“Perfectly parliamentary”? The Labour party and the House of Commons in the inter-war years’, *TCBH* (2014)

M. Worley  

M. Worley (ed.)  

M. Worley (ed.)  

**Ideas, Culture & Popular Politics**

M. Petrie  
"Contests of vital importance": by-elections, the Labour party, and the reshaping of British radicalism, 1924-1929’, *HJ* (2017)

L. Beers  

L. Beers  

A. Bingham  
‘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)
M. Savage ‘The rise of the Labour party in local perspective’ JRLS (1990) UL L474.c.239

The Eclipse of the Extremes
R. Thurlow Fascism in Britain (1998 ed.)
S. Macintyre ‘British Labour, Marxism, and Working-Class Apathy in the 1920s’, HJ (1977)
N Copsey & A Olechnowicz, eds., Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-War Period (Basingstoke, 2010)
M. Cronin, ed. The Failure of British Fascism (1996)
H McCarthy ‘Parties, Voluntary Associations and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain’ HJ, 50(4), 2007, pp. 891-912
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
S. Macintyre A Proletarian Science: Marxism in Britain, 1917-1933 (1980)
S. Macintyre Little Moscows: Communism and Working-Class Militancy in Inter-War Britain (1980)
M. Pugh Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars (2005)
D. Ritschel The Politics of Planning: The Debate on Economic Planning in Britain in the 1930s (1997), ch. 2
R. Skidelsky Oswald Mosley (1975)
A. Thorpe, ed. The Failure of Political Extremism in Inter-War Britain (1989)
G. C. Webber The Ideology of the British Right, 1918-1939 (1986)
M. Worley Class against Class: The Communist Party in Britain Between the Wars (2001)
M. Worley Oswald Mosley and the New Party (Basingstoke, 2010)
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

P. Addison The Road to 1945 (2nd edn, 1994)
B. Brivati & H. Jones (eds.) What Difference did the War Make? (1993)
D. Todman Into Battle: Britain’s War, 1937-41 (2016)

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)
J. Lawrence ‘Labour and the Politics of Class, 1900-1940’, in D. Feldman & J. Lawrence (eds), Structures and Transformations in Modern British History (2011)
A. Thorpe Parties at War: Political Organization in Second World War Britain, (2009)
R Toye The Roar of the Lion: The Untold Story of Churchill’s World War II Speeches (2013)
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)

**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**

J. Harris *William Beveridge* (1977)
C. Webster *The National Health Service: a Political History* (1998)

**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**


M. Pugh ‘Labour, consensus and affluence, 1945-59’ in *Speak for Britain* (2010), ch. 11


**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 Political Culture of the Left in Affluent Britain, 1951-64* (2002)

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

L. Black, H. Pemberton & P. Thane (eds.)  Reassessing 1970s Britain (2013), to section 10

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


E. Robinson, C. Schofield, F.Sutcliffe-Braithwaite and N. Thomlinson  ‘Telling Stories about Post-war Britain: Popular Individualism and the “Crisis” of
the 1970s’, 20thCBH (2017)


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. Lockwood ‘Action Not Words’: The Conservative Party, Public Opinion and ‘Scientific’ Politics, c.1945–70, 20thCBH, 0, 0 (2019), 1-27
C. Schofield Enoch Powell and the making of postcolonial Britain (2013), ch. 4-5
P. Hennessy The Prime minister. The office and its holders since 1945 (2000)
M. Holmes The Failure of the Heath Government (2nd edn, 1997)
J. Tomlinson ‘Conservative Modernization, 1960-4: Too Little, Too Late?’, CBH, xi (1997)

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)
P. Hennessy  

S. Middleton  

L. Minkin  

A. Crines & K. Hickson  
Harold Wilson: the unprincipled prime minister (2016)

M. Pugh  

K.O. Morgan  

K.O. Morgan  

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)

N. Thompson  

K. M. Thorpe  

D. Wass  

R.C. Whiting  

R.C. Whiting  
The Labour Party and Taxation (2000)

M. Wickham-Jones  

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**Diagnoses of Crisis**

L. Black & H. Pemberton  

J. Cronin  

J. Shepherd  
*Crisis? What Crisis?: The Callaghan government and the British winter of discontent* (2013)

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

C. Hay  

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

D. Hayter  
*Fightback!: Labour’s Traditional Right in the 1970s and 1980s* (2005)

S. Meredith  

R. Saunders  

G. Stedman Jones  

T. Jones  
*Remaking the Labour Party: from Gaitskell to Blair* (1996)

J. Thomas  

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**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. Cannadine  *Margaret Thatcher: A Life and Legacy* (2017)
* A. Clark  *Diaries* (1993)
S. Hall  ‘The Great Moving Right Show’ *Marxism Today* (January 1979)
* 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
P. Riddell  *The Thatcher Era and its Legacy* (2nd ed. 1991)
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)

M. Francis  

M. Francis  

C. Moores  

G. Alderman  

CR, [Aut. 1987]  
Symposium on ‘The Thatcher years’, including L. Freedman on ‘The Falklands Factor’; see also CR (Winter 1988), reply from Helmut Norpoth

D.G. Boyce  
The Falklands War (Palgrave, 2005)

T. Hennessey  
Hunger Strike: Margaret Thatcher's Battle with the IRA, 1980-1981 (2014)

D. Butler & D. Kavanagh  

D. Butler et al  

D. Cannadine  
Class in Britain (1998) conclusion

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

I. Crewe & M. Harrop  
Political Communications 1983 & Political Communications, 1987

B. Evans  
‘Thatcherism and the British People’ in S. Ball & I. Holliday (eds), Mass Conservatism (2002)

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

G. K. Fry  

A. Gamble  
The Free Economy and the Strong State (1988)

S. Hall  
The Hard Road to Renewal (1988)

B. Harrison  

D. Jarvis  
“‘Behind Every Great Party’: Women and Conservatism in the Twentieth Century Britain’ in A. Vickery, Women, Privilege & Power (2001)

B. Jessop et al  

M.J. Oliver  

A. O’Shea  

R. Samuel  

R. Shepherd  

R. Skidelsky (ed)  
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.


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. Rawnsley  
*The End of the Party* (2010)

A. Seldon & L. Baston  
*John Major: A Political Life* (1997)

A. Seldon & M. Finn (eds)  
*The Coalition Effect* (2015) intro & conclusion

J. Turner  
*The Tories and Europe* (2000), chs. 5-7

P. Whiteley et al  

The Making of “New Labour”

Daisy Payling,  
‘Socialist republic of South Yorkshire’: Grassroots activism and leftwing solidarity in 1980s Sheffield  
*TCBH* 25 (2014)

Stephen Brooke  
‘Space, Emotions and the Everyday: the affective ecology of 1980s London’  
*TCBH* 28 (2017)

C. Murphy  
‘The ‘Rainbow Alliance’ or the Focus Group? Sexuality and Race in the Labour Party’s Electoral Strategy, 1985-7’  
*20thCBH* (2019)

I. Crewe & A. King  
*SDP: The Birth, Life and Death of the Social Democratic Party* (1995)

S. Lee (eds)  
*Ten Years of New Labour* (2007)

B. Brivati & T. Bale (eds)  

G. Hassan  
*Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (2012), ch. 5

P. Cowley, ed.  

P. Toynbee and D. Walker  
*The Verdict: Did Labour Change Britain?* (Granta Books, 2010)

S. Childs  

J. Spear  

L. Martell  

N. Fairclough  

Leadership

M. Westlake  
*Kinnock: the authorized 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 (ed.)  

A. Seldon  
*Blair* (2004)

A. Seldon  
*Blair Unbound* (2007)

T. Jones  
*Remaking the Labour Party: from Gaitskell to Blair* (1996)

New Labour, social democracy and Thatcherism

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)

M. Beech et al  

V. Atkinson et al  

A. Giddens  
*The Third Way and Its Critics* (2000)
H. Heath, R. Jowell &
R. Heffernan New Labour and Thatcherism: Political Change in Britain (2000)
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

T. Gourvish & A. O'Day Later Victorian Britain (1988), chs. 5 & 6
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
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)
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. Lewis (ed.) Before the Vote was Won: Arguments For and Against Women’s Suffrage (1987)
M. Pinto-Duschinsky British Political Finance, 1830-1980 (1981)
M. Pugh Electoral Reform in War and Peace, 1906-1918 (1978)
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)

Introductory/General

J. Cronin The Politics of State Expansion (1991)
P.B. Evans et alii Bringing the State Back In (1985)
P. Hennessy The Hidden Wiring (1995)
G.H. LeMay The Victorian Constitution: Conventions, Usages and Contingencies (1979)
K. Middlemas Power, Competition and the State (3 vols, on 1940-61, 1961-74, 1974-91) (published 1986-91)
A. Sampson Anatomy of Britain, various eds. (1965-)

Parliament and Government

S. Ball ‘Parliament and Politics in Britain, 1900-51’, *PH* (1990)
E. Dell The Chancellors (1996)
M.O. Furner & B. Supple (eds.) The State and Economic Knowledge (1990)
P. Hall Governing the Economy (1986)
P. Hennessy The Prime minister. The office and its holders since 1945 (2000)
J. Lawrence ‘What is to be done with the Second Chamber?’ @ http://www.historyandpolicy.org/archive/policy-paper-50.html
M. Rush The Role of the Member of Parliament since 1868: from Gentlemen to Players (2001)
P. Thane & H.

Civil Service & Monarchy

A. Blick & G Jones At Power’s Elbow: Aides to the Prime Minister from Robert Walpole to David Cameron (2013)
P. Hennessy Whitehall (1989)
S. Jenkins Accountable to None (1995)
B. Pimlott The Queen (2002 edn)
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 The Uses of Literacy (1957; Penguin 1992)
*B. Ingham Kill the Messenger (1991)
J. Bartlett The People versus Tech: How the Internet is Killing Democracy (2018)

Introductory/General

*J. Lawrence Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair (2009)
D. LeMahieu A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind Between the Wars (1988)
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. Richards *Film and National Identity* (1997)


R. Savage *The BBC’s Irish Troubles: Television, Conflict and Northern Ireland* (2017)

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 Languages 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)


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


**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**


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)
Michael McCarthy  

Kevin O’Sullivan  

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

Paul Byrne  

*Paul Byrne  
The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (London, 1988)

Stephen Hopgood  

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.

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

*Emmeline Pankhurst  

Introductory/General

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

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

K. Cowman  

A. Vickery (ed.)  
Women, Privilege and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present (2001)

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

Gender

B Caine  
English Feminism, 1780-1980 (1997)

K Cowman  

J. Gottlieb & R. Toye (eds.)  
The Aftermath of Suffrage: Women, Gender and Politics in Britain (2013)

*S. Pašeta  
Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918 (2013)

*S. Browne  
The Women’s Liberation Movement in Scotland (2017)

S. Bruley  
Women in Britain since 1900 (1999)

H Jones  

J. Lewis  
Women in Britain since 1945 (1992)

M McCormack, ed.,  
Public Men: Political Masculinities in Modern Britain (2007)

J. Purvis, (ed.)  
Women’s History in Britain, 1850-1945 (1995)

*J. Rendall (ed.)  
Equal or Different: Women’s Politics, 1800-1918 (1987)

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

I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska  
Women in Twentieth-Century Britain: Social, Cultural and Political Change (2001)

Feminism, Suffrage and Political Participation before 1914
J. Bush Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-suffragism in Britain, (2007)
B. Griffin The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, political culture and the struggle for women’s rights (2012)
J Hannam & K. Hunt Socialist women: Britain 1880s to 1920s (2002)
B. Harrison Separate Spheres: the Opposition to Women’s Suffrage in Britain (1978)
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)
P. Levine Victorian Feminism (1987)
J. Lewis (ed.) Before the Vote was Won: Arguments For and Against Women's Suffrage (1987)
J. Liddington & E. Crawford 'Women do not count, neither shall they be counted': Suffrage, Citizenship and the Battle for the 1911 Census, History Workshop Journal (2011)
M. Pugh The Pankhursts (2002)
R. Strachey The Cause: A Short History of the Women’s Movement in Great Britain (1928, reprinted 1978)
D. Thackeray 'Home and politics: women and conservative activism in early twentieth-century Britain' JBS (2010)

Women’s Political Activism since 1918

R. Reeves Women of Westminster: The MPs Who Changed Politics (2019)
M. Andrews The acceptable face of feminism: the Women’s Institute as a social movement (1997)
O. Banks The Politics of British Feminism, 1918-1970 (1993)


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)


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**Women in Party Politics**


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


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)
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)

A. Gregory  The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War (2008) and The Silence of Memory (1994)
C. Pennell  A Kingdom United. Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland (2012)
N. Gallagher  Ireland and the Great War: A social and political history (forthcoming, 2019)
C. MacDonald, E. McFarland  Scotland and the Great War (1999)
S. Grayzel  Women and The First World War (2013)
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)
S. Constantine et al  The First World War in British History (1995)
P. Fussell  The Great War and Modern Memory (1989 & subsequent editions)
J. Grigg  Lloyd George: vol. 3, From Peace to War, 1912-16 (1985)
A. Tooze  The Deluge (2015)  
T. Wilson  The Myriad Faces of War (1988)  
J. Winter  The Great War and the British People (1985)  

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 People’s War (1969)  
A. Calder  The Myth of the Blitz (1991)  
M. Donnelly  Britain in the Second World War (1999)  
D. Reynolds  In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War (2004)  
W. R. Louis (eds.)  Churchill (1993)  
J. Fennell  Fighting the People’s War: The British and Commonwealth Armies and the Second World War (2019)  
A. Jackson  The British Empire and the Second World War (2006)  
A. Stewart  Empire Lost: Britain, the Dominions and the Second World War (2008)  
Kevin Jefferys  War and reform: British politics during the Second World War (1994)  
A. Thorpe  Parties at War: Political Organization in Second World War Britain (2009)  
J. Harris  ‘Great Britain: the People’s War?’ in D. Reynolds et al., Allies at War (1994)  
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


A. Booth  

P. Clarke  

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)

E.H.H. Green & D. Tanner (eds.)  

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

P. Clarke  

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

R. Middleton  

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

G. Peden  
‘Economic knowledge and the state in modern Britain’ in S.J.D. Green and R.C. Whiting (eds.), *The Boundaries of the State in Modern Britain* (1996)

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)

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**Inter-War Debates**

A. Booth & M. Pack  

P. Clarke  

E. Durbin  
*New Jerusalems* (1985)

W.R. Garside  

W.R. Garside  

B. Jackson  

R. McKibbin  

R. Middleton  

D. Moggridge  

D. Ritschel  

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

R. Skidelsky  

P. Sloman  

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**Policy After 1939**

B. Jackson  

S. Brooke  


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


*A. Thompson *The Empire strikes back: the impact of imperialism in Britain since the mid-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)


T. G. Otte (ed.)  The Makers of British Foreign Policy: from Pitt to Thatcher (2002)
M. Swartz  The Politics of British Foreign Policy in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli (1985)
A.J.P. Taylor  The Trouble-makers: Dissent Over Foreign Policy 1792-1939 (1957)

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)
R. Robinson & J. Gallagher  Africa and the Victorians (1961)

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 & K. McClelland (eds.) Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present (2010).
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)
B. Porter The absent-minded imperialists. Empire, society and culture in Britain (2004)
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
C. Prior Edwardian England and the idea of racial decline: an empire’s future (2013)
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)
A. Thompson Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, 1880-1932 (1999)

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)
E. H. Carr The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939 (1939)
J. M. Keynes The Economic Consequences of the Peace (1919)

Introductory/General

T. Bouvier Appeasing Hitler (2019)
M. Gilbert The Roots of Appeasement (1966)
The Political Context

P.J. Beck

M. Ceadel

M. Ceadel

P.O. Cohrs

P.O. Cohrs

J. Darwin

J. Darwin
‘An undeclared Empire: the British in the Middle East, 1918-39,’ *JICH* (1999)

W. Roger Louis

G. W. Egerton,

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

P. Jackson

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

M. Macmillan

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

H. McCarthy
‘Democratising British Foreign Policy: Rethinking the Peace Ballot, 1934-5’ *JBS* (2010), 358-387

B.J.C. McKercher

E. Manela

S. Marks

K. Middlemas
*The Diplomacy of Illusion* (1972)

W. Mulligan
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