Notes

Introduction

6. And not only in political thought. The multi-national nature of the UK was evident in the day-to-day lives of all its citizens/subjects. There now numerous books considering the variety of ways in which individuals have identified with the nations of the United Kingdom. As well as books and articles cited in other notes in this introduction see, for example, Keith Robbins, Nineteenth-Century Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales The Making of a Nation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), Raphael Samuel (ed.), Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, 3 volumes (London: Routledge, 1989), Robert Colls, Identity of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Paul Ward, Britishness since 1870 (London: Routledge, 2004).
10. For the use of upper and lower case in ‘unionism’ see the note on terminology in the preliminary pages.


15. I have erred on the side of caution: those classified here as ‘English’ include Salisbury, Baldwin, Chamberlain, Churchill, Attlee, Eden, Wilson, Heath and Thatcher.

17. The notion of a British World has been explored in a series of conferences organised by Dr Philip Buckner of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London and in the resultant publications, see P.A. Buckner and Carl Bridge, ‘Reinventing the British World’, *The Round Table*, 368 (2003), 77–88; Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).


Chapter 1


5. Unsigned letter, no date, Arthur Donaldson Papers, NLS Acc. 6038/1/17.

7. Rita Davis (constituent) to Walter Elliot, 3 March 1953, Walter Elliot Papers, Acc. 6721/6/6, NLS.
15. Biagini applies this description to the Liberal and Labour parties: *Citizenship and Community*, p. 2.
26. This is not to underplay the anxiety over winning elections in a democracy, but in the 1920s this anxiety was based on a fear of class rather than ‘Scottish’ voting. See David Jarvis, ‘British Conservatism and Class Politics in the 1920s’, *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 59–84, especially pp. 59–60, 64, 70.


33. Walter Elliot, Election Address, 1945, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/7/3.


Chapter 2

4. Elliot to Katharine Elliot, 11 July 1940, typed extract, Walter Elliot Papers, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Acc. 6721/7/1.
5. Elliot to Katharine Elliot, 16 August 1940, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/7/1.
6. Elliot to Katharine Elliot, 17 August 1940, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/7/1.
7. Elliot to Katharine Elliot, 19 July 1940, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/7/1.
10. For Elliot’s war service see his letters to Helen Hamilton, who became his first wife, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 12267/1.
11. Scots Pictorial, 17 August 1918.
42. For pressure on Elliot from Coote and Dugdale see Elliot to Baffy Dugdale, 21 February 1938, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 12198, also quoted in Coote, *Companion of Honour*, p. 156. Through Dugdale, Elliot was a supporter of Zionism. Fry has argued that support for Zionism was part of the Scottish imperial experience and there was much Scottish admiration for the Jews as a small people constructing their own national destiny: *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell and Birlinn, 2001), chapter 30.
44. Elliot to Baffy Dugdale, 1 January 1938, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 12198.
46. Elliot to Baffy Dugdale, 28 March 1938, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 12198; Elliot to Baffy Dugdale, 7 October 1938, quoted in Coote, *Companion of Honour*, p. 163.
50. Typed extracts of letters to Katherine Elliot, 1940, Walter Elliot papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/7.
57. The broadcasts are collected together in Walter Elliot, Long Distance (London: Constable, London, 1943).
58. ‘Calling Australia and New Zealand,’ 9 July 1942, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/1/3. The celebration of urban Scotland is noteworthy here.
59. Election Address, 1946, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/1/1.
60. Observer, 17 November 1946.
61. ‘Scottish Administration’, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/9/5.
62. Quoted in Finlay, ‘Scottish Conservatism’, p. 121.
70. These escapades are described in Coote, Companion of Honour, chapter 4.
84. Elliot to Baffy Dugdale, 16 August 1937, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 12198.
86. John Grierson, ‘Walter Elliot,’ July 1963, Walter Elliot Papers, Acc. 6721/7/2 (i), NLS.
87. John Grierson, ‘Walter Elliot,’ July 1963, Walter Elliot Papers, Acc. 6721/7/2 (i), NLS.
88. Broadcast script, ‘The English – How Do They Do It?’ 13 December 1948, Walter Elliot Papers, Acc. 6721/7/2 (i), NLS.
91. Elliot to Katharine Elliot, 20 March 1944, typed extract, Walter Elliot Papers, NLS, Acc. 6721/10/4.
96. Mrs Bell to Walter Elliot, 5 March 1954, Walter Elliot to Mrs Bell, 8 March 1954, Walter Elliot Papers, Acc. 6721/9/2, NLS.

Chapter 3

6. For the debates over nation and class within the British labour movement see Paul Ward, Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881–1924 (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell, 1998). This was not the only interpretation of the working class relationship to the nation in The Communist Manifesto. In the same place, Marx also wrote that ‘the struggle of the proletariat is at first a national struggle’ and that the proletariat ‘must constitute itself as the nation’. He said that differences and antagonisms between nations would vanish, but not necessarily the nations themselves.
7. Forward, 31 May 1924.
24. Johnston, Memories, p. 46.
25. Quoted in Knox, Scottish Labour Leaders, p. 151. Most of the Clydeside MPs were teetotallers. Johnston’s Kirkintilloch exercised the local option and
was ‘dry’ between the 1920s and 1970s, and Johnston was one of the few who voted for a stern private member’s bill on licensing which would have imposed prison sentences on drink traffickers: W.W. Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland 1800–Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 198.

36. For his visit to Canada see Johnston, *Memories*, pp. 85–90.
39. It was not only the economics of Empire that developed popular imperialism in Scotland. MacKenzie has pointed out that the imperial missionaries David Livingstone and Mary Slessor were ‘celebrated by the auto-didacts of the trade union movement, the working-men’s clubs and left-leaning politicians’: John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 8 (1998), p. 226.
Notes  197
57. Its members were Lord Alness, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Walter Elliot, John Colville and Ernest Brown.
59. ‘Scotland at War,’ typescript in Thomas Johnston papers, Acc. 5862/9.
71. *Daily Record*, 13 March 1944.

Chapter 4
4. See 2nd Baron Tweedsmuir Papers, National Library of Scotland (NLS), Acc. 11628/17a–c.
5. For the films see The Times, 24 March 1949. See also unattributed press cutting, 1947, in 2nd Baron Tweedsmuir Papers, NLS, Acc. 11628/226.
7. This was the post for which Elliot was considered.
11. Oliver Poole to Lady Priscilla Tweedsmuir, 7 August 1959, Lady Priscilla Tweedsmuir Papers, NLS, Dep. 337/24/3. These boxes have now been re-catalogued under the Accession no. 11884.
24. Mitchell, Conservatives and the Union, p. 34.
25. The seat was won back for the Conservatives by Lt-Col. Colin Mitchell of the Argyll and Sutherland Highland Regiment. He was defending an imperial military career in which he had been criticized for his role in policing in Aden and he also fought to prevent the loss of a distinct Scottish identity for his regiment. As late as 1970, therefore, imperial Conservatism could turn the tide in some parts of Scotland: Michael Fry, The Scottish Empire (Edinburgh: Tuckwell and Birlinn, 2001), p. 491.
43. House of Commons Debates, vol. 536, col. 979, 1 February 1955. See also Lady Tweedsmuir, ‘Problème de Migration Mondiale’, address to the University of Strasbourg, 2nd Baron Tweedsmuir Papers, NLS, Acc. 11628/125.
51. There are many affectionate sketches in the private correspondence between them.
56. Lady Tweedsmuir, ‘Problème de Migration Mondiale’, address to the University of Strasbourg, 2nd Baron Tweedsmuir Papers, NLS, Acc. 11628/125.
57. ‘Speech at dinner for Vice-President of the Commission of the European Communities’, 3 February 1972, Lady Priscilla Tweedsmuir Papers, NLS, Acc. 11884/29.
60. See for example Lord Willis, House of Lords Debates, vol. 328, cols. 1250–1, 2 March 1972, who pointed out that the population of Iceland was the same as that of Southampton at 208,000.
64. Daily Mail, 5 December 1972.
65. Quoted in Bogdanor, Devolution in the United Kingdom, p. 137.
66. Bogdanor, Devolution in the United Kingdom, p. 190.
67. One in five of those who voted continued to support the Conservatives.

Chapter 5

14. The Liberal vote recovered somewhat in the 1970s. It did not substantially increase the number of Liberals MPs. In 1983 the Liberal/SDP Alliance won 23.2 per cent of the vote but only two MPs in Wales.
17. See Thomas, My Wales, with its photographs by Lord Snowden, which represents the way in which the Welshness of a ‘British’ politician was formulated.
20. Morgan, Modern Wales, p. 16.
22. For Davies, see Morgan, Rebirth, p. 281.
32. Griffiths, Pages from Memory, p. 92.
33. Griffiths, Pages from Memory, p. 119.

Chapter 6

1. Gwilym chose to hyphenate his name to Lloyd-George, establishing some superficial measure of independence from his father’s name.
3. Viscount Gwynedd, Dame Margaret: The Life Story of His Mother (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1947), p. 21. He wrote of his mother: ‘In a word, she was Wales’ (p. 32).
4. Richard was born in 1889, Mair Eluned was born in 1890 (but died in 1907), and Olwen was born in 1892.
9. She did later become a weekly boarder at a school in Wimbledon and later at Garratt’s Hall school, Banstead. Grigg, Lloyd George: From Peace to War, p. 74, 402.
11. Megan’s perspective on Lloyd George’s fall is given in a letter to her sister Olwen on 25 October 1922. She wrote ‘Tada had wonderful receptions both at Manchester & Leeds & made wonderful speeches in both places. The people are absolutely with him, altho’ very tired of the government, more particularly because of its being a coalition than anything else. Whatever happens Tada will be in power. He will be tremendous in opposition – & Bonar [Law] knows it,’ Kenneth O. Morgan (ed.), Lloyd George Family Letters 1885–1936 (Cardiff and London: University of Wales Press and Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 197.
12. For Megan’s adoption for Anglesey see Jones, A Radical Life, pp. 74–5.
13. For Gwilym’s account see ‘Autobiography’, NLW, MS 23671C, ff. 42. See also A. Lentin, Lloyd George and the Lost Peace: From Versailles to Hitler, 1919–1940 (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), chapter 5.


15. ‘Autobiography’, notes, NLW, MS 23671C.


17. The Times, 20 May 1929, p. 15.


29. See for example his speech opening a British Restaurant at Willesden, where he said the Ministry’s policy was ‘getting people to return to the simple foods which are the foundation of health – the simple foods that once made the peasantry of England the finest and sturdiest in the world,’ Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E.


32. This paragraph is based on Jones, ‘Major Gwilym Lloyd George’, p. 192.


34. Churchill to Mrs Cox, 11 October 1951, copy, Letters to Gwilym Lloyd-George 1914–68, NLW, MS 23668E.


45. For the full debate see House of Commons Debates, vol. 537, cols 2439–528, 4 March 1955.
47. Speech at Freedom of the City of Cardiff, 28 October 1956, Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E, ff. 39–52.
48. His father had become an earl in 1944, shortly before his death. David Lloyd George feared that he would not retain his parliamentary seat and saw the Lords as the only alternative method to raise his voice about post-war issues. Megan was opposed to his acceptance of the earldom.
57. Megan received 49.4 per cent, Labour 28.4 per cent and the Conservative secured 22.2 per cent. In the heart of Welsh Wales, one in five voters supported the Unionists. In 1931, in the context of the national crisis and no Labour candidate, the Conservative got 41.7 per cent and Megan got 58.3 per cent.
59. *South Wales Echo and Evening Express*, 28 May 1947, in Press Cuttings, February 1945 to November 1951, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20941E. These indexed press cuttings files provide an excellent source for Megan Lloyd George’s speeches in Wales.
60. Quoted in Jones, *A Radical Life*, p. 223.
64. The relationship forms a major theme in Mervyn Jones’ biography of Megan, *A Radical Life*.
90. For the letters, written in a mixture of English and Welsh, see ‘Lloyd George Family Letters,’ NLW, MS 23657E. The quote comes from the letter dated 12 March 1916.
93. Beddoe, ‘Images of Welsh Women’. This is effectively the identity that Richard assigned to Margaret Lloyd George, see Gwynedd, *Dame Margaret*.
94. Jones, *A Radical Life*, p. 44.
97. Undated *New York Tribune* press cutting, Megan Lloyd George, Notes of Tour, NLW, MS 23265D, f. 117. Megan received a number of letters from men she had never met declaring their love for her.


100. ‘Broadcast speech,’ 13 May 1929, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20483C.


103. See Foot’s letter to *The Times*, 17 May 1966.

104. *Daily Mail*, 1 November 1935, in Press Cuttings, 1935–1937, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20488E. Welsh was not of course ‘a strange tongue’ in the context of rural mid- and north Wales.


108. *Daily Sketch*, 7 June 1940, *Caernarvon and Denbigh Herald*, 25 October 1940, in Press Cuttings, 1 June 1939 to 31 December 1942, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20490E.


116. Notes of Tour, NLW, MS 23265D, f. 3.

117. Notes of Tour, NLW, MS 23265D, f. 23.

118. *North Wales Chronicle*, 21 May 1937 in Press Cuttings May 1937 to September 1939, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20489E.

119. *North Wales Chronicle*, 21 May 1937 in Press Cuttings May 1937 to September 1939, Megan Lloyd George Papers, NLW, MS 20489E.


121. Quoted by John Holt, letter to *The Times*, 29 April 1955. Holt, a Liverpool Conservative, was criticising Megan’s decision to join Labour.


123. The Conservatives did not field a candidate.
124. Lloyd-George, ‘Autobiography,’ NLW, MS 23671C, f. 15; ‘Notes for speech on foreign policy,’ Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E.
126. Speech on Suez, October 1956, Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E.
127. ‘Speech on Suez,’ St Pancras Town Hall, 3 December 1956, Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E.
129. Speech at Freedom of the City of Cardiff, 28 October 1956, Gwilym Lloyd-George Papers, NLW, MS 23669E, ff. 39–52.

Chapter 7

2. Huw T. Edwards, Hewn from the Rock (Cardiff: Western Mail and TWW, 1967). It had previously been published in two volumes in Welsh, as Tros y Tresi (1956) and Troi’r Drol (1963).


22. Huw T. Edwards, What I Want for Wales (Carmarthen: Druid Press, 1949), p. 4. This pamphlet was a reprint of an article published in January 1944. It embarrassed Edwards because he had criticized ‘the cant and hypocrisy’ of Welsh religion. As chairman of the Council of Wales such comments were politically uncomfortable.


35. ‘Notes of Speeches 1945–51,’ Huw T. Edwards Papers C3, NLW.


52. Edwards, *Hewn from the Rock*. This is the title of chapter 2 of Book II.
57. See D. Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1906–2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 264–78 for cultural activities and Welsh in the post-war period. Evans points out that by the 1980s monoglot English speakers in Wales were poorly served by the TV channels, with only 24 hours a week of English language programmes being produced for the four-fifths of the population who are English-speaking (p. 277).
67. ‘Notes of Speeches, 1945–51,’ Huw T. Edwards Papers, C6, NLW.
69. ‘Visits to USA 1958 and Patagonia 1965,’ Huw T. Edwards Papers C10, NLW. See also Edwards, *Hewn from the Rock*, chapters 8 and 9 for East Germany and Russia, chapters 6 and 7 for the USA.
70. ‘This Capital Business,’ Talks on Radio folder, Huw T. Edwards Papers, E4, NLW.
74. Edwards to William Whitely, 20 February 1947, Huw T. Edwards Papers, A2/10, NLW.
210 Notes

75. Edwards to F. Blaise Gillie, 10 October 1958, Huw T. Edwards Papers, A2/128, NLW.
76. Edwards to H.A. Strutt, 8 September 1952, Huw T. Edwards Papers, A2/69, NLW.
77. Edwards to H.A. Strutt, 24 October 1952, Huw T. Edwards Papers, A2/71, NLW.
78. See Griffiths, Pages from Memory, pp. 183–4.
79. Jones, A Radical Life, p. 320; Morgan, Rebirth, p. 386.
80. Quoted in Weight, Patriots, p. 412.
81. Griffiths, Pages from Memory, p. 202: ‘I watched the children at play and was delighted to see how well they looked. What a transformation higher living standards, supplemented by the expansion of the social services, have wrought in children’s physique. The mid-morning milk and the midday school meal are some of the best investments the nation ever made. I am proud of these children of the Welfare State.’

Chapter 8

3. Following James Loughlin, I use ‘statelet’ not in a pejorative sense but because ‘it seems appropriate to an entity which, while having many of the attributes of independence, lacked constitutional independence’: The Ulster Question since 1945 (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. xii.
19. This withdrawal was never complete.
22. The gendered nature of Ulster Unionism is discussed in chapter 10 below.
defence of Unionism happily takes up Bikhu Parekh’s reworking of Britishness as a civic identity that can accommodate ethnic identities: Under Siege, p. 18.


35. See Buckland, Factory of Grievances, p. 72.

36. Quoted in Hennessey, History of Northern Ireland, p. 64.


39. Bew, Gibbon and Patterson, Northern Ireland, p. 56.

40. Loyal and patriotic workers, often ex-servicemen, were important in post-war politics throughout the British Empire, see for example Raymond Evans, Loyalty and Disloyalty: Social Conflict on the Queensland Homefront, 1914–1918 (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987).


43. Hennessey, A History of Northern Ireland, p. 15. Craig used this slogan in 1921.

44. Hennessey, A History of Northern Ireland, p. 45.


48. Churchill’s comment in vol. 2 of his History of the Second World War, quoted in Loughlin, Ulster Unionism, p. 139.

49. Loughlin, The Ulster Question, p. 23.
Chapter 9

1. There was also a Conservative inheritance within the Labour Party, which had less sympathy for Irish nationalism. See Martin Pugh, ‘The Rise of Labour and the Political Culture of Conservatism, 1890–1945’, History, 87 (2002), pp. 514–37.
5. Speech in Portadown, Belfast Telegraph, 25 February 1957. This episode is discussed later in this chapter.
7. Winston Churchill’s successful leadership during the Second World War acted to rehabilitate his political reputation despite his leaving the Conservative Party in 1903 and the Liberal Party in the 1920s.
9. The appendices on ‘Individuals’ and ‘Organisations’ in Farrell, Northern Ireland provide a valuable source for the varied organizational forms of nationalism and unofficial Unionism in the six counties.
11. For Walker see Morgan, Labour and Partition, chapter 4.
15. Labour Party National Executive Committee Minutes, 16 October 1917.
16. The scheme failed through disputes with anti-war socialists and confusion about what was to be commemorated. The sheer number of appeals for public subscriptions in the immediate post-war period must also have had an impact. See Ward, Red Flag and Union Jack, p. 169.


35. Farrell, *Northern Ireland*, pp. 125–32, discusses the campaign and riots as an example of working class unity around a single economic issue.


41. Gray, ‘Turncoat or Evangel?’ p. 12. Farrell provides a hostile view of Midgley in 1935, suggesting that his holiday of that year was conveniently timed to remove him from the need to make a political statement on events: *Northern Ireland*, p. 146n.

42. See, for example, his declaration that ‘a sectarian nature is not confined to one side of this House,’ Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates, vol. 17, col. 141, 22 November 1934. In the same debate he accused the nationalists of seeking to drive him from public life: col. 142.
47. In 1933 he won the seat with 4893 votes to the Unionists’ 3685. In 1938 the result was Unionist 3578; Nationalist 2891; NILP (Midgley) 1923.
51. Harry Midgley, ‘*Northern Ireland Reactions to the First Year of War*’, draft typescript of radio broadcast, Harry Midgley papers, PRONI, D/4089/3/1/1.
52. Harry Midgley, ‘*Personal Reactions to First Year of War*’, broadcast script, 27 September 1940, PRONI, D/4089/3/1/3.
61. Because of his expulsion from the NILP he was removed from his post in the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. He replied ‘That such action should be taken against one whose only crime has been that he has endeavoured to build up closer association between Northern Ireland and Great Britain in the stress of war’s adversity is almost beyond comprehension’: Harry Midgley to J. Hallsworth, 18 February 1943, Harry Midgley papers, PRONI, D/4089/1/1/5.
78. ‘Points from a speech at St Anne’s Unionist Association’, 28 November 1947, Harry Midgley papers, PRONI, D/4089/3/5/1.
84. Walker, *The Politics of Frustration*, chapter 10 argues that Midgley was even-handed.
86. ‘Points from speech to Bangor Unionists,’ 20 March 1952, Harry Midgley papers, PRONI, D/4089/3/9/5.
Chapter 10

6. Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, pp. 182–97 examines Parker’s political career up to 1940. My chapter could not have been written without Urquhart’s research and analysis. Art Byrne and Sean McMahon, *Great Northerners* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1991), pp. 194–5 has a two-page outline of Parker’s life, which argues that ‘she was immensely influential and ensured that when she resigned in 1960, her seat was won by her grandson, Major James Chichester-Clark. The story is also told that she directed that Terence O’Neill, to whom she was related, should succeed Brookeborough as premier and that he in turn should be followed by Chichester-Clarke (which was exactly what happened).’ Given that Unionism was becoming increasingly more difficult to control in the 1960s and early 1970s these are unlikely scenarios.
12. Jackson points out that the leadership of Ulster Unionism passed away from landed families in the Edwardian period and the role of these families became symbolic: Jackson, ‘Irish Unionism’, p. 121.
The minutes of the UWUC and its executive are published in Diane Urquhart (ed.), *The Minutes of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council and Executive Committee* (Dublin: Women's History Project and Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2001).


17. Diane Urquhart, “‘The Female of the Species is More Deadlier than the Male’? The Ulster Women’s Unionist Council, 1911–40’, in Holmes and Urquhart, *Coming into the Light*, p. 96.

18. See e.g. UWUC minutes, Annual Meeting, 18 January 1912, PRONI, D/1089/1/3.


23. See, for example, UWUC Executive Committee minutes, 17 February 1914, PRONI, D/1098/1/2.

24. Kinghan, *United We Stood*, pp. 32–3. Sphagnum moss, from Irish peat bogs, was beneficial in the treatment of wounds.

25. UWUC Executive Committee minutes, 8 February 1916, PRONI, D/1098/1/2.


29. See the circular letter from John M. Hamill, secretary of the UWUC, 4 June 1918 appealing for funds to ensure the registration of all unionist women, UWUC Executive Committee minutes, PRONI, D/1098/1/2. See also Urquhart, ‘The Female of the Species’, p. 109.


31. UWUC Executive Committee minutes, 2 November 1920 and 7 December 1920, PRONI D/1098/1/2. In fact, due to her husband’s illness and death she did not travel to London on this occasion. Her only son had died in 1920.

32. UWUC Executive Committee minutes, Annual Report 1926 and meeting 5 April 1927, PRONI, D.1098/1/2.


34. Speech in Belfast, 1927, quoted in Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, p. 188.
36. South Down and south Armagh, close to the border with the Irish Free State had Catholic majorities.
40. See, for example, Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates, vol. 4, col. 13, 11 March 1921.
42. Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates, vol. 27, col. 266, 22 February 1944.
45. Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates, vol. 4, col. 11, 11 March 1921; vol. 8, col. 4120, 8 December 1927.
51. The siege mentality was ever present. The UWUC, of which Parker was still a vice-chairman, decided that ‘peace and tranquility have been the keynote’ of 1927, but warned ‘let us not be lulled into any feeling of false security. We must never relax our vigilance’: UWUC Executive Committee minutes, annual report, 1927, PRONI, D/1098/1/2.
52. Oliver, *Working at Stormont*, p. 79. As is implied here, Oliver argued that Northern Ireland’s civil servants wanted reconciliation of the Catholic population to stabilize the state. This application of ‘British’ standards was another variant of unionism.
53. This was a comment made by Professor Reverend Robert Corkey, Minister of Education, on Parker as his Parliamentary Secretary, quoted in Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, p. 195.
54. In 1949 she faced a Nationalist candidate who secured 39.1 per cent of the vote to Parker’s 60.9 per cent. The Unionist candidate, Parker’s grandson
and later Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, J.D. Chichester-Clark held the seat unopposed until 1969 when he faced the People’s Democracy candidate Bernadette Devlin, who secured 38.7 per cent of the vote to Chichester-Clark’s 61.3 per cent.


56. Quoted in McGrath, The Catholic Church, p. 98.

57. This paragraph is based on Urquhart, Women in Ulster Politics, p. 196. See also McNamara and Mooney, Women in Parliament, p. 222.


59. Kinghan, United We Stood, p. 65.

60. Anti-fascism and unemployment encouraged about 42,000 Éire citizens to serve in the British Army during the war. 38,000 men and women from Northern Ireland enlisted: Hennessey, A History of Northern Ireland, p. 90.


64. Quoted in Bardon, A History of Ulster, p. 561.


Notes

77. Quoted in McGrath, *The Catholic Church*, p. 147.
79. The main part of the Festival in Northern Ireland was the Farm and Factory Exhibition. See Becky E. Conekin, ‘Autobiography of a Nation’: *The 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 68–9.
83. Cab 4/884, October 1952, PRONI.
86. Oliver, *Working at Stormont*, p. 79. The absence of private papers for Parker means that her foreign travel remains closed to historical study.
89. In 1960 unemployment in Scotland was 3.4 per cent of the workforce while that in Northern Ireland was 6.7 per cent: Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921–1994: Political Forces and Social Classes* (London: Serif, 1995), p. 118.

**Conclusion**

1. In Scotland, the SNP received about 28 per cent of the vote in 1999 and 22 per cent in 2003. In Wales, Plaid Cymru got 29.5 per cent in 1999 and 20.5 per cent in 2003.
2. I owe this phrase to the anonymous reader of my book proposal for Palgrave.
4. Enoch Powell might be considered as an example of an English politician deeply disturbed by the end of empire, but he was never representative in more than individual aspects of his outbursts. He consoled himself that ‘The nationhood of the mother country remained unaltered through it all [Empire], almost unconscious of the strange fantastic structure built around her’: quoted in Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell and Birlinn, 2001), p. 497.

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Abraham, William (Mabon), 76
Acts of Union, 1, 10, 34, 126, 182
Adamson, Willie, 53, 147
Agnew, Patrick, 154
Ancient Order of Hibernians, 128
Andrews, John, 133, 153, 155, 173, 174–5
Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921, 1, 6
Anti-Partition League, 136–7, 140
appeasement, 28–30, 104
Asquith, Herbert, 12, 75, 93, 137, 139, 142
Atholl, Duchess of, 14, 27
Atholl, Duke of, 24
Attlee, Clement, 56, 113, 136–7, 157
Baird, James, 134, 145
Baldwin, Stanley, 8, 24–5, 93, 101
Balfour, A.J., 18
Beattie, Jack, 149, 153, 154, 170–1, 174, 175
Bevan, Aneurin, 77, 96, 111, 124
Bevin, Ernest, 28, 53, 87, 112
Blanshard, Paul, 159, 160
Boothby, Bob, 14
Bonham-Carter, Violet, 88
‘break-up of Britain’, 2, 3, 7–8, 9, 35, 70, 182
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 6, 111, 117, 152
British Council, 111
Britishness, 5, 6, 8, 31, 36, 74, 80, 105, 108, 110, 114, 123, 126, 127, 131, 135, 141, 153, 176–8, 180
Brooke, Basil, 133, 135–6, 155, 157, 159, 160, 170, 173, 178
Brooke, Henry, 115
B Specials, 132
Buchan, John, 64–5
Butler, R.A., 90
by-elections, 63, 73, 121–2, 153–4
Byrne, Paddy, 180
Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, 180
Carson, Edward, 126, 129, 164, 174
Cathcart Unionist Association, 27
Catholics and Catholicism, 46, 128, 133, 134, 161, 169
see also Northern Ireland, Catholics in
Cazalet-Keir, Thelma, 97, 100
Cecil, Lord Robert, 17
Chamberlain, Austen, 18
Chamberlain, Joseph, 17
Chamberlain, Neville, 4, 21, 28–9, 30, 40, 53, 87, 94, 99
Channon, ‘Chips’, 30
Charles, Prince of Wales, 123
Chichester, Robert P.D. Spencer, 163
Chichester-Clark, James, 172, 181
Churchill, Winston, 21, 22, 28, 30, 31, 33, 40, 53, 58–9, 61, 87, 88, 120, 137, 177
Church of Scotland, 33, 34, 37, 46
civil society, 5–6, 98, 129, 179
Clark, G.B., 44
class, 3–4, 7, 8–9, 41–2, 45, 61, 74, 76, 105, 122, 124, 128, 133–5, 139, 141, 142–3, 151, 161, 170, 178, 181
Clydeside, 45
MPs, 13, 19, 47, 50, 55–6
Cod War, 69
Coleg Harlech, 110
Commonwealth Labour Group, 48–9
Commonwealth Labour Party, 140, 141, 154–7
Communist Party of Great Britain, 12, 45, 95
Connolly, James, 142, 146
Conservative Party, 3–4
electoral performance, 16, 24, 31, 33, 40, 62, 63, 78, 88, 89, 93, 120, 124
and Englishness, 25, 89
Conservative Party – continued
and gender, 58–9, 163–4
and Ireland, 3–4, 182
and Scotland/Scottishness, 11,
14–18, 19, 24–5, 27, 31–2, 40,
60–3, 70, 70–1
Wales/Welshness, 78, 88–90, 92,
93, 114–16, 120, 124
Coote, Colin, 22, 29, 35
core and periphery, 5, 37, 38, 186
Corkey, William, 175–6
Costello, John, 136–7
Council for the Encouragement of
Music and the Arts, 176–7
Council of Wales, 2, 89, 113–16, 120
Covenant movement, Scotland, 61,
95
Craig, Charles, 125, 167
Craig, James, 125, 129, 133, 134, 151,
153, 167, 174, 177
Craig, John, 24
Cripps, Stafford, 112
Crofter MPs, 12, 44
Cymru Fydd, 74, 82

Daily Herald, 109
Dalton, Hugh, 28
Davies, Clement, 96
Davies, S.O., 77, 90, 95
Dawson Bates, R, 133
‘Declaration of Perth’, 63
decolonization, 8, 19, 39–40, 65–6, 185
de Valera, Éamon, 150–1
Devlin, Joseph, 128, 149
Diamond, Harry, 140–1
documentary film movement, 38
domesticity, 58, 59, 99, 101, 109, 114,
162, 163, 165, 167, 179
Douglas-Home, Alec, 60, 63, 70
Dugdale, Baffy, 29

Easter Rising, 126, 130, 144
Eden, Anthony, 28, 29, 96, 104
Edwards, Huw T., 2, 76, 89, 96
background, 107–8
British Empire, 119
Britishness, 108, 110, 114, 123
and class, 76–7, 108, 123
Council of Wales, 113–16, 120
demands for political reform in
Wales, 111–13
family life, 109
and First World War, 109, 143–4,
186
and Labour, 81, 107, 109, 116–7, 118
and monarchy, 120–1
nationalism, 111, 112, 117
and Plaid Cymru, 107, 117, 118
socialism, 113, 117, 118, 143
trade unionism, 108, 109, 110,
123
and the Union, 106, 119, 124, 184
Welshness, 107–8, 110, 111, 123–4,
185–6
Edwards, Ness, 77
eisteddfodau, 72–3, 92, 97, 103, 110,
113, 120, 121
elections, general,
before 1900, 74
1906, 16, 74
December 1910, 16, 45
1918, 16, 24, 45, 75, 76, 127
1922, 16, 41, 46–7, 76
1923, 16, 41, 75, 93, 146–7
1924, 16, 41, 75, 93
1929, 16, 75, 93, 109
1931, 16, 52, 76, 87, 109
1935, 16, 110
1945, 16, 31, 41, 58, 87, 110, 120
1950, 16, 88, 111
1951, 16, 58, 88, 111
1955, 16, 62, 117
1959, 16, 60, 62, 117, 120
1964, 60, 62, 117–18,
1966, 20, 41, 73
1970, 63–4, 73, 123
February 1974, 16,
October 1974, 16–17, 20
1979, 17, 20, 71
1983, 124
1997, 71, 124, 184
in Northern Ireland, 135, 136–7,
145, 146–7, 151, 156, 157, 159,
160
see also by-elections
Elizabeth II, 12, 33, 73, 126
Elizabeth, Queen Mother, 33
Elliot, Katherine, 22, 30

Elizabeth II, 12, 33, 73, 126
Elizabeth, Queen Mother, 33
Elliot, Katherine, 22, 30
Index

Elliot, Walter, 2, 8–9, 10–11, 17, 51, 57, 61
and agriculture, 22–3, 37
appeasement, 28–30, 33, 40
attachment to locality, 22–3, 40
background, 22
and British Empire, 19, 21–22, 26, 34–40, 185
Churchill, disliked by, 30, 33
Conservatism of, 14, 24–5, 26, 32
education, 15, 23, 36
on English character, 25, 38
government posts, 21, 26
on history, 25–6
military service, 22, 23–4, 30, 186
moderate politics, 23, 24, 27
and modernity, 37–8
on nationalism, 27
on nationalization, 31–2
on Scottish character, 25, 32, 40
as Scottish Secretary, 27–8, 40
traveling, 35, 37, 39
unionism, 24, 26, 31–2, 40, 184
Empire, British, 7–8, 151, 185
and Ireland, 126
and Northern Ireland, 132, 138, 141, 150, 151–2, 154–5, 156, 163, 168, 178, 185–6
and Scotland, 8, 18–19, 28, 34–40, 48–51, 55, 64–8, 185
and Wales, 79–81, 102–5, 119–20
see also decolonization
Empire Marketing Board, 21, 26, 36, 37–8, 51
Englishness, 8, 14, 25
Ervine, St John, 177
European integration, 19, 57, 68, 185
Evans, Gwynfor, 73, 112, 117, 122
Faith, Brian, 181
Festival of Britain 1951, 55, 126, 159, 177
Festival of Wales 1958, 119–20
First World War, 22, 23–4, 44–5, 75, 78–9, 98, 109, 126–7, 130, 143–5, 166–7, 182, 186
Fitt, Gerry, 141
Foot, Dingle, 91, 94
Gaelic culture, 129
Gaitskell, Hugh, 104, 116–7, 118
see also domesticity
Getgood, Bob, 157
George V, 149, 152, 165
George VI, 33, 103
Gilmour Committee, 27
Gladstone, William, 3, 4, 12, 137, 139, 182
Government of Ireland Act 1920, 1, 6, 127, 134, 147, 169
Grant, William, 155, 179
Great War, see First World War
Grierson, John, 38
Griffiths, James, 77–8, 80, 96, 111, 113, 116, 118, 121, 122–3
Hall-Thompson, Samuel, 158–9, 176
Hanna, John, 134, 145
Hardie, J. Keir, 43, 44–5
Heath, Edward, 62, 63, 68
Henderson, Thomas, 170–1, 175
Highland Land League, 44
history, use in constructing national identities, 25–6, 42, 45, 46, 79, 103, 119, 130, 169
Hoare, Samuel, 29
Holmes, Harry, 157
Home Rule all round, 18
Horne, Robert, 24
Horsbrugh, Florence, 33, 58–9
Hughes, Cledwyn, 77, 93, 95, 122–3
Hughes, T. Rowland, 120
Hughes-Parry Report, 121
identity, 5
imperialism see Empire, British
Ireland/Éire, 152
Commonwealth, withdraws from, 1948, 136
Home Rule, 13, 126, 142, 182
nationalism in, 7, 126–7, 144, 145, 182
and Scotland, 44
see also Northern Ireland
Ireland Act 1949, 137
Irish immigration, 14, 34, 42
Irish Labour Party, 140, 157
Irishness, 129, 177–8
Irish Parliamentary Party, 126
Irish Republican Army, 160

Johnston, Tom, 2, 6, 10–11, 13, 30, 57
anti-aristocratic politics, 43
background, 41
and class, 41–2, 43, 46, 49–50, 55
as Clydeside MP, 47, 50, 55
Empire Socialism, 48–51, 55, 185
and Forward, 43, 44, 45, 47
Kirkintilloch, 41, 42, 55
moderate political ideas, 48, 51, 56
on nationality, 43
populism, 44
on Scottish history, 42, 44, 46, 52
and Scottish nationalism, 50, 52
and Scottishness, 53
as Scottish Secretary, 53–4, 59
and socialist planning, 52, 55, 56
and the Union, 42, 53, 184

Jones, Cyril, O., 110
Jones, John P., 79–80
Jones, J. Prichard, 72
Jones, Thomas, 94
Jones, Thomas Gwynn, 77
Jones, T.W., 77

Kelly, Liam, 159
Kinnock, Neil, 124
Kirkwood, David, 47
Kyle, Sam, 149

Labour Party, 5, 28, 31
and British Empire, 48–51, 104, 151
and First World War, 143–4
and Home Rule, 13, 42–3, 50, 55, 95, 116, 142–3, 147
and Ireland/Northern Ireland, 125, 135–6, 136–7, 139, 141, 142, 147–8, 160–1, 181, 183–4
and Scotland/Scottishness, 11, 12, 13–14, 17, 19, 40, 43, 45, 54–5, 62, 63–4, 71, 184

and Second World War, 53–4
as unionist party, 41, 55, 71, 77, 184
and Wales/Welshness, 75, 76–8, 89, 93, 95, 108, 111, 112–13, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124, 184
labour unionists (Northern Ireland), 134, 139, 155
Lavery, John, 177
Lewis, Saunders, 73, 80–1
Liberal Party, 3–5, 33, 84, 86–8, 91–2, 93
divisions within, 84
and Ireland/Northern Ireland, 125, 137, 139, 142, 182
and Scotland/Scottishness, 11, 12–14, 45
and Wales/Welshness, 73–6, 81, 82, 95, 124
Liberal Unionism, 3–4, 13, 14
Lib-Labism, 76
Lithgow, James, 24
Llewelyn, David, 90
Lloyd George, David, 2, 6, 8, 43, 74–6, 78–9, 82–3, 84, 85, 91, 97–8, 102, 127, 137, 182
Lloyd-George, Gwilym, 2, 73–4, 76
and British Empire, 104–5, 185
and Britishness, 85, 86, 90, 97–9, 105–6
as Conservative, 78, 84, 105, 184
family life and upbringing, 82–3, 96
and father, 84, 91, 93, 98, 102
as Liberal, 81, 86–8
masculinity, 86, 97–9, 106
military service, 98–9, 104, 186
and Parliament for Wales campaign, 95, 96, 184
political career, 85, 86–8, 97, 115
on socialism, 87, 88
and Welsh language, 82, 106
and Welshness, 90, 97–9, 105–6
Lloyd George, Margaret, 79, 82–3, 85, 91
Lloyd George, Megan, 2, 73–4, 76, 89, 113, 121
Anglesey, 92, 93, 94, 100, 103
Britishness, 91, 100, 101, 106
and British Empire, 80, 99, 102–3, 185
family life and upbringing, 82–4
and father, 83, 91, 92, 93, 96, 99
and femininity, 96, 99–101
foreign policy, 93–4, 101, 104, 106
and Labour, 84, 92, 96
as Liberal, 81
nationalism, 91, 94, 96
radicalism, 91–2
and Union, 91, 184
and Welsh language, 83, 94, 101
Welshness, 91, 92–3, 94, 100–1, 106
Woman Power Committee, 101
Lloyd George, Richard, 79, 82, 98
local identities, 22–3, 41–2, 92–4, 102, 103
London Scots Self-Government Committee, 52
Long, Walter, 18
MacCormick, John, 11, 61, 94
MacDonald, J. Ramsay, 8, 13, 43, 47–8, 51, 56, 139, 140, 143
Maclay, John, 14, 16
Maclean, John, 45
Macmillan, Harold, 59, 90, 115
Maginness, Brian, 136
Major, John, 124
Maxton, James, 47, 48
Maxwell-Fyfe, David, 89–90, 115
masculinity, 8–9, 86, 162, 163–4
McIntire, Robert, 11
McMordie, Julia, 168
McMullen, William, 149
Midgley, Harry, 2, 134, 138, 174
background, 139–40, 141–2
betrayal of labour, 140–1, 161
on British heritage, 158, 159
and British Labour, 141, 146–8, 156, 183–4
Britishness, 141, 153, 155
and Catholicism, 149, 150–1, 156, 158–9, 160, 179
and class, 141, 151, 161, 178, 179
and Éire/Ireland, 155–6, 158
and Empire/Commonwealth, 141, 150, 151–2, 154–5, 156, 185–6
and First World War, 143–5, 146, 153
in government, 155–6, 158–60
home life, 148
and Home Rule, 143
and nationalism, 149
and partition, 145–6
and Protestantism, 158, 159, 160–1
and Second World War, 152–6
sectarianism, 140, 148–51, 155–6, 158, 159–60
social Unionism, 140–1, 152–5, 156, 157, 161
in Unionist Party, 156–7, 184
Miller, William, 173
Milne Barbour, John, 133
modernization, rhetoric of, 37–8, 60, 62, 179–80
monarchy, 12, 28, 75, 103, 119, 120–1, 123, 126
see also under individual monarchs
Morrison, Herbert, 112, 113
Mosley, Oswald, 27, 140
Muirhead, Roland, 50
multi-national nature of UK, 1, 3, 8, 10, 17–18, 24, 42, 70, 75, 81, 124, 131, 182–3
National League of the North, 140
National Party of Scotland, 50–1
Noel-Baker, Philip, 94, 99
nonconformity, religious, 74, 76, 85, 100, 122–3
Northern Ireland, 5, 6–7, 125–38
Britishness, 126, 127, 131, 135
Catholics in, 128, 133, 134, 149–50, 151, 153, 180
civil society, 179
devolution in, 125, 181
disloyalty of Catholics alleged, 133, 140, 159–60, 169–70, 171–2
First World War, 130, 144–5
formation of Unionist identity, 129–31, 164, 169
gender, 138, 162, 163–7, 179
labour politics in, 127–8, 134, 141–3, 145–6, 156, see also
Northern Ireland Labour Party
Northern Ireland – continued
nationalists in, 127, 128, 134–5, 137, 140–1, 159–60, 169–70
proportional representation, 134–5, 167–8, 169–70
Second World War, 152–6
social policy, 135–6, 137, 140, 156, 173, 180
and the Union, 126
Unionist divisions 131–2, 136, 139, 160, 174–5
Unionist governments, 6, 125–6, 127, 132–6, 140, 153, 155, 156
Unionist relations with UK governments, 6
see also Ireland
Northern Ireland Labour Party, 127, 140, 141, 147–8, 149, 150, 152–4, 157, 178, 179, 180
Nugent, Reginald, 136
O’Neill, Terence, 132, 179–81
Orange Order, 158, 159, 181
Ormsby Gore, William, 29
Orr, John, 26
Owen, Frank, 76
Owen, Goronwy, 76, 84
Parker, Dehra, 2, 8, 138
background, 163, 165–6, 170, 178
Britishness 176–8
and British Empire, 163, 168, 178
on Catholics, 169–70, 171–2, 178
education and national identity, 173, 176
and First World War, 166–7, 186
in government, 162–3, 172–6, 177, 178
hostility towards, 170–1, 175
Irishness, 177–8
and Londonderry, 167–8
and Unionism, 166, 168, 170, 172, 173, 178–9, 184
and women’s politics, 165–6, 168, 172, 176, 179
and youth, 176
Parker, H.W., 163
Parliament for Wales Campaign, 73, 77–8, 90, 95–6, 116, 123, 184
Phillips, Morgan, 77, 112–13
Plaid Cymru, 72, 73, 81, 93, 96, 104, 107, 112, 116, 117–18, 121–2, 123, 124, 184
Poole, Oliver, 59
Powell, Enoch, 178
Protestantism, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 142, 144, 148, 158, 164, 170, 175–6, 180–1
Redmond, John, 126, 144
referendums, devolution, 70–1, 124
Republican Labour Party, 141
Rhondda, Lord, see D.A. Thomas
religion, 33, 34, 46, 62, 78, 85, 100, 114
see also Catholics, Protestantism
Revolutionary Workers’ Group, 148
Rifkind, Malcolm, 15
Roberts, Goronwy, 77
Roberts, O.M., 89
Roberts, Silyn, 77, 108
Rosebery, Lord, 19
Ross, Willie, 63, 122
Rowlands, Gwilym, 89
rugby, 80, 98
Salisbury, Lord, 14, 17
Saor-Ulaidh, 159
Sayers, Jack, 132
Scotland, 10–20
civil society, 5, 10
Home Rule, 13, 27, 50–1, 183
nationalism, 11–12, 27–8, 34, 52, 53–4, 61
political offices, 6, 15
Scotland Act, 71
Scottish Convention, 11–12
Scottish Home Rule Association, 43, 45
Scottish National Party (SNP), 11, 17, 19–20, 27, 54, 62–3, 70–1, 184
Scottishness, Scottish national identity, 10, 22, 44, 47, 58
crisis of, 27, 28, 30–1, 40, 53
Selborne, Lord, 18
Senghennydd disaster, 108
Simon, John, 88
Sinclair, Archibald, 88, 100
Sinn Fein, 127
Skelton, Noel, 14, 27
Social Democratic and Labour Party, 141
Socialist Republican Party, 140
South African War, 102
South Wales Miners’ Federation, 108
Special Powers Act 1922 (Northern Ireland), 132
Spender, Wilfred, 133
sport and identity, 80, 98, 108, 119
Stanley, Oliver, 29
Stevenson, Frances, 83–4, 94
Stornmont, 126
Stuart, James, 59
Summerskill, Edith
Tate, Mavis, 101
Taylor, John, 55
Television Wales and the West, 117
Thatcher, Margaret, 70, 124
Thistle Group, 63
Thomas, D.A., 108
Thomas, George, 75, 77, 122–3
Thompson, Bob, 153
tourism and tourist boards, 55, 60, 113, 119
trade unions, 109, 110, 113, 123, 149, 151, 157
traveling, 35, 37, 39, 66–7, 99, 106
Tryweryn reservoir, 115, 120
Tweedsmuir, Lady Priscilla, 2, 10–11, 184, 186
background, 57, 58
and British Empire, 8, 19, 36, 57, 64–8, 185
and devolution, 64, 69–70
and economic Unionism, 59–62, 64
and emigration, 65
and European integration, 57, 59, 68, 185
at Foreign Office, 68–70
and gender, 58–9, 66–7, 69
at the Scottish Office, 62
and Scottishness, 57, 60, 65
Tweedsmuir, second Lord, 58, 65, 66, 67
Undeb Cymru Fydd, 95
Ulster, see Northern Ireland
Ulster Unionist Council, 129, 142, 175
Ulster Volunteer Force, 130, 164, 166
Ulster Women’s Unionist Council, 138, 165–8, 173–4, 179
unemployment, 51, 110, 112, 148, 155, 179–80
Unionist Party, see Conservative Party
Unionist-nationalism, 26
United Irish League, 140
United Nations, 66
Wales, 72–81
civil society, 5, 74, 78, 98, 111, 112, 113
and Home Rule, 74, 82, 102–5
language, 72–3, 76, 89, 92, 101, 109, 112, 117, 121, 124
nationalism, 72, 74, 75, 80–1, 91, 94, 96, 112, 117–18, 121, see also Plaid Cymru
political offices, 6, 78, 112, 113, 114–15, 118, 121, 123, 183
Wales Act, 124
Walker, William, 142–3, 146, 160
Ward, Irene, 101
war memorials, 24, 144
Warnock, Edmond, 174, 178
Watkins, Tudor, 77
Welsh Language Society, 117
Welshness, 74, 79–9, 80–1, 107–8, 109, 123, 124
Wheatley, John, 19, 46
Wilson, Harold, 60, 78, 118
women MPs, 58, 59, 97
Wyndham, George, 129, 142
Young Scots, 13–14