

# Contents

Preface	ix
<i>Part I: The setting</i>	1
1 The Janus face of modern English culture	3
Cultural values and economic lag	3
Progress and its discontents	5
The revolution that never was	7
2 Victorian society: accommodation and absorption	11
A re-formed elite	12
The shaping of a gentleman	16
<i>Part II: A world view</i>	25
3 A counterrevolution of values	27
The high-water mark of industrial values	27
Middle-class intellectuals and gentry values	30
4 The "English way of life"?	41
North and South	41
"It's an old country"	42
"Our England is a garden"	46
In country sleep	51
Architecture: the myth made tangible	64
The staying power of the Southern Metaphor	72
5 The wrong path?	81
Industrialization reappraised	81
The American specter	88
The snares of economic growth	90

<i>Part III: Toward behavior</i>	95
Introduction	96
6 Images and politics	98
Conservatives: Toryism versus industrial capitalism	98
Churchmen: economic growth versus a moral society	111
Labour: the vision of "Merrie England"	118
7 The gentrification of the industrialist	127
Finance versus industry	128
"Industry is a leper"	129
Education and the image of industry	132
Industrialists as aspiring gentry	137
A gentlemanly economy	145
 <i>Part IV: Industrialism and English values</i>	 155
8 An overview and an assessment	157
The cultural domestication of the industrial revolution	157
Postindustrialism or de-industrialism?	159
"Modernization": un-English?	162
 Appendix: British retardation – the limits of economic explanation	 167
 Notes	 171
Index	211

## Index

- Addison, Paul, 101  
agriculture, decline of in England, 48  
Albert, Prince, 27, 34, 40  
America, *see* United States of America  
Anderson, Perry, 8  
Annan, Noel, 131  
Antiimperialists, 59-61.  
*Archers, The*, 78  
architecture  
    and antiindustrialism, 64-7  
    English wariness of modern, 10  
Arnold, Matthew, criticism of  
    Americans, 88-9  
    criticism of industrial values, 31, 35-7  
    *Culture and Anarchy*, 36-7  
    influence of, 30, 112  
    on professions and gentrification, 16  
    social criticism of, 11  
Arts and Crafts Movement, 178-9n37  
Ashby, Sir Eric, 132  
Asquith, Herbert, 106-7, 130  
Ashton, T. S., 115  
Austin, Alfred  
    *Haunts of Ancient Peace*, 45, 49  
    on Old England, 45  
    and rural myth, 55-6  
Bagehot, Walter, 137  
Baldwin, Stanley  
    antiindustrialism of, 101-2  
    echoed by Enoch Powell, 108  
    emotional detachment from industrial  
        capitalism 108-9  
    on England, 6  
    introduction to Longmans's "English  
        Heritage" series, 73  
    proindustrialism of, 96  
    and rural myth, 58, 100-1, 120-1  
    speeches written by Arthur Bryant,  
        114  
Balfour, Arthur, 100, 130  
Bambridge, Anthony, 141  
Barker, Bernard, 96  
Barker, Sir Ernest, 133  
Baring-Gould, Sabine, 45-6, 53  
Barnes, Michael, 163, 206n22  
Barnett, Correlli, 3, 10  
Barrie, J. M., 52  
Bartram, George, 60  
Batsford  
    "English Life" series, 73-4  
Begbie, Harold, 103  
Belloc, Hilaire  
    antiindustrial historiography, 84-5  
    as a "nationalist" writer, 60  
    traces English character to village, 51  
Bensusan-Butt, D. M., 93  
Beresford-Hope, Alexander, 64  
Betjeman, John, 165-6  
Bevan, Aneurin, 125-6  
Bevin, Ernest, 123  
Blatchford, Robert, 119-20  
Bledisoe, Lord, 107  
Blythe, Ronald, 78  
Bonar Law, Andrew  
    called "gilded tradesman" by Asquith,  
        106  
    proindustrialism of, 96  
Bradbury, Malcolm, 50  
Brailsford, H. N., 119  
Bray, Reginald, 60  
Briggs, Asa, 44, 51  
Bright, John, 36-7  
Brinton, Sir Tatton, 147  
Brocklehurst, "Fitz," 13  
Brooke, Rupert  
    laments material progress, 62  
    "The Old Vicarage, Grantchester," 63  
Brooke, Stepford, 68  
Brown, Ivor, 74  
Brunel, Isambard  
    death of, 29  
    sends sons to Harrow, 19  
Bryant, Arthur  
    approves of abandonment of domestic  
        economic "rivalry," 109  
    criticizes industrial capitalism, 113-14  
    *English Saga 1840-1940*, 86-7

- Bryant, Arthur (*cont.*)  
 on flaw of Nazism, 77  
 on national character, 75, 105  
 praises Neville Chamberlain, 140
- Bryce, James, 59, 71
- Burn, D. L., 146
- Butler, R. A., 110
- Buxton, Noel, 122
- Callaghan, James  
 conservatism of, 164  
 on students' lack of interest in industry, 135
- Cambridge University  
 antibusiness and antiindustrial ethos, 22-4  
 influence of, 90
- Carlyle, Thomas  
 criticism of quest for wealth, 38  
 espousal of work ethic criticized by Mill, 32
- Carr, Sir William, 147
- Cecil, Lord Robert, 99
- Chamberlain, Joseph, 99
- Chamberlain, Neville, 140
- Channon, Derek, 148
- Charterhouse School, 21
- Checkland, S. G., 154
- Cheltenham School, 19
- Chesterton, G. K.  
 antiindustrial historiography, 84-5  
 in *Illustrated London News*, 113-14  
 on J. S. Mill, 32  
 as a "nationalist" writer, 60  
 real England anticapitalist, 81
- Church of England, 111-18
- Churchill, Winston, 105
- civil service  
 and gentrification, 16  
 untrained technologically or commercially, 24
- Clarendon [Public Schools] Commission, 17, 18
- Clifton College, 138
- Cliometricians, 168-70.
- Cobbett, William  
 calls London a wen, 106  
 influence on English radicalism, 118  
 and rural myth, 59
- Cobden, Richard  
 on ascendancy of "feudalism," 14  
 in praise of commerce, 27  
 world view of, 40
- Cockburn, Alexander, 130-1
- Coleman, D. C.  
 argues businessman not taken seriously, 130  
 on gentlemanly ideal in business, 139, 148-9
- refrains from criticizing gentlemanly ideal, 159-60
- Cole, G. D. H., 118
- Colvin, Sidney, 70
- Conservative governments  
 failure of, 3, 163-4
- Conservative Party, 96-111, 162-4
- Country Life*, 49, 50
- Courtauld, Samuel  
 antimaterialism of, 127  
 fears Americanization, 142, 144  
 gentlemanly ideal of, 149
- Cowling, Maurice  
 on Baldwin, 101  
 on Halifax, 103
- Crane, Walter, 71-2
- Cripps, Sir Stafford Cripps, 125
- Crosland, Anthony, 125
- Crossman, Richard, 163
- Crystal Palace  
 criticism of, 28-9, 69-70  
 and "visibility of progress," 27
- Dahrendorf, Ralf, 4
- Daiches, David, 63
- Daily News*, 49
- Daily Telegraph Magazine*, 78
- Davidson, J. C. C., 101
- Davidson, John, 50, 58
- Darton, F. J. H., 75-6
- de-industrialization, 157
- Dickens, Charles  
 criticizes industrial values, 31, 33-5, 39-40  
*Dombey and Son*, 34  
*Hard Times*, 34  
*Little Dorrit*, 34  
*Mystery of Edwin Drood*, 35  
*Our Mutual Friend*, 34-5  
 as social critic, 11, 82
- Dickinson, G. Lowes, 89
- Dictionary of National Biography*, 130
- Ditchfield, P. H.  
 laments commercialism's destruction of past, 70-1  
 urges readers to "live again in the past," 45, 47
- Dover College, 43
- Drabble, Margaret  
 criticizes ruralism, 79  
*The Ice Age*, 136, 162
- Ecclesiologist, The*, 28-9
- economic explanation  
 limitations of, 4, 167-70
- Economist*  
 approves of gentrification of capitalists, 12  
 confidence in progress of, 27-8

- Eden, Sir Anthony, 111  
 Edgeworth, F. Y., 90  
 Eliot, T. S., 114-15  
 Elites  
   importance of, 5  
   *see also* Rubinstein, W. D.  
 Elliot, J. H., 161  
 Engineer  
   criticizes Taylorism, 143  
   warns against change, 151  
 engineering  
   low status in universities of, 132-7  
 Ensor, R. C. K., 60, 61  
 Erickson, Charlotte, 138  
 Escott, T. H. S., 15
- Fairlie, Henry, 42-3  
 Farrar, F. W., 19  
 Feather, Vic  
   as countryman, 123  
   offers deal for labor peace, 154  
 finance versus industry, 128-9, 145  
 Fitzgerald, Edward, 52  
 Flecker, James Elroy, 63  
 Florence, P. Sargent, 147  
 Foot, Michael, 126  
 Ford, Ford Madox  
   on England as home of ancient peace,  
   51  
   on English gift for human relations,  
   160  
   on spirit of England, 62  
   traces English character to country, 50  
   on upper-middle-class interest in  
   countryside, 49  
 Ford, Henry  
   as American folk hero, 131  
   Greenfield Village, 7  
 Fores, Michael, 170  
 Forester, Tom, 163  
 Forster, E. M.  
   celebrates old England, 61-2  
   on English country, 54  
   on middle-class nostalgia for  
   "feudalism," 72  
   says real England rural, 76  
 France, 136-7  
 Freeman, E. A., 44  
 Furbank, P. N., 65
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 160  
 Gaskell, Charles Milnes, 83  
 Germany  
   educational system less hostile to  
   business and industry, 24  
   incomplete modernization of, 7-9  
 Germany, West, 136-7  
 Gibbs, Philip, 75  
 Gilmour, Robin, 34-5
- Girouard, Mark  
   on later-Victorian suspicion of  
   commercial society, 30  
   on portrayal of country houses in  
   *Country Life*, 50  
   on rural nostalgia of later-Victorian  
   architects, 64-6  
 Gissing, George, 58  
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 18  
 Glasier, J. Bruce, 51  
 Glenday, Roy, 92-3  
 Glickman, Harvey, 99  
 Gorier, Geoffrey, 75  
 Gothic revival, 29, 64-5, 67  
 Great Exhibition of 1851,  
   Dickens hostile to, 34  
   as high-water mark of industrial  
   values, 27-9, 157  
 Green, Martin, 78-9  
 Grey, Sir Edward, 106
- Habbakuk, H. J., 13  
 Haggard, H. Rider, 72  
 Haldane, R. B., 152  
 Halifax, Edward Wood, Viscount, 103  
 Hammond, J. L., 60  
 Hammond, J. L. and Barbara, 85-6  
 Hampshire, Stuart, 78  
 Hanbury-Williams, Sir John, 148-9  
 Hardy, Thomas  
   and "Old English" architectural style,  
   65  
   and rural myth, 52-3, 75  
 Harrington, Michael, 98, 109-10  
 Harris, Nigel, 99  
 Harrow School, 19, 20  
 Hawkes, Jacquetta and Christopher, 88  
 Heath, Edward  
   calls for competition, 154  
   failure to alter cultural values, 163-4  
   warns against no-growth illusions, 162  
 Hewlett, Maurice, 62  
 Hinchingsbrooke, Lord, 110-11  
 Hoare, Rawdon, 107  
 Hobsbawm, E. J.  
   blames British economic retardation  
   on capitalism, 168  
   on English ruralism, 46  
   on explaining economic phenomena, 4  
 Hobson, J. A., 91  
 Hogg, Quintin  
   pays homage to rural myth, 110  
   says Conservative party has  
   anticapitalist tradition, 111  
 Hoggart, Richard, 119  
 Holtby, Winifred, 102  
 Hope, Francis, 118  
 Horne, Donald  
   on English decadence, 160

- Horne, Donald (*cont.*)  
 on Northern and Southern metaphors  
 of Britain, 41-2
- Howson, Susan, 123
- Hughes, Thomas, 20
- Hussey, Christopher, 49, 76
- Hutton, Edward, 63
- Huxley, T. H., 19, 22
- Imperialists, 55-8
- India, 4
- industrial revolution  
 English embarrassment at, 5  
 historiography of, 81-8
- Inge, William Ralph, 111-13
- Institute of Directors, 148, 154
- James, Robert Rhodes, 101
- Japan  
 criticized for materialism, 143  
 economic development aided by  
 culture, 5  
 higher status of industry, 136-7
- Jefferies, Richard  
 and Old English architectural style, 65  
 and rural myth, 53-5
- Jennings, Paul, 79
- Joad, Cyril, 89, 118
- Johnson, Alan Campbell, 103
- Johnson, Harry, 92
- Jones, Aubrey, 111
- Jones, Glyn, *see* Barnes, Michael
- Joseph, Sir Keith, 8
- Junkers*, 9
- Kennedy, W. P.  
 criticizes Cliometricians, 169  
 on disengagement of banking from  
 industry, 128-9
- Kerr, Robert, 68-9
- Keynes, J. M.  
 distaste for industrial-capitalist values,  
 91-3  
 on Marshall, 90
- Kindleberger, Charles, 167
- Kipling, Rudyard  
 discovers Old England, 56-8, 61  
 as pseudosquire, 72  
 school history of England, 84
- Kitchin, G. W., 44-5
- Klein, Rudolf, 162
- Knatchbull-Hugessen, Sir Hughe, 131
- Labour governments  
 failure, 3
- Labour Party  
 attitudes toward industrial capitalism,  
 96, 118-26
- Lancaster, Osbert, 73
- Lansbury, George, 122
- Laski, Harold, 118-19, 141
- Lawrence, D. H., 62
- Lee, J. M., 13
- Leighton, Stanley, 71
- Lewis, Anthony, 160
- Lewis, C. S., 114
- Lewis, Roy  
 on "back-to-the-land" cult, 73  
 on "invisible empire" of public schools,  
 21  
 on middle-class guilt feelings, 86
- Lewis, Roy  
 comparing British, German, and  
 American managers, 140  
 on graduates' lack of interest in  
 industry, 135  
 on industrialist's desire for order, 152
- Lindsay, T. F., *see* Harrington, Michael
- Lipson, Ephraim, 144
- Listener*, 142
- Locke, Joseph, 29
- Longmans  
 "English Heritage" series, 73
- Lucas, E. V., 63
- Lugard, Frederick, 130
- Luxmoore, H. E., 71
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 29
- McCloskey, Donald N., 169
- Macdonagh, Oliver, 24
- Macdonald, Ramsay  
 admiration for the aristocracy, 118  
 antimaterialism of, 121-2, 165  
 commendation of Longmans's  
 "English Heritage" series, 73  
 proindustrialism of, 96  
 and rural myth, 58, 120-2
- McKendrick, Neil, 137
- Macleod, Robert, 69
- Macmillan, Harold  
 approves of abandonment of *laissez-  
 faire*, 109  
 scolded for appealing to materialism,  
 126  
 Toryism as "paternal Socialism," 111
- Malvern Conference, 117-18
- Mant, Alastair, 140-1
- Marlborough College, 138
- Marquand, David, 122, 165
- Marris, Peter, 170
- Marsh, Edward, 62
- Marshall, Alfred, 90-2
- Masefield, John, 73
- Mass Observation, 74
- Masterman, Charles, 51, 59-60, 106-7
- Mathias, Peter, 170

- Matthews, W. R., 113  
 Maude, Angus, *see* Lewis, Roy  
 Mayhew, Henry, 28  
 Menzies, Peter, 150  
 Merchant Taylors School, 138  
 Mill, John Stuart  
   criticizes industrial values, 31-3  
   hostile to acquisitive society, 90-2  
   on similarity of Americans and middle-class English, 88  
   *Principles of Political Economy*, 32-3  
   social criticism, 11  
 Milner, Alfred, 84  
 Mishan, E. J., 93-4  
 modernization  
   incompleteness of British, 7-10  
 Monopolies and Mergers Act of 1965, 153  
 Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Act of 1948, 153  
 Morant, Sir Robert, 22  
 Morris, William  
   antiindustrialism of, 119  
   and architecture, 65, 68, 69-70  
   fame of, 131  
   and Georgian poets, 62  
   "hatred of modern civilization," 46  
   influence of, 122, 126, 165  
   portrays America as a man-made wasteland, 89  
   and preservationism, 67-70  
   and rural myth, 58-9  
   on value of English past, 46  
 Morris, William, Lord Nuffield, 131, 133, 161  
 Morrison, W. S., 105  
 Morton, H. V., 75, 77  
 Mosley, Oswald, 107  
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 4  
   on containment of industrial capitalism, 8-10  
   on English decadence, 161  
 Nesbit, Edith, 72  
 Nettle, J. P., 150-1  
 Nevinson, H. W., 60  
 Newbolt, Henry, 55, 57-8, 61  
*New Statesman*, 165-6  
 Nicolson, Harold, 131  
 Noel, Conrad, 116  
 Norwood, T. W., 69  
 Nossiter, Bernard, 160  
   as gentrifying institution, 14  
   influence of, 85, 90, 115  
   Tom Brown at, 20, 23  
 Pahl, R. E., 154  
 Parker, Barry, 66  
 Parkes, Ebenezer, 151  
 Paxton, Joseph, 27  
 Percy, Lord Eustace, 104-5  
 Perkin, Harold, 12-13, 15  
 "Plateglass" universities, 23  
 Playfair, Lyon, 19  
 Plumb, J. H.  
   on Churchill's vision of England, 105-6  
   on rural myth haunting English radicalism, 59, 118  
   on Trevelyan's rural nostalgia, 87  
 Pollard, Sidney, 169  
 Potter, Dennis, 166  
 Powell, Enoch, 107-8  
 preservationism, 67-72  
 Price, Christopher, 164-5  
 Priestley, J. B.  
   antimaterialism of, 123-5  
   says "English" means resisting change, 166  
   on English resentment of machines, 88  
   *Summer Day's Dream*, 79  
 professional men  
   as social thinkers, 30  
 professions  
   and gentrification, 14-16  
 public schools, 11, 35, 43  
   gentrifying influence of, 13, 16-22, 132, 138  
 Pugin, Augustus, 28, 64-5  
  
 "Queen Anne" (architectural movement), 64-5  
  
 Rae, John, 134-5  
 Ralli, Augustus, 53  
 Raymond, John, 112  
 Reader, W. J., 149  
 Rees, J. Aubrey, 144  
 Restrictive Practices Court, 153  
 Rhys, Ernest, 63  
 Rodo, José Enrique, 126  
 Rolt, L. T. C., 30  
 Roseberry, Lord, 106  
 Rothblatt, Sheldon, 23  
 Rubinstein, W. D.  
   on continuities between old and new British elites, 128  
   on professionalization and gentrification, 16  
 Rugby School, 17, 20

- rural myth, 6, 46-66
- Ruskin, John  
 criticizes industrial values, 31, 35, 37-9  
 on Dickens, 33  
 disparages Crystal Palace, 29  
 on importance of national  
 "disposition," 98  
 influence of, 68, 82, 90, 91, 94, 112,  
 119-20  
 nightmare vision of industrialized  
 England, 27
- Russell, Bertrand, 13
- Sampson, Anthony  
 on Arnold Weinstock, 148  
 on English ruralism, 78  
 on oil industry, 150  
 on Rolls-Royce, 141  
 on social attitudes to industry, 129
- Samuel, Marcus, 146-7, 150
- Sanderson, Michael, 132
- Saville, John, 170
- Schumacher, E. F., 93
- Schuster, Sir George, 144-5
- Scott, Sir George Gilbert, 67
- Sellon, Hugh, 104
- Shadwell, Arthur, 160
- Shaftesbury, Lord, 104
- Shanks, Edward, 50, 76
- Shanks, Michael, 139
- Shannon, Richard, 99
- Shaw, Bernard, 82
- Shaw, Richard Norman, 65-6
- Shaw, Frederick, 61
- Shrewsbury School, 17, 18
- Sidgwick, Henry, 37
- Siegfried, André, 139
- Slessor, Sir Henry, 117
- smallholdings, 181-2128
- Smiles, Samuel  
 on industrial revolution as great  
 English achievement, 81-2  
*Lives of the Engineers*, 28  
 on youthfulness of England, 43
- Snow, C. P., 161
- Society for the Protection of Ancient  
 Buildings (SPAB), 67-72
- Southey, Robert, 29
- Spain  
 decline of, 161
- Spencer, Herbert, 89
- Stapledon, Sir R. G., 107
- Stephenson, Robert, 29-30
- Stern, Fritz  
 on capitalism, ix  
 on *Junkers*, 9
- Stewart, Rosemary, *see* Lewis, Roy
- Stokes, Donald, 143
- Sturmev, S. G., 146
- Sturt, George, 61, 62
- Sussman, Herbert, 30
- Tait, James, 44
- Taunton (Schools Inquiry) Commission,  
 17, 18, 20
- Tawney, R. H.  
 Anglican socialism of, 115  
 sees himself as a peasant, 122  
 influence criticized, 194
- Taylor, A. J. P., 98, 133
- Taylor, Warrington, 66
- Temple, William, Archbishop of  
 Canterbury, 116-17
- Tennyson, Lord Alfred  
 on ancient English houses, 46  
 gives new life to country writing, 49
- Thatcher, Margaret, 162-3, 166
- Thomas, Edward  
 on city dweller's interest in country  
 literature, 50  
 country poem of, 51
- Thompson, F. M. L., 13
- Thompson, Paul, 66
- Thorne v. The Motor Trade Association*, 152
- Thring, Edward, 19
- Thwaite, Anthony, 78
- Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *see* Hughes,  
 Thomas
- Toynbee, Arnold, 82-4
- Trevelyan, G. M.  
 calls for deflecting economic forces to  
 higher ends, 120  
*English Social History*, 87-8  
 nostalgic for preindustrial England,  
 106
- Trevelyan, Sir Walter, 28
- Trollope, Anthony, 31
- Turner, Ben, 123
- Turner, Graham, 150
- Turner, Thackeray, 68
- Ulam, Adam, 96
- United States of America  
 countryside less available for use as  
 integrating cultural symbol, 48-9  
 educational system less hostile to  
 business and industry, 24  
 English antiindustrial criticism of, 88-  
 90  
 higher status of industry in, 136  
 proindustrialism in, 6  
 rural myths in, 6
- University College School, 19



- Unwin, Raymond, 66  
 Uppingham School, 19
- Vachell, Horace, 20  
 Vaizey, John, 78  
 Vaughan, Robert, 47  
 Voysey, C. F. A., 66
- Wallas, Graham, 18  
 Warner, Rex, 77  
 Warren, C. Henry, 77  
 Watts, James (b. 1878), 13-14  
 Warwick University, 134  
 Watson, William, 55, 59  
 Webb, Beatrice, 120  
 Webb, Mary, 100  
 Webb, Philip, 70  
 Webb, Sidney, 120  
 Weinstock, Arnold, 148  
 Wessex  
   popular cult of, 52-3  
 White, David, 78  
 Widdrington, P. E. T., 117  
 Wilby, Peter, 135  
 Williams, Charles, 114
- Williams, Raymond  
   on cultural analysis, x  
   on rural myth, 48, 51  
 Wilson, Angus, 35  
 Wilson, Mrs. Charlotte, 72-3  
 Wilson, Harold, 164  
 Wilson, J. M., 17  
 Wimsey, Lord Peter, 41  
 Winch, Donald, 90, 123  
 Winchester College, 14, 22  
 Winkler, J. T., 154  
 Wollheim, Richard, 42  
 Woodard, Nathaniel, 20-1  
 Wordsworth, William, 29  
 Worsthorne, Peregrine, 8, 137-8  
 Worthington beer, 76-7  
 Wright, Edward, 52  
 Wylie, W. H., 44-5
- Yapp, Sir Arthur, 63  
 Young, G. M.  
   on aristocratic cultural hegemony, 98  
   on Ruskin, 39
- Zweig, Ferdinand, 135