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Original Citation

Doyle, Barry M. (1995) 'Urban Liberalism and the "Lost Generation": Politics and middle-class culture in Norwich, 1900-1935'. *Historical Journal*, 38 (3). pp. 617-634. ISSN 0018-246X

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URBAN LIBERALISM AND THE ‘LOST GENERATION’: POLITICS AND MIDDLE CLASS CULTURE IN NORWICH, 1900–1935*

BARRY M. DOYLE

University of St Andrews

ABSTRACT. *This article utilizes the metaphor of the post-war Lost Generation to investigate the chronology of middle class political realignment and Liberal decline. It suggests that the Liberalism of twentieth-century Norwich owed its existence to the perpetuation of a closed culture based on business, chapel and urban residence. It questions the degree to which dissenting Liberals had been assimilated into the dominant ideology before 1914 by reference to marriage ties and associational links such as the freemasons. It asserts that the downfall of this Liberal culture in the long run, though not immediately, was the result of the Great War, which allowed the younger generation to break out of their insular world and mix more freely with the Anglican upper-middle class. However, it also demonstrates that the closed culture was such that those of the Edwardian political generation, although affected by the War, did not reject their Liberalism. Most continued to actively support the party into the 1930s, questioning the view that the middle classes had largely deserted the Liberals by 1924. Rather, it was the political maturation in the 1930s of the War generation which heralded the end of urban Liberalism and the triumph of middle class Conservatism.*

The point at which the Victorian method of electoral alignment based on cultural determinants was replaced by the mid-twentieth century dominance of class interests in party choice, remains one of the most controversial debates in modern British political history.¹ Although one or two historians have posited dates for realignment along class lines in the late nineteenth century,² the key battlegrounds in the debate have been the Edwardian era and the Great War. In the early 1970s, Peter Clarke, supported by the evidence of Emy and Blewett,³ suggested that progressive Liberals captured the votes of

* I wish to thank Professor Geoffrey Searle of the University of East Anglia and Dr Jerry De Groot of the University of St Andrews for very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

¹ For recent discussions of this debate see G. R. Searle, *The Liberal party: triumph and disintegration, 1886–1929* (London, 1992); M. Bentley, *The climax of Liberal politics* (London, 1987); D. M. Tanner, *Political change and the Labour party 1900–18* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1–15.

² For example, J. Cornford, ‘The transformation of Conservatism in the late nineteenth century’, *Victorian Studies*, vii (1963), 35–66; D. W. Bebbington, ‘Nonconformity and electoral sociology 1867–1918’, *Historical Journal*, xxvii (1984), 633–56.

³ P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the new Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1971); H. V. Emy, *Liberals, radicals and social politics 1892–1914* (Cambridge, 1973); N. Blewett, *The peers, the parties, and the people: the British general elections of 1910* (London, 1972).

the increasingly class conscious workers at the expense of the party's traditional middle class supporters. However, this view has been challenged by the likes of Searle, Bernstein, Wald and a number of socialist historians,⁴ who have shown that, at both local and national level, the Edwardian Liberal party remained heavily dependent on the support of middle class voters and activists. The uncertain evidence of the Edwardian period has led some historians, particularly Trevor Wilson, Roy Douglas, and more recently George Bernstein and John Turner,⁵ to look to the war and/or post war period as the era in which class took over from culture and Liberal decline became a downfall. The failure of the party organization, the split in the parliamentary hierarchy, the formation of the wartime coalitions, the growth of trade unions, the Russian revolution and the ideological split of Liberals to left and right have all been seen as significant in promoting class realignment between 1915 and 1924.⁶ Whatever their views however, virtually all historians are agreed that the process of realignment had been completed by the latter date and that, as Cook suggests, 1929 was just the first of a number of less and less successful Liberal Revivals.⁷

Furthermore, following Wilson's lead, most of these historians accept that the war not only damaged Liberalism ideologically and organizationally, but also culturally by the effect it had upon nonconformity.⁸ As a result of the removal of this key cultural factor in politics, the middle classes united behind the Conservative party to protect property from the threat posed by socialism – solidifying the primacy of economics in party choice. Yet it is not clear that this was in fact the case. The historiography of Liberal decline and class realignment outlined above has concentrated on the party's relationship with the working class, with the result that much of our understanding of the behaviour of the middle class is relative – a reflection of the actions of the working class. But little work has actually been done on the chronological development of a Conservatism which united the property owning classes,⁹ and in particular the politics of the middle class in the crucial decade of the 1920s remains a largely unstudied field.

This article will address these debates through a study of the middle class

⁴ G. R. Searle, 'The Edwardian Liberal party and business', *English Historical Review*, xcvi (1983), 28–60; G. L. Bernstein, *Liberalism and Liberal politics in Edwardian England* (London, 1986), especially ch. 1; K. D. Wald, *Crosses on the ballot* (Princeton, 1983).

⁵ T. Wilson, *The downfall of the Liberal party 1914–1935* (London, 1966); R. Douglas, *A history of the Liberal party 1896–1971* (London, 1971); George L. Bernstein, 'Yorkshire Liberalism during the First World War', *Historical Journal*, xxxii (1989), 107–29; J. Turner, *British politics and the Great War: coalition and conflict 1915–1918* (New Haven & London, 1991).

⁶ In addition to the above, see M. Cowling, *The impact of Labour 1920–1924* (Cambridge, 1971); M. Freedon, *Liberalism divided: a study in British political thought 1914–1939* (Oxford, 1986).

⁷ C. Cook, *The age of alignment: electoral politics in England 1922–1929* (London, 1975), p. 343.

⁸ Wilson, *Downfall*, pp. 23–8.

⁹ The important exceptions are, J. Ramsden, *The age of Balfour and Baldwin 1902–1940* (London, 1978); Bernstein, *Liberalism*; Searle, 'Business'; P. F. Clarke, 'The end of laissez-faire and the politics of cotton', *Historical Journal*, xv (1972), 493–512; Cook, *Alignment*.

political elite of Norwich.¹⁰ It will focus on the part played by the wider middle class culture in determining political choice and will employ the metaphor of the 'lost generation', popularized by Vera Brittain's *Testament of youth*,¹¹ to attempt to understand the collapse of Liberalism in the inter-war era. To date discussion of the lost generation has centred upon the sons of the anglican, tory establishment, whilst the part played in the war by the dissenting, Liberal middle class and the effect it had on their lives and political attitudes remains largely neglected.¹² By focussing on the physical and cultural impact of the war on combatants and non-combatants from the city's Liberal middle class, this article will assess the effect of those experiences on the politics of the 1920s and 1930s, and the degree to which bourgeois nonconformity 'lost a generation'. It will discuss the social and cultural background of the Norwich political elite and the question of cultural assimilation – the incorporation of the dissenting middle class into the wider property owning elite, largely through the public school and suburban residence – which historians such as Joyce see taking place before or around 1900.¹³ Building on these findings, it will consider the role the war played in undermining the Liberal's world, especially the threat it posed to the dissenting sub-culture, and how it subsequently affected Liberalism in the 1920s. By investigating the period 1900–35, it will attempt to identify whether there was a Liberal lost generation; if so did it have its origins before, in, or after the war; and how complete was the process of political realignment by 1924.

II

In assessing the result of the 1904 Norwich by-election, a commentator in the *Nineteenth Century* suggested that 'Norwich is not a city to which we should look in ordinary times for any definite pronouncement upon a great political question.'¹⁴ Yet closer inspection of the political history of the city reveals much which is pertinent to understanding the fate of urban Liberalism and the shape of middle class politics in provincial England. Norwich was the most industrially developed centre in East Anglia, with a population of almost 114,000 in 1901 rising to 126,000 in 1931.¹⁵ Its economic superiority was

¹⁰ For a more detailed analysis of the culture and politics of Norwich see Barry M. Doyle, 'Middle class realignment and party politics in Norwich, 1900–1932' (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1990).

¹¹ Vera Brittain, *Testament of youth* (London, 1933); J. M. Winter, 'Britain's "Lost Generation" of the First World War', *Population Studies*, xxxi, 3 (1977), 449–66.

¹² The main exceptions to this are C. Binfield, *So down to prayers: studies in English nonconformity 1780–1920* (London, 1977), pp. 232–48 and C. Binfield, 'Et Virtuten et Musas: Mill Hill school and the Great War', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The church and war: studies in church history*, xx (Oxford, 1983), 351–82. See also S. Koss, *Nonconformity in modern British politics* (Hamden, Conn., 1975), pp. 126–44; Wilson, *Downfall*.

¹³ P. Joyce, *Work, society and politics: the culture of the factory in later Victorian England* (London, 1980), p. 40.

¹⁴ Sir Wemyss Reid, 'Last month', *The Nineteenth Century*, LV (Feb. 1904), 337.

¹⁵ P. J. Corfield, *The impact of English towns 1700–1800* (Oxford, 1982), chs. 1–2; J. K. Edwards, 'Industrial development of the city 1800–1900' in C. Barringer (ed.), *Norwich in the nineteenth*

largely the product of the consumer revolution of the second half of the nineteenth century and between the 1880s and the 1930s the city experienced considerable prosperity as industrial production expanded to meet the demand for consumer goods which free trade had made possible.¹⁶ Footwear production became the city's largest industry, employing 10,000 in 1910, whilst food processing created the city's largest single employer, Colman's the mustard manufacturers, which gave work to over 2,500 people in 1907.¹⁷ But with the collapse of the world free trade system in the 1930s, the city's economy was badly affected and by the Second World War it was experiencing stagnation and relative decline.¹⁸

Norwich politics in the first half of the twentieth century were characterized by two main features: the Liberals' surrender of their nineteenth-century municipal dominance to both left and right and the party's success in reversing the trend of later nineteenth-century parliamentary elections by returning one Liberal M.P. at every election from the by-election of 1904 to the Labour landslide of 1945 – with the ironic exception of 1923. This success was partly rooted in the persistence of the undivided borough – Norwich continuing to return two M.P.s from one constituency until 1949 – which the Liberals exploited by fielding one candidate in some sort of arrangement with one of the other parties – Labour before 1918, the Tories thereafter.¹⁹ In local elections they were less successful, winning control of the council only in the period 1900–7. After this date their municipal representation declined and in 1920, as elsewhere, they formed an electoral pact with the Conservatives which operated until 1926. Intense political competition followed the collapse of the pact and continued for four years during which the Liberals were mostly defeated. Success in the general and municipal elections of 1929 proved to be the swan-song of independent Liberalism in Norwich and by 1932–3 the party had succumbed to almost complete domination by the Conservatives. Their M.P., Geoffrey Shakespeare, joined the Liberal Nationals and in 1932 the Liberals and Conservatives united at municipal level in a single Anti-Socialist party.²⁰ Present historiography might suggest that the persistence of middle class Liberalism in Norwich into the early 1930s requires explanation and the

century (Norwich, 1982), pp. 136–59; *Census of England and Wales... County of Norfolk area* (London, 1904), p. 1 and (London, 1931), p. 1.

¹⁶ W. Hamish Fraser, *The coming of the mass market 1850–1914* (London, 1981); Edwards, 'Industrial development', p. 137.

¹⁷ C. B. Hawkins, *Norwich: a social study* (London, 1910), pp. 12–72; C. Shaw, 'The large manufacturing employers of 1907', *Business History*, xxv (1983), 53, 59.

¹⁸ P. Cunningham, 'Unemployment in Norwich during the nineteen thirties' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1990).

¹⁹ The Liberals, Conservatives and Labour all ran two candidates in the 1923 election. The sitting Conservative and Liberal candidates were both defeated and two Labour M.P.s were returned for the first time. F. W. S. Craig (ed.), *British parliamentary election results 1885–1918* (London, 1974), pp. 160–1; F. W. S. Craig (ed.), *British parliamentary election results 1918–1949* (Glasgow, 1969), p. 206.

²⁰ *Eastern Daily Press*, 22 Oct. 1932, p. 7.

answer may lie in the economic, spatial and religious structure of the city and the middle class culture this created.

III

The available evidence²¹ suggests that the social and economic revolution experienced by Norwich in the second half of the nineteenth century had a major impact on the culture of the city's political activists and allowed the persistence of a middle class Liberalism which may have been anti-socialist but which was not Conservative. This transformation was reflected in the age structure, place of birth and parental occupation of the activists of the two middle class political parties. Both parties in Edwardian Norwich were composed of a central core of urban natives supplemented by immigrants from nearby counties. Among the Liberals, family background was petit bourgeois or new middle class (though rarely manufacturing) and frequently dissenting. The migrants had been attracted to the city to make their fortune and, although rarely penniless, they differed from their Conservative counterparts, a number of whom were younger sons from the landed gentry or families associated with the older Norwich industries of textiles, finance and brewing. Although both parties had their grand old men born in the 1820s and 1830s and still active in the Edwardian period, most activists were born between 1840 and 1870. Furthermore, a larger proportion of this age group were Liberal in politics, nearly two-thirds of pre-war Liberals whose age was known were born between the Great Exhibition and the Franco-Prussian war. Among Conservatives the spread was more even, with younger men emerging by the outbreak of war to replace some of those who had been active in the party for half a century.

In the post-war era Liberalism lost its appeal to the young, as Conservatism became the dominant force in anti-socialist politics. Although activists were still being drawn from much the same social backgrounds as their Edwardian predecessors, changes were taking place as men like Robert Bignold from the city's traditional tory elite²² were joined in the Conservative ranks by young businessmen and professionals from backgrounds which were, by rights, Liberal – laying the foundations for the politics of the united property-owning classes which appeared in the 1930s. It is possible that these tendencies were already apparent before the outbreak of the Great War (the Liberals had fewer men in their thirties and forties active in the Edwardian period) but there is no denying that, in the 1920s, the Liberal party was an ageing organization. The bulk of the inter-war party was made up of the sons and daughters of the first generation of late nineteenth-century entrepreneurs, with

²¹ The statistical material in this paper is drawn from a study of the backgrounds of 237 Conservative and 186 Liberal mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, councillors, council candidates, guardians and guardian candidates, who stood for office between 1895 and 1939. For a detailed discussion of the biographical sources used see Doyle, *Thesis*, pp. 90–2 and footnotes.

²² R. Bignold, *Five generations of the Bignold family 1761–1947* (London, 1948).

few others coming forward to join them. Certainly the later twenties saw the entry into Liberal politics of third and fourth generation businessmen, but their contribution to the continuation of the post-war party seems rather less important than the longevity of old stalwarts such as Henry Copeman who first entered the council in 1889 and finally retired in 1937 at the age of eighty-six.²³

If this evidence on age and parental background suggests there was a generational drift to Conservatism in the 1910–30 period, what part was played in this development by education? The impact of education upon the political and social realignment of the middle class has attracted considerable attention. It has been suggested that in the second half of the nineteenth century, through the medium of the English public school, boys from the new middle class and the traditional elite met and acquired a set of common values – the values of the *Southern Metaphor*.²⁴ From this analysis one might expect to find a growing unity in educational experience at the local level, especially among the party elites, which would lead in time to a change in political values and political affiliation. Was this the case for the Norwich middle class?

Information was found on the education of only one-third of the activists in the study, mostly the mayors, sheriffs and aldermen. In itself, the absence of detailed information on all activists is not a negative factor, as concentration on the party elites illustrates most clearly the trends among the groups apparently at the forefront of educational assimilation in the later nineteenth century. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that assimilation was rare. Whereas the Edwardian Liberal activist was likely to have attended a local, dissenting and/or non-elite school, the average elite Tory would have received his education at a public school or other educational establishment outside the city. Only among the small group of elite Liberals educated at Amersham Hall school in Reading, do we find anything akin to an inner-wheel, and then it is one of nonconformists, designed to strengthen, not dilute the dissenting culture.²⁵

Until the turn of the century at the earliest, very few of the leading Liberal families adopted the public school as the best form of education for their sons. However, from 1900 onwards, an education at Norwich Grammar school, or a public school, became more prevalent among the sons of the Liberal middle class. Prominent third or fourth generation Liberals active in the 1930s and

²³ J. M. Blackman, 'Henry James Copeman', in D. J. Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of business biography*, 1 (1984), 789.

²⁴ H. Perkin, *The origins of modern English society 1780–1880* (London, 1969), p. 435; Joyce, *Work society and politics*, ch. 1; Martin J. Wiener, *English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit* (London, 1981), pp. 16–24; D. C. Coleman, 'Gentlemen and players', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., xxvi (1973), 92–116.

²⁵ For brief descriptions of Amersham Hall see H. C. Colman, *Sydney Cozens-Hardy: a memoir* (Norwich, 1944), pp. 16–19; H. C. Colman, *Jeremiah James Colman by one of his daughters* (London, 1905), pp. 241–3; L. E. Stuart, *In memoriam: Alan Cozens-Hardy Colman* (Norwich, 1898), pp. 8–15; A. Birrell, *Things past redress*, (London, 1937), pp. 40–3. I am indebted to Geoffrey Searle for the last reference.

1940s – Clifford White, H. J. Jarrold and C. B. Jewson – had all attended a public school. Furthermore, as the twentieth century progressed, the exclusively educated scions of Liberal families were increasingly turning up on the Conservative side, whilst among recruits to Labour, such as Christopher Jewson, attendance at an elite school and Oxbridge was common.²⁶

This educational background highlights a major distinction between the dominant childhood influences of the elite of the provincial Liberal and Conservative parties at the turn of the century. For those entering politics any time before 1930, education at public schools (whether local or national) and Oxford and Cambridge, remained, in general, the ‘privilege’ of tory leaders. Liberals remained largely impervious to the seductive charms of the *Southern Metaphor* well into the twentieth century. For them, education and political philosophy went hand in hand, teaching was godly and practical, not philosophical and sporty. Thus, at Amersham Hall and a range of lesser dissenting academies, self-reliance, individualism and practical skills were instilled, along with a heavy dose of the social gospel.²⁷ The resulting man advocated an ideology based on freedom of the individual which proved to be quite distinct from the corporate, hierarchical and pastoral ideals of the tory elite. It is true that in the post-war years the influence of ‘Tom Brown’s universe’²⁸ did increase within the Norwich Liberal party, but to a lesser extent than has been generally claimed. The distinction in middle class education did not disappear fully until the inter-war period itself (among the children of those being studied) when the importance of religion as the dominant cultural identity waned.

From this brief sketch of the childhood influences of Norwich’s future political activists, a picture has emerged of two very distinctive cultures at the level of the parties’ elite members. Furthermore, the degree of assimilation and convergence between these cultures remained limited. The post-war Liberal party in Norwich was dominated by the sons and daughters of late-Victorian and Edwardian activists, very few of whom had attended elite schools, let alone Oxford or Cambridge. It is undeniable that one or two Liberals were defecting to left and right, whilst an increasing number of the sons and grandsons born after 1890 were entering the public school system, but the political impact of both these features was not felt until the 1930s. Why these separate worlds continued to exist brings us to the more frequently studied areas of occupation and religion and their part in reinforcing and perpetuating distinct Liberal and Conservative cultures.

²⁶ See entries for White, the Jewsons and Norman Tillett in *Who’s who in Norwich* (1961).

²⁷ Birrell, *Things past redress*, pp. 40–3.

²⁸ J. R. S. Honey, *Tom Browne’s universe: the development of the Victorian public school* (London and Dorset, 1977).

Table 1. *Occupation of party activists, 1900-1935 (%)*

	Pre 1914		Post 1914	
	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Lib.
Land and Govt. service	4	1.5	2	—
Commerce	14	9	6.5	15
Industry	15	16	25	19
Professions	18	15	17.5	13.5
Retail	19	20	22	18
Small business/misc.	6	10.5	2	8
Non-proprietorial	9	10	8	8
Worker	3	7	—	2
Unemployed	5	9	5	9.5
Unknown	8	3	11	8
Total	101	101	99	101
<i>N</i>	(174)	(134)	(63)	(52)

IV

The recent revisionist view of the occupational structure of early twentieth-century political parties, (based largely on members of parliament) sees the Liberals as the party of business and the Conservatives as that of 'land and service',²⁹ yet the evidence from Norwich somewhat belies this interpretation (Table 1).

Though many Conservatives had close connections with the lesser gentry, the category of land and service was rare among party activists. Equally, the relative absence of industrialists among pre-war Liberals is worthy of note, although this sector did become more significant after the war. Rather, it is the broad similarity in the occupational backgrounds of both party's representatives – the four most popular categories of industrial, commercial, professional and retail accounting for 60 per cent of activists – and the dominance of a variety of business interests within the Conservative ranks which are so striking. The latter included shopkeepers; financial interests, whose importance to Unionism after 1886 has been documented;³⁰ and industrialists, who accounted for over one in seven of the activists studied. This coalition of business interests amounted to almost one half of the pre-war Conservative representatives (rather more in the 1920s), a slightly higher figure than for the Liberals. Clearly, urban Conservatism was as capable as urban Liberalism of attracting 'businessmen' – and had been for a good many generations – a

²⁹ For example, Searle, 'Business', p. 57; Ramsden, *Balfour and Baldwin*, pp. 98–9.

³⁰ M. Lisle-Williams, 'Merchant banking dynasties in the English class structure: ownership, solidarity and kinship in the City of London 1850–1960', *British Journal of Sociology*, xxxv (1984), 342–6; W. D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, elites and the class structure of modern Britain', *Past and Present*, LXXVI (1977), 123–4.

point of considerable importance in understanding the seeming realignment of the middle class nationally in 1918.³¹

It is clear that both parties were capable of attracting a range of middle class interests in fairly equal proportions – with the evidence revealing a long term commitment to urban Conservatism among certain business interests. However, significant sectoral differences did exist between the two parties. Whereas most Liberal industrialists in both periods were drawn from the footwear industry and Colmans, the main Conservative recruiting grounds were the breweries, declining manufacturing interests like silk, and those with close links to the agricultural community.³² Commerce was similarly divided between banking and insurance – tory interests – and wholesale merchanting, which was overwhelmingly Liberal. Among retailers the main lines of division were between the tory publicans and drapers and Liberal grocers. Professionals split between the more genteel and better educated tory activities of the bar and medicine³³ whilst most Liberals were local solicitors, architects and accountants. Clearly there were exceptions – Liberal bankers, doctors and drapers, tory shoe manufacturers, merchants and solicitors – but in general the sectoral divisions were sound and remained so into the inter-war period.

These divisions were informed by a number of factors. Though the most pressing was the fiscal issue, which accounted for virtually all divisions within the industrial and commercial sector,³⁴ it would be too simplistic to attribute all political alignment to an individual's feelings about free trade. It is evident that social factors and economic interests often merged to influence party choice. Brewers were concerned first and foremost with the threat posed by the temperance lobby in the Liberal party, but they were also involved in Conservative politics through their business and personal connections with the depressed agricultural community.³⁵ The social world of the financiers and their considerable wealth acted together to overcome their distaste for tariff reform³⁶ and keep them true to the Unionist cause, whilst family ties in general could often be significant in party choice. The large size of many local business families meant not all sons could join the firm, leading some into the professions. But they did not become genteel professionals one step removed

³¹ For the importance of businessmen among the 1918 Conservative intake, and their prominent position among representatives from urban constituencies, see J. M. McEwen, 'The coupon election of 1918 and Unionist Members of Parliament', *Journal of Modern History*, xxxiv (1962), 294–306.

³² Edwards, 'Industrial development', p. 137.

³³ Wiener, *English culture*, pp. 14–16.

³⁴ A. J. Marrison, 'Businessmen, industries and tariff reform in Great Britain 1903–1930', *Business History*, xxv (1983), 148–78; B. Semmel, *Imperialism and social reform* (London, 1960); R. A. Rempel, *Unionists divided* (Newton Abbot, 1972); Clarke, 'Politics of cotton'.

³⁵ For the depression in Norfolk agriculture see P. Barnes, *Norfolk landowners since 1880* (Norwich, 1993); T. R. Gourvish, *Norfolk beers from English barley: a history of Steward and Patteson* (Norwich, 1987).

³⁶ Although Samuel Hoare, the country banker and sitting Conservative M.P., stood down at the 1906 election, he returned to contest the seat unsuccessfully in January 1910. J. A. Cross, *Sir Samuel Hoare: a political biography* (London, 1977), pp. 1–3. See also Rubenstein, 'Class structure', p. 123.

from the cash nexus. Rather, as solicitors and architects they actively participated in the market, the former often overseeing business deals or acting as company secretaries (for example G. A. Stevens, solicitor and company secretary to Southalls, the city's oldest shoe manufacturers), whilst the latter had to compete hard for contracts in open competitions.³⁷ Thus their connection with the wider interests of the business community and its politics should not be underestimated.

But the most complex and enduring influence on political choice was religion. Norwich is a cathedral see with a long history of vigorous protestant dissent, especially Independency.³⁸ As a result of this tradition, the dissenting scene was dominated by the congregationalist church in Prince's Street, with its membership of prominent businessmen and professionals such as the Colmans, St Mary's, with its unusually elite congregation for a baptist church and the small but socially exclusive group of unitarians who worshipped at the Octagon chapel.³⁹ As might be expected, a majority of those active in the Liberal party at all levels were religious dissenters.⁴⁰ Prior to the war, sixteen of the party's twenty-five mayors, sheriffs and aldermen and half their councillors were nonconformists, the majority from Prince's Street. But this close relationship did not end in 1914. Forty-five per cent of councillors first elected between 1919 and 1932 and fifteen of the party's nineteen post-war mayors, sheriffs and aldermen were also dissenters. The relationship between the Liberal party and the free churches remained vigorous right up to 1932 and, if anything, the link between Liberal activism and religious dissent strengthened in the aftermath of the Great War.

Although the congregationalists of Prince's Street dominated Norwich Liberalism, the impact of St Mary's baptist was also significant, the latter chapel providing five Liberal M.P.s between the 1840s and the 1940s.⁴¹ The political division, and subsequent quietism suggested by D. W. Bebbington was clearly absent from these churches.⁴² Both diaconates were politically unified, with deacons taking part in Liberal politics well into the 1930s. The

³⁷ C. Binfield, 'An excursion into architectural cousinhood: the East Anglian connexion', in N. Virgoe & T. Williamson (eds.), *Religious dissent in East Anglia* (Norwich, 1993), pp. 102–12; R. Salt, *Plans for a fine city* (Norwich, n.d. [1988]).

³⁸ R. W. Hale, 'Nonconformity in nineteenth century Norwich', in Barringer (ed.), *Nineteenth century Norwich*, pp. 176–98.

³⁹ H. C. Colman, *Prince's Street congregational church Norwich 1819–1919* (Norwich, 1919); C. B. Jewson, *The baptists in Norfolk* (London, 1957); *Prince's Street congregational church yearbook* (Norwich, 1912); *Handbook of the church and congregation worshipping in St Mary's baptist chapel, Norwich* (Norwich, 1912).

⁴⁰ The relationship between Liberalism and nonconformity is explored by Bebbington, 'Electoral sociology'; D. W. Bebbington, *The nonconformist conscience: chapel and politics 1870–1914* (London, 1982); Koss, *Nonconformity*; J. Glaser, 'English nonconformity and the decline of Liberalism', *American Historical Review*, LXIII (1958), 352–63.

⁴¹ They were, in chronological order, Sir Morton Peto, J. J. Colman, Sir George White, Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare and Percy Jewson. D. W. Bebbington, 'Baptist M.P.s in the nineteenth century', *Baptist Quarterly*, xxix, 1 (1981), 3–24; D. W. Bebbington, 'Baptist members of parliament in the twentieth century', *Baptist Quarterly*, xxxi, 6 (1986), 252–87.

⁴² Bebbington, 'Electoral sociology', pp. 646–7.

degree of anti-Conservative feeling in these churches in the Edwardian period is best illustrated by the Education Act controversy. Although congregationalists avoided the magistrates court they spearheaded the opposition on the council. Among the baptists all but one of St Mary's deacons were convicted at least once of non-payment, and in the case of George White M.P., and one or two others, the court appearances numbered close to ten. But education was not the only campaign of the Edwardian period. During the January 1910 election, the *St Mary's Magazine* carried editorial comment in support of the Liberal party, insisting that 'every Free Churchman must strike a blow against the veto of the Lords as now exercised'.⁴³ Clearly the vast majority of Norwich dissenters, and particularly the middle class leaders, remained firmly behind the Liberal party throughout the Edwardian era.

Bebbington, building on the observations of Ostrogorski in 1902, has also suggested that middle class nonconformists were becoming increasingly estranged from their co-religionists as they retired to separate suburbs and socially exclusive chapels.⁴⁴ Again this seems not to have been the case in Norwich where the dissenting middle class remained firmly attached to their city, most choosing to reside in the suburb of Eaton, close to the city centre.⁴⁵ This attachment to the urban community was enhanced by attendance at the city centre chapels of Prince's Street and St Mary's. Though many new dissenting churches were erected in and around the city in the period following the religious census of 1851, especially on the main roads fronting working class areas, very few new chapels appeared in middle class suburbs and those that did failed to make much impact on the local population.⁴⁶ Most of the leading figures who attended city centre churches remained intimately involved in the plethora of chapel social work organizations. They acted as Sunday school superintendents, adult school teachers, or leaders of the Christian Endeavour societies, whilst their wives and daughters were involved in teaching, district visiting and work with the mothers and children of the surrounding slum areas.⁴⁷ There is little evidence that the nonconformist middle class of Norwich were following a socially exclusive road in their religious life. Most remained very active in all of the chapel's activities, keeping channels open to the working classes of the city centre or moving to take control of new churches in the expanding working class suburbs.⁴⁸

⁴³ *St. Mary's Magazine*, xiv (Dec. 1909), 1.

⁴⁴ Bebbington, 'Electoral sociology', pp. 646-7; Binfield, *Down to prayers*, p. 203.

⁴⁵ S. Muthesius, 'Nineteenth century Norwich houses', in Barringer (ed.), *Nineteenth century Norwich*, pp. 94-118; R. O'Donoghue, 'A Victorian suburb: some aspects of town planning in nineteenth century Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxxviii, (1983), 321-8; P. Travers, 'The changing pattern of prestige residence in Norwich, 1871 to 1971: a case study in the geography of segregation' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1984).

⁴⁶ B. M. Doyle, 'Gender, class and congregational culture in early twentieth century Norwich', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* (1995).

⁴⁷ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, pp. 106-9; *St. Mary's handbook 1912*; *Prince's Street yearbook 1912*; Doyle, 'Congregational culture'.

⁴⁸ Anon., *1910/1960: fifty years of Baptist witness. The story of Silver Road* (Norwich, 1960); Doyle, 'Congregational culture'.

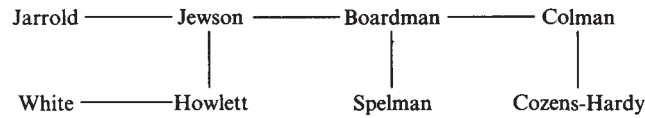


Fig. 1. Major Liberal connections by marriage, 1880–1930.

Continued participation in chapel life also served a social function for the middle classes. Chapel acted as a cultural centre, providing a place to meet on Sunday and during the week, allowing members to share interests and gossip and learn social and political skills – many future politicians received their first experience of public speaking or committee work in the church. Most ward Liberal meetings were held in the side rooms of dissenting chapels, whilst the campaign against the Education Act actually involved the churches and their ministers directly in political action.⁴⁹ But *the* most important social function of chapel was a place to meet suitable marriage partners. The web of shared interests among dissenting Liberals was cemented by an interlocking kinship so complicated and self sustaining it rivalled the marriage patterns of the county elite.

As Figure 1 shows,⁵⁰ virtually every leading Liberal could be connected to every other with almost no Conservative encroachment before the 1920s. Before the war, to marry into an anglican or tory family would have been unthinkable, and even in the post-war period the extension of the field of marriage partners remained limited.

It has been suggested that this closed community was beginning to break down before the war, and that associations such as freemasonry were acting as a social bridge between the two worlds of the urban middle class.⁵¹ Yet preliminary research into the membership of the Norwich lodges indicates that, although Liberal dissenters were taking up the trowel, they were doing so in their own lodges, maintaining a distance between themselves and their anglican, Conservative brothers.⁵² The volunteer movement has also been seen as a potential arena for social integration. Prior to the outbreak of the war, one or two young men from Liberal homes were becoming active in Haldane's newly formed territorials. But as the most prominent participants were also active in the boys' brigade, this would seem to have been an

⁴⁹ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, p. 148; *Prince's Street Magazine* (May 1929), p. 6; 'Minutes of the Citizens League to combat the 1902 Education Act, 1902–14', Norfolk Records Office [hereafter N.R.O.] FC6/23.

⁵⁰ In the two generations between 1880 and 1930, these eight families supplied: three Liberal M.P.s; eight Liberal mayors; three Liberal sheriffs; two Liberal aldermen; two Liberal councillors; one Labour M.P.; one Labour alderman and one Labour councillor. Only the most prestigious office has been counted and, as most held more than one during their lives, their full impact on Norwich Liberalism was much greater. No member of any of these families held civic office as a Conservative in this period.

⁵¹ Joyce, *Work society and politics*, p. 37.

⁵² 'Records relating to the registration of Lodges of Freemasons in Norfolk: list of members and occupations of members of Walpole Lodge 1500 1925', N.R.O./C/Scg 7/1/21; 'Union Lodge of Freemasons: register of members 1864–1905', N.R.O./SOg/26 465X; 'Funeral of W. G. Stevens', *Eastern Daily Press*, 17 Sept. 1925, p. 8.

extension of muscular christianity rather than a growing assimilation with the values of the traditional elite.⁵³

Liberalism and dissent were interlocking communities, largely closed to the outside world of the establishment and dependent upon each other for their continued strength. As Charles Boardman Jewson, the Norwich baptist and historian noted:

The backbone of the churches was still in the families which belonged to them. And those families practised a tradition of domestic piety which certainly went back to the Evangelical revival... At the end of breakfast the servants would come into the dining room and the master of the house would read the scriptures after which all knelt down for prayers. So it was up to the 5th of August 1914. On that morning the master, after prayers, opened his Eastern Daily Press and announced to his family 'we have declared war on Germany'.⁵⁴

V

War was not the milieu of the dissenting Liberal and a certain ambiguity informed his response to the call. Clyde Binfield in his essay on Mill Hill and the Great War has suggested that the dissenting academies, where a number of Norwich Liberals had sent their sons, were for 'boys for whose families war had perhaps been a distant option but never a personal obligation'.⁵⁵ Thus to participate in the war required a fundamental re-ordering of principles and after a brief moment of reflection the evangelical free churches accepted their duty to 'King and Country'. The *United methodist yearbook* for 1914 was published with a frontispiece of crossed union flags,⁵⁶ whilst all across the city dissenters, including the sons of the Liberal leadership, volunteered for active service, some never to return. This experience had a profound effect on attitudes. As the baptist Rev. Glynn Edwards observed within a few weeks of the outbreak of the conflict, 'The minds of men are completely transformed and their outlook is altogether different...'⁵⁷ an observation which did not bode well for either Liberalism or dissent.

Throughout the war, the free churches lent their moral support to armed conflict as congregations were urged to pray for troops and government and the Norfolk Baptist Union passed resolutions urging earnest prayer and intercession.⁵⁸ Dissenters were at first uneasy about this war-like position and, for those who had spent the previous decades advocating peace, the recruitment platform was something of a culture shock. Sydney Cozens-Hardy, in a letter to his son in September 1914, conveyed the ambiguity many nonconformists must have felt about their new-found position:

⁵³ 'At Mousehold for the presentation of the colours by the king to the volunteers', *Eastern Daily Press*, 26 Oct. 1909, p. 6, which gives a full list of the officers present. *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, xxv, 10 (June 1917), 118-19.

⁵⁴ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, p. 143.

⁵⁵ Binfield, 'Mill Hill school', p. 353.

⁵⁶ *United methodist circuit yearbook, 1914* (Norwich, 1915).

⁵⁷ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, p. 143. See also K. W. Clements, 'Baptists and the outbreak of the First World War', *Baptist Quarterly*, xxvi (1975-6), 74-92; S. D. Henry, 'Scottish Baptists and the First World War', *Baptist Quarterly*, xxxi, 2 (1985), 52-65.

⁵⁸ *United methodist circuit yearbook, 1914*, p. 4; Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, pp. 144-5.

If you and Margaret had been passing through Letheringsett on Sunday aft. you would have seen a strange scene... a waggon... people sitting on forms and lying on the ground and standing in the road, and on the waggon you would have noticed the Hon. W. Cozens-Hardy (Chairman) the Rector, 3 officers and your humble servant!⁵⁹

For a deeply committed freechurchman with a hatred of guns, this was indeed a strange experience. However, once they got used to the idea of war, some lent practical help through involvement in the Norfolk Volunteers, or 'cripple's brigade', a home defence organization for those over forty.⁶⁰ Although less active in this than were their Conservative, anglican counterparts, Liberal free churchmen did play a part, the twenty-eight man committee including the congregationalists H. J. Copeman and E. T. Boardman, the baptist G. E. White and a presbyterian minister.⁶¹ Yet they may not have been ideally suited to the task as Mrs Charles Copeman, wife of one of the nonconformist volunteers, noted in a telling letter to her son. 'Father has gone to his first parade tonight I am wondering how he is getting on. I hope he will *listen* do not you? and not take the words of command like the notices at chapel.'⁶²

The Rev. Glynn Edwards' prophecy was largely correct as the war brought social changes which weakened the Liberal hold on the nonconformist vote. The increased ecumenicalism of war-time eroded many of the fundamental divisions within the Christian sub-culture, allowing the bishop of Norwich to preach a sermon at St Mary's baptist church in 1919, the first time an anglican bishop had ever appeared in one of the city's nonconformist pulpits.⁶³ Accommodation was further enhanced by the comradeship of the trenches, with many young dissenters taking an active part at the front, often as subalterns. This experience brought them into contact with those from the traditional military caste and exposed them to a world outside the hot-house of local, dissenting Liberalism. Many of the marriages contracted in this period appear to have been a direct result of access to this wider world, helping to undermine the Norwich based kinship network. In some ways the war took the place of a public school education, assimilating the dissenting middle class into the larger property owning elite and breaking down the barriers which their pre-war culture had erected.

In terms of lives lost the Norwich Liberal elite got off rather lightly, the most prominent of the few fatalities being W. H. Jewson and S. D. Page, both killed at Gaza in 1917.⁶⁴ Their deaths deeply shocked the dissenting community but the response was not to question why they were fighting – rather, the memorial services lauded them as true voluntarists and manly christian

⁵⁹ Colman, *Cozens-Hardy*, pp. 57–8.

⁶⁰ Peter Kent, 'Norwich 1914–18', in G. Gliddon (ed.), *Norfolk and Suffolk in the Great War* (Norwich, 1988), pp. 66–7.

⁶¹ *A little chat about the 1st (City of Norwich) Battⁿ Norfolk volunteers* (Norwich, 1915), p. 18.

⁶² Mrs E. M. Copeman to Tom Copeman, 15 Dec. 1914, N.R.O./MC81/32/4.

⁶³ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, pp. 148–9. ⁶⁴ *Eastern Daily Press*, 24 April 1917.

heroes.⁶⁵ Such acceptance of the virtues of service to the nation seriously undermined the dissenting culture, leading C. B. Jewson to note that:

There were many too who returned from the war but never returned to the churches... Young men who had not been made conscious in their church membership of the 'fellowship of His sufferings' had found in the army a secular companionship in the face of death itself which caused them to question the reality of church fellowship. Some of these continued in the Territorial Army to serve their regiments with just the sort of loyalty which their fathers had given to Christ in His church.⁶⁶

This was Norwich Liberalism's 'lost generation', not just the dead and seriously wounded, but more importantly those who embraced the territorials, married the sisters of their fellow officers from outside Norwich, and mixed with a class they had not previously known – not the working class they led but the upper-middle class they messed with. Through service in the war, the ramparts of exclusive dissenting Liberalism were breached and the tidal wave of assimilation flooded in. The war, as Wilson noted, fundamentally altered the perceptions of Liberals and took them one big step along the long road to political realignment.⁶⁷

In the short term, however, older nonconformists did continue to play a significant part in local politics after 1918, the majority remaining closely allied to the Liberal party. But this was now an individual act; no longer did the churches mobilize behind the party as a corporate whole and politics tended not to enter the pulpit (although ministers did continue to support the Liberal party as individuals). There were some outright defections to the left, most notably Dorothea, Christopher and Violet Jewson who all became quakers and committed socialists.⁶⁸ The drift to the right was less apparent, with most active middle class dissenters remaining Liberals. Certainly the war and ecumenicalism had encouraged coalition and accommodation with anglican Conservatism, but this did not immediately lead to changing party labels. In fact, such was the enduring link between Liberalism and nonconformity that Geoffrey Shakespeare, son of a former minister of St Mary's, was able to note in his memoirs that, 'when, forty-six years later [1929], I became Liberal Member of Parliament for Norwich, I had as my principal supporters the sons of my father's principal supporters'.⁶⁹ Shakespeare, as son of a Norwich manse, served as the perfect figurehead for Norwich Liberalism in the 1930s, his association with the Liberal Nationals receiving the full backing of his leading activists and reflecting the attachment they held to the word Liberal if no longer to the ideals it implied.

⁶⁵ *Eastern Evening News*, 7 May 1917; *Eastern Daily Press*, 20 Sept. 1918; B. M. Doyle, 'Religion, politics and remembrance: a free church community and its Great War dead', in K. Lunn & M. Evans (eds.), *War and memory in the twentieth century* (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ Jewson, *Baptists in Norfolk*, p. 147.

⁶⁷ Wilson, *Downfall*, pp. 23–8.

⁶⁸ For Dorothea Jewson, see Bebbington, 'Twentieth century', p. 281.

⁶⁹ Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare, Bt., *Let candles be brought in* (London, 1949), pp. 337–8.

VI

Thus, although the war had a cataclysmic effect on the Liberal world it did not manifest itself in the immediate disintegration of Norwich Liberalism as appears to have occurred at Westminster and in a number of provincial centres.⁷⁰ They continued to return an M.P. to London – although Hilton Young was increasingly right wing. They did not collapse on the council and in the 1920 elections actually won more seats than any other party, though now as part of an anti-socialist alliance. And they did not lose any significant supporters to the Conservatives although, more importantly, they failed to attract as much support from the next generation as they needed. They continued to draw their support from the free churches, the business community, especially footwear manufacturers and merchants, and the traditional Liberal families of the late nineteenth century who remained resident within the boundaries of the city. These characteristics maintained the existence of Norwich Liberalism as a middle class creed distinct from Conservatism and fed the resurgence of party conflict between 1926 and 1929.⁷¹

The revival of independent Liberalism was stimulated by two factors, the leadership of Lloyd George and the defection to the Tories of the sitting M.P., Edward Hilton Young. As a National Liberal centre, many in the party were happy to see Lloyd George leader and supported his policies vociferously in 1929,⁷² whilst Young's defection in mid-1926 concentrated activists' minds on their political position.⁷³ It could have opened the flood-gates, encouraging those on the right to accept the logic of their anti-socialism and follow suit. But the fact remained that Liberalism was about more than just economic and class issues. It was rooted in a shared pre-war culture which meant that, even in 1929, activists balked at the idea of throwing their lot in with 'the enemy'. When realignment was completed between 1929 and 1934 very few of the Edwardian generation played any part in the process for, as one of them said, they could not accept 'that in fighting Conservatives [they] had been wasting [their] time'.⁷⁴

The short term stimulus to realignment came in 1932–3 as a redistribution of municipal wards gave control of the council to Labour.⁷⁵ Various cross-

⁷⁰ For a generally pessimistic view of Liberalism in the immediate post-war years, Cook, *Alignment*, chs. 2–4.

⁷¹ B. M. Doyle, 'A conflict of interests? The local and national dimensions of middle class Liberalism, 1900–1935', *Parliamentary History* (forthcoming, 1997).

⁷² *Lloyd George Liberal Magazine* (Nov. 1921), pp. 185–7; Cook, *Alignment*, p. 30; J. Campbell, *Lloyd George: The Goat in the Wilderness* (London, 1977). For middle class support for Lloyd George in 1929, *Eastern Daily Press*, 27 Mar. 1929, p. 10 and 7 May 1929, p. 10.

⁷³ Wayland Young, 'Edward Hilton Young, 1st Baron Kennett (1879–1960)', *Dictionary of national biography 1951–1960* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 1088–90; Campbell, *Goat*, pp. 128–9.

⁷⁴ William Keefe at a post-election meeting of the Gladstone Club, Norwich, *Eastern Daily Press*, 2 Nov. 1920, p. 8.

⁷⁵ For the rise of Labour in Norwich see G. L. Bernstein, 'Liberalism and the progressive alliance in the constituencies 1900–1914: three case studies', *Historical Journal*, xxvi (1983),

party movements sprang up in this climate, including the official Anti-Socialist party, which fought the 1932 municipal elections, and a non-party movement launched the following year by a group of fourteen young men from both political traditions.⁷⁶ In both cases nearly all those involved were new to politics. Born between 1880 and 1900, most had attended either a public school or Norwich Grammar and, although many were the sons of Liberals, they were largely divorced from pre-war political conflicts. For some the war had changed their experience before they could be fully assimilated into their dominant culture. Thus the Haileybury educated Captain Clifford White D.F.C., although continuing to call himself a Liberal, was clearly of a different world to his father Sir Ernest, the austere and zealous free churchman.⁷⁷ But White was the last of a dying breed; most of his colleagues went on to serve as tory councillors, and one as mayor, but few were ever to hold office as Liberals again.

VII

It is clear that very little in the way of middle class realignment took place in Norwich before 1914. The middle classes may have been fed up with the Liberal government in the years leading up to the First World War, but the strength of their culture meant few could consider voting for, let alone joining, the Conservatives. Russell Colman, the wealthiest industrialist in Norwich and a caricature of the assimilated businessman, was the only significant Liberal to go over to the Conservatives. But Colman was the exception and not the rule which too often his like have been taken to represent.⁷⁸ In lifestyle, marriage, residence and social world, Edwardian Liberals and Conservatives remained separate. The only chink in the armour was the growing tendency for those born in the 1890s and 1900s to be despatched to public schools. Whether this in itself would have been enough to bring down the Liberal edifice is not clear, but alone it seems unlikely.

What did bring it down was the Great War. By violating all of the Liberal's principles, by bringing him into the social orbit of the establishment and by subverting his religion, the whole cultural world which had sustained his creed was severely weakened. Admittedly the effects of this were not immediate. The pre-war traditions continued among those nurtured in the old ways, but by

617-40; S. Cherry, *Doing different? Politics and the Labour movement in Norwich 1880-1914* (Norwich, 1989); F. Whitmore, 'The Labour party, municipal politics and municipal elections in Norwich 1903-1933' (unpublished paper, *Norwich in the nineteenth and twentieth century*, Norwich, 1986).

⁷⁶ *Eastern Daily Press*, 22 Oct. 1932, p. 7; 'Party in municipal affairs: Norwich plea for a new movement', *Norwich Mercury*, 11 Nov. 1933, p. 7. I am very grateful to Fred Whitmore for drawing this letter to my attention.

⁷⁷ For the Whites see F. W. Wheldon, *A Norwich century: and the men who made it 1846-1946* (Norwich, 1946).

⁷⁸ For example, R. Trainor, 'Urban elites in Victorian Britain', *Urban History Yearbook* (1985), p. 5; S. Yeo, *Voluntary organizations in crisis* (London, 1977); Joyce, *Work society and politics*, ch. 1.

the time the next generation reached political maturity the world and Norwich were both very different places. Socialism and depression stalked the land. Politics now had to defend an economic way of life and for that purpose the Conservatives and their surrogates, the Liberal Nationals, were better suited. It is worth noting, however, that the attempts at a non-party movement failed, and that for the rest of the 1930s Liberals stood as Liberals (not Liberal Nationals or Anti-Socialists) in all council elections. It is therefore difficult to sustain the argument that middle class realignment had been completed by 1924, and even more difficult to agree with Bebbington that 'before the first World War cultural politics was already being eclipsed by class politics'.⁷⁹ Rather, it was the early 1930s before Norwich Liberals threw in their lot with the Conservatives, and then it was largely through coalition and not complete incorporation.

Norwich may have been exceptional in the persistence of its Liberal middle class, but the absence of detailed studies of middle class politics in the nineteen twenties could mask this tendency in other urban areas. The results of the 1929 general election show that the Liberals performed very strongly in middle class constituencies, especially in the north-west of England.⁸⁰ Evidence from Bradford in the mid-1920s shows that Liberalism remained strong at the local level and that many businessmen were highly sceptical of Baldwin's form of Conservatism.⁸¹ Furthermore, undue concentration on aggregated municipal and general election results and the relationship between the Liberal and Labour parties in this period may over-estimate the extent of middle class realignment in the decade following the Great War. The 'Red Letter' election of 1924 may have annihilated Liberalism as a parliamentary force, but it took rather longer for the effects of the culture which had created it to be extinguished at the local level. It is possible that the gradual assimilation of the middle classes, apparent in older industrial towns by 1914, might ultimately have led to the demise of British Liberalism some time in the 1930s or 1940s. The war, however, by shattering the closed world of urban dissent, accelerated the process and turned that possibility into reality.

⁷⁹ Cook, *Alignment*; Bebbington, 'Electoral sociology', p. 655.

⁸⁰ Craig, *Results, 1918-49*.

⁸¹ C. Wrigley, 'A case of regional pride: collective bargaining in the Yorkshire woollen industry, 1919-1930' (unpublished paper, C.O.R.A.L. conference, Norwich, 1986).