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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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4. Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State* (London: Palgrave, 2nd edition, 1994).
5. John Gray, 'The Undoing of Conservatism', in *Enlightenments Wake: Politics and Culture at the Close of the Modern Age* (London: Routledge, 1995), 89–130.
6. For a recent exposition of this view, see Oliver Letwin, *Hearts and Minds: The Battle for the Conservative Party from Thatcher to the Present* (London: Biteback, 2017).
7. The editor's own interpretation of conservative ideology can be found in Mark Garnett, 'Conservatism', in Paul Wetherly (ed), *Political Ideologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 65–96.

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3. Leo Strauss, 'Plato', in Cropsey and Strauss (eds), *History of Political Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 34.
4. Plato, *Crito*, in *Five Dialogues: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Meno, Phaedo*, trans. George Maximilian Antony Grube and John Cooper, 2nd edition (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2002), 50d, 52a.
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6. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, in Cohen and Fermon (eds), *Princeton Readings in Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
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8. *Ibid.*, 86.
9. Michael Oakeshott, 'Rationalism in Politics', in *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays* (Carmel, IN: Liberty Fund, 1991 edition), 6.
10. Strauss, 'Plato', 62–3.

CHAPTER TWO

1. St Augustine, *The City of God*, trans Marcus Dods (New York: Modern Library, 1993), 493–4.
2. *Ibid.*, 391.
3. St Augustine, 'Letter 1, 2, 22 to Simplician', in *Letters*, Vol. I, trans Wilfrid Parsons (Washington, DC: The Catholic Press University of America, 1951), 205–7.
4. I am using the word 'millennialist' to denote *both* the un-Augustinian, Christian belief that history, with God's guidance, will gradually bring about a worldwide spiritual reformation, *as well as* the belief (of its secular offspring) in the progressive elimination of evil on the planet through the spread of scientific knowledge and 'enlightened' political action.
5. See, for this distinction, *First Corinthians*, 2, 14, in any edition of the New Testament.
6. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946 edn), 308. For sources of these claims in Augustine's writing, see Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 263, notes 117 and 118.
7. On Augustine's view of participation in just wars, see Deane, *Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine*, Chapter 5.
8. For more on this theme, see Michael J. Bruno, *Political Augustinianism* (Minneapolis: Fortress), 132.
9. In contrast to Bossuet, Augustine speculates in *The City of God*, BK XVIII, Ch. 47, that before 'Christian times, there were individuals in nations other than the Israelites who were members of the "heavenly city".'
10. Bossuet, Jacques, *Universal History*, trans unknown (London: Samuel Bagster in the Strand, 1810), 155.
11. For development of this theme, see Eric Voegelin, 'On Hegel – A Study in Sorcery', in J. T. Fraser, F. C. Haber and G. H. Muller (eds), *A Study of Time* (Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1972), 418–51.

12. To see American millennialism scrupulously documented from New England puritanism to Wilsonian progressivism, see Ernest L. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968).
13. Consider, in this connection, how well received in certain academic quarters are the views of Jürgen Habermas of the neo-Marxist Frankfurt School on ‘discursive ethics’ and ‘ideal speech situations’, replacing the old politics of compromise and accommodation with the ‘rational pursuit of truth’.

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2. *Ibid.*, 113.
3. *Ibid.*, 115.
4. See Allen Fromherz, *Ibn Khaldun, Life and Times* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 201), 84, for more on Ibn Khaldun’s fascinating political role.
5. *The Muqaddimah*, vol. III, 117–18.
6. *The Muqaddimah*, vol. II, 136–7.
7. *The Muqaddimah*, vol. 1, 64.
8. Fromherz, *Ibn Khaldun, Life and Times*, 2–4.
9. *Ibid.*, 4.

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1. David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller, revised edition (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1987), 40–41.
2. *Ibid.*, 39.
3. *Ibid.*, 40.
4. J. G. A. Pocock, ‘Hume and the American Revolution: The Dying Thoughts of a North Briton’, in *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 125–42, 138. Pocock remarks that ‘Hume and [Richard] Price are the two sides of the Tory-radical medal’ (140).
5. On Wilkes, see Peter D. G. Thomas, *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996). On the politics of the Wilkes and Liberty movement, see John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), ch. 9.
6. J. Y. T. Greig (ed.), *The Letters of David Hume*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), vol. ii, 178.

7. Ibid., 180.
8. Ibid., 197.
9. Giuseppe Giarrizzo, *David Hume Politico e Storico* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1962), esp. Part I, chapter III ('La libertà').
10. Hume, *Essays*, 94.
11. See especially ch. 5 of Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
12. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, rev. P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 566.
13. Hume, *Essays*, 472–3.
14. See Sheldon S. Wolin, 'Hume and Conservatism', *The American Political Science Review*, 48 (1954), 999–1016, 1007–8.
15. Greig (ed.), *Letters of David Hume*, 209.
16. Ibid., 245. There is useful commentary on this passage in G. Birkbeck Hill (ed.), *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1888), 206–10.
17. Greig (ed.), *Letters of David Hume*, 212–13.
18. Ibid., 217–18.
19. David Miller, *Philosophy and Ideology in Hume's Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 183.
20. H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1977), ch. 6; Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics*, ch. 9.
21. Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics*, 165.

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3. Edmund Burke, *The Speeches of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (London: Longman, 1816), vol. III, 47.
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5. *Ibid.*, 48–53.
6. Coleridge, *Lay Sermons*, 215 and note.
7. *Ibid.*, 218, 220–1.
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10. *Ibid.*, 199.
11. See John Morrow, *Coleridge's Political Thought: Property, Morality and the Limits of Traditional Discourse* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 149–55.

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14. Ibid., 163–4; J. S. Mill, 'Coleridge', in F. R. Leavis (ed.), *Mill on Bentham and Coleridge* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), 155.

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8. Ibid., 94–8.
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11. Strauss, 'Three Waves', 98.
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6. Ibid., xix.
7. Oakeshott, 'Rationalism in Politics', in *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*, 36.
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15. Michael Oakeshott, 'The Masses in Representative Democracy', in Albert Hunold (ed.), *Freedom and Serfdom: An Anthology of Western Thought* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 19161), 151–170.

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8. Ibid.
9. Seen in Pierre Viansson-Ponté, *The King and His Court* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1964), in which de Gaulle's entourage is guyed as a monarchy.
10. Douglas Johnson, 'The Political Principles of General de Gaulle', *International Affairs*, 45 (1965), 650-62.
11. Gaullism is placed in this category by both Daniel Seiler and Klaus Von Beyme, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (Aldershot: Gower, 1985). On social composition see Jean Charlot, *The Gaullist Phenomenon* (London: Unwin, 1970).
12. Philip M. Williams, *The French Parliament 1958-67* (London: Unwin, 1968), 85-9.
13. Wolf Mendl, *Deterrence and Persuasion* (London: Faber, 1970), and Wilfred Kohl (1971), *French Nuclear Diplomacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
14. Nora Beloff, *The General says 'no'* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).
15. John Newhouse, *Collision in Brussels* (London: Faber, 1967).
16. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, 'General de Gaulle's Europe and Jean Monnet's Europe', *The World Today*, 22 (1966), 1-13.
17. Michèle Cointet, *De Gaulle et l'Algérie française* (Paris: Perin, 2012) Epilogue.
18. Raymond Aron, *The Great Debate* (New York: Doubleday, 1965) Ch. 4.
19. Speech by de Gaulle, Casablanca, 8 August 1943.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. Full text available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=43130>.
2. For the 1966 governor's race, see Matthew Dallek, *The Right Moment: Ronald Reagan's First Victory and the Decisive Turning Point in American Politics*

- (New York: Free Press, 2000); Donald T. Critchlow, *When Hollywood Was Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 184–215; Lou Cannon, *Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 133–48; Totton J. Anderson and Eugene C. Lee, ‘The 1966 Election in California’, *Western Political Quarterly*, 20.2 (June 1967), 535–54; Kurt Shuperra, *Triumph of the Right: The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945–66* (London: Routledge, 1998), 205–11.
3. Cannon, *Governor Reagan*, 186.
 4. *Ibid.*, 194.
 5. Quoted in *ibid.*, 352–53.
 6. The issue of reproductive rights in the Reagan presidency is discussed in Donald T. Critchlow, *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Mary Ziegler, *After Roe: The Lost History of the Abortion Debate* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2015).
 7. The literature on Ronald Reagan is immense, including studies of his movie career, governorship, election campaigns, presidency and policies. The view that the ‘Reagan Revolution’ failed was first articulated by David Stockman, who served a Director of Office of Management and Budget under Reagan, 1981–85, in *The Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986). The theme of a failed revolution is explained in Larry M. Schwab, *The Illusion of a Conservative Reagan Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2016). Historians Julian Zelizer and Meg Jacobs suggest a failed conservative revolution in their co-authored volume *Conservatives in Power: The Reagan Years, 1981–89* (Boston: Bedford, 2013). Interpretations for the success of Reagan’s agenda can be found in Martin Anderson, *Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, 1988) and Steven F. Haywood, *The Age of Reagan: The Conservative Counter Revolution, 1980–1989* (New York: Crown Forum, 2009). A good summary of Reagan, the skilled politician and principled pragmatist is found in Donald T. Critchlow, *Republican Character: From Nixon to Reagan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017). The best biography of Reagan is Iwan Morgan, *Reagan: An American Icon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).
 8. ‘Reagan Blames “Iron Triangle” for Nation’s Ills’, *Los Angeles Times* (December 14, 1988).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1. The transcript of the full interview is available on the Margaret Thatcher Foundation website, at <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689>. The journalist, Douglas Keay, slightly rewrote Thatcher’s words, but no one has claimed that Keay misrepresented or misinterpreted her intended meaning.
2. Vernon Bogdanor, ‘From an Ism to a Wasm’, *Times Higher Education Supplement* (7 May 2004), <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/books/from-an-ism-to-a-wasm/188530.article>.

3. Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years 1979–1990* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 626.
4. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/oct/04/conservatives2005.conservatives3>.
5. Not actually written by Thatcher, but, like her speeches and manifestos, extensively honed by her.
6. For example, *Downing Street Years*, 140–1, 336, 571.
7. *Ibid.*, 14.
8. For example, David Cannadine, *Margaret Thatcher: A Life and Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 113.
9. Margaret Thatcher, *The Path to Power* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).
10. Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography, Volume One: Not for Turning* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 192–3.
11. Mark Garnett and Kevin Hickson, *Conservative Thinkers: The Key Contributors to the Political Thought of the Conservative Party* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
12. Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, *Keith Joseph* (London: Acumen, 2002), 250–3.
13. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 130.
14. *Ibid.*, 126.
15. Cf. Oliver Letwin, *Hearts and Minds: The Battle for the Conservative Party from Thatcher to the Present* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2017), 51–4.
16. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 712.
17. Despite Hayek's own clear statement that he was *not* a conservative. See his 'Why I Am Not a Conservative', in *The Constitution of Liberty*, 395–411 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960).
18. Geoffrey Brennan and Alan Hamlin, 'Comprehending Conservatism: Frameworks and Analysis', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 19.2 (2014), 227–39; Kieron O'Hara, 'Conservatism, Epistemology and Value', *The Monist*, 99 (2016), 423–40.
19. Mark Garnett, *From Anger to Apathy* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007); Dominic Sandbrook, *Seasons in the Sun: The Battle for Britain, 1974–1979* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
20. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 5, 15, 19, 38.
21. *Ibid.*, 173, 235, 791, 264, 743.
22. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968 edn), 172; cf. *Downing Street Years*, 638.
23. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 285.
24. *Ibid.*, 618, 568–9.
25. Michael Oakeshott, 'On Being Conservative', in *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1991 edn), 412.

26. Kieron O'Hara, 'The Conservative Dialectic of Margaret Thatcher's First Term', in B. W. Hart and R. Carr (eds), *The Foundations of the British Conservative Party* (London: Continuum, 2013), 39–61.
27. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 6–7, 13, 28, 104.
28. Ibid., 144–6, 800.
29. Ibid., 105 (and cf. 103), 143, 780.
30. Ibid., 14 (and cf. 100), 272–3.
31. Ibid., 678ff.
32. Cannadine, *Margaret Thatcher*, 81.
33. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 279, 590–3, 606, 608, 614.
34. Ibid., 688–690. Cf. Denham and Garnett, *Keith Joseph*, 418.
35. Cf. Denham and Garnett, *Keith Joseph*, 219–25; Letwin, *Hearts and Minds*, 64–8.
36. Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography, Volume Two: Everything She Wants* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), 33.
37. Garnett and Hickson, *Conservative Thinkers* (Chapter 5).
38. Angus Maude, *The Common Problem: A Policy for the Future* (London: Constable, 1969), 45.
39. Ibid., 42.
40. Ibid., 41. Note how Maude enclosed the word 'society' in quote marks. His criticism is not of the notion of society in itself, but rather a construct he considered artificial.
41. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 29.
42. Maude, *Common Problem*, 16, 50.
43. For example, *Downing Street Years*, 146, 279, 601, 618, 625 ff.
44. Maude, *Common Problem*, 25, cf. 51.
45. <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689>
46. Cannadine, *Margaret Thatcher*, 83.
47. Maude, *Common Problem*, 113.
48. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 101–2.
49. Cannadine, *Margaret Thatcher*, 82.
50. For example, *Downing Street Years*, 264, 308, 565, 579, 605.
51. O'Hara, 'Conservative Dialectic'.
52. Thatcher, *Downing Street Years*, 753.
53. Alexis de Tocqueville (2003), *Democracy in America* (London: Penguin, 2003 edn), 805–6.