THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT
FROM c.1700 TO c.1890

Section A
A1  Hume
A2  Montesquieu
A3  Rousseau
A4  Smith
A5  Burke
A6  Wollstonecraft
A7  Kant
A8  Bentham
A9  Constant
A10 Hegel
A11 Tocqueville
A12 John Stuart Mill
A13 Marx

Section B
B14  Natural Law and History
B15  Luxury and Commercial Society
B16  The Political Thought of the American Revolution
B17  The Political Thought of the French Revolution
B18  Culture and aesthetic politics in Germany 1770-1810
B19  Gender and Political Thought in the 18th and 19th centuries
B20  Socialism before 1848
B21  Nationalism and the State
B22  Empire and Civilisation in nineteenth-century Political Thought
B23  Social Science and Political Thought

There is a convention that at least one question will be set on each of the above topics. At the examination, candidates will be asked to answer three questions; at least one from Section A and at least one from Section B. Overlap between answers must be avoided.

The aim of Section B is to allow students to consider the general context in political thought within which the ideas of major political thinkers developed. The primary texts suggested in Section B therefore have a different status from the set texts in Section A. Candidates need not master every one of the Section B primary texts, but need to show evidence of engagement with texts relating to each topic.
The Bibliography is designed to aid Lecturers, Supervisors, and students. Students are not expected to read every item on it, but should be guided in their reading by their supervisors. They may then return to the Bibliography for further reading in an aspect of an author or topic which particularly interests them, and for revision reading.

Works marked with an asterisk * are suggested as helpful introductions or as particularly important interpretations of the author or topic.
A1. HUME

Set texts:
* Essays Moral, Political and Literary, ed. E.F. Miller (Indianapolis, 1985), especially essays Part I 2-8, 12, 14, 21; Part II 1-9, 11-13, 16.

Suggested secondary reading:
* J.A. Harris, Hume: An Intellectual Biography (Cambridge, 2015)

Philosophy, politics and history:
* S. Blackburn, How to Read Hume (London, 2008)
* D. Forbes, Hume’s Philosophical Politics (Cambridge, 1975)
* J.P. Wright, Hume’s Treatise of Human Nature: An Introduction (Cambridge, 2009)

Moral philosophy:
* L. Turco, ‘Hutcheson and Hume in a Recent Polemic’ in Mazza and Ronchetti (eds),
New Essays on David Hume, 171-198.

Politics and political economy:
*J. Robertson, The Case for the Enlightenment (above), Ch 7, pp. 360-76.
C. Wennerlind and M. Schabas (eds), David Hume’s Political Economy (London and New York, 2008); esp. the chapters by Wennerlind and Schabas on money; Berry on superfluous value (luxury); Charles and Cheney on French translations of Hume; Hont (above) on the rich country – poor country question.
A2. MONTESQUIEU

Set Text:

Suggested secondary reading:
D. Kelly, The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought (Princeton, 2010), chapter 2
*N.O. Keohane, Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment, (Princeton NJ, 1980), Chapters 10-14
R. Kingston (ed), Montesquieu and His Legacy (Albany NY, 2008)
P.A. Rahe, Montesquieu and the Logic of Liberty (New Haven CT, 2009)
*J.N. Shklar, Montesquieu, (Oxford, 1987)

Particular topics:
*P.A. Rahe, ‘The Book That Never Was: Montesquieu’s Considerations on the Romans in
A3. ROUSSEAU

Set Texts:

Suggested secondary reading:
General and introductory
*R. Wokler, Rousseau, the Age of Enlightenment and their Legacies* (Princeton, 2012)

collected articles, including:
pp. 1-28: ‘Perfectible Apes in Decadent Cultures: Rousseau’s Anthropology Revisited’, also in *Daedalus*, 107 (1978), 107-34;

More particularly,
A4. SMITH

Set Texts:

Suggested secondary reading:
Major interpretations:
D. Kelly, The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought (Princeton, 2010), chapter 3
**N. Phillipson, Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life (London, 2010)
*D. Winch, Adam Smith’s Politics, (Cambridge, 1978)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments
F. Forman-Barzilai, Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy: Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory (Cambridge, 2010)
*C. Griswold, Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1999)
R.P. Hanley, Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue (Cambridge, 2009)

The Wealth of Nations
E. Rothschild, Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet and the Enlightenment (Cambridge, Mass, 2001), chapters 4, 8

The ‘Adam Smith Problem’
A5. BURKE

Set Text:
*Pre-Revolutionary Writings*, ed. I. Harris, (Cambridge, 1993)

Suggested secondary reading:
*D. Bromwich, The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke (Cambridge, Mass., 2014)*
*R. Bourke, Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke (Princeton, 2015)*
P. Bullard, Edmund Burke and the Art of Rhetoric (Cambridge, 2014)
I. Crowe (ed), An Imaginative Whig: Reassessing the Life and Thought of Edmund Burke (Columbia, Missouri, 2005)
A6. WOLLSTONECRAFT

Set Text:

Also recommended:

Suggested secondary reading:
* S. Bergès and A. Coffee (eds), The Social and Political Philosophy of Mary Wollstonecraft (Oxford, 2016)
M.H. Guest, Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810 (Chicago, 2000), Introduction and Part IV.
W. Gunther-Canada, Rebel Writer: Mary Wollstonecraft and Enlightenment Politics (DeKalb, Illinois, 2001)
V. Sapiro, A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary
Wollstonecraft (Chicago, 1992).
A7. KANT

Set Texts:

Suggested secondary reading:
M. Kuehn, *Kant: A Biography* (Cambridge, 2001)

On Moral Theory:
*F.C. Beiser. Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism. The genesis of modern German political thought 1790-1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), chap. 2: The politics of Kant’s Critical Philosophy
*A. Wood, Kant’s Ethical Thought* (Cambridge, 1999)

On Kant’s Political Theory:
*E. Ellis, Kant’s Politics* (New Haven, 2005), chapters 1-3
J.C. Laursen, ‘The Subversive Kant: The Vocabulary of “Public” and “Publicity”’, *Political Theory*, 14 (1986), 584-603
**A. Ripstein, Force and Freedom: Kant’s Legal and Political Philosophy* (Cambridge
MA, 2009)

On Anthropology & Human Nature:

On Revolution:

On Cosmopolitanism:
*O. Höffe, Kant’s Cosmopolitan Theory of Law and Peace (Cambridge, 2006)
*C. Meckstroth, ‘Hospitality, or Kant’s Critique of Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights’, Political Theory (2017)
A8. BENTHAM

Set Texts:
* A Fragment of Government (1776), ed. R. Harrison (Cambridge, 1988)

Suggested secondary reading:
* E. de Champs, Enlightenment and Utility: Bentham in French, Bentham in Fance (Cambridge, 2015)


A9. CONSTANT

Set Text:
*Political Writings*, ed. B. Fontana, (Cambridge, 1988)

**Suggested secondary reading:**
A. de Dijn, *French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society?* (Cambridge, 2008), chap. 4
G. Dodge, *Benjamin Constant’s Philosophy of Liberalism: A Study in Politics and Religion* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980)
*B Fontana, Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind* (New Haven, CT, 1991)
*B. Garsten, ‘Religion and the Case against Ancient Liberty: Benjamin Constant’s Other Lectures’* *Political Theory* 38 (2010), 4-33.
*J. Pitts, ‘Constant’s Thought on Slavery and Empire’, in Rosenblatt (ed), Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Constant, pp. 115-145.
*H. Rosenblatt, Liberal Values: Benjamin Constant and the Politics of Religion* (Cambridge, 2008)
G. de Staël, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution*, ed. A. Craiutu (Indianapolis IN, 2008)


A10. HEGEL

Set Texts:
* Elements of the Philosophy of Right, ed. A. Wood (Cambridge, 1991) [especially Preface, Introduction, and Ethical Life]

Suggested secondary reading:

* S. Avineri, Hegel’s Theory of the Modern State, (Cambridge, 1972)
* F. Beiser, Hegel (London, 2005)
* D. Knowles, Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hegel and the Philosophy of Right (London, 2002)
* M. Riedel, Between Tradition and Revolution: The Hegelian Transformation of Political Philosophy (Cambridge, 1984)
J. Stewart (ed), The Hegel Myths and Legends, (Evanston IL, 1996)
C. Taylor, Hegel and Modern Society, (Cambridge, 1979)
A. Wood, Hegel’s Ethical Thought, (Cambridge, 1990)

Specifically on the philosophy of history:

On Religion:
A11. TOCQUEVILLE

Set Texts:
*Democracy in America*, eds H.C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop (Chicago, 2000)

Suggested secondary reading:
*Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings*, eds. A. Craiutu and J. Jennings (Cambridge, 2009)

E. Atanassow and R. Boyd (eds), *Tocqueville and the Frontiers of Democracy* (Cambridge, 2013)

A. de Dijn, *French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society?* (Cambridge, 2008), chap. 6

*M. Richter, ‘Tocqueville and Guizot on Democracy: From a Type of Society to a Political Regime’ *History of European Ideas* 30 (2004), 61-82.
*C.B. Welch, *De Tocqueville* (Oxford, 2001)
A12. J.S. MILL

Set Texts:

Suggested secondary reading:
F. Hayek, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage (London, 1951)

D.O. Brink, Mill’s Progressive Principles (Oxford, 2013)
*G. Claeys, Mill and Paternalism (Cambridge, 2013)
G. Conti, Parliament the Mirror of the Nation: Representation, Deliberation, and Democracy in Victorian Britain (Cambridge, 2019)
D. Kelly, The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought (Princeton NJ, 2010), Ch. 4
A. Pyle ed., Liberty: Contemporary Responses to John Stuart Mill (Bristol, 1994)
F. Rosen, Mill (Oxford, 2013)
W. Selinger, Parliamentarism: From Burke to Weber (Cambridge, 2019), chapter six
D.F. Thompson, John Stuart Mill and Representative Government (Princeton NJ, 1976)
*N. Urbinati, Mill on Democracy: From the Athenian Polis to Representative Government (Chicago, 2002)
*N. Urbinati & A. Zakaras (eds.), J. S. Mill’s Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment (Cambridge, 2007)

On Economics:
D.E. Miller, Mill’s “Socialism”, Politics, Philosophy & Economics 2 (2003), 213-238.

On the Subjection of Women:

On International Relations:
A13. MARX

Set Texts:
Marx: Early Political Writings, J. O’Malley and R. A. Davis eds (Cambridge, 1994)
Marx: Later Political Writings, ed. T. Carver (Cambridge, 1996)

Suggested secondary reading:
J. Sperber, Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life (New York, 2013)
*G. Stedman Jones, Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion (London, 2016)

T. Carver, Marx (Cambridge, 2018)
*J. Elster, An Introduction to Karl Marx (Cambridge, 1986)
*D. Leopold, The Young Karl Marx: German Philosophy, Modern Politics, and Human Flourishing (Cambridge, 2007)
S. Lukes, Marxism and Morality (Oxford, 1987)
*N. Levine, ‘The German Historical School of Law and the Origins of Historical


B14. NATURAL LAW AND HISTORY

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
*M. Goldie and R. Wokler (eds), The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought (Cambridge, 2006), Part III: Natural Jurisprudence and the Science of Legislation, including:
9. K. Haakonssen, ‘German Natural Law’
10. J. Moore, ‘Natural Rights and the Scottish Enlightenment’

More particularly, on Natural Law in Germany:
*T. Hochstrasser, Natural Law Theories in the Early Enlightenment (Cambridge, 2000)
I. Hunter, Rival Enlightenments. Civil and Metaphysical Philosophy in Early Modern Germany (Cambridge, 2001)

On Natural Law in Scotland:
P.C. Westerman, ‘Hume and the natural Lawyers: a change of landscape’, also in Stewart and Wright (eds), Hume and Hume’s Connexions, 83-104.
On Vico’s response to Natural Law:

Also:
*R. Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace. Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant (Oxford, 1999)
B15. LUXURY AND COMMERCIAL SOCIETY

**Suggested primary reading:**

**Suggested secondary reading:**
The Luxury Debate and political economy:

On Mandeville:
E.J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable* (Cambridge, 1994)

The French debate:
H.C. Clark, *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old Regime France* (Lanham, MD, 2007), chapters 2-8.


The Italian debate:


On Ferguson:

R. Hamowy, ‘Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and the Division of Labour’, Economica, n.s. 35 (1968), 244-259.


B16. POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Suggested primary reading:

Supplementary primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
T. Ball and J.G.A. Pocock (eds), Conceptual Change and the Constitution (Lawrence, Kansas, 1988)
R. Beeman et al. (eds), Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987)
H. Belz, R. Hoffman and P. Albert (eds), To Form a More Perfect Union: The Critical Ideas of the Constitution (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1992)
Once More in Need of Revising’, *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 13–39
R.K. Matthews, *If Men Were Angels: James Madison and the Heartless Empire of Reason* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1995)
*P.S. Onuf, ‘Reflections on the Founding: Constitutional Historiography in Bicentennial Perspective’, *William and Mary Quarterly* 46 (1989), 341–75
Suggested primary reading:

Also:
G. de Staël, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution*, ed. A. Craiutu (Indianapolis IN, 2008)

Suggested secondary reading:
Major interpretations:
*M. Forsyth, Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyes*, (Leicester, 1987)
Supplementary:
K.M. Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics (Chicago, 1975)
H.C. Clark, Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old Regime France (Lanham MD, 2007), chapters 8-10.
B. Fontana, Germaine de Staël: A Political Portrait (Princeton, NJ, 2016)
**B18. CULTURE AND AESTHETIC POLITICS IN GERMANY 1770-1800**

**Suggested primary reading:**


**Suggested secondary reading:**


*F.C. Beiser, Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought 1790-1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1992)


**Herder:**


F.M. Barnard, *Herder on Nationality, Humanity, and History* (Montreal, 2003)


S. Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, 2003), chap. 6
*S. Sikka, Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference: Enlightened Relativism* (Cambridge, 2011)

**Humboldt:**

**Fichte:**
*D. James, Fichte’s Social and Political Philosophy: Property and Virtue* (Cambridge, 2011)
A.J. La Vopa, *Fichte, The Self and the Calling of Philosophy, 1762-1799* (Cambridge, 2001)

**Novalis:**

**Schiller:**
*F.C. Beiser, Schiller as Philosopher: A Re-Examination* (Oxford, 2005)
B19. GENDER AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Suggested primary reading:
Applewhite, M. D. Johnson eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris: Selected Documents*,
(Urbana, 1979) pp. 87-96
Collini (Cambridge, 1989)
J.J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion and Mother Right: Selected Writings of J. J. Bachofen*, ed. R.
Manheim (Princeton, 1967)
(Harmondsworth, 1972)

Suggested secondary reading (organized by period):

**S. Knott and B. Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2005), Part 2, Sections 6, 8, 9 and 10.
101-24.


N.J. Hirschmann, Gender, Class & Freedom in Modern Political Theory (Princeton, 2008)  
C.G. Moses and L.W. Rabine (eds), Feminism, Socialism and French Romanticism (Bloomington IN, 1993).  
K. Offen, European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History (Stanford, California: 2000)  

Arianne Chernock, Men and the Making of Modern British Feminism (Stanford, California, 2010)  

P. Davies, Myth, Matriarchy and Modernity: Johann Jakob Bachofen in German Culture, 1860–1945 (Berlin, 2010)  
B20. SOCIALISM BEFORE 1848

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

Owen & Britain:
G. Stedman Jones, ‘Rethinking Chartism’, in Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in


Saint-Simon & Fourier:
J. Beecher, Charles Fourier: The Visionary and his World (London, 1986)
J. Beecher, Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism (Berkeley CA, 2001)
E. Durkheim, Socialism and Saint-Simon, A. W. Gouldner (ed), (London, 1959)
F.E. Manuel, The New World of Henri Saint-Simon (Cambridge, 1956)

Proudhon:

Blanc:

Marx & Engels:
L. Kolakowski, Main Currents of Marxism, Vol. 1 The Founders (Oxford, 1978), chap. 10: ‘Socialist Ideas in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as Compared with Marxian Socialism’

Herzen & Russia:
B21. NATIONALISM AND THE STATE

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
*E. Kedourie, Nationalism* (New York, 1960), chapters 5-7
S. Recchia & N. Urbinati, ‘Giuseppe Mazzini’s International Political Thought’ in Recchia and Urbinati (eds), *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, pp. 1-30
B22. EMPIRE AND CIVILISATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading:
Thomas Carlyle, ‘Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question’, Fraser’s Magazine, 40 (1849)

The following primary texts, published around 1900, are also important:
J.A. Hobson, Imperialism: A Study (1902)
Dadabhai Naoroji, Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (London, 1901), Introduction
M. Gandhi, Hind Swaraj, in Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and Other Writings, ed. Anthony Parel, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2009)

Suggested secondary reading:
C. Bayly, Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire (Cambridge, 2012)
*D. Bell, ‘Empire and Imperialism’, in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claey’s (eds), The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought (Cambridge, 2011)
*D. Bell, Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire (Princeton, NJ, 2016)
*D. Bell (ed.), Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth Century Political Thought (Cambridge, 2008), esp. chs 6, 8, 9 and 10.
A. Brewer, Marxist Theories of Imperialism, 2nd ed. (London, 1990)
S. Buck-Morss, Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History (Pittsburgh, 2009)
D. Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference (Princeton, 2000)
*G. Claey’s, Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920 (Cambridge, 2010)
D. Kelly (ed.), Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought (Oxford, 2009), esp. chs 1 and 5.
J. Levy and I. M. Young (eds), *Colonialism and its Legacies* (Lanham, 2011), esp. chs. 2, 7, 8, 10, 12
S. Muthu (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. chs. 8-13
*J. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Liberal Imperialism in Britain and France* (Princeton, 2005)

International Law
B23. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
R. Aron, Main Currents of Sociological Thought, 2 vols., (Harmondsworth, 1968-70)
D.G. Charleton, Positivist Thought in France during the Second Empire, 1852-70 (Oxford, 1959)
*S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow (eds), That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth Century Intellectual History (Cambridge, 1983)
*J. Heilbronn, The Rise of Social Theory (Cambridge, 1995), Parts 2 and 3.
H.S. Hughes, Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930 (London, 1959)
M. Mandelbaum, History, Man and Reason: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Thought (Baltimore, 1971)

Saint-Simon:
F.E. Manuel, The New World of Henri Saint-Simon (Cambridge, 1956)
*R. Wokler, ‘Saint-Simon and the Passage from Political to Social Science’, in A. Pagden (ed), The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 1987), 323-38

Specifically on Comte:

Durkheim:
R.A. Jones, *The Development of Durkheim’s Social Realism* (Cambridge, 1999)
S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work, a Historical and Critical Study* (Stanford CA, 1973)

Others: