Efforts have been made to ensure that a large number of items are available electronically, but some items are not available in digital formats. Items marked with a † are only available in hardcopy from libraries. Where items are marked with a ‡ it means that extracts from that book are available on Moodle.

**Chronological topics**

1. The impact of the 1688 Revolution and the emergence of the Hanoverian settlement, 1688-1721
2. The Whig oligarchy and its opponents, 1721-60
3. George III and the politics of crisis, 1760-84
4. The younger Pitt, Fox, and the revolutionary era, 1784-1806
5. Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism 1807-27
6. The collapse of the ancien régime, 1827-35
7. The rise and fall of party in the age of Peel, 1834-50
8. Palmerston and mid-Victorian stability, 1848-67
9. Government and policy in the age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1867-86
10. The parties and the people 1867-90

**Thematic topics**

11. The constitution: the roles of monarchy and parliament
12. The process of parliamentary reform, 1815-1886
13. Patriotism and national identity
14. Political communication and the development of a ‘public sphere’ in the eighteenth century
15. The powers of the state
16. Extra-parliamentary politics and political debate in the long eighteenth century
17. Chartism, class and the radical tradition, mainly after 1815
18. Gender and politics
19. Religion and politics
20. Scotland and Britain in the eighteenth century
21. Ireland, 1689-1885
22. Britain and Europe
23. Britain and Empire
24. Languages of politics: an overview
The booklist

The booklist aims to give you and your supervisor a sense of that variety and a chance to shape your own reading programme from within it. Needless to say, the examiners do not expect you to master more than a small proportion of the books on the list; the aim of studying the paper is to gain a sense of the dynamics of your chosen period.

In some of your other Tripos papers your main task may be to compare and evaluate other historians’ interpretations, but the study of political history allows you to use what other historians say to mark out your own path through the complicated byways of the past. The sections of the booklist aim to help you do this, but they are not a straitjacket and they are certainly not intended to privilege any particular schemes of interpretation.

The booklist is divided into 24 topics. Those in the first section follow a political chronology, while those in the second focus on the most important themes of the period. It is for supervisors and candidates to work out their own preferred combination of chronological and thematic topics, since there is such a wide choice. It is essential to ensure that by the time of the examination you are familiar with at least 75-80 years of the period.

Naturally, the distinction between chronological and thematic topics is not absolute, since the chronological topics also privilege particular themes where relevant. Therefore it may be helpful, when writing essays about particular governments or parties, to make use of cross-references to those thematic topics that deal with appropriate policy issues (eg foreign policy, Ireland, social policy). Use your lecture notes to help with this. Similarly, when writing on the broader thematic topics, you will need enough chronological detail to make your generalisations convincing. Your supervisor should give you guidance on how best to do this. The most important cross-references are marked at the top of each topic, together with a summary of important issues that the reading raises. This often takes the form of a string of interrogatives, designed to give you an insight into the sort of questions that might be asked.
Abbreviations

AmHR = American Historical Review
EcHR = Economic History Review
EHR = English Historical Review
HPT = History of Political Thought
HJ = Historical Journal [formerly Cambridge Historical Journal]
HR = Historical Research [formerly Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research]
IHR = International History Review
IHS = Irish Historical Studies
IRSH = International Review of Social History
JBS = Journal of British Studies
JMH = Journal of Modern History
JEcclH = Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JICH = Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History
JIH = Journal of Interdisciplinary History
J Soc Hist = Journal of Social History
LHR = Labour History Review
Parl Hist = Parliamentary History
PA = Parliamentary Affairs
P&P = Past and Present
PBA = Proceedings of the British Academy
SHR = Scottish Historical Review
Soc Hist = Social History
TRHS = Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
WHR = Welsh History Review
VicStuds = Victorian Studies
1. The impact of the 1688 Revolution and the emergence of the Hanoverian settlement, 1688-1721

The Revolution of 1688 had impacts and implications that endured for decades. We do not study its causes or progress, but we are concerned with its political legacies. What issues continued to evoke intense political dispute in the first decades of the eighteenth century? How apt is the term ‘party’ to describe the organisation of politics in this period? What developments, if any, contributed to a ‘growth of stability’? To what extent was the ‘rage of party’ grounded in social, economic, or other factors? What were the political and ideological significances of such groups as Non-Jurors, High Churchmen, Latitudinarians, and Dissenters? Who were the political victors and losers in the struggle to put a stamp on the new regime? What was the significance of the Jacobite rebellion? How do we explain the successful establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty?

See also Topic 15 on the fiscal-military state and Topic 17 on popular politics, especially the Sacheverell affair.

General works


†Wilfred Prest, *Albion Ascendant: English History 1660-1815* (1998), chapters 3, 4 and 8


(a) The Glorious Revolution and its impact


†G. Holmes (ed.), *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714* (1969)


Craig Rose  
*England in the 1690s: revolution, religion and war* (1999)

C.A. Whatley  
*The Scots and the Union* (2006)

K. Wilson  

### (b) Court and cabinet politics

T. Claydon  

†O. Field  
*The Kit-Kat Club: friends who imagined a nation* (2008)

†E. Gregg  
*Queen Anne* (1976)

R. Hatton  
*George I: elector and king* (1978)

G. Holmes  
*British Politics in the age of Anne* (1967, revised edition 1987)

G. Holmes  

J.P. Kenyon  
*Revolution principles: the politics of party, 1689-1720* (1977)

### (c) Electoral and party politics

†G. V. Bennett  

Colin Brooks  

Brian Cowan  
‘The Spin Doctor: Sacheverell’s Trial Speech and Political Performance in the Divided Society’, *Parliamentary History* (2012)

E. Cruickshanks  

I.G. Doolittle  
‘Government interference in City elections, 1714-16’, *HJ* (1981)

J.A. Downie  
*Robert Harley and the press* (1979)

P. Gauci  
*Politics and society in Great Yarmouth, 1660-1722* (1996)

†T. Harris  
*Politics under the later Stuarts: party conflict in a divided society* (1993)

D. Hayton (ed)  


†G. Holmes & W.A. Speck (ed.) *The divided society: party conflict 1694-1716* (1967)

P.B.J. Hyland  

C. Jones (ed)  
*Party and management in parliament, 1660-1784* (1984) [essays by Hayton and Jones] available via archive.org

C. Jones (ed)  
*Britain in the first age of party* (1987) [essays by Beckett and Speck]

M. Knights  

Mark Knights  

†G. S. De Krey  

John Miller  

Craig Rose  

Brent Sirota  
*The Christian Monitors* (2014)

W.A. Speck  
‘The general election of 1715’, *English Historical Review* (1975)

W.A. Speck  

W.A. Speck  

D. Szechi  
2. The Whig oligarchy and its opponents, 1721-60

What were the key tools of governance under Walpole and Pelham? Is it justified to call Walpole the ‘first prime minister’? In what ways, if any, was the Whig regime marked by ‘stability’? What roles did patronage and repression play in governance? What was the relation between the Whig/Tory axis of ideology and politics and the Court/Country axis of ideology and politics? What were the status of Toryism and Jacobitism in this period of Whig domination? What was at stake in the competition between Walpole and Bolingbroke? To what extent did the Pelhams adopt a different approach from that of Walpole? What was the impact of war of domestic political stability? How important was the monarch as a decision-maker? In this period, extra-parliamentary activity, the development of the press, and literary and artistic energies all contributed to political life. What role did they play, and how effective were they?

See also Topic 14 on political communication, Topic 17 on popular politics, and Topic 21 on Jacobitism (the major external threat to the Walpolean regime).

**General**


(a) The Walpolean regime

- †J. Black, ed., *Walpole and the nature of politics in early eighteenth-century Britain* (1990)
- †R. Browning *Political and constitutional ideas of the court whigs* (1982)
- S. Burt *Virtue transformed* (1992)
- H. T. Dickinson *Liberty and Property* (1977)
- †B. W. Hill *Sir Robert Walpole* (1989)
- T. Kendrick ‘Sir Robert Walpole, the old whigs and the bishops, 1733-6’ *HJ* (1968)
- †P. Langford *The excise crisis: society and politics in the age of Walpole* (1975)
- †P. Langford *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (1986)
- †M. Harris *London newspapers in the age of Walpole* (1987)
- †P. Woodfine *Britannia’s glories: the Walpole ministry and the 1739 war with Spain* (1998)

(b) Opposition: patriot, Jacobite and Tory

†G. V. Bennett *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730* (1975)
A. Foord  *His Majesty’s Opposition, 1714-1830* (1964)
C. Gerrard  *The patriot opposition to Walpole* (1994)
Bob Harris  *Politics and the nation* (2002)
I. Kramnick  *Bolingbroke and his circle* (1968)
†P.K. Monod  *Jacobitism and the English people* (1989)
†D. Szechi  *Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-1714* (1984)
†K. Wilson  *The sense of the people* (1995)

(c) Urban politics

N. Rogers  *Crowds, culture and politics in Georgian Britain* (1998)

(d) Oligarchy after Walpole

†J. Black, ed.  *British politics and society from Walpole to Pitt* (1990) ch. by Christie
J.C.D. Clark  ‘The decline of party, 1740-60’, *EHR* (1978)
M.M. Goldsmith  ‘Ideological consequences of Walpole’s decline and fall’, *History* (1979)
J.B. Owen  *The rise of the Pelhams* (1957) available via www.archive.org
†M. Peters  *Pitt and popularity: the patriot minister and London opposition* (1980)
A.C. Thompson  *George II* (2011), chs 6-9
3. George III and the politics of crisis, 1760-84

The accession of George III has often been taken as marking a new phase in British political history. To what extent did the organisation of politics change in this period? Did party decline with a reconsolidation of the ruling class? Or did party enter a new and more vital phase with Rockingham and his followers? Did the age of political stability end? How does one explain the ministerial instability of the period after 1760? Did George III break with the political practices of his predecessors? What were the impacts of imperial policies in India and America on domestic politics? What was new, if anything, about John Wilkes and the movements that organised around him? What were the origins and contributions of Dissenting radicalism? What was the impact on domestic politics of the North American revolt and the ensuing war?

See also Topic 16 on Wilkes, Wilkites, and their successors, and Topic 23 on the imperial crisis

(a) The problem of political stability in the 1760s

Jeremy Black  *The Elder Pitt* (1992)
J. Brewer  *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (1976)
Edmund Burke  *Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents* (1770) in Ian Harris (ed.)  *Burke: pre-revolutionary writings* (1993)
†J. Cardwell  *Arts and arms: literature, politics and patriotism during the Seven Years War* (2004)
J.C.D. Clark  ‘The decline of party, 1740-60’, *EHR* (1978)
I.R. Christie  *Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform* (1962) available via archive.org
†Brian Hill  *The Early Parties and Politics in Britain 1688-1832* (1996)
Paul Langford  *A Polite and Commercial People* (1989), chapter 8
L.B. Namier  *The structure of politics at the accession of George III* (1929 2nd edn 1957) available via archive.org
E.A. Reitan  ‘The civil list in eighteenth-century British politics: parliamentary supremacy versus the independence of the crown’, *HJ* (1966)
‡H. Smith  *Georgian monarchy: politics and culture 1714-1760* (2006) [introduction on Moodle]
P. D. G. Thomas  

**(b) The domestic impact of the American revolution**

- J.E. Bradley  

- ‡J.A. Cannon  
  *The Fox-North coalition: crisis of the constitution 1782-4* (1969)

- I.R. Christie  

- †S. Conway  

- S. Conway  

- S. Conway  

- L.B. Namier  

- †K. Wilson  
4. The younger Pitt, Fox, and the revolutionary era, 1784-1806

What was the nature of the conflict between the younger Pitt and Fox? Was the basis of Pitt’s support ideological or social or economic or a combination of these? Is there a case to be made for the rise of two-party politics in this period? Did the politics of poverty (Speenhamland) and the food supply (1801 census) betoken new forms of economic and social policy? How did the campaign against slavery and the slave trade gain political purchase? Did ‘a politics of virtue’ shape policy and reform in this period? What was the impact of the French revolution on politics and on the government’s policies? Did Pitt preside over his own ‘Terror’? What were the forms and goals of extra-parliamentary politics? How did political radicalism evolve in this period? How do we explain the mobilization of popular loyalty? What was at issue between radicals and conservatives? What role did religion play in these debates? To what extent was revolution in Britain a real danger?

See also Topic 15 on reform of the state, Topic 17 on extra-parliamentary politics during the French Revolution, and Topic 24 on anti-slavery.

(a) Pitt and Fox

Edmund Burke Reflections on the revolution in France (1790)
‡J. John Cannon The Fox-North coalition: crisis of the constitution 1782-4 (1969)
‡J.W. Derry The regency crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9 (1963)
‡J. Ehrman The younger Pitt (3 vols, 1969-96)
Eric Evans William Pitt the younger (1999)
P. Kelly ‘Radicalism and public opinion in the 1784 general election’, HR (1972)
S. Lee ‘George Canning and the idea of opposition, 1801-7’, History (1998)
‡L.G. Mitchell Fox and the disintegration of the Whig party, 1782-1794 (1971)
L.G. Mitchell Charles James Fox (1992)
‡L.G. Mitchell The Whig World (2005)
J. Mori ‘The political theory of Pitt the younger’, History (1998)
Frank O’Gorman The Emergence of the British Two-Party System 1760-1832 (1982)

(b) Reforming the state
Gareth Atkins  Converting Britannia: evangelicals and British public life 1770-1840 (2019)
P. Harling  The waning of ‘old corruption’: economical reform 1779-1846 (1996)
J. Torrance  ‘Social class and bureaucratic innovation: the commissioners for examining the public accounts, 1780-7’, P&P (1978)

(c) The impact of the French revolution

†J. Mori  William Pitt and the French revolution, 1785-1795 (1997)
†F. O’Gorman  The Whig party and the French revolution (1967)
M. Philp  Reforming ideas in Britain: politics and language in the shadow of the French revolution, 1789-1815 (2013)
T. P. Schofield  ‘Conservative political thought in Britain in response to the French revolution’, HJ (1986)
5. Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism 1807-27

What was the legacy of the French wars on government and the party system? How far did this period see a new, purified image for government, and how far was ‘Old Corruption’ still seen as a valid description? Was there a discernible shift of power from monarch to cabinet? Did the period see the rise of a more ‘professional’ breed of politician? What difference did Peel make at the Home Office, Huskisson at the Board of Trade, and Canning at the Foreign Office? Why did fiscal and monetary policies assume such prominence?

Did Whigs and so-called ‘Tories’ have coherent ideologies and provincial roots? How valid is it to distinguish between ‘liberal’ and ‘high Toryism’? In what ways and how successfully did ministers attempt to associate the government with ‘public opinion’? Why, after a period of political flux, did Liverpool’s government survive so long?

See also Topic 15 on administrative and economical reform, Topics 17 and 18 on post-Waterloo radicalism, and Topic 23 on foreign policy.

(a) General

‡David Cannadine Victorious century, 1800-1906 (2017), ch. 3 [also on Moodle].
†F. O’Gorman The emergence of the two-party system 1760-1832 (1982)
†M. Turner Age of unease: government and reform in Britain, 1782-1832 (2000)

(b) The policies of the Liverpool government

W.R. Brock Lord Liverpool and liberal toryism (1941) available via archive.org
†J.E. Cookson Lord Liverpool’s administration: the crucial years, 1815-1822 (1975)
†M. Daunton Trusting Leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain, 1799-1914 (2007)
‡Anna Gambles Protection and politics: conservative economic discourse 1815-1852 (1999)
William Hay Lord Liverpool: a political life (2018), ch. 7-9
Boyd Hilton The age of atonement (1988)
‡Stephen M. Lee George Canning and Liberal Toryism, 1801-1827 (2008)

(c) The whig opposition and party politics

†W.A. Hay The whig revival, 1808-1830 (2004)
F. O’Gorman ‘Party politics in the early nineteenth century, 1812-1832’, EHR (1987); & reply by Peter Fraser in same journal.

†A. Mitchell  *The whigs in opposition 1815-1830* (1967)

6. The collapse of the ancien régime, 1827-35

These were some of the most dramatic years in British politics in this period: why was this and what were the consequences? Why, first of all, did religion become such a disruptive force in 1827-30? Why could Catholic Emancipation no longer be resisted, and what effects did this have? Why after 47 years did the Pitt-Portland-Liverpool regime collapse in 1830? How serious was the social and political crisis of 1830-2, and how important was the pressure exerted by the political unions and other provincial middle-class organisations? Why was there so much petitioning about slavery and the poor law as well as Reform? How important was evangelicalism and a widespread sense of apocalyptic anxiety? How did the new Whig ministers diagnose current social and political evils, and in what ways was their Reform Act designed to cure them? Did the Act, and the further major reforms of 1833 and 1834 (tackling slavery, the East India Company, the Irish Church, and the poor law) stabilize politics or the reverse? Why did Ireland precipitate another political crisis in 1834-5? How different was British politics in 1835 from in 1827?

See also Topic 12 on parliamentary reform, Topic 20 on religion and Topic 22 on Ireland.

(a) General
David Cannadine  
†J.C.D. Clark  
Boyd Hilton  
*A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006), ch. 6.
K.T. Hoppen  
Peter Mandler  
†Jonathan Parry  
*The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain* (1993)
E.A. Wasson  
‘The coalition of 1827 and the crisis of Whig leadership’, *HJ* (1977)

(b) The religious question
†R. Brent  
†Boyd Hilton  
G.I.T. Machin  
‘Resistance to repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts’, *HJ* (1979)
G.I.T. Machin  
F. O’Ferrall,  
J. Wolfe  
*The Protestant crusade in Great Britain 1829-60* (1991)

(c) The Reform Act
A. Briggs  
M. Brock  
The Great Reform Act (1973) available via archive.org
N. McCord  
‘Some difficulties of parliamentary reform’, *HJ* (1967)
‡Nancy LoPatin  
*Political unions, popular politics and the Great Reform Act of 1832* (1999)
†I. Newbould  
*Whiggery and reform 1830-41: the politics of government* (1990)
Frank O’Gorman  
Frank O’Gorman  
R. Quinault  
Philip Salmon  
Philip Salmon  
(d) **Social unrest and government response**


(e) **The abolition of slavery [see also the more extensive list under topic 23]**

S. Drescher  *Abolition: a history of slavery and antislavery* (2009)


7. The rise and fall of party in the age of Peel, 1834-50

Historians differ about how far there was a party system before 1830, and how far party was regarded as an honourable or even legitimate undertaking, but there is no doubt that the Reform crisis created new problems and frictions which altered traditional political alignments and assumptions. In the 1830s, constitutional, religious and economic issues were all extremely contentious. At the same time, aspects of the 1832 political settlement facilitated, perhaps even required, the growth of party organization in the constituencies. How, then, were parties to cope with the obstacles that they faced? How effectively did the separate groupings of Whigs, Liberals, and Radicals cohere to form a single political entity? Why did the Conservatives recover so quickly after 1832, and how far did a ‘two-party system’ operate? How far did Peel’s methods of governance differ from those of his predecessors, Liverpool, Canning, and Wellington? How did government and opposition respond to the increased political pressure from extra-parliamentary religious and economic interests? How did the economic policies designed to address the tensions between town and countryside (e.g. fiscal reform, free trade, monetary policy) impact on the nature of government? Why was the Anti-Corn Law League so successful in mobilizing middle-class opinion? Why did Peel’s government collapse so spectacularly in 1846 and why were both parties in disarray in the late 1840s?

See also Topic 15 on free trade, Topic 16 on the so-called ‘revolution in government’, and Topic 20 on religion.

(a) General
‡Michael Bentley Politics without democracy (2nd ed., 1996), ch. 2 is a good introduction [on Moodle].
†M. Daunton Trusting leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain 1799-1914 (2001)
Miles Taylor ‘Empire and parliamentary reform: the 1832 Reform Act revisited’, in Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, Rethinking the Age of Reform (2003)

(b) Whigs, Liberals and Radicals

‡R. Brent Liberal Anglican politics: whiggery, religion and reform 1830-41 (1987)
Peter Mandler Aristocratic government in the age of reform: Whigs & Liberals 1830-52 (1990)
‡Jonathan Parry The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993), part 2 [on Moodle]
Jonathan Parry  
*The politics of patriotism* (2006)

P.A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell  

M. Taylor  
*The decline of British radicalism 1847-1860* (1995)

†W. Thomas  
*The philosophical radicals: studies in theory and practice 1817-41* (1979)

B. Weinstein  
*Liberalism and local government in early Victorian London* (2011)

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**Peel and the Conservative Party**

S.J. Brown  

Matthew Cragoe  

Matthew Cragoe  

D. Eastwood  
‘Peel and the tory party reconsidered’, *History Today* (1992)

D.R. Fisher  
‘The sugar crisis of 1844 reconsidered’, *HJ* (1975)

Anna Gambles  

N. Gash  
*Sir Robert Peel: the life of Sir Robert Peel after 1830* (1972) available via archive.org

Richard Gaunt  
*Sir Robert Peel* (2010)

A. Hawkins  

Boyd Hilton  
‘Peel: a reappraisal’, *Historical Journal* 22 (1979)

Boyd Hilton  
‘The gallows and Mr Peel’, in T.C.W. Blanning and David Cannadine (eds), *History and Biography* (1996)

Ian Newbould  
‘Peel and the Conservative party, 1832-41: a study in failure?’, *EHR* (1983)

‡Charles Read  
8. Palmerston and mid-Victorian stability, 1848-67

The period between 1848 – when Britain noticeably failed to experience anything like the revolutionary upsurges on the continent – and the death of Palmerston in 1865 is usually regarded as one of quietude in domestic politics. This was not in fact true at the level of squabbles for power between groups at Westminster (there were six different governments during the 1850s, and the party system was disorganized). But several contemporaries noted that social, economic and intellectual movements seemed more important than politics, which concerned itself with relatively uncontroversial issues at home, as well as a series of foreign matters. This was the period of greatest British global power, and there was a lot of celebration of British superiority, but there were also moments of panic about whether it would continue: there were invasion scares in 1852 and 1859, and grave concern about the conduct of the Crimean War in 1854-5. So the main question to be asked about this period is not about the ins and outs of ministries but a broader one: why did the control of the governing classes seem so comparatively unchallenged? Why was there so little pressure for political and constitutional reform? Why, conversely, were foreign and defence issues so important? Was Palmerston a conservative force and to what extent did his personality dominate this era? What impact did the Great Exhibition and other national celebrations have on British consciousness? The 1832 Reform Act and the campaigns of the Anti-Corn Law League in the 1840s suggested great middle-class political awareness, implying the imminent triumph of commercial and industrial groups over the old aristocratic governors, but why did social change not have more impact on national politics in the 1850s and 1860s? Did middle-class radicalism ‘fail’? And what light does the rapid passage of a radical Reform Act in 1867, less than two years after Palmerston’s death, shed on these issues?

See also Topic 12 on parliamentary reform, Topic 16 on middle-class radicalism, and Topic 23 on Britain and Europe.

(a) General: the problem of party politics

David Cannadine  
Victorious Century (2017), ch.7

Paul Gurowich  

Angus Hawkins  
“Parliamentary government” and Victorian political parties, c.1830-c.1880’, English Historical Review (1989)

Angus Hawkins  

†Jonathan Parry  
The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993), ch. 7-9

(b) Palmerstonian and Liberal politics

†J.A. Auerbach  
The Great Exhibition of 1851: a nation on display (1999)

David Brown  
Palmerston: a biography (2010), chs 9-12

H. Cunningham  
The language of patriotism’ in History Workshop Journal (1983)

Lawrence Goldman  

†A. Hawkins  
Parliament, party and the art of politics in Britain, 1855-59 (1987)

G. Hicks  

A.C. Howe  

Anthony Howe  

H.C.G. Matthew  
‘Disraeli, Gladstone, and the politics of mid-Victorian budgets’ HIJ (1979)

H.C.G. Matthew  
Gladstone 1809-1874 (1986) available via archive.org


Peter Mandler  *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: whigs & liberals 1830-52* (1990)


†E.D. Steele  *Palmerston and Liberalism 1855-65* (1991)


(c) Radicalism


9. Government and policy in the age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1867-86

How did political leaders respond to the new political situation after the 1867 Reform Act? Was it seen as a new dawn of radicalism, and how effective was the radical agenda after 1867? How far was policy influenced by extra-parliamentary pressures, particularly in the Liberal party? Or were the propertied classes still in control? Why was Gladstone’s first Government long regarded as the pinnacle of Victorian political achievement, and why is it now mainly discussed in terms of its shortcomings? How much scope was there for domestic policy differences between the parties? Did Gladstone succeed in imposing a new agenda on the Liberals or Disraeli on the Conservatives? What explains each man’s political journey, and were they as ideologically opposed as they have sometimes been presented? Was the Liberal party a ‘faddist’ party by the 1880s, or still seen as the natural party of government? Another dramatic recasting of the electoral system in 1884-5 was followed by an Irish crisis rather than a radicalization of British politics. Why were religious, Irish, and foreign policy issues so important in this period, when the new electorate might be expected to have had different concerns? Was Gladstone’s decision to advocate Home Rule in the winter of 1885-6 a natural progression for him?

See also Topic 20 on religion and Topic 22 on Ireland. Topic 10 on the parties and the people complements this topic by focusing on the impact of politics on voters.

General

†M. Bentley | The climax of liberal politics (1987)
‡T.K. Hoppen | The mid-Victorian generation 1846-86 (1998) [on Moodle]
‡T.A. Jenkins | The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830-1886 (1994), ch. 4.

(a) Gladstone and the Liberal Party

‡Eugenio Biagini | Liberty, retrenchment and reform. Popular liberalism in the age of Gladstone (1992) [on Moodle]
D.A. Hamer | Liberal politics in the age of Gladstone and Rosebery (1972)
†T.A. Jenkins | Gladstone, whiggery and the liberal party 1874-86 (1988)
†H.C.G. Matthew | ‘Rhetoric and politics’ in P.J. Waller (ed), Politics and social change in modern Britain (1987)
†Jonathan Parry | The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993), pp. 1-20, 221-311.
(b) Disraelian Conservatism

R. Blake  
*Disraeli* (1966) available via archive.org

†B. Coleman  
*Conservatism and the conservative party in 19th-century Britain* (1988)

P. Ghosh  

J. Lawrence  
‘Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism’, *EHR* (1993)

‡Paul Smith  
*Disraeli: a brief life* (1996), ch. 5 [on Moodle].

Jon Parry  

Roland Quinault  
‘Lord Randolph Churchill and Tory Democracy, 1880–1885’ *HJ* (1979)

Paul Smith  
‘Disraeli’s politics’ in Charles Richmond and Paul Smith, *The self-fashioning of Disraeli*

A. Warren  
‘Disraeli, the Conservatives, and the government of Ireland’, *Parl Hist* (1999)

(c) Home Rule and the crisis of the Liberal Party

Eugenio Biagini  

†A.B. Cooke & J.R. Vincent  
*The governing passion: cabinet government and party politics in Britain 1885-6* (1974)

†J. Loughlin  
*Gladstone, home rule and the Irish question 1882-93* (1986)

Alan Warren  
‘Gladstone, land, social reconstruction in Ireland 1881-7’, *Parliamentary History* (1983)
10. The parties and the people 1867-90

The 1867 and 1884-5 Reform Acts gave party organisers the task of communicating to a much larger electorate, while in the 1880s landed power seemed under threat for various reasons. This topic complements Topic 9 by focusing on politics in this period at the grass roots. How far had politics become a uniform, national process by 1880, by 1885, by the late 1880s? How did each party seek to build support among potential voters? How far did they rely on ideological appeals and how far on social activities, deference, or class consciousness? What were the differences between popular Liberalism and popular Conservatism, and why did the Conservatives come to be at less of a disadvantage than before in appealing to electors? When did the Conservative party revival become significant and how much difference did the split of 1886 make to its fortunes? How important were patriotism and social reform to the Conservative image? Was religion a positive or a negative element in the appeal of either party? How far had power relations within each party changed by the late 1880s and how far were the propertied classes still in control of them?

Note: This topic extends slightly beyond the formal end-date of the paper, in order to embrace the immediate effects of the Reform Acts of 1884-5 and the party splits of 1886 on party political organization. It makes most sense to include the revival of the Conservative party to the late 1880s within this topic, but to stop before imperialism reached its height in the 1890s. Please note that there are no longer any starred questions on the Paper 5 examination paper and therefore candidates taking Paper 6 as well as this paper will not be debarred from tackling a question on this (or any other) topic on this paper. However they will be in danger of being penalised if they repeat similar material in any of their answers on the two papers.

E.F. Biagini  
*Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform* (1992), chs 6-7

L. Blaxill  
‘Electioneering, the 3rd Reform Act, & political change in the 1880s’ *Parl Hist* (2011)


M. Brodie  

P.F. Clarke  
*Lancashire and the new liberalism* (1971), chs 1-3

J. Cornford  

J.A. Garrard  
‘Parties, members and voters after 1867: a local study’, *HJ* (1977)

L. Goldman  

E.H.H. Green  
The crisis of conservatism (1994)

A. Hawkins  
*Victorian Political Culture: Habits of Heart and Mind* (2015), chs 8, 9

P. Joyce  
‘The factory politics of Lancashire in the later 19th century’, *HJ* (1975)

J. Lawrence  
‘Class and gender in the making of urban Toryism’, *EHR* (1993)

J. Lawrence  

J. Lawrence  

†M. Pugh  
The Tories and the people, 1880-1935 (1985)

P. Readman  

P. Readman  

Kathryn Rix  

M. Roberts  
11. The constitution: the roles of monarchy and Parliament

The British revered their constitution but they often disagreed about its nature and operation. How did the British perceive their constitution in the long eighteenth century? What roles did ideas of liberty, balance, and law play? How did the actual balance of power evolve over the century between Crown and Parliament and among monarch, ministers, bureaucracy, Lords, and Commons? To what extent was the regime participatory? In what senses, if any, was the regime ‘representative’? Where and when was the Hanoverian electorate an effective influence on politics? What was left of monarchal power in the post-1688 political world? How did monarchal power evolve over the course of the long eighteenth century? What were the functions of the royal court in the post-1688 regime? How far did the constitutional changes of 1828-32, and their successors, alter the influence of monarchy? In what sense was eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Britain a ‘crowned republic’?

See topic 12 for reform of parliament in the nineteenth century

(a) The constitution, 1688-1815

D. Beales: ‘The electorate before and after 1832: the right to vote and the opportunity’, Parliamentary History (1992)
†J.C.D. Clark: English society 1688-1832 (1985, 2000)
†C. Jones (ed.): A short history of Parliament (2009), ch 13, 14 and 22
P. Langford: Public life and the propertied Englishman 1689-1798 (1991)

(b) The monarchy, to 1830

†J. Beattie: The English court in the reign of George I (1967)
†R. Bucholz: The Augustan court: Queen Anne and the decline of court culture (1993)
Edmund Burke: Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents (1770) in Ian Harris (ed.)
Burke: pre-revolutionary writings (1993)
A.S. Foord ‘The waning of the influence of the crown’, EHR (1947)
†A. Gestrich and M. Schaich eds. The Hanoverian succession (2015)
R. Hatton George I: elector and king (1978)
Betty Kemp King and Commons 1660-1832 (1957) available via archive.org
†C.C. Orr Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics (2002)
R. Pares King George III and the politicians (1953) [especially the last chapter]
E.A. Reitan ‘The civil list in eighteenth-century British politics: parliamentary supremacy versus the independence of the crown’, HJ (1966)
E.A. Reitan ‘From revenue to civil list, 1689-1832’, HJ (1970)
‡H. Smith, Georgian monarchy: politics and culture 1714-1760 (2006) [introduction on Moodle]
A.C. Thompson George II, king and elector (2011)

(c) The role of the monarchy after 1830

†A. Olechnowicz (ed.) The monarchy and the British nation 1780 to the present (2007)
†John Plunkett Queen Victoria: first media monarch (2003)
†F.K. Prochaska The republic of Britain, 1776-2000 (2000)
†A. Taylor ‘Down with the Crown’: British anti-monarchism (1999)
Miles Taylor Empress: Queen Victoria and India (2018)
†D. Thompson Queen Victoria: gender and power (1990)
12. The process of parliamentary reform, 1815-1886

During the nineteenth century the British political system was substantially democratized. The number of people entitled to vote in national elections greatly increased, and the relationship between the House of Commons and the electorate was transformed by changes in the distribution of seats in parliament. How should we account for these changes, and what were their effects? Was the political elite generally in charge of the process, or was it swept along by social and political forces outside parliament? Should the three major Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884-5 be seen as reluctant concessions to prevent more radical measures, or were the leading reformers keen and able to apply coherent approaches and defined principles of representation? Can we legitimately talk of an English constitutional tradition, or of whig or radical ideas of the constitution? Why was Reform so much more politically significant at some times than others, and why did different reformers place differing emphases on the franchise and distribution provisions of Reform Bills? What were the relative consequences of the three Acts on the distribution of social and political power? What was the impact of reform on the powers of the monarch, and on the relative importance of the Lords and Commons? Was Britain still in essence run by a small propertied class in 1886?

See also Topic 10 on popular politics after 1867, Topic 11 on the monarchy, Topic 16 on urban politics, Topic 17 on discussions about reform in the 18th century, Topic 18 on Chartism and Topic 19 on the debate about women’s suffrage.

(a) General

James Vernon *Modern Britain: 1750 to the present* (2017), pp. 205-17
A. Hawkins *Victorian political culture* (2015), ch. 4, 5 and 7
†Jonathan Parry *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (1993)

(b) The making of the Great Reform Act

N. McCord ‘Some difficulties of parliamentary reform’, *HJ* (1967)
http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1820-1832/survey/ix-english-reform-legislation
A. Briggs, ‘The background of the parliamentary reform movement in three English cities, 1830-32’, *HJ* (1952)
‡Nancy LoPatin Lummis *Political unions, popular politics and the Great Reform Act of 1832* (1999)

(c) The unreformed electorate and the impact of reform

Derek Beales ‘The electorate before 1832’, *Parl Hist* (1992)


(d) Reform after 1832

Malcolm Chase ‘The popular movement for parliamentary reform in provincial Britain during the 1860s’, *Parl Hist* (2017)

M. Cowling *1867, Disraeli, Gladstone and revolution: the passing of the Second Reform Act* (1967)


R. Saunders *Democracy and the vote in British politics, 1848-1867* (2011)
13. Patriotism and national identity

The notion of ‘national identity’ should not be taken for granted, since it has been and still is the subject of debates among historians and social scientists. Therefore, it is important to understand how complex and contested this notion was. Did new ideas about the nation which emerged in the eighteenth century consolidate or weaken traditional political hierarchies? Did conceptions of the nation depend on locality, religious belief, class or gender? How did the political construction of the British state after 1688 impact on the way people in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland defined themselves and their relations to others? To what extent was Britishness a euphemism for Anglicization? What were the political consequences of warfare on British identities? What were the meanings of patriotism in the eighteenth century, and how did they shift over time?

With the defeat of Napoleon, Britain found itself in a different geopolitical situation. To what extent did notions of national identity in the nineteenth century build on eighteenth-century traditions? Did Napoleon’s defeat, British constitutional stability, and the spread of free trade lead to a specifically liberal conception of national identity? In what ways were notions of national identity politically contested? What lay behind the ‘medieval’ and ‘Tudorbethan’ enthusiasms of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and why was there so much interest in the nation’s Anglo-Saxon inheritance? How nationalist was nineteenth-century Liberalism? When, why, and how far did the association between radical politics and patriotism wane? How far and why did a specific Welsh and Scottish nationalism emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century? To what extent did the spread of constitutional regimes and the emergence of imperial rivalry across Europe affect the sense of Britain’s political uniqueness?

See also Topic 16 on the domestic impact of war, Topic 20 on religion, empire and national identity, Topic 21 on eighteenth-century Scotland, Topic 22 on Ireland, and Topic 23 on British attitudes to Europe.

(a) Some general works

Linda Colley  ‘Britishness and otherness’, *JBS* (1992)
E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (ed.), *The invention of tradition* (1983)
E. Hobsbawm  *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (1990)

(b) Mainly eighteenth century (1700-1815)

J. Coffey  ‘“Tremble, Britannia!”: fear, providence and the abolition of the slave trade, 1758-1807’, *EHR* (2012)
Stephen Conway *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the eighteenth century* (2011)


B. Harris ‘Scotland’s herring fisheries and the prosperity of the nation, c. 1660-1760’, *SHR* (2000)


Colin Kidd *British identities before nationalism* (1999)

Krishnan Kumar *The Making of English National Identity* (2003), esp. ch 7


†A. Murdoch *British history 1660-1832: national identity and local culture* (1998)


C. Petley ‘“Devoted islands: and “The madman Wilberforce”: British proslavery patriotism during the age of abolition’, *JICH* (2011)

M. Peters ‘The second “hundred years war”, 1689-1815’, *HJ* (1992)

M. Peters ‘Early Hanoverian consciousness: empire or Europe?’, *EHR* (2007)

†M. Pittock *Inventing and resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland 1685-1789* (1997)


(c) *Patriotic politics and national identities in the nineteenth century*


†M. Fry (ed) *Scotland in the age of the disruption* (1993)


†R. Koebner & H.D. Schmidt *Imperialism: the story and significance of a political word, 1840-1960* (1964)


†N. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *Four nations approaches to modern British history: a (dis)United Kingdom?* (2018)


M. Morgan *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (2001)


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14. Political communication and the development of a ‘public sphere’ in the eighteenth century

Eighteenth-century Britain inherited from the seventeenth century traditions and habits of public debate in oral and printed forms. However, after the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, the press expanded rapidly first in London and then in the provinces. Moreover, the commercialisation of leisure and culture introduced new settings for association and communication. How did the expansion of the press affect the political culture? To what extent did the development of the press contribute to an appetite and demand for information? What kinds of controls did authorities seek to impose on public discussion in oral or printed forms? To what extent did governance become more public and transparent in the eighteenth century? The ‘public sphere’ has been adduced as a way to characterize this domain of oral and written communication. What habits and institutions contributed to the development of the public sphere? What was the changing status of ‘public opinion’ in the eighteenth century? While newspapers and pamphlets conveyed political ideas and attitudes most directly, other forms of representation were channels of political conviction and contestation. How did verse, fiction, historical writing, theatrical performances, contribute to and/or reflect the political narratives and themes explored elsewhere in Paper 5? How were ideas about culture itself (often articulated in terms of ‘politeness’ or ‘civilization’) politicized in the eighteenth century?

See also Topic 25 for ways in which the press and other communicative forms articulated key ideas and convictions.

(a) Notions of ‘the public sphere’


T. Blanning *The culture of power and the power of culture* (2002) [Introduction, Chapters 4, 5, 7]

B. Cowan ‘Mr Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (2004)


†Peter Lake & Steven Pincus (ed.) *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (2007) [Chapters 1, 9, 11]

J. Van Horn Melton *The rise of the public in enlightenment Europe* (2001)

(b) The press, literature and politics in the eighteenth century


G. Boyce, J. Curran & P. Wingate *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (1978), chapters 1, 3, 6, 7 available via archive.org


J. Brewer *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (1976)


C. Gerrard *The patriot opposition to Walpole: politics, poetry, and national myth, 1725-1742* (1994)
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<tr>
<td>J.A.W. Gunn</td>
<td>Beyond liberty and property: the process of self-recognition in eighteenth-century political thought</td>
<td>1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Harris</td>
<td>A patriot press: national politics and the London press in the 1740s</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>†B. Harris</td>
<td>Politics and the rise of the press</td>
<td>1996</td>
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<td>†M. Harris</td>
<td>London newspapers in the age of Walpole: a study in the origins of the modern English press</td>
<td>1987</td>
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<td>L.E. Klein</td>
<td>Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Knights</td>
<td>Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture</td>
<td>2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>†K. Schweizer &amp; J. Black (ed.)</td>
<td>Politics and the press in Hanoverian Britain</td>
<td>1989</td>
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<tr>
<td>†K. Wilson</td>
<td>The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85</td>
<td>1995</td>
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15. The powers of the state

This topic looks at the transformation of the state across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although students will not be expected to cover the whole period.

One major theme is government finance and the legitimacy of the fiscal system. Unlike France, Prussia or Spain, the eighteenth-century British state managed to raise increasing resources for war without becoming absolutist: how can this be explained? Why did the size and shape of the state become so politically contentious in the late eighteenth century? How did war impact on domestic policies and on state-building? Is the ‘fiscal-military state’ a useful term? What drove the movement for ‘economical reform’? After 1815, some historians have seen the ‘fiscal-military state’ give way gradually to the ‘Gladstonian minimal state’. Is this a reasonable generalization and how disinterested was the mid-nineteenth-century state? Is there an ideological connection between this process and the movement towards free trade? Was this an internal reform driven by a bureaucratic and intellectual elite, or the result of external pressures from financial interest groups?

A second theme is the evolution of the relation between central and local government. Was there a drive towards centralization, a redistribution of power to the localities, or a mixture of the two? How were policies of the central state implemented locally? How autonomous were local politics from national politics?

A third theme is the power of the state to tackle social problems. The social policies of the 1830s, together with local government reform, the appointment of public commissions, the vogue for statistical inquiry, and the provision for inspection of private businesses, are sometimes regarded as amounting to a ‘revolution in government’. How far did the development of social policy (in areas such as poor law, policing, public health, industrial regulation, and education) constitute a national response to the challenges posed by hectic urbanization, rural over-population, and the ‘Condition of England’ question generally? What role was played in policy formation at central and local level by ideas and ideologies (e.g. utilitarianism, evangelicalism, individualism, collectivism)? After this burst of activity, did assumptions about the power of the state alter again before the end of the period?

NB. Paper 10 is also concerned with social policy in this period, though it focuses more on the impact and effects of social policy, whereas Paper 5 is primarily interested in the political pressures that led the state to act, the political ideas that lay behind action and the perceived limits to the role of either central or local authority.

(a) The post-1688 state

J. Brewer The sinews of power: war, money and the English state, 1688-1783 (1989)
†J. Brewer & E. Hellmuth (ed.) Rethinking Leviathan: the eighteenth-century state in Britain and Germany (1999)
†P.G.M. Dickson The financial revolution in England: a study of the development of public credit 1688-1756 (1967)
†G. Holmes Augustan England: professions, state, and society, 1680-1730 (1982), pt3
†P. Jupp Governing of Britain 1688-1848: the executive, parliament, people (2006)


**(b) Local governance in the eighteenth century**

P. Halliday  *Dismembering the body politic: partisan politics in England’s towns 1650-1730* (1998)
†N. Landau  *The justices of the peace, 1679-1760* (1984)
P. Langford  *Public life and the proertyed Englishman 1689-1798* (1991)
†J.M. Rosenheim  *The emergence of a ruling order: English landed society, 1650-1750* (1998), ch. 5

**(c) Social policies in the eighteenth century**

†V.A.C. Gatrell  *The hanging tree: execution and the English people, 1770-1868* (1994)
B. Hilton  *The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought ca. 1785-1865* (1988)
†P. Slack  *The English poor law 1531-1782* (1991)

**(d) The domestic impact of war, 1688-1815**


Stephen Conway  *War, State and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (2006)


C. Emsley  *British society and the French wars, 1793-1815* (1979) available via archive.org


L. Stone, ed.  *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (1993)

John R. Western  *The English militia in the eighteenth century: the story of a political issue, 1660-1802* (1965)

(e) Administrative and economical reform 1780-1870


D. Eastwood  ‘“Amplifying the province of the legislature”: the flow of information and the English state in the early nineteenth century’,  *HR* (1989)

†M. Daunt  *Trusting leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain 1799-1914* (2001)


(f) The free trade debate

†W.J. Ashworth  *Customs and excise: trade, production, consumption* 1640-1845 (2003)

‡A. Gambles  *Protection and politics: conservative economic discourse* 1815-1852 (1999)


†B. Hilton Corn, cash, commerce: the economic policies of the Tory governments 1815-30 (1977)
B. Semmel The rise of free trade imperialism: classical political economy, the empire of free trade, and imperialism 1750-1850 (1970)
R.F. Teichgraeber III ‘“Less abused than I had reasons to expect”: the reception of the Wealth of Nations in Britain, 1776-90’, HJ (1987)

(g) Local government and urban politics in the nineteenth century

†T. Hunt Building Jerusalem: the rise and fall of the Victorian City (2004)

(h) Social policies in the nineteenth century

†A. Brundage The making of the new poor law 1832-39 (1978)
†D. Fraser The evolution of the welfare state: a history of British social policy since the industrial revolution (1984 edn), ch. 1-5.
†V.A.C. Gatrell The hanging tree: execution and the English people, 1770-1868 (1994)
†R. Gray The factory question and industrial England 1830-1860 (1996)
†C. Hamlin Public health and social justice in the age of Chadwick, 1800-1854 (1998)
†P. Harling The modern British state (2001), ch. 3.
†J. Hurt Education in evolution: church, state, society, education 1800-70 (1971)
†P. Jupp Governing Britain 1688-1848: the executive, parliament, people (2006)
†O. Macdonagh Early Victorian government (1977) available via archive.org
†J. Murphy Church, state and schools in Britain 1800-1970 (1971)
†M. Poovey Making a social body: British cultural formation 1830-1914 (1995)
†M.E. Rose The relief of poverty 1834-1914 (1986)
S. Shave Pauper policies: poor law practice in England, 1780-1850 (2017)
†M. Wiener Reconstructing the criminal: culture, law and policy in England 1830-1914 (1990)
16. Extra-parliamentary politics and political debate in the long eighteenth century

Popular politics was sometimes oppositional and sometimes not; popular protest was sometimes political but not always. How did riots evolve in their goals and organisation between the Sacheverell affair in 1709-10 and the Gordon riots of 1780? How did ‘the moral economy’ regulate public disorder in food riots and other kinds of riot? How did local elites respond to varying kinds of public disorder? How did the penal code function socially and politically? To what extent did industrial and agrarian disputes represent a form of incipient ‘class’ violence? How do we explain the link between artisan politics and ‘urban Toryism’ ca.1730-1760? What was the changing role of religion (defensive Anglicanism, Methodism, Dissent) in relation to protest? How did popular politics and protest evolve from Wilkes through Wyvill to the agitations of the 1790s and early 1800s? How did the ambitions of ‘radicals’ and ‘reformers’ evolve over this period? Was there a coherent ideological platform of radicalism? Can an intellectual continuity be identified between the early eighteenth-century Country ideology and late eighteenth-century radicalism? Did the 1790s break with an English tradition of radicalism to import French revolutionary principles, or did different strands of radicalism coexist during this period? How do we explain the importance of particular groups, such as dissenters, in the dissemination of radicalism? What did the battle of ideas between loyalists and radicals, during the 1790s, hinge on?

 Those studying a period such as 1770-1850 should take reading from Topic 18 on Chartism as well as this list.

See also Topic 12 on parliamentary reform, Topic 19 on women and popular politics, and Topic 25 on languages of politics.

(a) The crowd in the eighteenth century

John Bohstedt  
Riots and Community Politics in England and Wales 1790-1810 (1983)

†H.T. Dickinson  
Politics of the people in eighteenth-century Britain (1994)

†I. Gilmour  

†D. Hay et al (ed)  
Albion’s fatal tree (1975) [essay by Hay; cf Langbein P&P (1983)]

P. King  

N. Rogers  
Crowds, culture, and politics in Georgian Britain (1998)

G. Rudé  
‘The London “mob” of the eighteenth century’, HJ (1959)

R.B. Shoemaker  

J. Stevenson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  
Customs in common (1991)

J. Walter  
Crowds and popular politics in early modern England (2006)

D. E. Williams  

(b) Extra-parliamentary politics before Wilkes

L. Colley  

†G. Holmes  

†A. McInnes  
‘The Revolution and the People’, in G. Holmes, Britain after the Glorious
Revolution 1689-1714 (1969) [chap. 3]


(c) From Wilkes to 1789

J. Brewer  Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III (1976)
†J. Brewer  ‘The number 45: a Wilkesite political symbol’ in S.B. Baxter (ed), England’s rise to greatness, 1660-1763 (1983)
I.R. Christie  Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform (1962) available via archive.org
J. Money  ‘The masonic moment; or, ritual, replica, and credit: John Wilkes, the macaroni parson, and the making of the middle-class mind’, JBS (1993)
Steve Poole  The politics of regicide in England 1760-1850 (2000)
†N. Rogers  ‘Crowd and people in the Gordon riots’, in E. Hellmuth (ed), The transformation of political culture (1990)
†G. Rudé  Wilkes and liberty: a social study of 1768 to 1774 (1962)
P.D.G. Thomas  John Wilkes: a friend to liberty (1996)
C. Tilly  Popular contention in Great Britain 1758-1834 (1995)

(d) Extra-parliamentary politics in the Revolutionary era

G. Claeys  ‘The French revolution debate and British political thought’, HPT (1990)
L. Colley  Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992)
†David Dickson and Hugh Gough (eds.) Ireland and the French Revolution (1990)
J.R. Dinwiddy  Radicalism and reform in Britain, 1780-1850 (1992)
R. Dozier  For king, constitution, and country: the English loyalists and the French revolution (1983)
C. Emsley ‘An aspect of Pitt’s “Terror”: prosecutions for sedition during the 1790s’, Social History (1981)
C. Emsley British Society and the French Wars (1979) available via archive.org
J. Fulcher ‘The loyalist response to the Queen Caroline agitation’, JBS 1995
A. Gee The British volunteer movement 1794-1814 (2003)
A. Goodwin, The Friends of Liberty (1979)
†Bob Harris The Scottish people and the French Revolution (2008)
†E. Hellmuth, ed. The transformation of political culture (1990).
K. J. Logue Popular disturbances in Scotland 1780-1820 (1979) available via archive.org
K. Navickas ‘“That sash will hang you”: political clothing and adornment in England, 1780-1840’ JBS (2010)
K. Navickas Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire 1798-1815 (2009)
†J.R. Oldfield Popular politics and British anti-slavery: the mobilisation of public opinion against the slave trade, 1787-1807 (1995)

M. Philp (ed) The French revolution and British popular politics (1991)
M. Philp Reforming ideas in Britain: politics and language in the shadow of the French revolution, 1789-1815 (2013)
T.P. Schofield ‘Conservative political thought in Britain in response to the French revolution’, HJ (1986)
E.P. Thompson The making of the English working class (1963)
†R. Wells Insurrection: the British experience 1795-1803 (1983)
17. Chartism, class and the radical tradition, mainly after 1815

This topic focuses on Chartism but, like much recent historiography, seeks to set it within broader historical processes since the French revolution. Popular radical activity had entered a new and apparently more dangerous phase after 1792, especially as many English Jacobins had underground links with Continental and Irish revolutionaries. Historians have long debated the questions as to how close Britain came to revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century, how far a consciousness of being ‘working class’ superseded the older plebeian culture, and whether activities based on the work place (such as trade unionism) displaced protests arising out of attachment to the traditional ‘moral economy’ (e.g. food riots). Actual outbreaks of violence were few and mainly confined to periods of acute depression and hunger (e.g. 1794-6, 1799-1801, 1816-20, 1830-3, 1837-43, 1847-8). What looked like an impending climactic—the battle of Peterloo and Caroline riots of 1819-20—turned out to be the prelude to several years of relative radical passivity. However a period of more continuous agitation set in from 1830 and included rural and industrial unrest, pressure exerted by the Political Unions during the ‘reform’ crisis, the Anti-Poor Law movement, the war of the unstamped press, millenarian movements such as Owenism and Utopianism, and then from 1837 onwards Chartism. The latter was a protean movement which is notoriously difficult to define. You will need to consider its occupational and geographical basis; its leadership, language, and visual culture; its day-to-day role in helping the lower orders of society to participate in local politics as well as in cultural and sociable activities. A number of questions remain highly controversial. For example, what was the link between the pre-Reform radical tradition and Chartism? What impact did the 1832 Reform Act have on it? Why did a movement whose basic inspiration stemmed from social and economic hardship concentrate so exclusively on achieving political reforms, notably an extension of the franchise? How significant was the distinction between ‘moral force’ and ‘physical force’? Was Chartism simply a backward-looking movement whose aim was to protect declining sections of the community? Was the apparent failure of Chartism due mainly to government repression or to government concession? What was the Chartists’ legacy for later radical movements? How far did a radical tradition link Chartism with later forms of popular liberalism?

For a longer perspective on this topic, see also some of the works in Topic 17 on popular politics and ideas in the Revolutionary era. See also topic 12 on the Reform crisis of 1829-32.

(a) General

*The People’s Charter* (1838) https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-peoples-charter
Malcolm Chase *Chartism, a new history* (2007)
‡John Walton *Chartism* (1999) [ch. 1 on Moodle].
(b) Before Chartism


Emma Griffin  ‘The making of the Chartist: popular politics and working-class autobiography in early Victorian Britain’ EHR (2014)


Robert Poole  ‘French Revolution or Peasants’ Revolt? Petitioners and rebels in England from the Blanketeers to the Chartists’, Labour History Review (2009)

c) The rise and fall of Chartism and Chartist ideas


†A. Briggs (ed)  Chartist studies (1959), chapters 1 and 9

†J. Belchem  ‘Beyond chartist studies: class, community and party’ in D. Fraser (ed), Cities, class and communication (1990)

†J. Foster  Class struggle in the industrial revolution: early industrial capitalism in three English towns (1974)


Gareth Stedman Jones  ‘Rethinking Chartism’ in his Languages of class (1983)


Miles Taylor  ‘Rethinking the chartists: searching for synthesis’, HJ (1996)


†T. Tholfsen  Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England (1976)

(d) Chartist in practice and Chartist culture

Anna Clark  ‘The rhetoric of Chartist domesticity: gender, language, and class in the 1830s and 1840s’, JBS (1992)

Anna Clark, The struggle for the breeches: gender and the making of the English working class (1995), chs 12 and 13

‡James Epstein  The lion of freedom: O’Connor and the Chartist movement (1982) [chapter 6 on Moodle]

Katrina Navickas  Protest and the politics of space and place, 1789-1848 (2016)


†P. Pickering  Chartism and the chartists in Manchester and Salford (1995)


D. Stack  ‘William Lovett and the National Association for the Political and Social Improvement of the People’, HJ (1999)


Dorothy Thompson  The chartists (1984) available via archive.org


e) From Chartism to popular Liberalism?


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
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<tr>
<td>Margot Finn</td>
<td><em>After Chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, c.1848-1874</em></td>
<td>(1993)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miles Taylor</td>
<td><em>The decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860</em></td>
<td>(1995)</td>
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</table>
18. Gender and politics

Though Westminster politics seemed essentially an arena of male activity, women were participants in the political culture in noticeable ways. What were the respective roles of men and women at different social levels? Did these significantly change in the course of the eighteenth century? What credit, if any, should we assign to the notion of ‘a gendered separation of public and private spheres’? Aside from the actual political activities of men and women, gender identities were harnessed within political discourse through a vocabulary of virtue (etymologically descended from the Latin word for ‘man’): manliness, effeminacy, domesticity, and so forth. How did concepts, such as masculinity, femininity, and effeminacy, function in political discourse? How did the gendering of political discourse shape notions of national and political identity, citizenship, and political rights? Did the convention of ‘separate spheres’ strengthen in the first half of the nineteenth century, as part of the political backlash against the French Revolution? Or could it be said that evangelicalism gave them a major role as shapers of morality in public as well as private spheres? How far and why did women emerge as significant figures in local pressure group politics in the 1825-50 period (e.g. anti-slavery, pacifism, the Anti-Corn Law League)? And why, as the century wore on, was the exclusion of women from formal political mechanisms directly challenged by a series of organised campaigns, which succeeded in transforming the social, legal, and political status of women? These campaigns not only led to greater direct involvement by women in politics, but also drew attention to the ways in which the political system was underpinned by, and privileged, particular sets of ideas about masculinity and femininity. How did ideas about masculinity shape debates about citizenship? What arguments were used to justify and to challenge women’s exclusion from the public sphere? What difference did the growth of party and the growth of the state make to women’s participation in politics? Why did women find it easier to involve themselves in certain aspects of political life than others? To what extent did the social composition and organisational structure of ‘feminist’ campaigns resemble other popular political movements?

(a) Women and politics: mainly eighteenth century

†H. Barker & E. Chalus (ed.) Gender in 18th-century: roles, representation, responsibilities (1997)
‡E. Chalus ‘“That epidemical madness”: women and electoral politics in the late 18th century’ in H. Barker & E. Chalus (ed.) Gender in 18th-century: roles, representation, responsibilities (1997)
E. Chalus Elite women in English political life c.1754-1790 (2005)
L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992), ch. 6
†K. Gleadle and S. Richardson (ed.) Women in British politics, 1760-1860: the power of the petticoat (2000) [essays by Chalus, Richardson]
M. Hunt The middling sort: commerce, gender, and the family in England 1680-1780 [introduction and ch 8]
†C.C. Orr (ed.)  *Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics* (2002)
†S. Staves  *Married women’s separate property in England, 1660-1833* (1990)
S. Tillyard  *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox 1740-1832* (1994)
A. Vickery  *‘Golden age to separate spheres? a review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history’, *HJ* (1993)
A. Vickery (ed)  *Women, privilege, and power: British politics 1750 to the present* (2001)

(b) The gendering of politics: mainly eighteenth century

†G.J. Barker-Benfield  *The culture of sensibility: sex and society in 18th-century Britain* (1992)
P. Carter  *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain 1660-1800* (2001)
Brian Cowan  ‘What was masculine about the public sphere? Gender and the coffeehouse milieu in post-Restoration England’, *HWJ* (2001)
†C. Kennedy  ‘John Bull into battle: military masculinity and the British army, 1793-1815’ in K. Hagemann et al. (eds), *Gender, war and politics: the wars of revolution and liberation in transatlantic comparison, 1775-1820* (2009)
†C. Kennedy  ‘From the ballroom to the battlefield: British women and Waterloo’ in A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall (eds), *Soldiers, citizens and civilians: experiences and perceptions of the French Wars, 1790-1820* (2008)
J.S. Lewis  *Sacred to female patriotism: gender, class and politics in late Georgian Britain* (2003)
†Matthew McCormack,  *Citizenship and Gender in Britain, 1688-1928* (2019)
N. Rogers, *Crowds, culture and politics in Georgian Britain* (1998)


†R. Weil *Political passions: gender, the family and political argument in England 1680-1714* (1999)


(c) **Women and politics: mainly nineteenth century**

Anna Clark, ‘The rhetoric of Chartist domesticity: gender, language, and class in the 1830s and 1840s’, *JBS* (1992)


Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin and Abi Wills, *The politics of domestic authority in Britain since 1800* (2009)


K. Gleadle *Borderline citizens* (2009)

‡Patricia Hollis ‘Ladies in council’ in Jane Rendall, ed., *Equal or Different?* (1987)

†P. Hollis *Ladies elect: women in local government, 1865-1914* (1988)


C. Midgeley ‘Anti-slavery and feminism in nineteenth century Britain’ in *Gender and History* (1993)

‡Simon Morgan ‘Domestic economy and political agitation: women and the Anti-Corn Law League’ in Katherine Gleadle and Sarah Richardson eds. *Women in British politics: the power of the petticoat* (Basingstoke, 2000)


†D. Thompson *Queen Victoria: gender and power* (1990)

(d) **The gendering of politics: mainly nineteenth century**


Laura Carter ‘British masculinities on trial in the Queen Caroline affair’, *Gender & History* (2008)


Ben Griffin ‘Women’s suffrage’ in David Craig and James Thompson, *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013).


Angus Hawkins *Victorian political culture* (2015)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>H. Miller</td>
<td><em>Politics personified: portraiture, caricature and visual culture in Britain, c. 1830-1880</em> (2015)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Wahrman</td>
<td>‘Middle-class domesticity goes public: gender, class and politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria’, <em>JBS</em> (1993)</td>
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19. Religion and politics

In the last thirty years the relationship between religion, politics and society in the long eighteenth century has been the subject of fierce historiographical debate. How far did the events of 1688-9 redefine the relationship between Church and state? What were the political implications of the institutional development and intellectual definition of ‘dissent’? Some historians have described Britain as an ancien regime, characterised by divine right monarchy, a paternalist aristocracy, a deferential peasantry, and an authoritative Church, raising the question: did eighteenth-century Britain have a ‘confessional state’? Others have emphasised modern and modernizing features: an innovative and more ‘secular’ spirit, rapid commercialization and increasing consumption, more participatory and collaborative dimensions to social, cultural, and political life. Either way, most would now agree that political ideas of whatever stamp were usually articulated within wider religious and theological frameworks. These debates in turn pose questions about the status and state of the established churches. For while the churches were, for the most part, allied with national and local social and political structures, the expansion of religious dissent (old and new), the growth of heterodoxy and the explosion of Methodist numbers raised new intellectual and practical challenges. Imperial expansion provides further dimensions: how did religion – Protestantism especially, and Anglicanism in particular – shape how people thought about Britain’s place in the world? To what extent did British people participate in wider confessional allegiances and rivalries cutting across national boundaries? The ‘established’ status of the Church of England was resented by many Nonconformists, and this became a matter of controversy once Nonconformists’ right to sit in parliament was formally clarified by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. Nonconformists then took up a variety of demands, on disestablishment, Church rates, civil rights, and the control of educational provision. These disputes became very contentious politically, not least because there was a close connection between religious affiliation and voting behaviour. What was really at issue between Nonconformists and Churchmen in these disputes? What did Nonconformists want to achieve, and did they achieve it? How important was anti-Catholicism in Victorian politics, and what impact did it have on disputes between Protestants? By the end of the century, was there more in common between Churchmen and Nonconformists than separated them?

NB. Although Paper 10 covers similar ground and similar reading, it is concerned more with religious belief and religious practice and how they affected and were affected by social, cultural and intellectual change. In dealing with the interaction between religion and politics, Paper 5 is concerned more with institutions, ideology and legislative change.

(a) Religion and political conflict after 1688


†J. Champion The pillars of priestcraft shaken (1992)


(b) An ancien regime?

E. Baigent & J. E. Bradley ‘The social sources of late eighteenth-century English radicalism: Bristol in the 1770s and 1780s’, EHR (2010)


††J.C.D. Clark English Society 1688-1832 (1985) [introduction to the 2nd edn. On Moodle]
The second edition of this book (2000) elaborates on and differs from but does not supersede the first, which sparked a lively debate on Clark’s ideas.


‘Introduction’


(c) Religion, empire and ‘national identity’


T. Claydon & I McBride (ed.) Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850 (1998), esp. ‘Introduction’ but see also chapters for case studies

L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992), esp. ch 1

G. Glickman The English Catholic community 1688-1745 (2009)


†C. Haydon Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England (1993)

C. Kidd British identities before nationalism; ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800 (1999)


E. Major Madam Britannia: women, Church, and nation, 1712-1812 (2012)

R. Strong Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850 (2007)

(d) Crisis, reaction and reform, 1780-1850

Gareth Atkins Converting Britannia: evangelicals and British public life 1770-1840 (2019)

D.W. Bebbington Evangelicalism in modern Britain, from the 1730s to the 1980s (1989)
(e) Liberalism and Nonconformity in the nineteenth century


†D.W. Bebbington *The nonconformist conscience: chapel and politics 1870-1914* (1982)


†T. Larsen *Friends of religious equality: nonconformist politics* (1999)


20. Scotland and Britain in the eighteenth century

One extended outcome of the 1688 Revolution was the Act of Union (1707). What were the political and constitutional causes and consequences of this legislation? What were the peculiarities of Scottish governance in the eighteenth century? And how did the Scots contribute to British governance? In what senses can Scotland be deemed a ‘client state’? What was the fate of Scottish national identity in the new Great Britain? How did political tensions between highland and lowland Scotland play themselves out? Which regions, social groups, and religious denominations supported Jacobitism, and which opposed it? Did Jacobitism create a civil war in Scotland? What was the role of Jacobitism in Scottish politics and political culture? Was the Scottish Enlightenment a response to the absorption of Scotland into Britain, and in what ways? Why did Scots ‘buy into’ empire to such a disproportionate extent?

(a) Historiographical and general treatments of British history

Allan Macinnes *Union and empire: the making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (2007)

(b) Scottish history and Anglo-Scottish relations

†M. Ash *The strange death of Scottish history* (1980)
†D. Allan *Scotland in the eighteenth century: union and enlightenment* (2001)

B. Lenman *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* (1981)
†B. Levack *The formation of the British state* (1987)
M. Pittock *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart myth and the Scottish identity 1638 to the present* (1991)
P.W.J Riley *The English Ministers and Scotland 1707-1727* (1964) available via archive.org
J.C. Robertson ‘Union, state and empire: the Britain of 1707 in its European setting,’ in L. Stone
An imperial state at war: Britain from 1688 to 1815 (1994)

J. Shaw The management of Scottish society, 1707-1764 (1983) available via archive.org


†C.A. Whatley Scottish society 1707-1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation (2000), esp ch 3

C.A. Whatley The Scots and the Union (2006)

J. Wormald ‘The creation of Britain: multiple kingdoms or core and colonies?’, TRHS (1992)

c) Jacobitism


E. Cruickshanks Political Untouchables: the Tories and the ’45 (1979) available via archive.org

†B.P. Lenman The Jacobite cause (1986)

A. Macinnes ‘Jacobitism in Scotland: episodic cause or national movement?’, SHR (2007)


†P.K. Monod Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788 (1989)

M.G.H. Pittock The myth of the Jacobite clans (1995)


†D. Szechi The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788 (1994)

d) Culture and ideology


†B. Harris The Scottish People and the French Revolution (2008)

B. Harris & C.A. Whatley “‘To solemnize His Majesty’s birthday’: new perspectives on loyalism in George II’s Britain”, History (1998)

H. Kearney The British Isles: a history of four nations (1989)


G. Pentland “‘We speak for the ready”: images of Scots in political prints, 1707-1832”, SHR (2011)


21. Ireland, 1689-1885

The Revolution of 1688 was relatively ‘bloodless’ in Britain, but this was not true in Ireland where William III had to fight a war. What was the Williamite settlement in Ireland? What were the forms of social and political collaboration, competition and conflict between Irish and English and between Protestant and Catholic? Was Ireland a British colony? What was the character of Anglo-Irish identity in the eighteenth century? What was the impact on Ireland of British imperial policy and engagements in the second half of the eighteenth century? What were the sources of Irish resentment with British rule, and how did these intensify into forms of open conflict? How effective was the system known as ‘Undertaking’? What was the significance of ‘Grattan’s parliament’? What was the impact of the French revolution on Ireland? Why did the relatively ecumenical nationalist movement of 1790 become so embittered by sectarian strife thereafter? What led to the 1798 rebellion and the Act of Union (1801)? It took a quarter of a century after the Act of Union before a significant Irish reform movement developed. However the successful campaign for Catholic emancipation in the mid-1820s created a new dynamic between Irish MPs and the Westminster parliament. How serious was the threat to the Union as a result? What did O’Connellism achieve and why did it not achieve more? Was the effect of the 1832 Reform Act to create a vibrant system of electoral politics centred on the parish pump rather than on national demands? How closely did Young Ireland correspond to Continental romantic nationalism, and why was there conflict between its leaders and O’Connell? Why did the Famine not lead to more forceful expressions of Irish discontent? Was it nonetheless a turning-point in the long-term fortunes of the Union? What were the effects of urbanization, increasing literacy, and relative prosperity on Irish politics after 1850, and why did Fenianism emerge? Why did Ireland become a major theme in British politics in the mid-1860s and why did the reforms of 1869-70 encourage rather than satisfy Irish political pressure? Did Irish Roman Catholic priests inspire the nationalist movement, or were they forced to keep up with it? Why was land such a sensitive political issue? What were the differences between Parnell and earlier Irish leaders? Was the Union unsustainable on the eve of the Home Rule crisis of 1885-6? How far did British politicians and officials understand Irish problems? Were even their most radical proposals in fact shaped by British rather than Irish ideas and conceptions? [Gladstone’s general motives for taking up Home Rule in December 1885 can be studied here or in topic 9, but we cannot consider the political impact of the 1885-6 crisis in Paper 5.]

(a) Historiographical debates

†M. Hechter Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development (1975)

(b) General histories; mainly eighteenth century

†T. Bartlett Ireland: a history (2010)
†R.F. Foster Modern Ireland 1600-1972 (1988)
(c) Politics before 1780

†R. Eccleshall ‘Anglican political thought in the century after the revolution of 1688’, in D.G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghegan (eds.), Political thought in Ireland since the seventeenth century (1993)
†W.A. Maguire (ed.). Kings in conflict: the revolutionary war in Ireland and its aftermath, 1689-1750 (1990)

(d) Religion and national identity in the eighteenth century

†T. Bartlett The fall and rise of the Irish nation: the Catholic question, 1690-1830 (1992)
S. Conway ‘Christians, Catholics, Protestants: the religious links of Britain and Ireland with Continental Europe, c.1689-1800’, EHR (2009)
P. Higgins A nation of politicians: gender, patriotism and political culture in late eighteenth-century Ireland (2010)
†M. MacCurtain & M. O’Dowd (ed.) Women in early modern Ireland (1991)

(e) Revolution and Union, 1780-1815


†D. Dickson et al. (ed.) The United Irishmen (1993)

†D. Dickson & H. Gough (ed.) Ireland and the French revolution (1990)


†P.M. Geoghegan The Irish Act of Union (2001)


†J. Kelly Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s (1992)


†J. Smyth The men of no property: Irish radicals and popular politics in the late eighteenth century (1992)


(f) General histories; mainly nineteenth century

Christine Kinealy, ‘Politics in Ireland’ in Chris Williams, ed., A companion to nineteenth-century Britain

John Bew ‘Ireland under the Union’ in Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, eds., The Princeton History of Modern Ireland (2016) [available via JSTOR]


(g) The O’Connell era and the politics of the Famine

R. Davis The Young Ireland movement (1987)


‡A. Jackson Ireland, 1798-1998 (1999), ch. 3


Charles Read ‘Laissez-faire, the Irish famine, and British financial crisis’, EcHR (2016)

‡Charles Read ‘Taxation and the economics of nationalism in 1840s Ireland’, in D. Kanter and P. Walsh, eds., Taxation, politics and protest in Ireland, 1662-2016 (2019)

C. O Grada The great Irish famine (1989)

(h) Nationalism and politics after the famine


M. Kelly ‘Irish nationalist opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s’, P&P (2009)

As her political, military and economic power grew through the eighteenth century, Britain naturally had extensive dealings with Europe, through wars, diplomacy and trade. The determinants of foreign policy included concerns with religion, dynasty, commerce, empire, security, and balance of power. How did these factors shape attitudes to different European powers and situations? What role did foreign policy play in party politics? Who had influence over foreign policy? Was it the privileged arena of a few aristocratic ministers (and their royal boss) or did wider ‘interests’ have a role in shaping policy? How were particular policies received and interpreted by society at large? How far did victory – such as in the Seven Years’ War – and catastrophe – like the loss of America - lead to a reconstruction of foreign policy and of perception of Britain’s standing on the continent? Did the course of foreign relations and policy shape a British national identity? More broadly, was there a coherent British discourse about Europe? In fact, was Europe viewed differently in England, in Scotland and in Ireland? How did the prolonged experience of war with revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and then Britain’s nineteenth-century status as an ‘island refuge’ for dissidents from continental regimes, help to define British conceptions of nationhood and subjection? What part did Britain play in the peace of 1815 and what did she gain by it, both in Europe and beyond? What were now the diplomatic, ideological and commercial objectives of successive foreign secretaries? Why did the integrity of the Ottoman Empire emerge as an important British interest, and why did Britain enter the Crimean War, only to change her policy in the East in the 1870s? How did a country that boasted of its liberalism seek to maintain the balance of power in the west until 1848, cope with the unstable international politics of the 1850s and 1860s, and react to German and Italian unification? On what occasions did the course of domestic politics turn on issues in foreign and imperial policy? In what ways did revival of the fear of invasion after 1850 affect strategic priorities? How far did popular attitudes to foreign intervention, and constitutional movements abroad influence policy?

See particularly Topic 13 on patriotism and national identity, which deals with overlapping themes.

(a) Britain’s relations with Europe

J. Black  
*Convergence or divergence: Britain and the continent* (1994) available via archive.org

†T. Claydon  

L. Colley  
*Britons: forging the nation* 1707-1837 (1992)

S. Conway  

Stephen Conway  
*Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the eighteenth century* (2011)

†David Feldman  
*Englishmen and Jews* (1994)

†E. V. Macleod  
*A war of ideas: British attitudes to the wars against revolutionary France, 1792-1802* (1998)

R. Morieux  
‘Diplomacy from below and belonging. Fishermen and cross-Channel relations in the eighteenth century’, *P&P* (2009)

R. Morieux  
‘French prisoners of war, conflicts of honour and social inversions in England,


M. Peters  ‘Early Hanoverian consciousness: empire or Europe?’, *EHR* (2007)

M. Peters  ‘The second “hundred years war”, 1689-1815’, *HJ* (1992)


(b) Foreign policy: 1688-1815

i. General works

D.A. Baugh  ‘Great Britain’s “blue-water” policy, 1689-1815’, *IHR* (1988)


J. Black  ‘Britain’s foreign alliances in the 18th century’, *Albion* (1988)

†Jeremy Black  *A System of Ambition: British Foreign Policy 1660-1793* (1991)

J. Black  *Debating foreign policy in eighteenth-century Britain* (2011)


†D. French  *The British way in warfare 1688-2000* (1990)

†Paul Langford  *The Eighteenth Century, 1688-1815* (1976), introduction


†N. Rodger  *The command of the ocean: a naval history of Britain 1649-1815* (2004)

H.M. Scott  *The birth of a great power system 1740-1815* (2005)


†B. Simms  *Three victories and a defeat: rise and fall of the first British empire, 1714-83* (2007)

ii. From the War of the Spanish Succession to the Seven Years’ War

†F. Anderson  *Crucible of war: the seven years’ war and the fate of the empire* (2000)

†M.S. Anderson  *The War of the Austrian Succession* (1995)

†D. Baugh  *The Global Seven Years War 1754-1763* (2011).

G. C. Gibbs  ‘Foreign policy in the age of Stanhope and Walpole,’ *EHR* (1962)


R. Middleton  *The bells of victory: the Pitt-Newcastle ministry and the seven years’ war* (1985)

†K.W. Schweizer  *England, Prussia and the seven years’ war* (1989)

†F.A.J. Szabo  *The Seven Years War in Europe* (2008)

A.C. Thompson  *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant interest 1688-1756* (2006)

iii. From the Peace of Paris to the Congress of Vienna

See also the topic on the British Empire.

T.C.W. Blanning  ‘“That horrid Electorate” or “Ma patrie germanique”? George III, Hanover and Fürstenbund of 1785’, *HJ* (1977)

†T.C.W. Blanning  *The origins of the French revolutionary wars* (1986) [chs 4 and 5]
†M. Duffy  *Soldiers, sugar and seapower: the British expeditions to the West Indies and the war against revolutionary France* (1987)

H.M. Scott  *British foreign policy in the age of the American revolution* (1990)


†S. Semmel  *Napoleon and the British* (2004)

(c) **Foreign policy after 1815**

†D.E.D. Beales  *England and Italy* 1859-60 (1961)

K. Bourne  *Palmerston: the early years* 1784-1841 (1982), ch. 8, 9, 11 available via archive.org


†M. Chamberlain  *British foreign policy in the age of Palmerston* (1980) [with documents]


P. Kennedy  *The rise of the Anglo-German antagonism* 1860-1914 (1980) available via archive.org


G. Hicks  *Conservatism and British foreign policy, 1820-1920* (2011)


T.G. Otte  *The Foreign Office mind: the making of British foreign policy, 1865-1914* (2011)

R.T. Shannon  *Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation* (1963) available via archive.org

†M. Swartz  *The politics of foreign policy in the age of Gladstone and Disraeli* (1985)

†A.J.P. Taylor  *The trouble-makers: dissent over foreign policy* 1792-1939 (1957)


C.K. Webster  *The foreign policy of Castlereagh* 1815-22 (2 vols., 1947 edn)

†C.K. Webster  *The foreign policy of Palmerston 1830-41: Britain, the liberal movement and the eastern question* (2 vols., 1951)
23. Britain and Empire

The ‘new imperial history’ which has developed in the last thirty years has modified the understanding of the relations between Britain and its Empire in the eighteenth century. New questions have been raised about the long-established distinction between the first and the second British Empires. What was the nature of the political and constitutional relationship between Britain and its colonies? What were the repercussions of imperial conquest on British identities? Was the relationship of Scotland and Ireland to the British Empire different from England’s and, if so, how? What was the significance of the loss of the American colonies in 1783, in the short term and in the long term? How did the relationship between Britain and its American colonies compare with its relationship with its Indian colonies? Has the role of Empire on political debates in the metropolis been exaggerated? How prominent was the consciousness of imperial issues among British men and women? How did the prolonged debates about slavery affect attitudes to empire? To what extent was British foreign and military policy, in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, shaped by imperial as distinct from European considerations? Do you agree with those historians who argue that Britain acquired its second (nineteenth-century) empire in a ‘fit of absence of mind’? Or with those who believe that British public culture was defined (at whatever level of consciousness) by the country’s imperial role? How powerful were the anti-imperial elements in public life? Why did ‘imperialism’ become a controversial question after 1874, and why did empire apparently feature so rarely in political debate before then? Why did Britain occupy Egypt in 1882 and what were the implications of this for her diplomatic freedom of manoeuvre?

NB. Papers 21 (Empires and World History) and 22 (American history) deal with the acquisition, retention, and internal governance of overseas territories. Paper 5 deals with imperial problems primarily as they had an impact on British politics and culture.

(a) The eighteenth century

†D. Armitage ed. Theories of empire, 1450-1800 (1998)
†D. Armitage & M. Braddick (ed.) The British Atlantic world (2002)
†M. Daunton & R. Halpern (ed.) Empire and others: British encounters with indigenous peoples 1600-1830 (1999)
L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992)
†L. Colley Captives: Britain, empire and the world 1600-1850 (2002)
†T. Devine Scotland’s empire 1600-1815 (2003)
T. Devine Scotland and the British empire (2011)
†Holger Hoock, Empires of the Imagination (2010)
S. Howe Ireland and empire: colonial legacies in Irish history and culture (2002)
†B. Lenman Britain’s colonial wars 1688-1783 (2001)
†M. Ogborn Global lives: Britain and the world 1550-1800 (2008)
†F. Shyllon Black people in Britain 1555-1833 (1977)
†David Olusoga Black and British (2016), ch. 3-5

(b) From the War of the Spanish Succession (1702) to the War of the American Independence (1776)

John Brewer The sinews of power (1989), chapter 7
†Tillman Nechtman Nabobs (2010)

(c) The American Revolution and its impact on British politics

C.A. Bayly, Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world 1780-1830 (1989)
†C.A. Bayly The birth of the modern world, 1780-1914: global connections and comparisons (2004)
†S. Conway The American War of Independence 1775-1783 (1995)
S. Conway The British Isles and the war of American independence (2000)
E.H. Gould The persistence of empire: British political culture in the age of the American revolution (2000)
P. Langford ‘Old Whigs, old Tories and the American revolution,’ JICH (1980)
†P.D.G. Thomas Revolution in America: Britain and the colonies, 1763-1776 (1992)

(d) Religion, empire and the anti-slavery movement

R. Anstey The Atlantic slave trade and British abolition 1760-1810 (1975) available via archive.org
David Armitage The ideological origins of the British empire (2000), ch 1 and 7
C. A. Bayly Imperial meridian (1989), chapters 3-6


J. Coffey ‘“Tremble, Britannia!”: fear, providence and the abolition of the slave trade, 1758-1807’, EHR (2012)

David Brion Davis The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution (1975)


Seymour Drescher Abolition: a history of slavery and antislavery (2009)

T. Glasson Mastering Christianity: missionary Anglicanism and slavery in the Atlantic world (2011)

C. Hall Macaulay and son: architects of imperial Britain (2012)


C. Midgley Women against slavery: the British campaigns, 1780-1870 (1992)


C. Petley ‘“Devoted islands: and “The madman Wilberforce”: British proslavery patriotism during the age of abolition’, JICH (2011)

†E. Royle & J. Walvin English radicals and reformers 1760-1848 (1982), ch. 2.

R. Strong Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850 (2007), esp chs 2 & 3

David Turley The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780-1860 (1991)


(e) Imperialism in the nineteenth century: general works

James Belich Replenishing the earth (2011)

Duncan Bell Reordering the world: essays on liberalism and empire (2016)

J. Darwin The empire project: the rise and fall of the British world-system 1830-1970 (2009)

J. Gallagher & R. Robinson ‘The imperialism of free trade’, EcHR (1953)


†David Olusoga Black and British (2016), ch. 8-11

(f) The impact of empire on British political culture

C. Hall and S. Rose At home with the empire: metropolitan culture and the imperial world (2006)


B. Porter The absent-minded imperialists: empire, society and culture in Britain (2004)

A.S. Thompson The empire strikes back: the impact of imperialism on Britain from the mid-nineteenth century (2005)


(g) Empire and party politics

C.A. Bayly Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world 1780-1830 (1989)
E. Biagini ‘Exporting “Western and beneficent institutions”: Gladstone and empire, 1880-1885’ in David Bebbington and Roger Swift, eds., Gladstone centenary essays

†C.C. Eldridge England’s mission: the imperial idea in the age of Gladstone & Disraeli (1973)


Bill Schwarz The white man’s world (2011), pp. 53-191


Miles Taylor ‘Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the radical critique of imperialism during the nineteenth century’, JICH (1991)
24. Languages of politics: an overview

Language is part of the political process. Politicians and citizens use language to explain their ambitions, legitimize their enterprises, identify their opponents and define opposing viewpoints. Of course, some thinkers and writers are interested in answering abstract questions about the nature of politics and society and developing comprehensive arguments: such arguments are studied in the political thought papers of the Tripos. The political history papers look at how language is used in everyday political life, both in formal institutions, such as Parliament, and in the wider public sphere, as in the press and public speeches. As noted for the constitutional topics, ideas about the ‘balanced’ or ‘mixed’ constitution (with its components, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy) or alternatives to it (the idea of a republic) were vigorously debated. Key terms of political allegiance and recruitment have complex meanings: Whig and Tory, Court and Country, conservative, radical and liberal. It is common for Tripos papers to ask questions which require a sense of the coherence or otherwise of such party or factional or group identities, and how they changed over time. Were there definite traditions of thought and principle (perhaps sometimes separate from or transcending party)? To what extent were political actors constrained by them? Other terms were also central to political discussion, such as liberty, corruption, independence, character, and patriotism - though politicians who used them often did not mean the same things by them. It is helpful to think about the usage and meaning of such concepts whenever one encounters them.

This topic can be studied on its own, or you can use some of the books to enrich and enhance your understanding of the topics in the chronological section of the list, and to make connections between them and trace continuities across time.

Some of these key terms could be related to larger frameworks of religious understanding: see Topic 20 on religion and politics. Some were gendered: see Topic 19. The word ‘patriotism’ had a particularly complex evolution: see also Topic 13 on national identity.

†R. Browning Political and constitutional ideas of the Court Whigs (1982)
S. Burtt Virtue transformed: political argument in Britain, 1688-1740 (1992)
J.C.D. Clark The language of liberty 1660-1832 (1993)
†S. Collini Public moralists: political thought and intellectual life in Britain, 1850-1930 (1991)
†S. J. Connolly(ed.) Political ideas in eighteenth-century Ireland (2000)
David Craig and James Thompson, eds., Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain (2013)
H.T. Dickinson Liberty and property: political ideology in 18th-century Britain (1977) available via archive.org
J.A.W. Gunn Beyond liberty and property (1983)
B. Hilton The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1795-1865 (1988)
J.P. Kenyon Revolution principles: the politics of party 1689-1720 (1977)
L.E. Klein  *Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness* (1994)
Isaac Kramnick  *Bolingbroke and his circle: the politics of nostalgia in the age of Walpole*
P. Miller  *Defining the common good: empire, religion, philosophy in the eighteenth century* (1994)
J.G.A. Pocock  *Virtue, commerce, and history* (1985)
C. Robbins  *The eighteenth-century commonwealthman: studies in the transmission, development and circumstance of English liberal thought 1660-1780* (1959)
available via archive.org
†J.J. Sack  *From Jacobite to Conservative* (1993)
D. Spadafora  *The idea of progress in eighteenth-century Britain* (1990)
D. Wahrman  *Imagining the middle class: political representation of class 1780-1840* (1995)