

## **Paper 5: British Political History 1688-1886**

### **List of Topics and Bibliographies 2019-20**

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*  
JEccIH = *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*  
Vict Studs = *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

- John Brewer *The Sinews of Power. War, Money and the English State 1689-1783* (1989)
- John Cannon, ed. *The Whig Ascendancy* (1981), especially the essay by Geoffrey Holmes, available via archive.org
- †G. Holmes *Politics, religion and society in England 1679-1742* (1986), esp. chap. 10.
- †Geoffrey Holmes *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain 1660-1722* (1993), Part 2
- J. Hoppit *A land of liberty? England, 1689-1727* (2000)
- †J. R. Jones, ed. *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688* (1992)
- †Frank O’Gorman *The Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1832* (1997)
- †Wilfred Prest *Albion Ascendant: English History 1660-1815* (1998), chapters 3, 4 and 8
- W.A. Speck *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* (1977) available via archive.org
- †Glyn Williams and John Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia: A Political History of Britain 1688-1988* (1990)

### (a) The Glorious Revolution and its impact

- J.V. Beckett ‘Stability in Politics and Society, 1680-1750’ in Clyve Jones (ed) *Britain in the first age of party* (1987)
- Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill eds, *The British Problem 1534-1707. State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (1996), essays by Goldie on Scotland and Smyth on Ireland
- R. Connors ‘The nature of stability in the Augustan Age’, *Parl.Hist.* (2009)
- O.P. Grell, J. I. Israel & N. Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration. The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (1991)
- T. Harris *Revolution: the great crisis of the British monarchy, 1685-1720* (2006)
- T. Harris & S. Taylor (eds) *The final crisis of the Stuart monarchy: the revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic, and European contexts* (2013)
- G. Holmes *British Politics in the age of Anne* (1967, revised edition 1987). For an evaluation of this book forty years on, see *Parliamentary History* (2009)
- †G. Holmes (ed.) *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714* (1969)
- J. Hoppit *A land of liberty? England, 1689-1727* (2000)
- S. Pincus *1688: the first modern revolution* (2009). For critical reviews, see *Parl. Hist.* 30 (2009) and *JIH* 41 (2010).
- J.H. Plumb *The growth of political stability in England, 1675-1725* (1967) Available via archive.org
- Clayton Roberts ‘The constitutional significance of the financial settlement of 1690’, *HJ* (1977)
- Clayton Roberts ‘The Growth of Political Stability Reconsidered’, *Albion* (1993)
- J.C. Robertson ‘Union, state and empire: the Britain of 1707 in its European setting,’ in L. Stone ed., *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1688 to 1815* (1994)

- †Craig Rose *England in the 1690s: revolution, religion and war* (1999)  
 C.A. Whatley *The Scots and the Union* (2006)  
 K. Wilson 'Inventing revolution: 1688 and eighteenth-century popular politics', *JBS* (1989)

#### (b) Court and cabinet politics

- T. Claydon *William III* (2002)  
 †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 'Robert Harley and the ministerial revolution of 1710', *Parl Hist* (2010)  
 J.P. Kenyon *Revolution principles: the politics of party, 1689-1720* (1977)

#### (c) Electoral and party politics

- †G. V. Bennett *The Tory crisis in church and state, 1688-1730: the Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (1975).  
 Colin Brooks 'Public finance and political stability: the Land Tax 1688-1720', *HJ* (1974)  
 Brian Cowan 'The Spin Doctor: Sacheverell's Trial Speech and Political Performance in the Divided Society', *Parliamentary History* (2012)  
 E. Cruickshanks 'Religion and Royal Succession: The Rage of Party', ch.2 in Clyve Jones (ed.), *Britain in the First Age of Party 1687-1750* (1987)  
 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) *The House of Commons 1690-1715* (2002)  
 \*D. Hayton & W.A. Speck 'In no one's shadow: British politics in the Age of Anne and the history of the House of Commons', *Parl. Hist* (2009)  
 †G. Holmes & W.A. Speck (ed.) *The divided society: party conflict 1694-1716* (1967)  
 P.B.J. Hyland 'Liberty and libel: government and the press during the succession crisis in Britain, 1712-16', *EHR* (1986)  
 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 'Politics after the Glorious Revolution', in B. Coward (ed.), *A companion to Stuart Britain* (2003)  
 Mark Knights *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005).  
 †G. S. De Krey *A Fractured Society: the Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688-1715* (1985)  
 John Miller *Cities Divided: Politics and Religion in English Provincial Towns 1660-1722* (2007)  
 Craig Rose 'Providence, Protestant Union and Godly Reformation in the 1690s', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1993)  
 Brent Sirota *The Christian Monitors* (2014)  
 W.A. Speck 'The general election of 1715', *English Historical Review* (1975)  
 W.A. Speck *Tory and Whig: the struggle in the constituencies* (1970) Available at www.archive.org  
 W.A. Speck 'The electorate in the first age of Party', in Clyve Jones (ed) *Britain in the first age of party* (1987)  
 D. Szechi *Jacobitism and tory politics 1710-1714* (1984) available via archive.org

## 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

Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (1989)

W.A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* available via [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)

#### (a) The Walpolean regime

- J. Black, ed. *Britain in the age of Walpole* (1984) available from [archive.org](http://archive.org)
- †J. Black, ed., *Walpole and the nature of politics in early eighteenth-century Britain* (1990)
- C. Brooks ‘Public finance and political stability: the administration of the land tax, 1688-1720’, *HJ* (1974)
- †R. Browning *Political and constitutional ideas of the court whigs* (1982)
- S. Burt *Virtue transformed* (1992)
- John Cannon, ed. *The Whig Ascendancy* (1981) available via [archive.org](http://archive.org)
- H.T. Dickinson *Walpole and the whig supremacy* (1973) available via [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)
- H. T. Dickinson *Liberty and Property* (1977)
- †B. W. Hill *The Growth of Parliamentary Parties, 1689-1832* (1985)
- †B. W. Hill *Sir Robert Walpole* (1989)
- Clyve Jones ‘The House of Lords and the Growth of Parliamentary Stability’, in Clyve Jones, ed., *Britain in the First Age of Party* (1987)
- 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)
- †J.H. Plumb *Sir Robert Walpole* (2 vols., 1956, 1960)
- J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725* (1967)
- R. Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754* (1971), introductory essays S. Targett ‘Government and ideology: Walpole’s newspaper propagandists’, *HJ* (1994)
- S.J.C. Taylor ‘Walpole, Church of England, and Quaker Tithe bill 1736’, *HJ* (1985)
- S.J.C. Taylor ‘Whigs, Bishops, and America: the politics of church reform in mid-eighteenth-century England’, *HJ* (1993)
- †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)
- G. V. Bennett ‘English Jacobitism 1710-1715: Myth and Reality’, *TRHS* (1982)
- Linda Colley ‘The Loyal Brotherhood and the Cocoa Tree: The London Organization of the Tory Party, 1727–1760’ *HJ* (1977)

- Linda Colley *In Defiance of Oligarchy* (1982)  
 E. Cruickshanks *Political Untouchables: the Tories and the '45* (1979) available via [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)  
 A. Foord *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830* (1964)  
 Perry Gauci *William Beckford: first prime minister of the London empire* (2013)  
 C. Gerrard *The patriot opposition to Walpole* (1994)  
 A. Hanham "'So few facts": Jacobites, Tories and the Pretender', *Parl Hist* (2000)  
 Bob Harris *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (1993)  
 Bob Harris *Politics and the Nation* (2002)  
 I. Kramnick *Bolingbroke and his circle* (1968)  
 †P.K. Monod *Jacobitism and the English people* (1989)  
 J.G.A. Pocock 'Varieties of Whiggism', in Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History* (1985)  
 †D. Szechi *Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-1714* (1984)  
 K. Wilson 'Inventing Revolution: 1688 and Eighteenth-Century Popular Politics', *JBS* (1989)  
 †K. Wilson *The Sense of the People* (1995)

### (c) Urban politics

- L. Colley 'Eighteenth-century radicalism before Wilkes', *TRHS* (1981)  
 H. T. Dickinson and K. Logue 'The Porteous riot: a study of the breakdown of law and order in Edinburgh, 1736-1737', *Journal of Scottish Labour History*, 10 (1976)  
 N. Landau 'The City Elections Act (1725) revisited', *EHR* (1985)  
 N. Rogers 'The City Elections Act (1725) reconsidered', *EHR* (1985)  
 N. Rogers 'Aristocratic Clientage, Trade and Independency: Popular Politics in Radical Westminster', *P&P* (1973)  
 †N. Rogers 'The urban opposition to Whig oligarchy, 1720-60' in M. and J. Jacob (eds), *Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (1984)  
 N. Rogers *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (1998)  
 K. Wilson 'Trade and Popular Politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain: the case of Admiral Vernon', *Past and Present* (1988)

### (d) Oligarchy after Walpole

- D. Barnes 'Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle', *JBS* (1962)  
 †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)  
 J. C. D. Clark 'A General Theory of Party, Opposition, Government 1688-1832', *HJ* (1980)  
 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](http://www.archive.org)  
 †M. Peters *Pitt and Popularity: the Patriot Minister and London Opposition* (1980)  
 M. Peters 'The myth of William Pitt, great imperialist', *JICH* (1993)  
 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. Black            *George III* (2006)  
 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  
 John Cannon, ed., *The Whig Ascendancy* (1981), essay by O’Gorman. Available via archive.org  
 I. R. Christie     ‘Party in Politics in Lord North’s Administration’, *Parl Hist* (1987)  
 L. Colley          ‘The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation, 1760-  
                          1820’, *P&P* (1984)  
 H.T. Dickinson   ‘George III and parliament’, *Parl Hist* (2011)  
 G.M. Ditchfield   *George III: an essay in monarchy* (2002)  
 W.M. Elofson     ‘The Rockingham Whigs and the country tradition’, *Parl Hist* (1989)  
 B.W. Hill          ‘Executive monarchy and the challenge of parties, 1689-1832’, *HJ* (1970)  
 †Brian Hill        *The Early Parties and Politics in Britain 1688-1832* (1996)  
 Paul Langford     ‘William Pitt and Public Opinion’, *EHR* (1973)  
 Paul Langford     *A Polite and Commercial People* (1989), chapter 8  
 W.C. Lowe        ‘George III, peerage creations and politics, 1760-1784’, *HJ* (1992)  
 L.B. Namier        *The structure of politics at the accession of George III* (1929 2nd edn 1957)  
                          available via archive.org  
 L. B. Namier and J. Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754-1790* (1964), intro to Vol I  
 †F. O’Gorman     *The rise of party in England: the Rockingham Whigs, 1760-82* (1975)  
 F. O’Gorman     ‘Party and Burke: the Rockingham Whigs’ *Government and Opposition* (1968)  
 M. Peters         ‘The myth of William Pitt, great imperialist’, *JICH* (1993)  
 †M. Peters        *Pitt and Popularity: The Patriot Minister and London Opposition* (1980)  
 E.A. Reitan        ‘The civil list in eighteenth-century British politics: parliamentary supremacy  
                          versus the independence of the crown’, *HJ* (1966)  
 Brendan Simms   ‘Pitt and Hanover’, in Simms and Torsten Riotte (eds), *The Hanoverian  
                          Dimension in British History, 1714-1837* (2007)  
 ‡H. Smith         *Georgian monarchy: politics and culture 1714-1760* (2006) [introduction on  
                          Moodle]  
 Lucy Sutherland   ‘The City of London in Eighteenth-Century Politics’, in R. Pares and A. J. P.  
                          Taylor, eds., *Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier* (1956) available via  
                          archive.org  
 †K. W. Schweizer *Lord Bute: Essays in Re-Interpretation* (1988)



P. D. G. Thomas     *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (1996)

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

- J.E. Bradley             *Religion, revolution and English radicalism: non-conformity in eighteenth-century politics and society* (1990)
- ‡J.A. Cannon            *The Fox-North coalition: crisis of the constitution 1782-4* (1969)
- I.R. Christie             ‘Party in politics in Lord North’s administration’, *Parl Hist* (1987)
- †S. Conway              *The American War of Independence 1775-1783* (1995)
- S. Conway               *The British Isles and the war of American independence* (2000)
- S. Conway               ‘War and national identity in the mid-eighteenth-century British Isles’, *EHR* (2001)
- L.B. Namier              *England in the age of the American revolution* (1930 2nd edn 1961) available via archive.org
- †K. Wilson               *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85* (1995), ch. 5

#### 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 loyalism? 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)
- ‡John Cannon *The Fox-North coalition: crisis of the constitution 1782-4* (1969)
- I. R. Christie 'Charles James Fox', in I. R. Christie, *Myth and Reality in Late Eighteenth-Century British Politics* (1970) available via Google Books.
- P.J. Corfield, E.M. Green, & C. Harvey 'Westminster man: Fox & his electorate', *Parl Hist* (2001)
- †J.W. Derry *The regency crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9* (1963)
- Phyllis Deutsch 'Moral Trespass in Georgian London: gaming, gender and electoral politics in the Age of George III', *HJ* 39 (1996)
- †H.T. Dickinson (ed.) *Britain and the French revolution, 1789-1815* (1989)
- G.M. Ditchfield *George III: an essay in monarchy* (2003)
- M. Duffy 'The younger Pitt and the House of Commons', *History* (1998)
- †J. Ehrman *The younger Pitt* (3 vols, 1969-96)
- W.M. Elofson 'The Rockingham Whigs and the Country Tradition' *Parl. Hist.* (1989)
- Eric Evans *William Pitt the younger* (1999)
- Boyd Hilton *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (2006)
- P. Kelly 'Radicalism and public opinion in the 1784 general election', *HR* (1972)
- P. Kelly 'British parliamentary politics, 1784-6', *HJ* (1974)
- D.C. Large 'The Decline of 'the Party of the Crown' and the Rise of Parties in the House of Lords, 1783-1837', *EHR* (1963)
- S. Lee 'George Canning and the idea of opposition, 1801-7', *History* (1998)
- W.C. Lowe 'George III, peerage creations and politics, 1760-1784' *HJ* (1992)
- †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)
- P.K. O'Brien 'Pitt the younger as Chancellor of the Exchequer', *History* (1998)
- Frank O'Gorman *The Emergence of the British Two-Party System 1760-1832* (1982)
- M.J.D. Roberts *Making English Morals* (2004), ch. 1.
- J.J. Sack 'The memory of Burke and the memory of Pitt', *HJ* (1987)
- R. Thorne *The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986) [especially Vol. 1, 'Survey']
- M. Turner *Pitt the Younger: a life* (2003) available via archive.org
- David Wilkinson 'The Pitt-Portland Coalition of 1794 and the Origins of the "Tory" Party', *History* (1998).

##### (b) Reforming the state

- Gareth Atkins *Converting Britannia: evangelicals and British public life 1770-1840* (2019)
- J. R. Breihan 'William Pitt and the Commission of Fees 1785-1801', *HJ* (1984)
- A. Burns & J. Innes (ed.) *Rethinking the age of reform: Britain 1780-1850* (2003)
- P. Harling *The waning of 'old corruption': economical reform 1779-1846* (1996)
- A. S. Foord 'The Waning of the Influence of the Crown', *EHR* (1947)
- J. Innes 'Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England' in Innes, *Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in 18th-century Britain* (2009)
- 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

- †I.R. Christie *Stress and stability in late eighteenth-century Britain: reflections on the avoidance of revolution* (1984)
- C. Emsley 'Pitt's terror: prosecution for sedition during the 1790s', *Soc Hist* (1981)
- C. Emsley 'Repression, Terror and the rule of law in England during the decade of the French Revolution', *EHR* (1985)
- †J. Mori *William Pitt and the French revolution, 1785-1795* (1997)
- †F. O'Gorman *The Whig party and the French revolution* (1967)
- Thomas Paine *Rights of man* (2 vols, 1791-2) in Bruce Kuklick (ed), *Paine: political writings* (1989)
- 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].  
 Michael Turner ‘Political leadership and political parties’ in Chris Williams, ed., *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (2006)  
 Boyd Hilton *A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006)  
 Michael Ledger-Lomas ‘The character of Pitt the Younger & party politics, 1830-1860’, *HJ* (2004)  
 †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  
 Stewart J. Brown *The National churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 62-92; 136-67.  
 †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)  
 J. Fulcher ‘The loyalist response to the Queen Caroline agitation’, *Journal of British Studies* (1995).  
 ‡Anna Gambles *Protection and politics: conservative economic discourse 1815-1852* (1999)  
 P. Handler ‘Forgery and the end of the “bloody code” in early nineteenth-century England’, *HJ* (2005)  
 P. Harling & P. Mandler, ‘From “fiscal-military” to laissez-faire state, 1760-1850’, *JBS* (1993)  
 P. Harling ‘Rethinking “old corruption”’, *P&P* (1995)  
 William Hay *Lord Liverpool: a political life* (2018), ch. 7-9  
 Boyd Hilton ‘The political arts of Lord Liverpool’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1988), pp. 147-170.  
 Boyd Hilton *The age of atonement* (1988)  
 ‡Stephen M. Lee *George Canning and Liberal Toryism, 1801-1827* (2008)  
 G.I.T. Machin ‘Canning, Wellington and the Catholic question’, *EHR* (1984)

### (c) The whig opposition and party politics

- J.E. Cookson *The friends of peace: anti-war liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (1982)  
 †W.A. Hay *The whig revival, 1808-1830* (2004)  
 Boyd Hilton *A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006), pp. 195-209.  
 F. O’Gorman ‘Party politics in the early nineteenth century, 1812-1832’, *EHR* (1987); & reply by Peter Fraser in same journal.

- P. Mandler            *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: whigs & liberals 1830-52* (1990),  
                              chapters 1 and 2.
- †A. Mitchell         *The whigs in opposition 1815-1830* (1967)
- J.J. Sack, 'The memory of Burke and the memory of Pitt', *HJ* (1987)

## 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 *Victorious century, 1800-1906* (2017)  
 †J.C.D. Clark *English Society 1688-1832* (1985, 1<sup>st</sup> edition), ch. 6.  
 Boyd Hilton *A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006), ch. 6.  
 K.T. Hoppen 'An incorporating union? British politicians and Ireland 1800-1830', *EHR* (2008)  
 Peter Mandler *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: Whigs & liberals 1830-52* (1990), ch. 4.  
 †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 *Liberal Anglican politics: whiggery, religion and reform 1830-41* (1987)  
 †Boyd Hilton 'The ripening of Robert Peel', in M. Bentley, ed., *Public and private doctrine: essays presented to Maurice Cowling* (1993).  
 G.I.T. Machin 'Resistance to repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts', *HJ* (1979)  
 G.I.T. Machin 'Canning, Wellington and the Catholic question', *EHR* (1984)  
 F. O'Ferrall, *Catholic emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the birth of Irish democracy 1820-30* (1985)  
 J. Wolffe *The Protestant crusade in Great Britain 1829-60* (1991)

### (c) The Reform Act

- A. Briggs 'The background of the parliamentary reform movement in three English cities, 1830-32', *Historical Journal* (1952), pp. 293-317.  
 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 'The unreformed electorate of Hanoverian England: the mid-eighteenth century to 1832', *Social History* (1986)  
 Frank O'Gorman 'Electoral deference in "unreformed" England: 1760-1832' *Journal of Modern History* (1984)  
 R. Quinault 'The French Revolution of 1830 and parliamentary reform', *History* 79 (1994), pp. 373-393.  
 Philip Salmon 'Reform should begin at home: English municipal and parliamentary reform, 1818-32', *Parliamentary History* (2005).  
 Philip Salmon 'The English Reform Legislation', in D. R. Fisher (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832* (2009)

**(d) Social unrest and government response**

- P. Dunkley 'The whigs and the poor law 1830-4', *Journal of British Studies* (1980-1).  
Carl Griffin 'The violent Captain Swing? *P&P* (2009)  
P. Mandler 'The making of the new poor law *redivivus*', *P&P* (1987).

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

- S. Drescher *Abolition: a history of slavery and antislavery* (2009)  
I. Gross 'The abolition of negro slavery and British politics, 1832-1833', *HJ* (1980)  
R. Anstey 'Parliamentary reform, Methodism, and anti-slavery politics, 1829-1833',  
*Slavery & Abolition* (1981)

## 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* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1996), ch. 2 is a good introduction [on Moodle].
- †M. Daunton *Trusting Leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain 1799-1914* (2001)
- Angus Hawkins "'Parliamentary government" and Victorian political parties, c.1830-c.1880', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), pp. 638-69.
- Boyd Hilton *A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006), pp. 513-524.
- M. Ledger-Lomas 'The character of Pitt the Younger and party politics, 1830-1860', *HJ* (2004)
- P. Salmon 'Local politics and partisanship: the electoral impact of municipal reform, 1835', *Parl Hist* (2000)
- P. Salmon 'Electoral reform and the political modernization of England, 1832-1841', *Parliaments, Estates, Representation* (2003)
- 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. Anstey 'Parliamentary reform, Methodism, and anti-slavery politics, 1829-1833', *Slavery & Abolition* (1981)
- R. Brent 'New whigs in old bottles', *Parliamentary History* (1992), pp. 151-56
- †R. Brent *Liberal Anglican politics: whiggery, religion and reform 1830-41* (1987)
- J. Coohill *Ideas of the Liberal Party: perceptions, agendas and liberal politics in the House of Commons* (2011). Published as vol 30 special issue 2 of *Parliamentary History*.
- A.C. Howe *Free trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (1997), ch. 1.
- Peter Mandler *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: Whigs & Liberals 1830-52* (1990)
- H. Miller 'Popular petitioning and the Corn Laws, 1833-46', *English Historical Review* (2012)
- S. Morgan 'The Anti-Corn Law League and British anti-slavery in transatlantic perspective, 1838-1846', *HJ* (2009)
- ‡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 *The people's bread: a history of the Anti-Corn Law League* (2000)  
 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)

### **Peel and the Conservative Party**

- S.J. Brown *The national churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland 1801-46* (2001)  
 Matthew Cragoe 'The Great Reform Act and the modernisation of British politics: the impact of Conservative association, 1835-41', *JBS* (2008)  
 Matthew Cragoe 'Sir Robert Peel and the 'moral authority' of the House of Commons, 1832-41' *EHR* (2013)  
 D. Eastwood 'Peel and the tory party reconsidered', *History Today* (1992)  
 D.R. Fisher 'The sugar crisis of 1844 reconsidered', *HJ* (1975)  
 Anna Gambles 'Rethinking protection: Conservatism & corn laws 1830-52', *EHR* (1998)  
 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 *The forgotten prime minister: the 14th earl of Derby: Volume I: ascent, 1799-1851* (2007)  
 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 'The political economy of Sir Robert Peel' in J. Hoppit, D. Needham and A. Leonard, eds., *Money and markets: essays in honour of Martin Daunton* (2019)

## 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 uncontentious 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    ‘The continuation of war by other means: party and politics, 1855-65’, *Historical Journal* 27 (1984)  
 Angus Hawkins    “‘Parliamentary government’ and Victorian political parties, c.1830-c.1880’, *English Historical Review* (1989)  
 Angus Hawkins    ‘Lord Derby and Victorian Conservatism’, *Parliamentary History* (1987).  
 †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 ‘The Social Science Association, 1857-1886: a context for mid-Victorian liberalism’, *EHR* (1986)  
 †A. Hawkins    *Parliament, party and the art of politics in Britain, 1855-59* (1987)  
 G. Hicks    ‘Don Pacifico, democracy, and danger: the Protectionist party critique of British foreign policy, 1850-1852’, *International History Review* (2004)  
 A.C. Howe    *Free trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (1997), ch. 2-3.  
 Anthony Howe    ‘Free trade and global order: the rise and fall of a Victorian vision’, in Duncan Bell (ed.), *Victorian visions of global order* (2007)  
 H.C.G. Matthew    ‘Disraeli, Gladstone, and the politics of mid-Victorian budgets’ *HJ* (1979)  
 H.C.G. Matthew    *Gladstone 1809-1874* (1986) available via archive.org

- Jon Parry 'Past and future in the later career of Lord John Russell' in Tim Blanning and David Cannadine, eds., *History and biography: essays in honour of Derek Beales* (1996), pp. 142-72.
- Jonathan Parry *The politics of patriotism: English Liberalism, national identity and Europe* (2006)
- Peter Mandler *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: whigs & liberals 1830-52* (1990)
- R. Saunders 'Lord John Russell and parliamentary reform, 1848-1867', *EHR* (2005)
- R. Saunders 'The politics of reform and the making of the Second Reform Act 1848-67', *HJ* (2007)
- †Richard Shannon, *Gladstone vol. 1, 1809-65* (1982)
- †E.D. Steele *Palmerston and Liberalism 1855-65* (1991)
- A. Taylor 'Palmerston and Radicalism, 1847-1865', *Journal of British Studies* (1994).
- J.R. Vincent *The formation of the Liberal party 1857-68* (1966) available via archive.org
- John Wolffe 'Lord Palmerston and religion: a reappraisal', *EHR* (2005)

**(c) Radicalism**

- Malcolm Chase 'The popular movement for parliamentary reform in provincial Britain during the 1860s', *Parl. Hist* (2017)
- S. Conway 'The politicisation of the nineteenth-century Peace Society', *HR* (1993)
- D. Nicholls 'Richard Cobden and the Peace Congress Movement 1848-53', *JBS* (1991)
- M. Taylor *The decline of British radicalism 1847-1860* (1995)

## 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

- David Cannadine *Victorious Century* (2017), chapters 8 and 9.  
 †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]  
 L. Goldman 'The Social Science Association, 1857-1886: a context for mid-Victorian Liberalism', *EHR* (1986)  
 Lawrence Goldman 'The defection of the middle class: the Endowed Schools Act, the liberal party, and the 1874 election' in P. Ghosh & L. Goldman, *Politics and culture in Victorian Britain* (2006)  
 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)  
 G.I.T. Machin 'Gladstone and nonconformity in the 1860s', *HJ* (1974)  
 †H.C.G. Matthew 'Rhetoric and politics' in P.J. Waller (ed), *Politics and social change in modern Britain* (1987)  
 H.C.G. Matthew *Gladstone 1809-1875* (1986) and *Gladstone 1876-1898* (1995) available via archive.org  
 Jonathan Parry 'Religion and the collapse of Gladstone's first government, 1870-4', *Historical Journal* (1982)  
 †Jonathan Parry *The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain* (1993), pp. 1-20, 221-311.  
 Jonathan Parry *The politics of patriotism. English Liberalism, national identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (2006), ch. 6-7.  
 Jonathan Parry 'Gladstone, liberalism and the government of 1868-74' in David Bebbington and Roger Swift, eds., *Gladstone centenary essays* (Liverpool, 2017).  
 Richard Shannon 'Peel, Gladstone and party', *Parl Hist* (1999)

**(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 'Disraelian Conservatism: a financial approach', *EHR* (1984)
- 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 'Disraeli and England' *Historical Journal* (2000).
- 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 *British democracy and Irish nationalism, 1876-1906* (2007), ch. 1-2.
- †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)
- Luke Blaxill and Tam Saleh, ‘The electoral dynamics of Conservatism, 1885-1910: “negative unionism” reconsidered, *Historical Journal* (2016)
- M. Brodie                *The politics of the poor: the East End of London, 1885-1914* (2004), intro, ch. 3, conclusion.
- P.F. Clarke              *Lancashire and the new liberalism* (1971), chs 1-3
- J. Cornford              ‘The transformation of the Conservative Party in the late nineteenth century,’ *Victorian Studies* (1963-4)
- J.A. Garrard            ‘Parties, members and voters after 1867: a local study’, *HJ* (1977)
- L. Goldman              ‘The defection of the middle class: the Endowed Schools Act, the liberal party, and the 1874 election’ in P. Ghosh & L. Goldman, *Politics and culture in Victorian Britain* (2006)
- 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              ‘The dynamics of urban politics, 1870-1918’ in J. Lawrence & M. Taylor (ed.), *Party, state and society* (1997)
- J. Lawrence              *Speaking for the people: party, language & popular politics 1867-1914* (1998)
- †M. Pugh                *The Tories and the people, 1880-1935* (1985)
- P. Readman              ‘The Conservative Party, patriotism, and British politics: the case of the general election of 1900’, *JBS* (2001)
- P. Readman              ‘The 1895 general election and political change’, *Historical Journal* (1999).
- Kathryn Rix              ‘By-elections and the modernisation of party organisation, 1867-1914’ in P. Readman and T. Otte, *By-elections in British politics, 1832-1914* (2013)
- M. Roberts              ‘Villa Toryism and popular Conservatism, 1885-1902’, *HJ* (2006)

M. Roberts 'Constructing a Tory world-view: popular politics and the Conservative press in late-Victorian Leeds', *HR* (2006).

## THEMATIC TOPICS

### 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 monarchical power in the post-1688 political world? How did monarchical 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)
- C. Brooks: 'Public finance and political stability: the administration of the land tax 1688-1720', *HJ* (1974)
- J. Cannon *Aristocratic century: the peerage of eighteenth-century England* (1984), chs 4, 6
- †J.C.D. Clark *English society 1688-1832* (1985, 2000)
- H.T. Dickinson 'The British constitution', in H.T. Dickinson, ed., *A companion to C18 Britain* (2002)
- Mark Goldie 'The unacknowledged republic: officeholding in early modern England', in Tim Harris, (ed.) *The politics of the excluded, c.1500-1850* (2001)
- J.A.W. Gunn 'Influence, parties and the constitution: changing attitudes, 1783-1832', *HJ* (1974)
- J. Hoppit 'Patterns of parliamentary legislation 1660-1800', *HJ* (1996)
- C. Jones (ed.) *A Pillar of the Constitution: the House of Lords in Politics 1640-1784* (1989)
- †C. Jones (ed.) *A short history of Parliament* (2009), ch 13, 14 and 22
- G. W. Jones 'The Office of Prime Minister', in H. van Thal (ed), *The Prime Ministers* (1974), volume I
- P. Langford *Public life and the propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (1991)
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- †F. O'Gorman *Voters, patrons, and parties: the unreformed electoral system of Hanoverian England 1734-1832* (1989)
- F. O'Gorman 'The unreformed electorate of Hanoverian England: the mid-eighteenth century to 1832', *Soc Hist* (1986)
- F. O'Gorman 'Campaign rituals and ceremonies: the social meaning of elections', *P&P* (1992)
- J.A. Phillips 'Popular politics in unreformed England', *JMH* (1980)
- J.A. Phillips 'Participatory politics in Hanoverian England', *Soc Hist* (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)
- L. Colley 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760-1820', P&P (1984)
- H.T. Dickinson 'George III and parliament', *Parl Hist* (2011)
- G.M. Ditchfield, *George III: an essay in monarchy* (2002)
- 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)
- B.W. Hill 'Executive monarchy and the challenge of parties, 1689-1832', *HJ* (1970)
- Betty Kemp *King and Commons 1660-1832* (1957) available via archive.org
- W.C. Lowe, 'George III, peerage creations and politics, 1760-1784', *HJ* (1992)
- M. Morris *The British monarchy and the French Revolution* (1998)
- †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 'The idea of a Protestant monarchy in Britain 1714-1760', P&P (2004)
- ‡H. Smith, *Georgian monarchy: politics and culture 1714-1760* (2006) [introduction on Moodle]
- H. Smith & S. Taylor 'Hephaestion and Alexander': Lord Hervey, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Royal Favourite in England in the 1730s', *EHR* (2009)
- A.C. Thompson *George II, king and elector* (2011)
- A.C. Thompson 'Early 18th-century Britain as a confessional state', in H. Scott & B. Simms (ed.), *Cultures of power in Europe in the long eighteenth century* (2007)

**(c) *The role of the monarchy after 1830***

- W.L. Arnstein 'Queen Victoria opens parliament: the disinvention of tradition', *HJ* (1990)
- †D. Cannadine 'The last Hanoverian sovereign? The Victorian monarchy' in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (ed.), *The first modern society* (1989)
- †D. Cannadine 'The context, performance and meaning of ritual: the British monarchy and the invention of tradition, c.1820-1977' in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (ed.), *The invention of tradition* (1983)
- J. Cannon 'The survival of the British monarchy', *TRHS* (1986)
- David Craig 'The crowned republic? Monarchy and anti-monarchy in Britain, 1760-1901', *HJ* (2003)
- N. Gossman 'Republicanism in nineteenth-century England', *IRHS* (1980)
- †A. Olechnowicz (ed.) *The monarchy and the British nation 1780 to the present* (2007)
- A. Olechnowicz 'The monarchy' in D. Brown, R. Crowcroft and G. Pentland (eds.) *the Oxford Handbook of Modern British Political History, 1800-2000* (2018)
- †John Plunkett *Queen Victoria: first media monarch* (2003)
- †F.K. Prochaska *Royal bounty: the making of a welfare monarchy* (1995)
- †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 18<sup>th</sup> century, Topic 18 on Chartism and Topic 19 on the debate about women's suffrage.

### (a) General

- J.A. Phillips 'Participatory politics in Hanoverian England', *Soc Hist* (1991)  
 Michael Smith 'Parliamentary reform and the electorate' in Chris Williams, ed., *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (2006)  
 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)  
 R. Saunders 'Democracy', in *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. D. Craig & J. Thompson (2013)

### (b) The making of the Great Reform Act

- Boyd Hilton *Mad, bad and dangerous* (2006), pp. 420-38  
 N. McCord 'Some difficulties of parliamentary reform', *HJ* (1967)  
 Philip Salmon 'The English Reform legislation, 1830-32' in D. Fisher, ed., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1820-32* (2009), vol. 1  
<http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1820-1832/survey/ix-english-reform-legislation>  
 R. Saunders, 'God and the Great Reform Act: preaching against reform: 1831-2' *JBS* (2014)  
 R. Quinault, 'The French Revolution of 1830 and parliamentary reform', *History* (1994)  
 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)  
 K.T. Hoppen 'The franchise in England and Ireland 1832-85', *History* (1985)  
 Frank O'Gorman 'The unreformed electorate of Hanoverian England: the mid-eighteenth century to 1832', *Social History* (1986)  
 Frank O'Gorman 'Electoral deference in "unreformed" England: 1760-1832' *Journal of Modern History* (1984)

- J.A. Phillips and C. Wetherell 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the political modernization of England' *AHR* (1995)
- P. Salmon 'Local politics and partisanship: the electoral impact of municipal reform, 1835', *Parl History* (2000)

**(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)
- ‡J.P.D. Dunbabin, 'Electoral reforms and their outcome in the United Kingdom, 1865-1900' in T. Gourvish & A. O'Day *Later Victorian Britain* (1988)
- †C. Hall, K McClelland & J. Rendall *Defining the Victorian nation: class, race, gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (2000)
- B. Griffin *The politics of gender in Victorian Britain* (2012), part 3.
- J. Parry 'The decline of institutional reform in nineteenth-century Britain', in D. Feldman & J. Lawrence (eds.), *Structures and transformations in modern British history* (2011)
- J. Rendall 'John Stuart Mill, liberal politics, and the movements for women's suffrage, 1865-1873' in A. Vickery, ed. *Women, privilege and power* (2001)
- M. Roberts 'Resisting "arithmocracy": Parliament, community, and the Third Reform Act', *JBS* (2011)
- R. Saunders 'Lord John Russell and parliamentary reform, 1848-1867', *EHR* (2005)
- R. Saunders 'The politics of reform and the making of the Second Reform Act, 1848-1867', *HJ* (2007)
- 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*

- B. Anderson            *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (1991)  
 R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, ‘Beyond Identity’, *Theory and Society* 29 (2000)  
 L. Colley                ‘Britishness and otherness’, *JBS* (1992)  
 Linda Colley            ‘Whose nation? Class and national consciousness in Britain 1750-1830’, *P&P* (1986)  
 E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (ed.), *The invention of tradition* (1983)  
 E. Hobsbawm            *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (1990)  
 P. Mandler              ‘What is “national identity”? definitions and applications in modern British historiography’, *Modern Intellectual History* (2006)  
 M. Taylor                ‘John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England c. 1712-1929’, *P&P* (1992)

#### (b) *Mainly eighteenth century (1700-1815)*

- J.C.D. Clark            ‘Protestantism, nationalism, and national identity, 1660-1832’, *HJ* (2000)  
 T. Claydon & I. McBride (ed.) *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland. c. 1650-c. 1850* (1998)  
 J. Coffey                ‘“Tremble, Britannia!”: fear, providence and the abolition of the slave trade, 1758-1807’, *EHR* (2012)  
 L. Colley                *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (1992)  
 L. Colley                ‘Whose nation? Class and national consciousness 1750-1830’, *P&P* (1986)  
 S. Conway              ‘War and national identity in the mid-eighteenth-century British Isles’, *EHR* (2001)

- Stephen Conway *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the eighteenth century* (2011)
- B. Harris ‘Patriotic commerce and national revival: the Free British Fishery Society and British politics, c. 1749-58’, *EHR* (1999)
- B. Harris ‘Scotland’s herring fisheries and the prosperity of the nation, c. 1660-1760’, *SHR* (2000)
- D. Hayton *Anglo-Irish Experience, 1680-1730: religion, identity and patriotism* (2012)
- †T.L. Hunt *Defining John Bull: caricature, politics and national identity in late Georgian England* (2003)
- G. Jordan & N. Rogers ‘Admirals as heroes: patriotism and liberty in Hanoverian England’, *JBS* (1989)
- C. Kidd ‘North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms’, *HJ* (1996)
- Colin Kidd *British identities before nationalism* (1999)
- Krishnan Kumar *The Making of English National Identity* (2003), esp. ch 7
- P. Langford *Englishness identified: manners and character, 1650-1850* (2000)
- R. Morieux ‘Diplomacy from below and belonging: fishermen and cross-Channel relations in the eighteenth century’, *P&P* (2009)
- †R. Morieux *The Channel: England, France and the construction of a maritime border in the eighteenth century* (2016)
- R. Morieux *The society of prisoners: Anglo-French Wars and incarceration in the eighteenth century* (2019)
- †A. Murdoch *British history 1660-1832: national identity and local culture* (1998)
- G. Newman ‘Anti-French propaganda and British liberal nationalism’, *Vict Studs* (1975)
- †G. Newman *The rise of English nationalism: a cultural history 1740-1830* (1987)
- 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)
- R. Romani *National character and public spirit in Britain and France 1750-1914* (2002)
- S. Semmel ‘Radicals, loyalists, and the Royal Jubilee of 1809’, *JBS* (2007)
- K. D. M. Snell ‘The culture of local xenophobia’, *Social History* 28 (2003)
- K. Wilson ‘Trade and popular politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain: the case of Admiral Vernon’, *P&P* (1988)
- ‡K. Wilson *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85* (1995) [ch. 4 on Moodle]
- K. Wilson *The island race: Englishness, empire and gender in the 18<sup>th</sup> century* (2003)

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

- †L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds.), *A union of multiple identities: the British isles c1750–c1850* (1997)
- R. Colls *Identity of England* (2002)
- M. Cragoe ‘Welsh electioneering and the purpose of parliament: “from radicalism to nationalism” reconsidered’, *Parl Hist* [special issue: ‘Parliament and Locality’] (1998)
- Matthew Cragoe *Culture, Politics, and National Identity in Wales, 1832-1886* (2004)
- †G. Day & R. Suggett ‘Conceptions of Wales and Welshness: aspects of nationalism in nineteenth-century Wales’ in G. Rees, et al (ed.), *Political action and social identity: class, locality and ideology* (1985)
- †T.M. Devine *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000* (1999)
- C.J. Dewey ‘Celtic agrarian legislation and the Celtic revival: historicist implications of Gladstone’s Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870-1886’, *P&P* (1974)
- A.L. Drummond & J Bulloch *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874* (1975) available via

- archive.org
- A.L. Drummond & J Bulloch *The Church in late Victorian Scotland, 1874-1900* (1978) available via archive.org
- Richard Finlay 'National identity, Union and Empire, c.1850-1970' in John Mackenzie and Tom Devine (eds), *Scotland and the British Empire* (2011)
- †M. Fry (ed) *Scotland in the age of the disruption* (1993)
- †W.B. George 'Welsh disestablishment and Welsh nationalism', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* (1969)
- †C. Harvie 'Nineteenth-century Scotland: political unionism and cultural nationalism, 1843-1906' in R.G. Asch (ed), *Three nations — a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland and British history, c. 1600-1920* (1993)
- A. Hastings *The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism* (1997)
- †Sandra Holton 'British Freewomen: National Identity, Constitutionalism and the Languages of Race in Early Suffragist Histories' in Eileen Yeo (ed.), *Radical Femininity* (1998)
- R. Horsman 'Origins of racial anglo-saxonism in Great Britain before 1850', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1976)
- C. Kidd 'Race, empire, and the limits of nineteenth-century Scottish nationhood', *HJ* (2003)
- †R. Koebner & H.D. Schmidt *Imperialism: the story and significance of a political word, 1840-1960* (1964)
- Krishnan Kumar *The Making of English National Identity* (2003)
- Rebecca Langlands 'Britishness and Englishness? The historical problem of national identity in Britain', *Nations and Nationalism* (1999)
- †N. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *Four nations approaches to modern British history: a (dis)United Kingdom?* (2018)
- J.M. MacKenzie 'Empire and national identities: the case of Scotland', *TRHS* (1998)
- †P. Mandler *The English national character* (2006)
- P. Mandler "'Race" and "nation" in mid-Victorian thought' in S. Collini et al (ed.), *History, religion, and culture: British intellectual history 1750-1950* (2000)
- †R. Mitchison 'Nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism' in Mitchison (ed), *The roots of nationalism: studies in Northern Europe* (1980)
- K.O. Morgan 'Welsh nationalism: the historical background', *Journal of Contemporary History* (1971)
- M. Morgan *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (2001)
- †R.J. Morris & G. Morton 'The remaking of Scotland, 1850-1920' in M. Lynch (ed), *Scotland 1850-1979: society, politics, and the Union* (1993)
- †R.J. Morris & G. Morton 'Civil society, governance and nation, 1832-1914' in R.A. Houston & W. Knox (ed), *The new Penguin history of Scotland* (2001)
- J.P. Parry *The politics of patriotism: English liberalism, national identity and Europe* (2006)
- J.P. Parry 'The impact of Napoleon III on British politics, 1851-1880', *TRHS* (2001)
- J. Parry 'Patriotism', in *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. D. Craig & J. Thompson (2013)
- J.G.A. Pocock 'The limits and divisions of British history: in search of the unknown subject', *AHR* (1982)
- B. Porter *The absent-minded imperialists: empire, society, and culture in Britain* (2004)
- B. Porter 'Bureau and barrack: early Victorian attitudes towards the continent', *Vict Studs* (1984)
- †B. Porter 'Empire and British national identity, 1815-1914', in H. Brocklehurst & R. Phillips (ed.), *History, nationhood, and the question of Britain* (2004)
- Keith Robbins *Nineteenth-century Britain: integration and diversity* (1988)
- †R. Samuel, ed. *Patriotism: the making and unmaking of British national identity* (3 vols, 1989)

- M. Taylor 'John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England c.1712 –1929', *P&P* (1992)
- J. Vernon 'Englishness: the narration of a nation', *JBS* (1997)

## 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’*

- H. Barker & S. Burrows (ed.) *Press, politics and the public sphere in Europe and North America 1760-1820* (2002) [Introduction and Chapter 4]
- 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)
- B. Cowan ‘Geoffrey Holmes and the public sphere’, *Parl Hist* (2009)
- M. Harris ‘Parliament in the public sphere: a view of serial coverage at the turn of the seventeenth century’, *Parl Hist* (2007)
- †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*

- H. Barker *Newspapers, politics and public opinion in late eighteenth-century England* (1998)
- J. Black *The English press in the eighteenth century* (1991)
- 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
- G.A. Cranfield, *The development of the English provincial newspaper, 1700-60* (1962) available via archive.org
- †J. E. Bradley *Popular politics and the American Revolution in England* (1986)
- J. Brewer *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (1976)
- G.A. Cranfield ‘The London Evening Post 1727-44: a study in the development of the political press’, *HJ* (1963)
- J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the press* (1979)
- C. Gerrard *The patriot opposition to Walpole: politics, poetry, and national myth, 1725-1742* (1994)



- J.A.W. Gunn *Beyond liberty and property: the process of self-recognition in eighteenth-century political thought* (1983)
- B. Harris *A patriot press: national politics and the London press in the 1740s* (1993)
- †B. Harris *Politics and the rise of the press* (1996)
- †M. Harris *London newspapers in the age of Walpole: a study in the origins of the modern English press* (1987)
- P.B.J. Hyland 'Liberty and libel. Government and the press during the succession crisis in Britain 1712-16', *EHR* (1986)
- L.E. Klein *Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness* (1994)
- M. Knights *Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture* (2005)
- †K. Schweizer & J. Black (ed.) *Politics and the press in Hanoverian Britain* (1989)
- S. Targett 'Government & ideology: Walpole's newspaper propagandists', *HJ* (1994)
- †K. Wilson *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85* (1995)

## 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*

- G.E. Aylmer 'From office-holding to civil service: the genesis of modern bureaucracy', *TRHS* (1980)
- G.E. Aylmer 'The peculiarities of the English state', *Journal of Historical Sociology* (1990)
- M. Braddick 'State formation and social change in early modern England', *Soc. Hist* (1991)
- 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)
- T. Ertman 'The Sinews of Power and European state-building theory', in L. Stone (ed.), *An imperial state at war* (1994)
- Eckhard Hellmuth 'The British state' in H.T. Dickinson, ed., *A companion to C18 Britain* (2002)
- †G. Holmes *Augustan England: professions, state, and society, 1680-1730* (1982), pt3
- Julian Hoppit 'Reformed and unreformed Britain, 1689-1801', in W. Doyle (ed.), *The Oxford history of the ancien regime* (2011)
- Julian Hoppit *Britain's Political Economies. Parliament and Economic Life, 1660-1800* (2017)
- †Joanna Innes 'Legislation and public participation, 1760-1830', David Lemmings (ed.), *The British and their laws in the eighteenth century* (2005).
- †P. Jupp *Governing of Britain 1688-1848: the executive, parliament, people* (2006)

- D. Lemmings *Law and Government in England during the Long Eighteenth Century: From Consent to Command* (2011)
- P.K. O'Brien 'The political economy of British taxation, 1660-1815', *EcHR* (1988)

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

- D.T. Andrew 'Aldermen and the big bourgeoisie of London reconsidered', *Soc Hist* (1981)
- E. Carlson 'The origins, function, and status of the office of churchwarden', in M. Spufford, ed., *The world of rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (1995) available via archive.org
- †D. Eastwood *Government and community in the English provinces, 1700-1870* (1997)
- L. Glassey 'Local government', in C. Jones (ed.), *Britain in the first age of party, 1680-1750* (1987)
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**(c) Social policies in the eighteenth century**

- D. Andrew *Philanthropy and police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (1989)
- J.M. Beattie *Crime and the courts 1660-1800* (1986)
- †V.A.C. Gatrell *The hanging tree: execution and the English people, 1770-1868* (1994)
- D. Green *Pauper capital: London and the poor law 1790-1870* (2010)
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- †P. Slack *The English poor law 1531-1782* (1991)

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

- J. Brewer *The sinews of power: war, money and the English state, 1688-1783* (1989)
- G. Atkins 'Christian heroes, providence and patriotism in wartime Britain, 1793-1815', *HJ* (2015)
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- John R. Western *The English militia in the eighteenth century: the story of a political issue, 1660-1802* (1965)

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- J.E. Crowley 'Neo-mercantilism and *The Wealth of Nations*: British commercial policy after the American Revolution', *HJ* (1990)
- D. Eastwood "'Amplifying the province of the legislature": the flow of information and the English state in the early nineteenth century', *HR* (1989)
- †M. Daunton *Trusting leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain 1799-1914* (2001)
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- P. Harling 'Rethinking "old corruption"', *P&P* (1995)
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- W.D. Rubinstein 'The end of "old corruption" in Britain 1780-1860', *P&P* (1983)

**(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)
- A. Gambles 'Free trade and state formation: the political economy of fisheries policy in Britain and the United Kingdom ca. 1780-1850', *JBS* (2000)
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- †B. Hilton *Corn, cash, commerce: the economic policies of the Tory governments 1815-30* (1977)  
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- D. Fraser *Urban politics in Victorian England: politics in Victorian cities* (1976) available via archive.org  
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**(h) Social policies in the nineteenth century**

- P. Bartrip 'British government inspection 1832-75', *HJ* (1982)  
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 D. Beales 'Peel, Russell and reform', *HJ* (1974)  
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 †C. Emsley *Policing and its context 1750-1870* (1983).  
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 L. Goldman *Science, reform and politics in Victorian Britain* (2002), ch. 9.  
 †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 of Britain 1688-1848: the executive, parliament, people* (2006)  
 O. Macdonagh 'The nineteenth-century revolution in government', *HJ* (1958)  
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 †J. Murphy *Church, state and schools in Britain 1800-1970* (1971)  
 †M. Poovey *Making a social body: British cultural formation 1830-1914* (1995)  
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 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*

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 †H.T. Dickinson    *Politics of the people in eighteenth-century Britain* (1994)  
 †I. Gilmour        *Riots, risings & revolution: governance & violence in 18th-c England* (1992)  
 †D. Hay et al (ed)   *Albion's fatal tree* (1975) [essay by Hay; cf Langbein P&P (1983)]  
 P. King             ‘Edward Thompson’s contribution to eighteenth-century studies: the patrician-plebeian model re-examined’, *Soc Hist* (1996)  
 N. Rogers         *Crowds, culture, and politics in Georgian Britain* (1998)  
 G. Rudé ‘The London “mob” of the eighteenth century’, *HJ* (1959)  
 R.B. Shoemaker    *The London mob: violence and disorder in eighteenth-century England* (2004)  
 J. Stevenson       *Popular disturbances in England, 1700-1870* (1979; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1992) available via archive.org  
 E.P. Thompson    ‘The moral economy of the English crowd in the 18th century’, *P&P* (1971)  
 E.P. Thompson    ‘Patrician society, plebeian culture’, *J Soc Hist* (1974)  
 E.P. Thompson    ‘Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class’, *Soc Hist* (1978)  
 E.P. Thompson    *Customs in common* (1991)  
 J. Walter           *Crowds and popular politics in early modern England* (2006)  
 D. E. Williams     ‘Morals, Markets and the English Crowd in 1766’, *Past & Present* (1984)

### (b) *Extra-parliamentary politics before Wilkes*

- L. Colley            ‘Eighteenth-century radicalism before Wilkes’, *TRHS* (1981)  
 †G. Holmes        ‘The Sacheverell riots: the Church and the crowd in early eighteenth-century London’, in G. Holmes, *Politics, religion and society in England 1679-1742* (1986)  
 †A. McInnes       ‘The Revolution and the People’, in G. Holmes, *Britain after the Glorious*

- Revolution 1689-1714* (1969) [chap. 3]  
 †N. Rogers *Whigs and cities: popular politics in the age of Walpole & Pitt* (1989).  
 R.B. Shoemaker 'The London "mob" in the early eighteenth century', *JBS* (1987)  
 K. Wilson 'Empire, trade and popular politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain: the case of Admiral Vernon', *P&P* (1988)  
 K. Wilson 'Inventing revolution: 1688 and eighteenth-century popular politics', *JBS* (1989)

**(c) *From Wilkes to 1789***

- E. C. Black, *The Association: British extraparliamentary political organization, 1769-1793* (1963) available via archive.org  
 J. Brewer *Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III* (1976)  
 J. Brewer 'Commercialisation and politics', in N. McKendrick *et al.*, *The birth of a consumer society* (1982) available via archive.org  
 †J. Brewer 'The Wilkites and the law', in J. Brewer & J. Styles (ed.), *An ungovernable people* (1980)  
 †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  
 V. Cromwell 'Presbyterian moral economy: the covenanting tradition of popular protest in Scotland 1780-1815', *SHR* (2010)  
 C. Haydon 'The Gordon riots in the English provinces', *HR* (1990)  
 †I. Haywood & J. Seed (ed.) *The Gordon riots: politics, culture and insurrection in late eighteenth-century Britain* (2012)  
 John Money 'Taverns, Coffee Houses and Clubs', *HJ* (1971)  
 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)  
 ‡K. Wilson *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85* (1995) [ch. 4 on Moodle]

**(d) *Extra-parliamentary politics in the Revolutionary era***

- John E. Archer *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England 1780-1840* (2000)  
 J. Barrell *The Spirit of Despotism* (2006)  
 J. Bohstedt 'Gender, household and community politics: women in English riots 1790-1810', *P&P* (1988)  
 G. Claeys 'The French revolution debate and British political thought', *HPT* (1990)  
 L. Colley 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760-1820', *P&P* (1984)  
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 J.E. Cookson 'The English volunteer movement of the French wars', *HJ* (1989)  
 †I.R. Christie *Stress and stability in late eighteenth-century Britain: reflections on the avoidance of revolution* (1984)  
 H.T. Dickinson *British Radicalism and the French Revolution* (1985) available via archive.org  
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 †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)

- David Eastwood 'E.P. Thompson, Britain, and the French Revolution', *HWJ* (1995)
- †M. Elliott *Partners in revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (1982)
- C. Emsley 'An aspect of Pitt's "Terror": prosecutions for sedition during the 1790s', *Social History* (1981)
- C. Emsley 'The London insurrection of 1792: fact, fiction, or fantasy?', *Journal of British Studies* (1978)
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- 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
- †Ian McCalman 'New Jerusalem: prophecy, dissent and radical culture in England, 1786-1830', in Knud Haakonssen ed., *Enlightenment and Religion* (2006)
- R. McWilliam *Popular politics in nineteenth century England* (1998)
- 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)
- F. O'Gorman 'The Paine burnings of 1792-1793', *P&P* (2006)
- †J.R. Oldfield *Popular politics and British anti-slavery: the mobilisation of public opinion against the slave trade, 1787-1807* (1995)
- Susan Pedersen, 'Simple Simon meets Hannah More: tracts, chapbooks, and popular culture in late eighteenth-century England', *JBS* (1986)
- M. Philp (ed) *The French revolution and British popular politics* (1991)
- M. Philp 'Vulgar conservatism, 1792-3', *English Historical Review* (1995)
- M. Philp *Reforming ideas in Britain: politics and language in the shadow of the French revolution, 1789-1815* (2013)
- †E. Royle *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the threat of revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (2000)
- M.A. Rutz 'The politicizing of evangelical dissent', *Parl Hist* (2001)
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- S. Semmel 'British radicals and "legitimacy": Napoleon in the mirror of history', *P&P* (2000).
- E.P. Thompson *The making of the English working class* (1963)
- †J. Walvin 'The rise of British popular sentiment for abolition, 1787-1832', in C. Bolt and S. Drescher (ed.), *Anti-slavery, religion, and reform: essays in memory of Roger Anstey* (1980)
- †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 climacteric—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 and 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)

Boyd Hilton *A mad, bad and dangerous people?* (2006), pp. 612-27

R. McWilliam *Popular Politics in nineteenth century England* (1998)

Simon Morgan ‘The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in *Transatlantic Perspective*, 1838-1846’, *HJ* (2009)

†E. Royle *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the threat of revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (2000)

‡John Walton *Chartism* (1999) [ch. 1 on Moodle].

**(b) Before Chartism**

- J. Belchem 'Orator' Hunt: *Henry Hunt and English working-class radicalism* (1985) available via archive.org
- F.K. Donnelly & J.L. Baxter 'Sir Francis Burdett and Burdettite radicalism', *History* (1980)
- Emma Griffin 'The making of the Chartists: popular politics and working-class autobiography in early Victorian Britain' *EHR* (2014)
- †Catherine Hall, 'The tale of Samuel and Jemima: gender and working-class culture in early nineteenth-century England', in *White, male and middle class: explorations in feminism and history* (1992).
- 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**

- J. Belchem 'Radical language, meaning and identity in the age of the Chartists', *Journal of Victorian Culture* (2005)
- †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)
- Josh Gibson 'The Chartists and the constitution: revisiting British popular constitutionalism', *JBS* (2017)
- Gareth Stedman Jones 'Rethinking Chartism' in his *Languages of class* (1983)
- Robert Saunders 'Chartism from above: British elites and the interpretation of Chartism', *HR* (2008)
- Miles Taylor 'Rethinking the chartists: searching for synthesis', *HJ* (1996)
- ‡Miles Taylor 'The six points: Chartism and the reform of parliament' in Owen Ashton, Robert Fryson and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist legacy* (1999)
- †T. Tholfsen *Working-class radicalism in mid-Victorian England* (1976)

**(d) Chartism 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 'Class without words: symbolic communication in Chartism', *P&P* (1986)
- †P. Pickering *Chartism and the chartists in Manchester and Salford* (1995)
- J. Saville *1848: the British state and the chartist movement* (1987) available via archive.org
- D. Stack 'William Lovett and the National Association for the Political and Social Improvement of the People', *HJ* (1999)
- M. Taylor *Ernest Jones, Chartism and the romance of politics* (2003)
- Dorothy Thompson *The chartists* (1984) available via archive.org
- Eileen Yeo 'Christianity in Chartist struggle, 1838-1842', *P&P* (1981)

**(e) From Chartism to popular Liberalism?**

- †Margot Finn *After Chartism: class and nation in English radical politics, c.1848-1874* (1993)
- D. Gadian 'Radicalism and liberalism in Oldham: a study of conflict, continuity and change in popular politics, 1830-52', *Social History* (1996)
- Rohan McWilliam, 'Radicalism and popular culture: the Tichborne case and the politics of "fair play", 1867-1886', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (ed.), *Currents of radicalism: popular radicalism, organised labour and party politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (1991)
- Antony Taylor 'Palmerston and radicalism, 1847-65', *Journal of British Studies* (1994)
- Miles Taylor *The decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860* (1995)
- †Bertrand Taithe 'Working men, old Chartists and the Contagious Diseases Act', in Keith Laybourn (ed.), *Social conditions, status and community, 1860-c.1920* (1997)
- M. Winstanley 'Oldham radicalism: the origins of popular Liberalism 1832-52', *HJ* (1993)

## 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*

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 E. Chalus *Elite women in English political life c.1754-1790* (2005)  
 E. Chalus ‘Invited in the political way: women, social politics and political society in 18th century England’ *HJ* (2000)  
 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]  
 †L. Gordon *Mary Wollstonecraft: a new genus* (2005)  
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- †C.C. Orr (ed.) *Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics* (2002)
- A. Stott *Hannah More: the first Victorian* (2003)
- R.B. Shoemaker *Gender in English society 1650-1850: emergence of separate spheres?* (1998)
- †S. Staves *Married women's separate property in England, 1660-1833* (1990)
- I. Tague *Women of quality: accepting and contesting ideals of femininity in England, 1690-1760* (2002)
- 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)

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- Julia Banister 'The court martial of Admiral John Byng: politeness and the military man in the mid-eighteenth century', in Heather Ellis and Jessica Meyer (ed.), *Masculinity and the other: historical perspectives* (2009)
- †G.J. Barker-Benfield *The culture of sensibility: sex and society in 18th-century Britain* (1992)
- John Bohstedt, 'Gender, household and community politics: women in English riots 1790-1810', *P&P* (1988)
- P. Carter *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain 1660-1800* (2001)
- A. Clark 'The Chevalier d'Eon and Wilkes: masculinity and politics in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (1998)
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- M. Cohen *Fashioning masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (1996)
- †M. Cohen & T. Hitchcock (ed.) *English masculinities, 1660-1800* (1999)
- Brian Cowan 'What was masculine about the public sphere? Gender and the coffeehouse milieu in post-Restoration England', *HWJ* (2001)
- †E. Eger (ed) *Women, writing and the public sphere 1700-1830* (2001)
- K. Harvey 'The history of masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *JBS* (2008)
- †B. Hill *Women, work and sexual politics in eighteenth-century England* (1989)
- †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)
- L.E. Klein 'Gender and the public/private distinction in the eighteenth century: some questions about evidence and analytical procedure', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (1995)
- P. Langford 'Politics and manners from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 94 (1997)
- J.S. Lewis *Sacred to female patriotism: gender, class and politics in late Georgian Britain* (2003)
- †M. McCormack *The independent man: citizenship and gender politics in Georgian England* (2005)
- †M. McCormack (ed.) *Public men: masculinity and politics in modern Britain* (2007)
- M. McCormack 'The new militia: war, politics and gender in 1750s Britain', *Gender and History* (2007)
- Matthew McCormack, 'A Man's Sphere? British Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe* (2018)
- †Matthew McCormack, *Citizenship and Gender in Britain, 1688-1928* (2019)
- †K. Rogers *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (1982)

- N. Rogers, *Crowds, culture and politics in Georgian Britain* (1998)
- R.B. Shoemaker 'Male honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London', *Soc Hist* (2001)
- †R. Weil *Political passions: gender, the family and political argument in England 1680-1714* (1999)
- K. Wilson *The island race: Englishness, empire and gender in the eighteenth century* (2003)

**(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)
- Jennifer Davey, *Mary, Countess of Derby, and the politics of Victorian Britain* (2019)
- Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1840* (1987)
- Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin and Abi Wills, *The politics of domestic authority in Britain since 1800* (2009)
- K. Gleadle 'Revisiting Family Fortunes: reflections on the twentieth anniversary of the publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall's Family Fortunes', *Women's History Review* (2007)
- 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)
- Peter Mandler 'From Almack's to Willis's: aristocratic women and politics, 1815-1867' in A. Vickery, ed. *Women, privilege and power: British politics, 1750 to the present* (Stanford, 2001).
- C. Midgley *Women against slavery: the British campaigns, 1780-1870* (1992)
- 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)
- K.D. Reynolds *Aristocratic women* (Oxford, 1998)
- B. Taylor *Eve and the New Jerusalem: socialism and feminism in the nineteenth century* (1983) available via archive.org
- †D. Thompson *Queen Victoria: gender and power* (1990)

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

- G. Atkins 'Christian heroes, providence and patriotism in wartime Britain, 1793-1815', *HJ* (2015)
- Laura Carter 'British masculinities on trial in the Queen Caroline affair', *Gender & History* (2008)
- A. Clark *The struggle for the breeches: gender and the making of the British working class* (1995)
- Ben Griffin *The politics of gender in Victorian Britain: masculinity, political culture, and the struggle for women's rights* (2012), ch. 6.
- Ben Griffin 'Women's suffrage' in David Craig and James Thompson, *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013).
- Ben Griffin 'Masculinities and parliamentary culture in modern Britain' in Sean Brady, Christopher Fletcher, Rachel Moss and Lucy Riall, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe* (2018).
- †C. Hall, K McClelland & J. Rendall, *Defining the Victorian nation: class, race, gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (2000), intro & chs 2 and 3
- Angus Hawkins *Victorian political culture* (2015)

- Jon Lawrence 'Class and gender in the making of urban toryism 1884-1914', in *English Historical Review* 108 (1993) pp. 629-52.
- H. Miller *Politics personified: portraiture, caricature and visual culture in Britain, c. 1830-1880* (2015)
- John Tosh 'Gentlemanly politeness and manly simplicity in Victorian England', *TRHS* (2002)
- John Tosh 'The Old Adam and the New Man: emerging themes in the history of English masculinities, 1750–1850,' in Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2005)
- D. Wahrman 'Middle-class domesticity goes public: gender, class and politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria', *JBS* (1993)
- S.C. Williams 'Gender', in T. Larsen and M. Ledger-Lomas, *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting traditions, vol.3, the 19th Century* (2017)

## 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 régime*, 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. Bradley     | ‘The religious origins of radical politics in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1662-1800’ in James E. Bradley and Dale Van Kley, eds., <i>Religion and politics in Enlightenment Europe</i> (2001) |
| J. J. Caudle    | ‘James Boswell and the bi-confessional state’, in William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram (eds), <i>Religious Identities in Britain, 1660-1832</i> (2005)   |
| †J. Champion    | <i>The pillars of priestcraft shaken</i> (1992)   |
| J. Gregory, ed. | <i>The Oxford History of Anglicanism: vol. 2</i> (2017)   |
| †G. Holmes      | <i>Politics, religion, and society in England, 1679-1742</i> (1986)   |
| †C. Jackson     | <i>Restoration Scotland, 1660-1689</i> (2003)   |



- Steven Pincus “‘To protect English liberties’”: the English nationalist revolution of 1688-1689’, in T Claydon & I McBride (ed.) *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (1998)
- Brent Sirota ‘The Occasional Conformity controversy, moderation, and the Anglican critique of modernity, 1700-1714’, *HJ* (2014)
- J. Spurr ‘The Church of England, comprehension, and the Toleration Act of 1689’, *EHR* (1989)
- A.C. Thompson, ed. *The Oxford History of protestant dissenting traditions: vol. 2* (2018)

**(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.E. Bradley *Religion, revolution and English radicalism: non-conformity in eighteenth-century politics and society* (1990)
- †‡J.C.D. Clark *English Society 1688-1832* (1985) [introduction to the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. Contributions to this debate include: J. Innes & J. Clark in *Past & Present* (1987); symposia in *Albion* (1989), *British Journal of 18th-Century Studies* (1992); G.S. Rousseau in *Age of Johnson* (1989); R.W. Davis in *Parliamentary History* (1990).
- J. C. D. Clark ‘Great Britain and Ireland’, in S. J. Brown and Timothy Tackett, eds., *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, Volume 7 (2006)
- †Jeremy Gregory & Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, *The national Church in local perspective* (2003)
- Jeremy Gregory, ‘Religion: faith in the Age of Reason’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* (2011)
- †K. Haakonssen (ed) *Enlightenment and religion: rational dissent in 18th-C Britain* (1996)
- A.C. Thompson ‘Early 18th-century Britain as a confessional state’, in H. Scott & B. Simms (ed.), *Cultures of power in Europe in the long eighteenth century* (2007)
- J. Walsh, C. Haydon, S. Taylor (ed.) *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833* (1993), esp. ‘Introduction’
- N. Yates *Eighteenth-century Britain: religion and politics, 1714-1815* (2008)

**(c) Religion, empire and ‘national identity’**

- †T. Claydon *Europe and the Making of England 1660-1760* (2007)
- 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)
- J. Gregory ‘The making of a Protestant nation’, in Nicholas Tyacke (ed) *England’s long reformation 1500-1800* (1998)
- †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)
- C. Kidd ‘Conditional Britons: The Scots Covenanting Tradition and the Eighteenth-century British State’, *EHR* (2002)
- 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)

- S.J. Brown *Providence and empire: religion, society and politics in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (2008)
- S.J. Brown *The national churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland 1801-46* (2001)
- R.A. Burns 'English "church reform" revisited, 1780-1840', in Arthur Burns & Joanna Innes (eds), *Rethinking the age of reform: Britain, 1780-1850* (2003)
- †D. Hempton *Methodism and politics in English society 1750-1850* (1984)
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- B. Hilton *The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1795-1865* (1988)
- B. Hilton *A mad, bad, and dangerous people? England 1783-1846* (2006), ch 3
- R.J. Hole *Pulpits, politics and public order in England: 1760-1832* (1989)
- R. Hole 'English sermons and tracts as media of debate on the French Revolution', in M. Philp, *The French Revolution and British popular politics* (1991)
- †G.I.T. Machin *Politics and the churches in Great Britain 1832-68* (1977)
- †I. McCalman *Radical underworld: prophets, revolutionaries and pornographers in London, 1795-1840* (1988)
- M. Rutz 'The politicizing of evangelical dissent, 1811-1813,' *Parl Hist* (2001)
- Robert Saunders 'God and the Great Reform Act: preaching against Reform, 1831-32', *JBS* (2014)
- Simon Skinner 'Religion' in J. Thompson and D. Craig, *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013)
- J. Wolffe 'Anglicanism, Presbyterianism and the religious identities of the United Kingdom' in S. Gilley, ed. *Cambridge History of Christianity* vol. 8 (2005)
- J. Wolffe *God and greater Britain: religion and national life 1843-1945* (1994)

**(e) Liberalism and Nonconformity in the nineteenth century**

- O. Anderson 'Gladstone and the abolition of compulsory church rates', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1974)
- †D.W. Bebbington 'Religion and national feeling in nineteenth-century Wales and Scotland' in S. Mews (ed), *Religion and national identity* (1992)
- E. Biagini 'Politics and social reform' in Timothy Larsen and Michael Ledger-Lomas, *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (2017)
- †D.W. Bebbington *The nonconformist conscience: chapel and politics 1870-1914* (1982)
- R.J. Helmstadter 'The nonconformist conscience' in P.T. Marsh, *The conscience of the Victorian state* (1979) available via archive.org
- †T. Larsen *Friends of religious equality: nonconformist politics* (1999)
- †G.I.T. Machin *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869-1921* (1987), ch. 2-4.
- J. Parry 'The disciplining of the religious conscience in nineteenth-century British politics', in I. Katznelson and G. Stedman Jones (eds), *Religion and the political imagination* (2010)
- †J. Parry *Democracy and religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party* (1986), intro and pt. 2.

## 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*

- B. Bradshaw & J. Morrill (ed.) *The British problem 1534-1707: state formation in the Atlantic archipelago* (1996), essays by Goldie on Scotland and Smyth on Ireland  
 J.C.D. Clark 'English History's Forgotten Context: Scotland, Ireland, Wales', in *EHR* (1989)  
 R. J. Finlay 'New Britain, new Scotland, new history? The impact of devolution on the development of Scottish historiography', *Journal of Contemporary History* (2001)  
 A. Grant & K.J. Stringer (ed.) *Uniting the kingdom? The making of British history* (1995)  
 J. Hoppit (ed.) *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland 1660-1850* (2003)  
 Allan MacInnes *Union and empire: the making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (2007)  
 J.G.A. Pocock 'The limits and divisions of British history: in search of an unknown subject', *AmHR* (1982)

### (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)  
 †T.M. Devine & J.R. Young (ed.) *Eighteenth-century Scotland: new perspectives* (1998)  
 †T. M. Devine *The Scottish nation, 1700-2000* (2000)  
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 T. M. Devine, ed. *Scotland and the union, 1707-2007* (2008)  
 B. Harris 'The Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Union, 1707 in 2007: defending the revolution, defeating the Jacobites', *JBS* (2010)  
 B.P. Lenman 'A client society: Scotland between the '15 and the '45', in J. Black (ed.), *Britain in the age of Walpole* (1984) available from archive.org  
 B. Lenman *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* (1981)  
 †B. Levack *The formation of the British state* (1987)  
 A. Murdoch *The People Above: politics and administration in eighteenth-century Scotland* (1980)  
 M. Pittock *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart myth and the Scottish identity 1638 to the present* (1991)  
 Alasdair Raffae '1707, 2007 and the Unionist turn in Scottish history', *HJ* (2010)  
 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

- (ed.), *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
- J. Simpson 'Who steered the gravy train, 1707-1766', in N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (1996)
- D. Szechi & D. Hayton 'John Bull's other kingdoms: the English government of Scotland and Ireland', in C. Jones (ed.), *Britain in the first age of party* (1987)
- †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 (ed.) *Ideology and conspiracy: aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (1990) available via archive.org
- 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)
- †F.J. McLynn *The Jacobite army in England: the final campaign* (1983)
- †P.K. Monod *Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788* (1989)
- M.G.H. Pittock *The myth of the Jacobite clans* (1995)
- †M. Steele 'Anti-Jacobite pamphleteering 1701-20', *SHR* (1981)
- †D. Szechi *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788* (1994)

### (d) *Culture and ideology*

- †R. J. Finlay 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish identity in the eighteenth century', in D. Brown, R. J. Finlay and M. Lynch, eds., *Image and identity: the making and re-making of Scotland through the ages* (1998)
- †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)
- C. Kidd *Subverting Scotland's past: creation of Anglo-British identity* (1993)
- C. Kidd 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms', *HJ* (1996)
- C. Kidd *British identities before nationalism: ethnicity and identity in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (1999)
- C. Kidd 'Conditional Britons: the Scots covenanting tradition and the eighteenth century British state', *EHR* (2002)
- C. Kidd 'Integration: patriotism and nationalism', in H. T. Dickinson, ed., *A companion to eighteenth-century Britain* (2003)
- J. M. Mackenzie, 'Empire and national identities: the case of Scotland', *TRHS* (1998)
- A. Mackillop 'Political culture of the Scottish highlands: Culloden to Waterloo', *HJ* (2003)
- †R. Mitchison 'Patriotism and national identity: 18th-c Scotland', in T.W. Moody, ed., *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (1978)
- G. Pentland "'We speak for the ready": images of Scots in political prints, 1707-1832', *SHR* (2011)
- N.T. Phillipson 'The Scottish enlightenment', in R. Porter & M. Teich (ed.), *The enlightenment in national context* (1981)
- †K. Simpson *The protean Scot: the crisis of identity in 18th-c Scottish literature* (1988)

## 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*

- T. Bartlett                    ‘A new history of Ireland’, *P&P* (1986)  
 †D.G. Boyce & A. O’Day (ed.) *The making of modern Irish history: revisionism and the revisionist controversy* (1996)  
 †M. Hechter                *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development* (1975)

### (b) *General histories; mainly eighteenth century*

- †T. Bartlett                *Ireland: a history* (2010)  
 †S.J. Connolly            ‘Eighteenth-century Ireland’, in D.G. Boyce and A. O’Day (eds.), *The making of modern Irish history: revisionism and the revisionist controversy* (1996)  
 S.J. Connolly            *Divided kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (2008)  
 †D. Dickson              *New foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Dublin, 2000).  
 †R.F. Foster                *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (1988)

- †R.F. Foster 'Ascendancy and union', in *The Oxford illustrated history of Ireland* (1989)  
 J. Kelly *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. III, 1730-1880* (2018)  
 †I. McBride *Eighteenth-century Ireland: the isle of slaves* (2010)  
 †T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds.), *A new history of Ireland, iv: eighteenth-century Ireland* (1986)

**(c) Politics before 1780**

- S.J. Connolly *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (1992)  
 †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)  
 D.W. Hayton 'Walpole and Ireland', in J. Black (ed.), *Britain in the age of Walpole* (1984) available via archive.org  
 D.W. Hayton (ed.) 'The Irish parliament in the 18th century: the long apprenticeship', *Parl Hist* (2001), special volume  
 †J.R. Hill 'Ireland without Union: Molyneux and his legacy', in J. Robertson (ed.), *A union for empire: political thought and the British union of 1707* (1995)  
 †J. Kelly 'Public and political opinion in Ireland and the idea of an Anglo-Irish union, 1650-1800', in D.G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghegan (eds.), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland* (2001)  
 †J. Kelly 'The Act of Union: its origins and background', in D. Keogh, K. Whelan (eds.), *Acts of Union: The Causes, Contexts and Consequences of the Act of Union of 1801* (2001)  
 †P. H. Kelly 'Ireland and the Glorious revolution: from kingdom to colony', in R. Beddard (ed.), *The revolutions of 1688* (1991)  
 †W.A. Maguire (ed.), *Kings in conflict: the revolutionary war in Ireland and its aftermath, 1689-1750* (1990)  
 †G. O'Brien (ed.) *Parliament, politics and people: eighteenth-century Irish history* (1989)  
 D. Szechi & D. Hayton 'John Bull's other kingdoms: the English government of Scotland and Ireland', in C. Jones (ed.), *Britain in the first age of party* (1987)

**(d) Religion and national identity in the eighteenth century**

- †T.C. Barnard *A New Anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (2003)  
 †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)  
 T. Claydon & I. McBride (ed.) *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (1998)  
 J.R. Hill 'Popery and Protestantism, civil and religious liberty: the disputed lessons of Irish history 1690-1812', *P&P* (1988)  
 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)  
 J. Smyth, "'Like amphibious animals": Irish Protestants, ancient Britons, 1691-1707', *HJ* (1993)

**(e) Revolution and Union, 1780-1815**

- T. Bartlett 'An end to moral economy: Irish militia disturbances of 1793', *P&P* (1983)  
 †T. Bartlett et al. (ed.) *The 1798 Rebellion: a Bicentennial Perspective* (2003)  
 N.P. Canny 'Irish resistance to empire? 1641, 1690 and 1798', in L. Stone (ed.), *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689 to 1715* (1994)

- L.M. Cullen 'The 1798 Rebellion in its eighteenth-century context', in P.J. Corish, ed., *Radicals, Rebels and Establishments* (1985)
- N. Curtin *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798* (1994)
- †D. Dickson *et al.* (ed.) *The United Irishmen* (1993)
- †D. Dickson & H. Gough (ed.) *Ireland and the French revolution* (1990)
- †M. Elliott *Partners in revolution: the United Irishmen and France* (1982)
- †Marianne Elliott, 'Ireland', in Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy (ed.), *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (1988)
- †Marianne Elliott 'Ireland and the French Revolution', in H. Dickinson (ed), *Britain and the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (1989)
- †P.M. Geoghegan *The Irish Act of Union* (2001)
- J. Kelly 'The origins of the Act of Union, 1650-1800', *IHS* (1987)
- †J. Kelly *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s* (1992)
- I.R. McBride "'When Ulster joined Ireland": Anti-popery, Presbyterian Radicalism and Irish Republicanism in the 1790s', *P&P* (1997)
- I. McBride 'Reclaiming the rebellion: 1798 in 1998', *IHS* (1999)
- †J. Smyth *The men of no property: Irish radicals and popular politics in the late eighteenth century* (1992)
- †J. Smyth 'Introduction: the 1798 rebellion in its eighteenth-century contexts', in J. Smyth (ed.), *Revolution, counter-revolution and union: Ireland in the 1790s* (2000)

**(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]
- Paul Bew *Ireland: the politics of enmity* (2007), ch. 2-7.
- K.T. Hoppen *Governing Hibernia: British politicians and Ireland, 1800-1921* (2017).
- K.T. Hoppen *Elections, politics, and society in Ireland 1832-85* (1984) available via archive.org

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

- R. Davis *The Young Ireland movement* (1987)
- J.S. Donnelly 'The great famine: its interpreters, old and new', *History Ireland* (1993)
- ‡James Donnelly 'A famine in Irish politics' in W.E. Vaughan (ed) *A new history of Ireland: 5: Ireland under the union*, vol I (1996) [on Moodle]
- K.T. Hoppen 'An incorporating union? British politicians and Ireland 1800-1830', *EHR* (2008)
- ‡A. Jackson *Ireland, 1798-1998* (1999), ch. 3
- Charles Read 'The repeal year in Ireland: an economic reassessment', *HJ* (2015)
- 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**

- W.E. Vaughan (ed) *A new history of Ireland: 5: Ireland under the union*, vol II, (1996), ch. 1-3.
- M. Kelly 'Irish nationalism', in *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. D. Craig & J. Thompson (2013)
- M. Kelly 'Irish nationalist opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s', *P&P* (2009)
- E.F. Biagini *British democracy and Irish nationalism 1878-1906* (2007), ch.1-3.

- C. Reid 'An experiment in constructive unionism': Isaac Butt, home rule and federalist political thought during the 1870s', *English Historical Review* (2014)
- D.G. Boyce *Nationalism in Ireland* (3rd edn, 1995)

## 22. Britain and Europe

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 subjecthood? 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 *Europe and the making of England 1660-1760* (2007)
- L. Colley *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (1992)
- S. Conway 'Continental connections: Britain and Europe in the eighteenth century', *History* (2005)
- 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,



- 1744-1783', *HJ* (2013).
- †R. Morieux *The Channel: England, France and the construction of a maritime border in the eighteenth century* (2016)
- R. Morieux *The society of prisoners: Anglo-French Wars and incarceration in the eighteenth century* (2019)
- M. Peters 'Early Hanoverian consciousness: empire or Europe?', *EHR* (2007)
- M. Peters 'The second "hundred years war", 1689-1815', *HJ* (1992)
- †M. Philp *Resisting Napoleon: The British response to the threat of invasion, 1797–1815* (2006).
- C. Smout 'The Culture of migration: Scots as Europeans 1500-1800', *HWJ* (1995)
- E. Sparrow 'The Alien Office, 1792-1806', *HJ* (1990)
- Daniel Statt 'The City of London and the controversy over immigration, 1660-1722', *HJ*, (1990)

**(b) Foreign policy: 1688-1815**

**i. General works**

- D.A. Baugh 'Great Britain's "blue-water" policy, 1689-1815', *IHR* (1988)
- J. Black 'British foreign policy in the eighteenth century', *JBS* (1987)
- 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. C. Coleman, 'Mercantilism Revisited', *HJ* (1980)
- †D. French *The British way in warfare 1688-2000* (1990)
- †Paul Langford *The Eighteenth Century, 1688-1815* (1976), introduction
- D. McKay & H.M. Scott *The rise of the great powers* (1983) available via archive.org
- W. Mulligan & B. Simms (eds) *The primacy of foreign policy in British history 1660-2000* (2010) [esp articles by A. Thompson and B. Simms]
- †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 & T. Riotte (ed.) *The Hanoverian dimension in British history, 1714-1837* (2007)
- †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)
- †G. C. Gibbs 'The Revolution in Foreign Policy', in G. Holmes (ed), *Britain After the Glorious Revolution* (1969)
- 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)
- P. Schroeder *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (1994).
- †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
- David Brown *Palmerston: a biography* (2010)
- †M. Chamberlain *Pax Britannica? British foreign policy 1789-1914* (1988)
- †M. Chamberlain *British foreign policy in the age of Palmerston* (1980) [with documents]
- John Davis 'Britain and the European balance of power' in Chris Williams, ed., *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (2008)
- J. Parry *The politics of patriotism: English liberalism, national identity and Europe 1830-1886* (2006), part 2.
- P. Kennedy *The rise of the Anglo-German antagonism 1860-1914* (1980) available via archive.org
- P. Kennedy *The realities behind diplomacy: background influences in British external policy 1865-1980* (1981) available via archive.org
- †C.J. Bartlett 'Britain and the European balance 1815-48' in A. Sked (ed), *Europe's balance of power 1815-48* (1979)
- K. Bourne (ed) *The foreign policy of Victorian England 1830-1902* (1970) available via archive.org
- G. Hicks *Conservatism and British foreign policy, 1820-1920* (2011)
- W. Mulligan & B. Simms (eds) *The primacy of foreign policy in British history 1660-2000* (2010) [esp. articles by A. Howe, D. Bell, T. Otte, P. Readman]
- 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)
- M. Taylor 'The 1848 revolutions and the British empire', *P&P* (2000)
- 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*

- AmHR Forum ‘The New British History in Atlantic Perspective’, AmHR (1999) [articles by D. Armitage, Ned C. Landsman, Eliga H. Gould]
- †D. Armitage ed. *Theories of empire, 1450-1800* (1998)
- †D. Armitage & M. Braddick (ed.) *The British Atlantic world* (2002)
- P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins *British imperialism: innovation and expansion 1688-1914* (1993)
- †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)
- P.J. Marshall (ed.) *The Oxford history of the British Empire. Vol 2: the eighteenth century* (1998)
- P.J. Marshall *The making and unmaking of empires: Britain, India and America c. 1750-1783* (2005)
- †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

- K. Wilson 'Empire, trade and popular politics in mid-Hanoverian Britain: the case of Admiral Vernon', *P&P* (1988)
- †‡K. Wilson *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-85* (1995) ch 4 on Moodle

**(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
- J.L. Bullion 'British ministers and American resistance to the Stamp Act, October-December 1765', *William & Mary Quarterly* (1992)
- B. Harris "'American idols": empire, war and the middling ranks in mid-eighteenth-century Britain', *P&P* (1996)
- P. Mapp 'British culture and the changing character of mid-eighteenth-century British empire', in W.R. Hofstra (ed.), *Cultures in conflict: the Seven Years' War in North America* (2007)
- †Tillman Nechtman *Nabobs* (2010)
- S. Pincus 'Addison's Empire: Whig conceptions of empire in the early eighteenth century', *Parl. Hist.* (2012)

**(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)
- H.V. Bowen 'British conceptions of global empire, 1756-83', *JICH* (1988)
- J.E. Bradley *Religion, revolution and English radicalism: non-conformity in eighteenth-century politics and society* (1990)
- †S. Conway *The American War of Independence 1775-1783* (1995)
- S. Conway *The British Isles and the war of American independence* (2000)
- †H.T. Dickinson (ed.) *Britain and the American Revolution* (1998)
- E.H. Gould 'American independence and Britain's counter-revolution', *P&P* (1997)
- Eliga H. Gould, 'A virtual nation: Greater Britain and the imperial legacy of the American Revolution', *AmHistRev* (1999)
- E.H. Gould *The persistence of empire: British political culture in the age of the American revolution* (2000)
- B. Hilton, *A mad, bad and dangerous people? Britain 1783-1846* (2006)
- P. Langford 'Old Whigs, old Tories and the American revolution', *JICH* (1980)
- P.J. Marshall 'Empire and authority in the later eighteenth century', *JICH* (1987)
- D. McKay 'Direction and purpose in British imperial policy 1783-6', *HJ* (1974)
- P.D.G. Thomas 'George III and the American revolution', *History* (1985)
- †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
- C.L. Brown *Moral capital: foundations of British abolitionism* (2006)
- C.L. Brown 'Christianity and the campaign against slavery and the slave trade,' in S.J. Brown and T. Tackett (eds) *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol VII: Enlightenment, Revolution, and Reawakening, 1660-1815* (2006)

- Christopher Leslie Brown, 'From slaves to subjects: envisioning an empire without slaves, 1772-1834', in P. Morgan and S. Hawkins (eds.) *Black experience and the empire* (2006)
- C.L. Brown 'Slavery and Antislavery, 1760-1820, in N. Canny and P. Morgan (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, 1450-1850* (2011)
- 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)
- S. Drescher 'Whose abolition? Popular pressure and the ending of the British slave trade', *P&P* (1994)
- 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)
- T.C. Holt 'Explaining abolition', *J Soc Hist* (1990)
- C. Midgley *Women against slavery: the British campaigns, 1780-1870* (1992)
- †J.R. Oldfield *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (1995)
- 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)
- David Turley 'British antislavery reassessed' in Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850* (2003)
- †James Walvin 'The Rise of British Popular Sentiment for Abolition, 1787-1832', in Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher, eds., *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey* (Folkestone, Kent, 1980), 149-62.

**(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)
- D. Peers 'Britain and empire' in Chris Williams, ed., *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain* (2006)
- A.N. Porter (ed) *The Oxford history of the British empire: Vol 3 The nineteenth century* (1999)
- †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)
- †C. Hall *Civilising subjects: metropole and colony in the English imagination, 1830-1867* (2002)
- 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)
- J. Wilson 'The silence of empire: imperialism and India', in D. Craig & J. Thompson, eds., *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013) is outstanding.

**(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 England's mission: the imperial idea in the age of Gladstone & Disraeli* (1973)
- †C.C. Eldridge *Gladstone, 1809-98* (1997) part 2, ch. 6: 'Colonial, foreign, and defence policy, 1880-85'
- H.C.G. Matthew 'The Second Reform Act and the politics of empire' *Parl. Hist.* (2017)
- A. Middleton (2017)
- P. O'Brien 'Costs and benefits of British expansion', *P&P* (1988).
- J. Parry *The politics of patriotism. English Liberalism, national identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (2006)
- Bill Schwarz *The white man's world* (2011), pp. 53-191
- Miles Taylor 'The 1848 revolutions and the British empire', *P&P* (2000)
- 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, legitimate 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.

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