# Paper 5: British Political History 1688-1886

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### Chronological topics

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## 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*  
JEclH = *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*
Introduction to Paper 5

In taking Paper 5, you will not be expected to study the whole of the 1688-1886 period. As a general guide you should aim to cover about half of it, and you may begin and end at whichever date you and your supervisor judge best, given your own particular interests. Whichever part of the period you study, you will encounter important themes which make the period a significant phase in British history. These themes are covered in the lectures, but a summary of the major ones here may be useful.

* The Revolution Settlement of 1689 established a novel system of parliamentary sovereignty, which survived more or less unscathed throughout the period and only began to be undermined in the twentieth century with the growing power of the executive, the civil service and extra-parliamentary corporations. This system undoubtedly contributed to the country’s political stability relative to her continental rivals. At the same time, the powers of the Crown, the functions of parliamentary representation, the extension of popular liberties and rights, and the role of party all remained areas of fierce debate. This meant that the narrative drama of high politics—the stories of elections, cabinet intrigues, personalities, debates, and legislation—was more than just the game it sometimes seems today, but had real outcomes and affected the lives of real people.

* It is probably with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 that Britain was first generally recognised as a Great Power. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 established her as the Greatest Power, a position confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. Between these dates the First British Empire was won and partly lost, and the Second British Empire established. After 1815 the country had to perform the role of the world’s policeman, while after about 1870 there was a gradual turning away from Europe to the third phase of empire. Diplomatic and imperial history are covered elsewhere in the Tripos (i.e. Papers 17, 18, and 21), but Britain’s European and world roles were also matters of intense debate in domestic politics. Moreover, they contributed to distinctive views about national identity (‘Englishness’) which are arguably crucial in understanding the appeal of some of the most charismatic political leaders and political traditions of the period.

* These two centuries also saw Britain establish itself as first the commercial market place, then the warehouse, and finally the workshop of the world, while throughout the period it acted as the world’s banker. These successive economic transformations impacted on politics as new commercial and then industrial elites arose to challenge the hegemony of the old aristocratic, monarchical, and clerical regimes. Economic developments also created the world’s first predominantly urban society, with attendant social problems (policing, housing, health, etc), all of which required political solutions and challenged traditional conceptions of the role of politics and the state. Such problems also generated – at least according to some historians – a growing sense of class consciousness and potential for social conflict, and present us with the difficulty of assessing how popular politics functioned and how political order was maintained. Finally, concern for the social order helps to explain why religious issues played an important part in politics throughout the period.

* Another salient theme arises from the political unions with Scotland (1707) and Ireland (1801), which not only created a United Kingdom state whose legitimacy was being called into serious question by 1886, when a government proposed an Irish Home Rule Bill for the first time, but also precipitated debate on issues of British identity and
nationality. The Irish problem, in particular, presented British politicians with a set of fundamental challenges to their dominant assumptions about property, religion, local government, and empire.

* A final theme traces the way that political life was immersed in wider intellectual and cultural contexts. Broad developments in society created new opportunities for, and new media of, political communication and association. Political tactics and goals found expression in many literary and cultural forms. The aspirations of varying groups of men were reshaped as the habits of daily economic and social life evolved through commercialization, industrialization and urbanization. Likewise, women’s political capacities, disabilities, and ambitions fluctuated in relation to their changing circumstances. Notions of political capacity and citizenship were enriched by intellectual developments. The role of religious ideas was often important in debates on these broader topics, while there was considerable controversy about the role that religious institutions should play in politics and the constitution.

The Cambridge History Faculty has always been exceptionally strong in the history of ideas, and this has naturally affected the way in which political history is understood. Concepts relating to the constitution, the role of the state, and national identity play an important part in the paper, and emphasis is placed on underlying intellectual, cultural, religious, and linguistic developments. Candidates who have already studied this period at school should find this approach both novel and refreshing, while candidates who have not studied the period before may be reassured that they will not be at any disadvantage.

In the essays you write on this paper you may well have to deal with relatively short periods, but you should always be prepared to relate your knowledge of such detailed events and processes to the wider themes of the paper.

The booklist

The importance of the period and the diversity of approaches to studying it are reflected in the vast amount of historical literature that has been published on it. 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. In order to study political history effectively, you will need a grasp of the political narrative covered in the first section, and so most supervisors will want you to cover at least four consecutive chronological topics (among topics 1-9, topic 10 being more thematic). Though they vary in length, it is essential to ensure that by the time of the examination you are familiar with at least 75-80 years of the period. (If you are studying the nineteenth century, you may wish, in order to achieve this,
to incorporate the short topic 6 into topics 5 and 7, or to do some extra reading in vacations.) 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. The following advice may be useful.

It is probably a good idea to start with some broadly chronological topics in order to gain familiarity with the period and its political culture. Naturally, the distinction between chronological and thematic topics is not absolute, since the chronological topics also privilege particular themes where relevant. You should not assume that examination questions set on chronological topics will be limited to matters of cabinet and parliamentary politics. It is a particular feature of Paper 5, as it has historically been taught and examined, to emphasise the role of political ideas and policy approaches as well. Therefore it is important, when writing essays about particular governments or parties, to make use of cross-references to those thematic topics that deal with appropriate policy issues (e.g., 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.

Some of the thematic topics focus on key political issues such as the nature of the eighteenth-century state or the dynamic of nineteenth-century parliamentary reform. Others feature problems such as the place of national identity in politics, the nature of radicalism, and gender. The booklet is thus designed to illuminate all those issues that provoke most debate among historians at the moment. Candidates should note that they will usually be required to answer questions on these topics over a considerable number of years (perhaps sixty or seventy or more). Over the years, such questions have become a standard feature of the paper; please look at the most recent past papers for the best guide. Therefore, students and supervisors have a choice as to the particular period that they can study for each of the thematic topics, as long as they choose a broad one. In general, in studying this paper it is as common for students to focus on the period 1760-1846 or 1784-1867 as it is on 1688-1806 or 1807-86.

Of course on most such topics there is a limit in practice to the number of years that can be studied effectively in a week of reading, without downplaying the crucial subtleties and complexities of the political process and the political culture, and supervisors are aware of this. Candidates should see their weekly topics as the foundation of a general intellectual understanding of their chosen period, which will need to be supplemented by targeted reading after the supervisions have been completed and when revising.

**Note that this document opens with a list of general works on the period, including items that relate to the general economic and social background. Most of these are not listed again under individual topics, even though they may be extremely relevant to some of them. So whenever you start on a week’s work, remember to look first at the general section.**
The various topics in this booklist are the ones around which the examination questions will be structured. This is appropriate, since examination papers usually contain about 28 questions (including ‘either/or’ alternatives as two questions). Because of the many ways in which connections between thematic and chronological topics can be traced, questions may appear in a somewhat indirect form (see under ‘Tripos questions’ below). **Candidates should understand this inter-relationship and should revise the great majority of the topics that they have studied, rather than treat them as entirely discrete topics.**

**Tripos questions**

Before setting a Tripos question paper the examiners will consult with all those who lecture on and supervise in that paper in order to find out what subjects the undergraduates taking that paper have covered. Their aim is then to set a paper which will be fair to all candidates, while nevertheless making sure that the questions are sufficiently searching to allow the better prepared candidates to demonstrate their superiority. Questions are never designed simply to search out ignorance by requiring detailed knowledge of the more recondite aspects of a topic. Nor, in the case of political history, is there ever such a thing as ‘the right answer’. Examiners will expect you to be able to argue a case, to back it up with detailed factual examples, and to consider and counter possible objections to the case you have made. You may wish to support your arguments by references to the historiography, for while it is not necessary (on this paper) to do so simply for the sake of it, it can often be an efficient way of getting your understanding across. (And there are some topics, for example national identity, or the eighteenth-century state, which have been so defined by the historiography that substantial reference to it is more or less essential.) But you will certainly not be penalised merely for making a case which the examiner happens not to agree with. **What examiners are looking for above all is an ability to conceptualise political problems effectively - for example by comparing different periods and personalities or different intellectual approaches to the subject - but in a way that appreciates the richness and subtlety of the historical material.**

Most Tripos papers will contain a substantial number of thematic questions covering long periods. Naturally, the longer the period, the less comprehensive detail is expected; however simplification can easily be taken too far, since politics is necessarily a complex process at all times. Candidates will need to show both the ability to generalise and an appreciation of when generalisation is inappropriate.

Questions rooted in the chronological section may also pursue a prominent political theme across time, inviting you to relate your close knowledge of an individual or period to wider themes. These might, for example, include controversies over a particular category of policy issue, or questions about the qualities required for political leadership or the reasons for ministerial success or failure. Candidates should certainly think systematically about the relevance of political languages and traditions to their chosen timespan, and the last thematic topic, on ‘Languages of politics’ is perhaps particularly useful in supplying revision reading for this.

A favourite device of examiners is to disguise a question in the form of a proposition in quotation marks, followed by an injunction to ‘Discuss’. It is perfectly legitimate in such cases to take a middle view by showing the ways in which the proposition seems true and the ways in which it seems false. It is equally legitimate to agree wholly with the proposition or else to disagree with it wholly. However, if you decide to disagree with it, you must include
some recognition of why it might be true, since the examiner would not have included a proposition which he or she believed to be wholly false. It is not wise to deny an assertion without having the knowledge to appreciate why a case for it might be made. If you cannot even see what a question might be getting at, better not to answer the question.

Finally, it might be useful to turn from these generalisations to what various examiners have reported on Paper 5 in recent years. Generally speaking the examiners’ comments have displayed satisfaction with the quality of the scripts. They have remarked favourably on candidates’ grasp of the concepts dominating the literature, on the extent of their preparation (there has been almost no ‘short measure’), and on their sophistication in handling their material. Often candidates score particularly highly on broader questions which could not have been anticipated but which involve making on-the-spot comparisons and contrasts over lengthy periods. ‘Safe’ questions, by contrast, turn out to be anything but safe for those who re-heat supervision essays without sufficient thought as to the precise question being asked of them. For example, policy-oriented questions—such as those on the loss of the American colonies or the thinking behind the repeal of the Corn Laws—often receive answers which are too thin on specifics and rely too much on generalised analysis of parliamentary politics at the time. Knowing enough detail to be able to deploy it selectively as part of a fluent analysis is a key skill of the historian. Questions which require crisp definitions of particular concepts—like ‘radicalism’ or ‘Liberal Toryism’—can easily upset candidates: some scripts will ignore the requirement altogether, while others will take refuge in prepared formulations rather than using the definition as the basis for working towards answering the problem posed. Comparative questions are often done well, but a common failing is to paint on too small a canvas, making the comparison in just one or two areas rather than taking a broader view.
GENERAL SURVEYS

Note that most of these works are not listed again in this booklist, even though they will all be relevant to some of the topics addressed in the following pages. The asterisked books are basic works which students who are new to the period will find especially useful.

(a) Mainly eighteenth century

I.R. Christie Wars and revolutions: Britain 1760-1815 (1982)
B. W. Hill The early parties and politics in Britain 1688-1832 (1986)
G. Holmes The making of a great power 1660-1722 (1993)
G. Holmes & D. Szechi An age of oligarchy 1722-1783 (1993)
J.B. Owen The eighteenth century (1974)
* F. O’Gorman The long eighteenth century 1688-1832 (1997)
J.H. Plumb England in the eighteenth century, 1714-1815 (1959)
W. Prest Albion ascendant: English history 1660-1815 (1998)
W.A. Speck Stability and strife: England 1714-1760 (1977)
S. Watson The reign of George III, 1760-1815 (1960)
C. Wilson England’s apprenticeship 1603-1763 (1965)

(b) Mainly nineteenth century

D. Beales From Castlereagh to Gladstone 1815-1885 (1969)
* M. Bentley Politics without democracy 1815-1914 (1984)
* A. Briggs The age of improvement 1783-1867 (1959)
D. Cannadine Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800-1906 (2017)
* E.J. Evans The forging of the modern state, 1783-1867 (1983)
N. Gash Aristocracy and people 1815-65 (1979)
E. Halévy A history of the English people in the 19th century (6 vols., 1949-52 edn)
T.K. Hoppen The mid-Victorian generation 1846-86 (1998)
N. McCord British history 1815-1906 (1991)
B. Porter Britannia’s burden: political evolution of modern Britain 1851-1990 (1994)
M. Pugh The making of modern British politics 1867-1939 (1982)
* D. Read England 1868-1914: the age of urban democracy (1979)
M. Roberts Political movements in urban England 1832-1914 (2009)
W.D. Rubinstein Britain’s century: a political and social history 1815-1905 (1998)
G. Searle  

*R.T. Shannon*  
The crisis of imperialism 1865-1915 (1974)

J. Vernon  
Distant strangers: how Britain became modern (2014)

*J. Vernon*  
Modern Britain, 1750 to the present (2017)

G.M. Young  

(c) The social and economic context

R.J. Brown  
*Economy and society in modern Britain 1700-1850* (1991)

P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins  
*British imperialism: innovation and expansion 1688-1914* (1993)

M. Daunton  
*Progress and poverty: economic and social history 1700-1850* (1995)

M. Daunton  
*State and market in Victorian Britain: war, welfare and capitalism* (2008)

M. Daunton  

R. Floud & P. Johnson (ed.)  

Douglas Hay & Nicholas Rogers  

H. Perkin  
The origins of modern English society, 1780-1880 (1969)

R. Porter  
British society in the eighteenth century (1982)

(d) For reference

*Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (20 vols.) or *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (2 vols.)

*Dictionary of national biography*

*English historical documents*  

Vol. 11, 1783-1832, edited by A. Aspinall & E.A. Smith (1959)


Vol. 12, Part II, 1874-1914, edited by W.D. Handcock (1977)

*British electoral facts, 1885-1975*, edited by F.W. S. Craig

*The 18th-century constitution 1688-1815: documents & commentary*, ed. by E.N. Williams (1960)


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

(a) The Glorious Revolution and its impact

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

Craig Rose *England in the 1690s: revolution, religion and war* (1999)
L.G. Schwoerer *The declaration of rights 1689* (1981)
L. G. Schwoerer *The Revolutions of 1688-1689* (1992)

(b) Court and cabinet politics

R. Hatton *George I: elector and king* (1978)
(c) Electoral and party politics

G.V. Bennett *The tory crisis in church and state 1688-1730: the career of Francis Atterbury* (1975)


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


G. Holmes *The electorate and the national will in the first age of party* (1976)

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


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


M. Knights *Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture* (2005)


W.A. Speck *Tory and whig: the struggle in the constituencies 1701-15* (1970)

W.A. Speck ‘The general election of 1715’, EHR (1975)


R. Walcott *Politics in the early eighteenth century* (1956)

(d) Local politics

* G.S. De Krey *A fractured society: London in the first age of party* (1985)


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


B.W. Hill ‘The change of government & “loss of the City” 1710-11’, EcHR (1971)

N. Landau ‘Independence, deference and voter participation; the behaviour of the electorate in early 18th-century Kent’, HJ (1979)
* J. Miller Divided cities: politics and religion in English provincial towns 1660-1722 (2007)

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 on 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 17a and b on popular politics, and Topic 21c on Jacobitism (the major external threat to the Walpolean regime).

(a) The Walpolean regime

R. Browning Political and constitutional ideas of the court whigs (1982)
S. Burtt Virtue transformed (1992) ch. 6
H.T. Dickinson Walpole and the whig supremacy (1973)
P.S. Fritz The English ministers and Jacobitism between 1715 and 1745 (1975)
C. Jones, ed. Britain in the first age of party (1987) [Essays by Horwitz and Jones]
P. Langford The Excise crisis (1975)
P. Woodfine Britannia’s glories (1998)

(b) Opposition: patriot, Jacobite and Tory

L. Colley In defiance of oligarchy (1982)
E. Cruickshanks Political Untouchables (1979)
* C. Gerrard The patriot opposition to Walpole (1994)
M. Harris London newspapers in the age of Walpole (1987)
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 17c on Wilkes, Wilkites, and their successors, and Topic 24c on the imperial crisis
(a) The problem of political stability in the 1760s

Jeremy Black, ed., British politics and society from Walpole to Pitt, 1742-1789 (1990)
* J. Brewer  
Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III (1976)
J. Brooke  
The Chatham administration 1766-1768 (1956)
Edmund Burke  
Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents (1770)
H. Butterfield  
George III and the historians (1957)
I.R. Christie  
Wilkes, Wyvill, and reform 1760-1785 (1962)
* H.T. Dickinson  
‘George III and parliament’, Parl Hist (2011)
W.M. Elofson  
The Rockingham Whigs and the country tradition’, Parl Hist (1989)
P. Langford  
The first Rockingham administration, 1765-1766 (1973)
P. Lawson  
L.B. Namier  
The structure of politics at the accession of George III (1929 2nd edn 1957)
F. O’Gorman  
The rise of party in England: the Rockingham Whigs, 1760-82 (1975)
R. Pares  
King George III and the politicians (1953)
P.D.G. Thomas  
John Wilkes: a friend to liberty (1996)
P. Woodland  
The House of Lords, the City of London and the opposition to the cider excise’, Parl Hist (1992)

(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  
The end of Lord North’s ministry, 1780-1782 (1958)
I.R. Christie  
S. Conway  
* S. Conway  
The British Isles and the war of American independence (2000)
W.C. Lowe  
‘George III, peerage creations and politics, 1760-1784’ HJ (1992)
A.S. O’Shaughnessy  
Chapter in Elaine Chalus and Perry Gauci (eds.), Revisiting the Polite and Commercial People (2019)

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

A. Aspinall (ed) *The later correspondence of George III* (1966-70) [introductions Vols. 2-3]
J.W. Derry *The regency crisis and the Whigs, 1788-9* (1963)
J. Derry *Politics in the age of Fox, Pitt and Liverpool* (2001)
J. Ehrman *The younger Pitt* (3 vols, 1969-96)
D.E. Ginter *Whig organization in the general election of 1790* (1967)
P. Kelly ‘Radicalism and public opinion in the 1784 general election’, HR (1972)
P. Kelly ‘Pitt and the king, 1783-4’, HR (1981)
S. Lee ‘George Canning and the idea of opposition, 1801-7’, *History* (1998)
P. Mackesy *Statesmen at war: the strategy of overthrow, 1798-9* (1974)
* L.G. Mitchell *Charles James Fox* (1992)
L.G. Mitchell *Fox and the disintegration of the Whig party, 1782-1794* (1971)
J. Mori ‘The political theory of Pitt the younger’, History (1998)
N.C. Phillips *Yorkshire and English national politics 1783-1784* (1961)
R. Reilly *Pitt the younger, 1759-1806* (1978)
R. Willis ‘Pitt’s resignation in 1801’, HR (1971)

(b) Reforming the state

A. S. Foord ‘The waning of “the influence of the Crown”’, EHR (1947)
P. Harling *The waning of ‘old corruption’: economical reform 1779-1846* (1996)
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

J. Derry Politics in the age of Fox, Pitt and Liverpool (2001)
G.I.T. Machin The Catholic question in English politics 1820-30 (1964)
R. Muir Britain and the defeat of Napoleon (1996)
F. O’Gorman The emergence of the two-party system 1760-1832 (1982)
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) The religious question

T. Bartlett The fall and rise of the Irish nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830 (1992)
G. Best ‘Whigs and Church establishment: the age of Grey & Holland’, History (1960)
R. Brent ‘New whigs in old bottles’, Parl Hist (1992)
G.I.T. Machin Politics and the churches in Great Britain 1832-68 (1977)
J. Wolffe The Protestant crusade in Great Britain 1829-60 (1991)

(b) The Reform Act

A. Briggs ‘Middle-class consciousness in politics 1780-1846’, P&P (1956)
M. Brock The Great Reform Act (1973)
J. Cannon Parliamentary reform 1640-1832 (1973)
J. Hamburger James Mill and the art of revolution (1963) (Chapter 4)
P. Hollis The pauper press: working-class radicalism of the 1830s (1970)
N. McCord ‘Some difficulties of parliamentary reform’, HJ (1967)
J. Milton-Smith ‘Earl Grey’s cabinet and the origins of parliamentary reform’, HJ (1972)
D.C. Moore ‘The other face of reform’, Vict Studs (1961)
I. Newbould Whiggery and reform 1830-41: the politics of government (1990)
* J. Parry The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993), chapter 2-4
E.A. Wasson ‘The coalition of 1827 and the crisis of whig leadership’, HJ (1977)

(c) Social unrest and government response

P. Dunkley ‘The whigs and the poor law 1830-4’, JBS (1980-1)
Carl Griffin The rural war: Captain Swing and the politics of protest (2012)
U. Henriques Before the welfare state: social administration in industrial Britain (1979)
E.J. Hobsbawm & G. Rudé Captain Swing (1969)
M. Wiener Reconstructing the criminal: culture, law and policy in England 1830-1914 (1990)

(d) The abolition of slavery

D.B. Davis ‘The emergence of immediatism in British and American anti-slavery thought’, Mississippi Valley Historical Review (1962-3)
N. Draper The price of emancipation: slave-ownership, compensation and British society at the end of slavery (2009)
S. Drescher Abolition: a history of slavery and antislavery (2009)

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

Historians differ about how far there was a party system before 1830, and how far party was regarded as an honourable or even legitimate undertaking, but there is no doubt that the Reform crisis created new problems and frictions which altered traditional political alignments and assumptions. In the 1830s, constitutional, religious and economic issues were all extremely contentious. At the same time, aspects of the 1832 political settlement facilitated, perhaps even required, the growth of party organization in the constituencies. How, then, were parties to cope with the obstacles that they faced? How effectively did the separate groupings of Whigs, Liberals, and Radicals cohere to form a single political entity? Why did the Conservatives recover so quickly after 1832, and how far did a ‘two-party system’ operate? How far did Peel’s methods of governance differ from those of his predecessors, Liverpool, Canning, and Wellington? How did government and opposition respond to the increased political pressure from extra-parliamentary religious and economic interests? How did the economic policies designed to address the tensions between town and countryside (e.g. fiscal reform, free trade, monetary policy) impact on the nature of government? Why was the Anti-Corn Law League so successful in mobilizing middle-class opinion? Why did Peel’s government collapse so spectacularly in 1846 and why were both parties in disarray in the late 1840s?
See also Topic 15 on free trade, Topic 16 on the so-called ‘revolution in government’, and Topic 20 on religion.

(a) General

N. Gash  
*Reaction and reconstruction in English politics 1832-52* (1965)

M. Ledger-Lomas  

I. Newbould  
*Whiggery and reform 1830-41: the politics of government* (1990)

J. Parry  
*The rise and fall of liberal government in Victorian Britain* (1993)

R. Stewart  
*Party and politics, 1830-52* (1989)

(b) Whigs, Liberals, Radicals

J. Bord  
*Science and whig manners: science and political style 1790-1850* (2009)

J. Coohill  

P. Mandler  
*Aristocratic government in the age of reform: whigs & Liberals 1830-52* (1990)

L.G. Mitchell  
*Lord Melbourne, 1779-1848* (1997)

J. Parry  

J. Prest  
*Lord John Russell* (1972)

E.A. Smith  
*Lord Grey, 1764-1845* (1990)

R. Stewart  

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)

(c) Tories, Conservatives, Peelites

J.B. Conacher  
*The Peelites and the party system 1846-52* (1972)

M. Cragoe  

M. Cragoe  
‘Sir Robert Peel and the “moral authority” of the House of Commons, 1832–41’ *EHR* (2013)

Benjamin Disraeli  
*Sybil, or, the two nations* (1845)

A.P. Donajgrodski  
‘Sir James Graham at the Home Office’, HJ (1977)

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

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

N. Gash  
‘From the origins to Sir Robert Peel’, in R.A. Butler (ed.), *The Conservatives: a history from their origins to 1965* (1977)

* R.A. Gaunt  
*Sir Robert Peel: the life and legacy* (2010)

B. Hilton  
‘Peel: a reappraisal’, HJ (1979)

A. Hawkins  

T.A. Jenkins  
*Sir Robert Peel* (1999)

I. Newbould  
‘Peel and the Conservative party 1832-41’, *EHR* (1983)

R. Stewart  
*The foundations of the Conservative party 1830-1867* (1978)

(d) Ecclesiastical and religious policies
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 16f on middle-class radicalism, and Topic 23 on Britain and Europe.

(a) General

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

D. Brown & M. Taylor  
*Palmerston Studies* (2 vols., 2007)

W.L. Burn  
*The age of equipoise: a study of the mid-Victorian generation* (1964)

L. Goldman  

* A. Hawkins  
‘“Parliamentary government” and political parties 1830-1880’, EHR (1989)

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

Bernard Porter  

John Tosh  

(b) Party politics

J.B. Conacher  
*The Peelites and the party system 1846-52* (1972)

P. Gurowich  

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

A. Hawkins  

H.C.G. Matthew  
*Gladstone 1809-1874* (1986)

H. Miller  
*Politics personified: portraiture, caricature and visual culture in Britain, c. 1830-1880* (2015), ch. 6

J. Parry  

J. Parry  
*The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain* (1993)

J. Parry  

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

R. Stewart  
*The foundations of the Conservative party 1830-1867* (1978)

R. Stewart  
*Party and politics, 1830-52* (1989)

A. Taylor  
‘Palmerston and Radicalism, 1847-1865’, JBS (1994)

(c) Foreign and defence policy

Olive Anderson  

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

K. Martin *The triumph of Lord Palmerston* (1924, 1963)


B. Porter *The refugee question in mid-Victorian politics* (1980) [Introduction]


D. Southgate *The most English minister: the policies and politics of Palmerston* (1966)

N.W. Summerton ‘Dissenting attitudes to foreign relations, peace and war, 1840-90’, *JEcclH* (1977)


**(d) Radicalism and public opinion**


N. Edsall *Richard Cobden: independent radical* (1986)

W.H. Greenleaf ‘Toulmin Smith and political tradition’, *Public Administration* (1975)


J. Prest *Politics in the age of Cobden* (1977)

D. Read *Cobden and Bright* (1967)

D. Read *Peel and the Victorians* (1987)

G.R. Searle *Entrepreneurial politics in mid-Victorian Britain* (1992)


A. Tyrrell ‘Making the millennium: the peace movement’, *HJ* (1978)


**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.

(a) Liberalism

M. Bentley The climax of liberal politics (1987)
E. Biagini Liberty, retrenchment and reform: popular liberalism 1860-80 (1992)
* E. Biagini Gladstone (2000)
E.J. Feuchtwanger Gladstone (1975)
William Gladstone Midlothian speeches 1879-80, ed M.R. D. Foot (1971)
D.A. Hamer Liberal politics in the age of Gladstone and Rosebery (1972)
D.A. Hamer (ed) The radical programme 1885 (1971 edn)
C. Harvie The lights of liberalism: university liberals and the challenge of democracy 1860-86 ((1976)
R.J. Helmstadter ‘The nonconformist conscience’ in P.T. Marsh (ed), The conscience of the Victorian state (1979)
T.A. Jenkins Gladstone, whiggery and the liberal party 1874-86 (1988)
H. Miller Politics personified: portraiture, caricature and visual culture in Britain, c. 1830-1880 (2015), ch. 7
*J. Parry The rise and fall of liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993) ch. 10-11
J. Roach ‘Liberalism and the Victorian intelligentsia’, HJ (1957-8)
J.R. Vincent  *The formation of the liberal party* 1857-68 (1966)
M. Winstanley  *Gladstone and the Liberal party* (1990)

(b) Conservatism

R. Blake  *Disraeli* (1966)
B. Coleman  *Conservatism and the conservative party in 19th-century Britain* (1988)
E. Feuchtwanger  *Disraeli, democracy and the tory party: conservative leadership and organisation* (1968)
J. Parry  *Benjamin Disraeli* (2007)
R. Quinault  ‘The fourth party and Conservative opposition to Bradlaugh’, EHR (1976)
R. Quinault  ‘Churchill and tory democracy’, HJ (1979)
R. Shannon  *The age of Disraeli 1867-81* (1992)
P. Smith  *Disraelian conservatism and social reform* (1967)
*P. Smith  *Disraeli: a brief life* (1996)
P. Smith  ‘Disraeli’s politics’, TRHS (1987)
J.R. Vincent  *Disraeli* (1990)

(c) Church and state issues

M. Cruickshank  *Church and state in English education 1870 to the present day* (1944)
J. Murphy  *Church, state and schools in Britain 1800-1970* (1971)

(d) The move towards Home Rule, to early 1886

L.P. Curtis  *Coercion and conciliation in Ireland: conservative unionism 1880-92* (1963)
*J. Loughlin  *Gladstone, home rule and the Irish question 1882-93* (1986)
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.

(a) General studies of voting patterns and of party organisation and discipline

H. Berrington ‘Partisanship and dissidence in the 19th-c House of Commons’, PA (1968)
N. Blewett ‘The franchise in the United Kingdom, 1885-1918’, P&P (1965)
D. Cannadine The decline and fall of the British aristocracy (1990), pp.25-54
J. Davis ‘Slums and the vote, 1867-1890’, Historical Research (1991)
J. Davis & D. Tanner ‘The borough franchise after 1867’, Historical Research (1996)
* J.A. Garrard ‘Parties, members and voters after 1867: a local study’, HJ (1977)
H.J. Hanham Elections and party management in the age of Gladstone and Disraeli (1978)
*A. Hawkins Victorian political culture (2015), ch. 8-9
P. Joyce ‘The factory politics of Lancashire in the later 19th century’, HJ (1975)
J. Lawrence Electing our masters: the hustings in British politics from Hogarth to Blair (2009)
J. Lawrence  

T. Lloyd  
The general election of 1880 (1968)

T.J. Nossiter  
*Influence, opinion and political idioms in reformed England: case studies from the North-east* 1832-1874 (1975) (Chapters 10-12)

C. O’Leary  
The elimination of corrupt practices in British elections, 1868-1911 (1962)

H. Pelling  
*Popular politics and society in late Victorian Britain* (1967) [Chapters 1, 6]

K. Rix  

J. Vincent  
*Pollbooks: how Victorians voted* (1967) [pp. 43-50]

**(b) Broadly on Liberalism**

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

E. Biagini  

E. Biagini & A. Reid (ed.)  
*Currents of radicalism: popular radicalism, organised labour and party politics in Britain* 1850-1914 (1991)

L. Blaxill  
‘Electioneering, the Third Reform Act, and political change in the 1880s’ Parl Hist (2011)

L. Blaxill  

P.F. Clarke  
*Lancashire and the new liberalism* (1971)

J. Davis  

P. Griffiths  
‘The caucus and the liberal party in 1886’,  *History* (1976)

D.A. Hamer  
The politics of electoral pressure: Victorian reform agitations (1977)

J. Munson  
The nonconformists: in search of a lost culture (1991)

J.R. Vincent  
The formation of the liberal party (1966)

**(c) Broadly on Conservatism**

F. Coetzee  
‘Villa toryism reconsidered: Croydon’, Parl Hist (Special Issue 1997)

F. Coetzee  
*For party or country: nationalism and popular conservatism* (1990)

J. Cornford  

E.H.H. Green  
The crisis of conservatism (1994) [Chapters 3-4]

R.L. Greenall  

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

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

R. Price  
‘Society, status and jingoism: lower-middle-class patriotism 1870-1900’ in G. Crossick (ed),  *The lower middle class in Britain* (1977)

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

M. Roberts  

J.R. Vincent  
THEMATICAL 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

J.V. Beckett The aristocracy in England 1660-1914 (1986), part III
C. Jones (ed.) A short history of Parliament (2009), ch 13, 14 and 22
B. Kemp King and Commons, 1660-1832 (1957)
P. Langford Public life and the propertied Englishman 1689-1798 (1991)
M. McCahill Order and equipoise: the peerage and the House of Lords, 1783-1806 (1978)
J.M. Norris ‘Samuel Garbett and the early development of industrial lobbying in Great Britain’, EcHR, 10 (1958)
Eric Robinson ‘Matthew Boulton and the Art of Parliamentary Lobbying’, HJ (1964)

(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)
A.S. Foord ‘The waning of the influence of the crown’, EHR (1947)
R. Hatton George I: elector and king (1978)
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)
A.C. Thompson George II, king and elector (2011)

(c) The role of the monarchy after 1830

* A. Olechnowicz (ed.) The monarchy and the British nation 1780 to the present (2007)
D. Thompson Queen Victoria: gender and power (1990)
12. The process of parliamentary reform, 1815-1886

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

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

(a) The 1832 Reform Act

*D. Beales
‘The electorate before 1832’, Parl Hist (1992)
A. Briggs
‘The parliamentary reform movement in three cities’, HJ (1952)
A. Briggs
A. Briggs
‘Middle-class consciousness in politics 1780-1846’, P&P (1956)
M. Brock
The Great Reform Act (1973)
J. Cannon
Parliamentary reform 1640-1832 (1973)
V.A.C. Gatrell
‘Incorporation and the pursuit of liberal hegemony in Manchester 1790-1839’ in D. Fraser (ed), Municipal reform and the industrial city (1982)
Carl Griffin
The rural war: Captain Swing and the politics of protest (2012)
A.D. Kriegel
N.D. LoPatin
Political unions, popular politics and the great Reform Act of 1832 (1999)
n. McCord
‘Some difficulties of parliamentary reform’, HJ (1967)
J. Milton-Smith
‘Earl Grey’s cabinet and the origins of parliamentary reform’, HJ (1972)
D.C. Moore
‘The other face of reform’, Vict Studs (1961)
D.C. Moore
‘Concession or cure: a sociological interpretation of the great reform act’, HJ (1966)
I. Newbould
Whiggery and Reform 1830-41: the politics of government (1990) [Chapters 2-4]
*J. Parry
The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993), ch. 3
J.A. Phillips
The Great Reform Bill in the boroughs: electoral behaviour 1818-41 (1992)
J.A. Phillips & C. Wetherell
E.A. Wasson  ‘The spirit of Reform, 1832 and 1867’, Albion (1980)

(b) Reform after 1832

M. 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)
B. Griffin  ‘Women’s suffrage’ in D. Craig and J. Thompson, eds., Languages of politics (2013)
H.J. Hanham (ed)  Dod’s electoral facts from 1832 to 1853 (1972 edn) [Introduction]
R. Harrison  Before the socialists: studies in labour and politics 1861-81 (1965)
*A. Hawkins  Victorian political culture (2015), ch. 4, 5 and 7
W.A. Hayes  The background and passage of the Third Reform Act (1982)
P. Hollis (ed)  Pressure from without in early Victorian England (1974) [especially chapters by Harrison, Thompson, Martin, and Anderson]
C.C. O’Leary  The elimination of corrupt practices in British elections, 1868-1911 (1962)
J. Parry  The rise and fall of Liberal government in Victorian Britain (1993) [Chapters 9, 12]
K. Rix  ‘Whatever passed in parliament ought to be communicated to the public’: reporting the proceedings of the reformed Commons, 1833–50’ Parl Hist (2014)
R. Saunders  Democracy and the vote in British politics, 1848-1867 (2011)
F.B. Smith  The making of the Second Reform Bill (1966)
(c) Parliament and the constitution after 1832

Walter Bagehot  
*H. Berrington*  
*D. Cannadine*  
H.J. Hanham (ed)  
*A. Hawkins*  
G.H.L. Le May  
B. Kinzer  
J.P. Mackintosh  
John Stuart Mill  
*J. Parry*  
M. Pinto-Duschinsky  
R. Saunders  
E.A. Smith  
J. Vernon

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 16b 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)
J. Hutchinson & A.D. Smith (ed.), Nationalism (1994)
E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (ed.), The invention of tradition (1983)
E. Hobsbawm Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality (1990)

(b) Mainly eighteenth century (1700-1815)

J. Coffey ‘“Tremble, Britannia!”: fear, providence and the abolition of the slave trade, 1758-1807’, EHR (2012)
* L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992)
R. Eagles Francophilia in English society, 1748-1815 (New York, 2000)
B. Harris ‘Scotland’s herring fisheries and the prosperity of the nation, c. 1660-1760’, SHR (2000)


P. Langford Englishness identified: manners and character, 1650-1850 (2000)


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


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

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


S. Semmel Napoleon and the British (2004)


M. Viroli For love of country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism (1995)


(c) After 1815


H. Cunningham The challenge of democracy: Britain 1832-1918 (2001) [Chapter 8: ‘Empire and nation: The British and their identities’]

J.H. Grainger Patriotisms: Britain 1900-1939 (1986) [esp chs 1, 2, 4, 10-12]

A. Hastings The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism (1997) [ch 2]


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

P. Mandler The English national character (2006)


P. Readman  ‘The Liberal party and patriotism in early twentieth-century Britain’, *20th Century British History* (2001)


(d) *Religion, politics and nationalism in Scotland and Wales, 1830-86*


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


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

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

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

(a) Notions of ‘the public sphere’


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


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


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]

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

G. Boyce, J. Curran & P. Wingate Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day (1978) [Chapters 1, 3, 6, 7]
J. Brewer Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III (1976)
J. Cardwell Arts and arms: literature, politics and patriotism during the Seven Years War (2004)
G.A. Cranfield The development of the English provincial newspaper, 1700-60 (1962)
J.A. Downie Robert Harley and the press (1979)
C. Gerrard The patriot opposition to Walpole: politics, poetry, and national myth, 1725-1742 (1994)
B.A. Goldgar Walpole and the wits: the relation of politics to literature 1722-42 (1976)
M. Harris London newspapers in the age of Walpole: a study in the origins of the modern English press (1987)
L.E. Klein Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness (1994)
M. Knights Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture (2005)
J. Loftis The politics of Augustan drama (1963)
A. Williams Poetry and the creation of a whig literary culture 1681-1714 (2005)
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. See also Topic 7e on economic policy disputes 1834-46.

(a) The post-1688 state


*J. Brewer The sinews of power: war, money and the English state, 1688-1783 (1989)


J. Innes Chapter 13, in Elaine Chalus and Perry Gauci (eds.), Revisiting the Polite and Commercial People (2019)

D.W. Jones War and economy in the age of William III and Marlborough (1988)


L. Stone (ed.) An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689 to 1815 (1994)

(b) Local governance in the eighteenth century


L. Glassey Politics and the appointment of justices of the peace, 1675-1720 (1979)


P. Halliday Dismembering the body politic: partisan politics in England’s towns 1650-1730 (1998)

T. Harris (ed.) The politics of the excluded, c.1500-1850 (2001)

T. Hayter The army and the crowd in mid-Georgian England (1978)


P. Langford *Public life and the propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (1991)

**Social policies in the eighteenth century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. Andrew</td>
<td><em>Philanthropy and police: London charity in the eighteenth century</em></td>
<td>1989</td>
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<td>J.M. Beattie</td>
<td><em>Crime and the courts 1660-1800</em></td>
<td>1986</td>
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<td>V.A.C. Gatrell</td>
<td><em>The hanging tree: execution and the English people, 1770-1868</em></td>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>D. Green</td>
<td><em>Pauper capital: London and the poor law 1790-1870</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td>B. Hilton</td>
<td><em>The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought ca. 1785-1865</em> (1988)</td>
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<td>M. Ignatieff</td>
<td><em>A just measure of pain: the penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution</em> (1978)</td>
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<td>S. Conway</td>
<td>‘Parliament and the shaping of eighteenth-century English social policy,’ <em>TRHS</em> (1990), or reprinted in <em>Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in eighteenth-century Britain</em> (2009)</td>
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<td>J.R. Poynter</td>
<td><em>Society and pauperism: English ideas on poor relief 1795-1834</em></td>
<td>1969</td>
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<td>P. Slack</td>
<td><em>The English poor law 1531-1782</em></td>
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**The domestic impact of war, 1688-1815**

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<td><em>Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837</em></td>
<td>1992</td>
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<td>J.E. Cookson</td>
<td><em>The British armed nation, 1793-1815</em></td>
<td>1987</td>
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<td>J.E. Cookson</td>
<td><em>The friends of peace: anti-war liberalism in England 1793-1815</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
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<td>C. Emsley</td>
<td><em>British society and the French wars, 1793-1815</em></td>
<td>1979</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Gee</td>
<td><em>The British volunteer movement 1794-1814</em></td>
<td>2003</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Innes</td>
<td>‘The domestic face of the military-fiscal state’ in her <em>Inferior politics: social problems and social policies in eighteenth-century Britain</em> (2009)</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. Morieux</td>
<td><em>The Society of Prisoners: Anglo-French Wars and Incarceration</em></td>
<td>2019</td>
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M. Philp  

J. Robertson  
*The Scottish Enlightenment and the militia issue* (1985)

N. Rogers  

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

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

(e) *Administrative and economical reform 1780-1870*

T.C.W. Blanning & P. Wende (ed.)  
*Reform in Britain and Germany 1750-1850* (1999)

R.A. Chapman & J.R. Greenaway  
*The dynamics of administrative reform* (1980)

S.G. Checkland  
*British public policy 1776-1939* (1983)

J.E. Crowley  

R. Davis  
‘The rise of protection in England, 1689-1786’, *EcHR* 19 (1966)

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)

*P. Harling & P. Mandler*  

P. Harling  

P. Harling  
*The waning of “old corruption”: the politics of economical reform 1779-1846* (1996)

*P. Harling*  

*J. Innes*  

H. Parris  
*Constitutional bureaucracy: the development of British central administration since the eighteenth century* (1969)

*J. Parry*  

W.D. Rubinstein  

J. Thompson  

(f) *The free trade debate*

W.J. Ashworth  

L. Brown  
*The Board of Trade and the free trade movement 1830-42* (1958)

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

A. Gambles  

P. Gurney  

B. Hilton  
*Corn, cash, commerce: the economic policies of the Tory governments 1815-30* (1977)

* A. Howe  

A. Howe  
‘Popular political economy’, in *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain*
B. Semmel The rise of free trade imperialism: classical political economy, the empire of free trade, and imperialism 1750-1850 (1970)
R.F. Teichgraeber III “Less abused than I had reasons to expect”: the reception of the Wealth of Nations in Britain, 1776-90”, HJ (1987)
D. Winch Riches and poverty: an intellectual history of political economy in Britain, 1750-1834 (1996)
D. Winch ‘The Burke-Smith problem and late eighteenth-century political and economic thought’, HJ (1985)

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

J. Garrard Leadership and power in Victorian industrial cities 1830-80 (1983)
E.P. Hennock Fit and proper persons: 19th-century urban government (1973)
M. Hewitt The emergence of stability in the industrial city: Manchester 1832-67 (1996)

(h) Social policies in the nineteenth century

P. Bartrip ‘State intervention: fact or fiction?’, JBS (1983)
A. Brundage The making of the new poor law 1832-39 (1978)
M.A. Crowther The workhouse system 1834-1929: an English social institution (1981)
P. Dunkley ‘The whigs and the poor law 1830-4’, JBS (1980-1)
E.J. Evans (ed) Social policy 1830-1914: individualism, collectivism and the origins of the welfare state (1978) [documents]
D. Fraser (ed) The new poor law in the nineteenth century (1976)
D. Fraser The evolution of the welfare state (1984 edn)
V.A.C. Gatrell The hanging tree: execution and the English people, 1770-1868 (1994)
R. Gray The factory question and industrial England 1830-1860 (1996)
J.R. Greenaway Drink and British politics since 1830: a study in policy-making (2003)
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

B. Bushaway  
By rite: custom, ceremony and community in England 1700-1880 (1982)

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

I. Gilmour  

E.F. Genovese  
‘The many faces of moral economy’, P&P (1973)

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

P. King  

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

G. Rudé  

R.B. Shoemaker  

* J. Stevenson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  

E.P. Thompson  
Customs in common (1991)

C. Tilly  
Popular contention in Great Britain 1758-1834 (1995)

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

(b) Extra-parliamentary politics before Wilkes

L. Colley  

J.L. Fitts  
‘Newcastle’s mob’, Albion (1973)

G. Holmes  
The trial of Dr Sacheverell (1973)

G. Holmes  

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

N. Rogers  

R.B. Shoemaker  

K. Wilson  

K. Wilson  

*K. Wilson  
(c) From Wilkes to 1789

E.C. Black  The association: extra-parliamentary political organisation 1769-93 (1963)
* J. Brewer  Party ideology and popular politics at the accession of George III (1976)
K. J. Logue  Popular disturbances in Scotland 1780-1820 (1979)
J. Money  Experience & identity: Birmingham & the west midlands 1760-1800 (1977)
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)
W.J. Shelton  English hunger and public disorder: social conflict in the 1760s (1973)
P.D.G. Thomas  John Wilkes: a friend to liberty (1996)
C. Tilly  Popular contention in Great Britain 1758-1834 (1995)

(d) Extra-parliamentary politics in the Revolutionary era

J. Barrell  The spirit of despotism: invasions of privacy in the 1790s (2006)
R. Dozier  For king, constitution, and country: the English loyalists and the French revolution (1983)
C. Emsley  British society and the French wars, 1793-1815 (1979)
J.A. Epstein  

J. Fulcher  
‘The loyalist response to the Queen Caroline agitation’, JBS 1995

A. Gee  

D.E. Ginter  
‘The Loyalist Association movement of 1792-3’, HJ (1966)

J. Graham  

M. Harrison  
*Crowds and history: mass phenomena in English towns, 1790-1835* (1988)

Ian McCalman  

R. Mc William  

A. Mitchell  

K. Navickas  
*Loyalism and radicalism in Lancashire 1798-1815* (2009)

K. Navickas  
‘“That sash will hang you”: political clothing and adornment in England, 1780-1840,’ JBS (2010)

K. Navickas  
*Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (2015)

F. O’Gorman  

J.R. Oldfield  
*Popular politics and British anti-slavery: the mobilisation of public opinion against the slave trade, 1787-1807* (1995)

S.H. Palmer  
*Police and protest in England and Ireland, 1780-1850* (1988)

* M. Philp (ed)  
*The French revolution and British popular politics* (1991)

I. Prothero  
*Artisans and politics in early nineteenth-century London: John Gast and his times* (1979)

R. Reid  

E. Royle  

M.I. Thomis  

E.P. Thompson  
*The making of the English working class* (1963; revised edn 1968 with replies to his critics)

C. Tilly  
*Popular contention in Great Britain 1758-1834* (1995)

J. Walvin  

R. Wells  

R. Wells  

D. Worrall  
*Radical culture: discourse, resistance and surveillance, 1790-1820* (1992)

**The war of political ideas in the Revolutionary era**

J. Belchem  

J. Belchem  
*Orator Hunt*: Henry Hunt and English working-class radicalism (1985)

J. Belchem and J. Epstein  

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

M. Chase  

* G. Claeys  
‘The French revolution debate and British political thought’, HPT (1990)

G. Claeys  

G. Claeys  

H.T. Dickinson  
*British radicalism and the French revolution* (1985)
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?

Though this is presented as a separate topic for the sake of clarity, the general rule
applying to thematic topics applies here, that a good chronological coverage is
required. Exam questions on Chartism will frequently require some knowledge of
popular political debate before 1815. Therefore it is essential also to read some of the
works in Topic 17d and 17e on popular politics and ideas in the Revolutionary era.
See also topic 12 on the Reform crisis of 1829-32.

(a) General

J. Belchem ‘Manchester, Peterloo and the radical challenge’, Manchester Region History
Review (1989)
J.R. Dinwiddy Radicalism and reform in Britain, 1780-1850 (1992)
J. Fulcher ‘The loyalist response to the Queen Caroline agitation’, JBS 1995
E. Griffin ‘The making of the Chartists: popular politics and working-class autobiography
in early Victorian Britain’ EHR (2014)
E. Hellmuth (ed) The transformation of political culture (1990) [essays by Dickinson, Dinwiddy,
Fitzpatrick]
N.D. LoPatin Political unions, popular politics and the great Reform Act of 1832 (1999)
K. Navikas Protest and the politics of space and place, 1789-1848 (2015)
T. Parssinnen ‘Association, convention and anti-parliament in British radical politics, 1771-
1848’, EHR (1973)
R. Poole ‘French Revolution or Peasants’ Revolt: petitioners and rebels in England from
the Blanketeers to the Chartists’, LHR (2009)
E. Royle Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the threat of revolution in Britain, 1789-
1848 (2000)
M. Roberts Political movements in urban England (2009)
C. Tilly Popular contention in Great Britain 1758-1834 (1995)
(b) Chartism


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)


M. Chase *The Chartists: perspectives and legacies* (2016)

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

N.C. Edsall *The anti-poor law movement 1834-44* (1971)

* J. Epstein *The lion of freedom: O’Connor and the chartist movement 1832-42* (1982)


J. Gibson ‘Natural right and the intellectual context of early Chartist thought’, HWJ (2017)


P. Gurney ‘The democratic idiom: languages of democracy in the Chartist movement’, JMH (2014)

R. Hall ‘The politics of everyday life and Chartism, 1832-1840’ LHR (2009)

B. Harrison & P. Hollis ‘Chartism, liberalism and the life of Robert Lowery’, EHR (1967)

D. Jones *Chartism and the chartists* (1975)

F.C. Mather *Public order in the age of the chartists* (1959)

A. Messner ‘Land, leadership, culture, and emigration: some problems in chartist historiography’, HJ (1999)


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


P. Pickering ‘And your petitioners &c: Chartist petitioning in popular politics 1838-4’, EHR (2001)


E. Royle *Chartism* (3rd edition, 1996)

T. Scriven *Popular virtue: continuity and change in radical moral politics, 1820-70* (2017)


J. Saville *1848: the British state and the chartist movement* (1987)

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

* G. Stedman Jones ‘Rethinking Chartism’ in Stedman Jones, *Languages of class* (1983) [also in J. Epstein & D. Thompson (ed.), *The chartist experience*, (1972)]

D. Thompson *The chartists* (1984) [Chapters 1, 5, 6, 10, 13]

(c) The question of class consciousness

J. Foster *Class struggle in the industrial revolution: early industrial capitalism in three English towns* (1974) [reviewed by Musson, Soc Hist (1976)]
P. Joyce *Visions of the people* (1991)
N. Kirk ‘In defence of class: a critique of recent revisionist writing upon the nineteenth-century English working class’, IRHS (1987)
E.P. Thompson *The making of the English working class* (1963, revised edn 1968 with replies to his critics)

(d) Radicalism after 1848

O. Anderson *A liberal state at war* (1967), ch. 3.
E. Biagini & A. Reid (ed.) *Currents of radicalism: popular radicalism, organised labour and party politics in Britain 1850-1914* (1991)
M. Finn *After Chartism: class and nation in radical politics 1848-1874* (1993)
T. Larsen *Friends of religious equality: nonconformist politics* (1999)
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

A. Campbell *Women and enlightenment in eighteenth-century Britain* (2009)
E. Chalus *Elite women in English political life c.1754-1790* (2005)
E. Chalus Chapter 12 in Elaine Chalus and Perry Gauci (eds.), *Revisiting the Polite*
and Commercial People (2019)

L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992) [ch 6]


M. Hunt The middling sort: commerce, gender, and the family in England 1680-1780 [introduction and ch 8]

C.C. Orr (ed.) Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics (2002)

J. Rendall The origins of modern feminism: women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860 (1985)


H.L. Smith Women writers and the early modern British political tradition (1998)


S. Staves Married women’s separate property in England, 1660-1833 (1990)


S. Tillyard Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox 1740-1832 (1994)


* A. Vickery (ed) Women, privilege, and power: British politics 1750 to the present (2001) [essays by Vickery, Chalus, Lewis, Gleadle]

(b) The gendering of politics: mainly eighteenth century


G.J. Barker-Benfield The culture of sensibility: sex and society in 18th-century Britain (1992)

P. Carter Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain 1660-1800 (2001)


Brian Cowan ‘What was masculine about the public sphere? Gender and the coffeehouse milieu in post-Restoration England’, History Workshop Journal (2001)


H. Guest Small change: women, learning, patriotism 1750-1810


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

(c) Women and politics: mainly nineteenth century

J. Bush  Women against the vote: female anti-suffragism in Britain (2007)
L. Davidoff & C. Hall  Family fortunes: men and women of the middle class, 1780-1850 (1987)
* K. Gleadle  Borderline citizens: women, gender and political culture in Britain, 1815-1867(2009)
P. Hollis  Ladies elect: women in local government (1988)
C. Midgley  Women against slavery: the British campaigns, 1780-1870 (1992)
M. Pugh  The Tories and the people (1985)
K.D. Reynolds  Aristocratic women and political society in Victorian Britain (1998)
S. Richardson  The political worlds of women: gender and politics in nineteenth century Britain (2013)
* 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) [essays by Vickery, Gleadle, Mandler]
D. Wahrman  ‘Middle-class domesticity goes public: gender, class and politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria’, JBS (1993)

(d) The gendering of politics; mainly nineteenth century
L. 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)
J. Fulcher ‘The loyalist response to the Queen Caroline agitations’ JBS (1995)
* B. Griffin The politics of gender in Victorian Britain: masculinity, political culture, and the struggle for women’s rights (2012)
T.L. Hunt ‘Morality and monarchy in the Queen Caroline affair’, Albion (1991)
M. McCormack (ed.) Public men: masculinity and politics in modern Britain (Basingstoke, 2007).
J. Vernon Politics and the people (1993) [Chapter 6]

(e) Nineteenth-century feminist movements

B. Caine Victorian feminists (1993)
K. Gleadle The early feminists: radical Unitarians and the emergence of the women’s rights movement 1831-1851 (1995)
B. Harrison Separate spheres: the opposition to women’s suffrage in Britain (1978)
B. Harrison ‘Women’s suffrage at Westminster, 1866-1928’ in M. Bentley and J. Stevenson (ed.), High and low politics in modern Britain (1983)
19. Religion and politics

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

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

(a) A confessional state?

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


J. Champion The pillars of priestcraft shaken (1992)


* J.C.D. Clark English Society 1688-1832 (1985)

J. Champion The national Church in local perspective (2003)

K. Haakonssen (ed) Enlightenment and religion: rational dissent in 18th-C Britain (1996), esp chs 4, 6, 7, 8, 9


(b) Religion, empire and ‘national identity’

G.A. Bremner Imperial gothic: religious architecture and High Anglican culture in the British Empire, 1840-1870 (2013)


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

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

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


C. Kidd British identities before nationalism; ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800 (1999)
H. McLeod  
*Class and religion in the late Victorian city* (1974)

G. Parsons & J. Wolffe (ed.)  
*Religion in Victorian Britain* (5 vols., 1988-97)

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

M. Wheeler  

J. Wolffe  
*God and greater Britain: religion and national life 1843-1945* (1994)

*J. Wolffe  

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

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  

R.A. Burns  

J. Gregory (ed.)  
The *Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (2017)

O. Chadwick  
The *Victorian church* (2 vols, 1966-70)

C. Dewey  
The *Passing of Barchester* (1991)

J. Hardwick  

R.J. Helmstadter & B. Lightman  
Victorian faith in crisis: essays on continuity and change in nineteenth-century religious belief (1990)

* B. Hilton  
The *age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1795-1865* (1988)

W. Hinde  
Catholic emancipation: a shake to men’s minds (1992)

D. Hempton  
Methodism and politics in English society 1750-1850 (1984)

D. Hempton  
Methodism: empire of the spirit (2005)

R.J. Hole  

C.D.A. Leighton  

G.I.T. Machin  
Politics and the churches in Great Britain 1832-68 (1977)

D. Madden  

I. McCalman  
Prophets, revolutionaries and pornographers in London, 1795-1840 (1988)

M. Rutz  
‘The politicizing of evangelical dissent, 1811-1813,’ Parl Hist (2001)

S. Skinner  

*S. Skinner  
‘Religion’ in David Craig and James Thompson, eds., *Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013)

*R. Strong (ed.)  

(d) Nonconformity in the nineteenth century

G. Alderman  
The *Jewish community in British politics* (1983)

O. Anderson  
C. Binfield *So down to prayers: studies in English nonconformity 1780-1920* (1977)
O. Brose *Church and parliament: reshaping of the Church of England 1828-60* (1950)
T. Larsen *Friends of religious equality: nonconformist politics* (1999)
J.E.B. Munson *The nonconformists: in search of a lost culture* (1991)
D. Young *F.D. Maurice and Unitarianism* (1992)

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?

For Scotland in the nineteenth century, see Topic 13d.

(a) Historiographical and general treatments of British history

Allan Macinnes *Union and empire: the making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (2007)
J. Wormald ‘The creation of Britain: multiple kingdoms or core and colonies?’, TRHS (1992)

**(b) Scottish history and Anglo-Scottish relations**

D. Allan *Scotland in the eighteenth century: union and enlightenment* (2001)
W. Ferguson *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (Edinburgh History of Scotland, 4) (1978)
W. Ferguson *Scotland’s relations with England: a survey to 1707* (1977), chs 9-14
M. Fry *The Dundas despotism* (1992)
J. Hoppit *Britain’s political economies: parliament and economic life, 1660-1800* (2017)
B.P. Lenman *Integration and enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* (1981)
B. Levack *The formation of the British state* (1987)
K.J. Logue *Popular disturbances in Scotland* (1979)
N.T. Phillipson & R. Mitchison *Scotland in the age of improvement* (1970)
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)
C.A. Whatley *The Scots and the Union* (2006)

**(c) Jacobitism**

B.P. Lenman *The Jacobite risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (1980)
B.P. Lenman *The Jacobite cause* (1986)
A. Macinnes ‘Jacobitism in Scotland: episodic cause or national movement?’, SHR (2007)
M.G.H. Pittock *The myth of the Jacobite clans* (1995)
W.A. Speck *The Butcher: the duke of Cumberland and the suppression of the 45* (1981)

*(d) Culture and ideology*

M. Ash *The strange death of Scottish history* (1980)
D. Daiches *The paradox of Scottish culture: the 18th-century experience* (1964)
J. Dwyer *Virtuous discourse* (1987)
F. Lyall *Of presbyters and kings: church and state in the law of Scotland* (1980)
G. Pentland “‘We speak for the ready’: images of Scots in political prints, 1707-1832’, SHR (2011)
M.G.H. Pittock *The invention of Scotland: Stuart myth and Scottish identity* (1991)
M.G.H. Pittock *Poetry and Jacobite politics in 18th-century Britain and Ireland* (1994)
J. Rendall *The origins of the Scottish enlightenment* (1978)
C. A. Whatley ‘How tame were the Scottish lowlanders during the eighteenth century’, in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and stability in Scottish society 1700-1850* (1990)

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.C. Barnard ‘Farewell to Old Ireland’, HJ (1993)
R. Foster ‘History and the Irish Question’, in Paddy and Mr Punch: connections in English and Irish history (1993)
M. Hechter Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development (1975)

(b) General histories; mainly eighteenth century

J. Bardon A history of Ulster (1992)
T. Bartlett & D.W. Hayton (ed.) Penal era and golden age, 1690-1800 (1979)
J.C. Beckett The making of modern Ireland, 1603-1923 (1966)
D. Dickson *New foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (1990)
D.W. Hayton *Ireland after the glorious revolution 1692-1715* (1976)
R.B. McDowell *Ireland in the age of imperialism and revolution, 1760-1800* (1979)

(c) General histories; mainly nineteenth century

V. Crossman *Local government in nineteenth-century Ireland* (1994)
J. Lee *The modernisation of Irish society 1848-1918* (1973)
F.S.L. Lyons *Ireland since the famine* (revised edn. 1973)
T. McDonough (ed.) *Was Ireland a colony? economics, politics and culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2005)
R.B. McDowell *Public opinion and government policy in Ireland, 1801-46* (1952)
G. O’Tuathaigh *Ireland before the famine 1798-1848* (1972)

(d) Politics before 1780

R.E. Burns *Irish parliamentary politics in the 18th century, 1700-60* (2 vols, 1990)
F.G. James *Ireland in the empire, 1688-1770* (1973)
J.G. Simms *War and politics in Ireland 1649-1730* (1986)
(e) Religion and national identity in the eighteenth century

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T.C. Barnard  
P. Brooke  
* Ulster Presbyterianism: the historical perspective (1987)  
T. Claydon & I. McBride (ed.)  
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L. Cullen  
‘Catholics under the penal laws’, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (1986)  
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J.R. Hill  
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* From patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism 1660-1840* (1997)  
P. Higgins  
M. MacCurtain & M. O’Dowd (ed.)  
* Women in early modern Ireland* (1991)  
I. McBride  
* Scripture politics: Ulster Presbyterianism and Irish radicalism in the late eighteenth century* (1998)  
J. McMinn  
D.W. Miller  
T.P. Power & K. Whelan (ed.)  
* Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the 18th-century* (1990)  

(f) Revolution and Union, 1780-1815

T. Bartlett  
* The fall and rise of the Irish nation: Catholic question 1690-1830* (1992)  
T. Bartlett  
G.C. Bolton  
* The passing of the Irish Act of Union* (1966)  
M. Brown et al. (ed.)  
N. Curtin  
N. Curtin  
* The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798* (1994)  
D. Dickson & H. Gough (ed.)  
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M. Elliott  
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P. Jupp & E. Magennis (ed.)  
* Crowds in Ireland, c. 1720-1920* (2000)  
J. Kelly  
J. Kelly  
* Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish politics in the 1780s* (1992)  
D. Mansergh  
* Grattan’s failure: parliamentary opposition and the people in Ireland, 1777-1800* (2005)  
P. Mirala  
* Freemasonry in Ulster, 1783-1813* (2008)  
G. O’Brien  
* Anglo-Irish politics in the age of Grattan and Pitt* (1987)  
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T. Pakenham  
*The year of liberty* (1982)

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

A.T.Q. Stewart  

**(g) The O'Connell era**

T. Bartlett  
*The fall and rise of the Irish nation: the Catholic question 1690-1830* (1992)

J. Bew  

D. Bowen  
*The Protestant crusade in Ireland 1800-70* (1978)

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D.A. Kerr  
*Peel, priests and politics: Sir Robert Peel’s administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland 1841-6* (1982)

D.A. Kerr  
‘A nation of beggars?’: priests, people, and politics 1846-1852 (1994)

K.B. Nowlan  
*The politics of repeal: a study of the relations between Britain and Ireland 1841-50* (1965)

M.R. O’Connell (ed)  
*Daniel O’Connell: political pioneer* (1991)

O. MacDonagh  
*Daniel O’Connell 1775-1847* (2 vols., 1988-9)

O. MacDonagh  

A. Macintyre  
*The liberator: Daniel O’Connell and the Irish party 1830-47* (1965)

F. O’Ferrall  
*Daniel O’Connell* (1981)

F. O’Ferrall  

H. Senior  
*Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836* (1966)

**(h) The politics of the famine**

R. Davis  
*The Young Ireland movement* (1987)

J.S. Donnelly  

P Gray  

C. O Grada  
*The great Irish famine* (1989)

C. Poitier (ed)  
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C. Woodham-Smith  
*The great hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (1962)

**(i) Nationalism and politics after the famine**

P. Bew  
*Land and the national question in Ireland, 1858-82* (1978)

P. Bew  
*C.S. Parnell* (1980)

D.G. Boyce & A. O’Day (ed.)  
*Parnell in perspective* (1991)

E.F. Biagini  
*British democracy and Irish nationalism 1878-1906* (2007)

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R.V. Comerford  
*The Fenians in context* (1985)

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*Charles Stewart Parnell: the man and his family* (1979)

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*The evolution of Irish nationalist politics* (1981)

T. Garvin  
*Nationalist revolutionaries in Ireland, 1858-1928* (1987)

M. Kelly  
‘Irish nationalist opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s’, *P&P* (2009)
T.W. Moody  Davitt and Irish revolution, 1846–82 (1981)
B. O’Cathaoir  John Blake Dillon, Young Irelander (1990)
A. O’Day  The English face of Irish nationalism: Parnellite politics 1880–6 (1977)
C. Reid  ‘An Experiment in Constructive Unionism’: Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s’, EHR (2014)
C. Townshend  Political violence in Ireland since 1848 (1983)
D. Thornley  Isaac Butt and home rule (1964)

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)

* J. Black Natural and necessary enemies: Anglo-French relations in the eighteenth century (1986)


S. Burrows French exile journalism and European politics 1792-1814 (2000)


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


S. Conway Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the eighteenth century: similarities, connections and identities (2011)


David Feldman Englishmen and Jews (1994)

J.A. Garrard The English and immigration 1880-1910 (1971)


C. Holmes Anti-semitism in British society 1876-1939 (1979)

D.J. Jeremy ‘Damming the flood: British government efforts to check the outflow of technicians and machinery, 1780-1830’, Business History Review, 51 (1977)

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


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


Bernard Porter The refugee question in mid-Victorian politics (1980)


(b) Foreign policy: 1688-1815

i. General works

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

J. Black  A system of ambition: British foreign policy 1660-1793 (1991)


J. Black (ed)  Knights errant and true Englishmen: foreign policy 1600-1800 (1989) [essays by Blanning & Haase, Scott]


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

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

P. Langford  Modern British foreign policy: the 18th century, 1688-1815 (1976)

*D. McKay & H.M. Scott  The rise of the great powers (1983) [chs 2, 4, 6]


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

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

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

B. Simms & T. Rieste (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).


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 following 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)
J. Ehrman  *The British government and commercial negotiations with Europe 1783–1793* (1962)
M. Roberts  *Splendid isolation 1763–1780* (1970)
H.M. Scott  *British foreign policy in the age of the American revolution* (1990)
S. Semmel  *Napoleon and the British* (2004)

(c) Foreign policy, 1815-86

i.  General works

C.J. Bartlett (ed)  *Britain pre-eminent: studies of Britain’s world influence in the nineteenth century* (1969)
P. Hayes  *Modern British foreign policy: the nineteenth century 1814-80* (1975)
A.H. Imlah  *Economic elements in the pax Britannica* (1958)
P. Kennedy  *The rise and fall of British naval mastery* (1976)
T.G. Otte  *The Foreign Office mind: the making of British foreign policy, 1865-1914* (2011)
D.C.M. Platt  *Finance, trade and politics in British foreign policy, 1815-1914* (1968)

ii. Studies of specific regions and periods

D.E.D. Beales  *England and Italy 1859-60* (1961)
M. Chamberlain  *British foreign policy in the age of Palmerston* (1980) [with documents]
G. Clayton  *Britain and the Eastern question from Missolonghi to Gallipoli* (1971)
G.B. Henderson  *Crimean war diplomacy and other essays* (1947)
R.T. Shannon  *Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation* (1963)
D. Southgate  'The most English minister': policies and politics of Palmerston (1966)
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)
H.W.V. Temperley  The foreign policy of Canning 1822-27 (1925)
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

N. Canny Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world 1560-1800 (1988)
L. Colley Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837 (1992)
L. Colley Captives: Britain, empire and the world 1600-1850 (2002)
N. Harding Hanover and the British empire 1700-1837 (2007)
V.T. Harlow The founding of the second British empire 1763-1793 (2 vols, 1952-64)
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 ‘The first and second British empires: a question of demarcation’, History (1964)
P.J. Marshall The impeachment of Warren Hastings (1965)
P.J. Marshall  *Problems of empire: Britain and India, 1757-1813* (1968)


F. Shyllon  *Black people in Britain 1555-1833* (1977)


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


P.D.G. Thomas  *British politics and the Stamp Act crisis, 1763-7* (1975)


P.D.G. Thomas  *Tea party to independence: the American revolution, 1773-1776* (1991)

P.D.G. Thomas  *Revolution in America: Britain and the colonies, 1763-1776* (1992)

N. Tracy  *Navies, deterrence, and American independence: Britain and sea power in the 1760s and 1770s* (1988)

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


C. Bonwick  *English radicals and the American revolution* (1977)


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


J.W. Derry  *English politics and the American revolution* (1976)


B. Donoughue  *British politics and the American revolution: 1773-1775* (1964)
E.H. Gould  The persistence of empire: British political culture in the age of the American revolution (2000)
P. Langford  ‘Old Whigs, old Tories and the American revolution,’ JICH (1980)
P. Lawson  Imperial challenge: Quebec & Britain in the American revolution (1989)

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

R. Anstey  The Atlantic slave trade and British abolition 1760-1810 (1975)
T. Glasson  Mastering Christianity: missionary Anglicanism and slavery in the Atlantic world (2011)
C. Hall  Macaulay and son: architects of imperial Britain (2012)
R. Strong  Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850 (2007), esp chs 2 & 3
Michael Taylor  ‘Conservative political economy and the problem of colonial slavery, 1823–1833’ HJ (2014)

(e) The nineteenth century

C.A. Bayly  Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world 1780-1830 (1989)
J. Belich  Replenishing the earth: the settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939 (2011)
D. Bell  ‘Empire and international relations in Victorian political thought’, HJ (2006)
D. Bell  Reordering the world: essays on liberalism and empire (2016), ch. 2-4.
L. Colley  Captives: Britain, empire and the world 1600-1850 (2002)
J. Darwin  The empire project: the rise and fall of the British world-system 1830-1970 (2009)
C.C. Eldridge  England’s mission: the imperial idea in the age of Gladstone & Disraeli (1973)
J. Gallagher & R. Robinson  ‘The imperialism of free trade’, EcHR (1953) [and replies by MacDonagh, EcHR (1961) and Platt, EcHR (1968)]
R. Hyam  Britain’s imperial century 1815-1914 (1976)
R. Koebner & H.D. Schmidt  Imperialism: the story and significance of a political word (1964)
P. Padfield *Maritime power and the struggle for freedom: naval campaigns that shaped the modern world* 1788-1851 (2003)
A.S. Thompson *The empire strikes back: the impact of imperialism on Britain from the mid-nineteenth century* (2005)

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.

R. Browning  
*Political and constitutional ideas of the Court Whigs* (1982)

J. Burrow  
*Whigs and liberals: continuity and change in English political thought* (1988)

S. Burtt  
*Virtue transformed: political argument in Britain, 1688-1740* (1992)

J.C.D. Clark  
*The language of liberty 1660-1832: political discourse and social dynamics in the Anglo-American world* (1993)

Stefan Collini  
‘The idea of “character” in Victorian political thought’, TRHS (1985)

S. Collini, R. Whatmore, & B Young (ed.)  

S. Collini, R. Whatmore, & B Young (ed.)  

S. J. Connolly(ed.)  
*Political ideas in eighteenth-century Ireland* (2000)

David Craig  

D. Craig & J. Thompson  
*Languages of politics in nineteenth-century Britain* (2013)

H. Cunningham  

H.T. Dickinson  
*Liberty and property: political ideology in 18th-century Britain* (1977)

M. Goldie & R. Wokler (ed.)  
*The Cambridge history of 18th-century political thought* (2006)

M. Goldsmith  
*Private vices, public benefits: Bernard Mandeville’s social and political thought* (1985)

A. Goodrich  
‘Understanding a language of “aristocracy”’, HJ (2013)

N. Gossman  

E.H. Gould  

J.A.W. Gunn  
*Beyond liberty and property* (1983)

R. Hamowy  
‘Cato’s Letters, John Locke, and the republican paradigm’, HPT (1990)

B. Hilton  
*The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought 1795-1865* (1988)

Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade* (2005), introduction

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

L.E. Klein  
*Shaftesbury and the culture of politeness* (1994)

I. Kramnick  
*Bolingbroke and his circle: the politics of nostalgia* (1968)

I. Kramnick  
*Republicanism and bourgeois radicalism* (1990)

A.D. Kriegel  

M. Ledger-Lomas  

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

P. Mandler (ed.)  

P.N. Miller  
*Defining the common good: empire, religion, philosophy in the eighteenth century* (1994)

N. Phillipson & Q. Skinner (ed.)  
*Political discourse in early modern Britain* (1993)

J.G.A. Pocock  
The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition (1975)

J.G.A. Pocock  
‘Varieties of whiggism’ in Pocock, *Virtue, commerce, and history* (1985)

J.G.A. Pocock  
*Virtue, commerce, and history* (1985)

J.G.A. Pocock (ed.)  
*The varieties of British political thought 1500-1800* (1993), part III

F.K. Prochaska  
C. Robbins  
_The eighteenth-century commonwealthman: studies in the transmission, development and circumstance of English liberal thought 1660-1780_ (1959)

J.J. Sack  
_From Jacobite to Conservative: reaction and orthodoxy in Britain c1760-1832_ (1993)

J. Sekora  
_Luxury: the concept in western thought, Eden to Smollett_ (1977)

R.J. Smith  
_The gothic bequest: medieval institutions in British thought, 1688-1863_ (1987)

D. Spadafora  
_The idea of progress in eighteenth-century Britain_ (1990)

D. Wahrman  
_Imagining the middle class: political representation of class 1780-1840_ (1995)