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

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

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

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

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

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

Set texts:


_Essays Moral, Political and Literary_, ed. E.F. Miller (Indianapolis, 1985), especially essays Part I 2-8, 12, 14, 21; Part II 1-9, 11-13, 16.

Suggested secondary reading:

*J.A. Harris, _Hume: An Intellectual Biography_ (Cambridge, 2015)

Philosophy, politics and history:

*A.C. Baier, _A Progress of Sentiments: Reflection on Hume’s Treatise_ (Cambridge MA, 1991) chapters 7-12.

S. Blackburn, _How to Read Hume_ (London, 2008)


D. Forbes, _Hume’s Philosophical Politics_ (Cambridge, 1975)


*J.P. Wright, _Hume’s Treatise of Human Nature: An Introduction_ (Cambridge, 2009)

Moral philosophy:


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

Set Text:

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

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

Set Texts:

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

More particularly,
C. Kelly and E. Grace eds., *Rousseau on Women, Love and Family* (Hanover NH, 2009)

Rousseau and Geneva
B. Kapossy, ‘Neo-Roman Republicanism and Commercial Society: The Example of
A4. SMITH

Set Texts:

Suggested secondary reading:
Major interpretations:
**N. Phillipson, Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life (London, 2010)
*D. Winch, Adam Smith’s Politics, (Cambridge, 1978)

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

The Wealth of Nations


The ‘Adam Smith Problem’


**A5. BURKE**

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

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

A6. WOLLSTONECRAFT

Set Text:

Also recommended:

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

A7. KANT

Set Texts:
Political Writings, ed. H. Reiss, (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1991)

Suggested secondary reading:
P. Guyer, Kant (London, 2006)
M. Kuehn, Kant: A Biography (Cambridge, 2001)
A. Wood, Kant (Oxford, 2005)

On Moral Theory:
*F.C. Beiser, Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism. The genesis of modern German political thought 1790-1800 (Cambridge, MA, 1992), chap. 2: The politics of Kant’s Critical Philosophy
R.J. Sullivan, An Introduction to Kant’s Ethics, (Cambridge, 1994)
S. Sedgwick, Kant’s Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals: An Introduction (Cambridge, 2008)
*A. Wood, Kant’s Ethical Thought (Cambridge, 1999)

On Kant’s Political Theory:
*E. Ellis, Kant’s Politics (New Haven, 2005), chapters 1-3
J.C. Laursen, ‘The Subversive Kant: The Vocabulary of “Public” and “Publicity”’, Political Theory, 14 (1986), 584-603
R. Malik, Kant’s Politics in Context (Oxford, 2014)
**A. Ripstein, Force and Freedom: Kant’s Legal and Political Philosophy (Cambridge


On Anthropology & Human Nature:


On Revolution:


On Cosmopolitanism:


*O. Höffe, Kant’s Cosmopolitan Theory of Law and Peace (Cambridge, 2006)


*C. Meckstroth, ‘Hospitality, or Kant’s Critique of Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights’, Political Theory (2017)
A8. BENTHAM

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

Suggested secondary reading:
E. de Champs, Enlightenment and Utility: Bentham in French, Bentham in France (Cambridge, 2015)
*R. Harrison, Bentham, (London, 1983)


J. Waldron, Nonsense upon Stilts: Bentham, Burke and Marx on the Rights of Man, (London, 1987)


A9. CONSTANT

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

Suggested secondary reading:
A. de Dijn, French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society? (Cambridge, 2008), chap. 4
G. Dodge, Benjamin Constant’s Philosophy of Liberalism: A Study in Politics and Religion (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980)
*B Fontana, Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind (New Haven, CT, 1991)
*B. Garsten, ‘Religion and the Case against Ancient Liberty: Benjamin Constant’s Other Lectures’ Political Theory 38 (2010), 4-33.
S. Holmes, Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism (New Haven CT, 1984)
*J. Jennings, ‘Constitutional Liberalism in France: from Benjamin Constant to Alexis de Tocqueville’, in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claeys (eds), The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought (Cambridge, 2011)
*J. Pitts, ‘Constant’s Thought on Slavery and Empire’, in Rosenblatt (ed), Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Constant, pp. 115-145.
*H. Rosenblatt, Liberal Values: Benjamin Constant and the Politics of Religion (Cambridge, 2008)
G. de Staël, Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution, ed. A. Craiutu (Indianapolis IN, 2008)
K.S. Vincent, Benjamin Constant and the Birth of French Liberalism (New York, 2011)
C.B. Welch, Liberty and Utility: The French Ideologues and the Transformation of Liberalism

A10. HEGEL

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

Suggested secondary reading:

*S. Avineri, Hegel’s Theory of the Modern State*, (Cambridge, 1972)
*F. Beiser, Hegel* (London, 2005)
J. Stewart (ed), The Hegel Myths and Legends, (Evanston IL, 1996)
C. Taylor, Hegel and Modern Society, (Cambridge, 1979)
A. Wood, Hegel’s Ethical Thought, (Cambridge, 1990)

Specifically on the philosophy of history:

On Religion:
A11. TOCQUEVILLE

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

Suggested secondary reading:
*Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings*, eds. A. Craiutu and J. Jennings (Cambridge, 2009)
E. Atanassow and R. Boyd (eds), *Tocqueville and the Frontiers of Democracy* (Cambridge, 2013)
*A. Craiutu, ‘Tocqueville and the Political Thought of the Doctrinaires’, *History of Political Thought* 20 (1999).*
A. de Diijn, *French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society?* (Cambridge, 2008), chap. 6
*M. Richter, ‘Tocqueville and Guizot on Democracy: From a Type of Society to a Political Regime’ *History of European Ideas* 30 (2004), 61-82.
*C.B. Welch, *De Tocqueville* (Oxford, 2001)
A12. J.S. MILL

Set Texts:

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

D.O. Brink, Mill’s Progressive Principles (Oxford, 2013)
*G. Claeys, Mill and Paternalism (Cambridge, 2013)
D. Kelly, The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought (Princeton, NJ, 2010), Ch. 4
A. Pyle ed., Liberty: Contemporary Responses to John Stuart Mill (Bristol, 1994)
*N. Urbinati & A. Zakaras (eds.), *J. S. Mill’s Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment* (Cambridge, 2007)*

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

On the Subjection of Women:

On International Relations:
A13. MARX

Set Texts:
Marx: Early Political Writings, J. O’Malley and R. A. Davis eds (Cambridge, 1994)
Marx: Later Political Writings, ed. T. Carver (Cambridge, 1996)
Part 1, Chapter 1: ‘Commodities,’; Part 8: ‘So-Called Primitive Accumulation’
‘Marx-Zasulich’ correspondence in T. Shanin ed., Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and
the ‘Peripheries of Capitalism’ (London, 1983) also available in Karl Marx: Selected

Suggested secondary reading:
J. Sperber, Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life (New York, 2013)
D. McLellan, Karl Marx: A Biography (London, 1995) [earlier ed. published as Karl Marx’s
Life and Thought (London, 1973)]
*G. Stedman Jones, Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion (London, 2016)
F. Wheen, Karl Marx (New York, 1999)

K.B. Anderson, Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western
R. Bellofiore and R. Fineschi eds, Re-reading Marx: New Perspectives After the Critical
Edition (Basingstoke, 2009)
T. Carver, ‘The German Ideology Never Took Place’, History of Political Thought 31
(2010), 107-127.
(eds), The Cambridge Companion to the Communist Manifesto (Cambridge, 2015),
pp. 67-84.
T. Carver, Marx (Cambridge, 2018)
*G.A. Cohen, ‘Forces and Relations of Production’ and ‘Marxism and Functional
Explanation’ in J. Roemer (ed), Analytical Marxism (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 11-22 and 221-
234.
*J. Elster, An Introduction to Karl Marx (Cambridge, 1986)
D. Gregory, ‘Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ Knowledge of French Socialism in 1842-3’,
Historical Reflections, 10 (1983), 143-193.
Democracy, 1818-1850 (Basingstoke, 1974)
the History of Ideas 45 (1984), 245-62.
*D. Leopold, The Young Karl Marx: German Philosophy, Modern Politics, and Human
Flourishing (Cambridge, 2007)
S. Lukes, Marxism and Morality (Oxford, 1987)
B14. NATURAL LAW AND HISTORY

Suggested primary reading:

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

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

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

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

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
The Luxury Debate and political economy:

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

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


The Italian debate:


On Ferguson:


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


**B16. POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

**Suggested primary reading:**


**Supplementary primary reading:**


**Suggested secondary reading:**


T. Ball and J.G.A. Pocock (eds), *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1988)


R. Beeman et al. (eds), *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987)

H. Belz, R. Hoffman and P. Albert (eds), *To Form a More Perfect Union: The Critical Ideas of the Constitution* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1992)

Once More in Need of Revising’, *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 13–39


R.K. Matthews, *If Men Were Angels: James Madison and the Heartless Empire of Reason* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1995)

*P.S. Onuf, ‘Reflections on the Founding: Constitutional Historiography in Bicentennial Perspective’, *William and Mary Quarterly* 46 (1989), 341–75
Suggested primary reading:
Condorcet, *Political Writings*, ed S. Lukes and N. Urbinati (Cambridge, 2012)

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

Suggested secondary reading:
Major interpretations:
Supplementary:
K.M. Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago, 1975)
H.C. Clark, *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old Regime France* (Lanham MD, 2007), chapters 8-10.
Suggested primary reading:

J.G. Fichte, ‘Some Lectures concerning the Scholar’s Vocation’, in *Early Philosophical Writings*, ed. D. Breazeale (Ithaca, 1993), 144-84

Suggested secondary reading:

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

Herder:
F.M. Barnard, *Herder on Nationality, Humanity, and History* (Montreal, 2003)
*S. Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, 2003), chap. 6

**Humboldt:**

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

**Novalis:**

**Schiller:**
B19. GENDER AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading (organized by period):

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


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


B20. SOCIALISM BEFORE 1848

**Suggested primary reading:**


**Suggested secondary reading:**


Owen & Britain:

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


Saint-Simon & Fourier:


Proudhon:


Blanc:


Marx & Engels:


Herzen & Russia:


B21. NATIONALISM AND THE STATE

Suggested primary reading:

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

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

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


*S. Muthu, Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, 2003)

S. Muthu (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. chs. 8-13

*J. Pitts, A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Liberal Imperialism in Britain and France* (Princeton, 2005)


**International Law**


B23. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:
D.G. Charleton, *Positivist Thought in France during the Second Empire, 1852-70* (Oxford, 1959)
*S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow (eds), That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983)
H.S. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930* (London, 1959)

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

Specifically on Comte:

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

Others: