

HUMAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES TRIPOS

**PART IIA / POL 8
PART IIB / POL 10**

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT
c. 1700 – c. 1890**

**COURSE GUIDE
2024 – 2025**

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1. Introduction to the History of Political Thought papers

For several decades now, Cambridge has been an international centre for teaching and research on the history of political thought, a subject which has formed a substantial component of the undergraduate degrees in both History and HSPS. On the Politics side, there is a widespread view among those who teach the subject here that the study of political ideas in their historical contexts offers an invaluable training for thinking critically and flexibly about politics more generally.

Much of the teaching for this paper is organised by the History Faculty (where the paper is known as Part IB T2/ Part II Paper 4). It is responsible for the production of the reading lists and will have arranged the lectures that will be delivered throughout the academic year. Sometimes Politics students feel intimidated by the lectures—they worry that they don't know enough about modern European history, for example, and they come to believe that the History students are better placed than they are to benefit from what's being said. But if you have thoughts like this, it's worth exploring the other side of the coin. It's true that Historians may initially be more familiar with some aspects of the subject than Politics students. But Politics students (especially if they have taken the Part I paper, POL1) usually have considerably more experience at handling political argument at a decent level of sophistication by the time they come to study for this paper, and that gives them a very useful platform on which to build their engagement with the syllabus here—since taking political argument seriously is ultimately what this paper is about.

2. Introduction to the period

Beginning with the Enlightenment and extending from the American, French and Haitian revolutions to the wave of revolutions in 1848 and the challenge to capitalism in the thought of Karl Marx, this paper explains the formation of the fundamental concepts of modern society and politics. The line between the state and civil society, the relation between liberty and commerce, the transformations in the principles of political legitimacy which led to the notion of the modern representative republic, the political and civil status of women, the mounting challenge to slavery, the modern concept of empire: all these and more form the content of this paper.

Like POL 7, this paper offers two kinds of intellectual exploration. In Part A, you will focus on a close reading of major texts within their political and intellectual contexts. This enables you to explore how political argument was articulated in texts by the greatest political philosophers of the period. In Part B, you will focus on groups of texts which are thematically and historically connected, developing your ability to understand the way that a given political language is inflected in different directions according to different demands of national and international debate in the modern period. For those who have done other papers in the history of political thought or are thinking of taking them, this paper provides an essential introduction to the understanding of all aspects of political thought, including the foundations of modern politics in a global setting.

3. How to study for this paper

Lectures: because the material to be covered spans a wide chronological and thematic range, and also because many students will not have studied the history of political thought before, a comprehensive array of lectures is offered. This need not cause you alarm since you are not required or expected to attend them all. Lecturers are encouraged to place their outlines, bibliographies and other material on the paper's Moodle site in advance of the lecture. Your ID will be added to the list of site users by the course organiser at the start of the academic year, based on information received from the administrative offices of History and POLIS. If you have been omitted, you should contact the course organiser.

Supervisions: for this paper, the norm is to have six paired supervisions for the paper spread over the Michaelmas and Lent terms. In these supervisions, you should cover six of the twenty-one named authors (section A) and thematic topics (section B) that make up the syllabus, in preparation for answering three questions in the examination (including at least one question from each of sections A and B). What you need to do, therefore, is to construct, in conjunction with your supervisor and supervision partner, your own intellectual pathway through this paper. Before you start, you should make an initial choice of, say, authors and topics; these will preferably have thematic or historical connections between them. You may change your choice as you proceed, but identification of a pathway is the key to making the most of this paper.

4. Structure of the paper

The paper is divided into two sections. Section A focuses on some of the most prominent political thinkers of the period, and you will study their major texts in depth, to gain a detailed, contextual understanding of their thought. Section B offers a range of thematic topics, for which you will be expected to read across a range of primary texts and reflect on the broader problems of historical and philosophical interpretation that confront historians of political thought and political theorists in studying this period. You will need to cover at least one topic from each section in the exam, but the precise balance you strike between the two sections is a matter for you to decide with your supervisor and supervision partner, although most students prefer to take a majority of their topics from Section A.

Section A

- A1 Hume
- A2 Montesquieu
- A3 Rousseau
- A4 Smith
- A5 Burke
- A6 Wollstonecraft
- A7 Kant
- A8 Hegel
- A9 Tocqueville
- A10 John Stuart Mill
- A11 Marx

Section B

- B12 History, Progress and Enlightenment
- B13 Theorists of the Condition of Women
- B14 Justifying Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World
- B15 Constitutions
- B16 Culture and Politics in Germany
- B17 Liberty, Law and the State
- B18 Political Economy and its Critics
- B19 Socialism before 1848
- B20 Slavery, Free Labour and Citizenship
- B21 Empire and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought

5. Introduction to the topics

Section A

A1 Hume

David Hume (1711-1776) is perhaps best known for his attempts to establish a truly empirical study of human nature, and for the sceptical challenge he thus posed to the Christian worldview, along with its supporting metaphysical systems and its influence on prevailing moral and political ideas. In his own time, however, he was equally (if not more) celebrated as an historian and political essayist. His Scottish background gave him an unusual sense of distance from the partisan politics of eighteenth-century England, and in his essays we find a notably clear-sighted appreciation of the political and economic changes reshaping European politics in his time.

A2 Montesquieu

Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a nobleman from southwest France whose *The Spirit of the Laws* of 1748 established him beyond question as the touchstone of eighteenth-century political science. Its careful attempt to work out the relations that linked such apparently diverse phenomena as manners, religion, commerce, climate and territory to law and politics, represented an extraordinary attempt to grapple with the diversity of political societies without abandoning the hope of achieving some insight into the general principles that might operate in all of them. But he is equally well-known for some of his more specifically political arguments, notably his account of the separation of powers, worked out through comparison between 'modern' (i.e. post-feudal) monarchies such as France and the hard-to-classify British system of government. This was among the developments that made his constitutional theories an important point of reference for the American and French revolutionaries and later liberal thinkers.

A3 Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) launched an excoriating critique of inequality in 1755 that reshaped subsequent debate on the character of the human psyche and its relationship with social life, civil government and property. His subsequent writings, including the *Social Contract* (1762) offered an important reworking of ideas about the relationship between popular sovereignty and government and the basis of republican government. The political debates of the French Revolution might be seen as an argument about his intellectual legacy, but his influence stretched further, and he was a key point of reference for thinkers in the German Idealist tradition as well.

A4 Smith

Adam Smith (1723-1790) is best known as the author of the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) a text subsequently taken up by nineteenth-century economists as the foundation of their discipline (B18). This topic looks at his earlier *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). Many nineteenth-century readers found the idea of writing on moral philosophy *and* writing a work of economics grounded on self-interest so puzzling that they assumed Smith must have contradicted himself. More recent studies have found in the *Theory of Moral*

Sentiments a rich investigation into the moral foundations of social life that sheds fascinating light on Smith's hopes and fears for modern commercial societies.

A5 Burke

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) is undoubtedly best known for the scathing and prescient critique of the French Revolution that he published in 1790. In the late nineteenth century, he was adopted as a kind of figurehead by British and later American conservatives, an appropriation that complicates understanding him in his own context. A Whig statesman from an Irish background, Burke was a proponent of political and religious reform in Britain and Ireland, a critic of the government's mishandling of the crisis in the American colonies, and an avowed enemy of the British East India Company's rule on the Indian subcontinent. Should this change the way we read the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*?

A6 Wollstonecraft

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was a religious radical as well as a moral and political philosopher, best known for her analysis of the condition of women in modern society. She treats the problem of the status of women as inseparable from that of 'the understanding of human relations within a civilization increasingly governed by acquisitiveness and consumption' (Tomaselli, 2016). Her response to this challenge remains enduringly controversial within later feminist commentary, but repays close attention, both to her own texts and to the ways in which she engages with philosophers such as Rousseau (A3), Smith (A4) and Burke (A5), as well as with the debates stimulated by the French Revolution. Her life was cut short by death in childbirth, but her legacy fed not only into later discussions of the condition of women, but into early British Romanticism.

A7 Kant

The publication of Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 established him, in the eyes of his many followers, as the preeminent philosopher of modern times. In addressing the problem of the conditions of possibility for our knowledge of the world around us, his 'critical' philosophy sought to navigate between the rationalism of Leibniz and Wolff and the 'sceptical' position associated with Hume. This has tended until relatively recently to overshadow his contributions to moral and political philosophy, but this has changed dramatically in recent decades. We will be looking at both the foundations of his moral philosophy, and at his contributions to political philosophy, including his discussion of the nature of the republican state and his influential analysis of federalism as a means of resolving international conflict.

A8 Hegel

G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831) is among the most influential thinkers of the modern age. Building especially on the thought of Rousseau (A3) and Kant (A7), he placed freedom at the centre of society and politics. While his language is certainly difficult, reliant upon a vocabulary that takes some time to get to grips with, his ideas were nonetheless transformative. In his main political treatise, the *Philosophy of Right* (1820), he launched a powerful critique of (Kantian) moral consciousness and set about demonstrating that the value of liberty lay in its practical realization in the institutions of family, society and state. A dominant influence on a generation of younger German philosophers, including Marx

(A11), reflection on his philosophy has been central to many later philosophical movements such as Marxism, British Idealism and Existentialism.

A9 Tocqueville

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) may be best known for his seminal *Democracy in America* (1835-1840). That text was intended to answer many of the fears that continued to haunt France after the catastrophic experience of the Revolution. Was democracy compatible with liberty? What forms of government could serve to minimize its dangers? This topic focuses on his later *Ancien Régime and the Revolution* (1856), written after the 1848 Revolution and the advent of the Second Empire under Napoleon III. In this book he sought in the development of the pre-revolutionary French state and society answers to the question of why France seemed fated to alternate between revolutionary excess and dictatorship. It is a seminal contribution to the understanding of the problem of revolution and of the nature and genesis of modern egalitarian politics, widely influential among later historians and social and political scientists.

A10 Mill

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was a dominant figure in the intellectual life of Victorian Britain. His father, James Mill, was one of Bentham's (B17) closest collaborators, and the young J.S. Mill, something of a prodigy, was raised as a paladin for the utilitarian cause. The pressure led to a breakdown in his early adulthood, and he subsequently sought to nourish himself on a more varied intellectual diet. His *System of Logic* (1843) examined not only the foundations of philosophical logic, but the possibility of a science of society. The *Principles of Political Economy* (1848 – see B18) became a standard textbook on the subject for a generation. Marriage to Harriet Taylor (B13) spurred him to more direct interventions in social and political debate, in the essays *On Liberty* (1859), *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), *Utilitarianism* (1863) and *The Subjection of Women* (1869). He has long enjoyed the status of the classic representative of British liberalism. In recent decades, his views on empire have come under increasing scrutiny, as have the equivocations of his views on the British working classes. He is a fascinatingly complex thinker.

A11 Marx

Michel Foucault once wrote that 'Marxism exists in nineteenth-century thought like a fish in water: that is, it is unable to breathe anywhere else.' (*The Order of Things*, 1966). Many would demur, but it has certainly been an over-riding ambition of much recent scholarship to return Karl Marx (1818-1883) to the context in which he lived and wrote. This has reminded us, amongst other things, that we are dealing with a German philosopher deeply steeped in political debates about the future of the Prussian state, the radical potential of Hegelian philosophy (A8), the promise of French socialist thought (B19), the capacity of the British state to work through the problems of industrialization, and the relationship between the international order and the revolutionary potential of the working classes. The twentieth-century Marx can, for the moment, be left to students of twentieth-century political theory. What we are left with is a more interestingly creative thinker that we do not need to force into conformity with hackneyed expectations of 'what Marx says' or 'what Marxism is about'.

Section B

B12 History, Progress and Enlightenment

The idea of 'Enlightenment', whether conceived as a process of moral and political progress, or as defining an era in the cultural and intellectual life of western civilization, has played an important role in historical and political reflection on the period covered by this paper. Central to thinking about the concept is the emergence of new ways of understanding the history of civil societies and of humanity at large. This topic looks at a range of major contributions to debates about the nature of historical change and progress, including works by Vico, Herder, Kant (A7) and Hegel (A8). We will be looking at the role of divine and human agency, of reason and the imagination, of property and law, of culture and politics in explanations of the genesis and development of human societies, and at the implications of these theories for thinking about the future.

B13 Theorists of the Condition of Women

This topic spans the entire time period covered by this paper, which makes it a particularly rewarding way to get to grips with many of the overarching developments of political thought in this period. In the eighteenth century, we begin to find probing questions about marriage, education and the place of women within civil society posed by writers such as Mary Astell, Catharine Macauley, Mary Wollstonecraft (A6) and Olympe de Gouges (B14). At the same time, the rise of new modes of historical thought, and the transformations wrought by the advent of commercial society, prompted questions about the evolution of modern social forms and the changing status of women. The French Revolution sharpened the expectations of those who sought a fundamental transformation of relations between the sexes in domestic, social and political life. The status of women was a central concern of socialist thinkers in France, Britain and Germany (B19), as it was for radical liberals such as Harriet Taylor and her husband, John Stuart Mill (A10). Through this lens we are thus led directly into reflection on the central themes of this paper.

B14 Justifying Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

The concept of 'revolution' underwent a transformational change in the late eighteenth century, coming to denote not merely a change of government, but a profound rupture in political and social life. The American Revolution of 1776 could not easily be presented as a restoration of pre-existing political norms. Many of its leading actors, such as Thomas Jefferson (B20) and Thomas Paine, were keen to stress the novelty of the undertaking, arguing that the Revolution had created a new society founded on the unshakeable principles of natural law. For European reformers this was a seductive vision. This topic looks at the ways in which this new language of revolutionary politics shaped the politics of the French Revolution through the writings of Condorcet (B15, B20), Sieyès (B15) and Robespierre (among others), and at the ways in which the American and French examples informed the efforts of revolutionaries in the French colony of Saint-Domingue (afterwards known as Haiti) to destroy slavery, and ultimately colonial rule. In these revolutions of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, we find the origins of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century tradition of revolutionary thought.

B15 Constitutions

One legacy of the American and French Revolutions was the elevation of the notion of popular sovereignty to a central place in nineteenth-century political thought. Covering the founding of the American republic; the rise, fall and rise again of ideas of representative government in France; the development of the principle of nationality as a complement to the idea of popular sovereignty in the Italian Risorgimento; and the attempts to accommodate new ways of thinking about sovereignty to the practices of British parliamentary government, this topic looks at the emergence of the modern representative republic. We will look at debates over the nature and origins of sovereignty and its proper limits; over federalism and centralization; on representative government; on the idea of nationality as a political principle; and at the evolution of thinking about parliamentary models of government.

B16 Culture and Politics in Germany

The debates generated by the Kantian 'revolution' in philosophy, combined with the political upheavals in France created a somewhat febrile atmosphere of intellectual excitement in Germany in the 1790s. Kant himself was known to be sympathetic to the aims of the French Revolution, and his legal philosophy could be read in this light (A7). Johann Gottlieb Fichte, building on Kant's *Critiques*, began to sketch a position in which a forthright emphasis was placed on self-activity and the self's 'recognition' of others as the foundation of ethical obligation. Fichte would exercise a commanding influence over the young Schelling, Hegel (A8), and the Romantic circle that formed around Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis. For this last group, the takeaway message from Kant and Fichte was that our freedom lay in our ability to act and to shape ourselves and the world around us; to be free was to be a kind of artist. There were parallels here with the position outlined by the playwright and philosopher, Friedrich Schiller; whilst Wilhelm von Humboldt offered a staunch defence of the intrinsic value of individual diversity. Many of the seeds of nineteenth-century liberalism, radicalism, conservatism and nationalism can be found in these debates.

B17 Liberty, Law and the State

In a celebrated lecture of 1819, Benjamin Constant outlined what he took to be a fundamental distinction between the idea of liberty to be found in the republics of the ancient Greece and Rome, and that which characterized modern commercial societies. In the former, the individual was, he argued, subsumed within their membership of the citizen-body; liberty was conceived as a function of participation in political life. In the modern world, such an all-consuming idea of political life was neither possible nor desirable. Individuals wished to be free to define the parameters of their own moral, intellectual and religious lives and to pursue their own social and economic projects. This topic looks at the development of the idea of modern liberty in Britain, France, Switzerland, and the United States from the 1780s onwards. We will look at the development of a liberal tradition in France in the writings of Constant, Staël and Guizot; at sharp mid-century polemics over the role of the state and the moral and economic burdens it placed on the individual in the works of Bastiat, Spencer and Thoreau; at the evolution of utilitarian ideas of liberty in Bentham and Mill (A10); and at reactions to Mill's thought from J.F. Stephen and T.H. Green.

B18 Political Economy and its Critics

Adam Smith opened Book IV of the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) by defining 'political œconomy' as a 'branch of the science of a statesman or a legislator' concerned with the enrichment of 'both the people and the sovereign'. Political discussion of public finance had already a long history; speculation on the proper management of a household (in Greek, the *oikos*) one longer still. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourse of 'Political Economy' was born of their conjunction. This topic is concerned with the transformative effect this had and continues to have on political thought. Choosing from among four major contributors to the genre – Smith (see also A4), Malthus, Mill (A10) and Marx (A13) – we will look at the ways in which Political Economy became a vehicle for discussions of progress and its limits, distributive justice, the role of individual agency, the limits of governmental action, the politics of class relations, problems of international competition and the politics of empire.

B19 Socialism before 1848

Nineteenth-century socialism has often been approached through the distorting lens of the later history of Marxism. Marx (A11) and Engels (B13) were keen to establish their distance from near contemporaries to whom they owed much, and distinguished between their own 'scientific' socialism and the 'utopian' aspirations of their 'predecessors'. We will be less interested in this kind of proleptic judgement than in studying early socialist authors on their own terms. The key figures are Robert Owen, Henri Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Flora Tristan. There are notable differences of preoccupation and approach between all these figures, but recurring themes will include: the legacy of the French Revolution; the problem of education; the role of the passions in creating social harmony/disharmony; the role of religion in socialism; the significance of sexual difference to socialist visions of social life, and the link between feminism and socialism; the emergence of an analysis of class conflict and its link to property; the role (or lack thereof) of the state in early socialist theory; and the rejection or embrace of political democracy as a component of socialist society.

B20 Slavery, Free Labour and Citizenship

The expansion of the Atlantic slave trade over the eighteenth century stimulated an increasingly sharp debate in Europe and its colonies over the moral and political status of the institution of slavery and over the enslavement of Africans in particular. Existing European frameworks for thinking about slavery, primarily derived from the Roman law tradition, came under critical scrutiny and novel critiques were launched in the name of slavery's incompatibility with Christian religious duty, natural law, or republican political values. The independence of Haiti and the abolition in the British Empire of first the slave trade (1807) and then slavery itself (1833) transformed the context of these debates and would have a deep impact on the increasingly fraught confrontation between defenders and opponents of slavery in the USA in the run-up to the American Civil War of 1861-5. This topic looks at a range of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contributions to this debate, covering both critics and defenders of slavery and the slave trade from Britain, France, the United States, Haiti and the Transatlantic African diaspora. For supervision essays, it is suggested that students may like to concentrate in the first instance on either the French and British debates or on the American debates.

B21 Empire and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought

By the early nineteenth century, the global map of European overseas empire was shifting dramatically. The independence of Britain's American colonies was followed by revolts in French Saint-Domingue (Haiti), and Spain's American colonies. Portuguese Brazil soon followed its neighbours into independence. Though slave-holding interests remained significant in the Caribbean, and British territory would expand rapidly in Canada; European attention was increasingly focused on Asia, Africa and the Pacific. The British defeat in America seemed to many compensated by its rise to military dominance in India. Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the territories governed by the East India Company would be placed under direct Crown government. Settler colonies were established in Australia, New Zealand, and amongst the Dutch colonists of the Cape Peninsula, South Africa. Other European states sought to rival the British, with the French investing greatly in the conquest and colonization of Algeria after 1830. The Ottoman and Chinese empires came under sustained pressure, whilst after 1881 almost the entire African continent was divided amongst European colonial states. This topic, focusing on debate within the British Empire, is intended to get to grips not only with the changing ways Europeans justified or criticised overseas empire, including arguments about civilizational 'backwardness', theories of racial hierarchy, and ideas about international security, law and trade; but also with the ways in which they envisaged the role of empire in future international order. Was 'empire' thought of as a permanent fixture of international order, or as a transitional phase in the emergence of a more 'civilized' world? What should be the relationship between the metropole and its colonies? Was the ideal of representative government compatible with settler colonialism, and if it was, how would that change the nature of empire? From the perspective of those who found themselves under colonial rule, particularly in India, different questions emerged. How could the success of European imperial conquests be explained? How was British rule to be judged? Was there anything to be hoped for from the evolving systems of government in British India? Was resistance desirable or possible, or was the lesson of 1857 and its aftermath that the path to self-government ran instead through the mobilization of reforming interests in Britain and India?

6. Lectures

For guidance as to which lectures will be most relevant to your course of studies, you are advised to get in touch with your supervisor as early as possible in Michaelmas term. It is not expected that students will attend all the lectures advertised, but you are strongly encouraged to attend lectures on the topics that you are covering.

Lecture handouts and announcements are made available through Moodle.

Lectures are organized by the History Faculty. The Lecture List can be found [here](#).

| MICHAELMAS | LENT |
|--|---|
| Introductory Lecture (POL7/POL8) Dr T. Hopkins Thurs, Wk 1, Sidgwick Lecture Block Rm 6 | Section B topics will be covered in Lent. Schedule to follow once available. |
| Mondays (wk 1-8) 11-12 Law Faculty LG17 | |
| Weeks 1-2 Kant Dr C. Meckstroth | |
| Weeks 3-4 Hegel Dr C. Meckstroth | |
| Weeks 5-6 Marx Dr C. Meckstroth | |
| Week 7 Tocqueville Dr R. Scurr | |
| Week 8 Mill Dr C. Meckstroth | |
| Mondays (wk 1-8), 12-13 Law Faculty LG17 | |
| Week 1-2 Hume Prof. R. Bourke | |
| Week 3 Smith Prof. R. Bourke | |
| Week 4 Montesquieu Prof. R. Bourke | |
| Week 5-6 Rousseau Prof. R. Bourke | |
| Week 7 Burke Prof. R. Bourke | |
| Week 8 Wollstonecraft Dr S. Tomaselli | |

7. The examination

POL8 and POL10 are examined separately, so second-year students will sit a different exam paper to third-year students. Both papers are marked by examiners in POLIS; students taking the History versions of the paper will sit the same exams, but they will be marked by examiners from the History Faculty. Students taking the History and Politics or History and Modern Languages Tripos are also examined by the History Faculty.

Sample supervision questions will be found listed by topic in the guide below. Examiners' reports for the last few years will be found in the Appendix to this course guide.

Candidates can expect that a question will be set on each of the prescribed authors in Section A and topics in Section B. But you should be aware that the guarantee of a question on each author and topic does not mean that examiners will set lowest common denominator, generic questions, open to a pre-prepared answer. They are much more likely to ask specific questions, approaching the author/topic from a particular perspective. Candidates are therefore strongly advised to prepare more than the minimum of required authors and topics.

The Exam rubric is: Answer **three** questions, at least **one** from each section. (Overlap between answers should be avoided.)

8. Sample examination paper

SECTION A

1. What role does the concept of convention play in Hume's social and political thought?
2. What, for Montesquieu, distinguished despotism from other forms of government?
3. Why did Rousseau think that republican citizens had reason to fear the ambitions of republican governments?
4. Why did Smith distinguish justice from other virtues?
5. How did Burke reconcile the existence of distinctions of rank and wealth with the idea of moral equality?
6. What did Wollstonecraft understand by virtue?
7. Is there a role for prudence in Kant's account of political judgement?
8. How did Hegel justify the claim that we can be at once free and dependent on others?
9. How did Tocqueville explain the failure of eighteenth-century efforts to reform the French monarchy?
10. What role, if any, do rights play in Mill's thinking about liberty?
11. Does Marx provide a moral justification for revolution?

SECTION B

12. What role did the idea of 'decline' play in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates about progress?
13. To what extent did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of the condition of women believe it could be explained by the pretensions of men?
14. What was the relationship between the ideas of revolution and moral progress in late eighteenth-century political debate?
15. Did the idea of popular sovereignty complement or compete with the idea of constitutional government in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political thought?
16. To what extent were German theories of culture around the turn of the nineteenth century theories of republican politics?
17. To what extent was the defence of modern liberty a defence of the primacy of self-interest in politics?
18. What was political about political economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
19. How did socialist thinkers before 1848 explain human sociability?
20. To what extent did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics and defenders of the institution of slavery believe it to be compatible with the existence of republican government?
21. How did nineteenth-century political thinkers propose to reconcile the idea of representative government with the existence of empire?

9. The reading lists

For Section A, you are assigned one or more set texts for each topic. It is expected that you will be familiar with all of the set texts assigned for a given topic by the time you sit the exam, but for the supervision your supervisor may advise you to concentrate in the first instance on one text in particular, or on certain sections of a longer text. Your primary goal should be to engage carefully and analytically with the set texts.

The aim of Section B is to allow you 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. You need not master every one of the Section B primary texts but need to show evidence of engagement with texts relating to each topic. A good rule of thumb is to have engaged with 2-3 primary texts ahead of the supervision, but with shorter texts your supervisor may advise you to tackle more than this. Discuss with your supervisor which texts you will read ahead of the supervision.

Secondary reading lists are designed to indicate some useful introductory works or major interpretations of thinkers or themes, as well as offering pointers for further reading on particular aspects of a topic. They are not intended as a checklist, and there is no expectation that you will read every text on a given topic. Your supervisor will guide you in your reading for supervisions. You may then return to the reading list for further reading on any aspect of an author or topic that particularly interests you, and for revision reading. Though you may sometimes find it useful to begin by reading an introductory secondary text, make sure to prioritize the primary texts if pushed for time.

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

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = Available via Moodle (see under 'Library Resources')

A1 Hume

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

A Treatise of Human Nature, ed. P.H. Nidditch (Oxford 1978) (E) or eds. D.F. Norton and M.J. Norton, (Oxford, 2000) (E): Bk. III

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

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory:

*J.A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, 2015) (E)

D.F. Norton and J. Taylor. eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 2008) (E)

Morals, politics and history:

*A.C. Baier, *A Progress of Sentiments: Reflection on Hume's Treatise* (Cambridge MA, 1991) chapters 7-12. (E)

R. Cohon, 'Artificial and Natural Virtues', in S. Traiger (ed), *The Blackwell Guide to Hume's Treatise* (Oxford, 2006), 256-275. (E)

S. Darwall, 'Motive and Obligation in Hume's Ethics' *Nous* 27 (1993), 415-448. (E)

D. Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge, 1975)

*J. Moore, 'Hume's Theory of Justice and Property', *Political Studies*, 24 (1976), 103-19 (E)

D.F. Norton, 'Hume, Human Nature and the Foundations of Morality' in Norton and Taylor eds, *Cambridge Companion to Hume*, pp. 270-310. (E)

*N. Phillipson, *Hume* (London, 1989, repr. Penguin, London, 2011) (E)

J. Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, Samuel Freeman (ed), (Cambridge MA, 2007), 'Lectures on Hume', pp. 159-187 (E).

*J. Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680-1760*, (Cambridge, 2005), chapter 6, pp. 256-324. (E)

Paul Sagar, *The Opinion of Mankind: Sociability and the theory of the state from Hobbes to Smith*, (Princeton, 2018) (E)

D. Wootton, 'David Hume "the Historian"', in Norton and Taylor, eds, *Cambridge Companion to Hume*, pp. 447-480. (E)

Politics and political economy:

*I. Hont, 'The "Rich Country-Poor Country" Debate in the Scottish Enlightenment', in *Jealousy of Trade*, pp. 267-322; originally published in I. Hont and M. Ignatieff, eds, *Wealth and Virtue*, (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 271-316 (E).

I. Hont, 'The Rhapsody of Public Debt: David Hume and Voluntary Bankruptcy', in *Jealousy of Trade*, pp. 325-353; originally published in N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner, eds, *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 321-348 (E).

I. Hont, *Jealousy of Trade* (Cambridge, Mass, 2005), 'Introduction', pp. 1-156.

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Hume and the American Revolution: The Dying Thoughts of a North Briton', in Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 125-141 (E).

J. Robertson, 'Universal Monarchy and the Liberties of Europe: David Hume's Critique of an English Whig Doctrine', in N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner (eds), *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 349-73. (E)

J. Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment* (above), Ch 7, pp. 360-76. (E)

M. Schabas and C. Wennerlind, *A Philosopher's Economist: Hume and the rise of Capitalism* (Chicago, 2020). (E)

M. Skjönsberg, *The Persistence of Party: Ideas of harmonious discord in eighteenth-century Britain*, (Cambridge, 2021), chs 4-9. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Does Hume's political philosophy ultimately favour authority over liberty?
2. Why did Hume reject the idea that allegiance to government had a contractual basis?
3. According to Hume, what was required to establish large and lasting societies?
4. What, for Hume, is the advantage of a republican over a monarchical form of government?
5. In what sense might Hume be described as a sceptic about politics?

A2 Montesquieu

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = available on Moodle

Set text:

The Spirit of the Laws, eds. A. Cohler, B. Miller and H. Stone (Cambridge, 1989)

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory

D.W. Carrithers, M.A. Mosher and P.A. Rahe (eds), *Montesquieu's Science of Politics: Essays on the Spirit of the Laws*, (Lanham MD, 2001) (E)

K.F. Callanan and S. Krause, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Montesquieu*, (Cambridge, 2023). (E)

*N.O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, (Princeton NJ, 1980), Chapters 10-14 (E)

R. Shackleton, *Montesquieu: A Critical Biography*, (London, 1961)

J.N. Shklar, *Montesquieu*, (Oxford, 1987) (M – chapter 1 only)

*S. Tomaselli, 'The Spirit of Nations', in M. Goldie and R. Wokler (eds), *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 9-39 (E).

C. Volpilhac-Augier. *Montesquieu: Let there be Enlightenment*, trans. By P. Stewart, (Cambridge, 2022) (E)

Governments and Politics

A. de Dijn, 'Montesquieu's controversial context: *The Spirit of the Laws* as a monarchist tract', *History of Political Thought*, 34, 1 (2013), 66-88. (E)

*R. Douglass, 'Montesquieu and Modern Republicanism', *Political Studies* 60 (2012), 703-19. (E)

E. Dziembowski, 'The English Political Model in 18th-Century France', *Historical Research*, 74 (2001), 151-71. (E)

H.E. Ellis, 'Montesquieu's Modern Politics: *The Spirit of the Laws* and the problem of modern monarchy in Old Regime France', *History of Political Thought*, 10 (1989), 665-700. (E)

S. Mason, 'Montesquieu on English Constitutionalism Revisited: A Government of Potentiality and Paradoxes', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 278 (1990), 105-46.

N. Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750*, (Oxford, 2019), ch. 16 'Despotism III: Montesquieu' pp. 372- 407.

P.A. Rahe, *Montesquieu and the Logic of Liberty* (New Haven CT, 2009) (E)

Commerce, Luxury, and the Distinction of Ranks

P. Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge MA, 2010), chapter 2, pp. 52-86. (E)

A.O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before its Triumph* (Princeton NJ, 1977) (E)

*I. Hont, 'The Luxury Debate in the Early Enlightenment', in M. Goldie and R. Wokler, eds, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), 379-418 (E).

S. Krause, 'The Uncertain Inevitability of Decline in Montesquieu', *Political Theory* 30 (2002), 702-27. (E)

*M. Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), chapters 2-3 (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Why was Montesquieu confident that modern monarchies could adapt to commerce?
2. Why did Montesquieu suggest that the English needed to be particularly jealous of their liberty?
3. Why did Montesquieu distinguish the forms of government from the principles that animated them?
4. Why did Montesquieu consider modern monarchy to be the best form of government?
5. Why did Montesquieu give women such a prominent place in his works?

A3 Rousseau

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = available on Moodle

Set text:

'Discourse on the Origins of Inequality' in *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed. V. Gourevitch, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 113-239. (E)

Of the Social Contract in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, ed. V. Gourevitch, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 39-155. (E)

Secondary Readings:

General and introductory

*N.J.H. Dent, *Rousseau: an Introduction to his Psychological, Social and Political Theory* (Oxford, 1988) (M – chapter 1 only)

I. Hont, *Politics in Commercial Society. Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith* (Cambridge, Mass., 2015) (E)

*N.O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance and the Enlightenment* (Princeton NJ, 1980), chapter 15 (E)

T. O'Hagan, *Rousseau* (London, 1999) (E)

J. Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, S. Freeman ed., (Cambridge MA, 2007), 'Lectures on Rousseau', pp. 191-248 (E).

M. Sonenscher, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The division of labour, the politics of the imagination and the concept of federal government*, (Leiden, 2020) (E)

*R. Wokler, *Rousseau: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2001) (E)

Discourse on the Origins of Inequality

V. Gourevitch, 'Rousseau on Providence', *Review of Metaphysics* 53 (2000), 565-611. (E)

F. Neuhouser, *Rousseau's theodicy of self-love: evil, rationality, and the drive for recognition* (Oxford, 2008) (E)

*F. Neuhouser, *Rousseau's critique of inequality: reconstructing the Second Discourse* (Cambridge, 2014) (E)

R. Wokler, *Rousseau, the Age of Enlightenment and their Legacies* (Princeton, 2012), ch. 1. (E)

Of the Social Contract

J. Hope Mason, 'Individuals in Society: Rousseau's Republican Vision', *History of Political Thought*, 10 (1989), 89-112. (E)

J. Hope Mason, "'Forced to be Free'", in R. Wokler, ed., *Rousseau and Liberty* (Manchester, 1995), 121-38. (M)

C. Kelly, "'To Persuade without Convincing": The Language of Rousseau's Legislator', *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (1987), 321-335. (E)

F. Neuhouser, 'Freedom, Dependence and the General Will', *Philosophical Review*, 102 (1993), 363-395. (E)

P. Riley, *Will and Political Legitimacy. A Critical Exposition of Social Contract Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), Ch. 4: 'A possible explanation of Rousseau's General Will' (E)
 R. Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace* (Oxford, 1999), chapter 7 (E).
 R. Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 121-142 (E).

Rousseau's contexts

C. Brooke, *Philosophic Pride. Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton, NJ, 2012), Ch. 8: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. (E)
 R. Douglass, *Rousseau and Hobbes: Nature, Free Will, and the Passions* (Oxford, 2015) (E).
 H. Rosenblatt, *Rousseau and Geneva: From the First Discourse to the Social Contract, 1749–1762* (Cambridge, 1997) (E)
 L. Kirk, 'Genevan Republicanism', in D. Wootton (ed), *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society 1649-1776* (Stanford, CA, 1994), pp. 270-309.
 M. Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), chapter 3 (E).
 M. Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 2008) chapters 3, 6. (E)
 M. Sonenscher, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Foundations of Modern Political Thought', *Modern Intellectual History*, 14 (2017), pp. 311-37. (E)
 R. Whatmore, 'Rousseau and the *Representants*: The Politics of the *Lettres Ecrites de la Montagne*', *Modern Intellectual History*, 3 (2006), 385-413. (E)
 R. Whatmore, '"A lover of peace more than liberty"? The Genevan rejection of Rousseau's politics', in Avi Lifschitz (ed), *Engaging with Rousseau. Reaction and Interpretation from the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge, 2016), 1-16. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. What is the role of artifice in Rousseau's social theory?
2. Why was the notion of perfectibility so important to the argument of Rousseau's *Second Discourse*?
3. Why is the general will always right, according to Rousseau?
4. What is the role of historical conjecture in Rousseau's moral and political thought?
5. How does Rousseau reconcile freedom with sovereignty?

A4 Smith

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = available on Moodle

Set text:

The Theory of Moral Sentiments, eds. D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, reprinted Indianapolis, 1982) (E)

Secondary Readings:

Major interpretations:

*D. Forbes, 'Sceptical Whiggism, Commerce and Liberty', in A.S. Skinner and T. Wilson (eds), *Essays on Adam Smith* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 179-201. (M)

A. O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before its Triumph* (Princeton NJ, 1977) (E)

*I. Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective*, (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 'Introduction', pp. 1-156; 'Needs and Justice in the *Wealth of Nations*', pp. 389-443; 'Adam Smith and the Political Economy of the "Unnatural and Retrograde Order"', pp. 354-388. [The latter two essays were originally published in I. Hont and M. Ignatieff, *Wealth and virtue: the shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. I. Hont and M. Ignatieff, (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 1-44 and 271-315. (E)]

I. Hont, 'Adam Smith's History of Law and Government as Political Theory', in R. Bourke and R. Geuss (eds), *Political Judgement: Essays for John Dunn* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 131-171 (E).

*I. Hont, *Politics in Commercial Society. Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith*, (Cambridge, MA., 2015) (E)

*N. Phillipson, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life* (London, 2010) (E)

*D. Winch, *Adam Smith's Politics*, (Cambridge, 1978) (E)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments

P. Force, *Self-Interest before Adam Smith: A Genealogy of Economic Science* (Cambridge, 2003) (E)

F. Forman-Barzilai, *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy: Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory* (Cambridge, 2010) (E)

C. Griswold, *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1999) (E)

R.P. Hanley, 'Commerce and Corruption: Rousseau's Diagnosis and Adam Smith's Cure', *European Journal of Political Theory* 7 (2008), 137-58. (E)

R.P. Hanley, *Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue* (Cambridge, 2009) (E)

D. Kelly, *The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions, and Judgement in Modern Political Thought* (Princeton, 2010), chapter 3 (E)

D.D. Raphael, *The Impartial Spectator: Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy* (Oxford, 2007) (E)

P. Sagar, 'Beyond sympathy: Smith's rejection of Hume's moral theory', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 25 (2017), 681-705 (E)

P. Sagar, 'Smith and Rousseau, after Hume and Mandeville', *Political Theory* 46 (2018), 29-58. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Why was Adam Smith confident that moral values stemming from the human capacity for sympathy would be compatible with economic relations based on self-interest?
2. What is the role of sympathy in Smith's account of the relationship between social ranks in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*?
3. What is the relationship between beauty and utility in Smith's social thought?
4. 'Beneficence, therefore, is less essential to the existence of society than justice' (SMITH, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*). How does Smith justify this claim?
5. 'It has been objected to me that as I found the sentiment of approbation, which is always agreeable, upon sympathy, it is inconsistent with my system to admit any disagreeable sympathy' [SMITH, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*]. How does Smith defend himself against this charge?

A5 Burke

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = available on Moodle

Set text:

Reflections on the Revolution in France: A Critical Edition, ed. J.C.D. Clark (Stanford CA, 2001)

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory

D. Bromwich, *The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014) (E)

R. Bourke, 'Burke, Enlightenment and Romanticism' in D. Dwan and C. Insole (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Burke* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 27–40 (E).

R. Bourke, 'Popular Sovereignty and Political Representation: Edmund Burke in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Thought', in R. Bourke and Q. Skinner (eds), *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 212–235. (E)

R. Bourke, *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (Princeton, 2015). (E)

*I. Hampsher-Monk, 'Edmund Burke', in Hampsher-Monk, *A History of Modern Political Thought* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 261–304.

F.P. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, Volume I: 1730–1784, Volume II: 1784–1797 (Oxford, 1999–2006) (E)

*J.G.A. Pocock, 'Introduction', to Pocock (ed), [Burke], *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Indianapolis IN, 1987), pp. vii–lvi.

W. Selinger, *Parliamentarism from Burke to Weber*, (Cambridge, 2019), chs 1–2. (E)

Reflections on the Revolution in France

*R. Bourke, *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (Princeton, 2015). (E), Chapter 13.

I. Hampshire-Monk, "Burke and the Religious Sources of Skeptical Conservatism", in J. van der Zande and R. H. Popkin, (eds), *The Skeptical Tradition Around 1800* (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 235–59. (M)

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Burke and the Ancient Constitution: A "Problem in the History of Ideas"', in Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (London, 1972), pp. 202–32.

*J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Political Economy of Burke's Analysis of the Revolution', in Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 192–212 (E).

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Edmund Burke and the Redefinition of Enthusiasm: The Context as Counter-Revolution', in F. Furet and M. Ozouf, (eds), *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture: The Transformation of Political Culture, 1789–1848* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 19–43.

Reason of State, Conquest and Empire

D. Armitage, 'Edmund Burke and Reason of State' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000), 617-634. (E)

R. Bourke, 'Liberty, Authority and Trust in Burke's Idea of Empire', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000), 453-71. (E)

R. Bourke, 'Edmund Burke and the Politics of Conquest', *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), 403-432. (E)

I. Hampsher-Monk, 'Edmund Burke's Changing Justification for Intervention', *Historical Journal* (2005), 65-100. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Is Burke's *Reflections* an attack on moral equality?
2. Are there natural rights according to Burke?
3. What, according to Burke, were the benefits conferred on European society by the 'age of chivalry'?
4. What follows, for Burke, from the idea that 'Society is indeed a contract' (BURKE, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*)?
5. If Burke is a critic of revolution, why does he defend the right of resistance?

A6 Wollstonecraft

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

(M) = available on Moodle

Set text:

A Vindication of the Rights of Men and A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, ed. S. Tomaselli, (Cambridge, 1995) (E)

Suggested additional primary texts:

An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution, in *A Vindication of the Rights of Men, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, An Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution*, ed. J. Todd, (Oxford, 2008) (E)

Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark and Memoirs of the Author of "The Rights of Woman"*, ed. R. Holmes, (London, 1987) (E)

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory:

S. Bergès and A. Coffee, eds, *The Social and Political Philosophy of Mary Wollstonecraft*, (Oxford, 2016). (E)

S. Bergès, E. Hunt Botting and A. Coffee, eds, *The Wollstonecraftian Mind*, (London, 2019). (E)

C.L. Johnson (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Wollstonecraft* (2006), esp. chapters 2, 3, 4 and 7 (E).

V. Sapiro, *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Chicago, 1992).

*B. Taylor, 'Mary Wollstonecraft', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) (E)

*B. Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge, 2003) (M – 'Introduction' only)

*S. Tomaselli, 'Mary Wollstonecraft', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016), Edward N. Zalta (ed.): <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/wollstonecraft/>

*S. Tomaselli, 'The Most Public Sphere of all: The Family', in E. Eger, C. Grant, C. Gallchoir and P. Warburton (eds), *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere 1700-1830* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 239-56. (M)

*S. Tomaselli, *Wollstonecraft: Philosophy, passion, and politics*, (Princeton, NJ, 2021). (E)

Contexts and Concepts:

D. Bromwich, 'Wollstonecraft as a Critic of Burke', *Political Theory*, 23 (1995), 617- 632. (E)

W. Gunther-Canada, 'The politics of sense and sensibility: Mary Wollstonecraft and Catharine Macaulay Graham on Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in

France', in H.L. Smith, ed., *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 126–147 (E).

R.M. Janes, 'On the Reception of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39 (1978), 293-302. (E)

M. Philp, 'Mary Wollstonecraft and *Political Justice*', in Philp, *Godwin's 'Political Justice'* (London, 1986), pp. 175-92.

J. Todd, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Revolutionary Life*, (London, 2000)

B. Taylor, 'Rousseau and Wollstonecraft: Solitary Walkers', in H. Rosenblatt and P. Schweigert, eds, *Thinking with Rousseau: From Machiavelli to Schmitt* (Cambridge, 2017) ch. 11, pp. 211-234. (E)

S. Tomaselli, "Mary Wollstonecraft: Civil Society, Revolution, Economic Equality" in *Encyclopedia of Concise Concepts by Women Philosophers*, eds. Mary Ellen Waithe and Ruth Hagenruber (Paderborn University):
<https://historyofwomenphilosophers.org/ecc/#hwps>.

S. Tomaselli, "Mary Wollstonecraft." In *Oxford Bibliographies in Philosophy*. Ed. Duncan Pritchard. New York, 2020):
<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396577/obo-9780195396577-0306.xml>.

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. What was Wollstonecraft's ultimate ambition for women?
2. If Wollstonecraft believed that humans were naturally benevolent, how did she explain what she thought of as the ills of her society?
3. If property was such a great evil, according to Wollstonecraft, why did she not call for its abolition?
4. Did Wollstonecraft privilege reason over emotion?
5. Are women powerless according to Wollstonecraft?

A7 Kant

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals, ed. M. Gregor (Cambridge, 1998)

Political Writings, ed. H. Reiss, (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1991) (E)

Secondary readings:

General and Introductory

*P. Guyer, *Kant* (London, 2006)

A. Wood, *Kant* (Oxford, 2005)

On Moral Theory:

C. M. Korsgaard, *Creating the Kingdom of Ends* (Cambridge, 1996). (E)

*C. Meckstroth, 'Kant's critique of morality', in Meckstroth, *The Struggle for Democracy: Paradoxes of Progress and the Politics of Change* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 80-87, 93-113 (E).

S. Sedgwick, *Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 2008) (E)

J. Timmerman (ed), *Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge, 2009) (E)

A. Wood, *Kant's Moral Religion* (Cornell, 1970).

*A. Wood, *Kant's Ethical Thought* (Cambridge, 1999), 'Introduction' and chaps. 1-5 (E)

On Kant's Political Theory:

*E. Ellis, *Kant's Politics* (New Haven, 2005), chapters 1-3

R. Malik, *Kant's Politics in Context* (Oxford, 2014) (E)

C. Meckstroth, 'Kant on Politics', in Meckstroth, *The Struggle for Democracy* (above), pp. 114-138 (E).

R.B. Pippin, 'Mine and Thine: The Kantian State' in P. Guyer (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Kant and Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 416-446 (E).

*A. Ripstein, *Force and Freedom: Kant's Legal and Political Philosophy* (Cambridge MA, 2009) (E)

*R. Tuck, 'The Hobbesianism of Kant', in Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant*, (Oxford, 1999), pp. 207-225 (E).

On Revolution:

K. Flikschuh, 'Reason, Right, and Revolution: Kant and Locke', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 36 (2008), 375-404. (E)

C.M. Korsgaard, 'Taking the Law into Our Own Hands: Kant on the Right of Revolution', in Korsgaard, *The Constitution of Agency: Essays on Practical Reason and Moral Psychology*, (Oxford, 2008), pp. 233-62 (E).

R. Malik, *Kant and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 2022). (E)

On Cosmopolitanism, Colonialism and War:

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

*K. Flikschuh and L. Ypi, eds., *Kant and Colonialism: Historical and Critical Perspectives*, (Oxford, 2014), esp. chap. 6, by Pauline Kleingeld, 'Kant's Second Thoughts on Colonialism', pp. 43-67. (E)

W. Kersting, "'The Civil Constitution in Every State Shall Be a Republican One'" in K. Ameriks and O. Höffe, *Kant's Moral and Legal Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 246-264. (E)

P. Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge, 2011) (E)

C. Meckstroth, 'Hospitality, or Kant's Critique of Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights,' *Political Theory*, 46 (2018), 537-59. (E)

A. Ripstein, *Kant and the Law of War* (Oxford, 2021). (E)

Further readings:

H.E. Allison, *Kant's Theory of Freedom*, (Cambridge, 1990) (E).

M. Gregor, 'Kant's Theory of Property' in S. Byrd and J. Hruschka (eds), *Kant and Law* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 109-139.

D. Henrich, 'On the Meaning of Rational Action in the State', in R. Beiner and W. J. Booth (eds), *Kant and Political Philosophy: The Contemporary Legacy*, (New Haven CT, 1993), pp. 97-116

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. In what ways, according to Kant, is the human race progressing?
2. Why did Kant's moral and political theory place freedom above other values?
3. Why did Kant argue that no state should forcibly interfere in the constitution and government of another state?
4. Why, according to Kant, was revolution always immoral, and how did this matter for his political thought?
5. 'So act that you use humanity, in your own person as well as in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end, never merely as a means' [KANT, Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals]. What did Kant mean by this?

A8 Hegel

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

Elements of the Philosophy of Right, ed. A. Wood (Cambridge, 1991) (E)

Secondary readings:

General and Introductory

T. Pinkard, *Hegel: A Biography* (Cambridge, 2000).

*S. Houlgate, *An Introduction to Hegel: Freedom, Truth and History*, 2nd ed. (Blackwell, 2005).

Hegel's Social and Political Theory

S. Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*, (Cambridge, 1972) (E)

M.J. Inwood, 'Hegel, Plato and Greek *'Sittlichkeit'*', in Z. A. Pelczynski (ed), *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 40-54

*R. Bourke, *Hegel's World Revolutions* (Princeton, 2023).

*Elias Buchetmann, *Hegel and the Representative Constitution* (Cambridge, 2023). (E)

D. Knowles, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hegel and the Philosophy of Right* (London, 2002) (E)

*F. Neuhauser, *Foundations of Hegel's Social Theory: Actualizing Freedom* (Cambridge MA, 2000) (E).

C. Taylor, *Hegel and Modern Society*, (Cambridge, 1979) (E)

K. Westphal, 'The Basic Context and Structure of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*', in F. C. Beiser, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 234-69 (E)

*A. Wood, *Hegel's Ethical Thought*, (Cambridge, 1990) (E)

R. B. Pippin, *Hegel's Practical Philosophy: Rational agency as ethical life* (Cambridge, 2008) (E)

Further readings:

A. Honneth, *The Pathologies of Individual Freedom: Hegel's Social Theory* (Princeton, NJ, 2010). (E)

R. B. Pippin, *Hegel's Idealism: The Satisfactions of Self-Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1989) (E).

Z.A. Pelczynski, 'Political Community and Individual Freedom in Hegel's Philosophy of State', in Pelczynski (ed), *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 55-76.

M. Riedel, *Between Tradition and Revolution: The Hegelian Transformation of Political Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 1984)

L. Siep, 'The *Aufhebung* of Morality in Ethical Life', in L. S. Stepelevich and D. Lamb, eds, *Hegel's Philosophy of Action*, (Atlantic Highlands NJ, 1983), pp. 137-56.

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. What is the difference between civil society and the state in Hegel?
2. 'It is the march of God in the world, that there be a state' [Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*]. What did Hegel mean by this?
3. How does Hegel distinguish between morality and ethical life?
4. Which was more important to Hegel, the freedom of the individual or the freedom of the community?
5. According to Hegel, why is a modern constitutional monarchy better than a democracy?

A9 Tocqueville

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

The Ancien Régime and the Revolution, ed. J. Elster (Cambridge 2011) (E)

Recommended additional primary readings:

Democracy in America, eds H.C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop (Chicago, 2000), vol. II, Part III, ch. 21, 'Why Great Revolutions Will Become Rare'.

'France before the Revolution', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 9 (2009), 17-66 (E) [originally published under the heading 'Political and Social Condition of France', *London and Westminster Review*, 3 (1836), 137-69].

Secondary readings:

General and biographical studies:

R. Boesche, *The Strange Liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville*, (Ithaca NY, 1987) (E)

J. Elster, *Alexis de Tocqueville: The First Social Scientist* (Cambridge, 2009) (E)

L. Jaume, *Tocqueville: The aristocratic sources of liberty*, trans. by A. Goldhammer, (Princeton, NJ, 2008) (E)

P. Manent, *Tocqueville and the Nature of Democracy* (Lanham MD, 1996)

J.T. Schleifer, *Tocqueville*, (Cambridge, 2018)

*L. Siedentop, *Tocqueville*, (Oxford, 1994)

*C.B. Welch, *De Tocqueville* (Oxford, 2001) (E)

C.B. Welch, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tocqueville* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. ch.2 (Elster) and ch. 8 (Gannett) (E)

O. Zunz, *The Man who Understood Democracy: The life of Alexis de Tocqueville*, (Princeton, NJ, 2022). (E)

Tocqueville, the Ancien Régime, and the French Revolution

*A. de Dijn, 'The Intellectual Origins of Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*', *Modern Intellectual History* (2008), 1-25. (E)

S. Drescher, "Why great revolutions will become rare": Tocqueville's most neglected prognosis', *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992), 429-54 (E)

*F. Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Part II, ch. 2, 'De Tocqueville and the Problem of the French Revolution', (Cambridge, 1981), 132-163.

R.T. Gannett, Jr., *Tocqueville Unveiled: The historian and his sources for The Old Regime and the Revolution*, (Chicago, 2003).

H. Mitchell, 'Alexis de Tocqueville and the Legacy of the French Revolution', in F. Fehér (ed), *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, (Berkeley CA, 1990), 240-63 (E).

Contexts: Tocqueville and Liberal Thought in Nineteenth-Century France

A. Craiutu, 'Tocqueville and the Political Thought of the *Doctrinaires*', *History of Political Thought*, 20 (1999), 456-493. (E)

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

M. Drolet, 'Democracy, Self, and the Problem of the General Will in Nineteenth-Century French Thought', in Joanna Innes and Mark Philp (eds,) *Re-imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland, 1750-1850*, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 69-82. (E)

B. Garsten, 'From Popular Sovereignty to Civil Society in Post-Revolutionary France', in R. Bourke and Q. Skinner (eds), *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 236-269. (E)

J. Jennings, 'Constitutional Liberalism in France: from Benjamin Constant to Alexis de Tocqueville', in G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, eds, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: 2011), pp. 349-73. (E)

J. Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A history of political thought in France since the eighteenth century*, (Oxford, 2011), ch. 6, 'History, Revolution and Terror', pp. 237-97. (E)

J. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Liberal Imperialism in Britain and France*, chap. 7, 'Tocqueville on the Algeria Question', (Princeton, 2005), 204-239 (E)

M. Richter, 'Tocqueville and Guizot on Democracy: From a Type of Society to a Political Regime', *History of European Ideas* 30 (2004), 61-82. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Why did Tocqueville argue that the French Revolution had created governments 'more fragile, but a hundred times more powerful than those that it toppled' [Tocqueville, *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution*]?
2. What role did class divisions play in Tocqueville's account of the end of the *Ancien Régime* in France?
3. What, for Tocqueville, distinguished the French Revolution from all previous political revolutions?
4. Explain Tocqueville's contention that governments are at their most vulnerable when they attempt to reform themselves.
5. In *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution*, did Tocqueville intend to critique the idea of equality or to vindicate it?

A10 Mill

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

'On Liberty', 'Utilitarianism', 'Considerations on Representative Government', 'The Subjection of Women' in Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*, ed. by M. Philp and F. Rosen, (Oxford, 2015)

Secondary Readings:

CC Mill = J. Skorupski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Mill*, (Cambridge, 1998) (E)

CHPT C19 = G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, eds, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2011). (E)

General and Introductory

D.O. Brink, *Mill's Progressive Principles* (Oxford, 2013) (E)

S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991).

*R. Harrison, 'John Stuart Mill, Mid-Victorian', in CHPT C19, pp. 295-318 (E).

R. Reeves, *John Stuart Mill: Victorian Firebrand*, (London, 2007)

*F. Rosen, 'From Jeremy Bentham's radical philosophy to J. S. Mill's philosophic radicalism', in CHPT C19, pp. 257-294. (E)

*J. Skorupski, *Being and Freedom: On Late Modern Ethics in Europe*, (Oxford, 2021), ch. VII 'Freedom and Well-being: John Stuart Mill', pp. 351-439 (E)

*N. Urbinati & A. Zakaras (eds.), *J. S. Mill's Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment* (Cambridge, 2007). (E)

Mill and Utilitarianism

R. Crisp, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Mill on Utilitarianism* (London, 1997) (E)

B. Eggleston, D.E. Miller, and D. Weinstein, eds. *John Stuart Mill and the Art of Life* (Oxford, 2010) (E)

H.L.A. Hart, 'Natural Rights: Bentham and John Stuart Mill', in Hart, *Essays on Bentham: Jurisprudence and Political Theory* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 79-104. (E)

C. MacLeod, 'Mill' in S. Golob and J. Timmermann, eds, *The Cambridge History of Moral Philosophy*, (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 436-47. (E)

J.M. Robson, 'Civilisation and Culture as Moral Concepts', in CC Mill, pp. 338-71 (E).

On Liberty

G. Claeys, *Mill and Paternalism* (Cambridge, 2013) (E)

D. Edwards, 'Toleration and Mill's Liberty of Thought and Discussion', in S. Mendus (ed), *Justifying Toleration: Conceptual and Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1988), 87-114 (E).

J. Gray and G.W. Smith, *J.S. Mill: 'On Liberty' In Focus* (London, 1991) (E)

A. Ryan, *The Making of Modern Liberalism*, (Princeton, NJ, 2012), chs 13-18. (E)

Representative Government

J.H. Burns, 'J.S. Mill and Democracy, 1829-61', in J. B. Schneewind (ed), *Mill: A Collection of Critical Essays*, (Notre Dame, IN, 1968), pp. 280-328.

S. Collini, 'The Tendencies of Things: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Method', in S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow (eds), *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), 127-60 (E)

G. Conti, *Parliament the Mirror of the Nation: Representation, Deliberation, and Democracy in Victorian Britain*, (Cambridge, 2019), esp. parts 3-5. (E)

S. Holmes, 'The Positive Constitutionalism of John Stuart Mill', in Holmes, *Passion and Constraint: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 178-201.

W. Selinger, *Parliamentarism from Burke to Weber*, (Cambridge, 2019), ch. 6. (E)

N. Urbinati, *Mill on Democracy: From the Athenian Polis to Representative Government* (Chicago, 2002).

On the Subjection of Women:

J. Annas, 'Mill and the Subjection of Women', *Philosophy*, 52 (1977), 179-94. (E)

A.P. Robson and J.M. Robson, *Sexual Equality: Writings by John Stuart Mill, Harriet Taylor Mill and Helen Taylor* (Toronto, 1994); see now A.P. Robson, *Sexual Equality: A Mill-Taylor Reader*, (Toronto, 2016) (E)

M.L. Shanley, 'The Subjection of Women', in CC Mill, pp. 396-422 (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. How did Mill understand the relation of liberty to utility?
2. Why was Mill's distinction between 'true' and 'false' democracy important for his larger theory of the connection between liberty and representative government?
3. How did Mill distinguish duties to the self from duties to others?
4. Is Mill's political thought better understood as paternalistic or as a critique of paternalism?
5. 'What J.S. Mill called "true democracy" was not democracy at all, but something entirely different.' Discuss.

A11 Marx

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Set text:

Marx: Early Political Writings, J. O'Malley and R. A. Davis eds (Cambridge, 1994) (E)

The Communist Manifesto, ed. G. Stedman Jones, (London, 2002) (E)

Marx: Later Political Writings, ed. T. Carver (Cambridge, 1996) (E)

Secondary Readings:

General and introductory

*T. Carver, *Marx* (Cambridge, 2018) (E)

P. Ghosh, 'Constructing Marx in the history of ideas', *Global Intellectual History*, 2:2, 124-168. (E)

J. Elster, *An Introduction to Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1986). (E)

D. McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx*, 2nd ed (London, 1980), especially pp. 3-113.

M. Musto, *Another Marx: Early Manuscripts to the International*, (London, 2018).

M. Musto, ed., *The Marx Revival: Key concepts and new interpretations*, (Cambridge, 2020) (E)

*G. Stedman Jones, 'The Young Hegelians, Marx and Engels', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 556-600. (E)

G. Stedman Jones, *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion*, (London, 2016) (E).

S. Wolin, 'Marx: Theorist of the Political Economy of the Proletariat or of Uncollapsed Capitalism?', in Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, expanded ed., (Princeton NJ, 2004), pp. 406-453. (E)

*A. Wood, *Karl Marx*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2004) (E)

Marx before 1848

T. Carver, 'The German Ideology Never Took Place', *History of Political Thought* 31 (2010), 107-127. (E)

L. Coletti, 'Introduction' to Karl Marx, *Early Writings* (London, 1975), pp. 7-56.

D. Leopold, *The Young Karl Marx: German Philosophy, Modern Politics, and Human Flourishing*, (Cambridge, 2007) (E).

D. Losurdo, *Class Struggle: A political and philosophical history*, (New York, 2016) (E)

D. Moggach, ed., *The New Hegelians: Politics and Philosophy in the Hegelian School*, (Cambridge, 2006), esp. chs 8-11. (E)

D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones, eds, *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2018), chs 9 (by Moggach) and 11 (by Siclován) (E)

*G. Stedman Jones, 'Introduction' to *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. G. Stedman Jones, (London, 2002). (E)

K. Tribe, *The Economy of the Word: Language, history, and economics*, (Oxford, 2015), ch. 6, 'Karl Marx's "Critique of Political Economy": A Critique', pp. 171-254 (E)

Marx after 1848

T. Carver, 'The *Manifesto* in Marx's and Engels's Lifetimes,' in T. Carver and J. Carr (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to the Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 67-84 (E).

G.C. Comninel, M. Musto, V. Wallis, eds, *The International after 150 Years: labor vs capital, then and now*, (Abingdon, 2015), chs 2-4.

M. Musto, ed., *Workers Unite!: The International 150 Years Later*, (London, 2014) (E)

M. Postone, 'Rethinking *Capital* in Light of the *Grundrisse*', in M. Musto, ed., *Karl Marx's Grundrisse : Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy 150 Years Later*, (London; 2008), 120-146.

W.C. Roberts, *Marx's Inferno: The Political Theory of Capital*, (Princeton NJ, 2017) (E)

G. Wada, 'Marx and Revolutionary Russia', in T. Shanin (ed), *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the 'Peripheries of Capitalism'* (London, 1983), 40-75.

Themes in Marx's Political Thought

K.B. Anderson, *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies* (University of Chicago Press, 2010, 2nd rev. ed., 2016) (E)

R. Forst, 'Justice after Marx', in R. Forst, *Normativity and Power: Analyzing Social Orders of Justification* (Oxford, 2017) (E)

A. Heller, *The Theory of Need in Marx* (London, 1976).

S. Lukes, *Marxism and Morality* (Oxford, 1987).

G. Stedman Jones, 'Radicalism and the Extra-European World: the Case of Marx' in D. Bell ed., *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 186-214 (E).

A. Wood, 'The Marxian Critique of Justice' *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1 (1972): 244-282. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Why did Marx distinguish political emancipation from human emancipation?
2. 'Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* to be established, an *ideal* to which reality must conform. We call communism the *real* movement that supersedes the present state of affairs' [MARX, *The German Ideology*]. What did Marx mean by this?
3. 'Under the current bourgeois relations of production freedom means free trade, freedom to buy and sell' [MARX & ENGELS, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*]. Why was this concept of freedom inadequate for Marx?
4. Why did Marx reject the Gotha Programme's demand for a 'just distribution' of the return to labour, and what does this show about his view of emancipation?
5. 'The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation' [MARX, 'Theses on Feuerbach']. How did Marx's conception of 'materialism' differ, and how was this important to his thought?

B12 History, Progress and Enlightenment

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Giambattista Vico, *New Science: Principles of the New Science Concerning the Common Nature of Nations* (3rd ed., 1744), ed. by A. Grafton and trans. by D. Marsh (London, 1999)

J. G. Herder, *Another Philosophy of History* (1774), trans. I. D. Evrigenis and D. Pellerin (Indianapolis, 2004) (E)

Immanuel Kant, 'Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose' (1784) and 'Conjectures on the Beginning of Human History' (1786) in *Political Writings*, ed. H. Reiss, (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1991) (E)

G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction, Reason in History* (delivered 1822-1830, published 1837), ed. D. Forbes (Cambridge, 1975) (E)

Secondary Readings:

Abbr.

CHPT C18 = M. Goldie and R. Wokler, eds, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2006). (E)

General and Introductory

Friedrich Meinecke, *Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook* (London, 1972).

F.C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford, 2011), chap. 3–4 (E)

Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner, "Introduction" in *History in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 2022). (E)

J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth* (London, 1920). (E)

Charles Frankel, *The Faith of Reason: The Idea of Progress in the French Enlightenment* (New York, 1969). (E)

G.A. Kelly, *Idealism, Politics and History: Sources of Hegelian Thought* (Cambridge, 1969).

*Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge, 1997). (E)

*J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion II: Narratives of Civil Government* (Cambridge, 1999).

H. Mason, 'Optimism, Progress, and Philosophical History', in CHPT C18, pp. 195-217. (E)

P. Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth and the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico* (Chicago, 1984).

S. Tomaselli, 'In Praise of Grand Historical Narratives', *Intellectual History Review*, 33: 3 (2023), pp. 507–23. (E)

Vico:

D.R. Kelley, 'Vico's Road: From Philology to Jurisprudence and Back', in G. Tagliacozzo and D. O. Verene eds., *Giambattista Vico's Science of Humanity* (Baltimore, 1976), 15-29

J. Robertson, 'Vico, after Bayle', Chapter 5 in *The Case for Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760* (Cambridge, 2005). (E)

Kant:

C. Meckstroth, 'Kant on History, or Theodicy for Mortal Gods,' in J. Robertson, ed., *Time, History, and Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2023), pp. 216-236. (E)

*A.O. Rorty and James Schmidt eds., *Kant's Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge, 2009). (E)

Y. Yovel, *Kant and the Philosophy of History* (Princeton, 1980).

A. Wood, *Kant's Ethical Thought* (Cambridge 1999), Chapter 7. (E)

Herder:

*A. Wood, *The Free Development of Each: Studies on Freedom, Right and Ethics in Classical German Philosophy* (Oxford, 2014), Chapter 5. (E)

*E. Piirimäe, *Herder and Enlightenment Politics* (Cambridge, 2023) (E).

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

F.C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford, 2011), chap. 3 and 4 (E)

Hegel:

S. Sedgwick, *Time and History in Hegelian Thought and Spirit* (Oxford, 2023).

C. Meckstroth, 'Hegel on History,' in Meckstroth, *The Struggle for Democracy: Paradoxes of Progress and the Politics of Change* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 139-169 (E)

*T. Pinkard, *Does History Make Sense? Hegel on the Historical Shapes of Justice* (Cambridge, MA, 2017). (E)

J. McCarney, *Hegel on History* (London, 2000), Part 2: 'The Course of History'. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. How did eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century philosophical histories account for human diversity?
2. Did cosmopolitan history compete with or complement histories of civil government in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century?
3. How did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophers account for the progress of Enlightenment?
4. To what extent did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinkers argue that history had a purpose?
5. To what extent did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophies of history give rise to opposing narratives of historical development?

B13 Theorists of the Condition of Women

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Eighteenth Century

Mary Astell, *Political Writings*, ed. P. Springborg (Cambridge 1996) (E)

John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1778), ed. A. Garrett (Indianapolis, 2006) Part I. (E)

Catharine Macaulay, Selections from *Letters on education with observations on religion and metaphysical subjects* (1790), in *Political Writings*, ed. by M. Skjönsberg, (Cambridge, 2023), pp. 175-250. (E)

Olympe de Gouges, 'The Declaration of the Rights of Woman' (1791), in D. G. Levy, H. B. Applewhite, M. D. Johnson eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris: Selected Documents*, (Urbana, 1979) pp. 87-96.

Nineteenth Century

William Thompson and Anna Wheeler, *Appeal of One-Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men &c.* (1825), ed. M. Foot and M. M. Roberts (Bristol, 1994).

Flora Tristan, *The Workers Union* (1843), ed. by B. Livingston (Urbana, IL, 2007)

Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by L.J. Reynolds, (New York; London, 1998); or, ed. by A. B. Fuller, (Boston, 1855):
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/8642/8642-h/8642-h.htm>

John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) in Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*, ed. by M. Philp and F. Rosen, (Oxford, 2015)

A. Pyle ed., *The Subjection of Women: Contemporary Responses to John Stuart Mill* (Bristol, 1995).

Friedrich Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), ed. M. Barrett (Harmondsworth, 1972).

Louise Michel: *Anarchist and revolutionary feminist, jailed and exiled for leading the 1871 popular uprising in Paris, Rebel Lives*, ed. Nic Maclellan, (Melbourne; New York, 2004):
https://libcom.org/files/Louise_Michel.pdf

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory

*L. Delap, 'The "Woman Question" and the origins of feminism', in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claeys (eds), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: 2011), pp. 319-348 (E)

H. Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago, IL, 2000)

N.J. Hirschmann, *Gender, Class & Freedom in Modern Political Theory* (Princeton, NJ, 2008) (E)

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

K. O'Brien, 'The Feminist Critique of Enlightenment', in M. Fitzpatrick, P. Jones, C. Knellwolf and I. McCalman eds., *The Enlightenment World* (London, 2004), pp. 621-634.

K. O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2009) (E)

K. Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford, CA, 2000) (E)

K Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870* (Cambridge, 2017). (E)

S. Sebastiani, 'Gendered cosmopolitanism? The History of Women and the Science of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', in J.-P. Rubiés and N. Safier, eds, *Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, 2023), pp. 177-207. (E)

*S. Tomaselli, 'The Enlightenment Debate on Women', *History Workshop*, 20 (1985), 101-24. (E)

Mary Astell and the early eighteenth century

J. Broad, *The Philosophy of Mary Astell: An Early Modern Theory of Virtue* (Oxford, 2015) (E)

W. Kolbrener and M. Michelson, eds, *Mary Astell: Gender, Reason, Faith* (Aldershot, 2006), chs 1, 3, 5, 13 (E).

H.L. Smith ed., *Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. ch. 5 (on Astell), chs 6 and 11 (on Macaulay) (E)

The Enlightenment

P. Bowles, 'John Millar, the Four-Stages Theory and Women's Position in Society', *History of Political Economy*, 16 (1984), 619-38 (E)

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

C. Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French women became modern*, (Princeton, NJ, 2001) (E).

K. Green, *Catharine Macaulay's Republican Enlightenment*, (New York, 2020) (E).

S. Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, gender and the limits of progress*, (New York, 2013), esp. ch. 5

The Revolutionary period

B. Applewhite and D. Gay Levy, *Women and Politics in the Age of Democratic Revolution*, (Ann Arbor MI, 1990).

O. Hufton, 'Counter-Revolutionary Women', in P. Jones ed., *The French Revolution in Social and Political Perspective* (London, 1996), pp. 285-307.

J. Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860*, (London, 1985).

Nineteenth-century Britain and America

- J. Annas, 'Mill and *The Subjection of Women*', *Philosophy* 52 (1977), 179-94. (E)
- B. Bailey, K.P. Viens, C.E. Wright, eds, *Margaret Fuller and her Circles*, (Durham, NH, 2012) (E)
- T. Ball, 'Utilitarianism, Feminism and the Franchise', in Ball, *Reappraising Political Theory: Revisionist Studies in the History of Political Thought*, (Oxford, 1995), 178- 211 (E).
- C. Capper, C. Giorcelli and L.K. Little, eds, *Margaret Fuller: Transatlantic Crossings in a Revolutionary Age*, (Madison, WI, 2007), chs 3-4. (E)
- M.L. Shanley, 'Marital Slavery and Friendship: John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*', *Political Theory* 9 (1981), 229-47. (E)
- M.L. Shanley, '*The Subjection of Women*', in J. Skorupski (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Mill*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 396-422 (E)

Feminism, Socialism and Anarchism in the Nineteenth Century

- A.T. Allen, 'Feminism, Social Science, and the Meanings of Modernity: the Debate on the Origin of the Family in Europe and the United States, 1860-1914', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 1085-1113. (E)
- M. Cross and T. Gray, *The Feminism of Flora Tristan* (Oxford; Providence, RI, 1992)
- S. Dijkstra, *Flora Tristan: Feminism in the age of George Sand*, 2nd ed., (London, 2019)
- T. Hunt, *The Frock-Coated Communist: The Revolutionary Life of Friedrich Engels* (London, 2009)
- C.G. Moses and L.W. Rabine, eds, *Feminism, Socialism and French Romanticism* (Bloomington, IN, 1993) (E)
- J. Sayers, M. Evans and N. Redclift (eds), *Engels Revisited: New Feminist Essays* (London, 1987) (E)
- B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1983) (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of the condition of women think of women as history's victims?
2. From what did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of the condition of women argue women should be freed?
3. To what extent did the arguments of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentators on the condition of women rest on the natural equality of the sexes?
4. Did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of the condition of women share a conception of freedom?
5. Were eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of the condition of women class-specific?

B14 Justifying Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Revolution in America (1776)

Thomas Jefferson, 'A Summary View of the Rights of British America' (1774), 'A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress Assembled' (1776) and 'The Declaration of Independence' (1776) in *Jefferson: Political Writings*, ed. Joyce Appleby and Terence Ball (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 63-80, 96-105. (E)

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (1776) and *Rights of Man, Parts I and II*, (1791-1792), in *Paine: Political Writings*, ed. by B. Kuklick, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-45; 57-263. (E)

John Adams, 'Novanglus: or, A History of the Dispute with America from its Origin, in 1754, to the Present Time' (1774-1775), Nos. I, V-VIII, in *The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams*, ed. by C. Bradley Thompson, (Indianapolis, IN, 2000), pp. 149-55; 186-254. (E)

Revolution in France and Saint-Domingue, 1789-1794

Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, 'What is the Third Estate?' (1789) in *Sieyès: Political Writings, including the debate between Sieyès and Tom Paine in 1791*, ed. by M. Sonenscher, (Indianapolis, 2003), pp. 92-162.

'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen' (1789); Louis Antoine de Saint-Just, 'Report to the Convention on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety' (10 October 1793); Maximilien Robespierre, 'Report on the Principles of Political Morality (5 February 1794)' in K.M. Baker (ed.), *The Old Regime and the French Revolution: Readings in Western Civilization* (Chicago, 1987), 237-239; 354-62; 368-84.

Olympe de Gouges, 'The Declaration of the Rights of Women' (1791), in D. G. Levy, H. B. Applewhite, M. D. Johnson eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris: Selected Documents*, (Urbana, 1979) pp. 87-96; or in Baker, (ed.), *The Old Regime and the French Revolution: Readings in Western Civilization*, pp. 261-8.

Nicolas de Condorcet, 'The Sketch' (i.e., *Sketch of a Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*, 1793-4), especially 'The Ninth Epoch' and 'The Tenth Epoch' in *Political Writings*, ed. by S. Luke and N. Urbinati), pp. 89-147. (E)

From *The Haitian Revolution: A documentary history*, ed. by D. Geggus, (Indianapolis, 2014): 'The May 1791 Debates'; 'Abolitionist Reaction to the Slave Insurrection'; 'The Emancipation Proclamation of 29 August 1793'; 'Belley, the Black Deputy', pp. 51-6; 102-5; 107-9; 112-4.

Secondary Readings:

Abbr.

CHPT C18 = M. Goldie and R. Wokler, eds, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2006). (E)

General and Introductory

*D. Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007) (E)

*K.M. Baker, 'Political Languages of the French Revolution' in CHPT C18, pp. 626-59 (E)

J.C.D. Clark, *Thomas Paine: Britain, America and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution*, (Oxford, 2018).

D. Edelstein, 'Nature or Nation? Rights Conflicts in the Age of the French Revolution', in D.A. Bell and Y. Mintzker, eds, *Rethinking the Age of Revolutions: France and the Birth of the Modern World*, (Oxford, 2018), pp. 1-40. (E)

F. Furet, 'The French Revolution or Pure Democracy', in C. Lucas (ed), *Rewriting the French Revolution*, (Oxford, 1991), pp. 33-45.

*J.P. Greene, 'Negotiated Authorities: The Problem of Governance in the Extended Politics of the Early Modern Atlantic World' in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1994), 1–24 (E).

I. Hampsher-Monk, 'British Radicalism and the Anti-Jacobins' in CHPT C18, pp. 660-67 (E)

*R. Scurr, 'Varieties of Democracy in the French Revolution,' in J. Innes and M. Philp (eds), *Re-imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750-1850* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 57-68 (E).

M. Sonenscher, 'The Nation's Debt and the Birth of the Modern Republic: The French Fiscal Deficit and the Politics of the Revolution of 1789', *History of Political Thought*, 18 (1997), 64-103. (E)

M. Sonenscher, 'Property, Community and Citizenship', in CHPT C18, pp. 465-94 (E)

R. Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 143-180. (E)

*G.S. Wood, 'The American Revolution', in CHPT C18, pp. 601-25. (E)

The American Revolution

B. Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) (E)

E. Nelson, *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (Cambridge, MA., 2014). (E)

J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton NJ, 1975), chap. 15 (E).

J.G.A. Pocock, '1776: The Revolution against Parliament', in J.G.A. Pocock, ed., *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688 and 1776* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), 265–88 (E).

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Empire, State and Confederation: The War of American Independence as a Crisis in Multiple Monarchy', in J. Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 318–48; repr. in J.G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History*, (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 134-163 (E).

M. Somos, *American States of Nature: The origins of independence, 1761-1775*, (Oxford, 2019) (E)

The French Revolution

K.M. Baker, 'The Idea of a Declaration of Rights', in D. van Kley (ed), *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789*, (Stanford CA, 1994), pp. 154-96.

M. Forsyth, *Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyes*, (Leicester, 1987)

F. Furet, 'Rousseau and the French Revolution', in C. Orwin and N. Tarcov (eds), *The Legacy of Rousseau*, (Chicago, 1997), pp. 168-82.

M. Gauchet, *Robespierre: The man who divides us the most*, (Princeton, NJ: 2022) (E)

L. Jaume, 'Citizen and State under the French Revolution', in Q. Skinner and B. Strath (eds), *States and Citizens* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 131–44.

L. Rubinelli, 'How to think beyond sovereignty: on Sieyes and constituent power', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 18 (2019), pp 47-67. (E)

R. Scurr, *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution*, (London, 2006) (E)

M. Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, 2007), chapters 3-4 (E).

M. Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution*, (Princeton NJ, 2008) chapters 4-6. (E)

The Haitian Revolution

M.L. Daut, *Awakening the Ashes: An Intellectual History of the Haitian Revolution*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 2023).

A. Getachew, 'Universalism After the Post-Colonial Turn: Interpreting the Haitian Revolution,' *Political Theory*, 44: 6 (2016), 821-845 (E).

J.D. Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the abolition of slavery*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

J.D. Popkin, 'Saint-Domingue, Slavery and the Origins of the French Revolution', in T.E. Kaiser and D.K. Van Kley, *From Deficit to Deluge: The origins of the French Revolution, From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution*, (Stanford, CA, 2011), pp, 220-248. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. What role did the idea of popular sovereignty play in justifying revolution in the eighteenth century?
2. What was the role of natural rights in the political thought of the late eighteenth-century revolutions?
3. To what extent did eighteenth-century justifications of revolution rest upon appeals to the idea of natural equality?
4. How similar was the concept of liberty for the thinkers of the different Atlantic Revolutions?
5. To what extent was revolutionary thought in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world a reaction against monarchism?

B15 Constitutions

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers, with Letters of "Brutus"*, (1788), ed. by T. Ball, (Cambridge, 2003), nos. 1, 9-10, 14-17, 41-85. (E)

Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, 'What is the Third Estate?' (1789) and 'Controversy between Mr. Paine and M. Emmanuel Sieyès' (1791) in *Sieyès: Political Writings, including the debate between Sieyès and Tom Paine in 1791*, ed. by M. Sonenscher, (Indianapolis, 2003), pp. 92-162, 163-173.

Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Condorcet, 'On the Principles of the Constitutional Plan Presented to the National Convention' (1793), in *Condorcet: Selected writings*, ed. by K.M. Baker, (Indianapolis, 1976), pp. 143-182.

Joseph de Maistre, 'Essay on the Generative Principle of Political Constitutions' (1814), in *The Works of Joseph de Maistre*, ed. by J. Lively, (London, 1965), pp. 147-181.

Benjamin Constant, 'Principles of Politics applicable to all Representative Governments' (1815), in *Constant: Political Writings*, ed. B. Fontana, (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 169-305.

Giuseppe Mazzini, 'On the Superiority of Representative Government' (1832), in *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation-Building and international Relations*, eds, S. Recchia and N. Urbinati, (Princeton, NJ, 2010), pp. 39-52. (E)

Carlo Cattaneo, *Civilization and Democracy: The Salvemini Anthology of Cattaneo's Writings*, ed. by S.G. Lacaita and F. Sabetti, (Toronto, 2006), Part 4: 'Local Autonomy', pp. 136-45 (E)

Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State* (1851-2; 5th ed., 1875), 2nd ed, (Oxford, 1892), Bk VI, chs XIV-XVI, XX-XXIV; Bk VII, chs I-VII (pp. 397-438, 458-525).

Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, (1867), ed. by P. Smith, (Cambridge, 2001). (E)

Albert Venn Dicey, *Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law of the Constitution, First Edition* (1885): The Oxford Edition of Dicey, ed. by J.W.F. Allen, (Oxford, 2013), vol. 1, pp. 1-213 (i.e. Lectures I-VIII) (E)

Suggested additional primary reading:

Constitution of the United States of America (1789) in Hamilton, Madison and Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, ed. by Ball, pp. 545-65. (E)

'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen' (1789) in K.M. Baker (ed.), *The Old Regime and the French Revolution: Readings in Western Civilization* (Chicago, 1987), pp.237-9.

Secondary reading:

Abbr.

CHPT C18 = M. Goldie and R. Wokler, eds, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2006). (E)

CHPT C19 = G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, eds, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2011). (E)

General and Introductory

*K.M. Baker, 'Political Languages of the French Revolution' in CHPT C18, pp. 626-59. (E)

*R. Bourke and Q. Skinner, eds, *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, (Cambridge, 2016), chs 8-11 (E)

J. Breuilly, 'On the Principle of Nationality' in CHPT C19, pp. 77-109. (E)

*B. Fontana, ed., *The Invention of the Modern Republic*, (Cambridge, 1994) (E)

I. Hont, 'The Permanent Crisis of a Divided Mankind: "Nation-State" and "Nationalism" in Historical Perspective', in Hont, *Jealousy of Trade* (Cambridge, Mass, 2005), pp. 447-528; or in J. Dunn, ed., *The Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State, Political Studies*, 42 (1994), pp. 166-321. (E)

*J. Jennings, 'Constitutional Liberalism in France: from Benjamin Constant to Alexis de Tocqueville', in CHPT C19, pp. 349-73. (E)

B. Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge, 1997) (E)

J. Innes and M. Philp, *Re-imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland, 1750-1850*, (Oxford, 2013), esp. chs 4-5, 7-9. (E)

*J. Thompson, 'Modern Liberty Redefined' in CHPT C19, pp. 720-47. (E)

R. Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy*, (Cambridge, 2015) (E).

*G.S. Wood, 'The American Revolution' in CHPT C18, pp. 601-25. (E)

The Constitutional Debate in America

D. Adair, '"That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science": David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist', in H.T. Colbourn, ed., *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays of Douglass Adair* (Indianapolis, IN, 1998), 132-51.

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

J.N. Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the American Constitution*, (New York, 1996)

J.N. Rakove, and C.A. Sheehan eds, *The Cambridge Companion to The Federalist*, (Cambridge, 2020). (E)

G. Wood, *Power and Liberty: Constitutionalism in the American Revolution*, (Oxford, 2021) (E)

French Revolutionary Constitutional Debates

K.M. Baker, 'Fixing the French Constitution', in K. M. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 252-305 (E).

K.M. Baker, 'The Idea of a Declaration of Rights', in D. van Kley (ed), *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789*, (Stanford CA, 1994), pp. 154-96.

- M. Forsyth, *Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyès*, (Leicester, 1987)
- F. Furet, 'The French Revolution or Pure Democracy', in C. Lucas (ed), *Rewriting the French Revolution*, (Oxford, 1991), pp. 33-45.
- A. Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror: The Republican Origins of French Liberalism*, (Ithaca NY, 2008) (E)
- L. Rubinelli, *Constituent Power: A history*, (Cambridge, 2020), ch. 1-2. (E)
- M. Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution*, (Princeton, NJ, 2007), esp. ch. 1. (E)

Constitutionalism and Popular Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century Political Debate

- J. Burrow, 'Sense and circumstance: Bagehot and the nature of political understanding', in S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow (eds), *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 161-82 (E)
- G. Conti, *Parliament the Mirror of the Nation: Representation, Deliberation and Democracy in Victorian Britain*, (Cambridge, 2019) (E)
- M. Gauchet, 'Liberalism's Lucid Illusion', in H. Rosenblatt (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Constant* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 23-46 (E).
- J. Innes and M. Philp, *Reimagining Democracy in the Mediterranean, 1780-1860*, (Oxford, 2018) (E)
- A. Körner, *America in Italy: The United States in the Political Thought and Imagination of the Risorgimento, 1763-1865*, (Princeton, NJ, 2017), chs 2-3. (E)
- M. Loughlin, *The Idea of Public Law*, (Oxford, 2003). (E)
- D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones, eds, *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2018). (E)
- E. Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought*, (Princeton, NJ: 2012).
- B. Wilson, 'Counter-Revolutionary Thought' in CHPT C19, pp. 9-38. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions

1. What was meant by 'representative government' in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century constitutional theory?
2. To what extent did the concept of 'nationality' transform understandings of popular sovereignty?
3. What limits, if any, did constitutional theorists in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believe could be placed on popular sovereignty?
4. To what extent did the American constitutional model inform constitutional debates in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe?
5. Did constitutional theorists prize stability over individual liberty?

B16 Culture and Politics in Germany

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action* (1791-2, pub. 1852), ed. J. W. Burrow (Cambridge, 1969; repr. Indianapolis, 1993) (E)

Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man: in a Series of Letters* (1794), ed. E. M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby, (Oxford, 1967)

Johann Gottlieb Fichte, 'Some Lectures concerning the Scholar's Vocation' (1794), in *Early Philosophical Writings*, ed. D. Breazeale (Ithaca, 1993), 144-84.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *The Vocation of Man* (1800), ed. by P. Preuss, (Indianapolis, 1987)

Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel in, *The Early Political Writings of the German Romantics*, ed. F.C. Beiser (Cambridge 1996), esp. 1-7, 59-81, 123-41 (E)

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory

N. Saul ed., *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2009) (E).

F.C. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early German Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA, 2003) (E)

K. Ameriks ed., *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism* (Cambridge, 2000) (E)

F.C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford, 2011) (E)

D. Van Engelhardt, 'Romanticism in Germany', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds), *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 109-33. (E)

*A. Wood, *Fichte's Ethical Thought* (Cambridge, 2016). (E)

*D. James, *Fichte's Social and Political Philosophy: Property and Virtue* (Cambridge, 2011) (E)

A.J. La Vopa, 'The Revelatory Moment: Fichte and the French Revolution', *Central European History* 22 (1989), 130-59 (E)

*D. Moggach, 'Schiller's Aesthetic Republicanism', *History of Political Thought* 28 (2007), 520-41. (E)

*D. Moggach, 'Freedom and Perfection: German Debates on the State in the Eighteenth Century', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42 (2009), 1003-23. (E)

*I. Nakhimovsky, *The Closed Commercial State: Perpetual Peace and Commercial Society from Rousseau to Fichte* (Princeton, 2011) (E)

*Eva Piirimäe, *Herder and Enlightenment Politics* (Cambridge, 2023) (E).

*R. E. Norton, 'The Myth of the Counter-Enlightenment', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68 (2007), 635-58. (E)

M. Sonenscher, 'Sociability, Perfectibility, and the Legacy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau' *History of European Ideas* 41 (2015), 683-698. (E)

*J. Zammito, K. Menges, and E.A. Menze. 'Johann Gottfried Herder Revisited' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (2010), 661-84. (E)

Humboldt:

- F.C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford, 2011), chap. 4 (E).
- D. Sorkin, 'Wilhelm von Humboldt: The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation (Bildung), 1791-1810', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983), 55-73. (E)
- U. Vogel, 'Liberty is Beautiful: von Humboldt's Gift to Liberalism', *History of Political Thought*, 3 (1982), 77-101. (E)

Fichte:

- D. James, *Fichte's Republic: Idealism, History, and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2015) (E)
- A. Schmidt, 'Self-Cultivation (*Bildung*) and Sociability Between Mankind and the Nation: Fichte and Schleiermacher', in C. Brooke and E. Frazer, eds., *Ideas of Education: Philosophy and Politics from Plato to Dewey* (New York, 2013), pp. 160-177. (E)
- A.J. La Vopa, *Fichte, The Self and the Calling of Philosophy, 1762-1799* (Cambridge, 2001)

Novalis

- P. Kleingeld, 'Romantic Cosmopolitanism: Novalis' "Christianity or Europe' *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 46 (2008), 269-284. (E)

Schiller:

- F. C. Beiser, *Schiller as Philosopher: A Re-Examination* (Oxford, 2005) (E)
- J. Reed, *Schiller* (Oxford, 1991)
- A. Schmidt, 'The Liberty of the Ancients? Friedrich Schiller and Aesthetic Republicanism', *History of Political Thought*, 30 (2009), 286-314. (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. To what extent were German theories of culture at the turn of the nineteenth century also theories of progress?
2. What role did the notion of 'individuality' play in German theories of culture and politics around the turn of the nineteenth century?
3. Did the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German thinkers who emphasized the political role of culture reject reason?
4. What did German theorists of culture at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century see as the greatest threat to freedom?
5. Which was more important to German theorists of culture and politics at the turn of the nineteenth century, the individual or the community?

B17 Liberty, Law and the State

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Jeremy Bentham, *A Fragment on Government* (1776), ed. by R. Harrison, (Cambridge, 1988).

Germaine de Staël, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution* (1818), ed. by A. Craiutu (Indianapolis, 2008), Part VI. (E)

Benjamin Constant, 'The Liberty of the Ancients compared with that of the Moderns' (1819), in *Constant: Political Writings*, ed. B. Fontana, (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 308-328.

François Guizot, *History of Civilization in Europe* (1828), ed. by L. Siedentop, (London, 1997).

Frédéric Bastiat, 'The State' (1848) and 'The Law' (1850) in *"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843-1850*, ed. by J. de Guenin et al., (Indianapolis, 2012), pp. 93-104; 107-146. (E)

Henry David Thoreau, 'Resistance to Civil Government' [Civil Disobedience] (1849), in *Thoreau: Political Writings*, ed. by N.L. Rosenblum, (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 1-21. (E)

Herbert Spencer, *Political Writings*, ed. by J. Offer, (Cambridge, 1994) (E)

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859), in Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*, ed. by M. Philp and F. Rosen, (Oxford, 2015)

James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (1873), ed. by S.D. Warner, (Indianapolis, 1993). (E)

Thomas Hill Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (1879-80), ed. by P. Smith and J. Morrow, (Cambridge, 1986).

Secondary Reading

CHPT C19 = G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, eds, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2011). (E)

General and Introductory

*A. de Dijn, *Freedom: An unruly history*, (Cambridge, MA, 2020), chs 5-6. (E)

M. Drolet, 'Democracy, Self, and the Problem of the General Will in Nineteenth-Century French Thought', in J. Innes and M. Philp, eds, *Re-imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland, 1750-1850*, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 69-82. (E)

B. Garsten, 'From Popular Sovereignty to Civil Society in Post-Revolutionary France', in R. Bourke and Q. Skinner (eds), *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 236-269. (E)

J. Jennings, 'Constitutional Liberalism in France: from Benjamin Constant to Alexis de Tocqueville', in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claeys (eds), *CHPT C19*, pp. 349-73. (E)

*J. Skorupski, *Being and Freedom: On Late Modern Ethics in Europe*, (Oxford, 2021). (E)

*M. Sonenscher, *After Kant: The Romans, the Germans, and the Moderns in the History of Political Thought*, (Princeton, NJ, 2023) (E)

*J. Thompson, 'Modern Liberty Redefined' in *CHPT C19*, pp. 720-47. (E)

Liberalism in France

A. Craiutu, *Liberalism under Siege: The political thought of the French Doctrinaires*, (Lanham, MD, 2003). (E)

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

B. Fontana, *Germaine de Staël: A political portrait*, (Princeton, NJ, 2016) (E)

R. Geenens and H. Rosenblatt, *French Liberalism from Montesquieu to the Present Day*, (Cambridge, 2012), chs. 2-3, 7-8. (E)

J. Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A history of political thought in France since the eighteenth century*, (Oxford, 2011). (E)

H. Rosenblatt, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Constant*, (Cambridge, 2009), esp. chs 2-4, 9, 11, 13. (E)

Benthamite Utilitarianism [See also readings for A10 Mill]

J.H. Burns, 'Bentham and Blackstone: A Lifetime's Dialectic', *Utilitas* 1 (1989), 22-40. (E)

J.H. Burns, 'Bentham's Critique of Political Fallacies', in B. Parekh (ed), *Jeremy Bentham: Ten Critical Essays*, (London, 1974).

R. Harrison, *Bentham*, (London, 1983) (E)

F. Rosen, *Classical Utilitarianism from Hume to Mill*, (London, 2003), chs 13-15. (E)

P. Schofield, *Utility and Democracy: The Political Thought of Jeremy Bentham* (2006) (E)

Thoreau and American Transcendentalism

G. Kateb, *The Inner Ocean: Individualism and Democratic Culture*, (Ithaca, NY, 1992), ch. 3 'Democratic Individuality and the Claims of Politics'. (E)

D.S. Malachuk, *Two Cities: The Political Thought of American Transcendentalism*, (Lawrence, KS, 2016). (E)

N. Rosenblum, *Another Liberalism: Romanticism and the Reconstruction of Liberal Thought*, (Cambridge, MA, 1987), ch. 5 'Heroic Liberalism and the Spectacle of Diversity'. (E)

Late Victorian Liberalism

S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991)

M. Francis, *Herbert Spencer and the Invention of Modern Life*, (Stocksfield, 2007), Part IV. (E)

J. Morrow, ed., *T.H. Green*, (Abingdon, 2018): esp. essays by Dimova-Cookson, Martin, Morrow and Bellamy.

M. Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and his Age*, (London, 1964), chs. 8-11.

A. Simhony and D. Weinstein, eds., *The New Liberalism: Reconciling Liberty and Community*, (Cambridge, 2001). ([E](#))

M. Taylor, *Men Versus the State: Herbert Spencer and Late Victorian Individualism*, (Oxford, 1992).

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. From what threats did defenders of modern liberty seek to protect it?
2. Where did theorists of modern liberty believe the individual's obligation to obey the state ended?
3. What was 'modern' about modern liberty?

B18 Political Economy and Its Critics

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), eds. T. Campbell, A.S. Skinner and W. Todd, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, reprinted Indianapolis, 1981): Introduction and Plan of the Work, Books I; II, Ch 1; III; IV Chs 1, 8, 9; V, Ch. 1 Parts i and ii. (E)

Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), ed. Donald Winch (Cambridge, 1992)

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), ed. V. Bladen and J. Robson, in *Collected Works of J.S. Mill* (Toronto, 1965; repr. Indianapolis, 2006), vols 2 and 3: 'Preliminary Remarks'. Bk I, chs. 7-13; Bk. II chs 1-4, 11-16; Bk IV, chs 1-7; Bk V, chs 1-2, 8-11. (<https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/robson-collected-works-of-john-stuart-mill-in-33-vols>)

Karl Marx, *Capital; A Critique of Political Economy* Vol. I (1867), ed. B. Fowkes (Harmondsworth, 1976): 'Preface to the First Edition'; 'Postface to the Second Edition'; Part One, ch. 1; Part Two, chs 4-6; Part Three, chs 7-9, 11; Part Four, chs 12-14, ch. 15 sections 1-5; Part Five: ch. 16; Part Six, ch. 19; Part Seven, chs. 23-25; Part Eight, chs. 26-33.

Secondary Readings:

CHPT C19 = G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys, eds, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2011). (E)

General and Introductory

S. Collini, D. Winch and J. Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A study in nineteenth-century intellectual history*, (Cambridge, 1983), ch. 2 (E)

A.O. Hirschman, 'Rival Views of Market Society', in Hirschman, *Rival Views of Market Society and other Recent Essays* (New York, 1986), 105-41.

I. Hont and M. Ignatieff, eds, *Wealth and Virtue: The shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, 1983). (E)

*I. Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective*, (Cambridge, MA., 2005).

E. Rothschild, 'Political Economy', in CHPT 19, pp. 748-79. (E)

*M. Sonenscher, *Capitalism: The story behind the word*, (Princeton, NJ, 2022). (E)

G. Stedman Jones, *An End to Poverty?: An historical debate*, (London, 2005). (E)

*K. Tribe, *The Economy of the Word: Language, history, and economics*, (Oxford, 2015), ch. 2, 'The Word: Economy', pp. 21-88. (E)

*D. Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An intellectual history of political economy in Britain, 1750-1834* (Cambridge, 1996)

Smith

D. Forbes, 'Sceptical Whiggism, Commerce and Liberty', in A.S. Skinner and T. Wilson (eds), *Essays on Adam Smith* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 179-201. ([M](#))

S. Muthu, 'Adam Smith's Critique of International Trading Companies', *Political Theory* 36 (2008), 185-212. ([E](#))

J. Viner, 'Adam Smith and *Laissez Faire*', in D.A. Irwin, ed., *Essays on the Intellectual History of Economics*, (Princeton, NJ, 1991), pp. 85-113 ([E](#))

J. Robertson, 'The Legacy of Adam Smith: Government and Economic Development in *The Wealth of Nations*', in R. Bellamy (ed), *Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought and Practice* (London, 1990), 15-41. ([M](#))

E. Rothschild and A. Sen, 'Smith's Economics', in K. Haakonssen, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 319-65. ([E](#))

K. Tribe, 'Natural Liberty and *Laissez Faire*: How Adam Smith became a Free Trade Ideologue', in S. Copley and K. Sutherland (eds), *Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations": New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester, 1995), 23-44. ([M](#))

Malthus

A. Bashford and J.E. Chaplin, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus: Rereading the Principle of Population*, (Princeton, NJ, 2016). ([E](#))

R.J. Mayhew, *Malthus: The life and legacy of an untimely prophet*, (Cambridge, MA, 2014) ([E](#))

N. O'Flaherty, 'Malthus and the 'end of poverty'', in R.J. Mayhew, ed., *New Perspectives on Malthus*, (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 74-104. ([E](#))

R. Walter, *Before Method and Models: The political economy of Malthus and Ricardo*, (Oxford, 2021). ([E](#))

D. Winch, *Malthus*, (Oxford, 1987; reissued as *Malthus: A Very Short Introduction*, 2013). ([E](#))

Mill

J. Medearis, 'Labor, Democracy, Utility and Mill's Critique of Private Property', *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2005), 135-149. ([E](#))

D.E. Miller, Mill's "Socialism", *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 2 (2003), 213-238. ([E](#))

J. Persky, *The Political Economy of Progress: John Stuart Mill and Modern Radicalism*, (Oxford, 2016) ([E](#))

J. Riley, 'J. S. Mill's Liberal Utilitarian Assessment of Capitalism versus Socialism', *Utilitas*, 8 (1996), 39-71. ([E](#))

J. Riley, 'Mill's Political Economy: Ricardian Science and Liberal Utilitarian Art', in J. Skorupski (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Mill*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 293-337. ([E](#))

D. Winch, *Wealth and Life: Essays on the Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1848-1914* (Cambridge, 2009), Part 1 'Mill's Principles', pp. 27-88.

Marx

A. Brewer, 'A Minor Post-Ricardian? Marx as an Economist', *History of Political Economy*, 27 (1995), 111-45. ([E](#))

D. Harvey, *A Companion to Marx's Capital*, vol. I (London, 2010). ([E](#))

M. Heinrich, *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Marx's Capital*, (New York, 2012). ([E](#))

M. Heinrich, *How to Read Marx's Capital: Commentary and Explanations on the Beginning Chapters*, (New York, 2021)

M. Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory*, (Cambridge, 1993) (E).

M. Postone, 'Rethinking *Capital* in Light of the *Grundrisse*', in Marcello Musto, ed., *Karl Marx's Grundrisse : Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy 150 Years Later*, (London; 2008), 120-146.

G. Reuten, 'Karl Marx: His Work and the Major Changes of Interpretation', in W. J. Samuels, J.E. Biddle and J.B. Davis (eds), *A Companion to the History of Economic Thought* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 148-166 (E).

A. Roncaglia, 'Karl Marx', in Roncaglia, *The Wealth of Ideas: A History of Economic Thought*, (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 244-277 (E).

K. Tribe, *The Economy of the Word: Language, history, and economics*, (Oxford, 2015), ch. 6, 'Karl Marx's "Critique of Political Economy": A Critique', pp. 171-254 (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. To what extent were eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political economists concerned with questions of distributive justice?
2. What was the relationship between the interests of government and the interests of the governed, for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political economists?
3. What role does the concept of 'class' play in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political economy?
4. How did eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political economists explain disparities in wealth between nations?
5. In what sense was political economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a discourse about power?

B19 Socialism before 1848

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Henri de Saint-Simon, *The Political Thought of Saint-Simon*, G. Ionescu ed., (Oxford, 1976)

Charles Fourier, *The Theory of the Four Movements* (1808), G. Stedman Jones and I. Patterson eds., (Cambridge, 1996) (E)

Robert Owen, *A New View of Society and other Writings*, G. Claeys ed., (Harmondsworth, 1991)

Louis Blanc, *The Organization of Work* (1839), trans. Marie Paula Dickoré, in *University of Cincinnati Studies* 2, vol. 7 (1911), pp. 5-59

[<https://archive.org/details/universitycinci06cincgoog/page/n8/mode/2up>]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What is Property?* (1840), D. R. Kelley and B. G. Smith eds., (Cambridge, 1994) (E)

Flora Tristan, *The Worker's Union* (1843), ed. by B. Livingston, (Urbana, IL, 2007).

Suggested additional primary readings:

[Saint-Amand Bazard et al.], *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An exposition. First year, 1828-1829* (1829), ed. by G. Iggers, (New York, 1972).

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (1851), ed. by R. Graham, trans. by J.B. Robinson, (London, 1989).

Lorenz von Stein, *The History of the Social Movement in France 1789–1850* (1850), ed. K. Mengelberg, (Totowa, NJ, 1964).

Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 24, (London, 1988), pp. 281-325

Secondary Readings:

General and Introductory

E. Berenson, 'A New Religion of the Left: Christianity and Social Radicalism in France 1815-1848', in F. Furet and M. Ozouf (eds), 4 vols (Oxford, 1987-1994), III: *The Transformation of Political Culture 1789-1848*, pp. 543-60.

*G. Claeys, 'Non-Marxian Socialism 1815-1914', in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claeys (eds), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2011) (E)

J. Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France Since the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 2011), chap. 9: 'Insurrection, Utopianism, and Socialism' (E)
D. Leopold, 'The Structure of Marx and Engels' Considered Account of Utopian Socialism', *History of Political Thought* 26 (2005), 443-466. (E)

*D. Leopold, 'Socialism and Utopia', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 12 (2007), 219-237 (E)

D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones, eds, *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2018), chs 1-5, 9, 11, 18. (E)

*G. Stedman Jones, 'Religion and the Origins of Socialism', in I. Katznelson and G. Stedman Jones, eds, *Religion and the Political Imagination* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 171-89. (E)

Robert Owen and Early British Socialism:

G. Claey's, *Machinery, Money and the Millennium: From moral economy to socialism, 1815-1860* (Cambridge, 1987)

G. Claey's, *Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge, 1989) (E)

*G. Claey's, 'Robert Owen and Owenism' in M. van der Linden, ed., *The Cambridge History of Socialism*, (Cambridge, 2023), I, pp. 146-166

D. Leopold, 'Education and Utopia: Robert Owen and Charles Fourier', *Oxford Review of Education* 37 (2011), 619-635. (E)

G. Stedman Jones, 'Rethinking Chartism', in Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1983), 90-178 (E)

*G. Stedman Jones, 'Millennium and Enlightenment: Robert Owen and the Second Coming of the Truth', in B. Kapossy et al., (eds), *Markets, Morals, Politics: Jealousy of Trade and the History of Political Thought*, (Cambridge, MA, 2018), pp. 211-43. (E)

A. Taylor, *Visions of Harmony: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Millenarianism* (Oxford, 1987)

N. Thompson, *The People's Science: The Popular Political Economy of Exploitation and Crisis 1816-34*, (Cambridge, 1984) (E)

Henri Saint-Simon and Early French Socialism:

K.M. Baker, 'Closing the French Revolution: Saint-Simon and Comte', in F. Furet and M. Ozouf (eds), *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1987-1994), III: *The Transformation of Political Culture 1789-1848*, pp. 323-39.

R.B. Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism and the doctrine of hope*, (Baltimore, MD, 1987)

*J. Jennings, 'Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism' in M. van der Linden, ed., *The Cambridge History of Socialism*, (Cambridge, 2023), I, pp. 126-145.

F.E. Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* (Cambridge, 1956)

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

Charles Fourier and Fourierism:

J. Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and his World* (London, 1986)

J. Beecher, *Victor Considérant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley CA, 2001)

*J. Beecher, 'Charles Fourier and Fourierism' in M. van der Linden, ed., *The Cambridge History of Socialism*, (Cambridge, 2023), I, pp. 167-87.

Louis Blanc:

S.E. Gerçek, 'The "Social Question" as a Democratic Question: Louis Blanc's *Organization of Labour*', *Modern Intellectual History*, 20: 2 (2023), 388-416. (E)

L.A. Loubère, *Louis Blanc: His Life and His Contribution to the Rise of French Jacobin-Socialism*, (Evanston, IL, 1961)

S.W. Sawyer, *Demos Assembled: Democracy and the International Origins of the Modern State, 1840-1880*, chap. 6, 'Terror: Louis Blanc's Historical Theory of Circumstances' (Chicago, 2018), pp. 159-184. (E)

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon:

E. Castleton, 'The Many Revolutions of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon', in Moggach and Stedman Jones, eds, *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, pp. 39-69. (E)

D.R. Kelley and B.G. Smith, 'What was property? Legal dimensions of the social question in France, 1789-1848', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 128 (1984), 200-230. (E)

K.S. Vincent, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the Rise of French Republicanism* (Oxford, 1984)

Flora Tristan, Socialism and Feminism

N.J. Andrews, *Gender in the Intellectual Landscape of French Romantic Socialism*, (Lanham, MD, 2006)

M. Cross and T. Gray, *The Feminism of Flora Tristan* (Oxford; Providence, RI, 1992)

S. Dijkstra, *Flora Tristan: Feminism in the age of George Sand*, 2nd ed., (London, 2019)

L.F. Goldstein, 'Early Feminist Themes in French Utopian Socialism: The Saint Simonians and Fourier', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 43 (1982), 91-108. (E)

C.G. Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York, 1984), ch. 3 'The Saint-Simonian Vision: Creating a New World Order', pp. 41-60.

B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1983) (E) [on Owenism]

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Did early socialists regard the state as a potential ally or as an enemy?
2. How did socialist writers before 1848 conceive of the relationship between humanity and nature?
3. Did early socialist thinkers seek to destroy Christianity or to reform it?
4. Did early socialism compete with or complement republican politics?
5. What role did international politics play in early socialist thought?

B20 Slavery, Free Labour, and Citizenship

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

The French and British Atlantic Worlds

Guillaume-Thomas Raynal [et al.], *The History of the Two Indies: A translated selection of writings from Raynal's Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements des Européens dans les Deux Indes* (1770), ed. by P. Jimack, (London, 2006); Bk. 11.

Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1786), (Cambridge, 2013). (E)

Quobna Ottobah Cugoana [John Stuart], *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evils of Slavery* (1787), ed. by V. Carretta, (New York, 1999).

Nicolas de Condorcet, 'On Slavery: Rules for the *Society of the Friends of Negroes*' (1788), *Political Writings*, ed. by S. Luke and N. Urbinati, pp. 148-55. (E)

Thomas Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine*, 40 (1849), available at: <https://cruel.org/econthought/texts/carlyle/carlodnq.html>

The United States from Independence to the Civil War

Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), ed. by F. Shuffleton, (New York, 1999), 'Query XIV: The administration of justice and description of the laws?', pp. 137-155. (E)

David Walker, *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), ed. by P. H. Hinks, (University Park, PA, 2000).

From *Against Slavery: An abolitionist reader*, ed. M. Lowance, (New York, 2000): writings by Alexander Crummell, pp. 59-62; William Lloyd Garrison, pp. 92-130; Lydia Maria Child, pp. 154-175; William Ellery Channing, pp. 176-91; Angelina Grimké, Sarah Moore Grimké, and Catherine E. Beecher, pp. 197-223. [NB. Texts can also be found in M. Lowance, ed., *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America, 1776-1865*, (Princeton, NJ, 2003). (E)]

John C. Calhoun, 'Speech on the Reception of the Abolition Petitions, February 1837', in *Speeches of John C. Calhoun, delivered in the Congress of the United States from 1811 to the present time*, (New York, 1843), pp. 222-26. (E)

Frederick Douglass, 'What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?' (1852), in *The Portable Frederick Douglass*, ed. by J. Stauffer and H.L. Gates, Jr., (New York, 2016), pp. 195-222.

Dred Scott vs Sandford (1857); Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858), in H.S. Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 7th ed., (New York, 1963), pp. 339-345; 347-358.

Secondary Reading:

General and Introductory

R. Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights*, (London, 2011)

D.B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, (Ithaca, NY, 1966; Oxford, 1988)

*D.B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Ithaca, NY, 1975; Oxford, 1999) (E)

S. Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labour versus Slavery in British Emancipation*, (Oxford, 2002) (E)

*D.G. Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860*, (Baton Rouge, LA, 1981).

*D. Richardson, *Principles and Agents: The British Slave Trade and its Abolition*, (New Haven, CT, 2022).

The British Atlantic

C.L. Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*, (Chapel Hill, 2006) (E)

E.J. Clapp and J.R. Jeffrey, eds, *Women, Dissent and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America, 1790-1865*, (Oxford, 2011) (E)

J.P. Greene, 'Liberty and Slavery: The transfer of British Liberty to the West Indies, 1627-1865', in J.P. Greene, ed., *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600-1900*, (Cambridge, 2010), 50-7. (E)

P. Groenewegen, 'Thomas Carlyle, "the Dismal Science" and the Contemporary Political Economy of Slavery', *History of Economics Review* 34 (2001), 74-94. (E)

R. Hanley, *Beyond Slavery and Abolition: Black British Writing, c. 1770-1830*, (Cambridge, 2019), esp. ch. 7 'Ottobah Cugoano and the "Black Poor", 1786-1791' (E)

C. Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000*, (Cambridge, 2006), esp. chs 4-5. (E)

S. Muthu, 'A Cosmopolitanism of Countervailing Powers: Resistance against global domination in the thought of Immanuel Kant and Ottobah Cugoano', in J.-P. Rubiés and N. Safier, eds, *Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, 2023), pp. 239-62. (E)

M.L. Pesante, 'Slaves, servants and wage earners: Free and unfree labour, from Grotius to Blackstone', *History of European Ideas*, 35 (2012), 289-320 (E)

The French Atlantic and Haiti

M.L. Daut, *Awakening the Ashes: An Intellectual History of the Haitian Revolution*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 2023) [Forthcoming, October 2023]

J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. IV: *Barbarians, Savages and Empires*, (Cambridge, 2005), ch. 16 'Slaves and settlers: the sugar islands in the new geopolitics'. (E)

J.D. Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the abolition of slavery*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

L. Sala-Molins, *Dark Side of the Light: Slavery and the French Enlightenment*, trans. by J. Conteh-Morgan, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006) (E).

A.F. Terjanian, *Commerce and its Discontents in Eighteenth-Century French Political Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chapter 2. (E)

America from Independence to Civil War

- D.B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation*, (New York, 2014)
- C.L. Griswold Jr., 'Rights and wrongs: Jefferson, slavery, and philosophical quandaries' in M.J. Lacey and K. Haakonssen, eds, *A Culture of Rights: The Bill of Rights in philosophy, politics and law, 1791 and 1991* (Cambridge, 1991), 144-214.
- E. Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*, 2nd. ed., (Oxford, 1995) (E)
- E. Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, (New York, 2010)
- A. Gourevitch, *From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth: Labour and republican liberty in the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). (E)
- P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the problem of Antebellum slave resistance*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).
- G. Kateb, *Lincoln's Political Thought*, (Cambridge, MA, 2015). (E)
- M.S. Lee, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Frederick Douglass*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). (E)
- W.E. Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). (E)
- W.C. McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery: Garrisonian Abolitions and Transatlantic Reform*, (Baton Rouge, LA, 2013)
- W.J. Moses, *Creative Conflict in African American Thought: Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey*, (Cambridge. 2004) (E)
- M. O'Brien, *Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860: an abridged edition of Conjectures of Order*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010). (E)
- D. Waldstreicher, *Slavery's Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification* (New York, 2009).
- P. Wirzbicki, *Fighting for the Higher Law: Black and White Transcendentalists against Slavery*, (Philadelphia, PA, 2021) (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. Were eighteenth- and nineteenth-century opponents of slavery critics or defenders of commercial society?
2. To what extent was the defence of slavery in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Atlantic world predicated on the defence of racial hierarchy?
3. To what extent did advocates for the abolition of slavery rely upon the same arguments as advocates for the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade?
4. What was the significance of arguments about the origins of slavery for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates about its abolition?
5. To what extent did arguments for the abolition of African slavery in the Americas rest upon the idea of racial equality?

B21 Empire and Civilisation in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought

(E) = e-book available from iDiscover

Suggested primary reading:

Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A Letter from Sydney, the principal town of Australasia* (1829), (London, 1929): <https://archive.org/details/b1183653/page/n7/mode/2up>.

Rammohun Roy, 'Additional Queries respecting the Condition of India' (1831) and 'Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans' (1832), in *English Works*, ed. by J.G. Ghose, vol. 2 (1901), pp. 90-98, 112-120, <https://archive.org/details/theenglishworks02rammuoft>

Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'A Minute on Indian Education' (1835), in G.O. Trevelyan, *The Competition Wallah* (1864), (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 410-424. (E)

John Stuart Mill, 'Civilisation' (1836), in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John Robson, Vols XVIII (1977), pp. 117-147. (<https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/robson-collected-works-of-john-stuart-mill-in-33-vols>)

Lord Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839), ed. by C.P. Lucas (Oxford, 1912), 3 vols, vol. II, pp. 259-333 'General Review and Recommendations': <https://archive.org/details/lorddurhamsrepor02durhiala/page/n7/mode/2up>

George Cornwall Lewis. *An Essay on the Government of Dependencies* (1841), (Cambridge, 2010), esp. chs VI-X. (E)

John Stuart Mill, 'Of the Government of Dependencies by a Free State', ch. 18 of *Considerations of Representative Government* (1861), in Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*, ed. by M. Philp and F. Rosen, (Oxford, 2015).

Karl Marx, 'The Modern Theory of Colonization', ch. 33 of *Capital* (1867), Vol. I, ed. B. Fowkes, (Harmondsworth, 1976)

J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (1883), ed. John Gross (Chicago, 1971)

Romesh Chunder Dutt, *England and India: A record of progress during a hundred years, 1785-1885*, (London, 1897), Introduction and Conclusion: <https://archive.org/details/englandandindia00duttgoog/page/n5/mode/2up>

Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (London, 1901), Introduction. <https://archive.org/details/dli.ernet.237480/page/n3/mode/2up>

Secondary Reading

General and Introductory

D. Armitage, 'Empire and Liberty: A Republican Dilemma' in M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, eds, *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage* (2 vols., Cambridge, 2002), Vol. 1, pp. 29-46 (E)

* C. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge, 2012) (E)

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 (E)

*D. Bell, 'Empire and Imperialism', in G. Stedman Jones & G. Claeys (eds), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: 2011) (E)

*D. Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 2016) (E)

A. Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1990), ch. 2 (on Marx) (E)

G. Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge, 2010) (E)

D. Kelly, ed., *Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought* (Oxford, 2009), esp. ch 1 (E)

J. Levy and I. M. Young, eds, *Colonialism and its Legacies* (Lanham, 2011), esp. chs. 2, 7, 8, 10, 12 (E)

U. S. Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*, (Chicago, 1999)

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

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

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

B. Schultz and G. Varouxakis, eds, *Utilitarianism and Empire*, (Lanham, MD, 2005) (E)

Settler Colonies, Self-Government and Imperial Federation

J. Ajzenstat, *The Political Thought of Lord Durham*, (Kingston; Montréal, 1988) (E)

D. Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, 2007) (E)

M. Birchell, 'Mobilizing Stadias Theory: Edward Gibbon Wakefield's colonial vision', *Global Intellectual History*, (available online, 2022). (E)

T. Koditschek, *Liberalism, Imperialism, and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth Century Visions of a Greater Britain* (Cambridge, 2011) (E)

D. Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies*, (London, 1965)

British India

S. Dasgupta, *Ethics, Distance and Accountability: The political thought and intellectual context of Rammohun Roy, (C.1772-1833)*, (New Delhi, 2021)

K. Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton, 2010) (E)

D. Patel, *Naoroji: Pioneer of Indian Nationalism*, (Cambridge, MA, 2020) (E)

E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, (Oxford, 1959)

V. Visana, *Uncivil Liberalism: Labour, Capital and Commercial Society in Dadabhai Naoroji's Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2022) (E)

International Law

A. Anghie, 'Finding the Peripheries: Sovereignty and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century International Law', *Harvard International Law Journal* 40 (1999), 1-80. (E)

S. Dorsett and I. Hunter, eds, *Law and Politics in British Colonial Thought: Transpositions of Empire*, (New York, 2010) (E)

*A. Fitzmaurice, 'Liberalism and Empire in Nineteenth Century International Law', *American Historical Review* 117 (2012), 122-40. (E)

M. Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civiliser of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870-1960* (Cambridge, 2004), esp. chs. 1 & 2 (E).

J. Pitts, *Boundaries of the International: Law and Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2018) (E)

Suggested Supervision Questions:

1. To what extent was the concept of empire in nineteenth-century political thought conceived as distinct from that of the state?
2. Were arguments about the British presence in India significantly different from those about imperialism elsewhere in the world?
3. What was the purpose of imperial government according to nineteenth-century theorists of empire?
4. What, according to theorists of empire and civilization in the nineteenth century, was the proper relationship of the colony to the metropole?
5. To what extent was imperial governance a liberal endeavour according to theorists of empire and civilization in the nineteenth century?

Appendix: Examiner's Reports

POL8 and POL10 are examined and marked separately. Examiners' reports for Part II papers can be found on the POLIS website: [Second Year Students | Department of Politics and International Studies \(POLIS\) \(cam.ac.uk\)](#) / [Third Year Students | Department of Politics and International Studies \(POLIS\) \(cam.ac.uk\)](#).

Past Papers can be found here: [Course: History Undergraduate Exams: Past Papers and Reports | Moodle \(cam.ac.uk\)](#) . For POL8, follow the link to Part IB and select T2 (the History Faculty's designation for the paper). For POL10, follow the link to Part II and select Paper 4 (the corresponding History paper). Questions from the 2023-24 exam papers have been integrated into this guide in the suggested supervision questions appended to the reading lists.

N.B. Reports prior to 2023-4 refer to an older syllabus, which differed in detail from the current syllabus. Reflecting the changes, the History Faculty has removed online access to past papers from before 2023-4. Those interested should still be able to consult them in hard copy through the Cambridge Library System.