

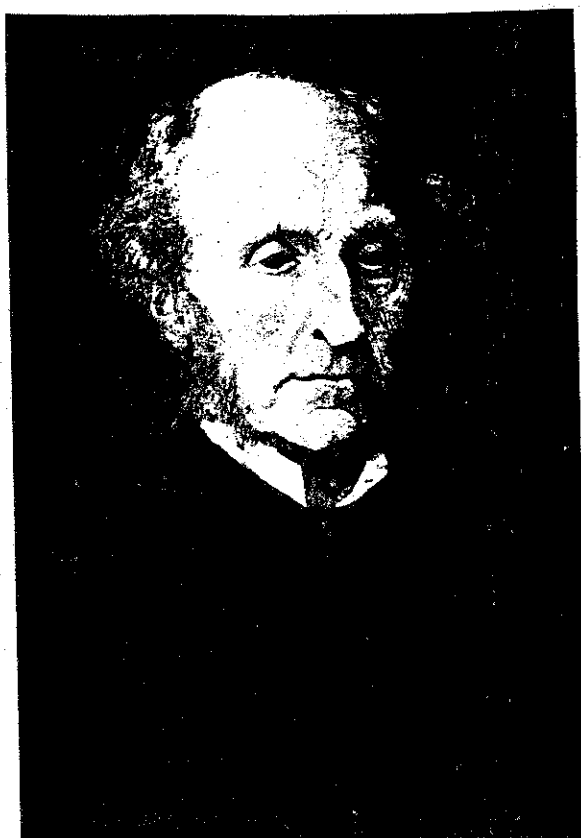
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

3849: LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914  
STUDY GUIDE 1987

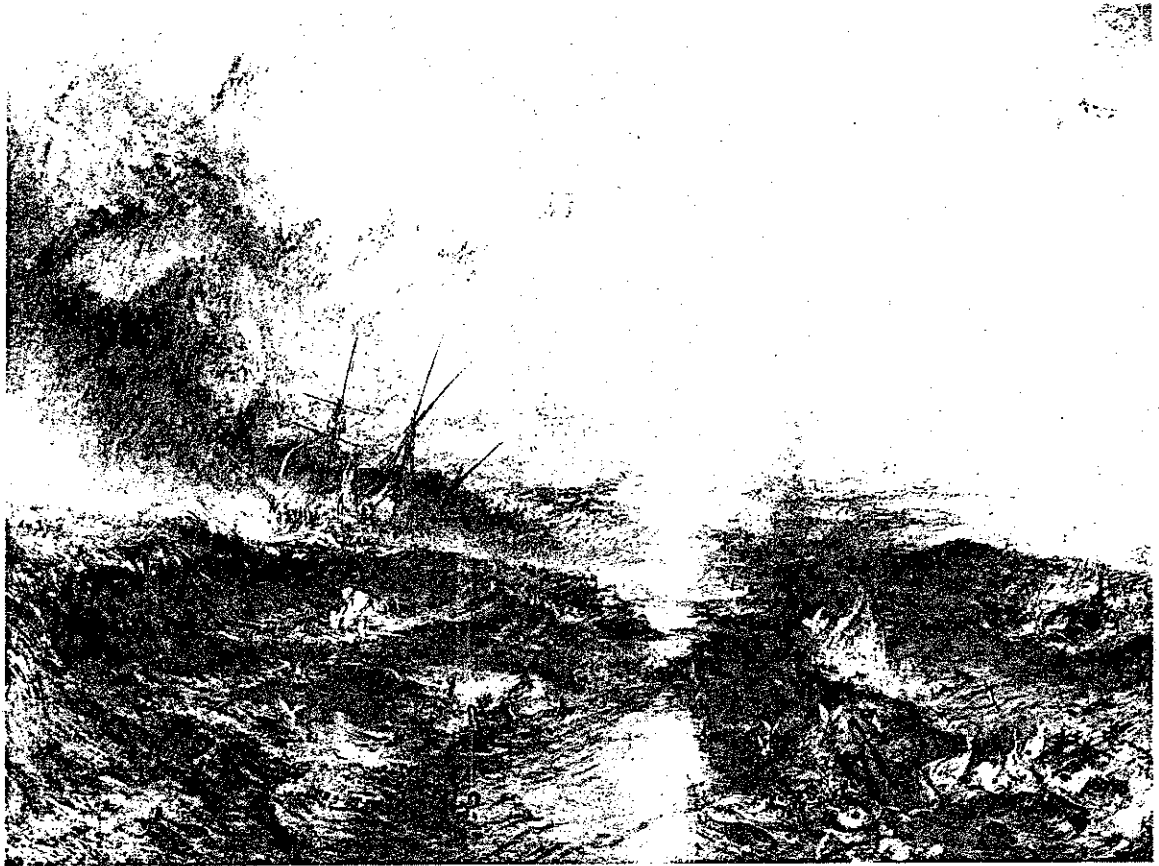
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Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832)



John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)



518 Slavers throwing overboard the Dead and Dying 1840 (entry on p.144)

**518 Slavers throwing overboard the Dead and Dying - Typhon coming on** R.A. 1840  
Oil on canvas, 35½ x 48 (91 x 122) (repr. on p.138)  
Exh: R.A. 1840 (203)  
*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

Exhibited in 1840 with the following lines from the *Fallacies of Hope*:

Aloft all hands, strike the top-masts and belay;  
Yon angry setting sun and fierce-edged clouds  
Declare the Typhon's coming.  
Before it sweep your decks, throw overboard  
The dead and dying - n'er heed their chains.  
Hope, Hope, fallacious Hope!  
Where is thy market now?

Several sources seem to lie behind this subject. 'Summer' in Thomson's *Seasons* includes an account of a typhoon. T. Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the*

*Slave Trade*, of which a second edition had just been published in 1839, gave the story of the slave-ship *Zong* in 1783, in which slaves dying of an epidemic were thrown overboard so that insurance, available for loss 'at sea' but not from disease, could be claimed. Topicality was also ensured by the publication in 1839 of the *Life of William Wilberforce* (who had died in 1833) by his sons, and of his *Correspondence* in 1840, and by the fact that Prince Albert was the President of the Anti-Slavery League. See Nos. 8108-9.

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# DICTIONNAIRE DE L'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE

CONTENANT

L'EXPOSITION DES PRINCIPES DE LA SCIENCE

L'OPINION DES ÉCRIVAINS QUI ONT LE PLUS CONTRIBUÉ À SA FONDATION ET À SES PROGRÈS

LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE GÉNÉRALE DE L'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE

PAR NOMS D'AUTEURS ET PAR ORDRE DE MATIÈRES

AVEC DES NOTICES BIOGRAPHIQUES

ET UNE APPRÉCIATION RAISONNÉE DES PRINCIPAUX OUVRAGES

*Very Short*

# SOCIAL STATICS;

OR,

THE CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO

## HUMAN HAPPINESS

SPECIFIED,

AND THE FIRST OF THEM DEVELOPED.

BY

HERBERT SPENCER,

AUTHOR OF "FIRST PRINCIPLES," "PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY," "PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY," "ESSAYS, FIRST AND SECOND SERIES," "EDUCATION," ETC.

STEREOTYPED EDITION.

LONDON:

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, 14, HENRIETTA STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN;

EDINBURGH: 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET.

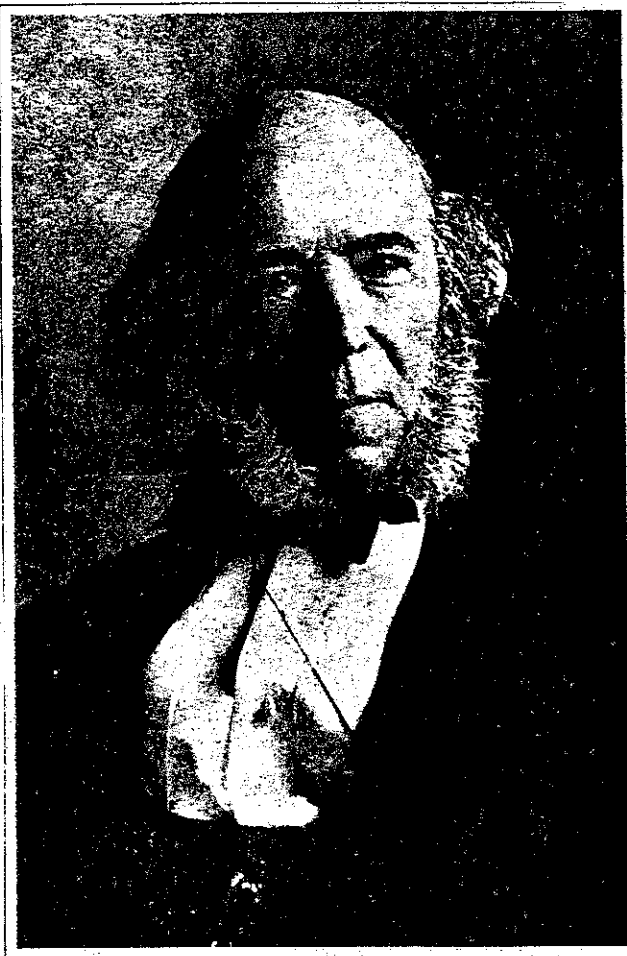
1868.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE.

§ 1. As a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom, we cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, than he is free to drop connection with the state—to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying toward its support. It is self-evident that in so behaving he in no way trenches upon the liberty of others; for his position is a passive one; and whilst passive he cannot become an aggressor. It is equally self-evident that he cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation, without a breach of the moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes; and the taking away of a man's property against his will, is an infringement of his rights (p. 153). Government being simply an agent employ in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not. If any one of them determines to ignore this mutual-safety confederation, nothing can be said except that he loses all claim to its good offices, and exposes himself to the danger of maltreatment—a thing he is quite at liberty to do if he likes. He cannot be coerced into political combination without a breach of the law of equal freedom; he *can* withdraw from it without committing any such breach; and he has therefore a right so to withdraw.

§ 2. "No human laws are of any validity if con-



HERBERT SPENCER



## THE COURSE

### Course Contents

The course will cover the ideas and the policies which made the nineteenth century the heyday of western liberalism. A special concern will be the interrelationship between the theory of liberalism and the reality of capitalism as it developed in the nineteenth century. The approach taken in the course is a thematic one and will cover the philosophical principles of liberalism, the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of liberalism and the organised forms of liberal agitation. The weekly tutorials will deal with a theme based upon a classic text or a debate which involved liberals and their opponents. Topics will include electoral reform, constitutionalism, the rule of law, free trade, the development of industrial capitalism, economic deregulation, the condition of the working class, nationalism, imperialism, war, feminism and slavery. Attention will also be given to the cultural impact of liberalism, the conservative and radical critiques of liberalism, and the reasons for the decline of classical liberalism in the late nineteenth century. The main focus will be on British, French and German liberalism but I will not hesitate to compare western European liberalism with developments in Russia, Italy, the United States and Australia when necessary.

### Course Structure

A course like this one could be structured chronologically or geographically. One could trace the ups and downs of liberal reform and ideology from the fall of Napoleon to the outbreak of the First World War. Alternatively, one could analyse the distinctive forms of British, French and German liberalism in turn. I have chosen to structure the course thematically by taking a major theme or issue each week for discussion. Both the weekly lectures and the tutorial will be based upon topics roughly divided into the following groups: definition and origin of liberalism (2 weeks); basic philosophical principles (4 weeks); political issues (9 weeks); economic and social issues (9 weeks); cultural issues (1 week); conclusion (1 week).

## Lecture List

The approach I have taken in the course is a thematic one. Each week we will examine a different topic which I have selected because of its importance to the development of liberal thought and political practice. The lectures will provide an overview of the topic and some political and economic background whilst in the tutorials we will examine in much more detail some of the key liberal theoretical texts as well as debates on policy questions.

The following list of lectures is provisional and may be altered during the year.

### TERM ONE

#### Definition and Origin of Liberalism

1. What is Liberalism?
2. The Intellectual Origins of 19th Century Liberalism

#### The Basic Principles of Liberalism

3. Individualism and Liberty
4. Utilitarianism versus Natural Rights
5. Property and Contract
6. The Free Market and Social Harmony

#### Political Aspects of Liberalism

7. Limited versus No Government
8. Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law
9. Democracy and Electoral Reform

### TERM TWO

#### Political Aspects of Liberalism-continued

1. Centralisation versus Federalism and Decentralisation
2. Censorship and Freedom of Speech
3. The National Question
4. War and Peace
5. Colonialism and Imperialism

6. Liberal Political Parties

Economic and Social Aspects of Liberalism

7. Classical Political Economy and Laissez-faire

8. Free Trade and Protection

9. Manufacturing and Government Regulation

TERM THREE

Economic and Social Aspects-continued

1. Population Growth and Malthusianism

2. Socialism and Revolution

3. Poverty and Progress: The Social Question

4. The Condition of Women and Feminism

5. Slavery and Serfdom

6. The Rise of the Middle Class and Liberal History

Cultural Aspects

7. Liberalism in the Novel

Conclusion

8. The Success and Failure of 19th Century Liberalism



*J. de Molinari*

LES  
SOIRÉES DE LA RUE SAINT-LAZARE

ENTRETIENS

LES LOIS ÉCONOMIQUES

ET  
DÉFENSE DE LA PROPRIÉTÉ

PAR  
M.-G. DE MOLINARI

Membre de la Société d'économie politique de Paris.

Il faut bien se garder d'attribuer aux  
lois physiques les maux qui sont le juste  
et inévitable punition de la violation de  
l'ordre même de ces lois, instituées pour  
opérer le bien. F. QUEMAY.

PARIS,

GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>ie</sup>, LIBRAIRES,

Éditeurs de la Collection des principaux Économistes, du Journal des  
Économistes, du Dictionnaire du Commerce et des Marchandises, etc.  
RUE RICHELIEU, 11.

1849

### Lecture and Tutorial Times

There will be a preliminary lecture during orientation week on Wednesday, 4 March, 2.15 p.m. which you must attend in order to arrange tutorial groups and to get the reading for the first tutorial. Throughout the year there will be two lectures and a tutorial each week beginning in the first week of term. Lectures will take place at the following time and location:

Wednesdays and Fridays, 2.15 p.m. Napier 205

All tutorials will be held in my office at times to be determined in orientation week. If you have any questions or problems please feel free to come and see me at any time. My office and phone number is:

Room 414, Napier Building Phone: 228 5604

### Lecture and Tutorial Preparation

Students will be expected to prepare for lectures by reading the introductory material listed in the handouts for each week. It is imperative that this reading be done ahead of time as the lectures will presuppose a certain amount of knowledge which can only be gained by doing the reading.

There will be additional reading for each week's tutorial. In many cases the tutorial topics will be chosen to highlight a conflict within liberalism (such as the debate between natural rights' supporters and utilitarianism) or between liberals and their many opponents (such as free trade versus protectionism). The treatment of these themes will be in some detail, thus the general reading required for the lectures will be insufficient for the purposes of tutorial discussion. Since many of the nineteenth century texts we will be using for tutorials are out of print some of the reading will be given to you in the form of photocopies. However, the collection of documents edited by Bramsted and Melhuish will be used almost every week so I strongly suggest that you purchase a copy. To avoid the problem of too many students trying to get hold of a small number of books I will list a number of alternative texts every week on the reading lists so that you should always be able to find something relevant to read.



JOHN BRIGHT



## COURSE TEXTS

### Textbooks

There are two essential textbooks which will be used throughout the course and which I strongly recommend that you purchase. They are:

John Gray, *Liberalism* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986). An excellent short treatment which combines history and theory in a useful manner.

*Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce*, ed. E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish (London: Longman, 1978). An essential collection of texts which will be used primarily in tutorial discussion.

Two other books which you might consider buying are Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), a broad survey of liberalism which is particularly strong on literature but rather weak on economic liberalism, and Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), a good interpretive history of nineteenth century Europe which will provide essential political and economic background to the course. It is also very good on the ideas which lay behind social change in 19th century Europe. However, since the Hamerow book is available only in hardback and at a horrendous price I have asked the library to put a copy in the reserve section so that you may consult it.

### Tutorial Texts

In addition to the Gray and Bramsted texts I would like you to purchase a selection of the following books for discussion in tutorials. How many you purchase will be determined by your financial position. Ideally, I would like you to own all of the following tutorial texts since we will be discussing them in some detail throughout the year. Unfortunately, this may prove to be too heavy a financial burden for some so I suggest that you purchase at least one book from each of the following sections, except for the section on politics. Here I would like you to buy one from each subsection.

### POLITICS

#### On Democracy

John Stuart Mill, *Three Essays: On Liberty, Representative Government, the Subjection of Women* (Oxford University Press, 1975).

Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy, Revolution and Society*, ed. J. Stone (University of Chicago Press, 1980).

#### On the State

Herbert Spencer, *The Man versus the State, with six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1982).

*A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation*, ed. Thomas Mackay (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1982).

#### ECONOMICS

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy. Books IV and V*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

Frédéric Bastiat, *Selected Essays in Political Economy*, ed. George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1975).

Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies*, ed. George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1975).

#### HISTORY

François Guizot, *Historical Essays and Lectures*, ed. Stanley Mellon (University of Chicago Press, 1974).

Lord Acton, *Selected Writings*, vol. 1, ed. W. McNeill (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1986).

#### NOVELS

Stendhal, *Scarlet and Black* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).

George Eliot, *Felix Holt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

Histoire  
de la civilisation  
en Europe

Guizot? "Enrichissez-vous"



## ASSESSMENT

During the year you will be expected to participate fully in tutorials. This involves doing the required reading, critically evaluating it and commenting upon it in class. You will be asked to write three tutorial papers (one per term) and two essays. There will also be a final exam at the end of the course.

### Tutorial Papers

Each term you will be required to give a 5-10 minute talk based upon your tutorial paper and then to submit a written version of the paper a week after the oral presentation. The paper should be 1,000 words in length (1,500 words for third year students) and you are encouraged to incorporate any revisions and corrections based upon the tutorial discussion. Each written tutorial paper will be worth 10 per cent for a total of 30 per cent of final assessment.

### Essays

There will be two essays of 3,000 words each (4,000 words for third year students) due in at the beginning of second term and third term respectively. There is a list of suggested essay topics in this guide but I encourage you to choose a title of your own.

There are two conditions in the selection of essay topics. Firstly, one essay must deal with an aspect of **British** liberalism and the other must deal with an aspect of **Continental** liberalism. Secondly, the essay must not duplicate the work you have done for a tutorial paper.

Final essay topics should be determined after consultation with me no later than the final week of first and second terms. By that time you should have prepared and submitted for my approval a topic and a preliminary reading list. It is important to consult with me before you start work on your essays. I can help you prepare a preliminary bibliography and make sure that your topic is of manageable proportions. Each essay will be worth 20 per cent for a total of 40 per cent of the final assessment. The essays must be submitted by the first day of second and third term or there will be an automatic penalty of 1 per cent per day after the deadline.

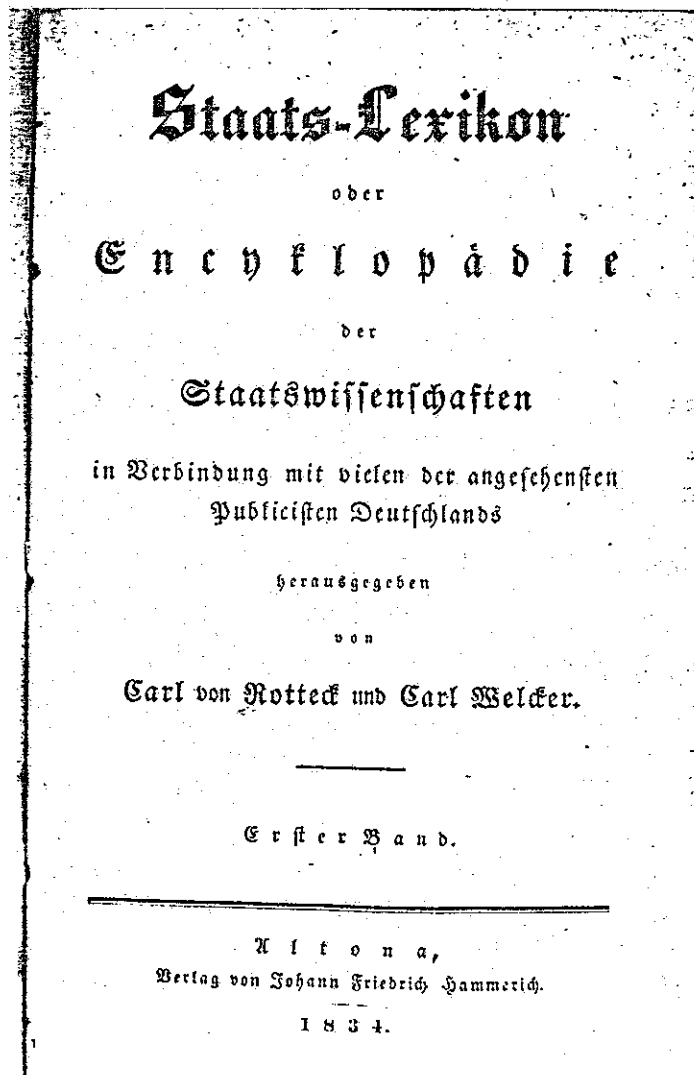
### Final Examination

A three hour examination will be held at the end of the year and will count for 30 per cent of the final assessment. The exam will be based closely upon the themes covered in lectures and tutorials. You will have to answer 3 questions, one of which will be a general question, one will be on some aspect

of British liberalism, and the third on some aspect of continental liberalism.

Summary of Assessment

		Per cent.	Total
Tutorial papers (1000 or 1500 words)	No.1	10	
	No.2	10	
	No.3	10	30
Essays (3,000 or 4,000 words)	No.1	20	
	No.2	20	40
Exam			30
			100





## SUGGESTED ESSAY TOPICS

### Preliminary Reading List

By the final week of first and second term you should have already given some thought to the essay you will write during the term break. To assist you in this I would like you to choose a topic and prepare a preliminary reading list for my approval. This reading list should be prepared using the tutorial reading guides, the general bibliography in this study guide, and the library subject catalogue. It should be about one page in length and should include:

1. a selection of general secondary works, including biographies where appropriate, to orient you in your research
2. a short list of monographs and journal articles which are specifically related to the question. These more detailed secondary sources will assist you in analyzing the documents or texts
3. a list of primary sources, such as documents and texts, upon which you intend to base your arguments. These primary sources need not be large in number but they must be specific.

Of course this reading list will grow as your research progresses but it is essential to have such a list in order to give your work a focus and direction at the very beginning.

### Essay Topics

The following essay topics are suggestions only. You may prefer to choose a topic from amongst the tutorial topics or you may like to make up your own. If you do make up your own topic I do insist on discussing it with you before you begin working on it. As stated above there are two conditions in the selection of essay topics. Firstly, one essay must deal with an aspect of British liberalism and the other must deal with an aspect of Continental liberalism. Secondly, the essay must not duplicate the work you have done for a tutorial paper.

I have divided the essay topics into three groups: broad themes, more specialised subjects, and book reviews. Quite often topics of a specialised nature are easier to answer than general topics. Specialised subjects are easily defined, the reading is usually limited and the essay can be handled within the confines of 3-4,000 words. Topics of a broader and more general nature are sometimes more interesting to attempt but harder to answer well. The most common mistake is to attempt more than you can handle in a short time. By all means try one of the broad theme topics but be aware of the dangers.

If you choose one of the book review questions you should keep in mind the prevailing state of historical knowledge at the time the book was published. How was the book received by other historians? Did it confirm or challenge the current orthodoxy? Did it introduce new information or perhaps a new theoretical interpretation of old evidence? If the book was written some time ago ask yourself how it has aged? What has been its influence on historians since it first appeared? If you fundamentally disagree with the interpretation of the author you could use the essay to expose the author's errors and to propose an alternative explanation. This kind of essay is also difficult to do well but I think it is important for you to learn how to review a book.

Before you begin reviewing the book you should consult the *Book Review Digest* which lists most book reviews in scholarly and other magazines. This will enable you to see how other scholars reacted to the book when it first appeared.

### Broad Essay Topics

Are there really "two liberal traditions", a sociological French tradition and an empirical British tradition, as Siedentop and Hayek suggest?

To what extent was liberalism a radical or a conservative force in European society in the 19th century?

Why did utilitarianism prevail over natural rights as the philosophical basis of liberalism in the 19th century?

Why was nationalism such a problem for German liberals? Did they reconcile individual freedom and the nation state?

How successful were liberals in "limiting" the power of the state?

Why were liberals often ambivalent towards the theory of democracy? Why did they fear democracy? What implications did this have for the success of liberal political parties?

How successfully did liberals respond to the challenge of socialism as a political movement and as an ideology?

What did liberals mean by the term "progress" and why did they think it was inevitable?

Why did so few liberals support the cause of women?

In the struggle against slavery and serfdom to what extent were liberals motivated by economic reasons and by moral reasons?

Was liberalism in the 19th century a middle class or bourgeois phenomenon?

Why was liberalism successful in Western and Northern Europe and weak in Eastern and Southern Europe?



Caricature par Daumier

### Trois portraits

J'ai fait connaissance avec M. de Tocqueville, l'auteur de *La Démocratie américaine* : c'est un homme chétif, maigre, petit, et encore jeune : il tient du vieillard et de l'enfant, c'est le plus naïf des ambitieux ; son regard est charmant, mais il manque de franchise, sa bouche est vieille et mal coupée, son teint est bilieux, sa physionomie expressive me captiverait si elle m'inquiétait moins, on voit qu'il parle dans plusieurs sens et que son opinion est une arme pour atteindre son but. Voilà le nouvel astre de notre horizon politique tel qu'il m'est apparu.

(Astolphe de Custine, 1841).

C'était un petit homme sans tournure, d'une figure agréable et régulière, mais malade, ombragée d'une masse de cheveux bruns et bouclés qui lui conservaient un air de jeunesse ; sa physionomie inanimée et triste prenait plus d'expression quand il causait. La pâleur livide de son teint annonça de bonne heure des maux organiques et le faisait soupçonner par les malveillants d'être bilieux, envieux et tout ce qui s'ensuit. Il n'en était rien ; il n'était qu'un peu défiant, souvent souffrant, souvent découragé de lui-même.

(Charles de Rémusat).

Sa figure était pâle ; ses yeux noirs vous laissaient voir sa grande âme énergique ; sa voix était fortement timbrée et ses paroles toujours empreintes de la plus haute raison. Sa chevelure d'un beau noir d'ébène pendait en boucles soyeuses et encadrait son cou ; un chapeau de feutre mou ordinairement coiffait sa tête ; ses mains étaient petites, maigres : les doigts allongés, couronnés de longs ongles.

(Témoignage tardif d'un bourgeois du Cotentin, M. Lécivain).



Harriet Martineau

1850



ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Chasseriau

Wilhelm von  
**HUMBOLDT**

Schriften



Why did the liberal order in Europe crumble so quickly when war broke out in 1914?

Did liberals develop a theory of class analysis before Marx?

Is there a conflict between the liberal belief in overseas trade and the expansion of empire? Is there such a thing as "free trade imperialism?"

How laissez faire was classical economic policy?

Were liberals justified in their optimism? Was the standard of living of the average person improving over the century?

Select a novelist with liberal sympathies and discuss how he or she deals with the problem of the existence of aristocratic values in a rapidly industrialising nation.

#### More Specialized Topics

Isaiah Berlin and Benjamin Constant distinguish between "positive and negative freedom" and "ancient and modern liberty" respectively. How are these two interpretations of freedom related? Assess their usefulness and validity.

How well did Herbert Spencer and Thomas Hodgskin reply to the criticism of natural rights made by Bentham and Mill?

Compare and contrast the attitudes of the anarchist Proudhon and the liberal Frédéric Bastiat to property.

In volume one of *Capital* Karl Marx describes Frédéric Bastiat as "the most superficial and therefore the most successful representative of apologetic vulgar economics" and as one of "the modern bagmen of free trade." How valid is Marx's opinion of Bastiat?

Herbert Spencer and Gustave de Molinari pushed their liberal hostility towards the state into a form of anarchism. Is this a perversion of liberalism?

How did Benjamin Constant envisage a constitution limiting the power of the state and thus protecting individual freedom?

How did German liberals react to Bismarck? What were the implications of their reactions to the development of liberalism in Germany?

Why did Tocqueville oppose the centralisation of the state? What role did the French Revolution play in this process?

How appropriate is Tocqueville's image of democratic America as a model for Europe?

Compare and contrast the interpretations of Marx and Tocqueville on the 1848 revolutions.



Frédéric Bastiat.

JOURNAL

DES

ÉCONOMISTES

REVUE MENSUELLE

D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE

ET DES

QUESTIONS AGRICOLES, MANUFACTURIÈRES  
ET COMMERCIALES.

TOME DIX-NEUVIÈME.

(1<sup>re</sup> année. — Décembre 1847 à Mars 1848.)



PARIS.

CHEZ GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>o</sup>, LIBRAIRES-ÉDITEURS,

RUE RICHELIEU, 14.

1848

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PAR VOIES D'AUTEURS ET PAR ORDRE DE MATIÈRES

AVEC DES NOTICES BIOGRAPHIQUES

ET UNE APPRÉCIATION RAISONNÉE DES PRINCIPAUX OUVRAGES

PAR MM.

FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT; — H. BAUDRILLART, professeur au Collège de France; — AD. BLAISE;  
BLANQUI, membre de l'Institut; — MAURICE BLUCH; — CHERBULIEZ, ancien professeur d'économie politique à Genève;  
MICHEL CHEVALIER, membre de l'Institut, conseiller d'État; — AMERHISE CLEMENT;  
AL. DE CLERCO, sous-directeur aux Affaires étrangères; — CH. COQUELIN, — COUNCELLE SENEHL; — A. COURTOIS;  
F. CUVIER, conseiller d'État; — DUNOYER, membre de l'Institut, ancien conseiller d'État;  
DUPUIT, ingénieur en chef des ponts et chaussées; — GUST. DU PUYNOUE;  
LÉON FAUCHER, membre de l'Institut, ancien ministre; — JOSEPH GARNIER, professeur à l'École nationale des ponts et chaussées;  
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LOUIS REYBAUD, membre de l'Institut; — NAT. RONDOT;  
HORACE SAY, membre de la chambre de commerce, ancien conseiller d'État; — LÉON SAY; — ÉM. THOMAS; — YÈS; — CH. VERGÉ;  
VIVIER, membre de l'Institut, ancien conseiller d'État et ancien ministre; — J. DE VROIL;  
DE WATTEVILLE, inspecteur général des établissements de bienfaisance;  
WOŁOWSKI, professeur de législation industrielle au Conservatoire des arts et métiers, etc.

PUBLIÉ SOUS LA DIRECTION

De MM. Ch. COQUELIN et GUILLAUMIN

TOME PREMIER

A — I

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE DE GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>o</sup>

Éditeurs de la Collection des principaux Économistes, du Journal des Économistes, etc.

RUE RICHELIEU, 14

1852

Bastiat's *Economic Harmonies* was published soon after the 1848 Revolutions. To what extent is the book a response to the rise of socialist movements during the revolution, especially Victor Considérant and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon?

Did John Stuart Mill become a "socialist" in his later years? What was different about his form of liberalism?

Was Bastiat successful in portraying the free market as harmonious? Compare Bastiat's view with either Proudhon or Marx.

Why was Richard Cobden so hostile to the British Empire? Why did he think it was a system of relief for the aristocracy?

Why did liberals oppose war? Discuss either Cobden and Morley in England or Say, Bastiat and Molinari in France.

As a pioneer of sociology Herbert Spencer developed the distinction between military and industrial society. Discuss this distinction in the light of 19th century military and industrial developments.

Discuss the particular strengths and weaknesses of organised liberal parties in either England, France or Germany?

To what extent was the Anti-Corn Law League a popular movement? To what extent was it a class-based movement?

Were liberal supporters of Malthus' population theories cold-hearted reactionaries or realists? How did Bastiat reconcile liberal harmony and population growth?

How unique was Mill's attitude to women in 19th century liberalism?

Discuss Tocqueville's attitude to slavery?

What role does the middle class play in the thought of Thierry? Guizot? Lecky? Discuss at least two of these writers in your answer.

Discuss how one of the following authors used politics in their writing: Thackeray, Eliot, Trollope, Stendhal, Hugo, Verne?

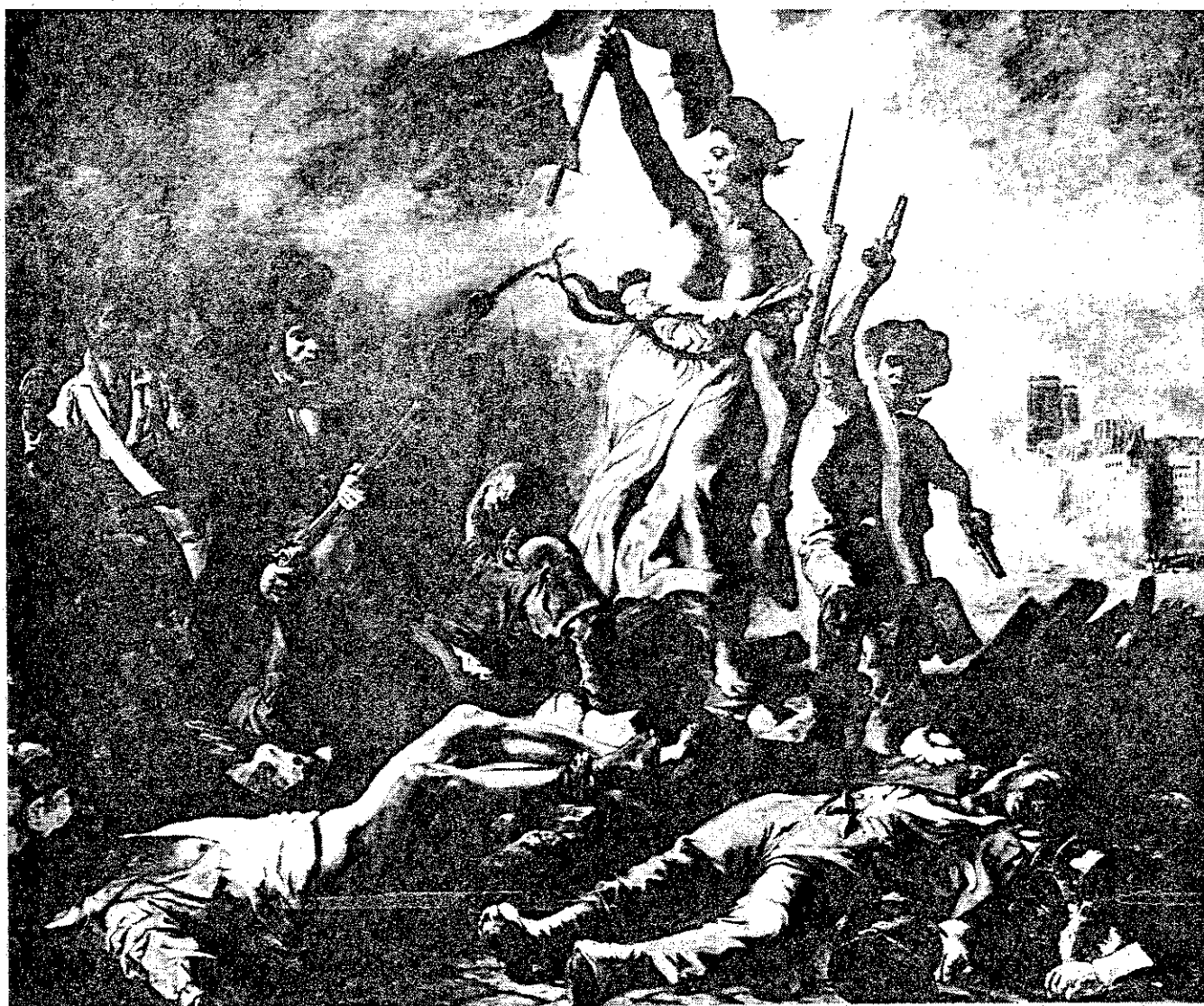
### Book Reviews

Discuss the merit and significance of one of the following:

### General

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15. E. Delacroix, *Le 28 juillet: la Liberté guidant le peuple*

P.S. Atiyah, *The Rise of Fall of Freedom of Contract* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1978).

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## Robert von Mohl: Ewiger Frieden.

Die Vernunftmäßigkeit des Friedens und die Schädlichkeit sowohl als die Unzuverlässigkeit des Krieges liegen so sehr vor Augen, daß es eitel Zeitverschwendung wäre, darüber zu reden und erst den Beweis zu führen, daß ewiger Friede das Ideal des Völkerebens sei. Die Frage kann nur sein, ob und wie dieser Zustand erreicht werden möge?

Offenbar sind nur zwei Möglichkeiten. Entweder eine unbedingte und allgemeine Herrschaft der Vernunft über sämtliche Menschen, so daß auch von Staat zu Staat keine ungerechte Forderung gemacht, jedenfalls kein Streit durch Gewaltmittel entschieden werden will. Oder aber die Einführung solcher äußerer Maßregeln, welche eine Kriegsführung den dazu etwa Geneigten tatsächlich unmöglich machen.

Der erste Zustand wäre der an sich wünschenswertere, weil ein rein sittlicher und in allen Fällen wirksamer. Leider ist er aber

weder bis jetzt erreicht, noch wird er, nach menschlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit, je erreicht werden. Allerdings hat die zunehmende Gesittigung eines Teiles der Völker die Kriege allmählich vermindert. Allein einerseits ist bis jetzt nur eine kleine Minderzahl der Menschen in diesen Bildungsstand eingetreten; andererseits geht selbst bei diesen Völkern und Regierungen die Herrschaft der Vernunft nicht bis zur Beseitigung jeden Unrechts, jeder selbstischen Forderung, jeder Leidenschaft, und Neigung zu Gewalttaten. Die Geschichte und die Gegenwart der europäischen Staaten beweist dieses. Nur eine Verminderung des Übels ist erfolgt. Und wenn denn auch gehofft werden darf, daß sich durch weitere, sowohl innerlich als äußerlich zunehmende Gesittigung allmählich noch mehr erreichen lasse: so wäre es doch unbeschreiblich töricht, selbst in unabsehbarer Zeit auf eine vollkommene Sittlichkeit aller Menschen zu rechnen. — Unter diesen Umständen mag es denn immerhin versucht werden, durch religiöse, sittliche und verständige Belehrungen die Überzeugung von den Vorteilen und der Pflicht des Friedens und von den Greueln und dem Schaden des Krieges immer weiter unter allem Volke zu verbreiten; allein es ist weder ein schneller noch ein bedeutender Erfolg zu erwarten.

Deshalb haben denn viele sich schon seit langer Zeit mehr dem anderen denkbaren Mittel zugewendet, d. h. Einrichtungen zu ersinnen gesucht, durch welche die Kriegsführung unnötig und unmöglich gemacht werden soll. Die Vorschläge gehen weit auseinander; doch lassen sie sich unter Kategorien bringen. Die einen suchen die Hilfe in einem die ganze Erde umfassenden Gesamtstaate, dessen Regierung die unter den einzelnen, also halbsovereänen Staaten entstehenden Streitigkeiten im Wege rechtlichen Verfahrens schlichtet, dem Urteil aber durch eine unübersehbare Gewalt Vollziehung verschaffen würde. Eine zweite Gattung von Vorschlägen geht auf die Errichtung eines obersten Gerichtshofes für alle Völker, welcher zur Vollstreckung seiner Sprüche über die Rechte aller Staaten nach Bedarf verfügen könnte. Dritte endlich beschränken sich bescheidener auf

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den Rat, es möge bei allen einzelnen Verträgen ein Schiedsgericht sich ergebende Streitigkeiten beilegen. — Hier ist jedenfalls nicht der Ort, diese verschiedenen Gedanken ausführlich zu besprechen; man mag es sich aber wohl überhaupt ersparen. Jeder Verständige sieht von selbst ein, daß der allgemeine Weltstaat ein bloßes Hirngespinnst ist. Bildung, Zusammenhaltung und Regierung eines solchen untermerikanischen Reiches wären gleich unmöglich; abgesehen davon, daß der Weg zu dieser Friedensanstalt nur durch jahrhundertelange vernichtende Kriege ginge, und daß an die Stelle des äußeren Kampfes um so viel häufigere Empörungen treten würden. Als weniger unmöglich an sich erscheint allerdings ein Völkertribunal oder die Verabredung von Schiedsrichtern für den einzelnen Fall. Wenigstens in kleinerem Umfange sind solche Einrichtungen denkbar; und so weit sie wirken, wären sie eine Wohltat. Aber einleuchtend ist doch auch hier, daß auf eine Beseitigung aller Kriege niemals gerechnet werden dürfte, und gerade da am wenigsten, wo es am nötigsten wäre. Ehrgeiz und Landetsucht würden sich nicht zurückhalten, Leidenschaft nicht beschwichtigen lassen; die Durchführung der Urteilsprüche könnte häufig nur mit Gewalt, also durch Krieg, geschehen. Das einzige Mittel aber, allen diesen Unfug und Ungehorsam zu vermeiden, nämlich eine allgemeine Entwaffnung aller Staaten, muß als unausführbar erklärt werden, weil dessen Folge allgemeine Gesetzlosigkeit im Innern und völlige Schutzlosigkeit gegen außen wäre. Es ist sinnlos, solcherlei zu verlangen; doppelt sinnlos, ein Eingehen darauf zu erwarten. — Also auch hier kann höchstens im einzelnen Vermeidung von Krieg erzielt werden, und zwar gerade in den ohnedem nicht sehr gefährlichen Fällen.

Diese allgemeinen Bemerkungen waren nötig, um den Wert der in den letzten Jahren so laut hervortretenden Bemühungen um einen ewigen Frieden zu würdigen. Unzweifelhaft ist durch diese weit verbreitete Bewegung und durch unmittelbare Aufmunterung von Seiten der Gesellschaften der Friedensgedanke in weite Kreise gebracht, zur Tagesfrage

geworden, und hat die Literatur desselben einen sehr bedeutenden Umfang genommen. Auch läßt sich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, daß die wohlgeleitete und mit Eifer betriebene Tätigkeit in dieser Richtung noch weiteren Fortgang nehmen wird. Fragt man aber nach den Ergebnissen, so ist von solchen freilich bis jetzt nichts zu bemerken.

Von einem Einflusse auf das Leben kann gar keine Rede sein. — Aber auch die Lehre des Völkerrechtes hat bis jetzt nichts gewonnen, und wird auch, falls nicht ein anderer Weg eingeschlagen wird, niemals einen Nutzen ziehen. Die Gesellschaften und Versammlungen suchen auf die beiden oben bezeichneten Weisen zu wirken. Die Bemühungen sind in sittlicher und religiöser Richtung herzlich gut gemeint, und es wird, abgesehen von geschmacklosen Übertreibungen, manches Gute und Wahre gesagt. Aber das in so vielfacher Form Vorgetragene ist weder neu noch kann es die Notwendigkeit der Selbstverteidigung beseitigen, solange die Menschen nicht völlig umgewandelt sind, wozu keine Aussicht ist. Die Zumutung, auch bloße Verteidigungskriege zu unterlassen, ist in der Tat gar zu abgeschmackt. Was aber die praktischen Mittel der Verhinderung betrifft, so scheinen zwar die von den ersten Kongressen als Ziel gesetzten Maßregeln, nämlich ein allgemeines Völkerrecht und ein Kongreß zur Abfassung eines völkerrechtlichen umfassenden Gesetzbuches, später wieder selbst aufgegeben worden zu sein, als un erreichbar und unwirksam; allein auch die beibehaltene allgemeine Entwaffnung, vertragsmäßige Feststellung von Schiedsrichtern für den einzelnen Fall, endlich sittliche Brandmarkung aller Anleihen zu Kriegszwecken, halten keine Prüfung aus. Von den beiden ersten Maßregeln ist dieses oben bereits gezeigt worden; die dritte aber ist teils nur ein Wort, über welches die Gewinnsucht spottet, teils würde seine Wirksamkeit lediglich Gewaltmaßregeln zur Verschaffung der Geldmittel erzeugen, somit Schlimmeres. Bis jetzt ist also die ganze, äußerlich so großartige Bewegung nur ein Beweis urteilslosen Wohlwollens; und es mag sich

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sehr fragen, ob die hierzu verwendeten Kräfte nicht besser zu erreichbaren nützlichen Zwecken verwendet würden. Jedenfalls aber werden die Versammlungen über Schwierigkeiten und Unmöglichkeiten nicht aufgeklärt werden, solange sie den Grundsatz festhalten, daß niemand gegen die von ihnen aufgestellten Sätze sprechen darf. Diese Straußen-Blugheit gibt zwar den Schein einer allgemeinen Übereinstimmung und erspart den Verdruß einer Widerlegung; allein sie bringt unerträgliche Wiederholung, Festrennung in Verlehrtem, und wenigstens den Verdacht geringen Vertrauens in die Sieghaftigkeit der eigenen Meinung. \*)

\*) Aus R. v. Mohl, Die Geschichte und Literatur der Staatswissenschaften, in Monographien dargestellt. Erlangen 1855. I. Bd. S. 440 ff.

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### Liberalismus und Pazifismus

Gegenüberliegende Seite:

Oben: Rudolf Virchow.

Mitte: Max Hirsch.

Unten: Friedrich Naumann.

## A NOTE ON WRITTEN WORK: WRITING ESSAYS AND TUTORIAL PAPERS

Since writing tutorial papers and essays comprise a large part of this course it might help you to know what it is that I am looking for when I assess your work. Above all I am looking for papers which are as thoughtful and as convincingly argued as the time and resources available to you allow. What I am not looking for are essays which merely repeat the ideas and arguments of others. I would like you to be able to use the ideas and arguments of others to form opinions of your own, and I would like you to be able to do this with some skill and sophistication.

I have prepared a detailed "Guide to Writing Essays and Tutorial Papers" which is available upon request. I recommend that you read this guide carefully before you hand in any of your papers. In summary the guide suggests that you keep in mind the following things when writing papers:

### Organization

Whatever you write should be carefully structured. There must be a logical argument which answers the question. There should be an introduction, the development of the argument, and a clear conclusion. All irrelevant material should be excluded.

### Communication

You must express your argument clearly and concisely. You must use language carefully. If in doubt about a word or expression USE A DICTIONARY!. Check spelling and punctuation. Sentences and paragraphs should flow logically. Clichés, vague expressions and verbosity should be avoided. If you are worried about your writing style you might consult William Strunk and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style* (New York: Macmillan, 1959); H.W. Fowler, *Modern English Usage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); and Sir Ernest Gowers, *The Complete Plain Words* (many editions).

### Scholarship

Your argument should be convincing. It should be based soundly on supporting evidence. Evaluate the evidence critically. Never take anything at face value - remember that the person you are reading may be deceived, mistaken or even lying. You must be able to distinguish between primary and secondary sources and be able to assess their importance to your argument. You must be able to cite evidence correctly (see the guide for details on footnoting and academic abbreviations). Above all, try to use the evidence to express an individual viewpoint.

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## THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS

A PLEA FOR RETRENCHMENT

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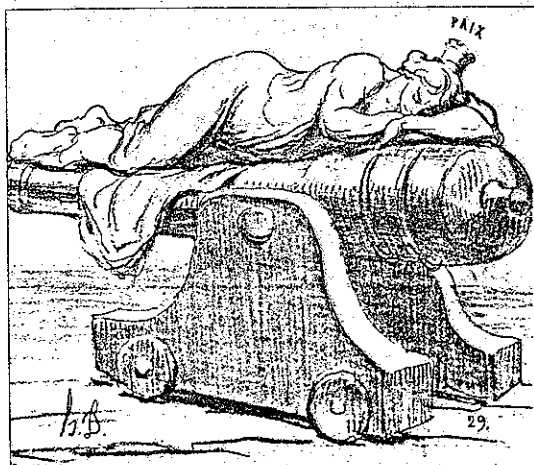
LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN  
PATERNOSTER SQUARE. 1905



TOP  
The Army Hierarchy. Honoré Daumier. 1854.  
Lithograph. (Private collection).

CENTER  
Disarmament—"After you." Honoré Daumier.  
1868. Lithograph. (Private collection).

BOTTOM  
Peace embraces her lover. Honoré Daumier. 1868.  
Lithograph. (Private collection).



## Presentation

If at all possible you should prepare all your tutorial papers and essays on a word processor. Word processors allow you to make changes quickly and easily and save enormous amounts of time and energy in the arduous task of rewriting and preparing a polished final draft.

If you do not have access to a word processor you should at least type your papers. If you must hand write your papers please do not hand in your first draft. Carefully reread and edit your work before writing a clean final copy. Leave large margins on both sides of the page and use double spacing. Those who submit illegible work may be asked to rewrite it before it is marked.

## Plagiarism

To plagiarize is to "take or use another's (writings etc.) as one's own" and it is the greatest intellectual crime you can commit. If you take a fact or an idea directly from someone else you must indicate that you have done so by footnoting the reference. However, do not over-footnote. There is a fine line between plagiarizing and the creative use of someone else's work which is the basis of much sound work in history. You must be aware of the difference. My guide gives details about this tricky problem.

Plagiarizing is both sterile and dishonest. It is sterile because the whole point of intellectual activity in the arts is to develop your own independent and critical powers of assessment and expression. The word for word appropriation of the work of others devalues this endeavour and may even stunt your own intellectual development.

The policy I will adopt in this course is that, if I find any evidence of plagiarizing in tutorial papers or essays, I will give the individual piece of work automatic zero and may (after consultation with the chairman of the department) fail the student outright for the entire course.



J'AI DÉFENDU QUARANTE ANS  
LE MÊME PRINCIPE, LIBERTÉ EN  
TOUT, EN RELIGION, EN PHILOSOPHIE,  
EN LITTÉRATURE, EN INDUSTRIE,  
EN POLITIQUE; ET PAR LIBERTÉ,  
J'ENTENDS LE TRIOMPHE DE L'INDIVIDUALITÉ,  
TANT SUR L'AUTORITÉ QUI VOUDRAIT  
GOUVERNER PAR LE DESPOTISME QUE  
SUR LES MASSES QUI RÉCLAMENT  
LE DROIT D'ASSERVIR LA MINORITÉ  
À LA MAJORITÉ.

BENJAMIN CONSTANT,  
*Mélanges de politique  
et de littérature*, 1829.

## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is designed to give you a very basic introduction to the immense literature on 19th century Europe in general and European liberalism in particular. More specialised bibliographies will be given out for each tutorial but it is important for you to keep in mind that for every book or article I list there are scores which I have not listed. The book you might need to answer a specific question or to pursue a personal interest may not be in this bibliography so you need to know how to go about finding it. The best place to start is always the subject catalogue in the library, followed by the bibliographies of the standard works in the field and the specialised subject bibliographies which are published from time to time.

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Vincent E. Starzinger, *Middlingness: Juste Milieu Political Theory in France and England, 1815-1848* (Charlottesville, Va.: 1965).

Louis Giraud, *Les libéraux français, 1814-1875* (Paris: Aubier, 1985).

Roger Soltau, *French Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931).

#### Germany

Andrew Lees, *Revolution and Reflection: Intellectual Change in Germany during the 1850s* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

*Liberalismus in der Gesellschaft des deutschen Vormärz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1983).

Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom* (Chicago University Press, 1957).

James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1978).

John Snell, *The Democratic Movement in Germany, 1798-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

#### Great Britain

Paul Adelman, *Victorian Radicalism: The Middle-Class Experience 1830-1914* (London: Longman, 1984).

Shirley R. Letwin, *The Pursuit of Certainty: David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Beatrice Webb* (Cambridge University Press, 1965).

Michael Freedman, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).

Stefan Collini, Donald Winch and John Burrow *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-century Intellectual History* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

W.H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition* 2 vols (London: Methuen, 1983).

William Thomas, *The Philosophic Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practice, 1817-1841* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

Ian Bradley, *The Optimists: Themes and Personalities in Victorian Liberalism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980).

#### ECONOMICS

##### History of Economic Thought

Henry W. Spiegel, *The Growth of Economic Thought* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1983).

Lionel Robbins, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy* (1965).

Warren J. Samuels, *The Classical Theory of Economic Policy* (New York: The World Publishing Co.)

Rudolf Walter, "Economic Liberalism," *Economy and Society*, 1984, vol. 13, no. 2, p.. 178-207.

D.P. O'Brien, *The Classical Economists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

##### French Economic History

*Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, ed. F. Braudel and E. Labrousse (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1976).

Michael Stephen Smith, *Tariff Reform in France 1860-1900: The Politics of Economic Interest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980).

Rondo Cameron, *France and the Economic Development of Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: 1961).

*Essays in French Economic History*, ed. Rondo Cameron (Homewood, Illinois, 1970).

#### European Economic History

Fontana *Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla, 6 vols. (1973).

*Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (7 vols.)

A.S. Milward and S.B. Saul, *The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe, 1850-1914* (1977).

W. O. Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent: Germany, France, Russia 1800-1914* (1967).

Tom Kemp, *Industrialization in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1969).

David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

*Histoire économique et sociale du monde* (Paris, 1977-8), 6 vols.

*L'Industrialisation en Europe au XIXe siècle*, ed. Pierre Léon et al. (Paris, 1972).

Sidney Pollard, *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970* (Oxford University Press, 1981).

J.H. Clapham, *The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914* (Cambridge, 1928).

*Essays in European Economic History, 1789-1914*, ed. F. Crouzet et al. (1969).

#### German Economic History

H. Aubin and W. Zorn, *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1971).

Martin Kitchen, *The Political Economy of Germany, 1815-1914* (1978).

W.O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (London: Frank Cass, 1984).

#### British Economic History

Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Great Britain 1700-1914* (1969).

Arthur J. Taylor, *Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-century Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

#### SOCIETY

Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (London: Virago, 1980).

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

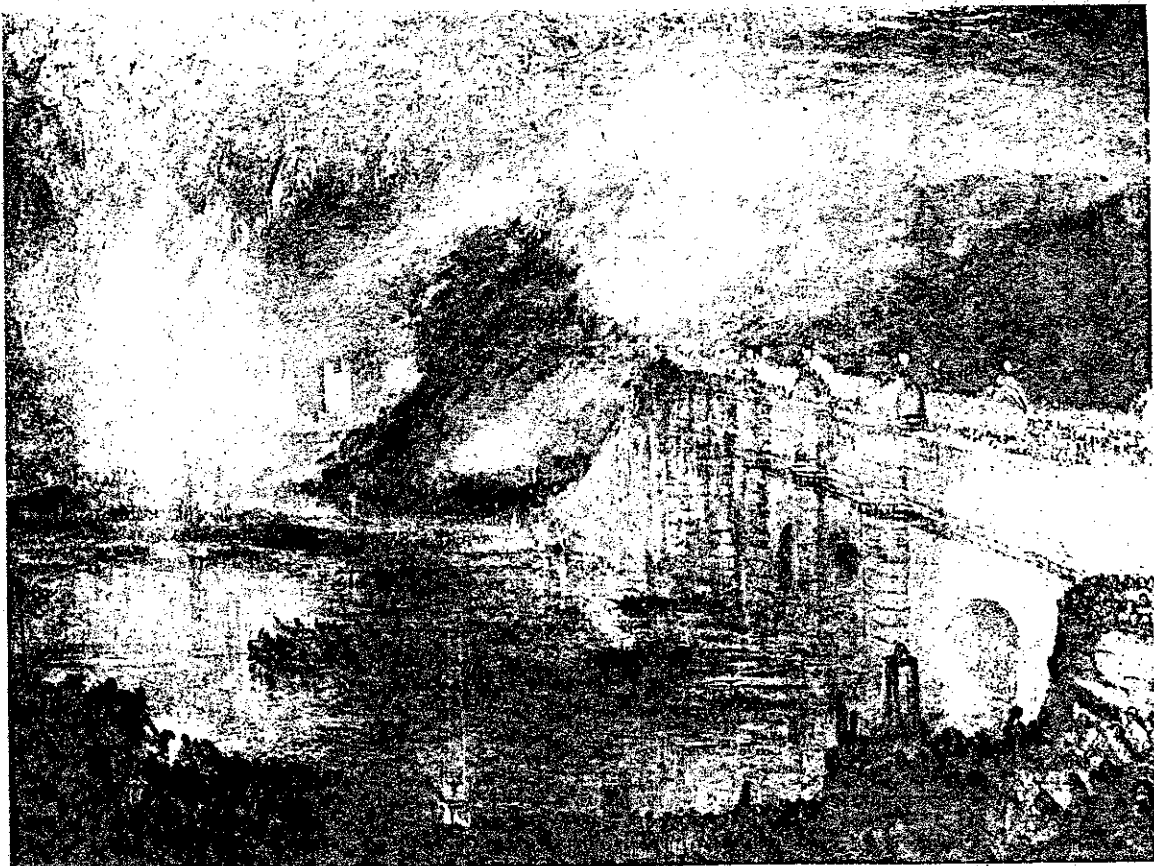
#### LITERATURE

*French Literature and Its Background*, ed. John Cruickshank (Oxford University Press, 1969) vol. 4: "The Early Nineteenth Century".

*The Penguin Companion to Literature. Volume Two: European*, ed. Anthony Thorlby (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).

*The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975).

*Victorian Literature. Selected Essays*, ed. Robert O. Preyer (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1967).



512 The Burning of the House of Lords and Commons 1835 (entry on p.142)

Captain Nemo posed  
against the setting sun  
under his black flag  
bearing the letter 'N'  
(*20,000 Leagues under  
the Sea*).



The outlaw community which furrows the waves aboard *Nautilus* under Nemo's command obeys the same principles, while Nemo is one of the central figures in Verne's world. He defies society in a manner which could not have been imagined by an author without some affinity, even if only secret or semi-conscious, with the ideas of libertarian individualism. His guest, Professor Arronax, says of him:

Not only had he outlawed himself from human society, but he had made himself independent, he was free in the strictest meaning of the word, beyond reach! . . . No one in the whole of mankind was in a position to ask him to account for his actions.

Though a rebel, Nemo is not a misanthrope. He looks on himself as the defender of all the victims of society:

I am the law, I am justice! It is I who am oppressed, and there is the oppressor.\* By its action all that I have loved, respected and cherished, fatherland, wife, children, my father, my mother, all perished before my eyes. Everything I hate is there. Do not speak of it.

Certainly, in the end, Nemo retracts his libertarian principles. He dies in the arms of Cyrus Smith and his companions with the words, 'I am dying because I thought that man can live alone', and whispering, 'God and my country'. But there is nothing to prevent us interpreting this final scene as a concession by Verne to his public (or to his publisher?), and it is so conventional, anyway, that it can have no real significance.

*20,000 Leagues under the Sea* is the book in which Verne gives most evidence of secret libertarian sympathies – at any rate until the posthumous publication of *The Survivors of the 'Jonathan'*.

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

3849: LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

TERM ONE TUTORIAL GUIDE



BENJAMIN CONSTANT, DEPUTY

From a line drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.



*J. de Molinari*

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### LECTURE AND TUTORIAL PROGRAMME

To begin our study of nineteenth century European liberalism we will spend some time discussing basic principles before turning to the specific issues in which liberal reformers were interested. This approach is important because without an appreciation of the foundation of 19th century liberalism (individualism, utilitarianism, private property and the free market) the debates about democracy, free trade, the factory acts, war and feminism (issues which we will deal with later in the course) make little sense.

The proposed lecture and tutorial programme for the term is as follows:

<u>WEEK</u>	<u>LECTURE TOPIC</u>	<u>TUTORIAL TOPIC</u>
I (16, 18 March)	What is Liberalism?	Introduction
II (23, 25 March)	Intellectual Origins	What is Liberalism?
III (30 March) (no lecture 1 April)	Individualism	Intellectual Origins
IV (6, 8 April)	Utilitarianism	Individualism
V (13, 15 April)	Property	Utilitarianism
VI (20, 22 April)	Free Market	Property
VII (27, 29 April)	Limited Government	Free Market
VIII (4, 6 May)	Rule of Law	Limited Government
IX (11, 13 May)	Democracy	Rule of Law

Public holidays on Friday 1 April, Monday 4 April and Monday 25 April mean that there will be some changes to this term's programme. Tutorials held on these days will be transferred to another day by arrangement. There will be no lecture on Friday 1 April.

### Reading Requirements for Tutorials

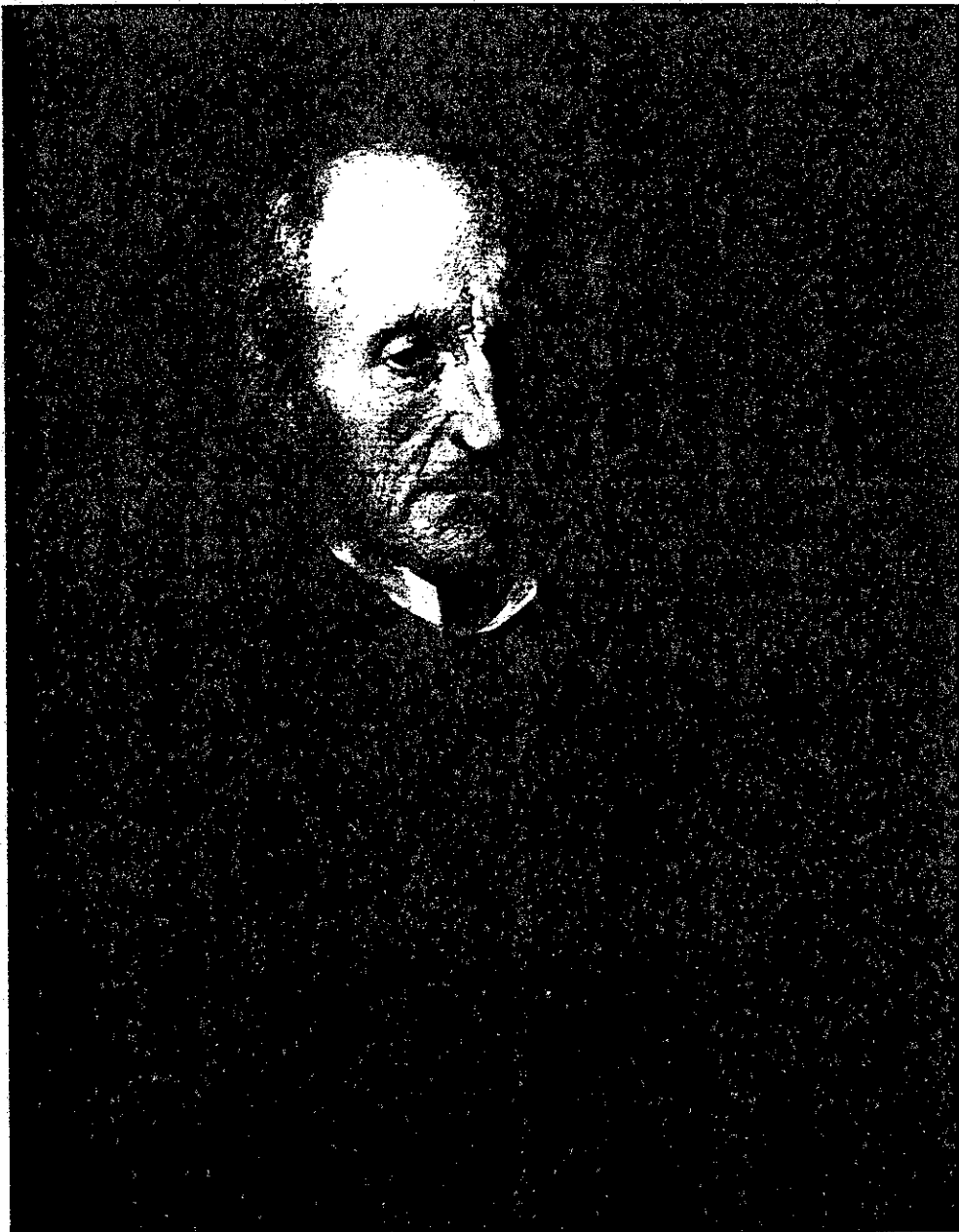
The minimum reading you should do for each tutorial is listed in the section entitled "Required Reading." The "Required Reading" consists of background material and primary sources, often taken from the collection of documents in *Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish. Those who are doing the tutorial paper are expected, in addition to the minimum reading,



### LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

to examine their chosen author or topic in more detail. This involves looking at the relevant secondary works listed under "Secondary Works."

All the required reading will be in the Reserve Collection in the Barr Smith Library. Many other texts and secondary works will also be found in the Reserve collection.



III JOHN STUART MILL

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION - WHAT IS LIBERALISM?

For the next two weeks we will be doing some essential background reading before we begin studying 19th century liberalism in earnest. This week we will be attempting to define liberalism both as a political philosophy and as an historical movement. Keep in mind the following questions as you do the reading:

1. What do you understand by the term liberalism?
2. Is there a set of basic ideas which defines a liberal in spite of differences of opinion which liberals might have with each other?
3. To what extent was 19th century liberalism radical, reformist, conservative? or even "heretical" as Salvadori argues?
4. What kind of people were liberals in the 19th century? did they all come from a particular class (e.g. the middle or bourgeois class) or was there widespread support for liberal ideas from all or many classes of people?
5. Are the liberal traditions which developed in England, France and America quite different kinds of liberalism or do they have more in common than differences?

You may not be able to answer these questions until you have done a lot more reading in the course. Nevertheless I would like you to begin thinking about them from the beginning of the course.

#### Required Reading

Begin reading the introductory section of Bramsted and Melhuish.

*Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce*, ed. E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish (London: Longman, 1978), "General Introduction: Major Strands of Liberalism," pp. 1-102.

#### Recommended Reading

Massimo Salvadori, "Liberalism: A Definition," in *The Liberal Heresy: Origins and Historical Development* (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 16-35.

Irene Collings, "Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Europe," in *European Political History, 1815-1870. Aspects of Liberalism* (New York: Harper, 1967), pp. 103-27.

Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

David Harris, "European Liberalism in the Nineteenth-Century," *American Historical Review*, 1955, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 501-26.

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

E. de Bertier de Sauvigny, "Liberalism, Nationalism and Socialism: The Birth of Three Words," *Review of Politics*, 1970, vol. 32, pp. 161-65.

Guido de Ruggiero, "Liberalism," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (1933), vol. 9, pp. 435-42.

Maurice Cranston, "Liberalism," *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards (New York, 1972), vol. 4, pp. 458-61.

Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

Richard Ashcraft, "Marx and Weber on Liberalism as Bourgeois Ideology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1972, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 130-68.

Wilson H. Coates and Hayden V. White, *The Ordeal of Liberal Humanism: An Intellectual History of Western Europe. Volume 2: Since the French Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

Rudolf Walter, "Economic Liberalism," *Economy and Society*, 1984, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 178-207.

John Dunn, *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), "Liberalism," pp. 28-54.

Friedrich Hayek, "Liberalismus. (I) Politischer Liberalismus," in *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften* (Stuttgart, 1959), vol. 6, pp. 591-96.

Ludwig von Mises, "Liberalismus. (II) Wirtschaftlicher Liberalismus," in *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften* (Stuttgart, 1959), vol. 6, pp. 596-603.

*Liberalismus*, ed. Lothar Gall (Königstein: Verlagsgruppe Athenäum, 1980).

D.J. Manning, *Liberalism* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1982).

Ludwig von Mises, *Liberalism: A Socio-Economic Exposition*, tr. Ralph Raico (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1979).

Johann Baptist Möller, *Liberalismus und Demokratie: Studien zum Verhältnis von Politik und Wirtschaft im Liberalismus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978).

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism* trans. R.S. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), "What Liberalism is," pp. 347-69.

J. Salwyn Schapiro, *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism: Social Forces in England and France, 1815-1870* (New York: Octagon Books, 1975).

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 2: WHAT IS LIBERALISM? - CONTINUED

This week we will discuss the various ways in which historians have defined the nature of liberalism. Arblaster believes liberalism is a temperament or cultural attitude; Ruggiero and Salvadori believe it is a method of solving problems, in particular the problem of government; many Marxists believe it is the ideology of the rising bourgeoisie; Dunn and Berlin believe liberalism can best be explained negatively, as opposition to excessive state power; Gray believes liberalism is a coherent body of principles based upon the idea of individual freedom.

We will concentrate on two important and influential interpretations of the liberal tradition - Gray and Berlin. Gray, like many 19th century liberals, believes that liberalism is a coherent philosophy based upon the principles of the moral primacy of the individual in relation to the state or society, the moral equality of individuals, the universal nature of liberal principles, and the idea of progress.

Berlin discusses the important distinction between "positive" and "negative" liberty which concerned many 19th century liberals. In many respects one could argue that during the course of the 19th century the nature of liberalism changed from a defense of "negative" liberty (i.e. hostility to all state activity typified by the radical liberal Herbert Spencer) to a defense of "positive" liberty which tolerated much greater state intervention especially in the area of welfare (advocated by the so-called New Liberalism in the late 19th century). It is therefore very important to understand this fundamental distinction between the two different kinds of liberty.

#### Tutorial Questions

1. Discuss the following attempts to explain the nature of liberalism : as temperament, a method of government, class ideology, negative opposition to state power, or a theory of individual freedom. Are they an adequate explanation of what liberalism is in your view?
2. Discuss the distinction between positive and negative freedom.
3. Is it true to say that the difference between 19th and 20th century liberals is that the former espoused a theory of "negative" liberty whilst the latter espouse a "positive" theory?

#### Required Reading

John Gray. *Liberalism* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1984), Introduction and Part Two, pp. ix-xi, 45-89.

Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 118-72.

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

Recommended Reading

Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

Eric and Hobsbawm, "Marx and Weber on Liberalism as Bourgeois Ideology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1972, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 130-68.

John Dunn, *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), "Liberalism," pp. 28-54.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism* trans. R.G. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), "What Liberalism is," pp. 347-69.

Michael Franden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).



BENJAMIN CONSTANT

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MADAME DE STAËL

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## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 3: THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF 19TH CENTURY LIBERALISM

The liberalism which developed in the 19th century was the product of many different currents of thought which emerged over a period of at least two hundred years. We will attempt (in only one week!) to get a feeling for the diverse origins of 19th century liberalism, which range from the Levellers of the English Civil War, to the Scottish Enlightenment, and the American and French Revolutions.

Because of the diverse origins of liberal ideas it is not surprising that conflicting currents often emerged within 19th century liberalism. For example, one conflict which plagued 19th century liberals concerned the importance of democracy. Those who drew upon the radical liberal traditions of the American and French revolutions of the 18th century advocated democratic rights (especially for the working class and for women) whilst those who followed the non-revolutionary English tradition were often hostile to the idea of giving the vote to "the mob".

Siedentop and Hayek have developed the view that there are "two traditions" (a French or Continental and a British tradition) within liberalism in order to account for the quite marked differences within 19th century liberalism. Their view is interesting but fails to take into account other important differences which appear within liberalism, in particular the democratic Anglo-American tradition, nationalist German liberalism as well as British "working class" radical liberalism in the first half of the century.

#### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. Discuss Siedentop's and Hayek's theory of the two traditions. Is it an adequate explanation of the different currents within 19th century liberalism? Does it in fact explain anything?
2. Is it legitimate to use the term "liberal" (first used in the 19th century) to describe 18th century political philosophers such as Smith, Turgot, Montesquieu, or Jefferson?
3. Why is Britain so important in the development of liberal theory?
4. What does 19th century liberalism owe to the political thought of the Enlightenment?

AN  
INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
Nature and Causes  
OF THE  
WEALTH OF NATIONS.

By ADAM SMITH, LL. D. and F. R. S.  
Formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of GLASGOW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

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A. R. J. TURGOT

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**Kant**



## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Required Reading

Both Gray and Bramsted and Melhuish give rather compact accounts of the ideological origins of 19th century liberalism. Gray goes further back in time (to the 17th century) than Bramsted and Melhuish, who concentrate on the 18th century. Use either one to get an overview of the liberal tradition before the 19th century.

John Gray, *Liberalism* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), "Part One: Historical," pp. 1-25.

"Section A. The Roots of Liberalism - The Eighteenth Century," in *Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce*, ed. E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish (London: Longman, 1978), pp. 105-172. Those who are interested may like to read some of the extracts of pre-19th century liberals in this collection pp. 173-240.

### Recommended Reading

#### General

Larry Siedentop, "The Two Liberal Traditions," in *The Idea of Freedom: Essays in Honour of Isaiah Berlin*, ed. Alan Ryan (Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 153-74.

Friedrich Hayek, "Liberalism," in *New Studies* (Chicago, 1978), pp. 119-51.

Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), Part II: "The Evolution of Liberalism," chapters 5-11.

Gottfried Dietze, *Liberalism Proper and Proper Liberalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) on Montesquieu, Smith, Kant, and Jefferson.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism* trans. R.G. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), "Introduction: The Eighteenth Century," pp. 1-90.

Wilson H. Coates and Hayden V. White, *The Ordeal of Liberal Humanism: An Intellectual History of Western Europe. Volume 1* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

#### France

Kingsley B. Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Political Ideas from Bayle to Condorcet* ed. J.P. Mayer (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963).

Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (University of Chicago Press, 1975).

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).



#### LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. Volume II: The Science of Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977).

##### Germany

Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1972).

Howard Williams, *Kant's Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).

R. Aris, *History of Political Thought in Germany from 1790-1815* (London: Frank Cass, 1965).

George Armstrong Kelly, *Idealism, Politics and History: Sources of Hegelian Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1978).

##### Britain

C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

H. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1979).

Alfred Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (1979).

Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).

##### Scotland

Donald Winch, *Adam Smith's Politics: An Essay in Historiographic Revision* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

##### America

Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 1967).

Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (Oxford University Press, 1977).

Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York University Press, 1984).

Henry Steele Commager, *The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1978).

Morton White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1981).

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 4: INDIVIDUALISM AND LIBERTY

For the next couple of weeks we will be examining two issues of great philosophical importance to liberalism, viz. individualism and the debate between utilitarians and supporters of natural rights.

The importance of the individual, as opposed to collectivities such as class or nation, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of western liberalism and is one of the foundation stones of 19th century liberalism. Most liberal political ideas (e.g. the rule of law or free trade) were an extension of the philosophical idea of the free and morally autonomous individual. This week we will examine the history of the idea of individualism and the theories of its greatest advocates - Wilhelm von Humboldt, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. Lukes provides the best short treatment of individualism with short chapters on French, German, American and English individualism and a discussion of the basic philosophical components of individualism. The first individualist we will look at, Wilhelm von Humboldt, actually wrote his very individualistic essay on *The Limits of State Action* in 1791-2 but it wasn't published until 1852, just in time to influence John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* which was written in 1859.

Herbert Spencer is probably the most radical and consistent liberal individualist of the 19th century. His individualism is based upon a curious combination of natural rights and evolutionism, the latter becoming stronger as he got older. His first book *Social Statics* (1851) and the *Principles of Ethics* (1892) are important statements of the of the individualist position.

However, not all liberals were as extreme in their individualism as Humboldt and Mill. There were reservations about the potentially divisive and anti-social implications of extreme individualism expressed by Alexis de Tocqueville. Although Tocqueville was himself a committed liberal he was worried that the combination of radical social individualism and democracy in America would pose problems of social disintegration.

A similar view leads Hayek to the conclusion that there is a "true" and a "false" conception of liberal individualism. Hayek continues his analysis of the two liberal traditions and applies it to the question of individualism. Hayek warns against the dangers of the excessively rationalistic "false" individualism of the French and some English radicals like Mill and Spencer. He prefers the pragmatic anti-rationalistic "true" individualism of the English. You should ask yourself whether you think Hayek's distinction between true and false individualism is valid.

#### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough

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## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. How was the concept "Individualism" transformed from a term of abuse into one with positive connotations?
2. What is the relationship between individualism and liberty in Mill's *On Liberty*? in Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*? in Humboldt's *Limits*? Examine one of these thinkers in your answer.
3. How successful is Spencer in reconciling "egoism" and "altruism" in *The Principles of Ethics*?
4. Why did Tocqueville regard individualism as a threat to liberty and how did he believe the Americans had solved the problem?
5. What is unique about American individualism and how does it differ from continental interpretations?
6. Discuss Hayek's distinction between "true" and "false" individualism, with particular reference to his criticism of Mill and Humboldt.

### Required Reading

Steven Lukes, *Key Concepts in the Social Sciences: Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973). Part One: "The Semantic History of 'Individualism'," pp. 3-42; Part Two: "The Basic Ideas of Individualism," chapters 7-15, pp. 43-106. 301/L 954A

Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Of the Individual Man and the Highest Ends of His Existence," in *The Limits to State Action*, ed. J. W. Burrow (Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 16-21. An extract from this can be found in Melhuish and Bramsted, *Western Liberalism*, "Aesthetic Individualism," pp. 271-78 and 340-52.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984). Read Chapter One "Introductory" pp. 59-74 and Chapter Three "Of Individuality, as One of the Elements of Well-Being" pp. 119-140. A good discussion of Mill's essay on individual liberty can be found in Gertrude Himmelfarb's introduction which I suggest you read this before you begin reading the text itself. 323.4 / M64

### Recommended Reading

#### General

Friedrich von Hayek, "Individualism: True and False," in *Individualism and Economic Order* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1972), pp. 1-32. 330.15 / H41 R

Anthony Black, "Society and the Individual from the Middle Ages to Rousseau: Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory," *History of Political Thought*, 1980, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 145-66.

Richard Koebner, "Zur Begriffsbildung der Kulturgeschichte: II: Zur Geschichte des Begriffs 'Individualismus,'" Jacob Burckhardt, Wilhelm von Humboldt und die französische Soziologie," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1934,



Caricature par Daumier

### Trois portraits

J'ai fait connaissance avec M. de Tocqueville, l'auteur de La Démocratie américaine : c'est un homme chétif, maigre, petit, et encore jeune : il tient du vieillard et de l'enfant, c'est le plus naïf des ambitieux ; son regard est charmant, mais il manque de franchise, sa bouche est vieille et mal coupée, son teint est bilieux, sa physionomie expressive me captiverait si elle m'inquiétait moins, on voit qu'il parle dans plusieurs sens et que son opinion est une arme pour atteindre son but. Voilà le nouvel astre de notre horizon politique tel qu'il m'est apparu.

(Astolphe de Custine, 1841).

C'était un petit homme sans tourture, d'une figure agréable et régulière, mais malade, ombragée d'une masse de cheveux bruns et bouclés qui lui conservaient un air de jeunesse ; sa physionomie inanimée et triste prenait plus d'expression quand il causait. La pâleur livide de son teint annonça de bonne heure des maux organiques et le faisait soupçonner par les malveillants d'être bilieux, envieux et tout ce qui s'ensuit. Il n'en était rien ; il n'était qu'un peu défiant, souvent souffrant, souvent découragé de lui-même.

(Charles de Rémusat).

Sa figure était pâle ; ses yeux noirs vous laissaient voir sa grande âme énergique ; sa voix était fortement timbrée et ses paroles toujours empreintes de la plus haute raison. Sa chevelure d'un beau noir d'ébène pendait en boucles soyeuses et encadrait son cou ; un chapeau de feutre mou ordinairement coiffait sa tête ; ses mains étaient petites, maigres : les doigts allongés, couronnés de longs ongles.

(Témoignage tardif d'un bourgeois du Cotentin, M. Lécivain).



ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Chassériau

## Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT

### Schriften



Harriet Martineau

1850



LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914  
vol. 149, pp. 253-93.

A.D. Lindsay, "Individualism," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: 1930-33), vol. 7, pp. 674-80.

Steven Lukes, "Types of Individualism," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 2, pp. 574-604.

Steven Lukes, "The Meaning of Individualism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1971, vol. 32.

C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962).

#### American Individualism

Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964). Section Two: "Individualism and the Free Society - The American Quest for Utopia," pp. 184-347.

Eric Foner, "Radical Individualism in America: Revolution to Civil War," *Literature of Liberty*.

Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, 1979).

Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism, Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973).

#### British Individualism

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, in *Three Essays: On Liberty, Representative Government, the Subjection of Women* (Oxford University Press, 1975).

Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, 2 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1892), Part 1: "The Data of Ethics," chapters 11-14, "Egoism versus altruism," "Altruism versus Egoism," "Trial and Compromise," and "Conciliation" pp. 187-258.

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978). Part 2: "Individualism and Evolution - Spencerian Social and Political Theory," pp. 135-256.

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *On Liberty and Liberalism: The Case of John Stuart Mill* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

J.C. Rees, *Mill and His Early Critics* (Leicester, 1936).

P.S. Atiyah, *The Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 1983). Chapter 10 "The Role of the Individual, 1770-1870," pp. 256-91.

Alfred F. Chalk, "Natural Law and the Rise of Economic Individualism in England," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1951, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 332-47.

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Gregory Claeys, "'Individualism', 'Socialism' and 'Social Sciences': Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1986, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 81-93.

A.V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1920). Lecture VI: "The Period of Benthamism or Individualism," pp. 126-210.

Auberon Herbert, *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State and Other Essays*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978)..

Alan Macfarlane, "The Origins of English Individualism: Some Surprises," *Theory and Society*, 1978, no. 6, pp. 255-77.

Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition* (Cambridge University Press, 1978).

*Revolution or Evolution: British Government in the Nineteenth Century* ed. Valerie Cromwell (London: Longman, 1977). Part Two, section one: "The Role of Benthamite Ideas in the Growth of Nineteenth-century Government," pp. 9-71.

Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) ed. George Bull and Sir Keith Joseph. Chapter one: "Self-Help: National and Individual," pp. 19-38.

Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics; or, the condition essential to human happiness specified, and the first of them developed* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1868).

D.A. Hamer, "The Emergence of an Individualistic Social Theory," *John Morley. A Liberal Intellectual in Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 33-52.

#### French Individualism

Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy, Revolution and Society* ed. John Stone and Stephen Mennell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), "Introduction" pp. 1-46 and "Individualism in Democratic Countries," pp. 293-300.

Frédéric Bastiat, "Individualisme et Fraternité," in *Oeuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat* vol. 7 "Essais - Ebauches - Correspondance," (Paris: Guillaumin, 1864), pp. 328-43.

G. Bouctot, "Individualisme," in *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Economie Politique*, (Paris: Guillaumin, 1892) ed. Léon Say et Joseph Chailley, vol. 2, pp. 64-66.

Jean-Claude Lambert, *La notion d'individualisme chez Tocqueville* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970).

Albert Schatz, *L'Individualisme économique et social. Ses origines. Son évolution. Ses formes contemporaines* (Paris: Armand Collin, 1907).

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Koenraad W. Swart, "'Individualism' in the Mid-XIXth Century, 1826-1860," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1962, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 77-91.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique* ed. François Furet (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1981), 2 vols. "Influence de la démocratie sur les sentiments des américains," vol. 2, part 2, chapters 1-20, pp. 119-202.

#### German Individualism

H. Dietzel, "Individualismus," in *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* ed. Conrad (Jena, 1923, 4th edition) vol. 5, pp. 408-24.

*Humanist Without Portfolio: An Anthology of the Writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt* trans. Marianne Cowan (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963).

Paul R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A Biography* 2 vols (Columbia: Ohio State University Press, 1978).

Paul R. Sweet, "Young Wilhelm von Humboldt's Writings 1789-93 Reconsidered," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1973, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 469-82.

Siegfried A. Kaehler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Lebensgestaltung um 1800* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1927).

Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits to State Action*, ed. J. W. Burrow (Cambridge University Press, 1969). In particular, Burrow's introduction.

Richard Koebner, "Zur Begriffsbildung der Kulturgeschichte: II: Zur Geschichte des Begriffs 'Individualismus.' Jacob Burckhardt, Wilhelm von Humboldt und die französische Soziologie," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1934, vol. 149, pp. 253-93.

Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual against Authority*, ed. James J. Martin (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963).

Georg Simmel, "Das Individuum und die Freiheit," in *Das Individuum und die Freiheit: Essays* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbuch, 1984).



## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 5: UTILITARIANISM VERSUS NATURAL RIGHTS

The issue we will discuss this week is one that split the liberal movement in the 19th century right down the middle. This was over the very foundation of individual liberty. Should individuals be free because it is useful in some way to society that they be free? Or should individuals be free because they have a right (based upon their nature as human beings) to be free? The answers liberals gave to this problem of the foundation of individual liberty were fundamentally of two kinds.

One group of liberals, building upon the liberal natural rights tradition of the 18th century, argued that, by using reason, one could discover the basic principles which made social life possible. From these principles one had to conclude that individuals had a claim by right to such things as property and individual liberty. This version of liberalism was quite popular in the early part of the century, especially on the Continent and in religious circles. Two quite radical representatives of this school are Thomas Hodgskin and Herbert Spencer. As you do the reading ask yourself why utilitarianism became the dominant form of liberalism in the 19th century? Why was the Spencerian version of liberalism, based upon natural law, much less popular as the century progressed? Spencer first developed his ideas in *Social Statics* (1851) and expanded them considerably in *The Principles of Ethics* (1892). If you are interested in Spencer's thought I suggest you read some chapters from the latter work as they include discussion of Bentham and Mill. How well does Spencer answer their criticisms?

The other group, known as utilitarians, based their liberalism on the principle of "utility", also known as the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". The best known representatives of this school are Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill. Utilitarianism was partly a reaction against the natural law tradition as embodied in the two most famous declarations of rights which appeared in the American and French Revolutions. Bramsted and Melhuish have a short discussion of the natural law tradition as well as reprints of the declarations. They also provide a convenient selection of extracts by the major utilitarians. The foundation of the utilitarian philosophy was laid by Bentham in *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* first published in 1789. Unfortunately the extract from this work in Bramsted and Melhuish is too short to be very useful. It is better to read the complete version of the first two chapters.

Bentham was outraged by the events of the French Revolution, especially the claims for natural rights expressed in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" of 1789. Read the reprint of the declaration in Bramsted and Melhuish before reading Bentham's extraordinary attack on it. It is a brilliant piece of political polemic. How telling Bentham's arguments are is something we will discuss in the tutorial. Once again, the extract in Bramsted and Melhuish is too short. I will provide you with a photocopy of the original.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

John Stuart Mill modified somewhat the utilitarianism he learnt from Bentham and his father James Mill. His version can be found in the essay "Utilitarianism" published in 1861 and it was his version of utilitarianism which came to dominant liberalism in the late 19th century.

### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. To what extent is Bentham's critique of natural rights an overreaction to the excesses of the French Revolution and to what extent is it a fundamental philosophical difference of opinion?
2. Did Spencer adequately answer utilitarian criticisms of natural rights?
3. Assess John Stuart Mill's attempt to incorporate the idea of justice into the philosophy of utilitarianism.

### Required Reading

"The Doctrine of the Rights of Man," in Bramsted and Melhuish, *Western Liberalism*, pp. 146-62. Also documents 12-15 on Rights of Man, pp. 224-35.

"The Utilitarian Approach to Government: Introduction," in Bramsted and Melhuish, *Western Liberalism*, pp. 243-49. Also documents 17-22 on utilitarianism, pp. 294-309.

Jeremy Bentham, "Anarchical Fallacies" in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. Bowring (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1843), vol. 2, pp. 491-534.

### Recommended Reading

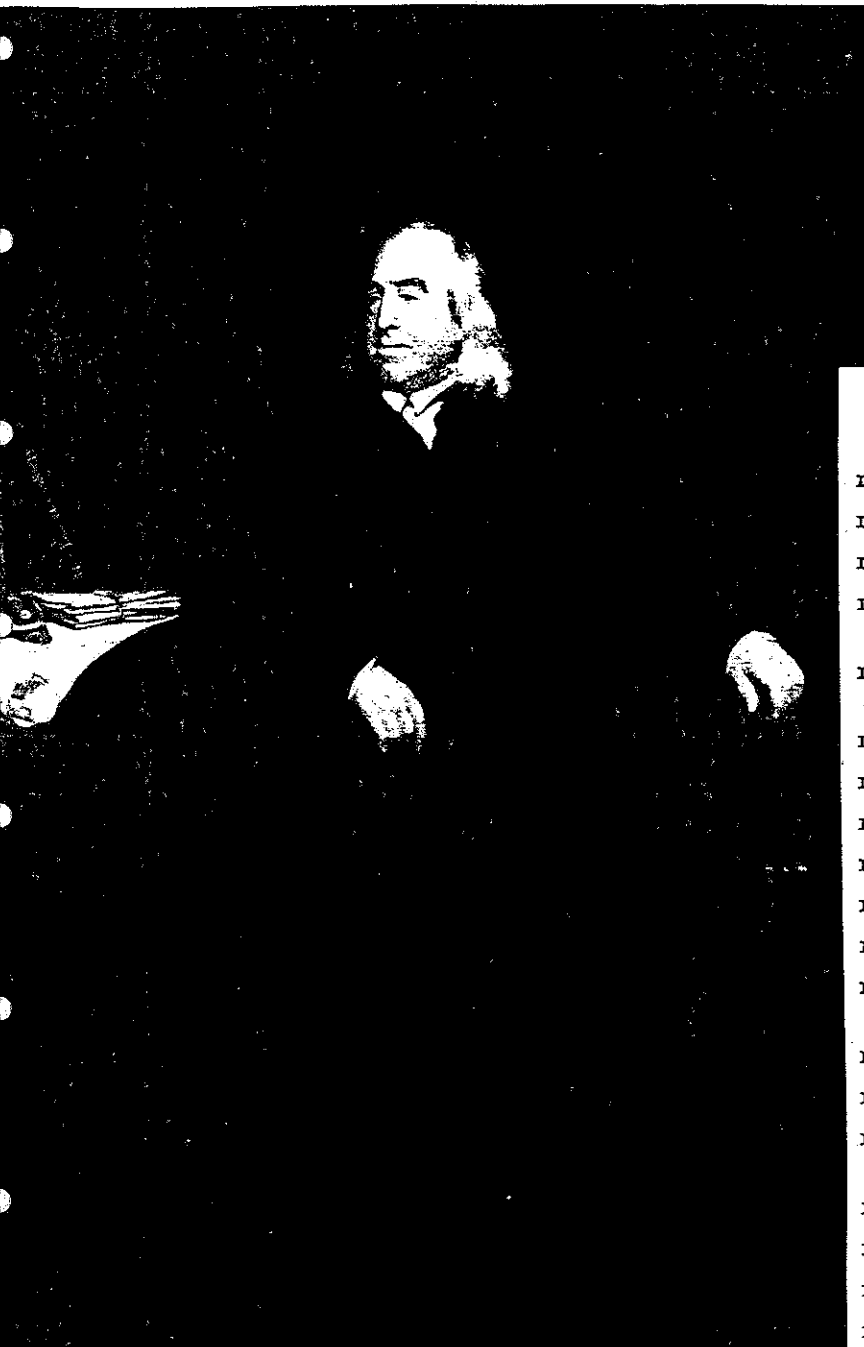
#### Texts

Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, 2 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1892). Volume 1, chapters 9-10, "Criticisms and Explanations" and "The Relativity of Pains and Pleasures" pp. 150-86; Volume 2, part IV, "The Ethics of Social Life: Justice," chapters 3-9.

*Utilitarianism*, ed. Alan Ryan (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1987).

Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, ed. J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart (London: Methuen, 1982). Introduction by Hart pp. xxxii-lxix and chapter 1, "Of the Principle of Utility," pp. 11-16 and chapter 2, "Of Principles adverse to that of Utility," pp. 17-33.

John Stuart Mill, "Utilitarianism" in *Utilitarianism, On Liberty, Essay on Bentham*, ed. Mary Warnock (London: Collins, 1962) pp. 251-321, in



II JEREMY BENTHAM

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1748 Birth of Bentham.
- 1776 *Fragment on Government.*
- 1785 Bentham's journey to Russia.
- 1789 *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation.*
- 1790 *Draught of a code for the Organisation of the Judicial Establishment in France.*
- 1802 Dumont's *Traité de Legislation Civile et Pénale.*
- 1806 Birth of J. S. Mill.
- 1808 Bentham and James Mill meet.
- 1809 Bentham's *Catechism of Parliamentary Reform.*
- 1820 J. S. Mill's journey to France.
- 1823 J. S. Mill entered India House.
- 1824 Bentham financed the foundation of the Westminster Review.
- 1828 James Mill's *Analysis of the Human Mind.*
- 1830 J. S. Mill met Harriet Taylor.
- 1832 Death of Bentham.  
Reform Bill passed.
- 1836 Death of James Mill.
- 1843 Mill's *System of Logic.*
- 1848 *The Principles of Political Economy.*
- 1849 Death of John Taylor.
- 1851 Mill's marriage to Harriet Taylor.
- 1856 Mill made head of the Examiner's Department in India House.
- 1858 Mill retired from India House.  
Death of Harriet Taylor.
- 1859 *On Liberty.*
- 1861 *Utilitarianism.*
- 1865 Mill elected to Parliament.
- 1868 Mill defeated by Tory Candidate.  
Retired to Avignon with Helen Taylor.
- 1872 Birth of Bertrand Russell, to whom Mill was "God-father."
- 1874 Death of Mill.

#### LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

particular, Chapter 5 "On the Connection between Justice and Utility," pp. 296-321.

*Utilitarian Logic and Politics: James Mill's "Essay on Government", Macaulay's Critique and the ensuing Debate*, ed. Jack Lively and John Rees (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: The Conditions essential to Human Happiness specified, and the First of them developed* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1970). Part 1 and Part 2, chapters 4-7.

Thomas Hodgskin, *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted* (Clifton, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley, 1973. 1st edition 1832).

#### General Works

H.L.A. Hart, *Essays on Bentham: Studies in Jurisprudence and Political Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Chapter 4, "Natural Rights: Bentham and John Stuart Mill", pp. 79-104.

John Gray, *Mill on Liberty: A Defence* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 154-67.

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

Shirley Robin Letwin, *The Pursuit of Certainty. David Hume. Jeremy Bentham. John Stuart Mill. Beatrice Webb* (Cambridge University Press, 1965). Parts 2 and 3.

William Thomas, *The Philosophic Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practice 1817-1841* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, trans. Mary Morris (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1960). Part II, chapter 1 "The Political Problem," pp. 155-81.

Douglas G. Long, *Bentham on Liberty. Jeremy Bentham's Idea of Liberty in Relation to his Utilitarianism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

I.G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights: A Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1894).

Benjamin Fletcher Wright, Jr., *American Interpretations of Natural Law: A Study in the History of Political Thought* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962).

Alfred F. Chalk, "Natural Law and the Rise of Economic-Individualism in England," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1951, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 332-347.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 6: PROPERTY AND CONTRACT

For the past two weeks we have been discussing two central components of 19th century liberalism: individualism and utilitarianism. For the next four weeks we will be discussing property, the supposed harmony of the free market, the idea of limited government and the rule of law (or constitutionalism).

The belief in the value of private property is basic to all liberals. This week we will examine how various liberals defended their belief in property - from the philosophical approach of Mill and Spencer to the polemics of Hodgskin and Bastiat. The defence of property became an issue in the 1840s because of the rise of socialist ideas in general and the events of the 1848 Revolution in particular. For example, one of the most formidable critics of property was the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who wrote an important and provocative book called *What is Property?* (1840). His answer, which infuriated liberals, was that "property is theft." It was against socialists like Proudhon that the French writer and politician Frédéric Bastiat wrote his polemics in favour of property rights and the free market.

Since Bastiat and Proudhon wrote on property during or soon after the 1848 revolutions it is important to have some knowledge of the events of the revolution in Paris. I suggest you read Agulhon or Magraw for the necessary background material.

#### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. Assess Bastiat's claim that his theory of property has radical democratic implications.
2. The heart of Bastiat's dispute with socialists such as Proudhon and Considérant is whether or not ownership is exploitative. Discuss what Bastiat and one of his socialist opponents meant by exploitation and plunder.
3. How could John Stuart Mill believe in private property and yet still be sympathetic to various forms of socialism?
4. Is the distinction between natural and artificial rights to property a valid one? Discuss this distinction in the work of Hodgskin and Spencer.

THE  
NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL  
RIGHT OF PROPERTY  
CONTRASTED.

A SERIES OF LETTERS, ADDRESSED WITHOUT PERMISSION, TO  
H. BROUGHAM, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. &c. (NOW THE LORD CHAN-  
CELLOR.) BY THE AUTHOR OF

“LABOUR DEFENDED AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF CAPITAL.”

THOMAS HODGSKIN

To discover errors in axioms, or first principles grounded in facts, is like the breaking of a charm. The enchanted castle, the steepy rock, the burning lake, disappear; and the paths that lead to truth, which we imagined to be so long, so embarrassed, and so difficult, shew as they are—short, open, and easy.

*Belingbroke.*

LONDON:  
PUBLISHED BY B. STEIL, PATERNOSTER ROW,

AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1832.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

5. Why did both Mill and Spencer have reservations about the exclusive private ownership of land?

### Required Reading

Begin with some introductory chapters on Bastiat's life and work which can be found in Russell and Roche, then attempt the chapters by Bastiat.

Dean Russell, *Frederic Bastiat: Ideas and Influence* (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1969). "Bastiat's Economic Background" and "Economic and Social Harmonies" pp. 16-40.

George Charles Roche III, *Frederic Bastiat: A Man Alone* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1971). "Revolution: June 1848", "Last Days", and "Bastiat and the Social Architects" pp. 106-64.

Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies*, George B. de Huszar ed. (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1979). Chapter 3, "Private Property and Common Wealth" pp. 199-235.

Frédéric Bastiat, *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, George B. de Huszar ed. (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1975). Chapter 3, "Property and Law" pp. 97-115; chapter 6, "Property and Plunder" pp. 152-93.

Léon Faucher, "Property," and L. Wolowski and Emile Lavassaur, "Note to Property" in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Merrill, 1888), vol. 3, pp. 391-95.

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Letters.		Page.
FIRST	Reasons for addressing Mr. Brougham.—His Law commission.—Its inutility.—The necessity of inquiry into first principles.—THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY is one of these principles, and the foundation of the political edifice.—Important difference of opinion between Mr. Locke and Mr. Bentham, as to the origin of this right	1
SECOND	Mr. Locke's opinion of this right adopted and confirmed.—Proofs of its existence at all times and places.—Proof that M. Dumont is wrong in ascribing a sense of security to legislation	23
THIRD	What is the law!—Who are the law makers!—The law is a great scheme of rules intended to preserve the power of government, secure the wealth of the landowner, the priest, and the capitalist, but never to secure his produce to the labourer.—The law-maker is never a labourer, and has no natural right to any wealth.—He takes no notice of the natural right of property.—Manifold miseries which result from his appropriating the produce of labour, and from the legal right of property being in opposition to the natural	44
FOURTH	Origin of the right of property in land.—Changes which it is undergoing.—The quantity of land required to raise subsistence gradually diminishes.—Important principle overlooked by Mr. Malthus and his followers.—Appropriation of land in Europe	61
FIFTH	False pretexts and real objects of the legislator.—Proofs that his real object of preserving his power, has not been attained.—He has failed to secure the superiority of the landlords, and the legal rights of the clergy.—The revenue of the state.—The abolition of slavery, and the rise and progress of the middle classes, contrary to the legislator's will.—Illustration of the usury laws.—Alteration in the right of property	76

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SIXTH	Identity of Lord Bacon and Mr. Locke's philosophy.—Law-makers in establishing a right of property only copy a previous usage.—Examples of the test acts and Catholic emancipation.—The press.—Last act of legislation.—Examples of Peter the Great and Joseph II.—Of the middle ages.—Of forgery.—An example in the time of Athelstan.—In modern Mexico.—Attempts to abolish villeinage on the continent.—The French revolution	105
SEVENTH	The existing right of property is guaranteed by opinion, not by law.—Source of the opposite mistake.—Protection afforded by law against governments.—Illustration of Turkey and Britain.—Illustrations of opinion guaranteeing rights, not laws.—Tenants at will in England and Italy.—Property of traders.—Domestic rights.—All rights are guaranteed by opinion	130
EIGHTH	Not intended to go deeply into this subject.—The sufferings and crimes of the oppressed labourer overlooked.—The pains and penalties suffered by the oppressors only adverted to.—Mr. Combe's description of the present state of society.—Fraud, forgery, and overtrading, all result from an artificial right of property.—No legislative remedy suggested for these evils, because legislation has no influence over natural laws.—Society a natural phenomenon.—Conclusion	147
POSTSCRIPT	Change in the situation of the Lord Chancellor.—Reasons for believing that his former liberality of sentiment was assumed.—The Lord Chancellor's attack upon the author.—Changes in Europe.—As they have not led to social happiness, men will and necessarily must inquire into the Right of Property.—Other proofs of this necessity.—Answer to the statement, that these doctrines lead to no legal improvement.—It has been shewn that property is not regulated by human laws, and therefore society is not.—The power which has regulated it in past times must be trusted in future.—Source of the alarm as to property, and reasons for believing it unfounded.—Conclusion	164

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### Recommended Reading: Primary Works

#### Socialism

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government*, trans. B.R. Tucker (New York: Dover, 1970). Proudhon's most famous work is long and a bit verbose. You really need to browse through it to get a flavour of his polemical style and his arguments. Try the "First Memoir", chapter 3 "Labor as the Efficient Cause of the Domain of Property" pp. 84-150.

*Before Marx: Socialism and Communism in France, 1830-48*, ed. Paul E. Corcoran (London: Macmillan, 1983).

Engels, *Selected Writings*, ed. W.D. Henderson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967). "Private Property and Competition," pp. 163-69.

Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft)*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 491-98.

Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976).

### Recommended Reading: Secondary Works

#### 1848 Revolution

Maurice Agulhon, *The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge University Press, 1983). Chapters 1, 2, and 4.

*Revolution and Reactions: 1848 and the Second French Republic*, ed. Roger Price (London: Croom Helm, 1975), "Introduction," pp. 1-72. This is particularly strong on social and economic issues.

Roger Magraw, *France 1815-1914: The Bourgeois Century* (Oxford: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983), "Part Two: The Challenge from Below" pp. 89-155.

#### Socialism

George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. His Life and Work* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972). Part II: "The Critic of Property" pp. 36-70.

William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Régime to 1848* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought. Volume One: The Forerunners, 1789-1850* (London: Macmillan, 1953).

George Lichtheim, *The Origins of Socialism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), "Part One: Heirs of the French Revolution," pp. 17-98.

*Histoire générale du socialisme*, 4 vols., ed. Jacques Droz (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972).

Frank E. Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris: Turgot, Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte* (New York: Harper, 1965).



## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

Donald Cope McKay, *The National Workshops: A Study in the French Revolution of 1848* (Harvard University Press, 1933).

David McLellan, *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction* (New York: Harper, 1974).

David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought* (New York: Harper, 1977).

### Recommended Reading: Primary Works

#### Liberalism

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), "Appendix: Of Property", pp. 349-88.

Thomas Hodgskin, *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted* (Clifton, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley, 1973. 1st edition 1832).

Karl von Rotteck, "Eigentum", and Carl Theodor Welcker, "Eigentum," in *Der europäische Liberalismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Lothar Gall and Rainer Koch eds. (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1981).

Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, ed. Tibor Machan (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978). Volume II, part IV: "The Ethics of Social Life: Justice," Chapters 11-15, "The Rights to the Uses of Natural Media, the Right of Property, the Right of Incorporeal Property, the Rights of Gift and Bequest, the Rights of Free Exchange and Free Contract."

Alexis de Tocqueville, "Part IV: Demands from Below," in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1968).

Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1970). Part II.

### Recommended Reading: Secondary Works

#### Liberalism

Donald R. Kelley and Bonnie G. Smith, "What was Property? Legal Dimensions of the Social Question in France (1789-1848)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1984, vol. 128, no. 3, pp. 200-230.

Donald R. Kelley, "The Question of Property," in *Historians and the Law in Postrevolutionary France* (Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 127-38.

Seymour Drescher, "Social Revolution and Class Conflict," in *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968).

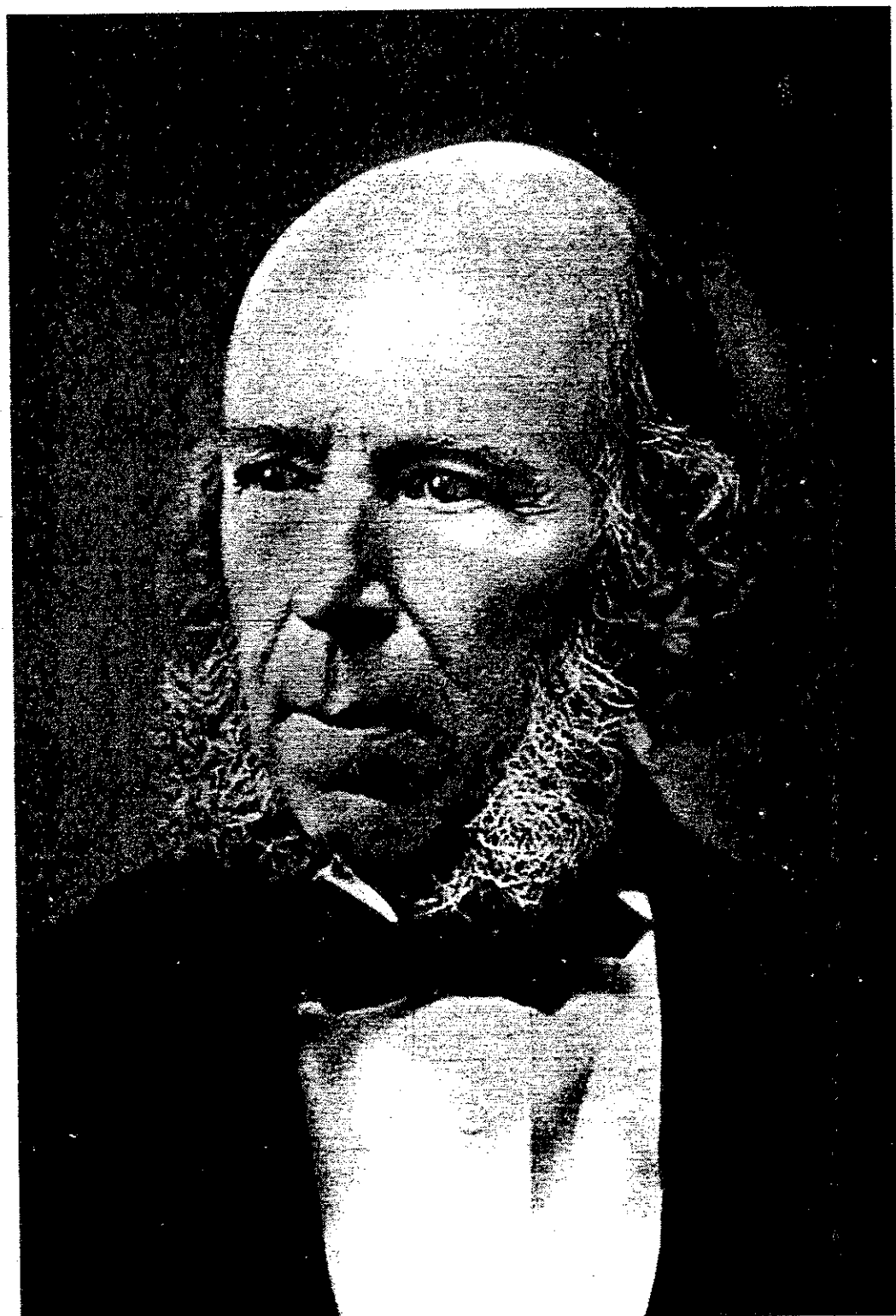
Alan Ryan, *Property and Political Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984). Chapter 4, "The Utilitarians: Security and Equality," pp. 91-117; chapter 6, "Mill and Marx and Socialism," pp. 142-74.

John Gray, "John Stuart Mill on the Theory of Property," in *Theories of Property: Aristotle to the Present*, ed. Anthony Parel and Thomas Flanagan

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914  
(Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979).

P.S. Atiyah, *The Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 1985). "Part II: The Age of Freedom of Contract, 1770-1870".

Lawrence C. Becker, *Property Rights: Philosophic Foundations* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).



WEEK 7: THE FREE MARKET AND SOCIAL HARMONY

According to liberals, it follows from the principle of property rights that individuals can exchange their property with others, thus giving rise to the idea of the free market. In the 19th century liberals had to struggle hard to create the conditions necessary for the development of markets. This involved the removal of barriers to internal and external trade, the commercialisation of agriculture, the creation of a legal framework for the formation of limited liability, joint-stock companies and the reduction of taxes and other state charges. This week we will examine the liberal theory of the free market as understood by the influential French economist Jean-Baptiste Say, the giant of classical economics John Stuart Mill and the French politician Frédéric Bastiat. Bastiat in particular is worth reading because of his popular and polemical style.

Two ideas which are of particular importance in the development of "economic liberalism" are Say's "Law of Markets" and Bastiat's idea of the "harmony" of the free market which he put forward in his last book *Economic Harmonies* (1850). Economic recessions were (and still are) a serious problem for supporters of the free market. Say developed a theory of markets in order to explain why they occurred. Say's law states that an economic recession caused by generalised over-production is unlikely in a free market because the production of new goods and services itself creates a demand for them. Thus, according to Say, one could not blame the market for recessions but instead one needed to look elsewhere for the source of the problem. The *Treatise on Political Economy* (1803) by Say is an important work with interesting discussions of the division of labour, Say's Law and entrepreneurs (or "adventurers" as the 19th century American translator charmingly calls them). It is worth making the effort to read Say because his ideas were so influential. The *Treatise* was the most important economic textbook in France and America until it was superseded by Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). If you want to try Say I suggest you begin with the two short biographical essays on Say in Rechtenwald before tackling the *Treatise*.

Bastiat, concerned about criticism of "exploitation" and class conflict thought that the free market is essentially harmonious as long as the government did not interfere by favouring one party at the expense of another, for example by introducing legislation to create tariffs or subsidies for industry. Bastiat thought that the main "disturbing factors" in the economy were the result of government regulation and intervention.

Say's law of markets and Bastiat's idea of market harmony were important in creating an "optimistic" school within political economy. The optimists defended the market against the criticism of "pessimists" like Thomas Malthus (who feared the relentless pressure of population growth), Simonde de Sismondi (who was critical of periodic economic crises and the growth of factory labour) and of course socialist and Marxist political economists who opposed the "disharmony" and "exploitation" of the market.



Frédéric Bastiat

# JOURNAL DES ÉCONOMISTES

REVUE MENSUELLE  
D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE

ET DES  
QUESTIONS AGRICOLES, MANUFACTURIÈRES  
ET COMMERCIALES.

TOME DIX-NEUVIÈME.

(7<sup>e</sup> année. — Décembre 1847 à Mars 1848.)



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DE WATTEVILLE, inspecteur général des établissements de bienfaisance;  
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1852

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. What did Bastiat mean by harmony and why did he think that the free market could provide it?
2. What is "natural" about the order of the free market? Discuss Bastiat's views on this issue.
3. Discuss the contributions made by either Mill or Say to the science of economics.
4. What is the role of competition in liberal economic thought and why did socialist political economists believe it was disruptive and unfair?
5. Why were liberal economists optimistic about the future?

### Required Reading

Bramsted and Melhuish will get you started on the complex subject of liberal political economy: *Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Economic Liberalism," pp. 250-68 and documents 23-30 pp. 310-34.

Hamerow gives a good introduction to 19th century economic history in the sections on "The Economic Framework" and "The Social System." I suggest you begin with the first 2 chapters, "The Rise of Industrialism" and "The Transformation of Agriculture" pp. 1-58; Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies*, chapter 1, "Natural and Artificial Order", pp. 1-19; chapter 4, "Exchange", pp. 59-98; chapter 7, "Capital", pp. 174-98.

### Recommended Reading

#### Texts

Jean-Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, trans. C.R. Princep and Clement C. Biddle (Philadelphia: Grigg and Elliott, 1832). Book One: "Of the Production of Wealth", chapter VIII "Of the Advantages and Disadvantages resulting from the Division of Labour; and of the Extent to which it may be carried" pp. 32-40; chapter XV "Of the Vent or Demand for Products" pp. 76-85; Book Two: "Of the Distribution of Wealth", chapter VII "Of the Revenue of Industry" pp. 278-98.

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, ed. W.J. Ashley (London: Longmans,

#### LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

Green, 1920). Book I: "Production", chapter VIII, "Of Co-operation, or the Combination of Labour" pp. 116-31; chapter IX, "Of Production on a Large, and Production on a Small Scale" pp. 132-54; Book IV: "Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution", chapter I, "General Characteristics of a Progressive State of Wealth" pp. 695-99; chapter II, "Influence of the Progress of Industry and Population on Values and Prices" pp. 700-9. The chapters from Book IV can also be found in Donald Winch's Penguin edition of the *Principles*, pp. 55-71. Winch's introduction is quite interesting.

#### General Works

"Jean-Baptiste Say 1767-1832" in *Political Economy: A Historical Perspective*, ed. Horst Claus Rechtenwald (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1973) pp. 100-18.

Donald Winch, "The Emergence of Economics as a Science 1750-1870", in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe. Volume 3: The Industrial Revolution*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla (London: Collins-Fontana, 1973), pp. 507-66.

D.P. O'Brien, *The Classical Economists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

Thomas Sowell, *Classical Economics Reconsidered* (Princeton University Press, 1977).

Mark Blaug, *Economic Theory in Retrospect* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Mark Blaug, *Ricardian Economics: A Historical Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958).

Charles Gide and Charles Rist, *A History of Economic Doctrines from the Time of the Physiocrats to the present Day*, trans. R. Richards (London: George and Harrap, 1961).

Robert B. Ekelund, Jr. and Robert F. Hébert, *A History of Economic Theory and Method* (Tokyo: McGraw Hill, 1983).

William D. Grampp, *The Manchester School of Economics* (Stanford University Press, 1960).

William D. Grampp, *Economic Liberalism. Volume 2: The Classical View* (New York: Random House, 1965).

Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of J.S. Mill* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

J. A. Schumpeter, *A History of Economic Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Rudolf Walter, "Economic Liberalism," *Economy and Society*, 1984, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 178-207.

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914  
Socialist Political Economy

*The Economics of Marx: Selected Readings of Exposition and Criticism*, ed. M.E. Howard and J.E. King (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).

*Before Marx: Socialism and Communism in France, 1830-48*, ed. Paul E. Goussier (London: Macmillan, 1983).

*The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love and Passionate Attraction*, ed. J. Beecher and R. Bienvenu (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971). Section II: "Commerce, Industry and Work in Civilization", pp. 103-150.

**PRINCIPLES**

OF

**POLITICAL ECONOMY**

WITH

**SOME OF THEIR APPLICATIONS TO SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.**

BY

**JOHN STUART MILL**

**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. I**

**LONDON.**

**JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.**  
**MDCCLXVIII**

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 8: LIMITED VERSUS NO GOVERNMENT

Liberals were convinced that the size and power of the government had to be drastically reduced in order for the individual to be completely free. The exact functions of the government were disputed. Some, like Bastiat and Humboldt, argued for a severely limited state whose functions would be restricted to police, external defense and some public works. Most classical economists, for example John Stuart Mill, were not as doctrinaire as Bastiat and supported a range of other government functions which included extensive factory legislation, sanitary laws, public education and some welfare measures. Opposed to them all were the liberals who were almost anarchists in their distrust of the state. These included Gustave de Molinari in France and Herbert Spencer and Auberon Herbert in Britain. The French economist and journalist Gustave de Molinari is the most extreme advocate of liberal anarchism. He believed that all functions of the government could be handled by the free market, including those of police and military defense, by private companies, voluntary associations and insurance companies.

This week I would like you to think about the various reasons which liberals put forward in support of or in opposition to the power of the state. Also think about the practicality and the justice of the more extreme claims by Spencer and Molinari.

#### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. Explain why either Bastiat, Spencer or Molinari was so hostile to the state. What functions did they permit the state to exercise and why.
2. Is it possible to combine in a consistent way liberalism and anarchism as Spencer and Molinari seem to have done?
3. In "The Law" Bastiat argues that most activity by the state is "legal plunder". What did Bastiat mean by plunder and how did he plan to eliminate it?
4. Why did the so-called "New Liberals" later in the 19th century reject so completely the anti-statism of Bastiat, Spencer and the other radical liberals?
5. Where did John Stuart Mill's sympathies ultimately lie, with the liberal anti-statists or the socialists?



*Very  
careful*

# SOCIAL STATICS;

OR,

THE CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO

## HUMAN HAPPINESS

SPECIFIED,

AND THE FIRST OF THEM DEVELOPED.

BY

HERBERT SPENCER,

AUTHOR OF "FIRST PRINCIPLES," "PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY," "PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY," "ESSAYS, FIRST AND SECOND SERIES," "EDUCATION," ETC.

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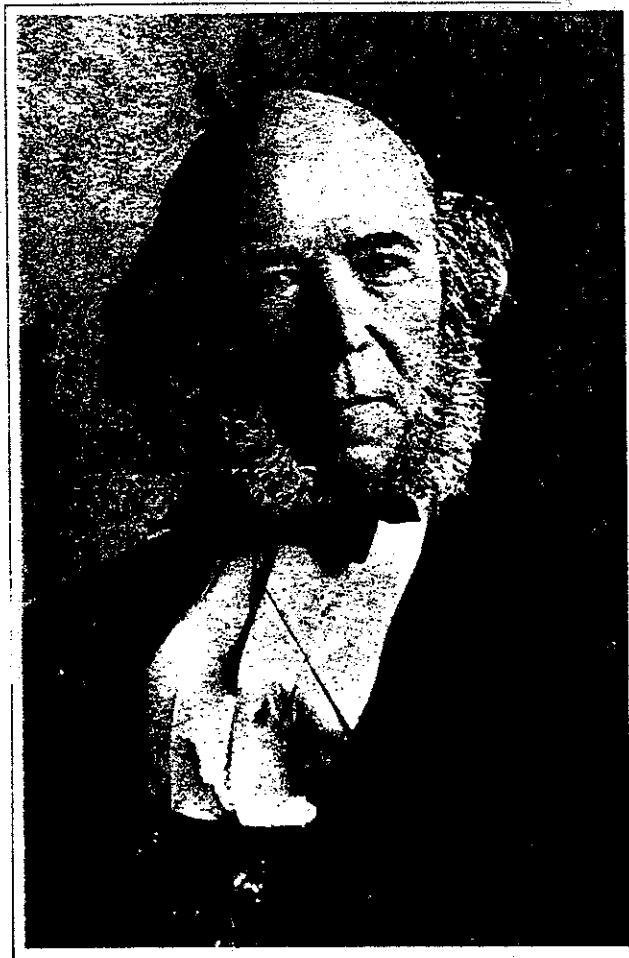
1868.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE.

§ 1. As a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom, we cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, than he is free to drop connection with the state—to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying toward its support. It is self-evident that in so behaving he in no way trenches upon the liberty of others; for his position is a passive one; and whilst passive he cannot become an aggressor. It is equally self-evident that he cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation, without a breach of the moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes; and the taking away of a man's property against his will, is an infringement of his rights (p. 153). Government being simply an agent employ in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not. If any one of them determines to ignore this mutual-safety confederation, nothing can be said except that he loses all claim to its good offices, and exposes himself to the danger of maltreatment—a thing he is quite at liberty to do if he likes. He cannot be coerced into political combination without a breach of the law of equal freedom; he *can* withdraw from it without committing any such breach; and he has therefore a right so to withdraw.

§ 2. "No human laws are of any validity if con-



HERBERT SPENCER

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Required Reading

As usual Bramsted and Melhuish is the place to start: *Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, Part D, Section 3, "The Limitations and the Scope of the State: Introduction", pp. 583-98 and documents 105-110, pp. 634-69.

For important background on the functions of government in the 19th century see Hamerow: Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe*, chapter 10, "The Functions of Government", pp. 258-309.

For the radical liberal arguments in favour of anarchism, see Spencer and Molinari: Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: The Conditions essential to Human Happiness specified, and the first of them developed* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1970). Part III, chapters XIX, XXI and XXII, pp. 185-94, 224-45, 245-65. Take special note of chapter XIX, "The Right to Ignore the State", pp. 185-94 which Spencer left out in later editions of *Social Statics*.

Gustave de Molinari, *The Production of Security*, trans. J. Huston McCulloch (New York: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1977), pp. 1-15.

### Recommended Reading

#### Texts

Frédéric Bastiat, *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, chapter 2, "The Law", pp. 51-96; chapter 5, "The State", pp. 140-51. These essays are eloquent defences of limited government.

Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies*, chapter 17, "Private and Public Services", pp. 443-65.

Herbert Spencer, "The Proper Sphere of Government," (1843) in *The Man versus the State: With Six Essays on Government, Society and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981), pp. 181-263.

Auberon Herbert, *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State and other Essays*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).

James Mill, *Essay on Government* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967).

James Mill, *Selected Economic Writings*, ed. Donald Winch (Edinburgh: Oliver and Byrd, 1986).

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Book 5 "On the Influence of Government."

L.T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, ed. Alan P. Grimes (Oxford University Press, 1971).

### Secondary Works

Barry Supple, "The State and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1914" in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe. Volume 3: The Industrial Revolution*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla (London: Collins-Fontana, 1973), pp. 301-57.

LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

W.H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition. Volume 2: The Ideological Heritage* (London: Methuen, 1983), chapter 3 "Cobden and Spencer versus the State", pp. 36-102.

Michael Freedson, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).

Oliver MacDonagh, *Early Victorian Government 1830-1870* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978), chapter 6, "The Limits of State Intervention", pp. 133-64.

D.G. Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference: Four Essays of the Political Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and Thomas H. Green* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1891).

J.B.Y. Peel, *Herbert Spencer: The Evolution of a Sociologist* (London: Heinemann, 1971), "Anti-Politics of the 1840s" pp. 56-61.

Henri Michel, *L'idée de l'état: Essai critique sur l'histoire des théories sociales et politiques en France depuis la Révolution* (Paris, 1896).

Sydney Checkland, *British Public Policy 1776-1939: An Economic, Social and Political Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).



*J. de Molinari*

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### WEEK 9: CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE RULE OF LAW

One of the great political legacies of the 18th century Enlightenment was the impulse to strictly define and thus limit the power of the state by means of a constitution. The best and most successful example of a functioning constitution was the American Constitution of 1787 and the Bill of Rights of 1791. A counter-example of failed constitutions and declarations of rights is provided by France during the revolutionary period.

This week we will examine the theory and practice of constitutional government in England, France and Germany during the 19th century. In France there was much initial hope that the constitutional Charter of 1814 would be the beginning of constitutional government. This hope was short lived as the restored Bourbon monarchy reverted to its traditional authoritarian practices. Later, the Belgian constitution became highly regarded as a model liberal constitution. However, many European liberals sought a foreign model for their ideal government. There was a difference of opinion over the suitability of foreign models of constitutional liberal government. Those wanting to retain the monarchy but limit its powers with a constitution, like Benjamin Constant in *Principes de politique* (1815) and François Guizot, favoured the British model. More democratic liberals wanted to base their idea of a limited government on the republican United States of America. This was particularly true for German democratic liberals like Robert von Mohl, Karl Rotteck and Friedrich Murrhard.

An important aspect of the constitutional limitation of state power is the idea of "the rule of law" or *Rechtsstaat* as the German liberals called it. By the phrase "the rule of law" is commonly meant the idea that the state must abide by predetermined rules in its relationship with its citizens rather than operate secretly, arbitrarily and unaccountably as authoritarian regimes do. One of the most widely read defenders of the rule of law and constitutional government was the British jurist A.V. Dicey whose *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (first edition 1885) is still used by law students. An important modern advocate of the rule of law is Hayek who gives a sophisticated historical account of the English contribution, the importance of the American experiment in constitutionalism, and the German version of the *Rechtsstaat*.

Not all liberals had Dicey's faith in the supremacy of parliament and the rule of law. The radical liberal individualist Herbert Spencer rejected Dicey's argument about the supremacy of parliament, which Spencer thought could and did violate the rights of individuals with impunity. Spencer thought this only replaced one superstition, the divine right of kings, with another, the divine right of parliament. However most liberals supported the idea of constitutional limits to state power and Spencer's view was very much a minority one.

# INTRODUCTION

## TO THE STUDY OF THE LAW OF THE CONSTITUTION

BY

A. V. DICEY, K.C., HON. D.C.L.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE; FORMERLY VINEYAN PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LAW,  
FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
HON. LL.D. CAMBRIDGE, GLASGOW, AND EDINBURGH

### CHAPTER IV

#### THE RULE OF LAW: ITS NATURE AND GENERAL APPLICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

Two features have at all times since the Norman Conquest characterised the political institutions of England.

Chapter  
IV.  
The Rule  
of Law.

The first of these features is the omnipotence or undisputed supremacy throughout the whole country of the central government. This authority of the state or the nation was during the earlier periods of our history represented by the power of the Crown. The King was the source of law and the maintainer of order. The maxim of the courts, *tout fuit in lui et vient de lui al commencement*,<sup>2</sup> was originally the expression of an actual and undoubted fact. This royal supremacy has now passed into that sovereignty of Parliament which has formed the main subject of the foregoing chapters.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Ivor Jennings has been a most formidable critic of Dicey and in particular of this Part. See especially *The Law and the Constitution* (4th ed., 1952), ch. i, ii, vi, and App. ii, and the article, *In Praise of Dicey*, in *Public Administration*, vol. xi, No. 2 (April, 1935).—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Year Books, xxiv Edward III, cited Gneist, *Englische Verwaltungsrecht* (1867), vol. i, p. 454.

<sup>3</sup> See Part i, ante.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Tutorial Questions

If you have selected this week's topic to write your tutorial paper on choose one of the following questions. For those not doing the paper the questions should provide a framework for your week's work. Keep them in mind as you do the reading. The required reading should give you enough information to answer most questions. However some questions will require more specific reading which is provided in the recommended reading.

1. What did Constant mean by constitutional government and why did he believe that it would best protect the freedom of individuals?
2. Was it fair and reasonable for Continental liberals to compare their own governments with the "model" of Great Britain? Base your answer either on Constant or the German liberals discussed by McClelland.
3. What did Dicey mean by the "rule of law" and why did he think it existed in England but not on the Continent?
4. Does Spencer's attack on the supremacy of parliament destroy the foundation stone of liberal constitutionalism?
5. What is the Rechtsstaat? Did it ever exist in Germany?

### Required Reading

A very brief introduction to constitutional theory and history can be found in Bramsted and Melhuish: *Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, Section C: "Major Aspects of Continental Liberalism, Part 1: The Constitutional State: Introduction," pp. 387-93; Documents 45-57, pp. 431-67.

Eugene N. Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

You might find it interesting to read some of the actual constitutions which France had during the 19th century and to compare the reality of French politics with the theory you will read: *The Constitutions and Other Select Documents illustrative of the History of France, 1789-1907*, ed. Frank Maloy Anderson (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), the Constitutions of 1814, 1830, 1848, 1852, 1875, pp. 457-65, 507-13, 522-37, 543-49, 633-40.

The liberal Belgian Constitution of 1831 can be found in *Constitutions of Nations*, ed. Amos J. Peaslee (Concord, N.H.: Rumford, 1950) vol. 1, pp. 123-43.

A.V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (first edition 1885) (London: Macmillan, 1967), "The True Nature of Constitutional Law," pp. 1-35; chapter IV: "The Rule of Law: Its Nature and General Applications," pp. 183-205.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Recommended Reading

#### General

J.A. Hogwood, "Liberalism and Constitutional Developments," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, Volume X: *The Zenith of European Power, 1830-70* (Cambridge University Press, 1960), ed. J.P.T. Bury, pp. 185-212.

Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1972), chapters 11-13, "The Origins of the Rule of Law," "The American Contribution: Constitutionalism," "Liberalism and Administration: The Rechtsstaat," pp. 162-204.

Gottfried Dietze, *Liberalism Proper and Proper Liberalism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), chapter 1, "Liberalism and the Rule of Law," pp. 6-53.

Geoffrey Bruun, "The Constitutional Cult in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Constitution Reconsidered*, ed. Conyers Read (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 261-69.

#### Recommended Reading: Texts

Benjamin Constant, "Principes de Politique," *De la liberté chez les modernes. écrits politiques*, ed. Marcel Gauchet (Paris: Livre de poche, 1980), pp. 265-490.

Benjamin Constant, *Cours de politique constitutionnelle* 2 vols (Genève: Droz, 1980), ed. Etienne Hofmann.

Herbert Spencer, "The Great Political Superstition," in *The Man Versus the State, with Six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981), pp. 123-166.

*Der europäische Liberalismus im 19. Jahrhundert: Texte zu seiner Entwicklung*, ed. Lothar Gall and Rainer Koch (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein Materialien, 1981), vol. 1, Part 2: "Prinzipien der Staatsverfassung (I)," pp. 239-333; vol. 2, Part 2: "Prinzipien der Staatsverfassung (II)," pp. 3-125. Articles by Humboldt, Dahlmann, Welcker, and Mohl.

*The Liberal Tradition in European Thought*, ed. David Sidorsky (New York: Capricorn Books, 1971), "Constitutionalism and Democracy," pp. 113-218.

Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (1867), ed. R.H.S. Crossman (London: Fontana, 1963).

François Guizot, "History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe," *Historical Essays and Lectures*, ed. Stanley Mellon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 18-91.

#### England

Richard A. Cosgrove, *The Rule of Law: Albert Venn Dicey, Victorian Jurist* (London: Macmillan, 1980), chapters 4-5, pp. 66-113.

## LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

### Germany

Theodore E. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton University Press, 1970), chapters 4, 7, 9, 10, pp. 56-74, 117-36, 156-95.

Charles E. McClelland, *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), chapters 4-5, pp. 47-90.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, trans. R.G. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), German Liberalism: "The Juridical Conception of the State," pp. 251-64.

James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1982), chapters 9-10, "Turning the Corner: Liberalism and the Bismarckian State," "The Challenge of Democratization," pp. 123-58.

Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1972), "The Doctrine of the Rechtsstaat," pp. 252-61.

### France

Theodore Zeldin, "English Ideals in French Politics during the Nineteenth Century," *The Historical Journal*, 1959, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 40-58.

Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), chapters 9-12, 18-19, pp. 99-154, 221-62.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, trans. R.G. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), French Liberalism: "Constitutionalism," pp. 158-76.

Guy Howard Dodge, *Benjamin Constant's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Study in Politics and Religion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), chapter IV "Constitutionalism", pp. 80-121.

Stephen Holmes, *Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), chapter 5, "Constitutional Design," pp. 128-55.

### America

*The Constitution Reconsidered*, ed. Conyers Read (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968).

Henry Steele Commager, *The Empire of Reason: How Europe Imagined and America Realized the Enlightenment* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1978).

R.R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution. Volume One: The Challenge* (Princeton University Press, 1974).



LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

3849: LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING LIST



5a The entente cordiale: Bright and Cobden

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### LECTURE AND TUTORIAL PROGRAMME

This term we will be examining a variety of political and economic issues which were of great importance to liberals in the 19th century. These range from the domestic political problems of centralised state power, civil liberties and political organization to broader national and international problems of war, colonialism and imperialism. Towards the end of the term we will return to some of the more important economic issues such as the extent to which laissez-faire policies were introduced, the popular movement for free trade and the response to the development of manufacturing industry.

The proposed lecture and tutorial programme for the term is as follows:

<u>WEEK</u>	<u>LECTURE TOPIC</u>	<u>TUTORIAL TOPIC</u>
I <sup>15 17</sup> (10, 12 June)	Centralisation	Democracy
II <sup>22 24</sup> (17, 19 June)	Freedom of Speech	Centralisation
III <sup>29 1 July</sup> (24, 26 June)	Nationalism	Freedom of Speech
IV <sup>6 8</sup> (1, 3 July)	Liberal Parties	Nationalism
V <sup>13 15</sup> (8, 10 July)	War and Peace	Liberal Parties
VI <sup>20 22</sup> (15, 17 July)	Imperialism	War and Peace
VII <sup>27 29</sup> (22, 24 July)	Laissez-faire	Imperialism
VIII <sup>30 31</sup> (27, 31 July)	Free Trade	Laissez-faire
IX <sup>10 12</sup> (5, 7 August)	Manufacturing	Free Trade

### Reading Requirements for Tutorials

The minimum reading you should do for each tutorial is listed in the sections entitled "Required Reading" and "Texts." The "Required Reading" consists of background material and, when applicable, the relevant extracts from the textbook *Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish. I also want you to examine at least one of the works listed in the section entitled "Texts". Those who are doing the tutorial paper are expected, in addition to the

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING  
minimum reading, to examine their chosen author or topic in more detail. This involves looking at the relevant secondary works listed under "Secondary Works."

All the required reading will be in the Reserve Collection. Most of the texts and secondary works, except for a few in French and German, will also be found in the Reserve collection.

### *The Birmingham Backbencher*



THE REFORM JANUS.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week One: Democracy and Electoral Reform

The transition from oligarchic régimes totally dominated by aristocratic, landed élites to régimes in which firstly the middle classes and then progressively the working classes came to exercise some political voice is one of the most dramatic changes which took place in the 19th century. This process came about largely because of the expansion in the numbers of those entitled to vote, although the right to vote did not always guarantee that the influence of the traditional élites would be diminished. Liberals were deeply divided on the question of the legitimacy of democracy and universal (manhood) suffrage. Opinion ranged from James Mill, who saw democracy as the great weapon in the battle against the sinister interests of the aristocracy, to Herbert Spencer, who considered democracy to be just another superstition like the divine right of kings.

#### Required Reading

To appreciate the diversity of liberal opinion, begin with

*Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce*, ed. E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish (London: Longman, 1978). "Liberty and Democracy," pp. 569-82, 605-32.

The process of democratisation and the change (or lack of change) in political power which it brought about is discussed in Hamerow and Anderson. Read one of the following:

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Chapter 11 "The Enfranchisement of the Masses," pp. 285-309; chapter 12 "The Nature of Authority," pp. 310-334.

Eugene M. Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1967). Chapters on "Suffrage," "Political Parties," "Representation," pp. 307-93.

#### Texts

Choose at least one of the following texts. I have selected a variety of opinions ranging from strong support for democracy, qualified support, and strong opposition.

1. François Guizot, *Historical Essays and Lectures*, ed. Stanley Mellon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). "History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe," pp. 318-91. Also Guizot's *Democracy in Modern Communities* (London: C. and H. Senior, 1838), which

Carol Rose "The issue of parliamentary  
suffrage at the Frankfurt Parliament Hist. Ass"  
CEH 1972

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING  
can be found in the rare book room.

2. Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy, Revolution and Society*, ed. John Stone and Stephen Mennell (University of Chicago Press, 1980). Chapters 1-4, 10, pp. 47-162, 348-79.
3. Lord Acton, *Essays in the History of Liberty*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985). "Sir Erskine May's Democracy in Europe," pp. 54-85.
4. William E.H. Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, ed. William Murchison (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1980).
5. Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981). "The Sins of the Legislators," "The Great Political Superstition," pp. 71-166.
6. James Mill, *Utilitarian Logic and Politics*, ed. Jack Lively and John Rees (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). "Essay on Government," pp. 53-97.
7. John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (any edition) and "Democracy and Government" and "M. de Tocqueville on Democracy in America" in *John Stuart Mill on Politics and Society*, ed. Geraint L. Williams (Harvester Press, 1976), pp. 179-247.
8. Henry Sumner Maine, "The Prospects of Popular Government" and "Nature of Democracy," in *Popular Governments: Four Essays* (London: John Murray, 1886), pp. 1-126.

#### Secondary Sources

- Douglas Johnson, *Guizot: Aspects of French History 1787-1874* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).
- Jack Lively, *The Social and Political Thought of Alexis de Tocqueville* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
- Seymour Drescher, *Tocqueville and England* (Harvard University Press, 1964).
- Derek Fraser, "The Agitation for Parliamentary Reform," in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850*, ed. J.T. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 31-53.
- Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 1962).
- J.J. Auchmuty, *Lecky: A Biographical and Critical Essay* (Dublin, 1945).
- David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978).
- Joseph Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals* (Yale University Press, 1966).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Joseph Hamburger, "James Mill on Universal Suffrage and the Middle Class," *Journal of Politics*, 1962, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 167-90.

Paul Adelman, *Victorian Radicalism: The Middle-Class Experience, 1830-1914* (London: Longman, 1984).

William Thomas, *The Philosophic Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practice, 1817-1841* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), "James Mill's Science of Politics," pp. 95-146.

J.H. Burns, "J.S. Mill and Democracy 1829-1861," *Political Studies*, June and October 1957, vol. 5, pp. 158-75, 281-94.

John M. Robson, *The Improvement of Mankind: The Social and Political Thought of J.S. Mill* (London, 1968).

W.H. Burston, *James Mill on Philosophy and Education* (London, 1973).

Tutorial Questions

1. Why did liberals have reservations about unrestricted democracy? Were their fears justified? Discuss either J.S. Mill, Spencer, Tocqueville.
2. What is the connection between education and democracy in liberal thought? Discuss James and J.S. Mill.
3. What is the role of democracy and representative government in the historical formation of 19th century society? Discuss either Guizot, Lecky or Acton.
4. How applicable were Tocqueville's observations about democracy in America to European society?
5. How did James Mill plan to use democracy in the struggle against the "sinister interests" of the aristocracy?
6. Why did Spencer think democracy was a new "political superstition"?

*The second Reform crusade: success*



**THE BRUMMAGEM FRANKENSTEIN.**

JOHN BRIGHT. "I HAVE NO FE-FE-FEAR OF MA-MANHOOD SUFFRAGE!"—*Mr. Bright's Speech at Birmingham.*

Zeldin Centralisation in Politics + Anger PP 157-80

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Week Two: Centralisation

Today we take the existence of a centralised nation state for granted but the creation of a centralised monopoly of police, defense, justice and legislative authority is of relatively recent origin. The process began in the 16th and 17th centuries and for many European countries it was still taking place well into the 19th century. The main obstacles to centralisation of political authority were regional élites who were reluctant to give up their powers of police, taxation and law-making (or interpretation). Many liberals viewed the creation of a central political authority with some trepidation. By crushing the power of regional and local élites and institutions the state was removing one of the most effective checks to irresponsible political power. This concern was shared by the anarchist Proudhon whose solution to the problem of excessive central power was federalism along the lines of the Swiss or American system.

Required Reading

I suggest you choose either France, Germany or Britain to examine the process of political centralisation. France is the classic example of a highly centralised power which had its origins in the absolute monarchs of the ancien régime and continued, in spite of the French Revolution, under Napoleon. The process was less successful in Britain and much delayed in the German states.

On France:

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford University Press, 1976). "Part 2. The Agencies of Change," pp. 195-374

On Germany:

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871*, 2 vols (Princeton University Press, 1969-72).

Or one of the following works on Britain:

*The Victorian Revolution: Government and Society in Victoria's Britain*, ed. Peter Stansky (New York: Franklin Watts, 1973). Articles by Macdonagh and Parris, pp. 5-57.

*Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, ed. Gillian Sutherland (1972).

Henry Parris, *Constitutional Bureaucracy: The Development of British Central Administration since the 18th Century* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969).



LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the 19th Century. Volume Three: The Triumph of Reform, 1830-1841*, trans. E.I. Watkin (London: Ernest Benn, 1950). "The Beginnings of Administrative Centralisation," pp. 98-129.

Texts

The reaction to political centralisation by liberals and anarchists is surprisingly similar. Choose one of the following:

1. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, ed. Richard Vernon (University of Toronto Press, 1979). (1863)

2. Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy, Revolution and Society*, ed. John Stone and Stephen Mennell (University of Chicago Press, 1980). Chapters 1-4, 10, pp. 47-162, 348-79. Or *Democracy in America*, ed. J.P. Mayer (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969). Also Alexis de Tocqueville, "Rapport... sur l'ouvrage de M. Cherbuliez, intitulé: 'De la Démocratie en Suisse (1848)'," in *Oeuvres, Papiers et Correspondances*, ed. J.P. Mayer (Paris: Gallimard), tome 1, vol. 2, pp. 351-67. (1835, 1840)

3. Charles Coquelin, "Centralisation," *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, ed. Coquelin et Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 1, pp. 291-300. A partial translation can be found in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 368-373. *translation in Democracy in America ed. J.P. Mayer Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969*

4. Charles Dunoyer, "Du système de la centralisation, de sa nature, de son influence, de ses limites et des réductions utiles qu'il est destiné à subir," *Journal des Économistes*, 1842, vol. 1, pp. 353-89. *De la liberté du travail (1845)*

5. John Stuart Mill, "Centralisation," *Edinburgh Review*, April 1862, vol. CXV, pp. 323-58; "Democracy in America," *Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. 2, pp. 1-82; "M. de Tocqueville on Democracy in America" in *John Stuart Mill on Politics and Society*, ed. Geraint L. Williams (Harvester Press, 1976), pp. 186-247. *Relevance?*

6. Joshua Toulmin Smith, *Local Self-Government and Centralisation* (London: Chapman, 1851).

7. E.A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government* (London: Macmillan, 1863).

Secondary Works

Vernon's introduction to Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, ed. Richard Vernon (University of Toronto Press, 1979).

George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Life and Work* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972) pp. 245-280.

Bernard Voyenne, *Histoire de l'idée fédéraliste. Tome 2: Le fédéralisme de P.J. Proudhon* (Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1973).

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Jack Lively, *The Social and Political Thought of Alexis de Tocqueville* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), "Centralisation," pp. 127-82.

Seymour Drescher, *Tocqueville and England* (Harvard University Press, 1964) "England 1835 - Centralisation and Liberty," pp. 74-104.

G. Pierson, *Tocqueville in America* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959).

André Jardin, "Tocqueville et la décentralisation," in *La Décentralisation* (VIe colloque d'histoire, Aix-en-Provence, 1961. Publication des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres).

Jean-Claude Lamberti, *Tocqueville et les deux démocraties* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983).

Iris Wessel Muller, *John Stuart Mill and French Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), "The Influence of Alexis de Tocqueville," pp. 134-69.

W.H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition. Volume Two: The Ideological Heritage* (London: Methuen, 1983), "The Libertarian Strand," pp. 263-87.

Rupert Emerson, *State and Sovereignty in Modern Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), "Federalism," pp. 92-125.

*Federalism: History and Current Significance of a Form of Government*, ed. J.C. Boogman and G.N. van der Plaats (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980). Articles in French, German and English on Swiss, French, American and German federalism.

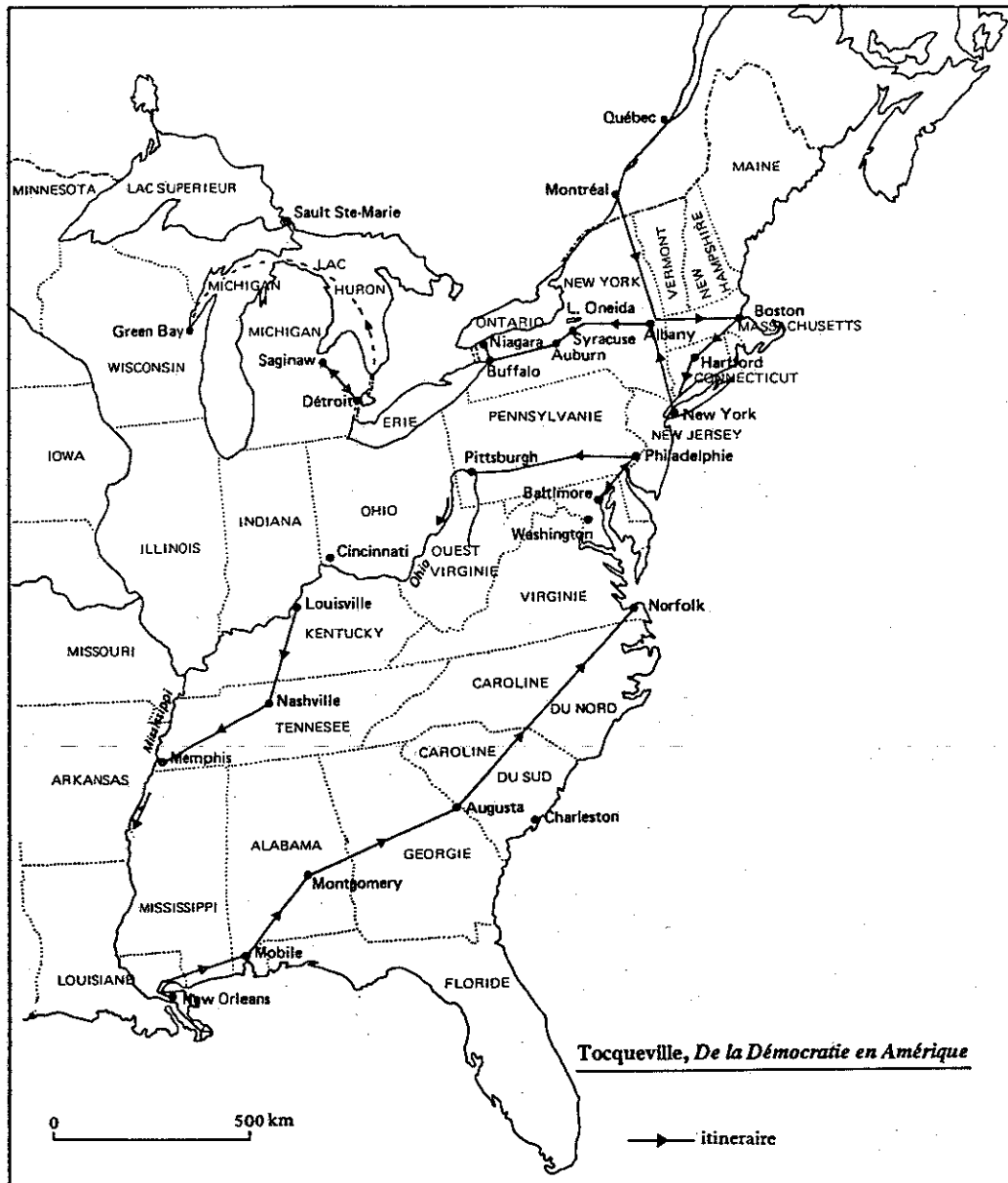
Rudolf Rocker, *Über das Wesen des Föderalismus in Gegensatz zum Zentralismus* (Berlin, 1923).

Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, trans. Ray E. Chase (St. Paul, Minnesota: Michael E. Coughlin, 1978).

#### Tutorial Questions

1. Why did liberals fear the process of political centralisation? What was their solution to it? Answer with respect to either Tocqueville, Mill or Toulmin Smith.
2. How effective is a federal system in reconciling local autonomy and the need for national policies? Discuss the thought of Tocqueville or Proudhon.

## VOYAGE EN AMÉRIQUE



## CHRONOLOGIE

2 avril - 11 mai 1831 : traversée Le Havre - New-York  
à bord du brick américain *Le Havre*  
11 mai-1er juillet : New-York  
1er-2 juillet : Albany  
6 juillet : lac d'Oneida  
8 juillet : Auburn  
16-18 juillet : Canandaigua  
19 juillet : Buffalo  
23 juillet : Detroit (par le lac Érie)  
26 juillet : Saginaw (par Pontiac et Flint River à cheval)  
28-30 juillet : Detroit  
1er-16 août : Buffalo et voyage sur le lac Michigan  
18-19 août : Niagara  
20-23 août : descente du Saint-Laurent de Buffalo à Montréal  
25-31 août : visite de Québec et les environs

2 septembre : retour à Montréal  
3 septembre : Saint-John  
5 septembre : Albany  
8 septembre-3 octobre : Boston  
12-27 octobre : Philadelphie (pendant l'émeute  
de Nat Turner en Virginie)  
28 octobre-6 novembre : Baltimore  
7-21 novembre : Philadelphie  
26 novembre : Pittsburgh  
27 novembre : naufrage sur l'Ohio  
15 décembre : arrivée à Memphis par route  
1er janvier 1832 : arrivée à la Nouvelle-Orléans par le Mississippi  
16 janvier : arrivée à Washington  
6 février : retour à New-York  
20 février : embarquement pour Le Havre à bord du *Henri IV*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week Three: Freedom of Speech

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press were important to liberals for reasons of principle, as an aspect of the liberty of the individual, as well as for reasons of practical politics. Many liberals believed that freedom of speech was an important check on the misuse of government power by exposing government action to critical examination by the educated classes. It was also important as a device for the political education of the middle and lower classes. Democracy could only be made to work if the newly enfranchised or soon to be enfranchised groups were able to follow parliamentary debates in newspapers and read and discuss the political literature published by different groups of lobbyists, parties and other organisations. Unfortunately for much of the 19th century censorship existed in various forms and was a constant source of irritation to liberal and other political reformers.

#### Required Reading

The reasons for liberal opposition to censorship can be followed in

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Freedom of speech, of the press, and of association," pp. 397-406, 492-511.

The extent of censorship and the struggles to remove it is discussed in Anderson and Goldstein.

Eugene N. Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1967). Chapter on "Civil Rights."

Robert Justin Golstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1983). Chapter 2 pp. 34-79.

As newspapers and journals became popular a new profession, that of the fulltime journalist, came into existence. O'Boyle discusses their activities in the period of their formation.

Lenore O'Boyle, "The Image of the Journalist in France, Germany and England, 1815-1848," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1968, vol. X, no. 3, pp. 290-317.

#### Texts

In addition read one of the following texts:

1. James Mill, *Essays on Government* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley). Essay on "The Liberty of the Press."

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

2. John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984). Chapter 2 "On the Liberty of Thought and Discussion," pp. 75-118; and "Law of Libel and Liberty of the Press," (1825) in *Collected Works*, ed. John M. Robson (University of Toronto Press, 1984), vol. XXI, pp. 1-34.
3. Benjamin Constant, "De la liberté de la pensée," in *Les 'Principes de politique' de Benjamin Constant*, vol. 2, ed. Étienne Hofmann (Genève: Droz, 1980) pp. 125-54.
4. Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Über Pressefreiheit" (1816) in *Schriften zur Politik und zum Bildungswesen. Volume 4: Werke*, ed. Andreas Flitner und Klaus Giel (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1964), pp. 338-46.

#### Secondary Works

Frede Castberg, *Freedom of Speech in the West: A Comparative Study of Public Law in France, the United States and Germany* (Oslo University Press, 1960). France pp. 9-23; Germany pp. 297-318.

Irene Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1888* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

W.H. Wickwar, *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819-1832* (1928).

*Histoire générale de la presse française*, ed. Claude Bellanger et al. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969).

#### Tutorial Questions

1. To what extent is the liberal defense of free speech and a free press based on principle and to what extent is it practical? Discuss with respect to James or John Stuart Mill.
2. How successful was censorship in suppressing reformist ideas in England, France or Germany.



II. — Saisie des presses au *National*  
(27 juillet 1830).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

*Lafayette + Poland.*

Week Four: The National Question

*on Nationalism James H. Bollington Fire in the Minds of Men*  
*Origins of Revolutionary France (1789)*

For nations like Britain and France which had already developed national and centralised governments in the 17th and 18th centuries there was no "national question" in the 19th century. There was however a growing feeling of identification with and support for the nation which was used to justify certain government policies, particularly in foreign and colonial policy. The situation was quite different in the numerous German states and in Italy. Groups which were closely linked culturally or linguistically were divided into a multitude of small principalities or states, or were occupied by foreign powers. In Germany and Italy the movement for liberal reforms became mixed up with the movement for national unification. In fact liberalism was often replaced by nationalism as the most powerful movement for reform. The difficult relationship between liberalism and nationalism is mostly clearly seen in Germany.

Required Reading

A good introduction to liberal ideas on nationality and nationalism can be found in Hayes.

Carlton J.H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1949). Chapter 5 "Liberal Nationalism," pp. 120-63.

Bramsted and Melhuish have a useful collection of documents on the conflict between liberalism and nationalism amongst German liberals.

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Freedom, Power and the Nation State: Germany 1814-1881," pp. 418-27, 535-65.

Two interesting interpretations of the national problem, again focusing on the difficult question of German nationalism and unification, are given by Namier and Schnabel.

*European Political History, 1815-1870. Aspects of Liberalism*, ed. Eugene C. Black (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967). Lewis B. Namier, "Nationality and Liberty," pp. 128-54; Franz Schnabel, "The Bismarck Problem," pp. 200-29.

Texts

Choose one of the following:

1. W.M. Simon, *Germany in the Age of Bismarck* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973). "Introduction: The Age of Bismarck," pp. 13-96; "The Liberal's Struggle with Bismarck and their Consciences," pp. 104-22.

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

2. Lord Acton, *Essays in the History of Liberty*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985). "Nationality," pp. 409-33.
3. François Guizot, *Historical Essays and Lectures*, ed. Stanley Mellon (University of Chicago Press, 1972). "The History of Civilization in France," pp. 266-394.
4. Guiseppe Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (London: Dent, 1924).

Secondary Works

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 1962).

G.E. Fasnacht, *Acton's Political Philosophy: An Analysis* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952), "Nationality and Power," pp. 126-39.

James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1982). "Conclusion: Liberalism, Nationalism, and the German Question," pp. 272-83.

Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition from the Reformation to 1871* (University of Chicago Press, 1972). Chapter 5 "National Liberation 1813-1815," pp. 174-215, and various references to nationalism in the rest of the book.

G.R. Mork, "Bismarck and the Capitulation of German Liberalism," *Journal of Modern History*, 1971, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 59-75.

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, trans. R.G. Collingwood (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967). "Freedom and Nationality," pp. 407-16.

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871*, 2 vols (Princeton University Press, 1969-72).

Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton).

George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: 1975).

Stanley Mellon, *The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Restoration* (Stanford University Press, 1958).

Douglas Johnson, *Guizot: Aspects of French History 1787-1874* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

Richard Hinton Thomas, *Liberalism, Nationalism and the German Intellectuals, 1822-1847: An Analysis of the Academic Scientific Conferences of the Period* (Cambridge, 1951).



# *Andrew Lees Revolutionary Reflections*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

John R. Rath, "The Viennese Liberals of 1848 and the Nationality Problem," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 1955-56, vol. 15, pp. 227-39.

*The Unification of Italy, 1859-1861: Cavour, Mazzini or Garibaldi* (New York: Holt, 1965).

John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester University Press, 1982).

Louis L. Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

### Tutorial Questions

1. How did Guizot use history to develop a feeling of nationalism in France?
2. Were German liberals able to reconcile their liberalism and their nationalism?
3. Why was national unification such a problem for German liberals?
4. How was Bismarck able to use the liberals' disagreement over the importance of national unification to his own advantage?
5. Why did Lord Acton believe that the "theory of nationality," as he called it, was a retrograde step and "the greatest adversary of the rights of nationality?"
6. What is the relationship between liberty and nationality in the writings of Mazzini?

**William I, King of Prussia,  
accompanied by Bismarck, Moltke,  
and their entourage on the morning  
of the Battle of Königgrätz, 1866.**





**François Guizot: Orleanism, from liberal to conservative.**

*(Documentation Française)*

Hamburger on Mill }  
Mill on Reform Party }

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Tocqueville Presch

Week Five: Liberal Political Parties

Gradually liberal reformers, who had originally sought reform from within the state bureaucracy or by influencing the existing political parties, created new and independent political parties which were explicitly liberal. I suggest you ask yourselves the following questions as you do the reading: how were these parties organised, which social groups did they represent, how successful were they in bringing about liberal reforms, what issues did they become involved in, did they "sell-out" liberal principles once they reached office, and were they the best means liberals could use to bring about change.

There are no texts to read this week. Instead we will be discussing some of the more famous and successful liberal politicians such as Alexis de Tocqueville and François Guizot in France, and John Bright, William Gladstone and John Morely in Great Britain.

Required Reading

A good introduction to the history and function of political parties in the 19th century is

Eugene N. Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1967). Chapter on "Political Parties."

I suggest that you choose one of the following liberals who were active in politics to study in some detail:

Alexis de Tocqueville

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Selected Letters on Politics and Society*, ed. James Toupin and Roger Boesche (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. J.P. Mayer and A.P. Kerr (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971).

J.P. Mayer, *Alexis de Tocqueville: A Biographical Study in Political Science* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960).

E.T. Gargan, *Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years 1848-1851* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955).

Mary Lawlor, *Alexis de Tocqueville in the Chamber of Deputies: His Views on Foreign and Colonial Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Louis Adolphe Thiers

John M. Allison, *Thiers and the French Monarchy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926).

Albrecht-Carrié, A. *Thiers or the Triumph of the Bourgeoisie* (1977).

François Pierre Guillaume Guizot

Douglas Johnson, *Guizot: Aspects of French History 1787-1874* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

French Liberalism: General

David Thompson, *Democracy in France Since 1870* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

René Rémond, *The Right Wing in France from 1815 to De Gaulle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966).

Vincent Starzinger, *Middlingness: Juste Milieu Political Theory in France and England, 1815-48* (1965).

Roger Soltau, *French Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1931).

Louis Giraud, *Les libéraux français 1814-1875* (Paris: Aubier, 1985).

André Jardin, *Histoire du libéralisme politique de la crise de l'absolutisme à la constitution de 1875* (Paris: Hachette, 1985).

John Bright

*Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by John Bright, M.P.*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (London, 1883).

*The Diaries of John Bright*, ed. R.A.J. Walling (1930).

Herman Ausubel, *John Bright: Victorian Reformer* (New York: John Wiley, 1966).

Donald Read, *Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

Keith Roberts, *John Bright* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

William Gladstone

*Speeches*, ed. A. Tilney Bassett (London: Methuen, 1916).

John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1903).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Philip Magnus, *Gladstone: A Biography* (London: Murray, 1954).

E.J. Feuchtwanger, *Gladstone* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

Richard Shannon, *Gladstone* (London: Hamilton, 1982).

John Morley

D.A. Hamer, *John Morley: Liberal Intellectual in Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

British Liberal Parties: General

Paul Adelman, *Victorian Radicalism: The Middle-Class Experience 1830-1914* (London: Longman, 1984).

Paul Adelman, *Gladstone, Disraeli and Later Victorian Politics* (London: Longman, 1970).

John Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-1868* (Brighton: Harvester, 1976).

D.A. Hamer, *Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

J. Roach, "Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 1957, vol. 13, no. 1.

German Liberal Parties: General

Since very little is in English anyone wishing to write on the German liberal parties will have to make do with secondary sources.

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Freedom, Power and the Nation State: Germany 1814-1881," pp. 418-27, 535-65.

Leonore O'Boyle, "Liberal Political Leadership in Germany, 1867-1884," *Journal of Modern History*, 1956, vol. 28, pp. 338-52.

James J. Sheehan, "Political Leadership in the German Reichstag, 1871-1918," *American Historical Review*, 1968, vol. 74, pp. 511-28.

James J. Sheehan, "Liberalism and the City in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Past and Present*, 1971, vol. 51, pp. 116-37.

James J. Sheehan, "Liberalism and Society in Germany 1815-48," *Journal of Modern History*, 1973, vol. 45, pp. 583-604.

James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1982).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition from the Reformation to 1871* (University of Chicago Press, 1972).

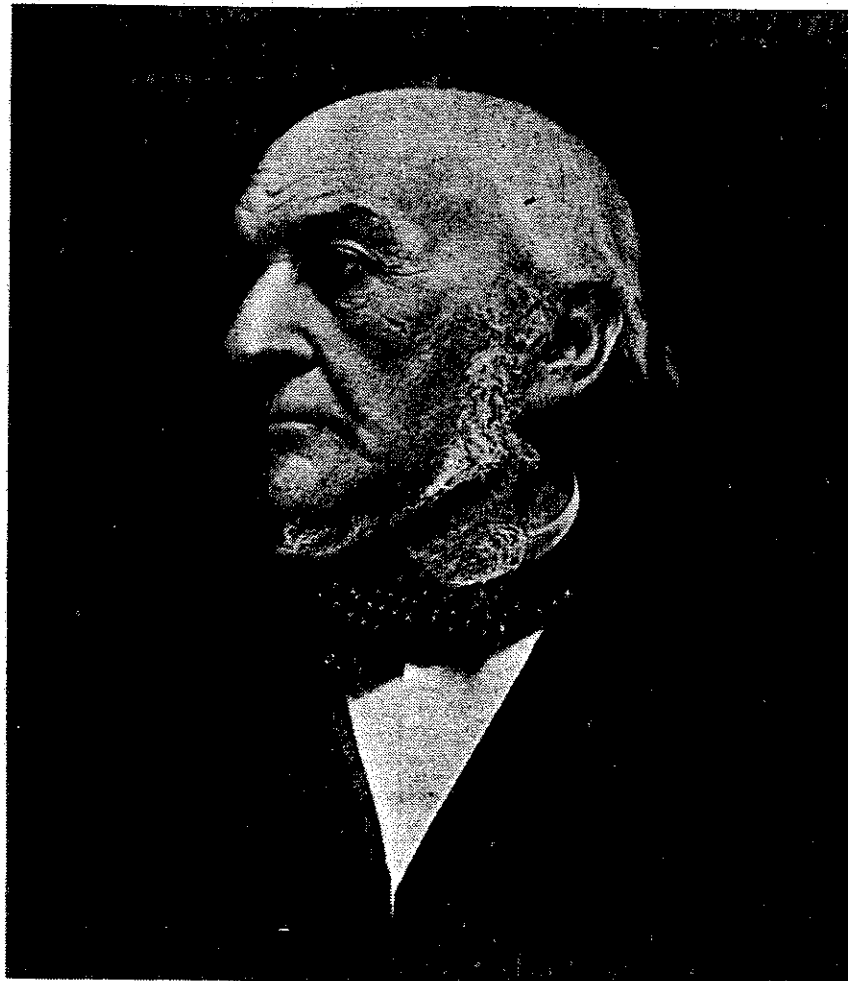
G.R. Mork, "Bismarck and the Capitulation of German Liberalism," *Journal of Modern History*, 1971, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 59-75.

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871*, 2 vols (Princeton University Press, 1969-72).

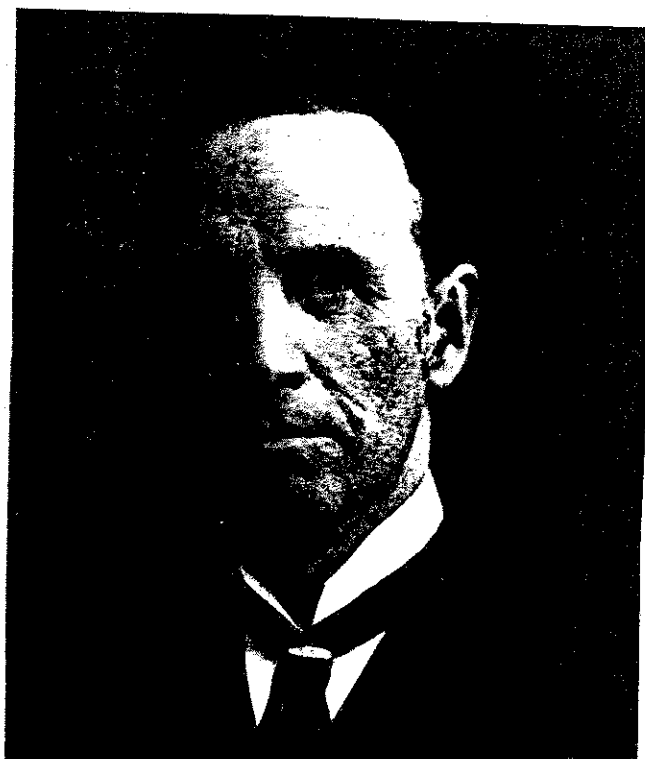
Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton).

Tutorial Questions

1. Choose one of the following liberal politicians and discuss their social background, whom they represented in politics, what issues they became involved in when in office and how successfully they advanced the cause of liberal reform: Tocqueville, Thiers, Guizot, Bright, Gladstone, or Morley.
2. Why was the organised liberal movement in Germany split into so many different political parties? Does this account for their ineffectiveness against Bismarck?



16b William Gladstone



John Morley, c. 1883



Thiers: the self-made man as Orleanist.



Portrait of Lord Acton, by F. von Lenbach  
*Reproduced by permission of National Portrait Gallery*



*Norman Asch To Great Britain*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week Six: War and Peace

In many ways the 19th century was less violent than both the 18th and the 20th centuries. There were extended periods of peace which coincided with periods of dramatic economic development and prosperity. A result of this prosperity was faith in unlimited economic and moral progress which many liberals believed would make war increasingly unprofitable and unnecessary. At the same time industrial and technological developments increased the destructiveness of any future war beyond the comprehension of most 19th century people. Although the major European powers were less often at war with each other in the 19th century they continued to be brutal towards the less developed people they encountered in their colonies and the rivalry which existed between the European powers over colonial and imperial possessions sowed the seeds for future conflict. Liberals were acutely aware of the dangers which this imperial rivalry and the wars which resulted from it posed for the continuation of liberal reforms. For many liberals the demands of the military were impossible to reconcile with small and cheap government. Not to mention the moral questions which war and imperialism raised.

#### Required Reading

Hamerow discusses the technological changes which increased the destructiveness of war as well as the imperial rivalries which made the possibility of war greater.

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Chapter 13 "The Pattern of Diplomacy," pp. 337-62; chapter 14 "The System of Warfare," pp. 343-388.

The response of liberals to war was to denounce it and to stress the essentially pacific nature of free trade and the industrial system. Silberner's book is excellent on the attitude of liberals and others (like Marx and List) to the problem of war.

Edmund Silberner, *The Problem of War in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe (Princeton University Press, 1946). On James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Jean-Baptiste Say, Frédéric Bastiat and Gustave de Molinari.

Bramsted and Melhuish have a small selection of documents which illustrate this aspect of liberal thought.

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "The Belief in International Harmony," pp. 278-87, 352-83.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Texts

Choose one of the following individuals to examine in detail:

1. *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* by John Bright, M.P., ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (London, 1883).
2. Richard Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden*, 2 vols, ed. Naomi Churgin Miller (New York: Garland Publishing, 1973); and *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* by Richard Cobden, M.P., ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1970), vol. 2.
3. *Free Trade and Other Fundamental Doctrines of the Manchester School*, ed. Francis W. Hirst (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), Part 3, "Wars and Armaments."
4. Frédéric Passy, "The Future of Arbitration," in *Instead of Violence: Writings by the great Advocates of Peace and Nonviolence throughout History*, ed. Arthur and Lila Weinberg (Boston: Beacon, 1971).
5. *J. Bentham, Principles of International Law*  
James Mill, "Law of Nations," in James Mill, *Essays on Government* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley).
6. John Viscount Morley, *Memorandum on Resignation. August 1914* (London: Macmillan, 1928), ed. Guy Morley.
7. Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ed. Stanislaw Andreski (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969). "The Militant Type of Society," "The Industrial Type of Society," pp. 499-571. And "Re-Barbarisation," and "Regimentation," pp. 122-41 in *Facts and Comments* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1902).
8. Benjamin Constant, *De l'esprit de conquête et de l'usurpation dans leurs rapports avec la civilisation européenne* (1814), in *De la liberté chez les modernes: écrits politiques*, ed. Marcel Gauchet (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1980), pp. 107-261.

### Secondary Works

William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (University of Chicago Press, 1982). Chapters 6-8, pp. 185-306.

Geoffrey Best, *Humanity in Warfare: The Modern History of the International Law of Armed Conflicts* (London: Methuen, 1983). Chapter 3, pp. 128-215.

Herman Ausubel, *John Bright: Victorian Reformer* (New York: John Wiley, 1966).

J.A. Hobson, *Richard Cobden: The International Man* (London: Ernest Benn, 1968).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1903).

"Excursus: The Peace Movement in France," pp. 327-83 in Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892-1914* (Princeton University Press, 1975).

A.C.F. Beales, *The History of Peace: A Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace* (New York: The Dial Press, 1931).

"Bentham and Mill," pp. 81-91 in F.H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations between States* (Cambridge University Press, 1963).

D.A. Hamer, *John Morley: Liberal Intellectual in Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978). "'Militant' and 'Industrial' Society," pp. 243-56.

Guy H. Dodge, *Benjamin Constant's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Study in Politics and Religion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). Chapter 2 "Conquest, Dictatorship, and Ancient Liberty," pp. 18-51.

Donald Read, *Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967)

*materialised Economic Arguments Chosen as a fabric*

Keith Roberts, *John Bright* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (London: St Martin's Press, 1967).

Tutorial Questions

1. Why did Cobden and Bright oppose increases in the budget for naval and army expenditure?
2. Discuss Cobden or Bright's attitude to the Crimean War (against Russia)?
3. What was Passy's role in the organised peace movement of the late 19th century?
4. How did James Mill expect international law to reduce the risk of war?
5. What reasons did Morley give for opposing the declaration of war against Germany in August 1914? Why was he the only liberal to resign from parliament over this issue?
6. How did Spencer distinguish between the industrial and the militant type of societies? What kind of society did Spencer believe existed in Britain towards the end of his life?

*Manchester and the 'Middle-Class Spirit'*



**A BRIGHT IDEA!**

The Peace Recruiting Sergeant Trying to Enlist the Duke.



### A PROTEST IN THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

*Honest John (Morley).* "NAY, FRIEND BALFOUR, OUR POCKETS ARE CLOSED TO THIS ACCURSED MAN-OF-ARMS! SUCH UNSEEMLY GLORY WILL BRING OUR LITTLE LAND TO SHAME. VERILY, IT BRINGETH TO MIND THE WORST DAYS OF THE MEN WELLINGTON AND NELSON!"

*Three leading Liberal anti-imperialists — Henry Labouchere, John Morley, and C. P. Scott — by E. T. Reed of Punch, 31 May 1899*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week Seven: Colonialism and Imperialism

In many respects this week's reading is a continuation of last week's on war and peace. The important question to focus on is whether it is possible to have peaceful trade with and settlement of colonies without at the same time engaging in a policy of "imperialism", with all that it connotes. Liberals believed that imperialism and protective tariffs went hand-in-hand whilst free trade was the antithesis of imperialism. We will examine the important arguments put forward by Semmel and others that free trade created a form of imperialism as well as the liberals' denials.

#### Required Reading

It is important to understand the nature of European imperialism before turning to what liberals and their critics thought about it. Read one of the following for background information before attempting Semmel's book:

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Chapter 15 "The Zenith of Imperialism," pp. 389-415.

D.K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).

D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires from the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Dell, 1966). "Part 2: The Colonial Empires after 1815)."

Semmel raises the following important questions: did Britain's free trade policy create a new kind of imperialism and did advocates of free trade plan to use trade as a mechanism for imperial control? Platt and Macdonough disagree.

Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1970). Chapters 3-7, pp. 48-175.

G. Macdonough, "The Anti-Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 1962, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 489-501.

#### Texts

Select one of the following:

1. *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by John Bright, M.P.*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (London, 1883).

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

2. Richard Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden*, 2 vols, ed. Naomi Churgin Miller (New York: Garland Publishing, 1973); and *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by Richard Cobden, M.P.*, ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1970), vol. 2.
3. *Free Trade and Other Fundamental Doctrines of the Manchester School*, ed. Francis W. Hirst (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), "Colonial and Fiscal Policy."
4. John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention (1859)," in *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education: Volume 21, Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson (University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 111-24.
5. James Mill, *Selected Economic Writings*, ed. Donald Winch (University of Chicago Press) and the article "Colonies" in *Essays on Government* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley).
6. Herbert Spencer, "Imperialism and Slavery," in *Facts and Comments* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1902), pp. 112-121.
7. J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*, ed. Philip Siegelman (University of Michigan Press, 1972).
8. *The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism*, ed. D.K. Fieldhouse (London: Longman, Green, 1967).
9. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Selected Letters on Politics and Society*, ed. Roger Boesche (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 360-65; *Democracy in America*, ed. J.P. Mayer (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969), Chapter 2 "Concerning their point of departure...", pp. 31-49; "Abolition of Slavery," in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 98-173.
10. "Anticolonialistes libéraux," in *L'anticolonialisme en France de 1871-1914*, ed. Charles-Robert Ageron (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973), pp. 45-53.

#### Secondary Works

J.D.Y. Peel, *Herbert Spencer: The Evolution of a Sociologist* (London: Heinemann, 1971), pp. "History's Revenge," 224-48.

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978).

Ian Bradley, *The Optimists: Themes and Personalities in Victorian Liberalism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980). "Non-Intervention and Self-Determination," pp. 123-48.

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 1953, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

D.C.M. Platt, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Some Reservations," *Economic History Review*, 1968, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 296-306.

D.C.M. Platt, "Further Objections to an 'Imperialism of Free Trade'," *Economic History Review*, 1973, vol. 26, pp. 77-91.

D.N. Winch, "Classical Economics and the Case for Colonization," *Economica*, 1963, vol. 30, no. 120, pp. 387-99.

D.N. Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Harvard University Press, 1965).

P.J. Cain, "J.A. Hobson, Cobdenism, and the Radical Theory of Economic Imperialism, 1898-1914," *Economic History Review*, 1978, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 565-84.

Michael Freedan, "J.A. Hobson as a New Liberal Theorist: Some Aspects of his Social Thought until 1914," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1973, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 421-43.

Henri Baudet, "Alexis de Tocqueville et la pensée coloniale du XIXe siècle," in *Alexis de Tocqueville: Livre du Centenaire, 1859-1959* (Paris, 1960), pp. 121-131.

Sally Gerschman, "Alexis de Tocqueville and Slavery," *French Historical Studies*, 1976, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 467-83.

André Jardin, "Tocqueville et l'Algérie," *Revue des travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 1962, no. 115, pp. 61-74.

Mary Lawlor, *Alexis de Tocqueville in the Chamber of Deputies: His Views on Foreign and Colonial Policy* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959).

André Martel, "Tocqueville et les problèmes coloniaux de la Monarchie de Juillet," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 1954, vol. 32, pp. 367-88.

Seymour Drescher, *Tocqueville and England* (Harvard University Press, 1964).

*Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, ed. Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe (New York: Longman, 1983).

Winfried Baumgart, *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

H.V. Emy, *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1973).



LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

H.C.G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Elite* (Oxford, 1973).

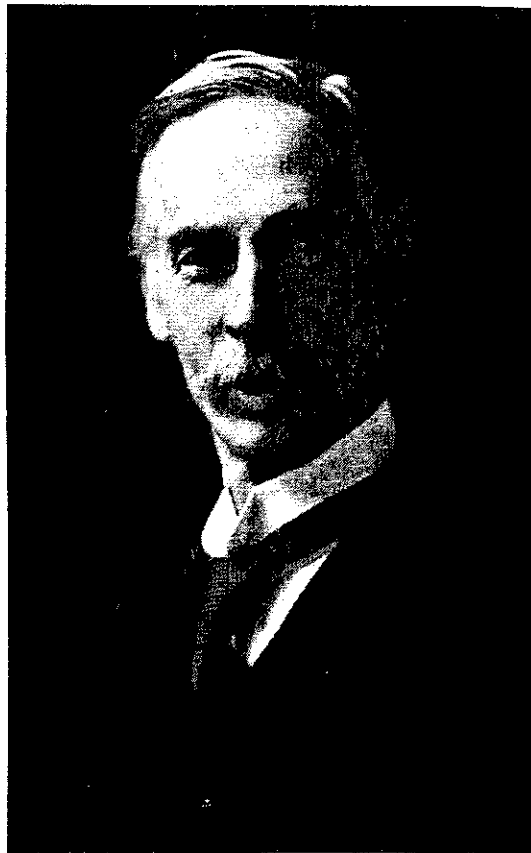
*The Robinson Gallagher Controversy*, ed. W.R. Louis (New York, 1976).

C.C. Wrigley, "Neo-Mercantile Policies and the New Imperialism," *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India*, ed. Clive Dewey and A.G. Hopkins (London: 1978), pp. 20-34.

Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa 1895-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1968).

Tutorial Questions

1. Discuss the views of one of the following individuals on colonies and imperialism: Cobden, Bright, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Spencer, Tocqueville.
2. Is there an "imperialism of free trade?" Discuss the debate between Gallagher and Robinson, Semmel, Platt and Macdonough?
3. What is Hobson's theory of imperialism and how does it differ from earlier liberal theories?
4. How did classical economists justify colonization?



*John Atkinson Hobson*

A LECTURE  
ON  
FREE TRADE,

IN CONNEXION WITH  
THE CORN LAWS;

DELIVERED AT THE  
WHITE CONDUIT HOUSE, ON JANUARY 31, 1843.

BY  
THOMAS HODGSKIN.

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.  
1843.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week Eight: Classical Political Economy and Laissez-faire

This week we will be examining the claim that the 19th century was a period a laissez-faire in economic policy, i.e. that the government adopted a general policy of non-interference in economic matters. This view was expressed by both opponents and supporters of liberalism, in particular by the historian A.V. Dicey who saw the period of "Benthamism" in Great Britain as essentially laissez-faire. Historians have radically altered this view by describing the extensive way in which governments did in fact interfere in the economy in areas such as factory acts, poor laws, labour regulation, monetary policy, railway legislation, etc. Many classical political economists supported selected government intervention in the economy - the few who advocated true laissez-faire policies, such as Say, Martineau and Spencer, were only a minority.

#### Required Reading

Begin with the collection of extracts in Bramsted and Melhuish and Evans which give a good indication of the diversity of views on economic policy.

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Economic Liberalism," pp. 250-68, 310-33.

*Social Policy 1830-1914: Individualism, Collectivism and the Origins of the Welfare State*, ed. Eric J. Evans (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). Chapter 1: "State Intervention: The Tempering of Individualism," pp. 19-42.

The debate about the extent to which government policy was laissez-faire is summarised by Coats and Taylor.

*The Classical Economists and Economic Policy*, ed. A.W. Coats (London: Methuen, 1971). "Editor's Introduction," pp. 1-32; H. Scott Gordon, "The Ideology of Laissez-Faire," pp. 180-205.

Arthur J. Taylor, *Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1972).

#### Texts

Choose one of the following to study in greater detail:

1. A.V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relationship Between Law and Public Opinion in England During the Nineteenth Century* (1905) (London: Macmillan, 1920). Lectures 4 and 6, pp. 62-69, 126-210.

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

2. W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times. Part 2: Laissez-faire* (1903).
3. Harriet Martineau, *Illustrations of Political Economy* (London : C. Fox, 1832).
4. Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State: With Six Essays on Government, Society and Freedom* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).
5. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978). Volume 2: Part IV, chapters 15-16, 26-29; Part V, chapters 1-3.
6. *A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation*, ed. Thomas Mackay (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).
7. John Elliot Cairnes, "Political Economy and Laissez-Faire" and "Bastiat," in *Essays in Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1873).
8. John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Book V, sections I, VIII-XI, pp. 145-52, 239-346. Other relevant sections which can be found in any complete edition of the *Principles* are Book II, chapters 1-2, 112-13; Book IV, chapters 2, 7.
9. Jean-Baptiste Say, *Treatise of Political Economy*, ed. Clement C. Biddle (Philadelphia: Grigg and Elliott, 1832), Book III, chapter 6, pp. 373-405.

Secondary Works

Lionel Robbins, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1953).

Sydney Checkland, *British Public Policy 1777-1939: An Economic, Social and Political Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1983). Parts 2 and 3, pp. 61-159.

Ellen Frankel Paul, *Moral Revolution and Economic Science: The Demise of Laissez-faire in Nineteenth Century British Political Economy* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979).

Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of J.S. Mill* (Durham, North Carolina Press: Duke University Press, 1972).

Mark Francis, "Herbert Spencer and the Myth of Laissez-Faire," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1978, pp. 317-28.

R.K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau* (1960).

Bartlett J. Brebner, "Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Economic History*, 1948, vol. 8.

Rudolf W. Waller, "B.C. Liberalism" B.C. Soc 1984

H Perkins, *Industrialism's Collection*  
in *19th Century Britain: A False Antithesis*, *Oxford Studies*  
1977 vol. 12

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

H. Scott Gordon, "The London Economist and the High Tide of Laissez-Faire," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1955, vol. 63, no. 6, pp. 461-88.

Colin J. Holmes, "Laissez-faire in Theory and Practice: Britain, 1800-1875," *Journal of European Economic History*, 1976, vol. 5.

*Revolution of Evolutions: British Government in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Valerie Cromwell (London: Longman, 1977).

D.P. O'Brien, *The Classical Economists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). Chapter 10, "The Policy Prescriptions of Classical Economics," pp. 272-92.

H. Scott Gordon, "Laissez-faire," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968), vol. 8, pp. 546-49.

Jacob Viner, "The Intellectual History of Laissez-faire," *Journal of Law and Economics*, 1960, vol. 3, pp. 49-69.

Jacob Viner, "Bentham and J.S. Mill: The Utilitarian Background," in *The Long View and the Short* (Glencoe, Illinois: 1958), pp. 30-31.

Pedro Schwartz, "John Stuart Mill and Laissez-faire: London Water," *Economica*, 1966, vol. 33, pp. 71-83.

J.M. Keynes, "The End of Laissez-faire" (1926) in *Essays in Persuasion* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), pp. 312-22.

G.D.H. Cole, "Laissez-faire," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. IX-X (New York: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 15-20.

Warren J. Samuels, *The Classical Theory of Economic Policy* (New York: World Publishing Co.).

Donald G. Rohr, *The Origins of Social Liberalism in Germany* (University of Chicago Press). "The Argument for Free Enterprise," pp. 78-166.

Rainer Koch, "'Industriesystem' oder 'bürgerliche Gesellschaft'. Der frühe deutsche Liberalismus und das Laissez-faire-Prinzip," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 1978, vol. 10, pp. 605-28.

Tutorial Questions

1. Is Dicey's account of "Benthamism" as essentially laissez-faire an accurate one?
2. How do older historical works, such as Cunningham's, which describe Victorian economic policy as laissez-faire compare with modern accounts like Checkland's? How do you explain this change in interpretation?
3. To what extent were the following liberals advocates of true laissez-faire policies? Martineau, Spencer, Mackay, Say. Answer with respect to one of them.

4. What reservations did either Cairnes or Mill have about laissez-faire policies? What role did they see for government intervention in the economy?

## FREE TRADE.

### II.

#### CORN-LAWS.—MR. VILLIERS' ANNUAL MOTION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 24, 1842.

[On Feb. 18, 1842, Mr. Villiers proposed his annual motion, to the effect, 'that all duties payable on the importation of corn, grain, meal, and flour, do now cease and determine.' After five days' debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 303 (393 to 90), on Feb. 24. Mr. Cobden was one of the tellers. The majority of the Conservative party voted or paired; but 108 of the Opposition were absent. On the last day of the debate, Mr. Ferrand, Member for Knaresborough, made a violent personal attack on Mr. Cobden. In explanation, Mr. Cobden stated, once for all, that he intended never to be driven into personal altercation with any Member of the House. He was advised by Mr. Byng, then the senior Member of the House, to be utterly indifferent to Mr. Ferrand's personalities. Shortly after the rejection of Mr. Villiers' motion, Sir R. Peel made certain alterations in the sliding-scale, the maximum duties on wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, and beans, from foreign countries, being 20s., 11s., 11s. 6d., 8s., and 11s. 6d. the quarter, and from British colonies, 5s., 2s. 6d., 3s., 2s., and 3s.; a shilling duty being payable when wheat rose to 73s., barley to 37s., oats to 27s., rye, peas, and beans, to 42s., if the corn was of foreign origin, while, if colonial corn were imported, the shilling duty commenced on wheat at 58s., and a 6d. duty on barley at 31s., oats at 33s., rye, peas, and beans at 34s. Similar duties were to be levied on meal and flour.]

If the hon. Gentleman (Sir Howard Douglas) who has just sat down will give the House another promise, that when he speaks he will always speak to the subject, the House will have a more satisfactory prospect of his future addresses. I have sat here seven nights, listening to the discussion on what should have been the question of the Corn-laws, and I must say that I think my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. Villiers) has just grounds for complaint, that in all those seven nights scarcely two hours have been given to the subject of the bread-tax. Our trade with China, the war in Syria, the bandying of compliments between parties and partisans, have occu-

pied our attention much and often, but very little has been said on the question really before the House. I may venture to say that not one speaker on the other side of the House has yet grappled with the question so ably propounded by my hon. Friend, which is—How far, how just, how honest, and how expedient it was to have any tax whatever laid upon the food of the people? That is the question to be decided; and when I heard the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) so openly express his sympathy for the working classes of this country, I expected that the right hon. Baronet would not have finished his last speech on this question without at least giving some little consideration to the claims



Friedrich List (1789-1846)

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

### Week Nine: Free Trade and Protection

One of the great successes for liberal economic reformers was the repeal of the Corn Laws in Britain in 1846, which ushered in a period of deregulation across western Europe. It also revealed for the first time the newly acquired power of the middle class which was able to organise an effective popular campaign to end the most important element in the protection of agriculture. The Anti-Corn Law agitation was not only the result of the spread of the new liberal political economy but also an example of class conflict between the emerging middle class and the traditional aristocratic farm owners who benefited from the Corn Law restrictions. It is important to keep these two aspects of the Anti-Corn Law agitation in mind when you do the reading for this week. The success of free trade was only short-lived. Later in the century powerful groups, particularly in Germany, were able to have protection reintroduced. This was partly because of naked self-interest and partly due to the nationalistic ideas of theorists like the influential German economist Friedrich List.

#### Required Reading

To remind you of the theory behind the repeal of the Corn Laws the following collection of extracts is useful:

*Western Liberalism*, ed. Bramsted and Melhuish, "Economic Liberalism," pp. 250-68, 310-34.

The best account of the league is by McCord and a good recent discussion is by Chaloner. The middle-class support for the movement is stressed by Adelman.

Norman McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League 1838-1846* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968). "Introduction" and chapters 1, 7, 8 and "Epilogue."

W.H. Chaloner, "The Agitation Against the Corn-Laws," in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850*, ed. J.T. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 135-51.

Paul Adelman, *Victorian Radicalism: The Middle-Class Experience 1830-1914* (London: Longman, 1984). "Radicalism and the Anti-Corn Law League," pp. 11-28.

The success of the Anti-Corn Law League spread to France where it was taken up by Bastiat. Russell describes how the French liberals advocated free trade reforms.

Dean Russell, *Frédéric Bastiat: Ideas and Influence* (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1965), chapters 4-8, pp. 41-105.



337.0942 M131

Free Trade: Theory + Practice from Adam Smith  
to Keynes, ed. Norman Macleod (David + Charles)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Texts

Newton Abbot Devon  
(1970)

Choose one of the following to study in greater detail:

1. Richard Cobden, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* by Richard Cobden, M.P., ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1970), vol. 1, "Free Trade," pp. 1-232.
2. *Free Trade and Other Fundamental Doctrines of the Manchester School*, ed. Francis W. Hirst (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), Part 2: "The Corn Laws and Free Trade," pp. 117-285.
3. Frédéric Bastiat, "Protection and Communism: To M. Thiers," in *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, ed. George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1975), pp. 194-228.
4. James Mill, *Selected Economic Writings*, ed. Donald Winch (University of Chicago Press). "An Essay of the Impolicy of a Bounty on the Exportation of Grain" and "Commerce Defended."
5. John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Book V, section IV: "Of Taxes on Commodities," pp. 190-212.
6. Thomas Hodgskin, "A Lecture on Free Trade in Connection with the Corn Laws," (1843) in *Popular Political Economy* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966).
7. Friedrich List, *The Natural System of Political Economy* (1837), ed. W.D. Henderson (London: Frank Cass, 1983) and *The National System of Political Economy: International Commerce, Commercial Policy, and the German Customs Union* (1841).
8. Jean-Baptiste Say, *Treatise of Political Economy*, ed. Clement C. Biddle (Philadelphia: Grigg and Elliott, 1832), Book I, chapter 17, "Of Regulations affecting the Corn Trade," pp. 134-144.
9. Gustave de Molinari, "Liberté du Commerce - Liberté des échanges," in *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, ed. Coquelin et Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 49-63. A partial translation can be found in the entry "Protection," in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 3, pp. 413-423.

Secondary Works

*Documents of European Economic History*, ed. S. Pollard and C. Holmes (London: Edward Arnold, 1968). Volume 1, chapter 12, "Commercial Policy," pp. 364-404. Volume 2, chapter 3, "European Trade, Investment and Imperialism," pp. 139-218.

Banjamin H. Brown The Tariff Reform Movement  
in GB 1881-1895 (NY 1943)  
A.W. Coats, "Pol EC + the Tariff Reform Campaign of 1903,"

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

English Historical Documents 1833-1874, ed. S.M. Young and W.D. Handcock (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1956). Part 5: "Chartism and Free Trade," pp. 401-93.

Joseph Garnier, "List," in *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, ed. Coquelin et Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 74-82. A partial translation can be found in the entry "List and His System," in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 2.

George Armitage-Smith, *The Free-trade Movement and its Results* (1903) (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969).

W. Cunningham, *The Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement* (1904).

Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash and Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Governments 1813-1830* (Oxford University Press, 1977).

L. Brown, *The Board of Trade and the Free-Trade Movement, 1830-42* (Oxford, 1958).

Lucy Brown, "The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League," in *Chartist Studies*, ed. Asa Briggs (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 342-71.

Donald Read, *Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

Keith Robbins, "John Bright and the Middle-Class in Politics," in *The Middle Class in Politics*, ed. John Garrard et al. (1978).

Herman Ausubel, *John Bright: Victorian Reformer* (New York: John Wiley, 1966).

J.A. Hobson, *Richard Cobden: The International Man* (London: Ernest Benn, 1968).

John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1903).

Keith Roberts, *John Bright* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

Norman McCord, "Cobden and Bright in Politics 1846-1857," in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian England*, ed. Robert Robson (1967).

Michael Stephen Smith, *Tariff Reform in France 1860-1900: The Politics of Economic Interest* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980).

Michael S. Smith, "Free Trade versus Protection in the Early Third Republic: Economic Interests, Tariff Policy, and the Making of the Republican Synthesis," *French Historical Studies*, 1977, vol. 10, pp. 293-314.

Arthur Louis Dunham, *The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France* (Ann Arbor, 1930).

Nicholas C. Edsall RC: Independent Radical COP 1988  
Wendy Hinde RC: A Victorian Crusader Yale UP

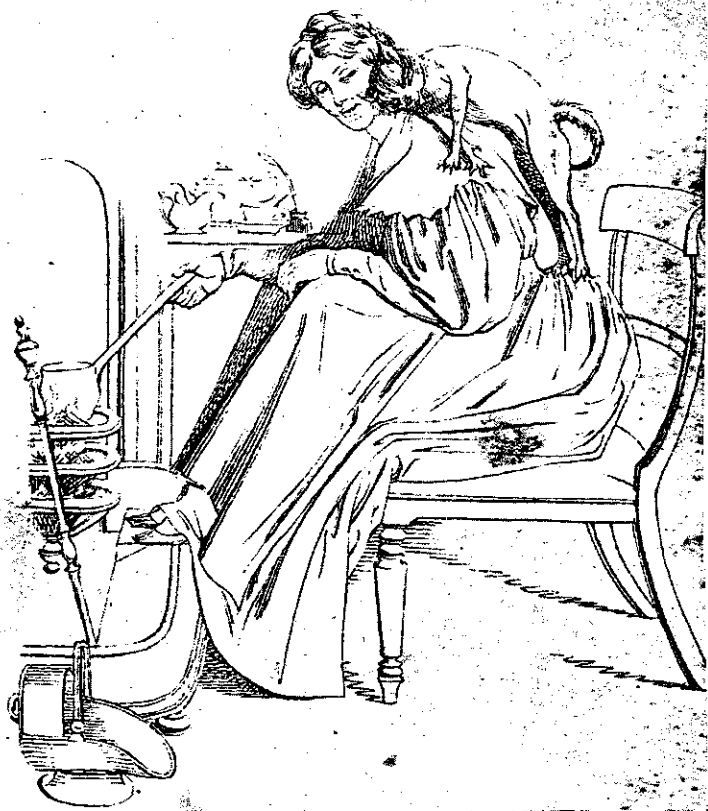


HARRIET MARTINEAU, c. 1835



IV. CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR BY ARY SCHEFFER

A print of this painting hung in Miss Martineau's room at Tyne-mouth. That talisman, she called it, "including the consolations of eighteen centuries!—that mysterious assemblage of the redeemed Captives and tranquilized Mourners of a whole Christendom!—that inspired epitome of suffering and solace!—it may well be a cause of wonder, almost amounting to alarm, to those who, not having needed, have never felt its power. If there were now burnings or drownings for sorcery, that picture, and some who possess it, would soon be in the fire, or at the bottom of a pond. No mute operation of witchcraft, or its dread, could exceed the silent power of that picture over sufferers." (*Life in the Sickroom*, p. 158). In a leading article in the *Daily News*, December 22, 1857, she described it. On the one hand, Christ heals the brokenhearted: the mother and her dead infant; Tasso representing the woes of genius; the aged widow; the young widow, and the young girl representing faith, resignation, and hope, the three phases of trust. The three men behind, the infidel, the recusant, the intending suicide, represent the converse moods of unbelief, rebellion, and despair. On the other hand, He delivers the captives—Mary Magdalen, the maniac, serfs of various nations, and the Negro slave. In the corner are the "beautiful accessories" of the broken sword and spent cannonball. In the article she was angry because a Southern book used the picture with the Negro omitted.



### III. A CONTEMPORARY OPINION

Here is Miss Harriet in the full enjoyment of economical philosophy: her tea-things, her ink-bottle, her skillet, her scuttle, her chair, are all of the Utilitarian model; and the cat, on whom she bestows her kindest caresses, is a cat who has been trained to the utmost propriety of manners by that process of instructions which we should think the most efficient on all such occasions. There she sits cooking—

"... rows  
Of chubby duodecimos;"

certain of applause from those whose praise is ruin, and of the regret of all who feel respect for the female sex, and sorrow for perverted talent, or, at least, industry; doomed to wither in the cold approbation of the political economists; and, after ghosting it about for their hour,

"... thence  
Be buried at the Row's expense."

(*Fraser's Magazine*, November 1833)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

Louis L. Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). "Economic Nationalism: Friedrich List, Germany's Handicapped Colbert", pp. 1-34.

I.N. Lambi, *Free Trade and Protection in Germany 1868-1879* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Supplement 44, 1963).

Ivo N. Lambi, "The Protectionist Interests of the German Iron and Steel Industry, 1873-1979," *Journal of Economic History*, 1962, vol. 22, pp. 59-70.

Ivo N. Lambi, "The Agrarian Industrial Front in Bismarckian Politics 1873-1879," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 1961, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 378-96.

Donald G. Rohr, *The Origins of Social Liberalism in Germany* (University of Chicago Press). "The Argument for Free Enterprise," pp. 78-166.

Georg Jahn, "Freihandelslehre und Freihandelsbewegung," *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, ed. L. Ester et al., (Jena: Fischer, 1927, 4th edition), vol. 4, pp. 354-71.

P. Bairoch, "Free Trade and European Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century," *European Economic Review*, 1972.

W.O. Henderson, *The Rise of German Industrial Power, 1834-1914* (London: Temple Smith, 1975).

W.O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (London: Frank Cass, 1984).

W.O. Henderson, *Friedrich List. Economist and Visionary* (London: Frank Cass, 1983).

Margaret E. Hirst, *Life of Friedrich List* (1909).

W.O. Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe 1750-1870: Studies in British Influence on the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe* (Leicester University Press, 1965). "Prince Smith and Free Trade in Germany," pp. 167-78.

Arnold H. Price, *The Evolution of the Zollverein* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949).

James C. Hunt, "Peasants, Grain Tariffs and Meat Quotas: Imperial German Protectionism Re-examined," *Central European History*, 1974, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 311-31.

Louis L. Snyder, *Roots of German Nationalism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). "Clashing Economic Nationalisms: The Battle between German and American Pork, 1879-1891," pp. 92-111.

Sidney Pollard, *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970* (Oxford University Press, 1981). Chapter 7: "The Rise of Neo-Mercantilism 1870s to 1914," pp. 252-77.

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM TWO TUTORIAL READING

G.K. Clark, "The Repeal of the Corn-Laws and the Politics of the Forties," *Economic History Review*, 1951, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-13.

C.R. Fay, "The Significance of the Corn Laws in English History," *Economic History Review*, 1928, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 314-18.

C.R. Fay, *The Corn Laws and Social England* (Cambridge University Press, 1932).

C.R. Fay, "The Movement towards Free Trade, 1820-1853," in *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1940), vol. 2, pp. 388-414.

Sir Derek Walker-Smith, *The Protectionist Case in the 1840s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1933).

Gordon Wright, "The Origins of Napoleon III's Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 1938, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 47-64.

D.P. O'Brien, *The Classical Economists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). Chapter 7, "International Trade," pp. 170-205.

Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of J.S. Mill* (Durham, North Carolina Press: Duke University Press, 1972).

Volker Hentschel, *Die deutschen Freihändler und das volkswirtschaftliche Kongreß 1858 bis 1885* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1975).

Georg Mayer, *Die Freihandelslehre in Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zur Gesellschaftslehre des wirtschaftlichen Liberalismus* (Jena, 1927).

B.J. Wendt, "Freihandel und Friedenssicherung. Zur Bedeutung des Cobden-Vertrages von 1860 zwischen England und Frankreich," *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1974, vol. 61.

#### Tutorial Questions

1. What arguments did the classical political economists put forward in favour of free trade? Answer with respect to one of the following: James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Hodgskin, Jean-Baptiste Say, Gustave de Molinari.
2. What arguments did Cobden and Bright put forward in favour of free trade? To what extent were these arguments based upon economic theory and to what extent were they inspired by considerations of class?
3. Why did Friedrich List oppose free trade?
4. As a political movement why was the Anti-Corn Law League successful?
5. What interests opposed free trade and what interests supported free trade in France or Germany during the 19th century? How did these opposing groups justify their positions?

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

3849: LIBERAL EUROPE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1815-1914

TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING LIST

51.6.  
THE TYRANNY OF SOCIALISM

"Socialism—that is the State substituting itself for individual liberty, and growing to be the most terrible of tyrants"

LEDRU-ROLLIN, 12th Sept., 1848

BY

YVES GUYOT

EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS OF FRANCE

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

J. H. LEVY

LATE LECTURER ON LOGIC AND ECONOMICS AT THE HIKESBECK INSTITUTION AND THE CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE



LONDON  
SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO.  
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1894

THE MAN *versus* THE STATE:

CONTAINING

"THE NEW TORIISM,"

"THE COMING SLAVERY,"

"THE SINS OF LEGISLATORS"

AND

"THE GREAT POLITICAL SUPERSTITION."

BY

HERBERT SPENCER.

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1881.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### LECTURE AND TUTORIAL PROGRAMME

The proposed lecture and tutorial programme for the term is as follows:

<u>WEEK</u>	<u>LECTURE TOPIC</u>	<u>TUTORIAL TOPIC</u>
I	No lectures or tutorials	
II (9, 11 Sept)	Women	Manufacturing
III (16, 18 Sept)	Slavery	Women
IV (23, 25 Sept)	Malthusianism	Slavery
V (30 Sept, 2 Oct)	Poverty	Malthusianism
VI (7, 9 Oct)	Socialism	Poverty
VII (14, 16 Oct)	Novel	Socialism
VIII (21, 23 Oct)	New Class Society	Novel
IX (28, 30 Oct)	Decline of Liberalism	New Class Society

END OF YEAR EXAMINATION: Wednesday, 18th Novemeber, 9.00 a.m.

### Reading Requirements for Tutorials

The minimum reading you should do for each tutorial is listed in the sections entitled "Required Reading." The "Required Reading" consists of background material and a primary source. Those who are doing the tutorial paper are expected, in addition to the minimum reading, to examine their chosen author or topic in more detail. This involves looking at the relevant secondary works listed under "Secondary Works." I also hope that others not writing the tutorial paper will find material in the secondary sources to read according to their tastes and interests.

All the required reading will be in the Reserve Collection. Most of the texts and a selection of secondary works will also be found in the Reserve collection.



End of Year Examination

The final exam will be held on Wednesday 18th November at 9.00 a.m. in lecture theatre G02.

For the final exam you will be required to answer three essay questions. The first is a compulsory question on a general aspect of the course. The second and third essays can be chosen from a selection of questions based on various topics covered in the course.



[6] "The Ragged School." George Cruikshank, from *Our Own Times*, 1846.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Two: Manufacturing and the Machinery Question

#### Required Reading

The introduction of machinery and steam power into factories dramatically increased the productivity of human labour and promised to usher in a new era of cheap mass-produced consumer goods. On the positive side, the increased productivity of machinery-based manufacturing lowered the price of many items such as textiles and household metal goods, thus making them affordable to many more people. It also made it possible for relatively unskilled women and children who had been excluded from entering apprenticeships to get paid for their labour in the factories. On the negative side some sectors of the economy were made redundant by the new methods of production. This is especially true for the handloom weavers who were almost entirely replaced by mechanisation in a short period. Also the new factories created severe problems in working and living conditions which attracted much attention by reformers and critics of the "factory system." The result in England was the reform legislation in the 1830s known as the factory acts.

The reaction to machinery and the factory system ranged from the euphoria of Andrew Ure and Charles Babbage to the harsh criticism of Friedrich Engels, with the Swiss historian and economist Simonde de Sismondi taking a middle position of uneasy acceptance.

Begin your reading with extracts from the outspoken "apologists" of the factory system Andrew Ure and Charles Babbage:

Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835) (London: Cass, 1967) and  
\* Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (1835) (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1963).

Although Sismondi was basically a liberal in his political and economic beliefs he had reservations about the benefits of manufacturing to the vast bulk of working people. His criticisms came very early in the history of manufacturing and became the basis for much later socialist criticism such as Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx.

\* J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, "On the Conditions of the Work People in Manufactures," in *Political Economy and the Philosophy of Government*, ed. M. Mignet (1847) (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966).

Good introductions to the economic and technological changes taking place in the industrial revolution are:

David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 1981). Chapter 2 and 3.

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983). Part One.

More specialised articles on the attitude of supporters and critics of the factory system include:

J.T. Ward, "The Factory Movement," in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850*, ed. J.T. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1986).

Mark Blaug, "The Classical Economists and the Factory Acts: A Re-examination," in *The Classical Economists and Economic Policy*, ed. A.W. Coats (London: Macmillan, 1971).

Hutt argues that the critics of the factory system misunderstood the problem and that conditions were actually improving because of the introduction of factory production. This is also the attitude of the authors in the collection *The Long Debate on POVERTY: Eight Essays on Industrialisation and the 'Condition of England'*, ed. R.M. Hartwell et al. (London: Institute for Economic Affairs, 1972).

W.H. Hutt, "The Factory System of the Early 19th Century," in *Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. F.A. Hayek (University of Chicago Press, 1963).

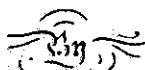
#### Texts

1. Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835) (London: Cass, 1967).
2. Nassau Senior, "Letters on the Factory Acts," in *Selected Writings on Economics* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966).
3. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, ed. W.D. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958).
4. John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), ed. D. Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).
- \* 5. J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, "On the Conditions of the Work People in Manufactures," in *Political Economy and the Philosophy of Government*, ed. M. Mignet (1847) (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966).
6. J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, 3rd ed. (Genève: Jeheter, 1951-53).
7. *The Factory System*, 2 vols. ed. J.T. Ward (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970).
- \* 8. Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (1835) (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1963).
9. *Before Marx: Socialism and Communism in France, 1830-48*, ed. Paul Corcoran (London: Macmillan).

LIBERAL EUROPE; TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

On the  
ECONOMY OF MACHINERY

MANUFACTURES



CHARLES BABBAGE, ESQ<sup>R</sup> A.M.

*Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge  
and Member of several Academies.*



FOURTH EDITION ENLARGED.

LONDON:  
CHARLES KNIGHT, PAUL MALL, EAST.  
1835.

E.P. Thompson "Time + Work" ?  
sentence to  
discipline

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Secondary Sources

Maxine Berg, *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815-1848* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

J.T. Ward, "The Factory Movement," in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850*, ed. J.T. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1986).

Mark Blaug, "The Classical Economists and the Factory Acts: A Re-examination," in *The Classical Economists and Economic Policy*, ed. A.W. Coats (London: Macmillan, 1971).

W.H. Hutt, "The Factory System of the Early 19th Century," in *Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. F.A. Hayek (University of Chicago Press, 1963).

W.O. Henderson, *The Life of Friedrich Engels* 2 vols (London: Cass, 1976).

Steven Marcus, *Engels, Manchester and the Working Class* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978).

*The Long Debate on POVERTY: Eight Essays on Industrialisation and the Condition of England*, ed. R.M. Hartwell et al. (London: Institute for Economic Affairs, 1972). Includes an essay on Engels which is critical of his use of sources.

Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

Peter N. Stearns, *Paths to Authority: The Middle Classes and the Industrial Labor Force in France, 1820-1848* (Urbana, Illinois, 1973).

Louis Gueneau, "La législation restrictive du travail des enfants," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 1927, vol. 15, pp. 420-503.

Jean R. Salis, *Sismondi, 1773-1842* (Genève: Slatkine, 1973).

M.L. Tuan, *Simonde de Sismondi as an Economist* (New York: AMS, 1968).

### Tutorial Questions

1. Discuss Maxine Berg's theory that "the machinery question" was perhaps the most important influence on the development of political economy in the first half of the 19th century.
2. What were the attitudes of the classical political economists (Nassau Senior, Robert Torrens, J. R. McCulloch, J.S. Mill) to factory legislation.
3. Were the objections of Engels or Sismondi to the factory system objections to temporary difficulties which would gradually be overcome or objections to the system itself? In the case of Engels, how accurate was his assessment of the English factory system?

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

4. An historian has called Andrew Ure and Charles Babbage poets of the machine age, but behind their "poetry" is a sophisticated new means for the control of labour. Is this true?



Médaillon de SISMONDI par DAVID D'ANGERS.

*Musée d'Angers.*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Three: The Condition of Women

Interest in the political and social position of women really began because of the ideas of equality generated by the French Revolution. After a false start the "women's movement" developed in earnest during the 19th century with agitation for an end to legal discrimination and the right to participate in the political system.

Most liberals were either hostile to or uninterested in the condition of women. This was due to two factors: their narrow attitude towards democracy which made them most reluctant to extend the right to vote to anyone but the educated and the prosperous; and their traditional patriarchal views about the place of women in the family and the capacity of women to be educated and to participate fully in the economy. Only a minority of radical liberals took up the cause of women's political and economic rights. One of these more progressive liberals was John Stuart Mill whose book *The Subjection of Women* (1869) is in many ways still one of the most important books on the rights of women.

#### Required Reading

For background on the political and social position of women in the period from the French Revolution to just before the appearance of Mill's book see Rendall:

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

The key text is Mill's work which is available in many editions.

John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) and Harriet Taylor, *The Enfranchisement of Women*, ed. Kate Soper (London: Virago Press, 1983).

The particular difficulties which Mill faced in promoting his ideas in Victorian England can be understood by sampling the attitudes of his opponents. The depth of the hostility towards politically and economically active women was and still is immense:

*Free and Ennobled: Source Readings in the Development of Victorian Feminism*, ed. Bauer and Ritt (Pergamon Press, 1979).

#### Texts

1. John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) and Harriet Taylor, *The Enfranchisement of Women*, ed. Kate Soper (London: Virago Press, 1983).

\* Sedgman Appended ABCD

Harriet Martineau, "Female Industry", Edinburgh Rev  
CIX April 1859, 293-336

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

2. John Stuart Mill, "On Marriage," "Statement on Marriage," "The Subjection of Women," "The Contagious Diseases Acts," and "Appendix A,B,C" in *Collected Works* vol. 21, ed. J.M. Robson (University of Toronto Press).
3. Herbert Spencer, "Marriage" and "Parenthood" in vol. 1; "Rights of Women" in vol. 2 of *Principles of Ethics*, ed. Tibor Machan (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978).
4. Stendhal, ~~Romance~~ <sup>Love</sup> (Harmondsworth: Penguin). <sup>ed. Jean Stewart + B.C.J.G. Knight (1975)</sup>
5. Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography* (1879), ed. Gaby Weiner (London: Virago, 1983).
6. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (1837), ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: Doubleday, 1962). On the situation of women in America.
7. *Le grief des femmes: anthologie des textes féministes* 2 vols, ed. Maïté Albistur et Daniel Armogathe (Paris: Hier et Demain, 1978).

Secondary Works

General

J.W. Scott and L. Tilly, "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1975, pp. 36-64.

Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia, 1840-1920* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

Susan Muller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (London: Virago Press, 1980).

France

Theodore Zeldin, "Marriage and Morals" and "Women" in *France 1848-1945: Ambition and Love* (Oxford University Press, 1979).

Patrick Kay Bidelman, *'Pariahs Stand Up': The Founding of the Liberal Feminist Movement in France, 1858-1889* (Westport, Connecticut, 1982).

Claire Goldberg Moses, *French Feminism in the 19th Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

Patrick Kay Bidelman, "The Politics of French Feminism: Léon Richer and the Ligue Française pour les Droits des Femmes, 1882-1892," *Historical Reflexions*, 1976, no. 3, pp. 93-120.

H.D. Lewis, "The legal Status of Women in Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of European Studies*, 1980, vol. 10, pp. 178-88.



*Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*  
 ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1987)  
 — women + antislavery movement

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING  
 — Werdnig + *English Woman's*



M<sup>me</sup> Poutret de Mau-  
 champs (co-directrice de  
*La Gazette des femmes*)  
 foulant aux pieds le  
 «code de l'infamie».

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century*, (Princeton University Press, 1981).

England

Julia Annas, "Mill and the Subjection of Women," *Philosophy*, 1977, vol. 52.

Barbara Caine, "John Stuart Mill and the English Women's Movement," *Historical Studies*, 1978, vol. 18, pp. 52-67.

Leslie Goldstein, "Mill, Marx and Women's Liberation," *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 1980, vol. 18, pp. 319-34.

Patricia Hughes, "The Reality versus the Ideal: J.S. Mill's Treatment of Women, Workers, and Private Property," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1979, vol. 12, pp. 523-42.

F.A. Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951).

*Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, ed. Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen, 1980).

David Morgan, *Suffragists and Liberals: Politics of Woman Suffrage in England* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975).

Constance Rover, *Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

*Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in 19th Century England, France, and the United States*, ed. E.O. Ellerstein et al. (Stanford University Press, 1981).

R.K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

Valerie Kossew Pichanick, *Harriet Martineau: The Woman and her Work 1802-76* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980).

Vera Wheatley, *The Life and Works of Harriet Martineau* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957).

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Germany

*German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*, ed. John C. Fout (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984).

Richard J. Evans, "Liberalism and Society: The Feminist Movement and Social Change," in *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*, ed. Richard J. Evans (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978).

Amy Hackett, "Feminism and Liberalism in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890-1918," in *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, ed. Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

Amy Hackett, "The German Women's Movement and Suffrage, 1890-1918: A Study of National Feminism," in *Modern European Social History*, ed. Robert J. Bezucha (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1976).

### Tutorial Questions

1. What reforms did Mill advocate in order to improve the political and social position of women in Victorian England? Did these reforms adequately solve the problems women faced?
2. What was the relationship between Mill and Harriet Taylor? To what extent did she influence Mill's feminism?
3. What were the legal, political and economic disadvantages which women suffered under in the 19th century and how did they agitate for reform? Choose either the case of England, France or Germany.
4. Discuss the attitude to women of either Herbert Spencer, Stendhal, or Harriet Martineau.



Léon Richer.

LES VESUVIENNES.



Paris: Aubert, 11, rue de la Harpe.

Imp. Aubert & Co.

Danger d'insulter une femme armée.

Edouard de Beaumont. From the series *Les Vesuviennes*. Originally printed chez Aubert; reprinted in *Le Charivari*, June 1, 1848. Coll. de Vinck 112, no. 14.143. Courtesy Bibl. Nat. Paris

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Four: The Abolition of Slavery and Serfdom

One of the most glaring problems faced by liberal reformers in the 19th century was the existence of slavery in the colonies and in the southern states of the United States of America and the existence of serfdom in Eastern Europe. The French Revolution had abolished serfdom permanently in France but only partially or temporarily in the occupied German territories. Of course, in the rest of Europe the status of the serfs remained unchanged in spite of the efforts of some "enlightened despots" in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to ameliorate their condition. It was not until well into the 19th century that the more conservative German, Russian, and Hungarian states and territories began to liberate the serfs under the influence of liberal ideas concerning the inefficiency and injustice of compulsory serf labour. The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 is the best example of this process of liberalisation from above.

The problem of slavery was of greater concern to Western European liberals since they lived in countries which either retained slavery in their colonies, allowed merchants to engage in the lucrative slave trade itself, or traded extensively with the cotton and tobacco growing southern states of America. The agitation against slavery began with opposition to the slave trade and slowly developed into a movement for outright abolition in the colonies. England was the pioneer in both these movements against slavery so it is important to understand the British anti-slavery movement with its strong evangelical religious component.

Since Germany had no colonies slavery was not an issue although the persistence of serfdom in some German states was a problem for liberals and other reformers. France on the other hand had abolished slavery in its colonies during the revolution but had seen Napoleon reintroduce it. Under the pressure of England during the 1830s and 1840s France gradually was forced to confront first the problem of the slave trade and finally the existence of slavery in its colonies. Slavery was eventually abolished in France during the 1848 revolution. Alexis de Tocqueville was very active in the Chamber of Deputies at this time in various unsuccessful attempts to end or ameliorate slavery and his efforts deserve serious study.

The problem of slavery and serfdom raised important issues for liberals about the efficiency of forced labour, the nature of property rights, the tactics of agitating for fundamental reform within a society with very strong vested interests, the nature of those vested interests (the landowners, the plantation owners in the colonies, the manufacturers who bought American cotton) which dominated the political system, and whether or not the industrial revolution would gradually make slavery uneconomic.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Required Reading

The important British anti-slavery movement is discussed by Hurwitz, who also includes extracts of original sources:

*Politics and the Public Conscience: Slave Emancipation and the Abolitionist Movement in Britain*, ed. Edith F. Hurwitz (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973). *role of women in movement*

The difficulties faced by Alexis de Tocqueville in his efforts to eliminate slavery make an interesting case study. Drescher has done much to rediscover this aspect of Tocqueville's thought. Begin with his chapter on "The Abolition of Slavery" before turning to Tocqueville's articles. Gerschman has some interesting comments on the tactics used by Tocqueville:

Seymour Drescher, "The Abolition of Slavery," *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), pp. 151-95.

\* Alexis de Tocqueville, "Part 3: Abolition of Slavery," (1839, 1843) in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 98-173.

Sally Gerschman, "Alexis de Tocqueville and Slavery," *French Historical Studies*, 1976, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 467-83.

### Texts

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, "Part 3: Abolition of Slavery," in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 98-173.
2. Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie, or Slavery in the United States; A Novel of Jacksonian America* (1835), ed. Alvis L. Tinnin (Stanford University Press, 1958). In particular Appendix A, "Note on the Social and Political Condition of the Negro Slaves and of Free People of Color," pp. 189-216.
3. John Elliot Cairnes, *The Slave Power, Its Character, Career and Probable Designs* (1862) (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968).
4. *Politics and the Public Conscience: Slave Emancipation and the Abolitionist Movement in Britain*, ed. Edith F. Hurwitz (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973).
5. John Stuart Mill, Book II, Chapters 5-10, "Of Slavery," "Of Peasant Proprietors," "Of Metayers," "Of Cottiers," and "Means of Abolishing Cottier Tenancy," *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). Also Mill's articles on slavery and the American Civil War, "The Negro Question" (1850), "The Contest in America" (1862), and especially his review of Cairnes' book "The Slave Power" (1862) in *Collected Works. Volume 21: Essays on Equality, Law and Education*, ed. Stefan Collini (University

## The Martyr Age of the USA (1840)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING  
of Toronto Press, 1984).

- "Cemetera" in Illustrations of Politics vol II (1834)*
6. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (1837), ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: Doubleday, 1962); *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838); *How to Observe* (1838).
  7. Gustave de Molinari, "Esclavage," in *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, eds. Charles Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 712-31. Contains a good bibliography of material from the first half of the 19th century.
  8. Charles Comte, *Traité de législation, ou exposition des lois générales suivant lesquelles les peuples prospèrent, dépérissent, ou restent stationnaires* (1826) (Bruxelles: Hauman, Cattoir, 1837, 3rd edition). Books 4 and 5 deal with the economic and social consequences of slavery.
  9. Simonde de Sismondi, *De l'intérêt de la France à l'égard de la traite des nègres*, 3rd edn, augmentée des *Nouvelles réflexions sur la traite...* (Genève, 1814); *De la condition dans laquelle il convient de placer les nègres en les affranchissant* (1833); "Des effets de l'esclavage sur la race humaine," in *études sur l'économie politique* (1837).
  10. H. Grégoire, *De la traite et de l'esclavage des noirs et des blancs par un ami des hommes de toutes les couleurs* (Paris, 1815).
  11. Germaine de Staël, "Préface pour la traduction d'un ouvrage de M. Wilberforce sur la traite des nègres" (1814) and "Appel aux souverains réunis à Paris pour en obtenir l'abolition de la traite des noirs" (1814) in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1820), vol. 17, pp. 369-75, 376-82. And her novel about a freed black, *Mirza, ou lettre d'un voyageur* in *Oeuvre complètes*, vol. 2.
  12. Friedrich Murhard, "Sclaverei," in *Staats-Lexikon oder Encyclopädie der Staatswissenschaften*, ed. Carl von Rotteck und Carl Welcker (Altona, 1843), vol. 14, pp. 420-449.

### Secondary Works

#### General

David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Penguin, 1970).

David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975).

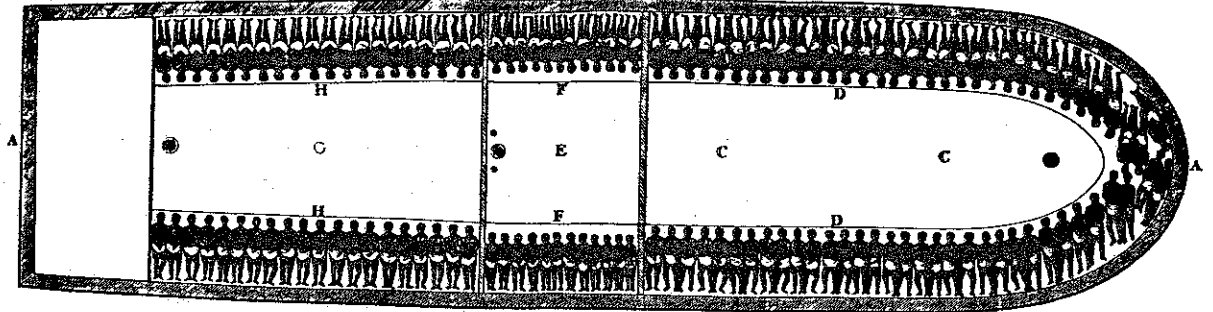
David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (Oxford University Press, 1984).

Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (CUP 1983).

**DESSIN et COUPES**  
du  
**NAVIRE NEGRIER**  
**le BROOKES.**  
*Construit pour le trafic des*  
**NOIRS.**

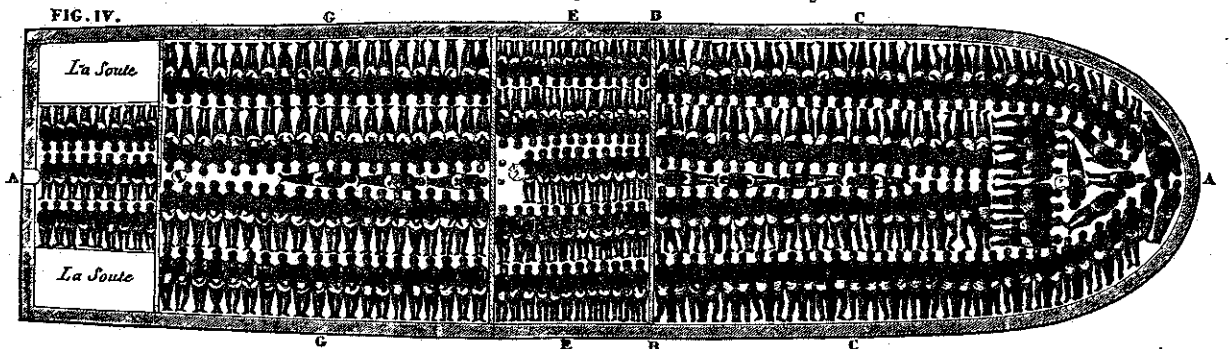
*est pour cent cinquante Nègres, mais en*  
*ayant souvent contenu jusqu'à six*  
*Publié par le Comité de la Morale Chrétienne,*  
*Comité pour l'abolition de la traite des Nègres*  
**1832.**

FIG.V.



*Coupe horizontale des plateformes du Bâtiment Negrier.*

FIG. IV.



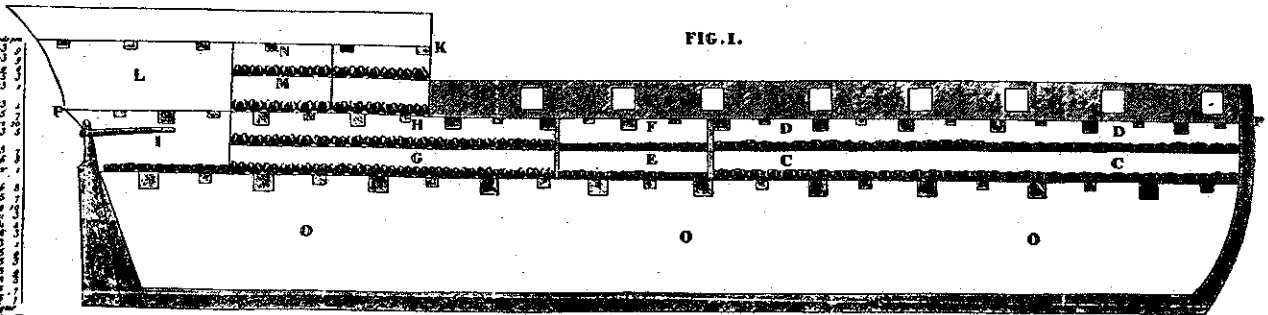
*Coupe horizontale du Bâtiment Negrier.*

**Dimensions du Navire Negrier**  
**le BROOKES.**

*sur la proportion des canots pour 3.*

	Longueur	Largeur	Profondeur
Longueur du Bâtiment au 1er pont	120,0	20,0	10,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 2nd pont	110,0	18,0	8,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 3rd pont	100,0	16,0	6,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 4th pont	90,0	14,0	4,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 5th pont	80,0	12,0	2,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 6th pont	70,0	10,0	1,0
Longueur du Bâtiment au 7th pont	60,0	8,0	0,5
Longueur du Bâtiment au 8th pont	50,0	6,0	0,2
Longueur du Bâtiment au 9th pont	40,0	4,0	0,1
Longueur du Bâtiment au 10th pont	30,0	2,0	0,05
Longueur du Bâtiment au 11th pont	20,0	1,0	0,02
Longueur du Bâtiment au 12th pont	10,0	0,5	0,01
Longueur du Bâtiment au 13th pont	5,0	0,2	0,005
Longueur du Bâtiment au 14th pont	2,0	0,1	0,001
Longueur du Bâtiment au 15th pont	1,0	0,05	0,0005
Longueur du Bâtiment au 16th pont	0,5	0,02	0,0001
Longueur du Bâtiment au 17th pont	0,2	0,01	0,00005
Longueur du Bâtiment au 18th pont	0,1	0,005	0,00001
Longueur du Bâtiment au 19th pont	0,05	0,002	0,000005
Longueur du Bâtiment au 20th pont	0,02	0,001	0,000001

FIG. I.



*Intérieur du Navire Negrier. Coupe verticale sur la longueur du Bâtiment.*

FIG. III.

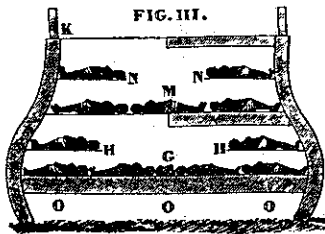
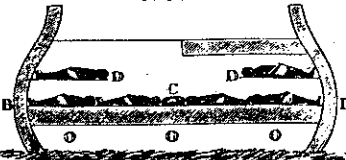


FIG. II.



*Coupes verticales en travers du premier pont et des deux ponts.*

FIG. VI.

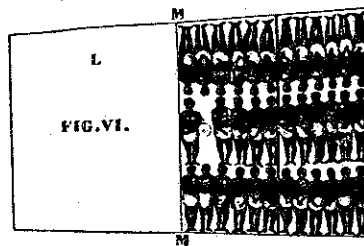
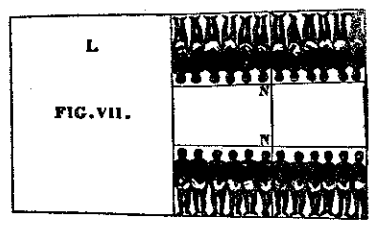


FIG. VII.



*Coupes horizontales suivant la longueur du Bâtiment du demi pont et de ses plateformes.*



LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

France

Mary Lawlor, "The Right of Search" and "Slavery in the French Colonies" in *Alexis de Tocqueville in the Chamber of Deputies: His Views on Foreign and Colonial Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959), pp. 67-130.

Sally Gershman, "Alexis de Tocqueville and Slavery," *French Historical Studies*, 1976, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 467-83.

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Seymour Drescher, "The Abolition of Slavery," *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), pp. 151-95.

Serge Daget, "L'abolition de la traite des noirs en France de 1814 à 1831," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 1971, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 14-58.

Yvan Debbasch, "Poésie et traite: L'opinion française sur le commerce négrier au début du XIXe siècle," *Revue d'histoire d'outre-mer*, 1961, vol. 48, pp. 311-52.

Ruth F. Necheles, *The Abbé Grégoire, 1787-1831* (Westport, Connecticut, 1971).

Lawrence C. Jennings, "France, Great Britain and the Repression of the Slave Trade, 1841-1845," *French Historical Studies*, 1977, vol. 10, pp. 101-25.

Lawrence C. Jennings, "The French Press and Great Britain's Campaign against the Slave Trade, 1830-1848," *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 1980, vol. 67, no. 246-247, pp. 5-24.

Serge Daget, "A Model of the French Abolitionist Movement and its Variations," in *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey*, ed. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkstone: William Dawson, 1980), pp. 64-79.

Gaston Martin, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans les colonies françaises* (Paris, 1948).

Barbara Karsky, "Les libéraux français et l'émancipation des esclaves aux États-Unis, 1852-1870," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1974, vol. 21, pp. 575-90.

Alfred Berchtold, "Sismondi et le groupe de Coppet face à l'esclavage et au colonialisme," in *Sismondi européen: Actes de Colloque international tenu à Genève les 14 et 15 septembre 1973*, ed. Sven Stelling-Michaud (Genève: Slatkine, 1976), pp. 169-98.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Britain

Adelaide Weinberg, *John Elliot Cairnes and the American Civil War: A Study in Anglo-American Relations* (London: Kingswood Press, 1968). Chapter 2 "The Slave Power," pp. 19-46.

*Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey*, ed. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkstone: William Dawson, 1980).

Betty Fladeland, *Abolitionists and Working Class Problems in the Age of Industrialization* (London: Macmillan, 1984). Especially the chapter on Harriet Martineau.

*Slavery and British Society 1776-1846*, ed. James Walvin (London: Macmillan, 1982).

Howard Temperley, *British Anti-Slavery, 1823-1870* (London: Longman, 1972).

### Germany

Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negersklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1976, vol. 222, pp. 529-77.

### Serfdom

Sidney Pollard, "Agriculture: Emancipation, Markets and Dynamics," in *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe, 1760-1970* (Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 192-200.

B.H. Slicher van Bath, "Agriculture in the Vital Revolution," *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (1966), vol. 5, pp. 42-123.

Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, trans. J. Sondheimer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

? Jerome Blum, "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe," *American Historical Review*, 1957, vol. 62, pp. 807-36.

? Jerome Blum, "The Internal Structure and Polity of the European Village Community from the 15th to the 19th Century," *Journal of Modern History*, 1971, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 541-76.

Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1978).

Werner Conze, "The Effects of Nineteenth-Century Liberal Agrarian Reforms on Social Structure in Central Europe," in *Essays in European Economic History 1789-1914*, ed. F. Crouzet et al. (1969).

### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Alexander Gerschenkron, "Agrarian Policies and Industrialization in Russia 1861-1917," *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (1986), vol. 6, part 2, pp. 706-800.

*Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries*, ed. J.W. Probyn (1881).

G.F. Knapp, "Die Bauernbefreiung in den östlichen Provinzen des preussischen Staates," *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena: Fischer, 1909), vol. 2.

*Essays on Russian Liberalism*, ed. Charles E. Timberlake (University of Missouri Press, 1972).

Viktor Leontovitsch, *Geschichte des Liberalismus in Russland* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klosterman).

### Tutorial Questions

1. How did Tocqueville plan to abolish slavery in the French colonies? To what extent was this a "political" solution to the problem of compensation?
2. Tocqueville, Beaumont, Cairnes and Martineau all wrote on the nature of slavery in America. Select at least one of these writers and discuss their attitude to the institution of slavery and its social and economic consequences.
3. How did abolitionists react to the American Civil War?
4. Discuss the tactics of the British abolitionists in their crusade against slavery.
5. Discuss the parallels which many radicals drew between slavery in the colonies and the condition of labourers in the factories in the metropole? (Fladeland's book is the best place to begin reading).
6. To what extent was the movement to emancipate the serfs in Eastern Europe a result of the ideology of liberal reform or the self-interest of the landowners?
7. What economic objections did John Stuart Mill have to slavery and serfdom?

LES PHILANTROPES DU JOUR.

11.



Chez Aubert, 21, rue de la Harpe, 23

Imp. J. Aubert, 21, rue de la Harpe, 23

— Je t'ai déjà défendu de m'appeler maître... apprend que tous les hommes sont frères... animal!

*Satire des abolitionnistes par Honoré Daumier : (1844).  
Cf. Loys Delteil, Les Peintres graveurs, 23 (Paris, 1926), n° 1303.  
Collection privée. Photo © Archives Gallimard.*

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Five: Population Growth and Malthusianism

Liberals were slow to see that the same forces which so greatly increased the output of factories could be applied also to agriculture and farming, thus solving the traditional tension between population growth and living standards. Free trade and new techniques in farming and transportation enabled regional specialisation to develop in Eastern Europe, North America, Australia and Argentina to supply the European market with food thereby ending their dependency on local production.

But before the agricultural revolution became evident the rather pessimistic and harsh theories of Thomas Malthus dominated the thinking about population growth. Malthus believed that population growth always "tended" to increase faster than the capacity of agricultural production to keep up with it. Although many "optimists" such as Godwin and Place objected to Malthus' views the classical political economists adopted various versions of his ideas. This is one reason why the classical school had a reputation for harshness and severity based upon their uncompromising belief that poverty was largely a result of the working class not limiting the size of their families. That information concerning methods of contraception was censored by governments is an issue that only a few radicals such as Place, Spencer, and Mill took up.

#### Required Reading

Begin with a general account of population growth before turning to Malthus famous work on *The Principle of Population* (1st edition 1798, second edition 1803).

Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Demographic Revolution" and "The Process of Urbanization," in *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 59-117.

André Armengaud, "Population in Europe 1700-1914," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe. Volume 3: The Industrial Revolution*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla (London: Collins, 1973), pp. 22-73.

It is not necessary to read all of Malthus' book since a great deal of it is concerned with historical studies of population to illustrate his theory. Read the editor's introduction, pp. 7-62; chapters 1 and 2 of the "Essay" (1798, 1803), pp. 67-90; and "A Summary View," (1830) pp. 223-72:

Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population and A Summary View of the Principle of Population* (1798, 1803, 1830), ed. Antony Flew (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

The objections of the anarchist William Godwin is a good antidote to the pessimism of Malthus:

\* Extracts of William Godwin, *Of Population. An Enquiry concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind, being an Answer to Mr. Malthus's Essay on that Subject* (1820) (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1964).

To see how Malthus' ideas had become transformed into an orthodoxy in France half a century later see the article by Joseph Garnier:

\* Joseph Garnier, "Population" and "Malthus," *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, eds. Charles Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 126-29, 382-402; translated in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 3, pp. 284-299; vol. 2, pp. 808-10.

#### Texts

Choose one of the following:

1. Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population and A Summary View of the Principle of Population*, ed. Antony Flew (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982). Editor's introduction, pp. 7-62; chapters 1 and 2 of the "Essay", pp. 67-80; and "A Summary View," pp. 223-72.
2. William Godwin, *Of Population. An Enquiry concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind, being an Answer to Mr. Malthus's Essay on that Subject* (1820) (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1964).
3. Francis Place, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population: including an Examination of the proposed Remedies of Mr. Malthus, and a reply to the Objections of Mr. Godwin and others* (1822), ed. Norman E. Himes (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930).
4. Nassau Senior, "Part V: The Pressure of Population on the Means of Subsistence," in *Industrial Efficiency and Social Economy*, ed. S. Leon Levy (London: P.S. King and Son, 1928), pp. 285-363.
5. Gustave de Molinari, "Introduction," *Malthus: Essai sur le principe de population* (Paris: Guillaumin), pp. i-xlix.
6. Joseph Garnier, "Population" and "Malthus," *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, eds. Charles Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 126-29, 382-402; translated in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 3, pp. 284-299; vol. 2, pp. 808-10.

Anti-Malthusianists

Th. Hodgkin

G.R. Parker

P.E. Dove

*The Progress of the Nation* (1836-43) (1912)  
*Theory of Human Progression* (1857) ed. F. R. East

AN  
ESSAY

ON THE  
*PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION,*

AS IT AFFECTS  
THE FUTURE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY

WITH REMARKS

ON THE SPECULATIONS OF MR. GODWIN,

M. CONDORCET,

AND OTHER WRITERS.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S  
CHURCH-YARD.

---

1798.



Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

7. Joseph Garnier, *Du principe de population* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1857).

B. Marx and Engels on the Population Bomb, ed. Ronald L. Meek (Berkeley: Ramparts Press, 1971).

Robert M. Young, *Malthus - The Evolutionary: The Communist Content of Biological + Social Theory* (Past + Present 1969, 43, (Spencer))  
Secondary Works  
William Petersen, *Malthus* (Harvard University Press, 1979).

Patricia James, *Population Malthus: His Life and Times* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

*Population in Industrialization*, ed. M. Drake (London: Methuen, 1969).

Marion Bowley, "Population and Rent," in *Nassau Senior and Classical Economics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937), pp. 117-26.

Kenneth Smith, *The Malthusian Controversy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951).

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985). Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 100-44.

James Bonar, *Malthus and His Work* (1885) (London: Frank Cass, 1966).

E.P. Hutchinson, *The Population Debate: The Development of Conflicting Theories up to 1900* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

Peter Fryer, *The Birth Controllers* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1965).

*Malthus Past and Present*, ed. J. Dupâchier et al. (London: Academic Press, 1983). Important essays on Malthus' theory and its relationship with religion and socialism.

D.E. Bland, "Population and Liberalism, 1770-1817," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1973, vol. 34, pp. 113-20.

Peter J. Bowles, "Malthus, Darwin, and the Concept of Struggle," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1976, vol. 37, pp. 631-50.

Edwin Cannan, "The Malthusian Anti-Socialist Argument," *Economic Review*, 1892, vol. 2, pp. 72-87.

F. D'Arcy, "The Malthusian League and the Resistance to Birth Control Propaganda in Late Victorian Britain," *Population Studies*, 1977, vol. 31, pp. 429-448.

Samuel Hollander, "Malthus and the Post-Napoleonic Depression," *History of Political Economy*, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 306-35.

William L. Hanger, "The Origins of the Birth Control Movement in England in the Early 19th C" *J. of Interdisciplinary Hist* 1975.



James P. Hazel, "Malthus, the Poor Law, & Population in early 19th c England," EcHR Dec 1969 430-51

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Angus McLaren, "Sex and Socialism: The Opposition of the French Left to Birth Control in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1976, vol. 37, pp. 475-92.

*Harold A. Bone - Hungry Generations: The Nineteenth Century Cases Against Malthusianism Ch. V 1958*

Tutorial Questions

1. To what extent did Malthus moderate his views in successive editions of the *Principle of Population*? Was he as harsh as his critics claimed?
2. To what extent was Malthus' theory of population a consequence of the particular difficulties of the period in which it was written (the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars) or did he accurately describe the relationship between population and food production in pre-industrial society?
3. What were the objections which optimists like Godwin and Place made to Malthus' ideas?
4. How and why did the classical political economists adopt Malthusian ideas to oppose welfare for the poor?
5. What were Marx and Engels' attitudes towards population growth and how did they differ from the classical political economists?
6. Why was there such opposition to birth control in the 19th century?



THE QUACK DOCTOR.

'The Quack Doctor': Lord Amberley as 'Vice-Count A-B-Lie', selling 'depopulation mixture'

John M. Pullen "Malthus' Theological Ideas: their Influence on his *Principle of Population*"

- 27 -

HOPE 1981, Geoffrey Gilbert, Ec Growth & the Poor in M's Essay on Pop HOPE 1980

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Six: The Social Question: Poverty and Progress

It is a curious fact that poverty, after having been nearly invisible for centuries, was suddenly "discovered" in the 1830s and 1840s. There are differing explanations for this sudden interest in what was called "the social question." The optimistic school (represented by Hartwell and Himmelfarb) says that although the standard of living was being increased by industrialisation poverty was becoming more visible. This is because of the new attitude of humanitarianism which was emerging as well as from the concentration of poverty in the new industrial towns and cities. The pessimists argue that the average standard of living might have been increasing but that the new prosperity was far from being equally distributed. The debate between Hartwell (a conservative) and Hobsbawm (a Marxist) is an interesting example of how one's ideological attitude can influence the way in which one views the past.

Many liberals were concerned about the situation of the urban and industrial poor and endeavoured to pass legislation or reform existing legislation to assist them (but not too much!). Nassau Senior's work on the "Poor Law Report" (1834) in England and Tocqueville's work on pauperism (1835) and prison reform (1844) are good examples of how much or how little liberals were willing to accept government welfare measures. There was always a radical fringe (Herbert Spencer, Samuel Smiles, Thomas Mackay) which objected to even these moderate proposals.

#### Required Reading

Hamerow is a good introduction to the problem:

Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Standard of Living" and "The Emergence of the Labor Question," in *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 121-47, 205-30.

Tocqueville's attitude to the problem of poverty can be found in the extracts in Drescher. Begin with Drescher's chapters in *Dilemmas of Democracy* before reading Tocqueville:

Seymour Drescher, "The Residue of Dependency and the Notables," "The War on Poverty: Prison Reform" and "~~Social Revolution and Class Conflict~~" in *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), pp. 88-123, 124-150, ~~194-250~~.

Alexis de Tocqueville, "Part I: Poverty and Industry" and "Part II: Crime and Reformation" in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper, 1968), pp. 1-59, 60-97.

### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

The question whether or not the standard of living was improving or declining with industrialisation is an old one. A useful introduction to the debate from an optimistic perspective can be found in either of the following:

*The Long Debate on POVERTY: Eight Essays on Industrialisation and 'the Condition of England'*, ed. Arthur Seldon (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1972). Essays by Hartwell, McCord, Coats.

R.M. Hartwell, "Part Three: Social and Economic Consequences," in *The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 313-408.

#### Texts

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, "Part I: Poverty and Industry" and "Part II: Crime and Reformation" in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper, 1968), pp. 1-59, 60-97. 1833?
2. Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and its Application in France* (1831), ed. Thorsten Sellin (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964).
3. *The Poor Law Report of 1834*, ed. S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).
4. Nassau Senior, *Statement of the Provision for the Poor and of the Condition of the Labouring Classes in a Considerable Portion of America and Europe* (London, 1835).
5. *Poverty in the Victorian Age: Debates on the Issue from 19th Century Critical Journals*, 4 vols, ed. A.W. Coats (Farnborough: Gregg International Press, 1973). In particular the article by Florence Nightingale, "A Note on Pauperism," (1866), vol. 2, pp. 281-90.
6. John Stuart Mill, "On the Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes," Book IV, chapter vii, in *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 118-43; and the essays "The Claims of Labour" (1845) "Thornton on Labour and its Claims" (1869) in *Essays on Economics and Society: Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. IV, ed. J.M. Robson (University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 363-89, 631-68.
7. Thomas Mackay, *Public Relief of the Poor* (London: John Murray, 1901).
8. Thomas Mackay, *The State and Charity* (London: Macmillan, 1898).
9. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), ed. W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner (Blackwell, 1958).
10. "The Social Problem," in *Germany in the Age of Bismarck*, ed. W.M. Simon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973), pp. 174-215.

A. Martineau Poor Laws + Paupers

TABLEAU 1

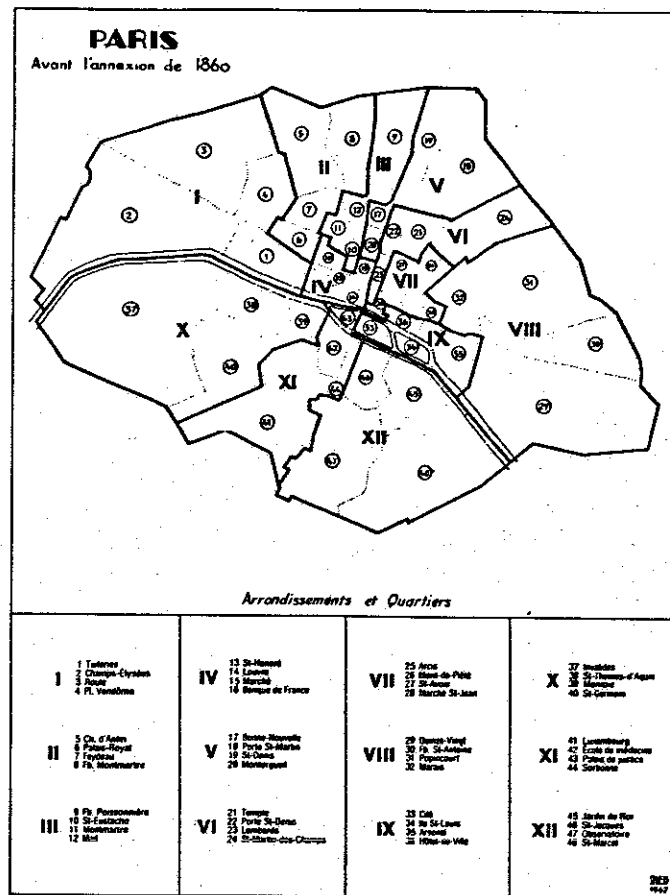


TABLEAU 4

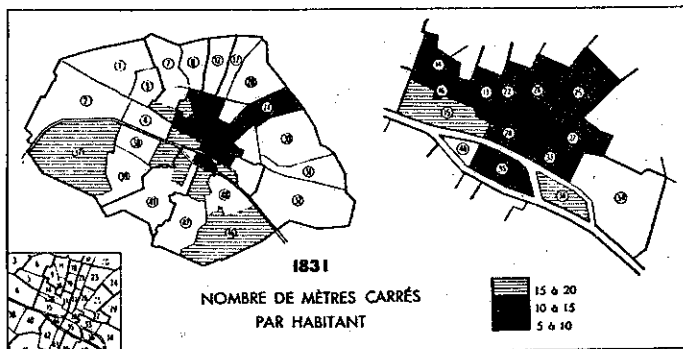


TABLEAU 6

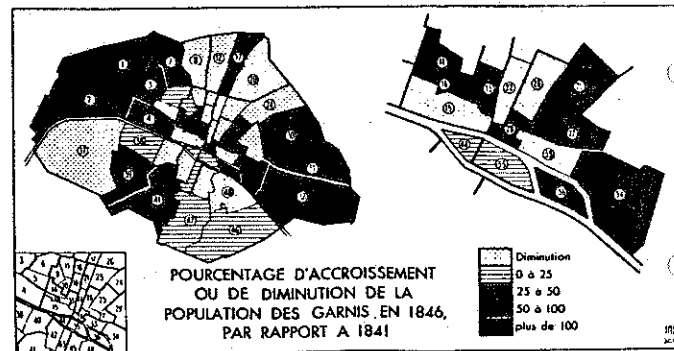


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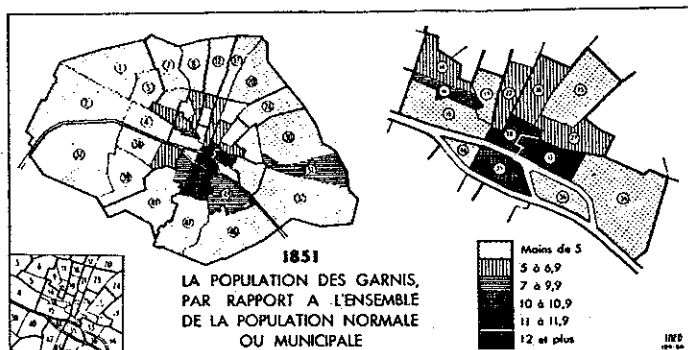
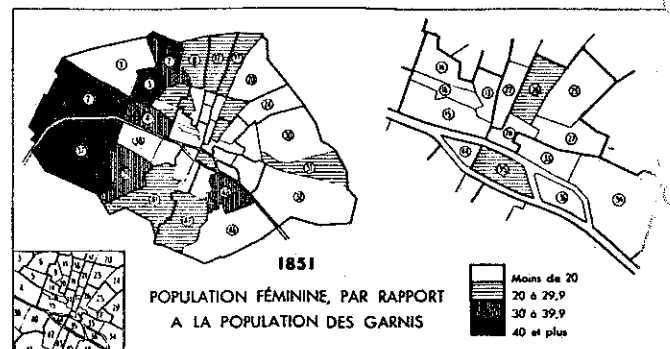


TABLEAU 7



## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

11. Articles "Bienfaisance, Concurrence, Droit au travail, émigration, Ouvriers, Paupérisme, Rente, Salaire," in *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, eds. Charles Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852).

### Secondary Works

#### France

Seymour Drescher, "The Residue of Dependency and the Notables," "The War on Poverty: Prison Reform" and "Social Revolution and Class Conflict" in *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), pp. 88-123, 124-150, 196-250.

George Wilson Pierson, *Tocqueville in America*, abridged by Dudley C. Hunt (New York: Doubleday, 1959).

William Coleman, *Death is a Social Disease: Public Health and Political Economy in Early Industrial France* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

Louis Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Frank Jellinek (New York, 1973).

William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge University Press, 1980). Chapter 10.

Theodore Zeldin, "Workers," in *France 1848-1945: Ambition and Love* (Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 198-282.

Peter Stearns, *Paths to Authority: The Middle Classes and the Industrial Labor Force in France, 1820-1848* (Urbana, Illinois, 1973).

Émile Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789* (Paris, 1903-4).

E. Dolléans and G. Dehove, *Histoire du travail en France: Mouvement ouvrier et législation sociale* (Paris, 1953-5).

H. Rigaudias-Weiss, *Les enquêtes ouvrières en France entre 1830 et 1848* (New York, 1975).

J. Rougerie, "Remarques sur l'histoire des salaires à Paris au XIXe siècle," *Le mouvement sociale*, 1968, vol. 43, pp. 1-108.

Georges Weill, *Histoire du mouvement sociale en France 1852-1902* (Paris, 1904).

#### England

Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985).

R.M. Hartwell, "Social and Economic Consequences," in *The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 313-360.

E.J. Hobsbawm, "The British Standard of Living, 1790-1850," *Economic History Review*, 1957.

E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Standard of Living during the Industrial Revolution: A Discussion," *Economic History Review*, 1963, vol. 16, no. 1.

Lionel Robbins, "The Condition of the People," in *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1953).

Marion Bowley, "The Poor Law Problem," in *Nassau Senior and Classical Economics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937), pp. 282-334.

T.S. Ashton, "The Standard of Life of the Workers of England 1790-1830," *Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. F.A. Hayek (University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 123-55.

M.E. Rose, "The Anti-Poor Law Agitation," in *Popular Movements c. 1830-1850*, ed. J.T. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 78-92.

A.W. Coats, "The Classical Economists and the Labourer," in *The Classical Economists and Economic Policy*, ed. A.W. Coats (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 144-79.

Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of John Stuart Mill* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1972).

Samuel Hollander, *The Economics of John Stuart Mill* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

On Friederick Engels see the reading on Manufacturing in week two.

Germany

Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution and Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton University Press, 1958).

Andrew Lees, "Conflicting Answers to the Social Questions," *Revolution and Reflection: Intellectual Change in Germany during the 1850's* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 138-83.

Donald G. Rohr, *The Origins of Social Liberalism in Germany* (University of Chicago Press, 1963).

James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (University of Chicago Press, 1966).

#### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

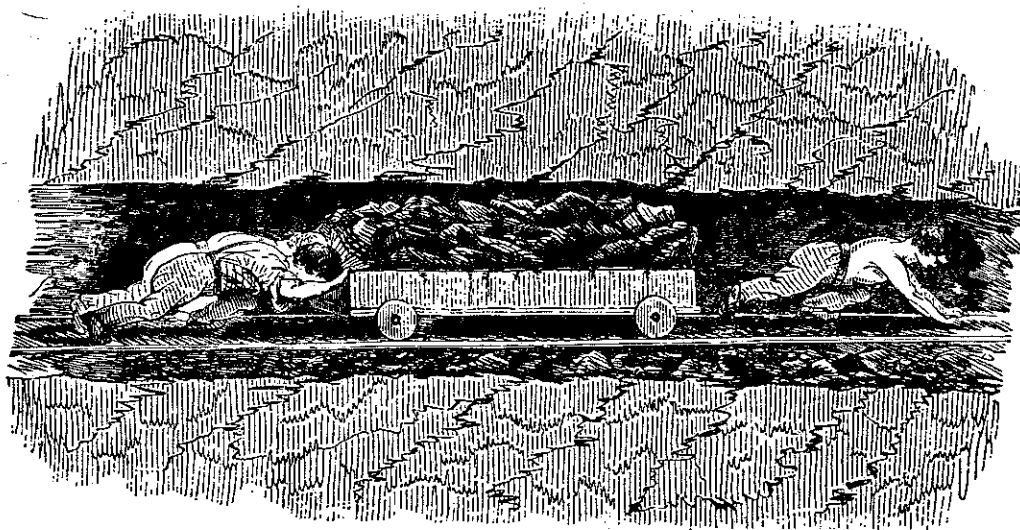
Werner Conze, "Vom 'Pöbel' zum 'Proletariat', sozialgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen für den Sozialismus in Deutschland," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1954, vol. 41, pp. 333-64.

Albert Müssiggang, *Die soziale Frage in der historischen Schule der deutschen Nationalökonomie* (Tübingen, 1968).

William O. Shanahan, *German Protestants Face the Social Question* (Notre Dame: Indiana University Press, 1954).

#### Tutorial Questions

1. Why did Tocqueville and Beaumont believe that prison reform was an important part of any solution of the social question?
2. Is it possible to resolve the disagreement between the optimists (Hutt, Hartwell, Himmelfarb) and the pessimists (Hobsbawm) on the standard of living of British workers in the 19th century?
3. What was the Poor Law and why did many classical political economists support this kind of state interference in the economy?
4. Discuss the arguments used by opponents of the Poor Law and other forms of state charity.
5. What was the reaction of liberals to the social question in Germany?
6. Why did many Frenchmen believe that the working classes were dangerous classes?



[9] Illustrations from the Mine Commission Report.

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Seven: Critics of Socialism

Towards the end of the 19th century liberals became increasingly concerned at the growth in influence of organised labour and socialist ideas in general. The danger appeared to some radical liberals to be coming from two sides. On the one hand, the liberal parties themselves began to adopt certain policies in support of a limited welfare state. Some liberals reworked liberal theory into what they called "New Liberalism" which largely abandoned the early 19th century liberal hostility towards state regulation of the economy and advocated sweeping welfare measures to solve the "social question." On the other hand, the organisation of labour parties and socialist parties proper meant that liberals were under attack from another direction and that whatever support they had come to expect from the working class was now being directed to the new working class parties.

The reaction of liberals to these changed circumstances was inevitably mixed. Some liberals adopted the more interventionist "new" liberalism without too much difficulty. Others, such as the Liberty and Property Defence League in England, sought a home in the Conservative Party or on the fringes of conservative circles. Some like John Morley continued to battle on within the Liberal party in spite of their increasing isolation from the main stream of new liberalism. Whatever their reaction to the growth of socialism they agreed that the more extreme aspects of socialist thought had to be countered by a campaign of anti-socialist propaganda. The British liberals were particularly worried that the non-revolutionary Fabian socialists posed a special threat.

#### Required Reading

You can choose to read either the debate between the Fabians and the supporters of the Liberty and Property Defence League or two very different conceptions of a possible socialist future in the form of a socialist utopia by the American writer and journalist Edward Bellamy and the socialist dystopia (the opposite of a utopia) by the German radical liberal parliamentarian Eugen Richter.

#### 1. Fabians versus Liberals

Begin with the famous collection of Fabian essays edited by George Bernard Shaw and then read the collection edited in response to it by Thoams Mackay and the three useful articles about the activities of the Liberty and Property Defence League. For a history of the Fabian socialists see McBriar's book.

*Fabian Essays in Socialism*, by eminent Oxford Professors and English Economists, ed. George Bernard Shaw (1889) (Boston: Brown, 1894).

\* L. Rybward "Socialism, Socialists" Labor's C.  
Greenleaf "The Fabian Model" Ideological Heritage



### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

*A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by various Writers*, ed. Thomas Mackay (1891) (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).

A.M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 1966).

John W. Mason, "Political Economy and the Response to Socialism in Britain, 1870-1914," *Historical Journal*, 1980, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 565-87.

N. Seldon, "Laissez-faire as Dogma: the Liberty and Property Defence League, 1882-1914," and John W. Mason, "Thomas Mackay: the Anti-Socialist Philosophy of the Charity Organisation Society," in *Essays in Anti-labour History*, ed. K.D. Brown (London: Macmillan, 1974).

*Federal utopia - Malenkov, Fabian Society*

### 2. Socialist Utopia or Dystopia?

The second choice is to read two utopian "novels" about what a future socialist society would look like. It is curious that in spite of the success of the socialist movement in the late 19th century there was very little written about what exactly a socialist society would look like. Most conceptions of socialism were "negative" in that the future socialist society would be not at all like the present "capitalist" society. This vagueness made it quite difficult for liberals like Richter to be specific in their criticism. He based much of what he wrote on the writings of August Bebel, in particular his work on *(Women Under Socialism)*, which is listed below. A point to keep in mind as you read these texts is how accurate either or both of them have been in their predictions.

Begin with Bellamy's vision of a future socialist America and then read Richter's criticism. Interestingly, in Richter's view America and Switzerland are the only countries not to go socialist after the revolution.

*Sozialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder - Frei nach Bebel (1891)*

Eugen Richter, *Pictures of the Socialist Future*, trans. H. Wright, introduction by Thomas Mackay (London: Sonnenschein, 1907).

Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*, ed. Cecilia Tichi (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

For some more information about Bellamy see the following:

Sylvia E. Bowman, *Edward Bellamy* (Boston: Twayne, 1986).

Texts: Critics of Socialism

*Principles of Sociology in complete ed. "Socialism" discusses Bellamy p 581*

1. Herbert Spencer, *The Man versus the State, with Six Essays on Government, Society and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981). Read "The Man Versus the State" (1884), pp. 1-177.

*Trotsky "Part IV Demands from Below" T + Ben Social before  
Drescher. A VII "Soc Rev + Class Conflict" Demands of Dem*

# SEUL DE SON SIÈCLE

EN L'AN 2000

TRADUCTION ET DISCUSSION

DU ROMAN COMMUNISTE « LOOKING BACKWARD »

De M. Ed. Bellamy

PAR

Le V<sup>te</sup> COMBES DE LESTRADE

DEUXIÈME ÉDITION

PARIS

GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>ie</sup>, ÉDITEURS

De la collection des principaux Économistes, du Journal des Économistes,

du Dictionnaire de l'Économie politique,

du Dictionnaire universel du Commerce et de la Navigation, etc.

14, Rue Richelieu, 14

1891

EDWARD BELLAMY  
(1850-1898)

De ce que l'organisation préconisée par le Dr Leete, admirée par M. West n'est ni possible ni désirable, il ne s'ensuit pas, certes, que la pensée des hommes d'État ou des modestes hommes d'études doive se détourner de la question sociale. L'heure n'est plus où il était permis d'en nier l'existence. Dans quelques jours, le 1<sup>er</sup> mai, nous allons entendre le cri d'une masse énorme d'êtres humains qui en réclament la solution.

L'économie politique est une science d'observation, de fait. C'est être fort injuste pour elle que de lui attribuer le refus de l'État de s'occuper du sort des travailleurs. Elle s'est bornée à constater que cette intervention de l'État a toujours été vaine, lorsqu'elle n'a pas été funeste. Elle a démontré l'inanité de tous les plans d'organisation que l'on a basés sur la restriction de la liberté des contrats.

Ce qui est vrai, en revanche, c'est que la majorité des économistes suivent encore, sans modification, les leçons d'Adam Smith et de ses successeurs immédiats. Les temps ont changé. Les découvertes industrielles, la concentration des capitaux, l'avènement de la grande industrie, tous les faits économiques du siècle, en un mot, concourent à rendre parfaitement inégales les situations du capitaliste et du travailleur qui traitent ensemble. Les progrès de l'instruction, l'affaiblissement des croyances religieuses, surtout la conquête des droits politiques, c'est-à-dire l'œuvre morale du siècle, rendent son infériorité visible au travailleur et la font insupportable pour lui.

Il est permis de ne pas travailler à l'avènement de la justice sociale. Nul en effet, n'est contraint d'y croire et chacun a le droit de ne pas la comprendre. Mais, en

22.



LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

2. *A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by various Writers*, ed. Thomas Mackay (1891) (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).
3. *A Policy of Free Exchange: Essays by Various Writers on the Economic and Social Aspects of Free Exchange and Kindred Subjects*, ed. Thomas Mackay (London: Murray, 1894). This is the sequel to *A Plea for Liberty*.
4. Thomas Mackay, *Dangers of Democracy: Studies in the Economic Questions of the Day* (London: Murray, 1913).
5. Auberon Herbert, *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State and other Essays*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978). Herbert debated two prominent socialists of his day, E. Belfort Bax and J.A. Hobson, and his anti-socialist essays can be found in this collection: "Salvation by Force" and "Lost in the Region of Phrases."
6. Auberon Herbert, *A Politician in Trouble about his Soul* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884).
7. Oscar Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," *The Fortnightly Review* (February 1891) in *De Profundis and other Writings*, ed. Hesketh Pearson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 17-53.
8. Hilaire Belloc, *The Servile State* (1913), ed. Robert Nisbet (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1977).
9. *Essays in Liberalism, by Six Oxford Men*, ed. Hilaire Belloc (London: Cassell, 1897).
10. Vte Combes de Lestrade's critical comments in the French edition of Edward Bellamy, *Seul de son siècle en l'an 2,000. Traduction et discussion du roman communiste "Looking Backward"*, ed. Vte Combes de Lestrade (Paris: Guillaumin, 1891). This translation was published by the leading liberal publishing house Guillaumin which published numerous liberal and anti-socialist works.
11. Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, *The Exploitation Theory of Social-Communism: The Idea that all unearned Income (Rent, Interest and Profit) involves Economic Injustice* (South Holland, Illinois: Libertarian Press, 1975). This book also goes under the badly translated title of Karl Marx and the Close of his System: A Criticism, trans. A.M. McDonald (London: Unwin, 1898).
12. Eugen Richter, *Pictures of the Socialist Future*, trans. H. Wright, introduction by Thomas Mackay (London: Sonnenschein, 1907).
13. Albert Schäffle, *Socialism: Its Nature, its Danger and its Remedies Considered* (London: King, 1874).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

14. Albert Schäffle, *The Quintessence of Socialism* (London: Sonnenschein, 1894).
15. Albert Schäffle, *The Impossibility of Social Democracy: Being a Supplement to the Quintessence of Socialism* (London: Sonnenschein, 1892).
16. Lorenz von Stein, *The History of the Social Movement in France, 1789-1850*, trans. Kaethe Mengelberg (Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1964).
17. *The Case Against Socialism: A Handbook for Speakers and Candidates*, published by the London Municipal Society (London: George Allen and Sons, 1909).
18. John Rae, *Contemporary Socialism* (London: Isbister, 1884).
19. John Stuart Mill, "Of Property," Book II, chapter i, in *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Donald Winch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 349-67; and the essays "Newman's Political Economy" (1851) "Chapters on Socialism" (1879) in *Essays on Economics and Society: Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, vol. IV, ed. J.M. Robson (University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 439-57, 703-53.
- \* 20. Louis Reybaud, "Socialiste, socialisme," *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, ed. Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 629-641. Contains an extensive bibliography. Other articles of interest include "Ateliers nationaux, Communisme, Fourierisme, Propriété." A translation of Reybaud's article is in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899), vol. 3, pp. 745-753.
21. Louis Reybaud, *Études sur les réformateurs ou socialistes modernes*, 2 vols. (Paris: Guillaumin, 1848).
22. Henri Baudrillart, "Communisme," *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, ed. Coquelin and Guillaumin (Paris: Guillaumin, 1852), vol. 1, pp. 421-27.
23. Eugène d'Eichthal, "Socialisme," pp. 815-60; Urbain Guérin, "Socialisme chrétien," pp. 860-67; Ludwig Bamberger, "Socialisme d'état," pp. 867-82 in *Nouveau dictionnaire d'économie politique*, ed. Léon Say et Joseph Chailley (Paris: Guillaumin, 1891), vol. 2.
24. Yves Guyot, *The Tyranny of Socialism*, ed. J.H. Levy (London: Sonnenschein, 1894).
25. Yves Guyot, *Where and Why Public Ownership has Failed*, trans. H.F. Baker (New York: Macmillan, 1914).

AV Dicey Law & Opinion "The Growth of Collectivism"  
 R.A. Cosgrove The Rule of Law: Albert Venn Dicey, Victorian  
Turist (1980)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

26. Yves Guyot, *Les Principes de 89 et le Socialisme* (Paris: Delagrave).
27. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Collectivism: A Study of Some of the Leading Social Questions of the Day*, trans. Sir Arthur Clay (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1908).
28. Vilfredo Pareto, *Libre échangeisme, Protectionnisme et Socialisme* in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4, ed. Giovanni Busino (Genève: Droz, 1965) as part of the series *Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques*, 1965, vol. 37.
29. Vilfredo Pareto, *Les systèmes socialistes* (Paris: Giard et Brière, 1902), reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5, ed. Giovanni Busino (Genève: Droz, 1965) as part of the series *Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques*, 1965, vol. 38.



Auberon Herbert

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Texts: Socialist Works

1. Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*, ed. Cecilia Tichi (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).
2. *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, by Eminent Oxford Professors and English Economists, ed. George Bernard Shaw (1889) (Boston: Brown, 1894).
3. August Bebel, *Women Under Socialism* (New York: Schocken, 1971).
4. *French Utopians: An Anthology of Ideal Societies*, ed. Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel (New York: Free Press, 1966).
5. *Before Marx: Socialism and Communism in France, 1830-48*, ed. Paul Corcoran (London: Macmillan).

Secondary Works

W.H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition. Volume 2: The Ideological Heritage* (London: Methuen, 1983).

G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, 5 vols (London: Macmillan, 1953-).

Alexander Gray, *The Socialist Tradition: Moses to Lenin* (London: Longman's, 1963).

George Lichtheim, *A Short History of Socialism* (London, 1970).

*Histoire générale du socialisme*, 4 vols., ed. Jacques Droz (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972-78).

Giovanni Busino, "Vilfredo Pareto et les socialismes," in Pareto, Croce: les socialismes et la sociologie (Genève: Droz, 1983) as part of the series *Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques*, 1983, vol. 138.

Michael Freedon, *New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

A.M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 1966).

John P. McCarthy, *Hilaire Belloc: Edwardian Radical* (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1978).

E. Bristow, "The Liberty and Property Defence League and Individualism," *Historical Journal*, 1975, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 761-89.

*Essays in Anti-Labour History*, ed. K.D. Brown (London: Macmillan, 1974).

JM Winter *Socialism: The Challenge of War: Ideas & Policies in Britain 1912-18* (London 1974)

E. H. Carr *Era of Tyranny*

L.S. Feuer "OSM & Marxian Socialism" JH 1 199 vol X 297-303

Gregory Claeys "Justice, Independence, & Industrial  
Democracy: The Development of J.S.M.'s Views on  
Socialism," J of Politics, 1987, v.49, no.1, 122-142.  
(with good bibliography)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

S. Hutchinson Harris, Auberon Herbert: *Crusader for Liberty* (London: Williams and Northgate, 1943).

H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930*. On Pareto.

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978).

Ian Bradley, "The Waning of Optimism," *The Optimists: Themes and Personalities in Victorian Liberalism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), pp. 222-60.

*The Marginal Revolution in Economics: Interpretation and Evaluation*, ed. R.D. Collison Black et al. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1973).

William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of John Stuart Mill* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1972).

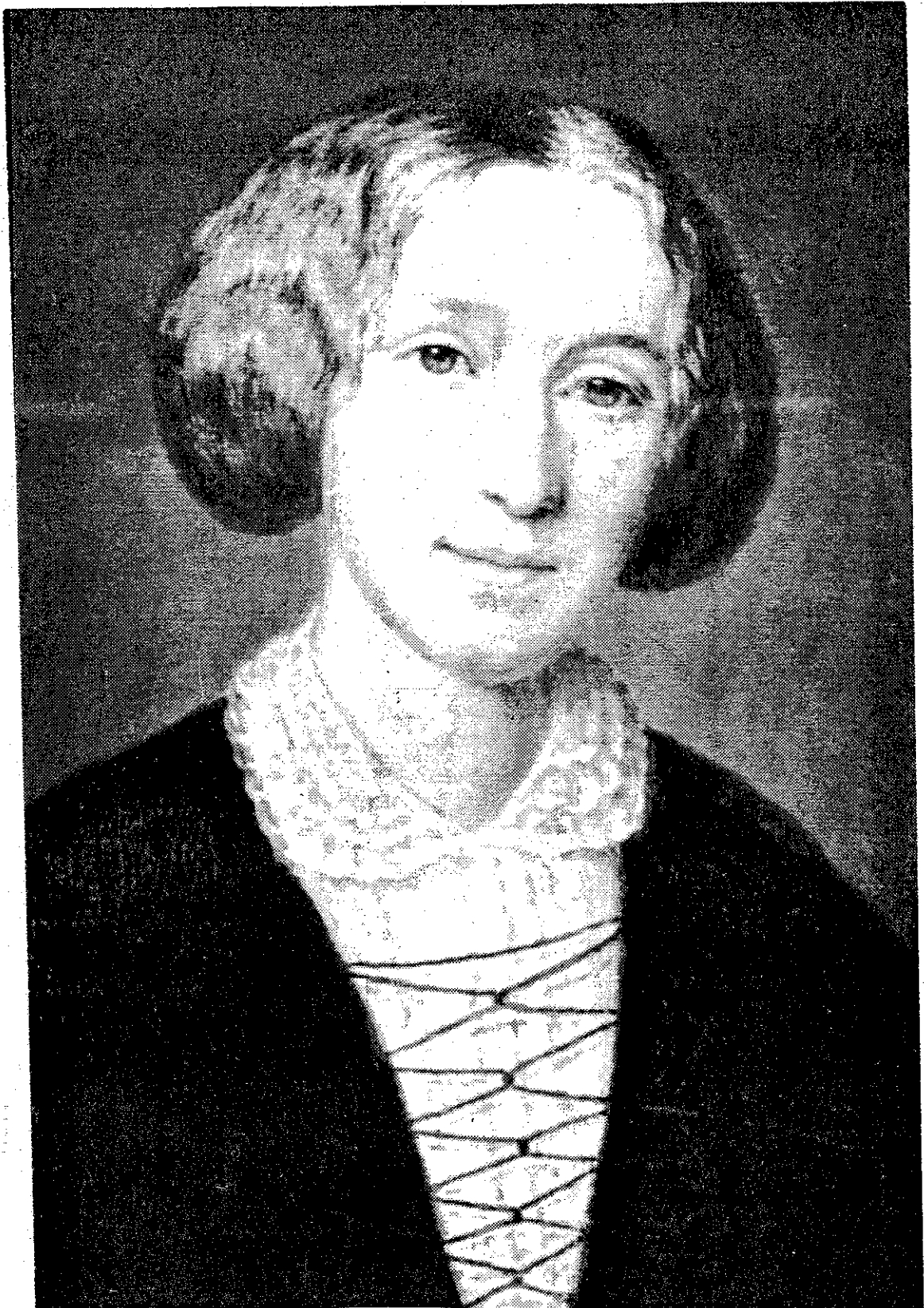
Samuel Hollander, *The Economics of John Stuart Mill* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

Lionel Robbins, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1953).

D.L. Losman, "John Stuart Mill on Alternative Economic Systems," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1971, vol. 30, pp. 85-104.

Tutorial Questions

1. Take any one of the above anti-socialist writers and discuss what were their main objections to socialism, what did they fear most about a socialist future, and whether or not their criticism was telling.
2. What was John Stuart Mill's attitude towards socialism and how did it change over his lifetime?





## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Eight: Politics in the Novel

Many 19th century novelists provide interesting insights into the nature of political, social and economic relationships in their respective societies. They can be either critics of the abuses, injustices and pretensions of the societies in which they live or they can be interpreters and chroniclers of the forces at work in changing European society. I have chosen a selection of authors to illustrate this phenomenon and I hope their insights into European society will give you another dimension to the mainly political and economic material we have looked at during the year.

Stendhal describes the activities of the leading social groups in France during the reign of Charles X (1824-1830) when France was approaching the bourgeois revolution of 1830. George Eliot describes the tensions in England on the eve of the 1832 Reform Bill just as it was on the verge of undergoing rapid political and economic change. Theodor Fontane was a disillusioned liberal of the 1848 revolution era who gradually became more conservative as he grew older. In his novels he chronicled and criticised the life of the Prussian bureaucratic and military elite as Germany experienced its greatest period of political and economic expansion. Jules Verne is more difficult to categorise but his faith in science and technology, wise rule by a scientific and technological elite and his belief in the right of strong individuals to withdraw from unjust society suggest that he is close to the anarchistic liberalism of Herbert Spencer and Gustave de Molinari.

Keep in mind when you read the novels that we are primarily interested in the political and social opinions of the authors and their interpretation of European society rather than in the literary techniques they use. Thus it is vital that you do some background reading in order to understand the context in which the novel was written. Just reading the novel is not at all sufficient to do this subject justice.

#### Required Reading

In chronological order the novels I have chosen are:

1. Stendhal, *The Red and the Black: A Chronicle of the 19th Century* (1830) (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
2. George Eliot, *Felix Holt, The Radical* (1866), ed. Peter Coveney (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).
3. Jules Verne, *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1870), *The Mysterious Island* (1874-75) (both available in many editions), or *The Survivors of the 'Jonathan'* (1909), trans. I.O. Evans (London: Arco, 1962).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

4. Theodore Fontane, *Effi Briest* (1895), ed. Douglas Parmée (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

Secondary Works

France

César Brana, *Modernity and its Discontents: French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

*The French Romantics*, 2 vols., ed. D.G. Charlton (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Priscilla P. Clark, *The Battle of the Bourgeois. The Novel in France, 1789-1848* (Paris, 1973).

*La société française 1815-1914 vue par les romanciers*, ed. P. Guiral et al. (Paris: A. Colin, 1969).

A.J. George, *The Development of French Romanticism: The Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Literature* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1955).

B. Weinberg, *French Realism: The Critical Reaction 1830-1870* (Oxford University Press, 1937).

D.O. Evans, *Social Romanticism in France, 1830-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951).

L.R. Furst, *Romanticism in Perspectives: A Comparative Study of the Romantic Movements in England, France and Germany* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

F.W.J. Hemmings, *Culture and Society in France 1848-1898: Discontents and Philistines* (New York: Scribners, 1971).

*Collection littérature française. Volume 7: De Chateaubriand à Baudelaire, 1820-1869*, (Paris: Arthaud).

*Collection littérature française. Volume 8: De Zola à Guillaume Apollinaire*, ed. Daniel Leuwers et al. (Paris: Arthaud).

Stendhal

Stendhal, *Red and Black: A New Translation, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism*, ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969).

Stendhal, *D'un nouveau complot contre les industriels*, ed. P. Chartier et al. (Paris: Flammarion, 1972).

Stendhal, *Selected Journalism from the English Reviews*, ed. Geoffrey Strickland (London: Calder, 1959).

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Stendhal, *Lettres de Paris par le petit fils de Grimm. Chronique 1825-1829*, 2 vols., ed. José-Luis Diaz (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1983).

Fernand Rudé, *Stendhal et la pensée sociale de son temps* (Brionne: Gérard Montfort, 1983).

Geoffrey Strickland, *Stendhal: The Education of a Novelist* (Cambridge University Press, 1974).

Gita May, *Stendhal and the Age of Napoleon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

Robert Alter, *Stendhal: A Biography* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980).

Henri Martineau, *Le coeur de Stendhal: Histoire de sa vie et de ses sentiments*, 2 vols., (Paris: Albin Miché, 1953-54).

Manuel Brussaly, *The Political Ideas of Stendhal* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1933).

*Stendhal, le Saint-Simonisme et les Industriels. Actes du XIIe congrès international Stendhalien. Bruxelles 23-25 mai 1977*, ed. O. Schellekens (Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles).

Henri-François Imbert, *Les Métamorphoses de la liberté ou Stendhal devant la Restauration et le Risorgimento* (José Corti, 1967).

Victor del Litto, *La vie intellectuelle de Stendhal* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1959).

Jules Verne

Jules Verne, extracts ed. Armand Goupil (Paris: Larousse, 1975).

Jean Chesneaux, *The Political and Social Ideas of Jules Verne*, trans. Thomas Wikeley (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972).

Jean Jules-Verne, *Jules Verne: A Biography*, trans. Roger Greaves (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1976).

*Jules Verne et les sciences humaines*, ed. François Raymond et Simone Vienne (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1979).

*Jules Verne: A Primary and Secondary Bibliography*, ed. Edward J. Gallagher et al. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980).

# LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR

CHRONIQUE DU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE,

PAR M. DE STENDHAL.

TOME PREMIER.



PARIS.

A. LEVAVASSEUR, LIBRAIRE, PALAIS-ROYAL.

1831.



Planche XVI

Photo René Mess

STENDHAL

d'après le crayon de Henri Lehmann, août 1841.

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

England

*Victorian Literatures: Selected Essays*, ed. Robert D. Preyer (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

Ivan Melada, *The Captain of Industry in English Fiction 1821-1871* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970).

William O. Aydelotte, "The England of Marx and Mill as reflected in Fiction," *Journal of Economic History*, 1948, supplement 8, pp. 42-58.

Raymond Williams, "The Industrial Novels," in *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958).

W.H. Chaloner, "Mrs Trollope and the Early Factory System," *Victorian Studies*, 1960, no. 4.

Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven, 1957).

Norman Russell, *The Novelist and Hammon: Literary Response to the World of Commerce in the 19th Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

James M. Brown, *Dickens: Novelist in the Market Place* (1982).

L. Cazamian, *The Social Novel in England: Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs Gaskell, Kingsley*, trans. M. Fido (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

J.M. Jefferson, "Industrialisation and Poverty: In Fact and Fiction," in *The Long Debate on POVERTY: Eight Essays on Industrialisation and 'the condition of England'*, ed. Arthur Seldon (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1972).

George Eliot

T.R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

G.S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

Claude T. Bissell, "Social Analysis in the Novels of George Eliot," in *Victorian Literatures: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Austin Wright (Oxford University Press, 1961).

W.F.T. Myers, "Politics and Personality in *Felix Holt*," *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 1966, vol. 10, pp. 5-33.

U.C. Knoepfelmacher, *Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel: George Eliot, Walter Pater, and Samuel Butler* (Princeton University Press, 1965).

Miriam Allott, "George Eliot in the 1860s," *Victorian Studies*, 1961, vol. 5, pp. 93-108.

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Joseph L. Blotner, *The Political Novel* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955).

C.B. Cox, "George Eliot: The Conservative-Reformer," in *The Free Spirit: A Study of Liberal Humanism in the Novels of George Eliot*, Henry James, E.M. Forster, Virginia Woolf, Angus Wilson (Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 13-37.

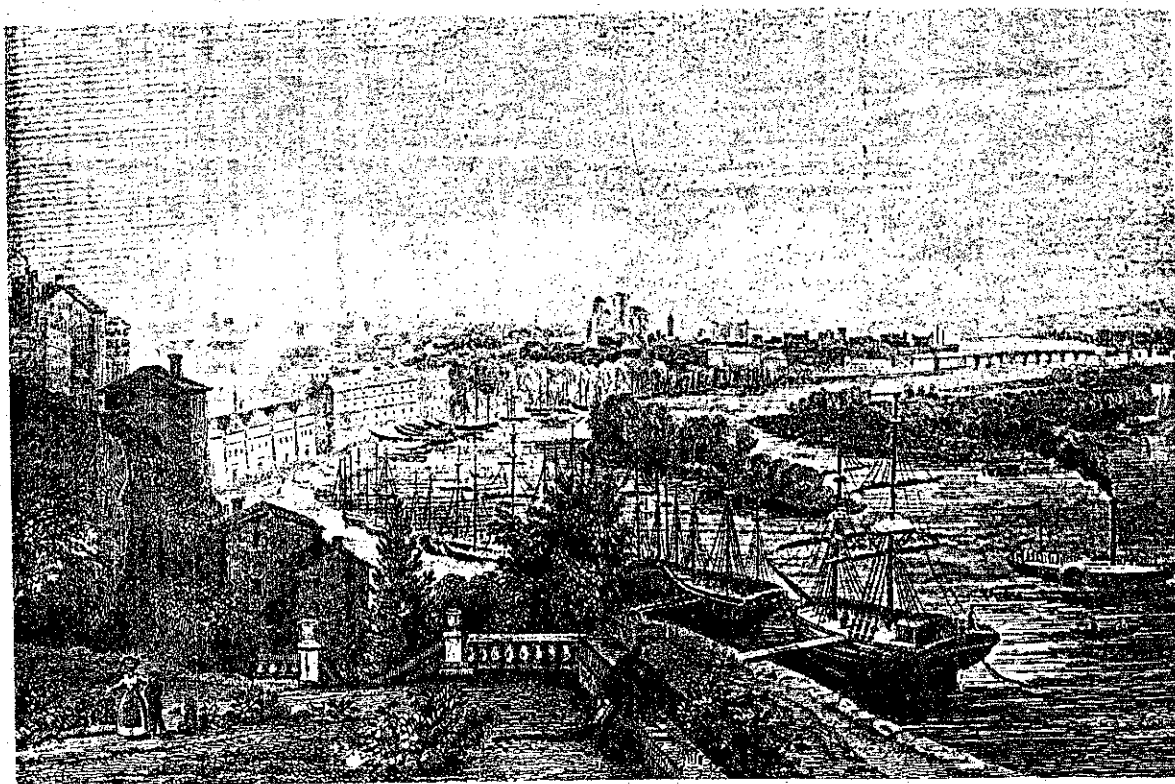
Walter F. Wright, "George Eliot as Industrial Reformer," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1941, vol. 56, pp. 1107-15.

Morris Edmund Speare, "George Eliot and Radicalism," *The Political Novel: Its Development in England and in America* (Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 221-36.

David R. Carroll, "Felix Holt: Society as Protagonist," in *George Eliot: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. George R. Creeger (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

Fred C. Thompson, "Politics and Society in *Felix Holt*," *The Classic British Novel*, ed. Howard M. Harper Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972).

T.R. Wright, "George Eliot and Positivism: A Reassessment," *Modern Language Review*, 1981, vol. 76, pp. 257-72.



NANTES : LA VILLE ET LE PORT.

«Je n'avais pas fait vingt pas que j'ai reconnu une grande ville.

Le bonheur de Nantes, c'est qu'elle est située en partie sur un coteau, qui, prenant naissance au bord de la Loire, sur la rive droite, et au nord, s'en éloigne de plus en plus.

Tous les genres d'industries et de commerces enrichissaient Nantes avant la fatale Révolution.

Ce beau quai, si bien orné et à si peu de frais, est parcouru en tous sens par des gens affairés; c'est toute l'activité d'une grande ville de commerce.»

STENDHAL, *Mémoires d'un Touriste*

Kenneth Altwood, Fontane und das Preupium (Berlin,

Haude + Spenerische, 1970)

Walter Müller-Seidel, Theodor Fontane: Soziale Romankunst in Deutschland (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1975)

LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

#### Germany

Ernest K. Bramsted, Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany: Social Types in German Literature 1830-1900 (University of Chicago Press, 1964).

Theodor Fontane *E.K. Bramsted, Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany: Social Types in German Literature 1830-1900*

Joachim Remak, The Gentle Critic: Theodore Fontane and German Politics 1848-1898 (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1964). (1939, 1964)

Renny Harrigan, "The Limits of Emancipation: A Study of Fontane's Lower Class Women," Monatshefte, 1978, no. 70, pp. 117-28.

Arthur Davis, "Fontane and the German Revolution of 1848," Modern Language Notes, 1935, 50, pp. 1-9.

Arthur Davis, "Fontane as a Prophet of German Political Life," Modern Language Notes, 1933, 48, pp. 449-52.

Arthur Davis, "Theodor Fontane's Relation to German Conservative Forces during the Period 1849-1870," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 1936, vol. 35, pp. 259-70.

#### Tutorial Question

1. Choose one the novels listed above and describe the political and social views of the author as reflected in their writing.



Four scenes (by A. de Neuville) from perhaps Verne's most famous novel, *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*. Captain Nemo is at the wheel: "The sea is all. Its breath is pure and healthy . . . Beneath the sea, that's the only place for independence! There I acknowledge no master! There I am free!"

## LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

### Week Nine: The New Class Society

From about the 1870s onwards liberals looked on with dismay as their hopes for a deregulated and free (in the negative sense) society disappeared under the onslaught of socialism from one side and a reinvigorated traditional elite on the other. We have already looked at the liberal response to socialism in week seven. This week we will be examining the reaction of liberals like Vilfredo Pareto, Herbert Spencer, and Max Weber to the "persistence" of traditional landed, bureaucratic and military elites.

In spite of an expanded franchise traditional elites were able to manipulate government in such a way as to preserve their positions in key sectors of the state such as the cabinet, the higher civil service, the foreign office, the army and as peers in the upper houses. In stead of replacing the traditional elite the new wealthy bourgeois class of industrialists, merchants, and bankers fell over themselves to be admitted into the ranks of traditional society. They willingly accepted government honours, purchased country estates, married into old families, and generally accepted the political and cultural leadership of the traditional elites. This process is well documented by Arno Mayer in *The Persistence of the Old Regime* which is the main reading for this week.

Liberals responded to this "betrayal" by the higher bourgeoisie by developing somewhat pessimistic theories which argued that class society (in other words, rule by an elite) was inevitable and perhaps even a permanent feature of all societies, whether traditional or industrial. For example, Spencer believed that a "new Toryism" was in the process of being formed; Pareto believed that society functioned by a continuous process of "circulation" of elites whereby traditional elites absorbed or were gradually replaced by a new rising elite; Weber developed a sophisticated sociological theory to explain the formation of "rational" bureaucracy and new forms of authority.

The hope of early 19th century liberals that politics could be separated from economics and that no one class would monopolise political power for their own "sinister" purposes (as James Mill would have put it) was abandoned and replaced with growing hopelessness and fear of the future. It appeared that free trade, free markets, peace and minimal government was in the process of being replaced by protection, a regulated and cartellised economy, an arms race with the increasing threat of a world war, and the expansion of bureaucracy and government activity in general.

#### Required Reading

Mayer's book is vitally important. His is the most developed argument for the "capture" of the bourgeoisie by the traditional elites:



*Hamerow, "Opportunity Class Mobility" Bottom of Her Range*

# LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

Arno J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Read chapters 1, 2, 3, pp. 3-187.

## Texts

The reaction of liberals and conservatives to the growing bureaucratisation, militarisation, and politicisation of society was rather complex. Some rejected the course which modern society was taking, whilst others grudgingly accepted the inevitable.

Select one of the following:

1. Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State* (1884) in *The Man Versus the State, with Six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981). *in Principles of Sociology + "Socialism"*
2. Vilfredo Pareto, *The Circulation of the Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (1901), ed. Hans L. Zetterberg (Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1968). *"Trade Unionism" "In the Man" discusses Bellamy p. 581 "rules of official class" 602 new class p. 587*
3. Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H.H. Girth and C. Wright Mills (Kegan Paul, 1948). Sections on bureaucracy, domination and authority.
4. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class: Elementi di scienza politica* (1896), ed. Arthur Livingston (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939).
5. Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1915), trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Dover, 1959) or *First Lectures in Political Sociology*, ed. Alfred de Grazia (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).
6. Gustave de Molinari, *Ultima Verba: Mon dernier ouvrage* (Paris: V. Giard et E. Briere, 1911).

## Secondary Works

### Theory of Elites

T.B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966).

Pareto and Mosca, ed. James H. Meisel ((New York: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

James H. Meisel, *The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gaetano Mosca and the Elite* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958).

Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (London: Methuen, 1977).

H. Stuart Hughes, "Gaetano Mosca and the Political Lessons from History," in *Teachers of History: Essays in Honor of Laurence Bradford Packard*, ed. H. Stuart Hughes (Cornell University Press), pp. 146-67.

*HS "relative optimism" v. Conclusion p. 601*



Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923)

### LIBERAL EUROPE: TERM THREE TUTORIAL READING

H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930*. On Pareto.

David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford University Press, 1978).

S.E. Finer, "Pareto and Pluto-Democracy: The Retreat to Galapagos," *American Political Science Review*, 1968, vol. 62, pp. 440-50.

David Beetham, *Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974).

Wolfgang Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920* (1959).

#### History of Elites

*European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. David Spring (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).

Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War, 1870-1914* (New York: Macmillan, 1966).

#### England

Sydney Checkland, "Part IV: Industrial Maturity and the Ending of Pre-eminence, 1874-1914," *British Public Policy 1776-1939: An Economic, Social and Political Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 163-258.

*The English Ruling Class*, ed. W.L. Guttsman (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969).

George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London: Granada, 1983).

J. Cornford, "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies*, 1963, vol. 7.

F.M.L. Thompson, *British Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

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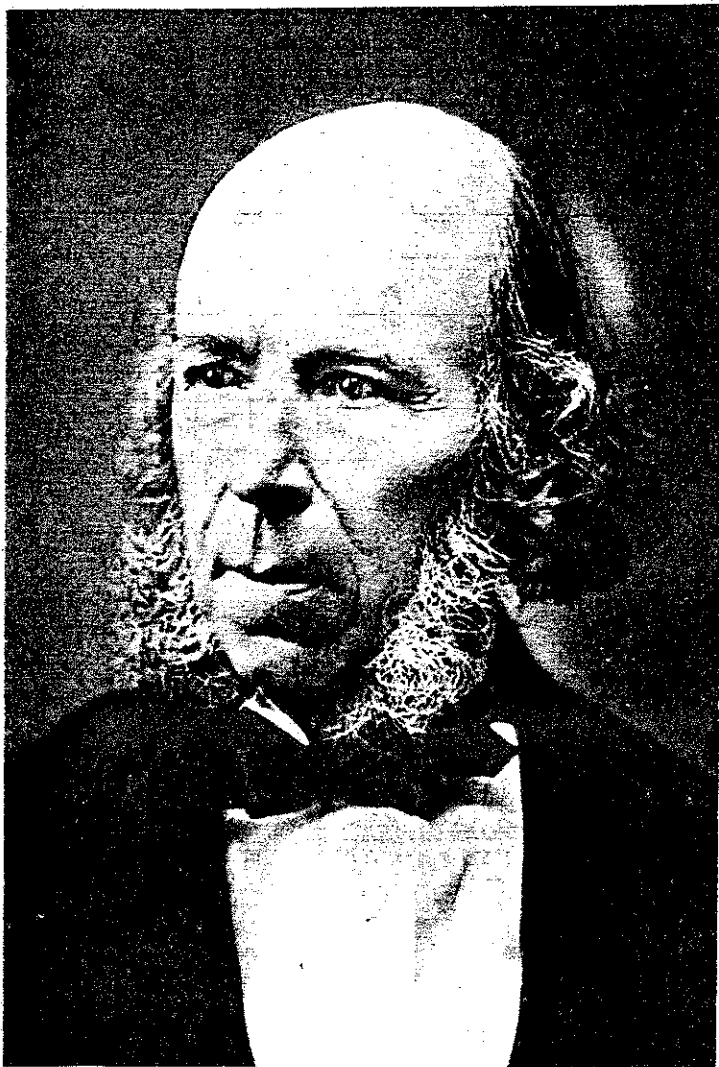
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Tutorial Questions

1. Discuss Mayer's theory that traditional elites in the late 19th century "persisted" in power instead of being replaced by the new bourgeois elite. Is he correct in your view?
2. How did either Spencer, Pareto, Mosca, Michels or Weber respond to the creation of new kinds of political power and the rise of new political classes?



Herbert Spencer



*German Information Center*

MAX WEBER

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MON DERNIER OUVRAGE

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G. DE MOLINARI

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT



PARIS (3<sup>e</sup>)

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