

**FINAL HONOUR SCHOOL  
OF MODERN HISTORY**

**SPECIAL SUBJECT 13**

**Politics, Reform and Imperial Crisis 1774–84**

**Bibliography**

## POLITICS, REFORM AND IMPERIAL CRISIS 1774–84

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## A. Reference

### 1. Parliament and politics

Among the set texts are passages from several of the most important sources for the study of the history of parliament, viz.:

Cobbett's *Commons Journals*  
*Parliamentary History* (reports of debates)  
*Reports from committees of the House of Commons* (an early nineteenth-century collection of some important reports)

You may also want to consult

Sheila Lambert's *Statutes of the Realm* for the full text of acts of parliament  
*Sessional papers of the House of Commons 1715–1800* (Radcliffe camera basement) prints other committee reports and the texts of some unsuccessful bills

J. Brooke and L. Namier (eds.), *History of parliament: the House of Commons 1754–90* (3 vols.) includes potted histories of all constituencies, and mini-biographies of all MPs. The editors' lengthy introduction, which generally surveys constituencies, members and parliamentary business has been separately published as *The House of Commons 1754–90*

Information provided in the mini-biographies can sometimes be supplemented from the *Dictionary of National Biography*

For general information about the two houses of parliament see also:

P.D.G. Thomas, *The House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century*  
M. McCahill, *Order and Equipoise* (the House of Lords in the later eighteenth century)

For radical reformers, see

J. Baylen and N.J. Gossman (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals* vol. 1 1770–1830

### 2. Administration, central and local

For a general survey of the machinery of government in 1780, see

N. Chester, *The English Administrative System 1780–1870*, ch. 1

The organisation of particular government offices is described, and the names of senior officeholders are listed, in a series of publications originally edited by J. Sainty, now by M. Collinge, eg J. Sainty, *Officials of the secretaries of state 1660–1782* (in History Faculty Library)

Local government is very briefly surveyed in

B. Keith Lucas, *The Unreformed Local Government System*

For fuller detail, see

Beatrice and Sidney Webb's many volumes on the History of English Local Government, eg  
S. and B. Webb, *The Parish and the County*

Two local studies of special interest for this period are

E. Moir, *Local Government in Gloucestershire 1775–1800*

P. Styles, *The Development of County Administration in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Illustrated by the Records of the Warwickshire Court of Quarter Sessions* (Dugdale society occasional paper no. 4, 1934 – Bodley open shelves, Selden end)

### 3. Economic

Included among the set texts are certain tables from the standard handbook of economic statistics,

B. Mitchell and P. Deane, *British Economic Statistics*.

These figures are discussed, and other economic indices estimated in

P. Deane and W. Cole, *British Economic Growth 1688–1959*.

For fuller trade statistics, see

E.B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics 1697–1808*.

Many of Deane and Cole's attempts to derive general economic series from sets of figures relating to particular sectors of the economy have since been challenged. For more recent general interpretations, see the essays in

R. Floud and D. McCloskey (eds.), *Economic history of Britain vol. 1 1700–1870*, and

N. Crafts, *British Economic Growth During the Industrial Revolution*.

### 4. Cartoons

The contents of the cartoons assigned are discussed in Dorothy George's accompanying text – as is the general character of the English print trade. For a fuller discussion of who and what is represented in individual cartoons, see

British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires* (D. George ed.) vol 5 1771–83, vol 6 1784–92 (Bodley, Modern Papers Reading Room)

Many cartoons from the British Museum collection have been reproduced, with comments and introductory essays, in a series of books under the general editorship of

Michael Duffy, *The English Satirical Print 1600–1832* (in History Faculty Library.)

See especially,

P.D.G. Thomas, *The American Revolution*;

J. Brewer, *The Common People and Politics 1750–90s*;

H.T. Dickinson, *Caricatures and the Constitution 1760–1832*;

M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner*;

J. Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints 1600–1832*; and

J.A. Sharpe, *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints 1600–1832*.

for context see also

D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature. English Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*

## **B. General and introductory**

H.T. Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the American Revolution*

Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* esp. ch.. 1, 4 and 5 on Mobilisation and its context, 2 on the Economic Impact, and 7 on religious reform and reaction

Eliga Gould, *The Persistence of Empire : British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (an American historian's sets the scene from a British perspective)

A. Burns and J. Innes (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850* – an excellent review of the period within the context of later 18th century and early 19th century developments. See in particular articles by Innes (reform as a concept), Lobban (law reform), Burns (the Church), and Turley (anti-slavery)

## **C. Domestic**

### **1. Economy**

see for an introduction

Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, ch. 2 on the Economic impact

T.S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England 1700–1800* – a very useful survey

See also

J. Hoppit, 'Financial crises in eighteenth century England', *EcHR* (1986) (sheds more general light on economic fluctuations than its title might suggest).

A.H. John, 'War and the English economy 1700–63', *EcHR* (1955) though not strictly relevant to our period, has much of general interest to say on the economic impact of eighteenth century wars (though note his conclusion, that war did not in general depress the economy, does not obviously hold for the American Revolutionary war).

P. Deane, 'War and industrialisation', in J.M. Winter (ed.), *War and Economic Development* makes relevant general comments, though mainly focussing on the 1790s.

The impact of the war on the Scottish economy has been more closely studied. See

M.I. Robertson, 'Scottish commerce and the American War of Independence', *EcHR* (1956–7),

and essays in

O.D. Edwards and G. Shepperson eds, *Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution*.

Also of interest is

P. Mathias and P. O'Brien, 'Taxation in Britain and France 1715–1810: a comparison of the social and economic incidence of taxes collected for the central government', *J.Eur.Ec.Hist.* (1976).

Studies of particular sectors, relevant to our concerns:

### **Cotton**

S. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution* (Macmillan ec. hist. pamph.)

### **Wool**

J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England 1660–1880*

R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants* (Leeds)

His article, 'Transport dues as indices of economic growth 1775–1820', *EcHR* 1966, also deals chiefly with the West Riding textile region

John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century*

### **Stockings**

A. Temple Patterson, *Radical Leicester* ch 3

J.D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* chs 4, 5, 9

Also of interest are some of the older histories:

Gravener Henson, *History of the Framework Knitters* (1831)

W. Felkin, *History of the Machine Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures* (1867)

### **Metal**

W.H.B. Court, *Rise of the Midlands Industries*

T.S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*

### **Agriculture**

E.L. Jones and G. Mingay, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*

M. Turner, *Enclosures in Britain 1750–1830* (Macmillan ec.hist.pamph.)

For workers' associations and industrial action see

J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth Century Industry*

C. Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*

and for machine breaking

D. Wykes, 'The Leicestershire riots of 1773–87: a study of the victims of popular protest', *Trans.Leics Arch.and Hist.Soc* (1978–9) (Bodley open shelves, Selden end)

For labour relations in the dockyards, where the war created both tensions and opportunities, see

J.M. Haas, 'The introduction of task work in the Royal dockyards 1775',

*Jour.Brit.Stud.* (1969)

For the export of wool controversy, see

R. Wilson, 'Newspapers and industry: the export of wool controversy in the 1780s', in M. Harris and A. Lee (eds.), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*

Parliamentary lobbying by employers is briefly discussed in

J. Norris, 'Samuel Garbett and the early development of industrial lobbying', *EcHR* (1957–8)

M. McCahill, 'Peers, patronage and the industrial revolution', *Jour.Brit.Stud.* (1976)

For a debate about an industrialist's motives for supporting a pro-war petition, see

B.D Bargar, 'Matthew Boulton and the Birmingham petition of 1775', *William and Mary Quarterly* (1956)

E. Robinson, 'Matthew Boulton and the art of parliamentary lobbying', *HJ* (1964)

See also:

A. Olson, 'The Board of Trade and London American interest groups in the eighteenth century', in P. Marshall and G. Williams (eds.), *The British Atlantic Empire Before the American Revolution*

or more generally her recent study

*Making the Empire Work. London and American Interest Groups 1690–1790*

P. Langford, 'The British business community and the later non-importation movements 1768–76', in W.H. Conser *et al* (eds.), *Resistance, politics and the American struggle for independence 1765–75*

Some of the people we will encounter in other connections were also active entrepreneurs.

For Major Cartwright, see

W.H. Chaloner and J.D. Marshall, 'Major John Cartwright and the Revolution Mill 1788–1806', in N. Harte and K.G. Ponting, *Textile History and Economic History*

For Thomas Gilbert

J.R. Wordie, *Estate Management in Eighteenth Century England* p46ff and see Index

### **Economic and social thought:**

D.V. Glass, *Numbering the People. The Population Controversy in Eighteenth Century England* is of wider interest than the title might suggest and may be the best introduction to the diverse strands of contemporary thought about the shape of economic and social development in the eighteenth century.

Most of the literature on this subject is rather erudite and difficult, though you might try

J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* ch. 14

D. Forbes, 'Sceptical Whiggism, commerce and liberty', in A. Skinner and T. Wilson (eds.), *Essays on Adam Smith*

G. Sheldon, *Dean Tucker and Eighteenth Century Economic and Political Thought*, and

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Josiah Tucker on Burke, Locke and Price: a study in the varieties of eighteenth-century conservatism', in Pocock, *Virtue, commerce and liberty*

and

W. Hollander, *The economics of Adam Smith*

provide accounts of the two economists passages from whose works you are required to read.

See also

R.C.Teichgraber III, 'Less abused than I had reason to expect: the reception of *The Wealth of Nations* in Britain 1776–90', *HJ* 1987

For Bentham, see

E. Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* Part 1 The Youth of Bentham 1776–89

and

M. Mack, *Jeremy Bentham*

For his friend Lind, see

M. Avery, 'Toryism in the age of the American revolution: John Lind and John Shebbeare', *Hist.Studies: Australia and New Zealand* (1978–9)

For economists' ideas about trade and empire, see

D. Winch, *Classical Political Economy and the Colonies*

B. Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism*

## 2. Politics

Very different, but each outstanding in its own way, are

J. Brooke, *King George III*

P.D.G. Thomas, *Lord North*

J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt* vol 1

J.W. Derry, *Charles James Fox*

The best short statement of the case against George III, to balance Brooke, is

W.R. Fryer, 'George III: his character and conduct', *Renaissance and Modern Studies* (1962)

P.D.G. Thomas, 'George III and the American Revolution', *History* (1985) is a further spokesman for the defence.

Other biographies of prominent politicians are:

S. Ayling, *The Elder Pitt*

B.D. Bargar, *Lord Dartmouth*

R. Cone, *Burke and the Nature of Politics: the Age of the American Revolution*

A. Valentine, *Lord George Germain*

J. Norris, *Shelburne and Reform*

N.A.M. Rodger, *The Fortunate Earl* (Sandwich)

Monographs:

- B. Donoghue, *British Politics and the American Revolution for 1773–5*  
I.R. Christie, *The End of North's Ministry for 1780–2*  
J. Cannon, *The Fox-North coalition for 1782–4*

See also the following articles, helpful on particular aspects of the political story:

- D.T. Johnson, 'Charles James Fox: from government to opposition 1771–4', *EHR* (1974)  
I. Christie, 'The Marquis of Rockingham and Lord North's offer of a coalition June–July 1780', *EHR* (1954), reprinted in Christie, *Myth and Reality*  
C. McCreery, 'Satiric images of Fox, Pitt and George III: the East India Bill crisis 1783–4' *Word and Image* (1993)  
P. Kelly, 'The emergence and triumph of the younger Pitt's administration,' *BIHR* (1981)  
G. Ditchfield, 'The House of Lords in the age of the American Revolution' in C. Jones (ed.), *A Pillar of the Constitution. The House of Lords in British Politics 1640–1784*

J. Dwyer and A. Murdoch, 'Paradigms and politics: manners, morals and the rise of Henry Dundas', in J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason and A. Murdoch, *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* combines some account of Dundas' rise with interesting observations on the Scottish political scene

See also

- J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* esp. ch 5, 'The Scottish militia agitation of the American war'

**Party:**

The literature is huge, especially for the 1760s. The best background for the 1770s is the introduction to Namier and Brooke (see section A.1), though it lies close to the extreme of historical interpretation. Most interest has focussed on the reconstruction of Whiggism.

- G.H. Guttridge, *English Whiggism and the American Revolution* pre-Namierite  
(Christie's article, 'The myth of the new Toryism', in *Myth and Reality*, is a review of this book.)  
F. O'Gorman, *The rise of Party in England* a balanced but essentially narrative (and long-winded) account  
S. Farrell, 'The practices and purposes of party leadership: Rockingham and the Lords, 1765–82', *Parliamentary History* (2002)  
L.G. Mitchell, *Charles James Fox and the Disintegration of the Whig Party* – the best guide to post-Rockinghamite developments  
J. Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics* chs. 3–4 helpfully discusses the vocabulary of party conflict. Though he writes especially of the 1760s, much of what he says is also relevant to our period.

For some suggestions as to the attitudes and significance of 'country gentlemen' and backbenchers, see

- Sir L. Namier, 'Country gentlemen in parliament', in *Personalities and Powers*, also in *Crossroads of Power*
- J. Owen, 'The survival of country attitudes in the eighteenth century House of Commons', in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands* vol. 4
- D. Jarrett, 'The myth of patriotism in the eighteenth-century House of Commons', in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands* vol. 5
- R. Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John* (Sir John Sinclair, an active figure in the St Alban's Tavern grouping)

and for Tories more specifically:

- P. Langford, 'Old Whigs, old Tories and the American revolution', *Jour.Imp.and C'wealth Hist.* (1980), also in P.J. Marshall and G. Williams (eds.), *The British Atlantic Empire before the American Revolution*
- J.A.W. Gunn, 'The spectre at the feast: the persistence of High Tory ideas', in Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property*
- J.J. Sacks, *From Jacobite to Conservative*

### **Elections:**

For a general account of the electoral system,

- F. O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties* (chs. 4–5 are of special interest)

**1774:** see generally the account in Donoghue (under Monographs above)

Also,

- I.R. Christie, 'The Wilkites and the general election of 1774', in *Myth and Reality*

**1780:** see generally the account in Christie (under Monographs above)

For the crucial election of **1784**, see

- I.R.Christie, 'The political allegiance of John Robinson 1770–84', *BIHR* (1956) (also in *Myth and reality*)
- I.R.Christie, 'George III and the debt on Lord North's election fund 1780–4', *EHR* (1963) (also in *Myth and reality*)
- D. George, 'Fox's martyrs: the general election of 1784', *TRHS* (1939)
- P. Kelly, 'Radicalism and public opinion in the general election of 1784', *BIHR* (1972)
- A. Foreman, 'A Politician's politician: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and the Whig Party', in H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds.), *Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (1997)
- J. S. Lewis, '1784 and all that: aristocratic women and electoral politics' in A. Vickery (ed.), *Women, Privilege and Power: British Politics 1750 to the Present* (2001)

### **Local studies:**

For general surveys of political activity at a local level, see

- L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754–90* ch. 1

- J. Phillips, *Electoral Behaviour in Unreformed England* provides an in-depth study of four urban constituencies (Norwich, Maidstone, Northampton, Lewes) 1760–1800
- See also:
- J. Bradley, ‘Religion and reform at the polls. Nonconformity in Cambridge politics 1774–84’, *Jour.Brit.Stud.* (1984)
- I.R. Christie, ‘Great Yarmouth and the Yorkshire reform movement 1782–4’, in *Myth and reality*
- P. J. Corfield *et al.*, ‘Westminster Man: Charles James Fox and his Electorate, 1780–1806’, *Parliamentary History* (2001)
- R.W. Davis, *Continuity and change 1760–1885. A Buckinghamshire study* chs 1–2
- T. Knox, ‘Popular politics and provincial radicalism: Newcastle on Tyne 1769–85’, *Albion* (1979)
- J. Money, *Experience and Identity. Popular Politics in the West Midlands Area in the Age of the American Revolution* (see also his article in *HJ* (1971))
- N.C. Phillips, *Yorkshire and English national politics 1783–4*
- L.S. Sutherland, ‘The City of London in eighteenth century politics’, in R. Pares and A.J.P. Taylor (eds.), *Essays in British History*

### 3. Parliamentary and economical reform

#### General surveys:

- E.C. Black, *The Association*
- J. Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform 1640–1832*
- I. Christie, *Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform*
- K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715–85*

#### Topics:

- J.A.W. Gunn, ‘A measure of liberty’, in Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property* (changing ideas of liberty)
- P. Kelly, ‘Constituents’ instructions to members of parliament in the eighteenth century’, in C. Jones (ed.), *Party and Management in Parliament 1660–1784*
- B. Kemp, ‘Patriotism, pledges and the people’, in M. Gilbert (ed.), *A Century of Conflict*
- T. Parsinnen, ‘Association, Convention and Anti-Parliament in British Radical politics 1771–1845’, *EHR* 1973
- J. Phillips, ‘Popular Politics in Unreformed England’, *JMH* 1980 (on signatories to petitions)
- L. Sutherland, ‘Edmund Burke and relations between MPs and their constituents,’ *Studies in Burke and his time* 1968
- P. Langford, ‘Property and “virtual representation” in eighteenth-century England’, *HJ* (1988) – an important argument about the workings of the ‘unreformed’ system

**Biographical:**

- P. Brown, *The Chathamites* (Richard Price and others)  
C. Hay, 'The making of a radical: the case of James Burgh', *Jour.Brit.Stud.* (1979)  
B. Hill *The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catherine Macaulay* (1992) – good on Sawbridge, Hollis and their circle  
P. Langford, 'Thomas Day: the politics of sentiment', in R.F. Holland and G. Rizvi (eds.) *Perspectives on Imperialism and Decolonisation*  
A.G. Olsen, *The Radical Duke* (Richmond)  
C. Hay 'Catherine Macaulay and the American Revolution', *Historian* (1994)  
A. Page *John Jebb and the Enlightenment Origins of British Radicalism* (2003)

**Political reform movements 1774–9:**

- J.M. Flavell, 'Lord North's conciliatory proposal and the patriots in London', *EHR* (1992)  
C. Bonwick, *English radicals and the American Revolution*  
P. Langford, 'London and the American revolution', in J. Stevenson (ed.), *London in the Age of Reform*  
J. Sainsbury, *The Disaffected Patriots* (see also his article, 'The pro-Americans of London', *William and Mary Quarterly* (1978)  
J. Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England*  
A. Page, 'Liberty has an Asylum: John Jebb, British Radicalism and the American Revolution', *History* (2002)  
N Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian England* for the Keppel affair  
and see also above J. Phillips under 'Topics', and entries under 'Politics: local studies' esp. Money

**Political reform movements 1780–4:**

- H. Butterfield, *George III, Lord North and the People* (of the more general studies, the one with the best coverage of local activity)  
N.C. Phillips, 'Edmund Burke and the county movement 1779–80', *EHR* (1961)  
I.R. Christie, 'The Yorkshire Association 1780–4: a study in political organisation', *HJ* (1960) (also in *Myth and reality*)  
E. Moir, 'The Gloucestershire Association for Parliamentary Reform', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucs. Archaeological Soc.* (1956) (Bodley open shelves, Selden end)  
E.D. Evans, *A History of Wales 1660–1815* ch 12

and see also entries under 'Politics: local studies' above, esp. Bradley, Phillips

- G. Ditchfield, 'The House of Lords and parliamentary reform in the 1780s', *BIHR* 1981 shows moderate reforming enthusiasm diverted into moderate channels in the mid 80s

**Popular conservatism:** (an understudied topic)

- L. Colley, 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British nation 1760–1820', *P&P* (1984)

**Nationalism:**

- G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism. A Cultural History 1740–1830* esp. ch.7 explores what he suggests was a nationalistic political culture informing late eighteenth-century radicalism
- L. Colley, *Britons*

**Economical reform:**

- J. Brewer, *Sinews of Power: war, money and the English state 1688–1783* for background on the growth of bureaucracy and taxes
- E.A. Reitan, 'The civil list in eighteenth century politics', *HJ* (1966)
- J. Binney, *British Public Finance and Administration 1774–92* (dense and detailed)
- N. Baker, 'The Treasury and open contracting 1778–82', *HJ* (1972)
- E.A. Reitan, 'Edmund Burke and economical reform 1779–83', *Studies in Eighteenth-century Culture* (1985)
- J. Norris, *Shelburne and Reform*
- J. Torrance, 'Social class and bureaucratic innovation: the commissioners for examining the public accounts 1780–7', *P&P* (1978)

**Its impact:**

- I.R. Christie, 'Economical reform and the influence of the Crown', *CHJ* (1956), also in *Myth and Reality*
- B. Kemp, 'Crewe's act 1782', *EHR* (1953)
- A. Foord, 'The waning of the influence of the Crown', *EHR* (1947)

#### 4. Religion

For an introduction to developments in our period:

- Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, ch 7 on religious reform and reaction

**General:**

- A. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*

**Church of England:**

- N. Sykes, *Church and State in Eighteenth-century England*

**Topics:**

- J. Gascoigne, 'Anglican latitudinarianism and political radicalism in the late eighteenth century', *History* (1986)
- P. Brown, *The Chathamites* includes an account of the radical bishop Shipley
- F.C. Mather, 'Georgian churchmanship revisited: some variations in Anglican public worship 1714–1830', *J.Eccl.Hist* (1985)
- P. Langford, 'The English clergy and the American Revolution', in E. Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture. Late eighteenth-century England and Germany*
- G. Ditchfield, 'Ecclesiastical policy under Lord North' in J. Walsh, C. Haydon and

- R.A. Soloway, S.Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c1689–c1833. Prelates and People* discusses the social attitudes and policies of the episcopacy from 1780
- F.K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians* discusses the Evangelical revival
- B. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England*, esp. for the subscription controversy

**Methodism:**

- A. Armstrong, *The Church of England, the Methodists and Society*
- D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British society 1750–1850* ch 2 provides an extended discussion of Methodist - especially Wesley's own attitudes to Catholicism
- B. Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution*
- D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*

**Dissent:**

- I. Watts, *The Dissenters*

**Topics:**

- A.H. Lincoln, *Some political and social ideas of English dissent*
- S. Andrews, *Unitarian Radicalism: Political Rhetoric 1770–1814*
- R.B. Barlow, *Citizenship and Conscience* (Dissenting campaigns for toleration)
- J. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism. Non-conformity in Eighteenth-century Politics and Society*
- J. Seed, 'Gentlemen dissenters: the social and political meanings of rational dissent in the 1770s and 80s', *HJ* (1985)
- G.M. Ditchfield, 'The subscription issue in British parliamentary politics 1772–9' *Parliamentary History* (1988)
- M. Fitzpatrick, 'Latitudinarianism at the parting of the ways: a suggestion' in J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S.Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689–c.1833*.

**Catholicism:**

- J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850*

**Topics:**

- R. Brinkley, 'A Liberal Churchman: Edmund Law 1703–87', *Enlightenment and Dissent*, (1987)
- E. Burton, *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (Catholic bishop for the London area in this period)
- J Hill, 'Religious toleration and the relaxation of the penal laws: an imperial perspective 1763–80' *Archivum Hibernicum* (1989)
- R.K. Donovan, *No Popery and Radicalism. Opposition to Roman Catholic Relief in Scotland*
- R.K. Donovan, 'The military origins of the Roman Catholic relief programme of 1778', *HJ* (1985)
- M.E. Burns, 'The Catholic relief act in Ireland 1778', *Church History* (1973)
- James Kelly (ed.), '1780 revisited: the politics of the repeal of the sacramental test 1780' in K.V. Herlihy (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent 1650–1800*

<http://www.law.umn.edu/irishlaw/> – texts of Irish penal laws

### **Protestant Association and Gordon Riots**

- C. Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-century England*  
E.C. Black, *The Association* ch 4, 'The children of darkness', is the only substantial account of the Protestant Association
- P. de Castro, *The Gordon Riots* and  
C. Hibbert, *King Mob*  
both provide extended accounts of the riots, as does
- P. Colson, *The Strange History of Lord George Gordon*  
G. Rude, 'The Gordon rioters and their victims', *TRHS* (1956), enquires into the identity of the rioters, and provides a (debatable) account of their intentions
- N. Rogers, 'Crowd and people in the Gordon Riots', in E. Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture. Late Eighteenth-century England and Germany* explores radical responses
- C. Haydon, 'The Gordon Riots in the English provinces', *BIHR* (1990)

### **5. Social policy general**

- J.M. Innes, 'Parliament and the shaping of eighteenth-century English social policy', *TRHS* (1990)
- J.M. Innes, 'The domestic face of the military-fiscal state' in L. Stone (ed.), *An Imperial State at War 1688–1815*
- P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689–1789* esp. chs. 6 and 7, on the conduct of government at the local level

### **6. Policing and public order**

#### **General:**

- Sir L. Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law* vols. 2–4  
J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700–1870*

#### **Army and militia:**

- J. Houlding, *Fit for Service. The Training of the British Army 1715–95* gives some account of the use made of the army in the control of domestic disorders. See ch 1, 'The frictions of peace', esp. pp. 23–45, 55–74
- T. Hayter, *The army and the crowd in mid-Georgian England* is the only detailed study of its kind, though not extending to this period
- J. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth-century*

#### **Police:**

- Elaine Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies. The Nightwatch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London 1720–1830*, chs. 2–5.
- D. Phillips, 'A new engine of power and authority: the institutionalisation of law enforcement in eighteenth century England', in V. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker (eds.) *Crime and the Law* provides a brief summary of the policing debate of the 1780s, discussed at greater length by Radzinowicz

- J. Styles, 'Sir John Fielding and the problem of criminal investigation in eighteenth century England', *TRHS* (1983) – not specifically on public order, but offering a useful critique of histories of eighteenth century policing which measure eighteenth-century practices against twentieth century norms and expectations
- J. Styles, 'The emergence of the police: explaining police reform in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England', *British Journal of Criminology* (1987), develops a similar argument in a more general way
- F. Dodsworth 'Civic police and the condition of liberty: the rationality of governance in 18th-century England', *Social History* (2004)

For attempts to tackle perceived deficiencies in policing through voluntary association, see D. Hay and F. Snyder (eds.), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750–1850*, essays by King and Phillips on prosecution societies.

## 7. Poor Law

- R.W. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England 1700–80* esp chs 1–3 sketches in the social and economic context

See also:

- K. Snell, *Annals of the labouring poor. Social change and agrarian England 1660–1900*
- D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*

### **Poor law and administration, general:**

- P. Slack, *The English poor law 1531–1782* (Macmillan pamphlet) – a good brief account
- G. Oxley, *The English poor law 1598–1834* offers a brief and clear introduction, designed chiefly for local historians

For more detail, see

- D. Marshall, *The English Poor in the Eighteenth century*
- S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government: Poor Law History* vol 1 The Old Poor Law

For 'houses of correction', see

- J.M. Innes, 'Prisons for the poor: English bridewells 1555–1800', in F. Snyder and D. Hay (eds.), *Labour, Law and Crime. An Historical Perspective*

### **The eighteenth century debate:**

- A. Coats, 'Economic thought and poor law policy in the eighteenth century', *EcHR* (1960–1)
- R. Cowherd, *Political Economy and the Poor Laws* ch 1 'The humanitarian reforms'
- J. R. Poynter, *Society and Pauperism* ch 1 'The poor law before 1795'

### **Local studies:**

## **London**

F. H. Sheppard, *Local Government in St Marylebone*

## **Provincial**

E. M. Hampson, *The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire 1597–1834*  
G. Oxley, 'The permanent poor in S.W. Lancashire under the Old Poor Law' in  
J. Harris (ed.), *Liverpool and Merseyside*

## **East Anglian hundred houses**

A. Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (Norfolk) ch 1 'Local reform before 1834'  
H. Fearn, 'The financing of the poor law incorporation for the hundreds of Colneis and Carlford 1758–1820', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology* (1955) (Bodley open shelves, Selden end)  
S. and B. Webb, *Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes* ch.. 2 'The incorporated guardians of the poor'

For concern about vice and immorality among the poor, the subject of a concerted reform drive in the later 80s, see

J. Innes, 'Politics and morals: the reformation of manners movement in later eighteenth-century England', in E. Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture. Late Eighteenth-century England and Germany*

## **8. Humanitarianism: general**

D. Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660–1960*  
D. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police* (London charities, and ideologies of charity)  
B. Rogers, *Cloak of Charity* (eighteenth century charity)  
R. Tompson, *The Charity Commission and the Age of Reform* esp chs. 1–3  
J.S. Taylor, *Jonas Hanway* biography of a notable philanthropic figure

Anstey (for whom see below under Anti-slavery) ch 5, provides a quite helpful overview of the intellectual context of humanitarianism

## **9. Crime and penal reform**

### **General:**

J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts 1660–1800*, includes an excellent discussion of changes in penal practice  
J. Innes and J. Styles, 'The crime wave: recent writing on crime and criminal justice in eighteenth century England', *Jour.Brit.Stud.* (1986), for a general review of the historiography

### **Crime:**

J.M. Beattie, 'The pattern of crime in England 1660–1800', *P&P* (1974)  
D. Hay, 'War, dearth and theft: the pattern of the English courts', *P&P* (1982)

### **Punishment and penal reform:**

- Sir L. Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law* vol 1 The movement for reform (chiefly on capital punishment)
- D. Andrew and R. McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London*, ch. 10 (capital punishment)
- Hugh Dunthorne, on the reception of Beccaria's ideas in eighteenth-century Britain in *Crime, Protest and Police in Modern British Society*, D.W.Howell and K.O. Morgan (eds.)
- A. J. Draper, 'Cesare Beccaria's influence on English discussions of punishment, 1764–1789', *History of European Ideas* (2000)
- A. J. Draper, 'William Eden and leniency in punishment' *History of Political Thought* (2001)
- R. McGowen, 'The body and punishment in eighteenth-century England', *JMH* (1987)
- T. Green, *Verdict According to Conscience. Perspectives on the History of the English Trial Jury* ch 7 'Jury trial and its critics in the eighteenth century'
- Simon Devereaux, The making of the penitentiary act 1775-9 *HJ* (1999)
- D. Hay, 'Property, authority and the criminal law', in D. Hay et al. *Albion's Fatal Tree* offers an interesting account of the underlying logic of the unreformed penal code

His conclusions are challenged in

- J. Langbein, 'Albion's Fatal Flaws', *P&P* (1983), and see also
- P. King, 'Decision-making and decision-makers in the English criminal law 1750–1800', *HJ* (1984)

For prisons and prison reform see

- M. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain. The Penitentiary in the Industrial revolution* esp. chs. 2–4

see also his self-criticism in 'State, society and total institution: a critique of recent social histories of punishment', in S. Cohen and A. Scull (eds.), *Social control and the State*

- R. Morgan, 'John Howard reconsidered', *History* (1977)
- R. Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture 1750–1840* – a very well illustrated book, wider in scope than its title might suggest
- C.Chalklin, *English Counties and Public Building 1650–1830*, chapter on prisons
- E. Moir, 'George Onisephorus Paul', in H.P.R. Finberg (ed.), *Gloucestershire Studies*

For the debate on where to send transportees after the American revolt, see

- M. Gillen, 'The Botany bay decision 1786: convicts, not empire', *EHR* (1982)

For penal reform in Ireland:

- O. Macdonagh, *The Inspector General* chs. 2–3

For the diversion of offenders into the army (an option not so readily available once the war had ended) see

S.R. Conway, 'The recruitment of criminals into the British army 1775–81', *BIHR* (1985)

## 10. Insolvency

No secondary work in print tackles the reform debate of this period very squarely, but see generally

J. Brewer, 'Commercialisation and politics', esp. pp. 203–30, 'Credit, clubs and independence', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.) *Birth of a Consumer Society*

P. Haagen, 'Eighteenth-century society and the debt law', in S. Cohen and A. Scull (eds.) *Social Control and the State*

D. Andrew and R. McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London*, esp. ch. 6

J.M. Innes, 'The King's Bench prison in the later eighteenth century: law, authority and order in a London debtors' prison', in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds.), *An Ungovernable People*, is in part an account of a reform movement spearheaded by prisoners, c 1770

Debtors' prisons are also discussed in many of the general studies of prison reform listed above.

For charitable attempts to relieve debtors, see

D. Owen, *English philanthropy*, pp 61–6

For the related topic of bankruptcy,

J. Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English business 1700–1800*

## 11. Anti-slavery

F. Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1550–1800* inter alia provides some account of the Somerset case – and of the increase in the numbers of 'black poor' following the American war, as a result of the loyalist influx

R. Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition* chs. 1–10

D.B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of the American Revolution*

M. Kraus, *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth-Century Origins* (Anglo-American Quaker links, ch. 2 on anti-slavery)

S. Drescher, *British anti-slavery Mobilization in Comparative Perspective*

J. Oldham, 'New light on Mansfield and slavery', *JBS* 1988/9

W. Cotter, 'The Somerset case and the abolition of slavery in England', *History* (1994)

C. Midgley, *Women Against Slavery. The British campaigns 1780–1870*

For the impact of the American War on anti-slavery, see esp.

J.P. Thomas, 'Changing attitudes in an expanding empire: the anti-slavery movement 1760–83' *Slavery and Abolition* (1984)

C. Brown, 'Empire without slaves: British concepts of emancipation in the age of the American revolution' *William and Mary Quarterly* (1999)

P. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census*

S. Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*  
R.B.Sheridan, 'The commercial and financial organisation of the British slave trade 1750–1807', *EcHR* (1958)

A recent collection is

B. Solow and S. Engermann (eds.), *Atlantic Slavery and British capitalism* (essays on the Williams controversy)

## **D. External relations and imperial policy**

### **1. Diplomacy and foreign relations**

The British plight is explained in

M. Roberts, *Splendid Isolation*  
S.F. Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*  
H.M. Scott, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution*

The peace of 1783 is covered by

R.B. Morris, *The Peacemakers*  
J.H. Ehrman, *The British Government and Commercial Negotiations with Europe*

### **2. Military and naval**

S. Conway, 'The politics of British military and naval mobilization, 1775–83' *EHR* (1997)

see also his *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, esp. ch. 1, 4 and 5 on mobilization and its context

D. Baugh, 'Why did Britain lose command of the seas during the war for America?', in J. Black and P. Woodfine (eds.), *The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century*

### **3. Imperial: general**

V.T. Harlow, *The founding of the Second British Empire* (2 vols) contains some special pleading. But it remains essential as an introduction to the main themes and for its interpretations.

For a brief survey of the role of Empire in British commerce, see

E.R. Thomas and D.N. McCloskey, 'Overseas trade and empire 1700–1860', (in fact, almost entirely on the later eighteenth century) in R. Floud and D. McCloskey (eds.), *Economic History of Britain* vol 1 1700–1870

D.L. Mackay, 'Direction and purpose in British imperial policy 1783–6', *HJ* (1974)

J. Crowley, 'Neo-mercantilism and the wealth of nations: British commercial policy after the American Revolution', *HJ* (1990)

L. Stone ed, *An imperial state at war 1688–1815* explores various aspects of the impact of empire on Britain

special issue of *American Historical Review* (1999), 'The New British History in

- PJ Marshall, Atlantic Perspective'  
'A Nation defined by empire 1755–76' in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer  
(eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*  
N. York, 'Federalism and the failure of imperial reform, 1774–1775' *History*  
(2001)

#### 4. America

Any bibliography must be highly selective.

A recent introductory survey is

- S. Conway, *The War of American Independence*  
J.P. Greene and J.R.Pole (eds.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of the American Revolution*

Fuller narratives are

- I.R. Christie and B.W.Labaree, *Empire or independence?*  
C. Ritcheson, *British Politics and the American Revolution*  
P.D.G. Thomas, *Tea Party to Independence*

Two books representing an older interest in questions of constitutional right or wrong are

- J.C. Miller, *The Origins of the American revolution*  
C.H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution: a Constitutional Interpretation*

see also

- B.A. Black, 'The constitution of Empire: the case for the colonists', *Univ. of Pennsylvania Law Review* (1976)

On the American side, the following are useful:

- J. Greene, 'The Seven Years War and the American Revolution: the causal relationship reconsidered', in P. Marshall and G. Williams (eds.), *The British Atlantic Empire before the American Revolution*  
D. Ammerman, *In the Common Cause: American Hostility to the Coercive Acts of 1774*  
B. Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* an illuminating study of the intellectual debts of the revolutionaries to the mother country  
J. Ferling, *The Loyalist Mind: Joseph Galloway and the American Revolution* – the leading loyalist in this period

Franklin and his colleagues feature in

- M.G. Kammen, *Rope of Sand: the Colonial Agents, British Politics and the American Revolution*  
P. Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution* for radical hostility to Britain  
G.B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution* the best attempt, albeit not entirely convincing, to place the revolution in the context of domestic social conflict

- G. Walton and J.F. Shepherd, *The Economic Rise of Early America* chs 8–9 survey the economic context of the conflict, and provide references to the historiographical controversy on 'economic causes'

The military background is covered in  
J. Shy, *Toward Lexington*

For the war itself, see  
P. Mackesy, *The War for America*

For British views on America, see  
S. Conway 'From fellow-nationals to foreigners: British perceptions of the Americans, c. 1739–1783', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 49 (2002)  
K. Wilson *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (2003)

For remorseless and sometimes tendentious argument, with the emphasis on the imperial dilemma, see

R.W. Tucker and D.C. Hendrickson, *The Fall of the First British Empire*

T. Clayton, 'Sophistry, security and socio-political factors in the American Revolution, or why Jamaica did not rebel', *HJ* (1986) provides useful comparative material, as does  
A. O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided* (2000)

## 5. Ireland

### Surveys:

J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*  
T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, *New History of Ireland* vol. 4 1691–1800  
E. M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760–1800* anatomy of the political system  
S. Small *Political Thought in Ireland 1776–1798: Republicanism, Patriotism and Radicalism*  
T.P. Power and K. Whelan (eds.), *Endurance and Emergence. Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*  
T. Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation. The Catholic Question 1690–1830*  
G. O'Brien (ed.), *Parliament, Politics and People. Essays in Eighteenth-century Irish History*  
T. Bartlett, 'A people made rather for copies than originals: the Anglo-Irish 1760–1800' *Internat Hist Rev* (1990)  
L.M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1660–1800* sketches out an important part of the economic context  
His *Economic history of Ireland since 1660* offers a controversial overview  
Moody and Vaughan, *New history of Ireland*, 4 ch 9 'Land and people c1780' draws notably heavily, and explicitly, on Young's *Tour* as a source  
T.M. Truxes, *Irish American Trade 1660–1783*

More detailed political narratives are

R.B. McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760–1801*  
R.B. McDowell, *Irish Public Opinion 1750–1800*

- M. O'Connell, *Irish Politics and Social Conflict in the Age of the American Revolution*  
G. O'Brien, *Anglo-Irish Politics in the age of Grattan and Pitt*  
J. Kelly, *Prelude to Union. Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s*  
M. J. Powell, 'British party politics and imperial control: The Rockingham Whigs and Ireland, 1765–82', *Parliamentary History* (2002)

For debate over the union, see

- J. Hill 'Ireland without Union: Molyneux and his legacy' in J. Robertson (ed.) *A Union for Empire*  
J. Kelly, 'The origins of the act of Union: an examination of unionist opinion in Britain and Ireland 1650–1800', *Irish Hist. Stud.* (1987)  
J. Kelly, 'Public and political opinion in Ireland and the idea of an Anglo-Irish Union, 1650–1800' in D.B. Boyce *et al* (eds.), *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*

For Henry Flood:

- J. Kelly, *Henry Flood: Patriots and Politics in Eighteenth-century Ireland*  
D. Dickson, 'Henry Flood and the eighteenth-century Irish patriots', in C. Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the Game. Losers in Irish history*  
R. Koebner, 'The early speeches of Henry Grattan', in *BIHR* (1957), questions the authenticity of some of our texts  
G. O'Brien, 'The Grattan Mystique' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (1986)  
W. J. McCormack, 'Vision and revision in the study of eighteenth-century Irish parliamentary rhetoric', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (1985)

For Irish parliamentary reform:

- James Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics 1760–90', in D. Dickson *et al* (eds.), *The United Irishmen* (1993)

See also

- A.P.W. Malcolmson, *John Foster: the Politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy* for the relevant period of Foster's life

Biographical treatments, though not of the highest quality:

- T.H.D. Mahony, *Edmund Burke and Ireland*  
S. Gwynn, *Henry Grattan and his Times*

There is important background material in

- T. Bartlett and D. Hayton (eds.) *Penal Era and Golden Age*, and in the same collection an essay of direct relevance:  
P.H.D. Smyth, 'The Volunteers and parliament 1779–84'  
J. Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics 1760–90', in D. Dickson *et al* (eds.), *The United Irishmen*  
D.N. Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America 1760–1820* a rather miscellaneous survey of various aspects of Irish-American interaction

## 6. India

A useful introduction is

P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757–1813*

For developments in India itself

P.J. Marshall, 'British expansion in India in the eighteenth century', *History* (1975)

C. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the era of British Expansion* chs. 1–2 puts the Indians rather than the English at the centre of the stage

*The Cambridge History of India* - a multi-volume survey, and *The New Cambridge History of India*, volumes by Marshall and Bayly

and for cultural aspects of the Anglo-Indian relationship,

C. Bayly (ed.), *The Raj. India and the British 1600–1947* (catalogue of an exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery)

K. Teltscher, *India inscribed. European and British Writing on India 1600–1800*

On the East India company and its relations with government:

L.S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics*

L.S. Sutherland, 'Lord Macartney's appointment as governor of Madras 1780: the Treasury in East India company elections', *EHR* (1975)

C.H. Phillips, *The East India Company 1784–1833* – though most of this is outside our period

C.H. Phillips, 'The East India Company interest and the English government 1783–4', *TRHS* (1937)

H. Furber, 'The East India directors 1784', *JMH* (1933)

The commercial activities of the Company are described by

H. Furber, *John Company at Work: a Study of European Expansion in India in the Late Eighteenth Century* (1948)

Their importance for servants of the Company by

P.J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (1976)

On the two great antagonists, viz. Burke

D. Wecter, *Edmund Burke and his Kinsmen* (1939)

L.S. Sutherland, 'William Burke's East India speculations', *Procs. Leeds Phil. and Lit.Soc.* (1966)

and Hastings:

K.G. Feiling, *Warren Hastings* (1966)

P. Moon, *Warren Hastings and British India* (1947)

P.J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (1965)

For another Company man who figures in our sources:

J. Phillips, 'Parliament and southern India 1781–3: the secret committee of enquiry and the prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold' *Parliamentary Hist* (1988)

Changing attitudes towards 'nabobs' are discussed in

P. Lawson and J. Phillips, 'Our execrable banditti: perceptions of nabobs in mid-eighteenth-century Britain', *Albion* (1988)

towards India and other imperial possessions, in

P.J. Marshall and G. Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (1982)