

Notes

1. For the categorization, see Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred* (New York: 1993), p. 426.
2. One need only think of Clemenceau's famous statement that the Revolution must be accepted "*en bloc*".
3. Isabelle v. Buelzingsloewen, "A propos du centenaire de 1789: Imaginaire politique et écriture de la Révolution dans l'Allemagne du XIXe siècle", in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 36 (January, 1989), pp. 70–1.
4. F. J. Stahl, cited in Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: 1991), p. 275n.47.
5. Among many others, see Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800–1866* trans. by Daniel Nolan (Princeton: 1996), p. 251; Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures", in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: 1992), ed. by Craig Calhoun, p. 321; Lucien Jaume, *L'Individu effacé: ou le paradoxe du libéralisme français* (Paris: 1997), p. 126.
6. David E. Barclay, *Frederick William IV and the Prussian Monarchy, 1840–1861* (Oxford: 1995), p. 250. See also Gunter Grünthal, *Parlamentarismus in Preussen 1848/49–1857/58: Preussischer Konstitutionalismus – Parlament und Regierung in der Reaktionsära* (Düsseldorf: 1982), p. 315.
7. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, vol. 2, *Machtstaat vor der Demokratie* (Munich: 1990), p. 319; Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, vol. 1: *The Complete Text* (Chicago: 1998), trans. Alan S. Kahan, p. 391; Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton: 1996), pp. 55, 57, 59. See also Walter Arnstein's classic *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia, MO: 1982). Along with the history of Anti-Catholicism, the history of nineteenth-century Catholic liberalism (e.g. Acton, Montalembert, Döllinger) remains to be written.
8. In this too, liberalism continued the Enlightenment. Hume foresaw much the same goal for politics. See Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, eds, *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: 1983), p. 159.
9. François Furet, *Le passé d'une illusion* (Paris: 1997), p. 33.
10. On the unimportance of economics to liberals, see Claude Lefort, "Libéralisme et démocratie", in *Les libéralismes, la théorie politique et l'histoire* (Amsterdam: 1994), ed. Siep Stuurman, p. 9; Françoise Mélonio, "Le libéralisme comme invention historique", in same, pp. 38–9; Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p. 221; Dieter Langewiesche, "Liberalism in the Second Empire", in *In Search of a Liberal Germany* (Oxford: 1990), ed. by Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones, p. 225. Langewiesche suggests that after mid-century liberals took more interest in economic questions and liberal views on economics became more strictly tied to laissez-faire. See Langewiesche, "Liberalism and the Middle Classes", in Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell, eds, *Bourgeois Society* (Oxford: 1993), pp. 63–4, and the discussion of the changing relationship of *fin-de-siècle* liberalism to economic issues in Chapter 5.

11. For a more extensive definition of political culture, see Keith Baker, "Introduction", in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 1, *The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Oxford: 1987), ed. Keith Baker, pp. xii–xiii.
12. See Guy Sorman, "Le libéralisme face à la dynamique de la société moderne", in Stuurman, ed., *Les libéralismes*, p. 188.
13. As Benjamin Constant noted, the democrats of the French Revolution had not seen any merit in protecting the private rights of the individual against the community, nor were constitutional limitations on the power of government over civil society necessarily part of the program of nineteenth-century democrats. See Constant, "The Ancient and the Modern Ideas of Freedom", in Constant, *Political Writings* (Cambridge: 1988); Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, p. 257. As others have noted, the liberal emphasis on civil rights also served to distinguish them from what is sometimes called the "classical republican" tradition. For a summary, see Steve Pincus, "Neither Machiavellian Moment nor Possessive Individualism", *American Historical Review*, vol. 103 (June, 1998), pp. 710–11.
14. See Jaume, *L'Individu effacé*, pp. 407–46.
15. See Jaume, *L'Individu effacé*, p. 539, 539n.6.
16. Following contemporary usage, "universal suffrage" here will refer to voting rights for all adult *males*, except in the rare instances when votes for women are in question.
17. The examples of Robert Lowe and François Guizot will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.
18. Julius Fröbel, cited in Brandt, *Landständische Repräsentation im deutschen Vormärz: Politisches Denken im Einflussfeld des monarchischen Prinzips*, *Politica* v. 31 (Berlin: 1968), p. 277.
19. Lamartine, *Moniteur Universel*, 18 January, 1842, pp. 322–3.
20. Lengthy discussions took place in England in 1831–32, 1866–67, and 1884, in France in 1831, 1846–47, 1850–51 and 1874, in Prussia and Germany in 1848–50, 1861, 1866–67, and 1873, as well as less important debates on other occasions. Such discussions took place in other European countries as well during this time period.
21. Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 105. See also John Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Manchester: 1992), p. 3.
22. For some pertinent remarks, see Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism*, p. 126.
23. The different roles played by parliaments in different countries had remarkably little influence on liberal attitudes and language, partly because liberals often were trying to create a parliament that would be capable, in their view, of exercising power when it got the chance.
24. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: 1993), p. 2.
25. Debates over the introduction of universal suffrage to Italy in 1912, and over a truly secret ballot for the German Reichstag in 1903, among others, provide material for further research.
26. This division is roughly parallel to Jaume's distinction between "individualist" and "notable" liberalism in French liberal thought, *L'Individu effacé*, pp. 19, 164.
27. D. C. Moore noted this of English liberalism, and it is true of France and Germany as well. See *The Politics of Deference* (New York: 1976), p. 433.

28. See Immanuel Kant, "On the Proverb: That may be true in theory but is of no practical use," in *Perpetual Peace and other Essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: 1983), pp. 72–3.
29. See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: 1988).
30. George Armstrong Kelly, *The Humane Comedy: Constant, Tocqueville and French Liberalism* (New York: 1992), p. 85.
31. Other kinds of liberals also used the criterion of "independence," but linked it to purely social or political conditions, whereas for Kant the social/political prerequisites for independence were merely guarantees of the intellectual and moral capacity of the individual, rather than ends in themselves.
32. Heinrich Sybel, *Über die Emancipation der Frauen* (Bonn: 1870).
33. The word "party" is used here in a very loose sense. Political parties, in the modern sense of the term, were non-existent in 1830 and only beginning to form by the 1860s and 1870s.
34. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford: 1991), p. 4.
35. J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge: 1985), p. 32.
36. Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Princeton: 1988).
37. Quoted in George H. Sabine and Thomas L. Thorson, *A History of Political Theory* (New York: 1950), p. 524.
38. Karl Mannheim, "On Conservative Thought", in *From Karl Mannheim*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: 1971), p. 135.
39. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, in *The Essential Adam Smith*, ed. Robert L. Heilbroner (New York: 1986), p. 307.
40. The old rules were in a few cases very democratic, and in one or two approached universal male suffrage.
41. Butler and Cornford, *International Guide to Electoral Statistics* (1968), p. 333. The figures derive from Charles Seymour, *Electoral Reform in England and Wales: The Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise 1832–1885* (New Haven: 1915, London: 1970), p. 533. As will be discussed below, this common calculation somewhat exaggerates the number of voters created by the Reform of 1832.
42. A strong tendency in German liberalism favored plural or weighted votes. See the discussion of the Prussian suffrage law of 1850 in Chapter 2.
43. Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 125.
44. "Whig" will be used here as an equivalent for the moderate wing of English liberalism. It is the term conventionally used for this period to designate the party inclined to favor political reform, while "Tory" was used for their opponents. What matters here is that the Whigs spoke the language of capacity in 1832.
45. See Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party* (New York: 1966).
46. Michael Brock, *The Great Reform Act* (London: 1973), p. 100.
47. No distinction is made here between debates concerned with the franchise itself and debates concerned with the reapportionment of seats, which in some ways had greater immediate political impact. Many speeches dealt with both issues.
48. It is inevitable that the selection of evidence may bias the results. It is possible, for example, that a study that concentrated on contemporary periodical literature would reveal more individualist-oriented liberalism than was to be found in Parliament in 1831–32. Even if this were so, however, it would not detract

- from Parliament's dominant position in practice, nor the significance of the kind of liberalism dominant there.
49. John Russell, *Hansard*, 1 March 1830: 1057. See also Lord Milton, 1 February 1832: 1115.
 50. Earl Grey, 3 October 1831: 946. See also R. Grant, 7 March 1831: 170.
 51. Earl Grey, 3 October 1831: 936.
 52. Attorney General, Sir James Scarlett, 30 August 1831: 895. See also John Hobhouse, 3 March 1831: 1297.
 53. John Campbell, 7 July 1831: 812.
 54. Lord Stanley, 7 December 1832: 520.
 55. Brougham, 13 April 1832: 423, 426. The use of "people" to mean the "middle class" as distinct from those beneath them, called the "populace" or the "residuum" among other terms, was widespread in nineteenth-century England. See e.g. Francis Burdett, 6 July 1831: 896–7. See also Asa Briggs, "The Language of Class," in Briggs and John Saville, eds, *Essays in Labour History* (London: 1967), pp. 56–7.
 56. Graham, 8 March 1831: 220–1. See also Russell, 17 December 1831: 496–7; 1 February 1832: 1125.
 57. John Williams, 19 September 1831, 207.
 58. Brock, *The Great Reform Act*, p. 143. See also D. C. Moore on the Second Reform Act of 1867.
 59. Brougham, 13 April 1832: 423.
 60. Lord Russell, 12 December 1832: 497.
 61. Macaulay, 6 February 1832: 366. Macaulay and Brougham were the two most extreme apostles of the middle classes in 1832, interested in maintaining the deferential attitude of the lower classes, but not of the middle classes. See Vincent Starzinger, *Middlingness: Juste Milieu Political Theory in France and England* (Charlottesville: 1965), p. 66.
 62. Francis Jeffrey, 4 March 1831: 62.
 63. Macaulay, 2 March 1831: 1193; Robert Grant, 7 March 1831: 171–2.
 64. Russell, 12 December, 1831: 166.
 65. Earl Grey, 3 October 1831: 934.
 66. Russell, 12 December 1831: 166.
 67. Thomas Denman, 25 August 1831: 202, 635.
 68. Kennedy, 3 October 1831: 1106.
 69. Lord Durham, 13 April 1832: 356.
 70. Lord Plunkett, 28 March 1831: 1044.
 71. Robert Grant, 7 March 1831: 171–2.
 72. Brougham, 6 July 1831: 869–70; 7 October 1831: 251–2; Macaulay, 2 March 1831.
 73. Lord William Lennox, 5 July 1831: 810.
 74. Lord Durham, 13 April 1832: 421–2; Brougham, 13 April 1832: 421–2.
 75. Lord Althorp, 21 September 1831: 427, 26 August 1831: 112–13.
 76. Godson, 17 December 1831: 452.
 77. Russell, 24 June 1831: 338.
 78. Earl Grey, 9 April 1832: 12–14.
 79. Lord Althorp, 21 September 1831: 424, 428; Earl Grey, 7 October 1831: 330; Russell, 3 October 1831: 1086.
 80. Earl Grey, 7 October 1831: 327.
 81. Macaulay, 28 February 1832: 931–2. See also Macaulay, 5 July 1831: 778; Macaulay, 2 March 1831: 1195–96.

82. Lord Morpeth, 19 September 1831: 168. See also John Campbell, 5 July 1831: 828.
83. Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 73.
84. Francis Jeffrey, 4 March 1831: 71. See also Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 6.
85. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 5 July 1831: 757.
86. Sir Henry Bunlurg, 19 September 1831: 227. See also Robert Grant, 22 March 1832: 712; Brougham, 28 March 1831: 1063–4; Robert Grant, 21 September 1831: 401; Russell, 22 March 1832: 715.
87. Earl Radnor, 5 October 1831: 1396.
88. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 25 August 1831: 610.
89. Brougham, 13 April 1832. Brougham further believed that this rational part of society included “an overwhelming majority” because of the progress of education, though whether he meant an overwhelming majority of the middle class or an overwhelming majority of the male population as a whole is unclear.
90. John Williams, 19 September 1831: 198–9.
91. James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge: 1993), pp. 33, 38; Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 86.
92. Robert Grant, 7 March 1832: 171–2. Although liberals did not often refer directly to the July Revolution of 1830 in the debates, they frequently referred to averting revolution in general. Cf. Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: 1995), p. 310.
93. Interestingly, definitions of capacity based on social interests tended to be relatively more restrictive than individualist ones before the 1860s, but not thereafter.
94. For a brief summary of this debate, originated by Perry Anderson and E. P. Thompson, see T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (New York: 1982), pp. 18–19. For particular positions, see Hobsbawm, “The Example of the English Middle Class”, in Kocka and Mitchell, p. 134; Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party*, p. xxvii; Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge: 1981), *passim*; Brock, *Great Reform Act*, p. 330; Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 23, 28. Even if Norman McCord is correct to suggest that there were very few places the middle class actually exercised power, the belief that they did do so itself exercised enormous power. Norman McCord, “Some Difficulties of Parliamentary Reform”, *Historical Journal*, vol. 10, 1967, p. 379; Cf. Simon Gunn, “The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class”, in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds, *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain, 1800–1940* (Manchester: 1999).
95. The number of voters was also increased by a new requirement that there be at least 150 voters in each district. If not enough regular voters could be found to make up the required number, voters were added from the next most heavily taxed.
96. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen: histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris: 1992), p. 245.
97. Humblot-Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 274–2; Rambuteau, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 276–3; Berenger Report, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 February 1831, p. 377–2 (‘-2’ refers to column 2).
98. Guizot, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 278–1.
99. Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 273–1, 273–2; Gauthier, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 220–3.

100. Humblot-Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 230-2. See also Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 2 February 1831, p. 273-1; Baron Mounier, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 April 1831, p. 678-2.
101. The bill set an absolute minimum property qualification of FF10/year, within its otherwise proportional qualifications for the vote. Regardless of even the FF10 qualification there were always to be at least 30 local voters. See *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, pp. 319-22.
102. Gillon, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 217-2; Tracy, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 319-1.
103. Faure, *Moniteur Universel*, 2 February 1831, p. 231-1.
104. Dupin-ainé, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 281-1. See also Daunou, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 216-1.
105. Paixhans, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 277-3; Bérenger, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 February 1831, p. 374-2.
106. Delpon, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 224-2; Humblot-Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 274-2; Rambuteau, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 276-2; Humblot Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 274-2.
107. *Moniteur Universel*, 28 February 1831, pp. 435-6. The Assembly automatically counted the taxes paid by married women, along with that of minor children, to the credit of the husband/father.
108. Barrot, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 277-1.
109. Dupin-ainé, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 281; Mathieu Dumas, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 315-2.
110. Guizot, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 279-1; Dupin-ainé, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 280-3.
111. Bernard, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, p. 402-3; Annison, *Moniteur Universel*, 4 March 1831, pp. 499-3-500-1; Tracy, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 319-1; Prunelle, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, p. 409-1.
112. Delpon, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 224-2; Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 2 February 1831, p. 273-2; Rambuteau, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 403-1.
113. Gauthier, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 220-3.
114. Las Cases, *Moniteur Universel*, 4 March 1831, p. 492-1; Duc de Decazes, *Moniteur Universel*, 29 March 1831, p. 642-1.
115. Laborde, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 294-3.
116. Dupin, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 281-3; Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 2 February 1831, p. 273-2; Paixhans, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 277-3; Laborde, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 294-3; André (Haut-Rhin), *Moniteur Universel*, 23 February 1831, p. 394-2; Bernard, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, p. 402-3.
117. Laborde, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 294-3.
118. Delpon, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 224-2; Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 2 February 1831, p. 273-2; Rambuteau, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831.
119. Bérenger, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 February 1831, pp. 375-6.
120. Laborde, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 294-3.
121. This was actually a measure sponsored by Legitimists who hoped in this way to increase clerical influence, as most such teachers were clergy.
122. *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, pp. 303-4, 315-16.
123. Barrot, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 303-3.

124. F. Faure, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 282-2; Humblot-Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 274-2; Laborde, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 294-3.
125. Bernard, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, pp. 403-3–403-1; Duc de Decazes, *Moniteur Universel*, 29 March 1831, p. 642-3, Kerbertin, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, pp. 410-2, 410-3.
126. Pelet de la Lozère, *Moniteur Universel*, 5 February 1831, p. 303-1.
127. Gaujal, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 218-3; Pataille, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 319-1.
128. Pataille, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 319-1; Prunelle, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, p. 408-1; Benjamin Delessert, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 294-2.
129. André (Haut-Rhin), *Moniteur Universel*, 23 February 1831, p. 394-1.
130. B. Delessert, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 294-3; Cunin-Gridaine, *Moniteur Universel*, 4 March 1831, p. 489-1.
131. Daumont, *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, pp. 412-2, 412-3.
132. *Moniteur Universel*, 24 February 1831, pp. 412–13.
133. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 56.
134. The exception to this was the English University constituencies, Oxford, Cambridge, and the University of London, in which all graduates had the right to vote. But outside these, no adjunctions were considered in England.
135. Caumartin, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 333-1, 333-2; Jean-Landry Gillon, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 February 1831, p. 293-2; Puvis, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 316-2, 316-3. Rosanvallon notes that over the course of the July Monarchy the notion of property as representing a stake or interest was used less, and calling wealth an index of other kinds of capacity increased. This can be seen in the discussions of suffrage reform in 1842 and 1847 below.
136. Salverte, *Moniteur Universel*, 28 February 1831, p. 436-2; Humblot-Conté, *Moniteur Universel*, 14 February 1831, p. 334-1; Cunin-Gridaine, *Moniteur Universel*, 4 March 1831, p. 489-1.
137. Daunou, *Moniteur Universel*, 1 February 1831, p. 216-2.
138. Barrot, *Moniteur Universel*, 4 March 1831, p. 490-3.
139. Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 March 1847, p. 575-3.
140. Conversation reported in Charles Almeras, *Odilon Barrot, Avocat et Homme Politique* (Paris: 1950), p. 155.
141. Ducos, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1842, pp. 306-1–307-1.
142. Billault, *Moniteur Universel*, 16 February 1842, p. 320-2.
143. Dufaure, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1842, p. 310-2, 310-3.
144. Mornay, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1831, p. 308-2, 308-3; Dufaure, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1831, p. 310-1, 310-2.
145. Bechard, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1831, p. 318-2.
146. Guizot, *Moniteur Universel*, 16 February 1842, p. 322-1.
147. Guizot, *Moniteur Universel*, 16 February 1842, pp. 321-2–322-2.
148. Duchatel, Minister of the Interior, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1842, p. 307-3; Muret de Bord, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1842, p. 309-2; Dejean, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February, 1842, p. 311-2; Darblay, *Moniteur Universel*, 15 February 1842, p. 319-1, 319-2, 319-3.
149. Rejecting this charge, Duchatel, Minister of the Interior, *Moniteur Universel*, 25 March 1847, pp. 602–6; repeating it, Blanqui, *Moniteur Universel*, 26 March 1847, p. 616-1; Barrot, *Moniteur Universel*, 26 March 1847, p. 609-3.

150. Duvergier de Hauranne, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 March 1847, pp. 574–6.
151. Beaumont, *Moniteur Universel*, 25 March 1847, p. 597-1, 597-2; Barrot, *Moniteur Universel*, 26 March 1847, p. 609-3.
152. De Golbéry, *Moniteur Universel*, 23 March 1847, p. 582-3; Peltureau-Villeneuve, *Moniteur Universel*, 26 March 1847.
153. Guizot, *Moniteur Universel*, 26 March 1847, p. 616-3.
154. David Blackburn, "The German Bourgeoisie, An Introduction", in David Blackburn and Richard J. Evans, eds, *Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the late Eighteenth Century to the early Twentieth Century* (London: 1991), p. 3.
155. They by and large continued to reject internal revolution, however. What most German liberals could support was foreign war in support of nation-building. To go beyond the period covered by this chapter, it was because most liberals regarded the Austro-Prussian conflict as a civil war that they opposed it when it broke out in 1866, whereas they supported war against Denmark in 1848 and France in 1871. The Danish war of 1866 is an interesting combination, favored when seen as a foreign war, opposed when seen as an episode in the Prussian Constitutional Conflict.
156. See the comments on this score of Jacques Droz, *Le libéralisme rhénan 1815–1848* (Paris: 1940), pp. 444, 446; Thomas Nipperdey, "Über einige Grundzüge der deutschen Parteigeschichte", in Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, ed., *Moderne deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte (1815–1918)* (Köln: 1972), p. 245.
157. See Rudolf Smend, *Massstäbe des parlamentarischen Wahlrechts in der deutschen Staatstheorie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1912), p. 25.
158. Pfizer, *Briefwechsel zweier Deutschen*, second enlarged and improved edition, Stuttgart: 1832, in *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: 1910, Wiesbaden: 1968), p. 220. See also Dahlmann, *Politik* (Berlin: 1924), pp. 59–60.
159. David Hansemann's 1840 memorandum to the King of Prussia, from which this is taken, is reprinted in Hansen, ed., *Rheinische Briefe und Akten* (Düsseldorf: 1997), v. 1, p. 238.
160. Hansemann, 1840 memo, in Hansen, v. 1, pp. 228, 237. See also Hansemann, 1830 memo, p. 53.
161. S., "Demokratie", in *Staats-Lexikon, oder Encyclopädie der Staatswissenschaften*, ed. by Karl von Rotteck and Karl Theodor Welcker (Altona: 1843), v. 4, pp. 241–2. The *Staatslexikon* was perhaps the most widely read liberal work of the period.
162. Rotteck, "Democratic Principle", p. 259.
163. Rotteck, "Census".
164. Quote from Rotteck, "Census", pp. 377–8. For Jordan and Murhard see Manfred Bullik, *Staat und Gesellschaft im hessischen Vormärz. Wahlrecht, Wahlen und öffentliche Meinung in Kurhessen 1830–1848* (Köln: 1972), pp. 63, 128–9. On Wevissen, see Boberach, *Wahlrechtsfragen im Vormärz. Die Wahlrechtsanschauung im Rheinland 1815–1849 und die Entstehung des Dreiklassenwahlrechts* (Düsseldorf: 1959), p. 76.
165. Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany 1840–1920* (New York: 1991), p. 21.
166. 1840 Memo, p. 239; *Frankreich und Preussen* (Leipzig: 1834), p. 3.
167. See, among others, Rotteck, "Census", p. 368; Welcker, "Staatsverfassung", p. 35.
168. Kurt Klotzbach, *Das Eliteproblem im politischen Liberalismus: ein Beitrag zum Staats- und Gesellschaftsbild des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: 1966), p. 31.

169. Dahlmann for history and Rotteck for reason are the archetypal representatives whom Nipperdey cites. See Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800–1866*, pp. 341–2.
170. Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866*, vol. 1 (Munich: 1983), p. 298; Klotzbach, *Eliteprobleme*, p. 31; Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, “The German Type of Constitutional Monarchy”, in Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, *State, Society and Liberty. Studies in Political Theory and Constitutional Law*, translated by J. A. Underwood (New York: 1991), p. 87n.3.
171. Rotteck, “Census”, p. 385. See also Udo Bermbach, “Über Landstände, Zur Theorie der Repräsentation im deutschen Vormärz”, in *Sprache und Politik*, ed. C.-J. Friedrich and Benno Reifenberg (Heidelberg: 1968), p. 257.
172. For more on Hansemann and what set him apart from other German liberals, see Alan Kahan, “Liberalism and Realpolitik in Prussia, 1830–52: The Case of David Hansemann”, *German History*, October, 1991.
173. Hansemann, *Frankreich und Preussen*, (1833), pp. 208, 223, 226.
174. Dahlmann, *Politik*, p. 200.
175. Rotteck, “Charte”, *Staatslexikon*, p. 423. Against the July Monarchy see the *Staatslexikon*, Supplement to the first edn, vol. 2, Altona, 1846, article “Guizot”, by Wilhelm Schultz, p. 664.
176. Boberach, *Wahlrechtsfragen*, pp. 75–6. Jacques Droz, “Liberal Anschauungen zur Wahlrechtsfrage und das preussische Dreiklassenwahlrecht”, in Böckenförde, ed., *Moderne deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, pp. 208–9.
177. Welcker, “Staatsverfassung”, in *Staatslexikon*, v. 15, p. 33.
178. Kocka, “The European Pattern and the German Case”, p. 1. See also Lothar Gall, “‘Ich wünschte ein Bürger zu sein’ Zum Selbstverständnis des deutschen Bürgertums im. 19. Jahrhundert”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 245 (1987), p. 612.
179. Wolfgang Kaschuba, “German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800”, in Kocka, *Bourgeois Society*, p. 399. After 1848 this difference became less marked, as the German emphasis on education declined somewhat, while the converse happened in England.
180. S, “Demokratie”, pp. 241–2.
181. Rotteck, “Constitution”, p. 778.
182. Rotteck, “Democratic Principle”, in *Staatslexikon*, p. 260. See also Rotteck, “Census”, pp. 381–2.
183. Murhard, *Kurhessische Verfassungsurkunde*, cited in Bullik, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, pp. 128–30.
184. See Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture*, p. 24.
185. S, “Democracy”, pp. 241, 250.
186. Welcker, “Staatsverfassung”, p. 78.
187. Jürgen Kocka, “La bourgeoisie dans l’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Allemagne: recherches et débats récents”, *Le mouvement social*, July–Sept. 1986, no. 136, p. 14.
188. Shulamit Volkov, *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans, 1873–1896* (Princeton: 1978).
189. Dahlmann, *Politik*, p. 140.
190. Dahlmann, *Politik*, pp. 140–1, 241, 257–8.
191. Boberach, *Wahlrechtsfragen*, p. 61.
192. Later Jordan would come round to the idea of a census based purely on “material interest” as his criterion, but his earlier position was common. See Bullik, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, pp. 61–2.

193. Brandt, *Landständische Repräsentation*, pp. 269–70.
194. Kocka, “La bourgeoisie dans l’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Allemagne”, p. 16.
195. Most notably Lothar Gall, “Liberalismus und “Bürgerliche Gesellschaft” Zu Charakter und Entwicklung der liberalen Bewegung in Deutschland”, *Historische Zeitung*, vol. 220 (1975), pp. 326–8; Gall, “Ich wünschte ein Bürger zu sein”, p. 614. See also Heinrich Heffter, *Deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: 1950), p. 171, although Heffter acknowledges bureaucratic liberalism.
196. On the affinity of professors and bureaucrats, see Heffter, *Deutsche Selbstverwaltung*, pp. 170, 187.
197. Nipperdey, “Über einige Grundzüge der deutschen Parteigeschichte”, in Böckenförde, *Moderne deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, p. 247.
198. Dieter Langewiesche, *Liberalismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt: 1988), p. 16.
199. Hälschner is cited in Boberach, *Wahlrechtsfragen*, p. 82; James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: 1978), pp. 39–40.
200. L. Camphausen to O. Camphausen, March 1845, in Hansen, *Rheinische Briefe*, vol. 1, p. 765.
201. Cited in J. Droz, “Libéralisme et bourgeoisie dans le Vormärz”, in Kocka, ed., *Le Mouvement Social*, p. 41.
202. Brandt, *Landständische Repräsentation*, pp. 124–30, 135, 140–1.
203. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, par. 301.
204. Rotteck, “Census”, p. 382.
205. The eventual attempt by Bismarck to exclude bureaucrats from serving as representatives was fiercely and successfully resisted by German liberals, in sharp contrast to the efforts of French left-liberals to exclude bureaucrats from the National Assembly during the July Monarchy.
206. Hartwig Brandt, “Gesellschaft, Parlament, Regierung in Württemberg 1830–1840”, in *Gesellschaft, Parlament und Regierung: Zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus in Deutschland*, ed. Gerhard A. Ritter (Düsseldorf: 1974), pp. 105–10, 116–17.
207. Herbert Obenaus, *Anfänge des Parlamentarismus bis 1848* (Düsseldorf: 1984), pp. 572–5.
208. Hansen, *Rheinische Briefe*, I, pp. 780, 790–1, 814–15; Boberach, *Wahlrechtsfragen*, p. 111.
209. The title indicates a businessman of considerable and long-standing wealth.
210. Eduard Bleich, ed. *Der Erste Vereinigte Landtag in Berlin 1847* (Vaduz: 1977), vol. 3, pp. 635, 640–1, 644–6.
211. *Vereinigte Landtag*, v. 3, pp. 646–8, 651.
212. Wahlgesetz, Entwurf der Vorkommission, in Johann Gustav Droysen, *Aktenstücke und Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung aus dem Nachlass von Johann Gustav Droysen*, ed. Rudolf Hübner (Osnabrück: 1974), pp. 760–1.
213. For example Waitz, *Aktenstücke*, p. 372.
214. See Schüler, *Aktenstücke*, p. 381.
215. Beseler, *Aktenstücke*, pp. 374, 382; v. Soiron, *Aktenstücke*, p. 379. See also Waitz, *Aktenstücke*, p. 380; v. Rotenhan, *Aktenstücke*, p. 376.
216. Waitz, *Aktenstücke*, p. 372.
217. Welcker, *Aktenstücke*, p. 372.
218. Beseler, *Aktenstücke*, pp. 375–6.
219. Beseler, *Aktenstücke*, pp. 375–6. See also Mittermaier, *Aktenstücke*, p. 378.
220. Soiron, *Aktenstücke*, pp. 379–80; Tellkamp, *Aktenstücke*, p. 381.

221. Scheller, *Aktenstücke*, p. 377.
222. For the discussion, see *Aktenstücke*, pp. 394–5.
223. Von Soiron, *Aktenstücke*, p. 384.
224. Bassermann, *Stenographischer Bericht, über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: 1849), p. 5250-1/2.
225. Gerhard Schilfert, *Sieg und Niederlage des demokratischen Wahlrechts in der deutschen Revolution 1848/49* (Berlin: 1952), pp. 185–7.
226. The numbers do not add up to 15 because some amendments fit into more than one category. See Schilfert, *Sieg und Niederlage*, p. 219n.2.
227. Franz Wigard, ed., *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5351-1.
228. By the time the bill came up for its second reading the compromise over the Emperor had been struck and universal suffrage was passed without debate or considerable opposition. Schilfert, *Sieg und Niederlage*, p. 248.
229. Mathy, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5297-2.
230. Gagern, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5301-2.
231. Sometimes even the English word “trust” was used. See Beseler, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5268-1.
232. Waitz, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5222, 5225-2; Scheller, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5232-2; v. Beckerath, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5246, 5248-1; v. Wulssen, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5268-1; Beseler, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5268-2; Wernher, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5273-2, 5274-1; Matthies, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5291-2, 5292; Mathy, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5297-2; v. Gagern, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5301-2, 5302-1; Tellkamp, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5304-2.
233. Simon, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5312-2.
234. Waitz, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5225-2.
235. v. Beckerath, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5246-2–5247-1; See also Bassermann, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5251-2–5252-1; Matthies, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5291-2, 5292-2.
236. v. Wulssen, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5268-1. See also the similarly framed amendments by v. Nagel, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5272-1; v. Linde, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5296-2–5297-1.
237. In common with the *Vörmärz*, they also differed from French and English liberals in their support for universal passive suffrage, that is the right for anyone who could vote to be elected without further qualification.
238. Plathner, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5310-2–5311-1.
239. v. Nagel, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5272-1; Grävell, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5720-2–5271-1; Bassermann, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5259-1/2; Mathy, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5298-2; Tellkamp, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5305-1. Details of the voting in *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5355-1/2.
240. Mathy, *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 5298-2.
241. Bassermann, *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 5253-2–5254-1.
242. According to the imposed constitution, those who paid no direct tax were to be excluded from the suffrage, but this was never applied in practice. However, only those who were entitled to participate politically in their local community could vote, which effectively reduced the electorate from about 3.6 million to about 2 million, thus excluding up to 40 per cent of adult males at the first elections, although this percentage declined rapidly thereafter. By 1861 Prussia had 3.3 million voters for a similar population. See Manfred Botzenhart,

- Deutscher Parlamentarismus in der Revolutionszeit: 1848–1850* (Düsseldorf: 1977), p. 128n.19.
243. Beckerath, *Stenographische Berichte*, pp. 900–1.
244. The Prussian figures are taken from Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred*, p. 270.
245. For Mill on the Prussian suffrage, see his letter to William Rathbone of 29 November 1863 in his *Collected Works*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: 1963–91), vol. 15, p. 905.
246. Thiers, 24 May 1850, *Compte Rendu des Séances de l'Assemblée Nationale Législative*, vol. 8, 16 May–26 June 1850 (Paris: 1850), p. 149–2. See also Montalembert, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 105-1/2.
247. Thiers, 24 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 156-1.
248. Montalembert, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 103-2–104-1; Baroche, 23 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 130-1, 131-1; Thiers, 24 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 156-1.
249. Thiers, 23 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 153-2; Barrot, in Alméras, *Odilon Barrot*, p. 191; Vatimesnil, former member of the left-liberal opposition during the July Monarchy, *Compte Rendu*, p. 197-2.
250. Faucher, 18 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 48-1.
251. Faucher, 18 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 47-2.
252. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 88-1. Béchard, a Legitimist, had already appeared as a socially oriented member of the liberal opposition during the July Monarchy. See Chapter 2.
253. Faucher, 25 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 172-1.
254. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 87-2.
255. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 91-1.
256. Faucher, 25 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 173-2; Vatimesnil, 27 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 197-1, 199-2; Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 92-1; De Greslan, 24 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 134-1; Thiers, 25 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 154-1.
257. Vatimesnil, 27 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 197-1/2.
258. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 87-1, 88-2, 91-1.
259. Thiers, 24 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 156-1, 158-2.
260. Faucher, 25 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 172-1.
261. This indeed sounds like a good German justification for independence, and in the newspaper articles Baroche was citing Lamartine had gone on to suggest restrictions on the suffrage that unfortunately were unconstitutional (ironically Lamartine opposed the new suffrage law).
262. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 56. It is also clear that the liberalism of 1850 still had something in common with what Constant would have called the ancient idea of freedom.
263. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 93-1.
264. Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 91-1.
265. Faucher, 18 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 50-2; Faucher, 25 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, pp. 172-2, 173-1; Béchard, 22 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 91-1; Berryer, 28 May 1850, *Compte Rendu*, p. 220-2.
266. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, pp. 305–6; Rudelle, *Le modèle républicain*, p. 84.
267. Hume, 20 June 1848, *Hansard*, p. 884; C. Villiers, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, pp. 222–3; Cobden, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, p. 187.
268. Russell, 20 June 1848, *Hansard*, pp. 280–1; see also M. Milnes, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, pp. 211–12, on the inutility of Reform.

269. Hume, 20 June 1848, *Hansard*, p. 888; Cobden, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, pp. 184, 194; L. King, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, p. 206.
270. Russell, 20 June, 1848, *Hansard*, pp. 928–9, 932–3; Bright, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, p. 180; S. Herbert, 6 July 1848, *Hansard*, p. 213.
271. For England, see Geoffrey Crossick, “From Gentleman to the Residuum: Languages of Social Description in Victorian Britain”, in *Language, History and Class*, ed. Penelope J. Corfield (Oxford: 1991), pp. 160–1; Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, Part III.
272. Russell, 9 February 1852, *Hansard*, p. 258; Russell, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, p. 160.
273. P. H. Howard, 9 February 1852, *Hansard*, p. 276; John Bright, 9 February 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 281–2; Sir W. P. Wood, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 120–1; Russell, 9 February 1852, *Hansard*, p. 261; 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, p. 158; Sir J. Walmsley, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, p. 98.
274. Hume, 13 February 1852, *Hansard*, p. 512; 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 86, 92–3.
275. Sir W. P. Wood, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, p. 122.
276. See Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party*, pp. 152–3.
277. Roebuck, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 128–30.
278. Sir W. P. Wood, 25 March 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 115, 118, 121–2.
279. John Bright, 27 April 1852, *Hansard*, pp. 1213–14. Hume, perhaps beyond the liberal spectrum with his talk of rights, also spoke of the vote as itself giving “the people an interest in good government.” See Hume, 13 February 1852, *Hansard*, p. 513.
280. See Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 195.
281. Note the similarity with Waitz’s draft suffrage law at Frankfurt excluding from the suffrage anyone paid daily, weekly or monthly.
282. Russell, 13 February 1854, *Hansard*, pp. 502–7.
283. Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 210.
284. Bright, 24 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 783; Lord Stanley, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 423–4; Bulwer-Lytton, 22 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 558; Sir James Graham, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 981; Baines, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 1094–5.
285. Sir James Graham, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 981; Baines, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 1094–5.
286. Stanley, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 413; Sir Charles Wood, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 451; Bulwer-Lytton, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 545–6, 556–7; Beresford Hope, 24 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 739; E. James, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 925–6; Lord Elcho, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 943; Moncrieff, 29 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 1073; E. C. Egerton, 31 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 1186; Gilpin, 31 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 1211; Baxter, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 867; Adderley, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 1068; Monckton Milnes, 23 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 2220; Denman, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 178; Caird, 30 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 383; Pollard-Urquhart, 30 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 394.
287. Sir James Graham, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 981; Black, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 139; Bernal Osborne, 24 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 747.
288. Sir James Graham, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 981, 983; Slaney, March 31 1859, *Hansard*, p. 1185; Baines, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 1094–5; Stanley, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 415.
289. Gladstone, 29 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 1045–6.
290. Sir Robert Peel, 31 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 1171–2.

291. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 167, and see also p. 194. The dominance of liberalism and its language is unconsciously demonstrated by Keith McClelland, who recognizes that in the 1860s and 1870s even among the lower classes there reigned “a narrower political definition of the putative citizen than any dominant strand of popular radicalism had been prepared to draw between 1790 and 1848”. See Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: 2000), p. 101. See also pp. 96, 227, 229.
292. Russell, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 397; Disraeli, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 846; Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 143–4; S. Herbert, 22 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 593.
293. Sir Charles Wood, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 450; Stansfeld, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 1032.
294. M. Milnes, 23 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 2219; Pollard-Urquhart, 30 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 394. See also Russell, 1 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 2051; Baxter, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 867.
295. Viscount Bury, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 433; Bright, 24 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 785; Stanley, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 980. In 1860 this concern was repeated by Bright, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 897; Baines, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 1094; and Pollard-Urquhart, 30 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 394, among others.
296. Stanley, 21 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 413–14.
297. E. Ellice, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, pp. 951–2; Lord Elcho, 28 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 943; W. F. Campbell, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 887; Black, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 141–2; Bulwer-Lytton, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 145, 148; Adam Black, 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 139–40.
298. W. J. Fox, 24 March 1859, *Hansard*, p. 730.
299. Baines, 22 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 1093. But all such calculations, past and present, are apt to be inaccurate. Note that following T. J. Heyck’s estimate of 2 per cent for the aristocracy and 20 per cent for the middle class, up to a quarter or more of the middle classes still lacked votes in 1850. See Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life*, pp. 20, 27–8.
300. Russell, 3 May 1860, *Hansard*, pp. 643–4. See also Russell, 3 May 1860, *Hansard*, p. 632; 26 April 1860, *Hansard*, p. 201.
301. Moore, *The Politics of Deference*, pp. 439–40. See also Kent, *Brains and Numbers: Elitism, Comtism and Democracy in Mid-Victorian England* (Toronto: 1978), p. 46; Bright, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 901. See also Baxter, 19 March 1860, *Hansard*, p. 868.
302. David Blackburn, “The German Bourgeoisie: An Introduction”, in Blackburn and R. J. Evans, eds, *The German Bourgeoisie*, p. 19. See also Geoff Eley, “Liberalism, Europe and the Bourgeoisie 1860–1914”, p. 301.
303. Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, pp. 642–3.
304. Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, p. 624.
305. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Das Deutsche Kaiserreich*, pp. 31–2.
306. Sheehan, *German Liberalism*, pp. 272–3.
307. Wehler, *Kaiserreich*, p. 32; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 762, 796–7.
308. Sheehan, *German Liberalism*, p. 96.
309. Max Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte des Haus der Abgeordneten*, 2 May 1861, p. 1022-2.
310. Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 2 May 1861, pp. 1026-1, 1030-1, 1032-2.

311. Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1060-2. Gneist also emphasized the "rights & duties" theme. See *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1041-2.
312. Vincke, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1044-2.
313. Schulze, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1050-1; Waldeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1039-2.
314. Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 2 May 1861, p. 1036-2; Waldeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1039-2, 1040-2.
315. Lette, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1050-1/2, 1065-2; Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1060-2; Vincke, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, 1046-1. Lette is the same man who was a prominent speaker at Frankfurt in 1848. His view here apparently represented a considerable evolution, since at Frankfurt he had proposed a weighted suffrage system (see above). This may or may not have been a real change. His amendment at Frankfurt gave equal weight to all those who met his census condition, and only gave lesser weight to those he presumably considered unqualified, but had to include to have some hope of obtaining passage.
316. Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1060-1.
317. Vincke, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1055-2-1056-1.
318. See Heffter, *Deutsche Selbstverwaltung*, p. 358; Walter Gagel, *Die Wahlrechtsfrage in der Geschichte der deutschen liberalen Parteien, 1848-1918* (Düsseldorf: 1958), pp. 70-1.
319. Vincke, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1046-1/2, 1055-2; Riedel, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1057-2, 1058-1; Gneist, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1041-1-1044-1.
320. Gneist, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1041-1-1044-1, 1067-2.
321. Delius, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1052-2; Forckenbeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1057-2; Riedel, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1058-2.
322. Kehler, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1051-1; Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1056-2, 1057-1.
323. Rita Aldenhoff, *Schulze-Delitzsch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Liberalismus zwischen Revolution und Reichsgründung* (Baden-Baden: 1984), pp. 128-30.
324. Waldeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1964-1/2; Vincke, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1064-2, 1065-1, 1047-1; Lette, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, pp. 1065-1, 1069-1. For Lette's biographical details, see Bernhard Mann, *Biographisches Handbuch für das preussische Abgeordnetenhaus 1867-1918* (Düsseldorf: 1988), p. 243.
325. Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1056-1; Duncker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 3 May 1861, p. 1060-2.
326. *Preussischer Jahrbücher*, cited in Gagel, *Wahlrechtsfrage*, p. 31. Gagel also notes, p. 32n.3, that in Prussia c. 1860 there were only 770,000 people employed in industry, vs. 1,090,000 artisans and 3,430,000 in agriculture. A broad suffrage might thus have led above all to increased Conservative influence because of their dominance over the agricultural population.
327. Thorigny, *Moniteur Universel*, 3 November 1851, pp. 2738-2/3.
328. Daru, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 November 1851, pp. 2813-3-2814-3.
329. Vatimesnil, *Moniteur Universel*, 13 November 1851, pp. 2829-3-2830-3; vote, p. 2833-2.
330. Vatimesnil, *Moniteur Universel*, 19 November 1851, pp. 2892-1, 2894-1; Monet, *Moniteur Universel*, 19 November 1851, p. 2893-3.

331. Larcy, *Moniteur Universel*, 20 November 1851, p. 2901-2; Léon Faucher, *Moniteur Universel*, 20 November 1851, p. 2901-2; Kerdrel, *Moniteur Universel*, 20 November 1851, p. 2902-1; Faily, *Moniteur Universel*, 20 November 1851, pp. 2904-1/2. Votes in *Moniteur Universel*, pp. 2902-1, 2906-1, 2923-1.
332. Vatismesnil, *Moniteur Universel*, 30 November 1851, p. 2998-1. Votes in *Moniteur Universel*, 30 November 1851, pp. 2998-3, 3000-3, 3001-1.
333. Thiers, "Les libertés nécessaires", 11 January 1864, in *Discours Parlementaires* (Paris, 1880), v. 9, pp. 373-4, 398, 400.
334. Louis Girard, *Les Libéraux français, 1814-1875* (Paris: 1985), p. 171.
335. Edouard Laboulaye, *Le parti libéral, son programme et son avenir* (Paris: 1865).
336. Laboulaye, *Le parti libéral*, p. 134.
337. Laboulaye, *Le parti libéral*, pp. 135, 151-7; Kelly, *The Humane Comedy*, p. 223.
338. On Rémusat, see Dario Roldan, *Charles de Rémusat: Certitudes et impasses du libéralisme doctrinaire* (Paris: 1999), pp. 266-72. On Nefftzer, see his article "Libéralisme", reprinted in Jaume, *L'Individu effacé*, pp. 557-67, especially pp. 560, 566.
339. On the fusion between liberals and democrats, see Girard, *Les Libéraux Français*, pp. 194-7, 200-1. This process has been described from a different but complementary perspective by Sudhir Hazareesingh in *From Subject to Citizen: The Second Empire and the Emergence of Modern French Democracy* (Princeton: 1998).
340. Charles de Rémusat, *Mémoires*, cited in Girard, *Les libéraux français*, p. 198.
341. Cited in Girard, *Les libéraux français*, pp. 200-1.
342. This re-use of elements of liberal rhetoric by its opponents is not, however, sufficient reason to call the Opportunists or Radicals "liberals".
343. Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, pp. 3, 10-11, 166, 219-20, 317.
344. Girard, *Les libéraux français*, pp. 206-8.
345. Duvergier de Hauranne, "La démocratie et le droit de suffrage", 15 April 1868, *Revue des deux mondes*, pp. 628-9, 638.
346. Duvergier de Hauranne, "La démocratie et le droit du suffrage", pp. 615, 626, 630-3, 637.
347. Duvergier de Hauranne, "La démocratie et le droit du suffrage", pp. 798, 800-1.
348. On Duvergier's lack of influence, see Jaume, *L'Individu effacé*, p. 546 n.35.
349. Girard, *Les libéraux français*, pp. 209-11.
350. Raymond Huard, *Le suffrage universel en France* (Paris: 1991), pp. 106, 110; Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, pp. 308-10.
351. Dupont-White was one of the French liberals who favored centralized government. His book in favor of centralization brought down on him the wrath of John Stuart Mill, as expressed in Mill's essay on the subject.
352. Charles Dupont-White, "Le suffrage Universel", originally published in *Le Correspondant*, March-November, 1872, reprinted in book form, Paris: 1873, #1, pp. 3-5, 17; #2, p. 12.
353. Dupont-White, "Le suffrage universel", #2, pp. 23-6.
354. See Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, p. 108.
355. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, p. 108; Alfred Fouillée, *La démocratie politique et sociale en France* (Paris: 1910), pp. 63-5.
356. Herbet, "Conférence Tocqueville", 15 April 1873, pp. 286-7. The Conférence Tocqueville was one of several contemporary discussion groups that acted like shadow parliaments, formed by up and coming young men of particular political persuasions.
357. M. Batbie, "Rapport fait au nom de la commission chargée d'examiner les lois

- constitutionnelles sur le projet de loi électorale”, report number 2320, Assemblée nationale, 1874, pp. 2–4.
358. Batbie, “Rapport”, pp. 4–5.
359. See Chapter 3.
360. Batbie, “Rapport”, pp. 6, 8–10.
361. Batbie, “Rapport”, pp. 10–11, 20–1.
362. Batbie, “Rapport”, pp. 11, 13–14.
363. Batbie, “Rapport”, p. 11.
364. Batbie, “Rapport”, pp. 14–15, 22–3.
365. *Journal Officiel*, 5 June 1874, pp. 3755–6.
366. Girard, *Les libéraux français*, pp. 260, 262–3.
367. Girard, *Les libéraux français*, p. 264.
368. Sudhir Hazareesingh, “The Société d’Instruction Républicaine and the Propagation of Civic Republicanism in Provincial and Rural France, 1870–1877”, *Journal of Modern History*, June 1999, pp. 284–5.
369. On the new style of French politics, and liberal difficulties with them, see Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: 1995), pp. 48, 135. Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 229.
370. Girard, *Les libéraux français*, p. 266; Jean-Marie Mayeur, *La vie politique sous la troisième république* (Paris: 1984), p. 93.
371. As can be seen even in these brief remarks, Schérer was not merely a liberal, but an “aristocratic liberal” as defined in my book *Aristocratic Liberalism: The Social and Political Thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville* (New York: 1992, New Brunswick: 2001).
372. Edmond Schérer, *La démocratie et la France* (Paris: 1883), pp. 16–17, 20–1, 50, 52, 74–5, 83.
373. Alfred Fouillée, “La philosophie du suffrage universel”, *Revue des deux mondes*, 1884, pp. 104, 108.
374. Fouillée, “La philosophie du suffrage universel”, p. 109.
375. Except that Fouillée was sure that women lacked the necessary capacity to vote. This was one area where liberalism remained an influential political language. Fouillée, “La philosophie du suffrage universel”, pp. 119–20. This was true in England too, where from Gladstone to Asquith women were rejected for the vote in terms of capacity. See Martin Pugh, “Liberals and Women’s Suffrage, 1867–1914”, in Eugenio F. Biagini, ed., *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865–1931* (Cambridge: 1996), p. 51. The same could be said with regard to race, particularly in the Imperial context of restrictions on black voting, but this would take us too far from our subject. Here see Hall, McClelland and Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation*.
376. Fouillée, “La Philosophie du suffrage universel”, pp. 112, 117, 119, 122, 125, 129.
377. François Furet, *La gauche et la Révolution au milieu du XIXe siècle: Edgar Quinet et la question du Jacobinisme 1865–1870* (Paris: 1986), p. 78.
378. Rosanvallon raises this question in *Le sacre*, p. 343.
379. Maurice Agulhon, *La République, 1880–1932* (Paris: 1990), vol. 1, pp. 113–14. Mark Hulliung, *Citizens and Citoyens: Republicans and Liberals in France and America* (Cambridge, MA: 2002) also wants to claim that Solidarism, espoused by Léon Bourgeois and Emile Durkheim, was a form of Orleanist liberalism. He is on firmer ground in describing Léon Duguit, a noted early twentieth-century legal theorist, as a liberal, but himself admits that Duguit’s “failure as a politician was a foregone conclusion” (p. 51).

380. Agulhon, *La République*, pp. 113–14; Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, pp. 376, 378.
381. Jaume, *L'individu effacé*, p. 348.
382. Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 228.
383. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 March 1866, pp. 29–30, 32–3.
384. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 March 1866, pp. 47, 52–3, 56–7.
385. The roughness of all these figures was acknowledged at the time, but sometimes not sufficiently noticed by historians since. For example, Gladstone knew for certain that there were not 900,000, but 1,038,000 voters registered. But he also knew that many of these people had votes in more than one constituency, and so he estimated that 1,000,000 votes meant only 900,000 voters. Others put the number even lower, at 800,000 or less. See Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 March 1866, p. 56.
386. Baxter, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, pp. 1230, 1237; Sir George Grey, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1297; Sir James Graham, *Hansard*, 19 April 1866, p. 1656; Coleridge, *Hansard*, 20 April 1866, p. 1842; Layard, *Hansard*, 16 April 1866, p. 1450.
387. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 April 1866, p. 1133; 27 April 1866, p. 148; Bright, *Hansard*, 23 April 1866, p. 1880; Baxter, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1236. See also Arthur Peel, *Hansard*, 13 March, 1866, p. 181; Hanbury, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1274; W. E. Forster, *Hansard*, 16 April 1866, pp. 1389, 1391, 1394; Milner Gibson, *Hansard*, 19 April 1866, p. 1720; Hibbert, *Hansard*, 27 April 1866, p. 51.
388. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 March 1866, pp. 54, 58. See also Attorney General, *Hansard*, 31 May, 1866, p. 1655.
389. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 March 1866, pp. 36, 39; Arthur Peel, *Hansard*, 13 March 1866, p. 181; Hodgkinson, *Hansard*, 26 April 1866, p. 2121; Leatham, *Hansard*, 13 March 1866, p. 179; Milner Gibson, *Hansard*, April 19, 1866, p. 1725; Bright, *Hansard*, 23 April 1866, pp. 1891–3. See also Osborne, *Hansard*, 4 June 1866, p. 1818.
390. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 12 April, 1866, pp. 1134–8; Earl Grosvenor, *Hansard*, 12 April 1866, p. 1158; Bulwer-Lytton, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1243; Mill, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, pp. 1257, 1260.
391. Layard, *Hansard*, 16 April 1866, p. 1433.
392. Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party*, p. 252; Mill, *Hansard*, 31 May 1866, p. 1591.
393. Baxter, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1236; Sir George Grey, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1300; F. Leveson Gower, *Hansard*, 20 April 1866, pp. 1780–1.
394. Hodgkinson, *Hansard*, 26 April 1866, p. 2120.
395. Gregory had been a Conservative MP until 1847 and then formally independent until 1865, when he joined the Liberals after Lord Palmerston's death.
396. Clay, *Hansard*, 20 February 1866, pp. 825–30.
397. Clay, *Hansard*, 20 February 1866, pp. 828–32.
398. Gregory, *Hansard*, 20 February 1866, pp. 832–5.
399. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 30 May 1866, pp. 1477–8, 1480–2, 1484, 1487.
400. Goschen, *Hansard*, 30 May 1866, pp. 1498–99; Attorney General, 31 May 1866, p. 1660; Bright, *Hansard*, 30 May 1866, pp. 1512–16. See also Denman, *Hansard*, 30 May 1866, pp. 1501–2.
401. Moore has argued that traditional notions of group representation based on deference were breaking down in the 1850s and 1860s. This process was doubtless underway, as the greater strength of individualist language in the 1850s and 1860s compared to 1832 shows, but it had not progressed very far, from the evi-

- dence of the Parliamentary debates of 1866–67. See Moore, *The Politics of Deference*, pp. 439–40.
402. Bright, *Hansard*, 23 April 1866, p. 1900; in the same sense see also the Lord Advocate, 4 June 1866, p. 1767. Milner Gibson, *Hansard*, 19 April 1866, pp. 1720, 1725; Mill, *Hansard*, 13 April 1866, p. 1256.
403. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 8 August 1867, pp. 1164–5; Baines, *Hansard*, 27 April 1866, p. 57; Attorney General, *Hansard*, 31 May 1866, p. 1660. See also James Class, *Hansard*, 26 April 1866, pp. 2148, 2150; Lord Frederick Cavendish, *Hansard*, 31 May 1866, p. 1612.
404. In practice, English voting registration procedures would have meant that a two-year residence requirement would in reality have translated into a two-and-a-half or three-year requirement, close to the French law of 1850. Note too that the English household suffrage applied only to the boroughs, not the counties, until 1884.
405. Disraeli, *Hansard*, 16 March 1867, pp. 13–21.
406. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 25 March 1867, p. 476; 12 April 1867, p. 1694; Roebuck, *Hansard*, 25 March 1867, p. 540; Gregory, *Hansard*, 28 May 1867, p. 1217. Against the right to vote, see also Coleridge, *Hansard*, 11 April 1867, p. 1558; Hunt, *Hansard*, 12 April 1867, p. 1624.
407. Bright, *Hansard*, 28 May 1867, p. 1221.
408. For Bagehot, see Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London: 1933), p. 182. On Goschen, see the discussion of the Third Reform Act below.
409. Rudolf Muhs, “Deutscher und britischer Liberalismus im Vergleich. Trägerschichten, Zielvorstellungen und Rahmensbedingungen (ca. 1830–1870)”, in *Liberalismus im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. D. Langewiesche (Göttingen: 1988), p. 249.
410. Bright, *Hansard*, 26 March 1867, p. 637.
411. Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture: Socialist Labor in Imperial Germany* (New York: 1985).
412. John Garrard, “Parties, Members and Voters after 1867”, in *Later Victorian Britain, 1867–1900*, ed. by T. R. Gourvish and Alan O’Day (London: 1988), pp.128–9, 134, 137–40, 145, 148.
413. Goschen, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, pp. 419–20. Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 207, 217, 221, 233; J. P. D. Dunbabin, “Electoral Reforms and their Outcome in the United Kingdom 1865–1900”, in *Later Victorian Britain*, Gourvish and O’Day, eds, p. 115. The Secret Ballot Act of 1872 was seen by liberals as an antidote to Trades Union pressure on working-class voters, a new danger. See also T. A. Jenkins, *Gladstone, Whiggery and the Liberal Party 1874–1886* (Oxford: 1988), p. 9, on the sense of democracy created by 1867.
414. T. A. Jenkins, *Parliament, Party and Politics in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: 1996), p. 102.
415. Plural voting, based on residency in one district and property in others, represented a considerable number of votes. Blewett estimates that of 7.9 million votes in 1911, about 500,000–600,000 were plural votes (one individual in 1900 is known to have had 23). But this figure is merely an educated guess and contemporary estimates ranged from 200,000–1,000,000. Neal Blewett, “The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885–1911”, *Past & Present* 32, December 1965, pp. 31–2, suggests figures for plural votes of 6–8% of the total number of votes, without presenting any analysis. Seymour says “No statistics are in existence showing without

- question what proportion of ownership electors possessed votes in more than one constituency." *Electoral Reform in England and Wales*, p. 480.
416. Parry, *Victorian Government*, pp. 277–8, 286–7, 291, 293.
417. Jenkins, *Gladstone, Whiggery and the Liberal Party*, p. 7.
418. D. A. Hamer, *Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery: A Study in Leadership and Policy* (Oxford: 1972), pp. 76–7.
419. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 6 November 1884, pp. 97–9; Willis, *Hansard*, 7 November 1884, p. 1292; E. A. Leatham, *Hansard*, 24 March 1884, p. 678.
420. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 28 February 1884, p. 108.
421. Trevelyan, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, p. 447; H. H. Fowler, *Hansard*, 3 April 1884, p. 1590.
422. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 28 February 1884, p. 109; Walter, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, p. 405; Gladstone, *Hansard*, 7 April 1884, pp. 1821, 1839–40; Albert Grey, *Hansard*, 1 April 1884, pp. 1316–17. See also Walter, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, p. 405; Craig Sellar, *Hansard*, 31 March 1884, pp. 1208–9.
423. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 7 April 1884, pp. 1821, 1839–40; E. A. Leatham, *Hansard*, 24 March 1884, p. 670; Anderson, *Hansard*, 27 March 1884, p. 922; Broadhurst, *Hansard*, 3 April 1884, pp. 1552–3, 1556; Barran, *Hansard*, 7 April 1884, pp. 1821–2; Williamson, *Hansard*, 7 April 1884, p. 1851.
424. John Morley, *Hansard*, 3 April 1884, p. 1563; H. H. Fowler, *Hansard*, 3 April 1884, p. 1589.
425. Gladstone, *Hansard*, 28 February 1884, pp. 129–30; Goschen, *Hansard*, 11 November 1884, p. 1465.
426. Baxter, *Hansard*, 24 March 1884, p. 665.
427. H. H. Fowler, *Hansard*, 28 February 1884, p. 167.
428. See Goschen, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, p. 423; Sir John Lubbock, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, p. 449; Blennerhassett, *Hansard*, 3 March 1884, pp. 395, 397; Albert Grey, *Hansard*, 1 April 1884, p. 1329.
429. Blewett, "The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885–1918", pp. 27, 29, 34–6, 38, 43.
430. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 305.
431. Parry, *Victorian Government*, pp. 286–7, 303; Hamer, *Liberal Politics*, pp. 150–1.
432. Parry, *Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 12, 261, 297.
433. J. W. Burrow, *Whigs and Liberals: Continuity and Change in English Political Thought* (Oxford: 1988), p. 128.
434. L. A. Atherley-Jones, cited in Hamer, *Liberal Politics*, p. 151.
435. Dunbabin, 'Electoral Reforms and the Outcome', *Later Victorian Britain*, Gourvish and O'Day, eds, p. 115.
436. Seymour, *Electoral Reform in England and Wales*, p. 524.
437. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 305, 307, 310–11.
438. Grumbrecht, *Stenographische Berichte*, 28 March 1867, p. 423-2; Brünneck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 30 March 1867, p. 469-2.
439. Waldeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 27 March 1867, p. 390-2.
440. Grumbrecht, *Stenographische Berichte*, 28 March 1867, p. 423-2; Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 15 April 1867, pp. 710-2–711-1. See also Weber, *Stenographische Berichte*, 28 March 1867, p. 418-1-2.
441. Sybel, *Stenographische Berichte*, 27 March 1867, pp. 427-2–428-1; Weber, *Stenographische Berichte*, 28 March 1867, pp. 418-2–419-1.
442. Klaus Erich Pollman, *Parlamentarismus im Norddeutsche Bund 1867–1870* (Düsseldorf: 1985), pp. 222–3.

443. Walter Gagel, *Die Wahlrechtsfrage in der Geschichte der deutschen liberalen Parteien, 1848–1918*, pp. 50–3, 60.
444. *Stenographische Berichte des Haus der Abgeordneten*, 4 February 1869, pp. 1414–2–1415–1.
445. Waldeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1405–1–2; Hoverbeck, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1408–1; Hagen, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, pp. 1409–2–1410–1. Diest, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1407–2; Hoverbeck cited in Pollman, *Parlamentarismus*, p. 318.
446. Hagen, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1408–1; Hennig, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1407–1.
447. Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1406–1–2. See also Schwerin, *Stenographische Berichte*, 4 February 1869, p. 1412–1–2.
448. Reinhard Patemann, *Der Kampf um die preussischen Wahlreform im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Düsseldorf: 1964), pp. 13–14.
449. Windthorst, *Stenographische Berichte*, 26 November 1873, pp. 93–7.
450. Gerhard A. Ritter, *Die deutschen Parteien 1830–1914: Parteien und Gesellschaft im konstitutionellen Regierungssystem* (Göttingen: 1985), pp. 82–3; Lasker, *Stenographische Berichte*, 26 November 1873, pp. 99–2, 105–6.
451. Virchow, *Stenographische Berichte*, 26 November 1873, pp. 110–2–113–1; Vote, *Stenographische Berichte*, 26 November 1873, p. 120.
452. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1919*, vol. 2, p. 521.
453. The exception to this pattern is the election of 1887, when the total number of votes cast for liberals was the greatest ever. Like the British elections of 1906, however, its significance is debatable, the more so as the Reichstag elections of 1887 were a victory for a National Liberal/Conservative alliance, and a defeat for the left-liberal Progressives.
454. Figures from Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 521–2; Langewiesche, *Liberalismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt: 1988), pp. 314–18; Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 226–9.
455. Thomas Kuehne, *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen 1867–1914: Landtagswahlen zwischen korporativer Tradition und politischen Massenmarkt* (Düsseldorf: 1994), pp. 381, 399, 468–9, 471. See Patemann, *Der Kampf um die preussischen Wahlreform im Ersten Weltkrieg*, on the reluctance of the Prussian National Liberals to reform the suffrage even in 1917.
456. Simone Lässig, “Wahlrechtsreformen in den deutschen Einzelstaaten”, *Modernisierung und Region im wilhelminischen Deutschland* (Bielefeld: 1998), ed. by Simone Lässig, Karl Heinrich Pohl, and James Retallack, pp. 127–69.
457. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 536; Karl Heinrich Pohl, ‘Kommunen, kommunale Wahlen und kommunale Wahlrechtspolitik’, *Modernisierung und Region im wilhelminischen Deutschland*, ed. by Lässig, Pohl, and Retallack; Jan Palmowski, “The Politics of the ‘Unpolitical German’: Liberalism in German Local Government, 1860–1880”, *Historical Journal*, vol. 42 (Sept., 1999), pp. 675–704.
458. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1:50.
459. Burckhardt, *Über das Studium der Geschichte* (Munich: 1982), ed. by Peter Ganz, p. 276.
460. Michèle Lamont, *Money, Morals, & Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class* (Chicago: 1992), p. 11. For further discussion of the concept of “boundaries” see her Chapter 1, *passim*.
461. Kocka, “European Pattern”, in Kocka and Mitchell, eds, *Bourgeois Society*, p. 10.
462. David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in England* (New York: 1993), pp. 20,

- 22: Peter Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, p. 5. Gay also contends that this description was true for Europe as a whole.
463. Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class*, p. 171.
464. Adeline Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France depuis 1815* (Paris: 1991), pp. 130, 242–3. Daumard hints here at the ways in which the discourse of capacity was applied to civil society, not just politics, but this is beyond the scope of this book.
465. Cited in Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class*, p. 92.
466. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, p. 181.
467. Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: 1999), pp. 130, 134–5, 146, 228–9. Had the notion of a “discourse of capacity” been available to Auerbach, he could have employed it with good effect.
468. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition*, pp. 128, 155.
469. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition*, pp. 96, 151, 158.
470. Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847–1860* (Oxford: 1995), p. 48.
471. Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, 1:87.
472. Cited in Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851–1875* (London: 1971), p. 260.
473. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, pp. 273–4.
474. Moore, *The Politics of Deference*, pp. 410, 419; Brian Harrison, *The Transformation of British Politics, 1860–1995* (Oxford: 1996), p. 31.
475. Cited in Moore, *The Politics of Deference*, p. 412.
476. Bagehot, cited in Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, pp. 259–60.
477. Tocqueville, *Recollections* (New Brunswick: 1987), p. 95; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, p. 230.
478. Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 222.
479. Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, pp. 225, 262–4, 394; Pierre Sorlin, *La société française, 1840–1914*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1969), p. 156.
480. Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Munich: 1995), vol. 3, pp. 704, 729.
481. Ute Frevert, ‘Bourgeois Honor: middle-class duelists in Germany from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century’, in David Blackburn and Richard J. Evans, eds, *The German Bourgeoisie*, pp. 268, 272, 281–4.
482. Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3, pp. 708, 711, 1280–1; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, pp. 180–1.
483. Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, p. 53; Best, *Mid-Victorian England*, pp. 103–4; Gourvish, “The Rise of the Professions”, in *Later Victorian Britain*, eds. Gourvish and O’Day, p. 15. The astute reader will compare the 307,000 with incomes over £150 in 1860 with the approximately 900,000 voters at that time, and wonder if the English suffrage was already dominated by lower-class voters in 1860. In the judgements of contemporaries, this was not the case. Three reasons can be suggested for the discrepancy: 1) Income figures for England are inexact, being derived from the separate categories of the Income Tax. An individual with £50 income in several categories would not show up in these figures, and there were many such. 2) £150 is an overall estimate for the lower threshold of middle-class income in 1860. In many rural areas £100 would have been enough. 3) Many people qualified for middle-class status based on criteria other than income, about which more will be said below.
484. Christophe Charle, *A Social History of France in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: 1994), p. 270.
485. Cited in Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 255.
486. Cited in Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, pp. 257–8.

487. Cited in Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie*, p. 129.
488. Katherine A. Lynch, *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France: Social Policy and the Working-Class Family, 1825–1848* (Madison, WI: 1988), p. 7.
489. Bédarida, *A Social History of England 1851–1990* (London: 1979, p. 51; Bagehot cited in Best, *Mid-Victorian England*, p. 255; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie*, p. 132; Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, pp. 378–9; Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, IN: 1996), pp. 93–6, 101–2. The over-production of underemployed intellectuals was also one of Jacob Burckhardt's concerns.
490. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2:453.
491. Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, pp. 152, 217–18; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, pp. 83–5, 180–1; Kuehne, *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur*, pp. 423, 428; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3, pp. 1268–9.
492. See Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie in France*, p. 56, for a discussion of this tension.
493. Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie*, p. 387.
494. Kocka, 'The European Pattern and the German Case', in Kocka and Mitchell, eds, *Bourgeois Society*, pp. 5–6.
495. Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie*, pp. 8, 11; Gambetta, cited in Daniel Halévy, *La fin des notables* (Paris: 1929), vol. 1, p. 130; Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, p. 49; Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, p. 19.
496. Chadwick, cited in Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864* (Chicago: 1995), p. 118; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie*, pp. 39, 48–9; Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, pp. 276–7; Sorlin, *La société française*, vol. 1, p. 229; Charle, *Les élites de la république: 1880–1900* (Paris: 1987) pp. 36–7.
497. David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany 1780–1918* (New York: 1998), pp. 212–13. Blackbourn's list of virtues is largely derived from Kocka, but lacks some of the political bias built into Kocka's version. See Jonathan Sperber's review article, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and its Socio-cultural World", in *Journal of Modern History*, June 1997, p. 285.
498. Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, p. 120; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, p. 38; Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, p. 213.
499. Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, pp. 34, 261. See also Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 168.
500. Stephens, cited in Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: 1998), p. 32.
501. Sorlin, *La société française*, vol. 1, p. 154; F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA: 1988), pp. 198–200.
502. Siep Stuurman, "Le libéralisme comme invention historique", in Stuurman, ed., *Les libéralismes*, p. 20; Asa Briggs, "Victorian Values", in Eric M. Sigsworth, ed., *In Search of Victorian Values* (Manchester: 1988), pp. 10–11; Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France*, p. 244.
503. Cited in Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, p. 124.
504. Chadwick, cited in Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, p. 124; Gay, *The Naked Heart* (New York: 1995), p. 160.
505. Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, p. 252.

506. Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society and University in Germany, 1700–1914* (Cambridge: 1980), p. 114. For the description of modern humanism and aristocratic liberalism, see Kahan, *Aristocratic Liberalism*, Chapter 4.
507. Furet, *Le passé d'une illusion*, p. 23. Another of Furet's statements also rings true of liberalism: speaking of the bourgeois he says: "part of himself thinks his enemies are right, since they speak in the name of his own principles." We only need to add, of some of his own principles against some of his others. See Furet, pp. 29–31.
508. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Book II, Chapter 22.
509. See Lothar Gall, "Liberalismus und bürgerliche Gesellschaft", *Historische Zeitschrift* 220 (1975): 324–56. This analysis has since been taken up by many others.
510. Allan Mitchell, "Bourgeois Liberalism and Public Health: A Franco-German Comparison", in Kocka and Mitchell, *Bourgeois Society*, p. 347.
511. See Jonathan Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters: Electors and Elections in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: 1997), pp. 19–20.
512. Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, pp. 416–17.
513. Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 229.
514. Kuehne, *Dreiklassenwahlrecht*, p. 399; Konrad Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones, eds, "Introduction", in Jarausch and Jones, eds, *In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present* (Oxford: 1990), p. 15; Geoff Eley, "The Crisis of German Liberalism", in Jarausch and Jones, eds, *In Search of a Liberal Germany*, pp. 197, 210–15; Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters*, pp. 130, 137.
515. Harrison, *The Transformation of British Politics*, pp. 9, 33; Moore, *The Politics of Deference*, p. 415; Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class*, pp. 109, 112; Dunbabin, 'Electoral Reforms and their Outcome', in Gourvish and O'Day, eds, *Later Victorian Britain*, pp. 115–17.
516. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, vol. 2, p. 510. See also Nord, *The Republican Moment*, p. 135.
517. Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters*, pp. 133–6, 287. Thus, it was not so much that the German political system failed to produce a Gladstone, as that German voters failed to elect him.
518. Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters*, pp. 110, 140, 281, 288.
519. Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 306–7; Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters*, pp. 132–3.
520. See Sperber, *The Kaiser's Voters*, pp. 140, 151.
521. Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, pp. 414, 428; Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government*, pp. 307–10. France, as noted above, may be an exception.
522. Virginia Woolf, cited in Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, pp. 108–9.
523. For a broad discussion of changes that took place around this time, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: 1983), esp. pp. 152, 181–2.
524. Erika Diane Rapaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women and the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: 2000), p. 221; Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: 1998), pp. 113, 116; Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: 1998), pp. 7–10.
525. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 51–4; Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: 1996), p. 20; W. Hamish Fraser, *The*

- Coming of the Mass Market, 1850–1914* (London: 1981), p. 111; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3, p. 759.
526. Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, p. 130; Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England* (Totowa, NJ: 1973), p. 60; Michael Geyer, 'The German Officer Corps as a Profession', in Geoffrey Cocks and Konrad H. Jarausch, eds, *German Professions, 1800–1950* (New York: 1990), p. 192. See also S. Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing the Popular', *People's History and Social Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: 1981).
527. Bailey, *Popular Culture*, p. 49.
528. See Bédarida, *A Social History of England*, p. 57; Best, *Mid-Victorian Society*, p. 290, although Best thinks this process reverses after 1875, because he focuses on the rise of the Independent Labour Party, ignoring the spread of bourgeois values within the trades union movement. On the latter see Bédarida, pp. 68–9.
529. Cited in Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, p. 51.
530. Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, pp. 30, 50.
531. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 199, 201–2.
532. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 202; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge: 1983), pp. 207–8. It may well have been that elements of the lower classes possessed these attitudes and values much earlier, but that earlier the middle and upper classes did not perceive the lower classes to possess them. This is the argument of Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, pp. 379, 381.
533. Mill, *On Liberty*, Chapter 3; Duc d'Aumale, cited in Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 169.
534. Sorlin, *La société française*, vol. 1, p. 227; Phyllis Stock-Morton, *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: 1988), pp. 163–5.
535. Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, p. 164.
536. Jones and Jarausch, "Introduction", in Jones and Jarausch, eds, *In Search of a Liberal Germany*, p. 18; Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3, pp. 715–16, 766.
537. Much of this discussion may be found in the three volumes edited by John Brewer and his colleagues: John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: 1993); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: 1995); John Brewer and Susan Staves, eds, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London: 1995).
538. Peter N. Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization", in *Journal of Modern History* (March 1997), p. 113 and *passim*; Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: 1982), pp. 10, 13; Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton, eds, *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford: 2001), pp. 10–11; Auslander, *Taste and Power*, p. 256.
539. Williams, *Dream Worlds*, pp. 64–6; Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: 1987), p. 7. Campbell, however, focuses on the origins rather than the spread of "modern autonomous imaginative hedonism", and thus locates it earlier in time.
540. Williams, *Dream Worlds*, pp. 92–4, 97; Bailey, *Popular Culture*, p. 66.
541. On the idea that lower-class individuals used the appearance of respectability as a way to deceive their betters, see Bailey, *Popular Culture*, pp. 38–9.
542. Williams, *Dream Worlds*, p. 98; Auslander, *Taste and Power*, p. 258; Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism", p. 106.

543. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880–1910* (Cambridge, MA: 1983), p. 152.
544. J. S. Mill represents an honorable exception.
545. G. A. Kelly, *The Humane Comedy*, p. 222.
546. Edmond Schérer, *La démocratie et la France* (Paris: 1883), pp. 74–5.
547. E. Boutmy and E. Vinet, *Quelques Idées sur la création d'une faculté libre d'enseignement supérieur* (Paris: 1878), p. 15, cited in Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, p. 375.
548. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, pp. 376–9. Of course, nineteenth-century liberals had always rejected the idea of *political* equality.
549. Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (London: 1990), pp. xiii, 2. See also Thomas Haskell's summary of Friedson's essay in his "Introduction", *The Authority of Experts*, ed. Thomas Haskell (Indiana: 1984), pp. ix, xxi.
550. Larson, "Expertise and Expert Power", in Haskell, ed., *The Authority of Experts*, p. 32.
551. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society*, p. 8.
552. Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, p. 377.
553. Larson, "Expertise and Expert Power", in Haskell, ed., *The Authority of Experts*, p. 31.
554. Cited in Rosanvallon, *Le sacre*, p. 382n.1.
555. Duvergier de Hauranne, "La démocratie et le droit de suffrage", *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 April 1868, pp. 626, 632–3, 786, 798–801.
556. See Jaume, *L'Individu effacé*, p. 546n.35.
557. The classic discussion of this subject is found in Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, tr. by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: 1968).
558. Larson, "Expertise and Expert Power", in Haskell, ed., *The Authority of Experts*, p. 36.
559. Haskell, "Introduction", p. xxix; "Professionalism versus Capitalism", p. 184, in Haskell, ed., *The Authority of Experts*.
560. See Kahan, *Aristocratic Liberalism*.

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Note

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Index

- 1789, 1793 *see* French Revolution
1831 9, 35–48, 61, 78, 125
1832 3, 11, 21–35, 44–5, 49, 52–3, 66,
78, 84, 88, 91, 98, 124–5, 127–8,
131, 136, 140, 158, 164, 183
1842 9, 36–7, 44–50, 86, 124, 167
1847 11, 21, 36–7, 45–6, 49–50, 62–5,
67, 83, 128, 157
1848 *see* Revolutions of 1848
1850 3, 9, 14, 22, 55, 57, 66, 73–4, 76,
78–83, 92–4, 101–5, 113, 115, 117,
132, 134, 161
1851 83, 102–6, 138, 156, 158, 164
1852 85–8, 92
1859/60 85–93
1854 85, 88–9, 100–1, 123
1861 3, 9, 76–7, 85, 95–102, 145
1867 26, 32, 78, 85–6, 88–92, 94,
100–1, 107, 111, 120, 141–3, 148,
158, 164, 175, 198
1869 110–11, 141, 143–5
1873 9, 56, 113, 114, 141, 145–6, 158,
175
1874 9, 110, 114–15, 117–18, 135,
166
1884 9, 13, 106, 109, 118–20, 122,
132, 134–41, 186
1885 7, 9, 11, 14–15, 22–3, 109, 110,
118, 121–2, 135–6, 139–41, 147,
149, 153, 155, 164–5, 170, 179–83,
185, 188–90, 192, 195, 197
- Adjunctions *see* Suffrage
Adullam, Cave of, Adullamites 122,
125, 130
Agulhon, Maurice 121
Althorp, Lord 23, 29–30
Anarchy
and despotism 2, 4, 7, 106, 112
and equal voting 73
and political participation 184
and Terror 1
Anglicans *see* Liberal, Liberals,
Liberalism
- Aristocracy, Aristocratic
and democracy 4, 155–7, 170, 179,
189–91, 195, 200
and liberalism 200
and lower classes 96, 168
capacity as 39, 41, 43, 57
dueling and 160
embourgeoisement 183
French Legitimist 36
German 53–4, 56, 61, 95, 96
intellectual 47
liberals reject hereditary 6, 157
liberalism 118n.370, 170, 199
proportion 92, 92n.298, 181
Reform Act of 1832 and 22, 29–30,
32
Tocqueville defines 4, 164–5
- Bagehot, Walter 133, 158–9, 164
Baines, Sir Edward 89–92, 131–2
Banquet Campaign 50, 67, 78, 83
Barrot, Odilon 40, 43, 45–6, 49, 67,
79, 105, 112
Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel 71, 73–5
Batbie, M. 110, 115–17
Baudelaire, Charles-Pierre 180
Beaumont, Gustave de 49, 105–6
Beckerath, Hermann v. 62, 72–3, 75–7
Bérenger 40, 42, 46
Biedermann, Friedrich Karl 71, 74–5
Bildung und Besitz 28, 47, 54, 73, 169
Bismarck, Otto v. 2, 3, 7, 53, 60, 93,
94, 102, 109, 141–3, 167, 170, 175
Blackbourn, David 51, 93, 160, 167–8,
174, 179
Bourgeois, Bourgeoisie *see* Middle
class(es)
Bright, John 40, 85–7, 89, 91–2, 124–5,
130–1, 133–4, 176
Britain, British *see* consumer culture;
Liberal, Liberals, Liberalism; Middle
class(es); Suffrage debates
Brougham, Lord 23, 26–7, 29, 31
Burckhardt, Jacob 119, 153, 170, 203

- Bureaucrats, Bureaucratic *see* Capacity;
 Liberal, Liberals, Liberalism
- Burrow, John W. 139
- Camphausen, Otto v. 59, 63, 76
- Cannadine, David 155–6, 175
- Capacity
 aristocratic 160, 164, 195
 boundary 6, 154, 158, 165, 187
 bureaucracy and 58–9
 consumer culture and 14, 180–1,
 185, 187, 189
 definition 6, 154
 democratic 156, 160, 164, 189, 191,
 195, 197, 200
 education/intelligence as criterion of
 6, 12–13, 15, 25, 27–33, 38–9, 41–4,
 47, 50, 52–8, 62–3, 65, 71–3, 77, 78,
 80, 86–92, 96, 99, 108, 113–14,
 116, 120–1, 127–31, 134, 138, 142,
 146, 149, 164, 191, 193–4, 195–8,
 201
 hierarchy and 14, 73, 154–60, 162,
 187–8, 197, 200
 independence as criterion of 12,
 23, 25–8, 33, 38, 42–3, 45, 52–3,
 55–7, 63, 67, 69–70, 72, 82, 87–8,
 90, 96–8, 104, 108, 112, 116,
 118, 128, 141, 143, 145, 166,
 182
 individual 3, 7, 8, 11–13, 24–5,
 28–31, 33, 38, 40–1, 45, 49, 51, 53,
 55, 57, 62, 69–70, 72–3, 80–1, 86–9,
 97, 105, 115, 117, 127, 131–2,
 132n.400, 134–5, 138–9, 141, 155,
 164, 173, 189
 Jewish 56
 lower class 26, 27, 31, 40, 54–5, 60,
 68–70, 72–4, 79–82, 85, 87, 89–92,
 96, 98, 100–5, 113, 119, 121,
 123–7, 132, 134, 143–6, 149, 184,
 188–9
 middle-class 27–34, 47, 51, 54, 56,
 58, 60–1, 69–71, 76, 85, 88–9, 92,
 98, 114, 127, 142–3, 154–6, 163,
 165, 169–70, 173, 183, 187, 189,
 198–9
 modern freedom and 190–1
 nationalism and 178
 origins 7, 16–17
 property as criterion of 3, 5–7,
 15–16, 22, 24–33, 36–50, 53–5, 57,
 60–4, 69–73, 75, 77–82, 86–90, 92,
 96, 98–9, 108, 116–17, 121, 127–33,
 135, 138, 144, 149, 191, 193,
 195–6, 199, 201
 respectability as criterion of 69,
 80–1, 89, 156, 157, 167–9, 181–3,
 186
 social 3, 4, 8, 10–15, 24–33, 36–8,
 40–1, 43–5, 48–51, 53–7, 59–61, 64,
 69–72, 80–3, 85, 88–9, 95, 98–9,
 101, 108, 111, 115, 119–25, 127,
 131, 134, 138–9, 142–4, 149, 164
 suffrage and *passim*
 utilitarian justification of 38–9, 48,
 52–3, 59, 68, 71–2, 115, 124,
 167
 women's *see also* Gender 13
- Catholics, Catholicism 3, 4, 60, 121,
 146, 149
- Cens*, Census *see* Capacity, Suffrage
- Chadwick, Edwin 167, 169
- Chamberlain, Joseph 139–40, 176
- Chartism 34–5, 66, 83–4, 156
- Civil rights 3, 7–8, 71, 107, 111, 121,
 162, 187, 189, 191
- Cobden, Richard 46, 84–5, 176
- Communitarianism 81
- Constant, Benjamin 7n.13, 43,
 82n.261, 168, 190
- Consumer culture 13–14, 179–81,
 184–9, 195, 199, 203, 204
- Crystal Palace *see* Great Exhibition
- Culture 6–7, 10, 13–14, 32–4, 47,
 52–3, 56, 64, 69, 80, 88, 119, 134,
 149–50, 153–4, 157, 160–3, 165–71,
 173–4, 177, 179–81, 183–90, 195,
 199, 203–4
- Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph 52–4,
 56–7, 74–5
- Daru 103–5, 115
- Daumard, Adeline 155–6, 159–61,
 163–8
- Daunou, P.-C.-F. 39, 45
- Declaration of the Rights of Man *see*
 French Revolution
- Deference 12, 26, 57, 92, 98, 131,
 158–9, 175, 188

- Democracy, Democratic
 aristocracy and 155, 157, 170, 179,
 189, 190–1, 195, 200
 bureaucracy favors 59
 civil rights and 7, 189
 defined 4, 157
 hierarchy and 157–8, 160–1, 195–6,
 197, 200–1
 liberalism and 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 15, 24,
 39, 52–3, 55, 66–7, 71, 93, 96–7,
 107, 111–12, 119–21, 137–8, 164–5,
 170, 181, 188–91, 194, 197–8
 rejects adjunctions 44
 right to vote, rights-talk *see also*
 universal suffrage 6, 7, 24–5, 35,
 68, 81, 180, 191, 196, 198
 strong in France 35, 38–9, 107–8,
 110–11, 118
 threatens anarchy 7, 71
 weak in England 21, 86, 133, 135,
 138–40
- Despotism 2–4, 6–9, 12, 51, 102–3,
 106, 112–13, 126
- Dicey, A. V. 179
- Discourse of Capacity *see* Capacity
- Disraeli, Benjamin 89–90, 122, 132–3,
 141
- Dissenters, Nonconformists 3, 87, 127,
 140
- Doctrinaires 5, 12, 31, 36, 38, 49, 108,
 125
- Droysen, Johann Gustav 59, 68, 74–5
- Duels 160
- Dufaure, Jules 47–8, 105, 112, 114–15,
 117
- Duncker, Max 75, 95–8, 101
- Dupin. P.-C.-F. 39–40, 42
- Dupont-White, Charles 113
- Durham, Lord 28–9
- Durkheim, Emile 121, 197, 201
- Duviergier de Hauranne, E. 38–9, 41–2,
 44, 46, 49–50, 105, 106, 111–12,
 114, 117, 197–8
- Edinburgh Review* 27
- Education *see also* Capacity. 156–7,
 159–61, 164, 166–7, 169, 174,
 183, 184, 191, 193–6, 199–200,
 202–4
- Elitism 15, 92, 119, 121, 187, 191
- Enlightenment 1, 3–4, 6–7, 15–16, 26,
 39, 43, 51, 58–9, 173
- England *see* Democracy, Liberal
- Equality
 among those with capacity 98
 as equal opportunity 72, 162,
 164
 capacity and 115, 194
 Democracy and 4, 119
 German ideas about 52–3
 hierarchy and 159, 164, 195, 201
 independence does not mean 26
 legal 44, 58–9, 104, 117, 160, 187,
 191
 political 4
 socialism as 195
- Ferry, Jules 120, 194
- Forckenbeck 95, 99
- Forster, W. E. 124, 158
- Fouillée, Alfred 114, 119–20, 194
- France *see* Democracy, Liberal
- Franchise *see* Suffrage
- France, French *see* Democracy, Liberal,
 French Revolution
- Frankfurt National Assembly 67–76,
 83, 88, 97, 116
- French Revolution
 1789 1–2, 175, 180
 1793 1–2
 and civil rights 7n.13
- Declaration of the Rights of Man 1
 effects on liberals 2–3
 French liberals want to end 35
 Jacobinism 1
 language of capacity and 16
 liberal ambivalence towards 1–2
 liberals heirs of 2
 liberalism response to 7
 requires comparative study 9
 Terror 1
 watershed 16–17
- Frevert, Ute 160
- Furet, François 5, 120, 170
- Gagem, Heinrich v. 72–5
- Gall, Lothar 55, 58, 172
- Gambetta, Léon 112, 120, 166, 174,
 194
- Gay, Peter 1, 78, 155, 166, 169

- Gender 13, 34, 40, 40n.106, 90, 111, 115, 120, 156, 180–1, 187–9
- Germany *see* Liberal
- Girard, Louis 107–8, 110–12, 118
- Gladstone, W. E. 90, 100, 109, 120, 122–5, 128–40, 175–6
- Gneist, Rudolf v. 95–6, 98–9
- Goschen, George 130–1, 133, 135, 138
- Graham, Lord 26, 89–90, 124
- Great Exhibition 156–7, 163, 185
- Grey, Earl 23–4, 27–31
- Guizot, François 5–9, 15–16, 37–8, 40, 48, 50, 54, 84, 111–12, 119–20, 126, 168, 196
- Habermas, Jürgen 2–3, 44, 82
- Halévy, Elie 166, 179
- Hansemann, David 52–4, 60, 76
- Hartington, Lord 139–40
- Haskell, Thomas 195–7, 200–2
- Hazareesingh, Sudhir 108, 111, 118, 121, 159, 168, 175, 183
- Hesse, Electoral 11, 60–2, 147, 175
- Hierarchy
 capacity and 154–60, 162, 187–8, 197, 200
 consumer culture and 180–1, 198
 democracy and 14, 157–8, 160–1, 195–7, 200–1
 English 158
 French 159
 German 160
 in nineteenth-century Europe 154–7, 160–1, 163–5, 187–8
 liberalism and 4, 6, 73, 121, 194
 social mobility and 163–4
- Holbach, Baron d' 16–17
- Home Rule 109, 139–40, 178
- Hugo, Victor 103
- James, Henry 158
- Jews 3–4, 56
- Jordan, Sylvester 53, 57
- July Monarchy 5, 54–60, 61, 73, 78–9, 81, 83, 86, 88, 102, 104–5, 108, 110–11, 113, 128, 155, 159, 163, 175, 194
- Kant, Immanuel 12, 57
- Kelly, G. A. 12, 108, 190
- Kocka, Jürgen 5, 34, 55–6, 58–9, 154, 166–7, 173
- Laboulaye, Edouard 106–8, 112, 114–15
- Lamartine, Alphonse de 9, 82
- Lasker, E. 144–6
- Layard, Austen Henry 124, 126
- Le Bon, Gustave 197
- Lette, Wilhelm A. 73–6, 95, 97–8, 101, 116
- Liberal, Liberals, Liberalism *see also*
 Aristocracy, Capacity, Democracy, Hierarchy, French Revolution, Middle Class(es)
 British, English 5, 10, 12–13, 22–3, 25–6, 28, 31–4, 38, 40–1, 44, 50–7, 64, 66–7, 73, 83–8, 91–3, 98, 100–1, 109, 115, 119, 121–4, 126, 131–5, 138, 140–1, 143, 149, 156, 158, 163–4, 174, 176
 bureaucratic 10, 51, 58–9, 61, 64
 commerce and 30, 44, 64, 170, 199–200
 contradictions 1–5, 8, 21, 75, 119–20, 140, 144, 154, 158, 170, 178, 190
 credo 23–4, 32, 52
 decline 5, 11, 14, 16, 92, 93, 137, 139, 141, 147, 153–4, 157, 162–5, 170, 172–81, 188–9, 204
 definition 1–8, 11, 14–16, 53, 72, 114, 153, 196
 French 5, 11, 12n.26, 22, 34–48, 50–2, 55, 64, 66–7, 78, 80, 92, 102, 105, 107–11, 113–23, 126, 134, 141, 143, 147, 163, 175, 187, 194, 197–8
 German 2–3, 5, 9, 11, 28, 45, 50–61, 64–8, 70–1, 73, 75, 78, 83, 92–4, 97–8, 100–2, 107, 109, 115, 119, 134, 140–5, 147–9, 173, 175–8; Prussian 64, 76–8, 93–5, 97–8, 100, 109, 143–9
 individual, individualist *see* Capacity
 legitimacy and 6, 25–6, 30–3, 37, 47, 106, 112, 117, 136
 social, socially-oriented *see* Capacity
- Locke, John 15–16, 172
- Lowe, Robert 9, 48, 124–6

- Lower class(es), proletariat 3, 102,
104–5, 155, 157, 159, 160–1, 163,
167, 168, 180–4, 188–9, 199
- Mannheim, Karl 16
- Marx, Marxism 7, 45, 165, 172, 196
- Mass politics 13, 111, 120, 135, 148–9,
174–9
- Mathy, Karl 71–2, 74–5
- Mevissen, Gustav v. 53, 55, 57, 75
- Middle class(es)
capacity of 28
decline 172–4
definition, boundaries 47, 58, 88,
128, 154–5, 157, 160, 162–3, 165–9,
173, 179, 181–7
dominance 12, 29–31, 33–4, 54,
60–1, 88, 92, 126–7, 142, 174, 179,
181–4, 189, 194
hierarchy and 155–60, 163, 187–9
lack cohesion 114
liberalism and 12, 44, 71, 82, 165,
170, 175, 177, 199–200
not mentioned 71, 82, 85, 88–9
social mobility and 100, 161–4, 172,
189
suffrage 27–9, 32, 34, 88, 98, 123,
126–7, 132–3
- Mill, John Stuart 78, 91, 111, 113,
119, 125, 127, 131, 138, 168, 170,
183, 189, 193, 200, 203
- Montalembert, comte de 4, 79, 105,
106
- Morley, John 138
- Napoleon III 66–7, 83, 93, 102–3, 106,
110
- National Liberal 143–8, 175, 178
- Nationalism 51, 67, 94, 149, 176–8,
190
- Nefftzer, Auguste 108
- New Era 93, 135, 175, 181
- Nipperdey, Thomas 3–4, 7, 51, 53–4,
58, 93–4, 147, 149, 167, 170,
175
- North German Confederation 94, 100,
109, 141–2, 144–5
- Nostalgia 110, 154, 190
- Notable politics 113–14, 122, 134–5,
148–9, 159, 174–6, 178, 181
- Opinion
liberals favor free expression 7
of individuals 25, 28, 45, 49, 80
professional 197
public 30–3, 49, 51, 59, 62, 65, 107,
115, 138, 143
- Palmerston, Lord 89–90, 162–3
- Pareto, Vilfredo 197
- Paternalism 159–60
- Perkin, Harold 195–6
- Pfizer, Peter 52–3, 57
- Pierce, Charles 201
- Political culture 6–7, 10, 14, 32, 52,
64, 166, 174
- Professions, professionalization 43,
195, 202
- Progress 1, 4, 6, 12, 26–7, 45, 47–8, 55,
92, 119, 164
- Progressive Party 97, 100, 142, 144–6,
148, 176–8
- Property *see* Capacity, Middle class
- Prussian constitutional conflict 51,
93–4, 109
- Reform Acts *see* Suffrage
- Reformation 51
- Rémusat, Charles de 36, 46, 108,
110–12, 117, 167
- Residuum 26, 85, 134, 137, 156–7
- Revolutions of 1848
France 12, 37, 46, 50, 64, 66–7,
78–9, 82–3, 159
Germany 2, 51, 62, 65–7, 73, 78,
93–4; Prussia 64, 76
- Revue des deux mondes* 10, 111, 119–20,
164, 197
- Richter, Eugen 176
- Robespierre, Maximilien 1, 3, 17
- Roebuck 87, 133
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 195
- Rosanvallon, Pierre 37, 45, 83, 113–14,
121, 164, 194, 197
- Rotteck, Karl v. 52–5, 60
- Royer-Collard, P.-P. 49
- Russell, Lord 23–4, 26–31, 84–6,
88–92, 100
- Schérer, Edmond 119, 121, 194–5
- Schulze-Delitzsch 76, 95, 97, 100, 101

- Schwerin, Graf 75, 95–6, 100–1, 142, 145
- SDP 134, 148
- Skinner, Quentin 16
- Smith, Adam 17
- Social mobility 40, 154, 156, 161–6, 169, 173, 189
- Socialism, Socialist(s) 5, 79, 92, 121, 134, 147, 148, 188, 190–1, 198
- Sperber, Jonathan 174–8
Staats-Lexikon 52–5, 69
- Stability 26–7, 33–7, 40, 42–3, 52, 78, 80, 86, 88, 107, 124, 183
- Stanley, Lord 25–6, 89–91
- Status 8, 14, 32, 50, 88, 128, 154, 160, 162, 164–5, 167–9, 173, 177, 187, 191, 198, 202, 203
- Stephens, Fitzjames 168
- Sue, Eugène 103
- Suffrage, voting
and liberal ideals 8
adjunctions 37, 42–4, 46, 48–9, 57, 73, 75, 88, 128
census 42, 46, 57, 60, 70–4, 79, 81, 95–9, 101, 108, 115, 117, 144–5, 148
debates *see* Table of Contents
defines liberalism 5, 8–9, 11–12, 21, 24
franchise 11, 21–6, 30, 31, 38, 44, 60, 71–2, 86–9, 91, 95, 123–4, 127–33, 135–9
household 13, 69, 75, 80, 97, 128, 131, 132, 134–5, 186–7
indirect 23, 32–3, 45, 60–1, 68, 71, 73–4, 76–9, 87, 107, 116, 139, 146, 148
office, trust 22–5, 32, 38–9, 50, 52, 72, 72n.230, 114–16, 118, 137–8, 164
passive 60, 63, 73
registration 80, 105–6, 132, 135, 138–9
residence requirements 42, 61–3, 80–1, 87, 103–5, 117, 128, 132–3, 135
right to 22, 24–5, 31, 35, 38–41, 44, 47, 49, 60–2, 80–2, 84–6, 96, 103–4, 111, 113, 120, 133, 137–8, 196
three-class (Prussian) 22, 55, 73, 76–8, 83, 93, 95–101, 104, 141, 144–8, 197
plural, weighted 22, 57, 70, 73–4, 76–9, 97, 116, 132, 135, 148, 165
universal 8–9, 11, 38, 41–2, 45, 48–50, 67–8, 71–6, 78–9, 84, 94, 97, 101–3, 106–8, 110–14, 116–21, 129–30, 132, 134, 141–6, 148, 159, 165, 175, 193–8
- Sybel, Heinrich v. 13, 54, 63, 142
- Tarde, Gabriel de 197
- Tawney, R. H. 201
- Terror *see* French Revolution
- Thiers, Adolphe 79–82, 105–7, 109, 110, 112, 114, 117, 118, 126
- Third Republic 93, 111, 118, 121, 179, 194
- Thrift 41, 163, 168, 169, 182–3, 185
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 3–5, 9, 12, 40, 44, 46, 99, 105–6, 108, 114, 119, 153, 157–60, 164, 170, 200, 202–4
- Trevelyan, George O. 136–7
- Unruh, Fritz v. 143
- Utopia, Utopian 4, 48, 196
- Virtue 4, 16, 39, 101, 182
- Voltaire 1
- Vormärz 9, 51–4, 56–8, 60–1, 64, 65, 73, 75, 78, 94, 97
- Waitz, Georg 67–9, 72, 75
- Waldeck, Benedikt 76, 95, 97–9, 101, 142, 144, 145
- Watershed 14, 16, 154, 179, 180, 183, 188
- Weber, Max 142, 153, 197
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich 93, 94, 160, 161, 165, 181, 184
- Welcker, K. T. 52, 53, 55, 56, 69
- Whig 11, 21–3, 25, 89, 91, 128, 129, 175
- Windthorst, Ludwig 146
- Woman, women *see* Gender
- Woolf, Virginia 179, 180