

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### WORKS

- Almond, Gabriel, and Sydney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 562 pages.
- Audard, Catherine, ed. 1993. *Le respect. De l'estime à la déférence: une question de limite*. Editions Autrement, série Morales no. 10, 219 pages, pp. 19–34, 88–127, 146–162, 177–202.
- Bagehot, Walter. 1867. The English Constitution. In *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot*, ed. Norman St John-Stevas, London, *The Economist*, 1965–1986, 15 volumes, vol. 5, pp. 161–409.
- . 1872. Physics and Politics or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of ‘Natural Selection’ and ‘Inheritance’ to Political Society. In *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot*, ed. Norman St John-Stevas. London, *The Economist*, 1965–1986, 15 volumes, vol. 7, pp. 13–144.
- Beer, Samuel H., and Adam Ulan, eds. 1965. *Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe* (1958), New York: Random House, xvii–780 pages, pp. 73–99.
- Birch, A.H. 1964. *Representative and Responsible Government: An Essay on the British Constitution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 252 pages.
- Butler, David, and Donald Stokes. 1971. *Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice*, viii–279. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Dicey, A.V. 1886. *England's Case against Home Rule*, viii–311. London: J. Murray.
- . 1893. *A Leap in the Dark; or, Our New Constitution*, xii–239. London: J. Murray.
- . 1909. *Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women*, vii–93. London: J. Murray.
- . 1913. *A Fool's Paradise, Being a Constitutionalist's Criticism of the Home Rule Bill of 1912*, x–132. London: J. Murray.
- . 1982. *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (1885). Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 8th ed., 1915, cxlviii–435 pages.
- . 2008. *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (1905). Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Vande Wetering. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund. Accessed 10 August 2016. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2119>.
- Goldthorpe, J.H., et al. 1969. *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, viii–239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hewart of Bury, Lord. 1929. *The New Despotism*, vii–308. London: Ernest Benn Limited.
- Jennings, Sir Ivor. 1955. *The Law and the Constitution* (1933). London: University of London Press (Based on the 4th ed.), xix–327.
- . 1964. *The Queen's Government (1954)*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 158 pages.
- . 1968. *The British Constitution (1941)*, xi–218. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jessop, Bob. 2011. *Traditionalism, Conservatism and British Political Culture (1974)*. London: Routledge Revivals. 287 pages.
- Mazur, Allan. 2005. *Biosociology of Dominance and Deference*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. 184 pages.
- McKenzie, R.T., and A. Silver. 1968. *Angels in Marble. Working-Class Conservatives in Urban England 1958–1960*, xi–295. London: Heinemann.
- Moore, David Cresap. 1976. *The Politics of Deference. A Study of the Mid-Nineteenth Century English Political System*. Hassocks: The Harvester Press. 529 pages.
- Newby, Howard. 1977. *The Deferential Worker. A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 462 pages.
- Nordlinger, Eric A. 1967. *The Working-Class Tories. Authority, Deference and Stable Democracy*. Worcester and London: Macgibbon and Kee. 276 pages.
- Nossiter, T.J. 1975a. *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-East, 1832–74*. Hassocks: Sussex. 322 pages.
- Shils, Edward. 1972. *The Constitution of Society*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982, xxx–383.
- Soper, Philip. 2002. *The Ethics of Deference. Learning from Law's Morals*, xvi–189. Cambridge University Press.

- Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, Florence. 2018. *Class, Politics and the Decline of Deference in England, 1968–2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 262 pages.
- Tamarkin, Elisa. 2007. *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America*. University of Chicago Press. 400 pages.

## ARTICLES

- Alexander, John K. 1978. Deference in Colonial Pennsylvania and That Man from New Jersey. *Pennsylvania Magazine History and Biography* 102 (4): 422–436.
- . 2005. Reflections on Political Deference in Early America: Let's Meet at the Graveside. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 383–401.
- Allan, T.R.S. 2006. Human Rights and Judicial Review: A Critique of 'Due Deference'. *The Cambridge Law Journal* 65 (3): 671–695.
- Anderson, Cameron, et al. 2012. The Origins of Deference: When do People Prefer Lower Status? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102 (5): 1077–1088.
- Ansart, Pierre. 2000. La déférence ou le refus du pouvoir. *Communications* 69: 251–268.
- Arblaster, Anthony. 1994. The Fall of the House of Windsor. *New Left Review* I (208): 127–132.
- Beeman, Richard R. 1992. Deference, Republicanism, and the Emergence of Popular Politics in Eighteenth-Century America. *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series* 49 (3): 401–430.
- . 2005. The Varieties of Deference in Eighteenth-Century America. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 311–340.
- Bell, Colin, and Howard Newby. 1973. The Sources of Variation in Agricultural Workers' Images of Society. *Sociological Review* XXI (2): 229–253.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 2015a. The Crisis of the Constitution. *New Statesman*, 23 April. Accessed 3 August 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/04/vernon-bogdanor-crisis-constitution>.
- . 2015b. Magna Carta: The Competing Forces That Cry Out for a Constitutional Convention. *The Independent*, 14 June. Accessed 7 August 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/magna-carda-the-competing-forces-that-cry-out-for-a-constitutional-convention-10319520.html>.
- Buchanan, James M., and Viktor Vanberg. 1989. A Theory of Leadership and Deference in Constitutional Construction. *Public Choice* 61 (1): 15–27.
- Clark Smith, Barbara. 2005. Beyond the Vote: The Limits of Deference in Colonial Politics. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 341–362.

- Clayton, Richard. n.d. Principles for Judicial Deference. Accessed 2 June 2017. <https://fr.scribd.com/document/22572365/PRINCIPLES-FOR-JUDICIAL-DEFERENCE>.
- Crossman, Richard. 1993. Introduction (1963). In *The English Constitution*, ed. Walter Bagehot, 1–57. London: Fontana Press.
- Davis, Richard W. 1976a. The Mid-Nineteenth Century Electoral Structure. *Albion* 8: 142–153.
- . 1976b. Deference and Aristocracy in the Time of the Great Reform Act. *The American Historical Review* 81 (3): 532–539.
- . 1978. The Whigs and the Idea of Electoral Deference: Some Further Thoughts on the Great Reform Act. *Durham University Journal* 67 (1): 79–91.
- Devisch, Ignaas. 2011. The Progress of Society: An Inquiry into an ‘Old-Fashioned’ Thesis of Walter Bagehot. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 19 (3): 519–541.
- Dyzenhaus, David. 1997. The Politics of Deference: Judicial Review and Democracy. In *The Province of Administrative Law*, ed. M. Taggart, 279–307. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Eastwood, David. 1997. Contesting the Politics of Deference: The Rural Electorate, 1820–60. In *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820*, ed. Jon Lawrence and Miles Taylor, 27–49. Aldershot: Scholar Press.
- Enriquez, Eugène. 2000. L’effacement de la déférence dans les sociétés démocratiques. *Communications* 69: 191–200.
- Erickson, Lynda. 1977. Youth and Political Deference in England. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne De Science Politique* 10 (3): 573–595.
- Fisher, J.R. 1981. The Limits of Deference: Agricultural Communities in a Mid-Nineteenth Century Election Campaign. *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1): 90–105.
- Formisano, Ronald P. 1974. Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic’s Political Culture, 1789–1840. *The American Political Science Review* 68 (2): 473–487.
- Fortunet, Françoise. 2000. La Révolution, la déférence et l’égalité. *Communications* 69: 105–113.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. The Nature of Deference and Demeanor. *American Anthropologist* 58: 473–502. (Also in *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967, pp. 47–96).
- Goldhamer, Herbert, and Edward A. Sils. 1939. Types of Power and Status. *American Journal of Sociology* 5 (2): 171–182.
- Gross, Robert A. 1998. The Impudent Historian: Challenging Deference in Early America. *Journal of American History* 85 (1): 92–97.
- Guglielmi, Giles J. 2000. Des marques de déférence épistolaires au fondement du droit. *Communications* 69: 173–189.

- Haroche, Claudine. 2000. Le comportement de deference. *Communications* 69: 5–26.
- Jowell, Jeffrey. 2003. Judicial Deference: Servility, Civility or Institutional Capacity? *Public Law* (Winter): 592–601.
- Joyce, James M. 2007. Epistemic Deference: The Case of Chance. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, New Series* 107: 187–206.
- Kavanagh, Dennis. 1971. The Deferential English: A Comparative Critique. *Government and Opposition* 6 (3): 333–360.
- . 1974. An American Science of British Politics. *Political Studies* 22 (3): 251–270.
- Kavanagh, Aileen. 2010a. Defending Deference in Public Law and Constitutional Theory. *Law Quarterly Review Issue* 126: 222–250.
- . 2010b. Judicial Restraint in the Pursuit of Justice. *University of Toronto Law Journal* 60 (1): 23–40.
- Kirby, John B. 1970. Early American Politics—The Search for Ideology: An Historiographical Analysis and Critique of the Concept of ‘Deference’. *The Journal of Politics* 32 (4): 808–838.
- Kolers, Avery. 2005. Justice and the Politics of Deference. *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 13 (2): 153–173.
- Koubi, Geneviève. 2000. La déférence, un devoir sans droit ? *Communications* 69: 201–214.
- Kwaadsteniet, Eric W. de, and Eric van Dijk. 2010. Social Status as a Cue for Tacit Coordination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46: 515–525.
- Laird, Frank N. 1989. The Decline of Deference: The Political Context of Risk Communication. *Risk Analysis* 9 (4): 543–550.
- Leggett, John C., and Gerhard E. Lenski. 1960. Caste, Class, and Deference in the Research Interview. *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (5): 463–467.
- Lenski, Gerhard E., and John C. Leggett. 1960. Class, Caste, and Deference in the Research Interview. *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (5): 463–467.
- Lipset, S.M. 1960. Must Tories Always Triumph? *Socialist Commentary* (November): 10–14.
- McDowell, Linda. 2007. Respect, Deference, Respectability and Place: What Is the Problem with/for Working Class Boys? *Geoforum* 38: 276–286.
- Middleton, Simon. 2005. Deference and Class: A Comment on Michael Zuckerman, Gregory Nobles, and John Smolenski. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 303–310.
- Moore, David Cresap. 1961. The Other Face of Reform. *Victorian Studies* 5: 7–34.
- . 1966. Concession or Cure: The Sociological Premises of the First Reform Act. *The Historical Journal* 9 (1): 39–59.
- . 1967. Social Structure, Political Structure, and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian England. In *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain*, ed. Robert Robson, 20–58. New York: Barnes and Noble.

- Newby, Howard. 1972. Agricultural Workers in the Class Structure. *Sociological Review* XX (3): 413–439.
- . 1975. The Deferential Dialectic. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (2): 139–164.
- Nobles, Gregory. 2005. A Class Act. Redefining Deference in Early American History. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 286–302.
- O’Gorman, Frank. 1984. Electoral Deference in ‘Unreformed’ England: 1760–1832. *The Journal of Modern History* 56 (3): 391–429.
- O’Hara, Jonathan. 2010. Carving a Space for Elite Republicanism: Hierarchy, Deference and Paternalism in American Political Development. *Europolis, Journal of Political Science and Theory* 4 (2): 201–225.
- Olson, Alison. 2005. Political Humor, Deference, and the American Revolution. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 363–382.
- Parkin, Frank. 1967. Working-Class Conservatives: A Theory of Political Deviance. *The British Journal of Sociology* 18: 278–290.
- Phillips, John A. 1979. The Structure of Electoral Politics in Unreformed England. *Journal of British Studies* XIX: 76–100.
- . 1989. The Social Calculus: Deference and Defiance in Later Georgian England. *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 21 (3): 426–449.
- Pocock, J.G.A. 1960. Burke and the Ancient Constitution—A Problem in the History of Ideas. *The Historical Journal* 3 (2): 125–143.
- . 1976. The Classical Theory of Deference. *The American Historical Review* 81 (3): 516–523.
- Pole, J.R. 1962. Historians and the Problems of Early American Democracy. *American Historical Review* 67: 626–646.
- . 2001. Walter Bagehot on Deference: An American Source? *American Nineteenth Century History* 2 (2): 104–109.
- Ray, John. 1972. The Measurement of Political Deference—Some Australian Data. *British Journal of Political Science* 2 (2): 244–251.
- Ray, J.J., and F.H. Lovejoy. 1990. Does Attitude to Authority Exist? *Personality and Individual Differences* 11 (8): 765–769.
- Richards, Howard. 1964. Deference. *Ethics* 74 (2): 135–142.
- Rose, Richard, and Harvé Mossawir. 1967. Voting and Elections: A Functional Analysis. *Political Studies* 15 (2): 173–201.
- Samuel, Raphael. 1960. The Deference Voter. *New Left Review* I (1): 9–13.
- Scheff, Thomas J. 1988. Shame and Conformity: The Deference-Emotion System. *American Sociological Review* 53 (3): 395–406.
- Shils, Edward. 1968. Deference. In *The Constitution of Society* (1972). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, xxx–383 pages, pp. 143–75.

- Smith, Billy G. 2005. Deference in Early America. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 227–231.
- Smolenski, John. 2005. From Men of Property to Just Men: Deference, Masculinity and the Evolution of Political Discourse in Early America. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 253–285.
- Spring, David. 1976. Walter Bagehot and Deference. *The American Historical Review* 81 (3): 524–531.
- Stalnaker, Aaron. n.d. Confucianism, Democracy, and the Virtue of Deference. *Dao* 12: 441–459.
- Stapleton, Julia. 1999. Political Thought, Elites, and the State in Modern Britain. *The Historical Journal* 42 (1): 251–268.
- Tegos, Spyridon. 2021. Deference to Authority in Adam Smith. *The Adam Smith Review* 12, edited by Fonna Forman (forthcoming).
- Therborn, Göran. 2001. Into the 21st Century. *New Left Review* 10: 87–110.
- Watkins, Alan. 1970. The Death of Deference. *New Statesman*, 9 January, p. 35.
- Westlund, Andrea C. 2013. Deference as a Normative Power. *Philosophical Studies* 166 (3): 455–474.
- Woodfield, Andrew. 2000. Reference and Deference. *Mind and Language* 15 (4): 433–451.
- Young, Alison. 2009. In Defence of Due Deference. *Modern Law Review* 72 (4): 554–580.
- Zuckerman, Michael. 1998. Tocqueville, Turner, and Turds: Four Stories of Manners in Early America. *Journal of American History* 85 (1): 13–42.
- . 2005. Endangered Deference, Imperiled Patriarchy: Tales from the Marchlands. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2): 232–252.

### ONLINE RESOURCES (REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS)

- Report by Sir Thomas Legg. 2010. Review of Past Additional Costs Allowance Payment, 1 Feb. Accessed 10 August 2015. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmmemest/348/app1.pdf>.
- The Cabinet Manual*. 2011. *A Guide to Laws, Conventions and Rules on the Operation of Government*. Accessed 10 August 2015. [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/60641/cabinet-manual.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/60641/cabinet-manual.pdf).

## SECONDARY SOURCES

## WORKS: CLASSICAL TEXTS

- Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg. 1985. *Selected Writings of Lord Acton, Essays in the History of Liberty*. Vol. 1. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics.
- Arnold, Matthew. 1903. *Mixed Essays (1879)*, x–347. London: John Murray.
- . 2009. *Culture and Anarchy (1869)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 272 pages.
- Asquith, K.G. 1926. *Fifty Years of British Parliament*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 2 volumes.
- Balfour, Arthur. 1974. Introduction (1927). In *The English Constitution (1867)*, ed. Walter Bagehot, v–xxvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berlin, Isaiah. 1969. *Four Essays on Liberty*, lxiii–213. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blackstone, Sir William. 1893. *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co. Accessed 20 May 2019. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2141>.
- Boutmy, Emile. 1885. *Etude de droit constitutionnel. France-Angleterre-Etats-Unis*, iv–273. Paris: Armand Collin.
- Burke, Edmund. 1992. Letter to a Noble Lord (1796). In *Further Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Daniel E. Ritchie, 279–326. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- . 1999. Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790). In *Select Works of Edmund Burke*, vol. 2, xxxiii–476. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Butterfield, Herbert. 1944. *The Englishman and His History*, x–142. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1965. *The Whig Interpretation of History (1931)*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 144 pages.
- Darwin, Charles. 1871. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. London: John Murray.
- Filmer, Robert. 1949. *Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer*. Edited by Peter Laslett. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 326 pages.
- Freeman, Edward A. 1873. *The Growth of the English Constitution from the Earliest Times*, xvi–230. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Gisborne, Thomas. 1824. *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great-Britain Resulting from Their Respective Stations, Professions, Employments (1798)*. London: T. Cadell. 2 volumes.
- Harrington, James. 1992. *The Commonwealth of Oceana and A System of Politics*. Edited by J. G. A. Pocock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 332 pages.
- Hegel, G.W.F. 1896. *Philosophy of Right*, xiii–365. London: George Bell and Sons.



- Hume, David. 1896. *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Accessed 21 May 2019. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/342>.
- . 1987. *Essays Moral, Political, Literary*. Edited and with a Foreword, Notes, and Glossary by Eugene F. Miller, with an Appendix of Variant Readings from the 1889 Edition by T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, Revised Edition. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Locke, John. 1960. *Two Treatises of Government*. Edited by Peter Laslett, xiv–521. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Machiavelli, Niccoló. 2008. *Discourses on Livy*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. Oxford: Oxford University Press (First Published in 1997), xxxi–414.
- Maine, Henry. 1887. *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society and Its Relations to Modern Ideas (1861)*, x–415. London: John Murray.
- Maitland, F.W. 1919. *The Constitutional History of England. A Course of Lectures Delivered (1908)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, xxviii–548.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1873. *Autobiography*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 338 pages.
- . 1978. *On Liberty (1859)*, xxiii–113. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Montesquieu, Esprit des lois (1758). 1995. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, tome I, 604 pages and tome II, 1627 pages.
- Smith, Adam. 1976. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759)*, x–412. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Spencer, Herbert. 1883. *Ceremonial Institutions. Being Part IV of the Principles of Sociology (1879)*. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 246 pages.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2010. *Democracy in America: Historical-Critical Edition of De la démocratie en Amérique*. Edited by Eduardo Nolla, Translated from the French by James T. Schleifer. A Bilingual French–English edition. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 4 vols. 19/08/2017. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2284>.

## WORKS

- Addison, Paul. 1994. *The Road to 1945. British Politics and the Second World War (1975)*. London: Pimlico. 368 pages.
- Allan, T.R. 1993. *Law, Liberty and Justice: The Foundations of British Constitutionalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, xxii, 294 pages.
- Allan, Trevor. 2003. *Constitutional Justice: A Liberal Theory of the Rule of Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 331 pages.
- Armitage, David. 2006. *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500–1800*, xi–326. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aughey, Arthur. 2001. *Nationalism, Devolution and the Challenge to the United Kingdom State*, xii–209. London and Sterling: Pluto Press.

- Barnett, Anthony, ed. 1994. *Power and the Throne, the Monarchy Debate*. London: Vintage. 256 pages.
- Barnett, Correlli. 1995. *The Lost Victory: British Dreams, British Realities, 1945–1950*, xii–513. London: Faber and Faber.
- Barnett, Anthony. 1997. *This Time: Our Constitutional Revolution*. London: Vintage. pp. xi–371.
- Beckett, Francis. 2010. *What Did the Baby Boomers Ever Do for Us? Why the Children of the Sixties Lived the Dream and Failed the Future*. London: Biteback. pp. xvi–218.
- Becquemont, Daniel, and Laurent Mucchielli. 1998. *Le cas Spencer*, ix–358. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, collection ‘Science, histoire et société’.
- Bellamy, Richard. 1999. *Liberalism and Pluralism: Towards a Politics of Compromise*. London: Routledge. 256 pages.
- . 2007. *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 282 pages.
- Best, Geoffrey. 1985. *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–75 (1971)*. London: Fontana Press. 350 pages.
- Bevan, Aneurin. 1952. *In Place of Fear*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 213 pages.
- Billig, Michael. 1992. *Talking of the Royal Family*, x–244. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bingham, Tom. 2010. *The Rule of Law*. London: Penguin Global. 224 pages.
- Birch, A.H. 1967. *The British System of Government*. London: Allen and Unwin. 264 pages.
- Bogdanor, Vernon. 1995. *The Monarchy and the Constitution*, x–328. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1997. *Power and the People. A Guide to Constitutional Reform*. London: Victor Gollancz. 216 pages.
- , ed. 2003. *The British Constitution in the Twentieth Century*, xvi–795. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009. *The New British Constitution*, xiii–319. Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing.
- . 2019. *Beyond Brexit. Towards a British Constitution*, xii–285. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Bourke, Richard. 2015. *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke*. New York: Princeton University Press. 1001 pages.
- Bourke, Richard, and Raymond Geuss. 2009. *Political Judgement: Essays for John Dunn*, viii–368. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradford, Sarah. 2011. *Queen Elizabeth II: Her life in Our Times*. New York: Viking. 320 pages.
- Brendon, Piers. 1986. *Our Own Dear Queen*. London: London, Secker and Warburg. 244 pages.

- Bryan, J., and Charles J.V. Murphy. 1979. *The Windsor Story*, xvii–602. London, Toronto, Sydney and New York: Granada.
- Buchan, Alastair. 1959. *The Spare Chancellor: The Life of Walter Bagehot*. London: Chatto and Windus. 287 pages.
- Burrow, John. 2008a. *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past (1981)*, x–308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2008b. *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century*, xviii–517. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Butler, Lord. 1971. *The Art of the Possible: The memoirs of Lord Butler*. London: Hamish Hamilton. 274 pages.
- Campbell, John. 2001/2004. *Margaret Thatcher*. London: Pimlico, vol. 1: *The Grocer's Daughter* (2001). 520 pages and vol. 2: *The Iron Lady* (2004), xiv–913 pages.
- Cannadine, David. 1999a. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy (1990)*, xv–813. New York: Vintage Books.
- . 1999b. *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, xv–293. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2000. *Class in Britain (1998)*, xiii–249. London: Penguin Books.
- Clark, J.C.D. 2000. *English Society, 1660–1832. Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Régime (1985)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 580 pages.
- Clarke, P.F. 1971. *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, ix–472. Cambridge: University Press.
- Cohen, Nick. 2009. *Waiting for the Etonians: Reports from the Sickbed of Liberal England*, xii–383. London: Fourth Estate.
- Collini, Stefan. 1991. *Public Moralists. Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 383 pages.
- , ed. 2000. *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 300 pages.
- . 2008. *Common Reading. Critics, Historians, Publics*, viii–368. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009. *Liberalism and Sociology. L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England 1880–1914 (1979)*, viii–281. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collini, Stefan, et al. 1983. *That Noble Science of Politics. A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History*, x–385. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collini, Stefan, Richard Whatmore, and Brian Young, eds. 2000. *Economy, Polity, and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 292 pages.
- Comstock Weston, Corinne. 1995. *The House of Lords and Ideological Politics: Lord Salisbury's Referendal Theory and the Conservative Party, 1846–1922*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 242 pages.

- Cosgrove, Richard A. 1980. *The Rule of Law: Albert Venn Dicey, Victorian Jurist*, iv–319. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Crosby, Travis L. 2014. *The Unknown David Lloyd George: A Statesman in Conflict*, xvii–537. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Crossman, Richard. 1972. *Inside View. Three Lectures on Prime Ministerial Government (The Godkin Lectures at Harvard University 1970)*. London: Jonathan Cape. 117 pages.
- Denning, Lord. 1949. *Freedom under the Law (1947)*, viii–126. London: Stevens and Sons.
- Dudley Edwards, Ruth. 1993. *The Pursuit of Reason. The Economist (1843–1993)*, xix–1020. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Dugdale, Blanche. 1936. *Arthur James Balfour*. London: Hutchinson. 2 volumes.
- Du Parcq, Herbert, ed. 1912. *Life of David Lloyd George*. London: Caxton Publishing Company, Vol. IV (Speeches), vi–841 pages.
- Ellenberger, Nancy W. 2015. *Balfour's World: Aristocracy and Political Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press. 430 pages.
- Elliott, Larry, and Dan Atkinson. 1998. *The Age of Insecurity*. London and New York: Verso. 312 pages.
- Ewin, Keith, and C.A. Gearty. 2000. *The Struggles for Civil Liberties. Political Freedom and the Rule of Law in Britain, 1914–1945*, xvii–451. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ewing, Keith. 2007. *The Cost of Democracy: Party Funding in Modern British Politics*, xiv–279. Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing.
- Fawcett, Edmund. 2014. *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea*, xvi–468. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Feuchtwanger, E.J. 1968. *Disraeli Democracy and the Tory Party: Conservative Leadership and Organization after the Second Reform Bill*, xiv–268. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Foley, Michael. 2000. *The British Presidency: Tony Blair and the Politics of Public Leadership*, x–374. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Forsyth, Christopher, and William Wade. 2014. *Administrative Law*. 11th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 958 pages.
- Friedenberg, Edgar Z. 1980. *Deference to Authority. The Case of Canada*. New York: M. E. Sharpe. 170 pages.
- Galligan, Denis J., and Mila Versteeg. 2015. *Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 694 pages.
- van Gelderen, Martin, and Quentin Skinner, eds. 2002. *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, Richard. 2010. *Repairing British Politics: A Blueprint for Constitutional Change*, xxiii–173. Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing.
- Gough, J.W. 1961. *Fundamental Law in English Constitutional History (1955)*, ix–239. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Griswold, Charles. 1999. *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment*, xiv–412. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gruszczynski, Lukasz, and Wouter Werner, eds. 2014. *Deference in International Courts and Tribunals: Standard of Review and Margin of Appreciation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 464 pages.
- Haakonssen, Knud. 1981. *The Science of a Legislator. The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith*, viii–240. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hailsham, Lord. 1976. *Elective Dictatorship*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, Richard Dimpleby Lecture. 17 pages.
- . 1978. *The Dilemma of Democracy. Diagnosis and Prescription*. London: Collins. 238 pages.
- Hanham, H.J. 1969. *The Nineteenth-Century Constitution, 1815–1914*, xxiv–486. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hardman, Robert. 2012. *Our Queen (2011)*, xi–372. London: Arrow Books.
- Harper, Sue, and Vincent Porter. 2003. *British Cinema of the 1950s: The Decline of Deference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 440 pages.
- Harris, José. 1994. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914*, xi–283. London: Penguin.
- Harrison, Brian. 1982. *Peaceable Kingdom. Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, x–493. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1996. *The Transformation of British Politics, 1860–1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 618 pages.
- Hascler, Stephen. 1993. *The End of the House of Windsor: Birth of a British Republic*, vi–208. London and New York: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd.
- Hattersley, Roy. 2010. *David Lloyd George: The Great Outsider*. Little, Brown and Company. 720 pages.
- Hawkins, Angus. 2015. *Victorian Political Culture: ‘Habits of Heart and Mind’*, xi–428. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heffer, Simon. 1999. *Nor Shall My Sword: The Reinvention of England*, vii–137. London: Phoenix.
- Hennessy, Peter. 1996. *The Hidden Wiring. Unearthing the British Constitution (1995)*, x–278. London: Indigo.
- Hoggart, Richard. 1957. *The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture*. London: Chatto and Windus. 319 pages.
- Hont, Istvan. 2015. *Politics in Commercial Society. Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith*, xix–138. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Hoppen, K. Theodore. 2000. *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846–1886*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 824 pages.
- Hutcheon, William, ed. 1914. *Whigs and Whiggism. Political Writings by Benjamin Disraeli*, viii–476. New York: Macmillan Company.
- Hutton, Will. 1996. *The State We’re In (1995)*, xxix–370. London: Vintage.

- Irvine, William. 1970. *Walter Bagehot (1939)*. Hamden: Archon Books. 303 pages.
- James, Robert Rhodes. 1991. *Robert Boothby: A Portrait of Churchill's Ally*. New York: Viking. 476 pages.
- Johnson, Nevil. 1977. *In Search of the Constitution: Reflections on State and Society in Britain*, ix–239. Oxford and New York: Permagon Press.
- . 2004. *Reshaping the British Constitution. Essays in Political Interpretation*, xii–324. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jones, H.S. 2000. *Victorian Political Thought*, xv–142. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Kahan, Alan S. 2001. *Aristocratic Liberalism: The Social and Political Thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville*, viii–242. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- . 2003. *Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Europe. The Political Culture of Limited Suffrage*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 239 pages.
- . 2015. *Tocqueville, Democracy, and Religion. Checks and Balances for Democratic Souls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 256 pages.
- Kelley, Donald. 2002. *The Descent of Ideas: The History of Intellectual History*. Aldershot: Ashgate. pp. vii–320.
- Kellner, Peter, ed. 2009. *Democracy. 1,000 Years in Pursuit of British Liberty*. Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing. 540 pages.
- Kenny, Michael, et al. 2018. *Governing England. English Identity and Institutions in a Changing United Kingdom*, xvi–291. Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy.
- King, Alison Jill. 2007. *Domestic Service in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Deference and Disdain*, xi–214. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- King, Anthony. 2010. *The British Constitution (2007)*, x–437. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kinnear, Michael. 1973. *The Fall of Lloyd George. The Political Crisis of 1922*, xv–317. London and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. 2002. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 384 pages.
- Laski, Harold. 1945. *Parliamentary Government in England (1938)*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 543 pages.
- . 1950. *A Grammar of Politics (1925)*, ix–672. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Le May, G.H.L. 1979. *The Victorian Constitution. Conventions, Usages and Contingencies*, viii–243. London: Duckworth.
- Legg, Andrew. 2012. *The Margin of Appreciation in International Human Rights Law: Deference and Proportionality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Monographs in International Law. 251 pages.
- Loughlin, Martin. 1992. *Public Law and Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 304 pages.

- . 2013. *The British Constitution. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 135 pages.
- MacArthur, Brian, ed. 1999. *The Penguin Book of Twentieth-Century Speeches (1992)*, xxix–525. London: Penguin.
- MacCormick, Neil. 1999. *Questioning Sovereignty. Law, State, and Nation in the European Commonwealth*, x–210. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacGovern, William Montgomery. 1941. *From Luther to Hitler: The History of Fascist-Nazi Political Philosophy*, xiv–683. Boston, New York, Chicago, Dallas, Atlanta and San Francisco: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Mackintosh, John P. 1962. *The British Cabinet*, xi–546. London: Stevens and Sons Limited.
- Marquand, David. 1988. *The Unprincipled Society: New Demands and Old Politics*, viii–292. London: Cape.
- . 2008. *Britain Since 1918. The Strange Career of British Democracy*, xv–477. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Marriott, J.A.R. 1925. *English Political Institutions. An Introductory Study (1910)*, lii–351. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Marsh, David, and R.A.W. Rhodes, eds. 1992. *Implementing Thatcherite Policies: Audit of an Era*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. 212 pages.
- Marshall, Catherine et al. 2015. *The Papers of the Metaphysical Society (1869–1880). A Critical Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3 volumes, 1488 pages.
- Martin, Kingsley. 1962. *The Crown and the Establishment*. London: Hutchinson of London. 192 pages.
- Matthew, H.C.G. 2001. *Gladstone 1809–1898 (1997)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 706 pages.
- Mazur, Allan. 2005b. *Biosociology of Dominance and Deference*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.. 184 pages.
- McKibbin, Ross. 1974. *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910–1924*, xviii–261. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McLean, Kirsty. 2009. *Constitutional Deference, Courts and Socio-Economic Rights in South Africa*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Press. 246 pages.
- McLean, Iain. 2010. *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* vi–384. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McMahon, Darrin M., and Samuel Moyn, eds. 2014. *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 320 pages.
- Meadowcroft, James. 1995. *Conceptualizing the State. Innovation and Dispute in British Political Thought 1880–1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 264 pages.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. 1985. *Labour in Power 1945–1951 (1984)*, xi–546. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mount, Ferdinand. 1992. *The British Constitution Now. Recovery or Decline?* viii–289. London: Heinemann.



- Murray-Brown, Jeremy, ed. 1969. *The Monarchy and Its Future*, x–227. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Nairn, Tom. 1988. *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy*. London: Hutchinson Radius. 414 pages.
- . 2001. *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland (2000)*, xi–324. London: Granta Books.
- Nash, Gary B. 1979. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*, xv–548. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Neville, Robert Cummings. 2008. *Ritual and Deference: Extending Chinese Philosophy in a Comparative Context*. New York: State University of New York, Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. 202 pages.
- Nicolson, Harold. 1952. *King George V. His Life and Reign*, xxiii–570. London: Constable.
- Norton, Philip. 1986. *The Constitution in Flux (1982)*, vii–312. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Nossiter, T.J. 1975b. *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North-East, 1832–74*, xii–255. Hassocks: Harvester Press.
- Oakeshott, Michael. 1991. *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*, xxvi–556. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. 1993. *The Revolt of the Masses (1930)*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company. 190 pages.
- Parkin, Frank. 1971. *Class Inequality and Political Order. Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies*. London: MacGibbon and Kee. 205 pages.
- Parry, Jonathan Philip. 2006. *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1886*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 436 pages.
- Paxman, Jeremy. 2007. *The English (1998)*, ix–309. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Pettit, Philip. 1999. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 328 pages.
- . 2014. *On the People's Terms. A Republican Theory of Model of Democracy (2012)*, xii–338. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pocock, J.G.A. 1975. *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, x–602. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1987. *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law. A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth century (A Reissue with a Retrospect) (1957)*, xv–402. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2009. *Political Thought and History. Essays on Theory and Method*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 296 pages.



- Porter, Bernard. 2004. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain. What the British Really Thought about Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 475 pages.
- Prochaska, Frank. 2001. *The Republic of Britain 1760–2000 (2000)*, xii–293. London: Penguin Books.
- Rokkan, Stein, and Derek Urwin, eds. 1982. *The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in European Regionalism*. London: Sage. 438 pages.
- Rose, Kenneth. 1983. *George V*, xii–516. London: Phoenix Press.
- Runciman, W.G. 1966. *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England*, xiv–338. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Scarman, Leslie. 1974. *English Law—The New Dimension*, xi–88. London: Stevens and Sons Ltd., Hamlyn Lectures.
- Scott, Jonathan. 2004. *Commonwealth Principles. Republican Writing of the English Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 416 pages.
- Sedley, Sir Stephen. 1999. *Freedom, Law and Justice*, xiv–59. London: Sweet and Maxwell, Hamlyn Lectures.
- Sisson, C.H. 1972. *The Case of Walter Bagehot*. London: Faber and Faber. 143 pages.
- Skinner, Quentin. 2002. *Visions of Politics. Volume I: Regarding Method*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 225 pages.
- . 2014. *Liberty before Liberalism (1998)*, xiv–142. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Skinner, Quentin, and Yves-Charles Zarka. 2001. *Hobbes: The Amsterdam Debate*. Edited and Introduced by Hans Blom, Goerg Olms Verlag, 88 pages.
- St John, Ian. 2010. *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics*, xiv–243. London and New York: Anthem Press.
- St John Stevas, Norman, ed. 1965–1986. *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot: Volumes 1–15*. The Economist/Harvard University Press.
- Stapleton, Julia, ed. 1997. *Liberalism, Democracy and the State in Britain: Five Essays (1862–1891)*. Bristol: Thoemmes Press. 168 pages.
- Steele, David. 1999. *Lord Salisbury. A Political Biography*, xv–455. London: UCL Press.
- Sunkin, Maurice, and Sebastian Payne, eds. 1999. *The Nature of the Crown: A Legal and Political Analysis*, xxv–368. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sutherland, Keith, ed. 2000. *The Rape of the Constitution*, xiii–368. Thoverton: Imprint Academic.
- Thatcher, Margaret. 1993. *The Downing Street Years*, xi–914. London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Therborn, Göran. 2010. *From Marxism to Post-Marxism?* xi–194. London: Verso.
- Thomas, Hugh, ed. 1962. *The Establishment (1959)*. London: Anthony Blond. 192 pages.

- Thomas, E.W. 2005. *The Judicial Process: Realism, Pragmatism, Practical Reasoning and Principles*, xv–420. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, E.P., ed. 1960. *Out of Apathy*. London: Stevens and Sons. 308 pages.
- Tomkins, Adam. 2003a. *Public Law*, ix–231. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trahair, Richard C.S. 1994. *From Aristotelian to Reaganomics: A Dictionary of Eponyms with Biographies in the Social Sciences*. Westport and London: Greenwood Press. 723 pages.
- Tully, James, ed. 1988. *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, xii–353. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tully, Alan. 1994. *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania*, xv–566. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vernon, James. 1993. *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867*, xvii–429. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walden, George. 2006. *New Elites: A Career in the Masses*. London: Gibson Square. (New Edition), 304 pages.
- Waldron, Jeremy. 2016. *Political Theory: Essays in Institutions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 416 pages.
- Wheeler-Bennett, John W. 1958. *King George VI: His Life and Reign*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 891 pages.
- Wicks, Elizabeth. 2006. *The Evolution of the Constitution: Eight Moments in British Constitutional History*, viii–224. Oxford: Hart.
- Wilson, Edgar. 1989a. *The Myth of British Monarchy*, x–227. London: Republic.
- Winch, Donald. 1996. *Riches and Poverty. An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750–1834*, xi–428. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Young, Wayland. 1963. *The Profumo Affair: Aspects Conservatism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 117 pages.
- Zetland, Marquess of. 1956. *Essayez, The Memoirs of Lawrence, Second Marquess of Zetland*. London: John Murray. 306 pages.

## ARTICLES

- Armitage, David. n.d. What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the *Longue Durée*. *History of European Ideas* 38 (4): 493–507.
- Barker, Sir Ernest. 1915. The Scientific School after Spencer. In *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day*, 131–161. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Barzun, Jacques. 1948. Introduction. In *Physics and Politics or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'Natural Selection' and 'Inheritance' to Political Society (1872)*, ed. Walter Bagehot, v–xxvi. New York: Alfred A Knopf.

- Becquemont, Daniel. 1996. Darwinisme social. In *Dictionnaire du darwinisme et de l'évolution*, ed. Patrick Tort, 1108–1119. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Beer, Samuel. 1974. Tradition and Nationality: A Classic Revisited. *American Political Science Review* 68: 1292–1295.
- Bevir, Mark. 2000. Republicanism, Socialism, and Democracy: The Origins of the Radical Left. In *Republicanism in Victorian Society*, ed. David Nash and Antony Taylor, 73–90. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- Bradley, Anthony W. 2004. Sir William Ivor Jennings, A Centennial Paper. *Modern Law Review* 67 (5): 716–733.
- Breckman, Warren. 2014. Intellectual History and the Interdisciplinary Ideal. In *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, ed. Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn, 275–293. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Churchill, Winston. 1936. What Good's a Constitution? Our Heritage of Freedom. *Collier's* 22: 386–393.
- Collini, Stephen. 2016. The Identity of Intellectual History. In *A Companion to Intellectual History*, ed. Richard Whatmore and Brian Young, 5–18. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Dacey, A.V. 1881. Review of *Biographical Studies*. *Nation* xxxii: 426–428.
- Dunn, John. 1968. The Identity of the History of Ideas. *Philosophy* 43: 85–104.
- Easton, David. 1949. Walter Bagehot and Liberal Realism. *American Political Science Review* XVIII (1): 17–37.
- Erdos, David. 2009. Charter 88 and the Constitutional Reform Movement: a Retrospective. *Parliamentary Affairs* 62 (4): 537–551.
- Francis, Mark, and John Morrow. 1994. Political Theory and Evolution: Henry Maine, Walter Bagehot, Herbert Spencer. In *A History of English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 205–232. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd.
- Fulcher, Jonathan. 1995. The Loyalist Response to the Queen Caroline Agitations. *Journal of British Studies* 34 (4): 481–502.
- Gamble, Andrew. 1995. The Crisis of Conservatism. *New Left Review* I (214): 3–25.
- George, David Lloyd. 1909. Limehouse Speech. 30 July. Parliamentary Archives, LG/C/33/2/11. Accessed 15 August 2016. <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseoflords/parliamentacts/collections/limehouse/image-3/>.
- Gliddon, Paul Martin. 2016. The Labour Government and the Battle for Public Opinion in the 1975 Referendum on the European Community. *Contemporary British History*: 91–113.
- Hampsher-Monk, Iain. 2015. Edmund Burke in the Tory World. In *The Tory World. Deep History and the Tory Theme in British Foreign Policy, 1679–2014*, ed. Jeremy Black. Farnham: Ashgate. Chapter 5, pp. 83–101.

- . 1998. Speech Acts, Languages or Conceptual History. In *History of Concepts. Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Iain Hampsher-Monk et al., 37–50. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hawkins, Angus. 1989. ‘Parliamentary Government’ and Victorian Political Parties, c. 1830–c. 1880. *The English Historical Review* 104 (412): 638–669.
- Hickey, T.J.O. 1977. Constitution Under Mounting Attack. *The Times, Jubilee Britain Supplement* 5: 1.
- Hitchens, Christopher. 2013. What People Do Not Want to Hear. *New Statesman*, 24 January. (First Published 28 Nov 1980). Accessed 13 August 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/archive/2013/01/christopher-hitchens-orwell-what-people-do-not-want-hear>.
- Jennings, W.I. 1931. Disraeli and the Constitution. *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* 13 (4): 182–198.
- Lessay, Franck. 1989. Burke et la nationalisation de la raison. *Cahiers de philosophie politique et juridique* no. 16, centre de publications de l’université de Caen, pp. 67–82.
- Meslin, Antoine. 2012. L’œuvre d’Ivor Jennings, publiciste anglais du XXe siècle. *Jus politicum* no. 7, 82 pages. Accessed 26 January 2017. <http://juspolicum.com/uploads/pdf/Jennings-Meslin-3.pdf>.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2014. On Conceptual History. In *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, ed. Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn, 74–93. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nairn, Tom. 1977. The Twilight of the British State. *New Left Review* I (101–102): 3–61.
- . 1979. The Future of Britain’s Crisis. *New Left Review* I (113–114): 43–69.
- Parry, Jonathan Philip. 2000. Disraeli and England. *The Historical Journal* 43 (3): 699–728.
- Penny, Laurie. 2010. Why Does My Generation Seem So Spineless? *New Statesman*, 12 July. Accessed 13 August 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/laurie-penny/2010/07/8217-generation-young-parents>.
- . 2012. Enough of This Royal Deference. *New Statesman*, 13 Feb. Accessed 13 August 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/183925>.
- Pimlott, Ben, Dennis Kavanagh, and Peter Morris. 1989. Is the ‘Postwar Consensus’ A Myth? *Contemporary Record* 2 (6): 12–15.
- Pocock, J.G.A. 2007. Foundations and Moments. In *Rethinking The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, ed. Annabel Brett and James Tully, 37–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poole, Thomas. 2002. Dogmatic Liberalism? T. R. S. Allan and the Common Law Constitution. *Modern Law Review* 65 (3): 463–475.
- . 2003. Back to the Future? Unearthing the Theory of Common Law Constitutionalism. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 23: 435–454.

- Richter, Melvin. 1987. Begriffsgeschichte and the History of Ideas. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (2): 247–263.
- Roach, John. 1957. Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia. *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 13 (1): 58–81.
- Rustin, Michael. 2009. Revisiting Charter 88. *Parliamentary Affairs* 62 (4): 568–579.
- Skidelsky, Edward. 2007. The Strange Death of British Idealism. *Philosophy and Literature* 31 (1): 41–51.
- Skinner, Quentin. 1969. Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas. *History and Theory* 8 (1): 3–53.
- Stapleton, Julia. 1995. Dicey and His Legacy. *History of Political Thought* 16 (2): 234–256.
- Swearingen, James E. 1992. William Blake's Figural Politics. *ELH* 59 (1): 125–144.
- Thomas, Hugh. 1959. The Establishment and Society. In *The Establishment*, ed. Hugh Thomas, 9–20. London: Anthony Blond.
- Tomkins, Adam. 2003b. The Republican Monarchy Revisited. *Constitutional Commentary* 19: 737–760.
- Tucker, Albert. 1962. Disraeli and the Natural Aristocracy. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 28 (1): 1–15.
- Turner, Stephen. 1999. The Significance of Shils. *Sociological Theory* 17 (2): 125–145.
- Wade, H.W.R. 1996. Sovereignty—Revolution or Evolution? *Law Quarterly Review* 112: 568–575.
- Waugh, Auberon. 2000. Perhaps It Is a Relic of Class Deference That the British Accept Gross Overcharging without Any Complaint. *New Statesman*, 24 April. Accessed 13 August 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/137442>.
- Weill, Rivka. 2003. Dicey Was Not Diceyan. *The Cambridge Law Journal* 62 (2): 474–493.
- Weston, Corinne C. 1982. Salisbury and the Lords, 1868–1895. *The Historical Journal* 25 (1): 103–129.
- Wheeler, Graham John. 2017. Referendums That Time Forgot. *U.K. Constitutional Law Association Blog*, 17 Feb. Accessed 28 March 2017. <https://ukconstitutionallaw.org/>.
- Wilson, Kathleen. 1989b. Inventing Revolution: 1688 and Eighteenth-Century Popular Politics. *The Journal of British Studies* 28 (4): 349–386.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. 1997. The Unbearable Lightness of Diana. *New Left Review* I (226): 136–145.

## ONLINE RESOURCES (REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS)

- Falconer of Thoroton, Lord. 2015. *The Role of the Lord Chancellor after the 2005 Reforms*. Bentham Association Inaugural Address, 11 March. Accessed 15 August 2015. <http://www.laws.ucl.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/The-Role-of-The-Lord-Chancellor-After-the-2005-Reforms-Lord-Falconer-of-Thoroton-PC-QC.pdf>.
- Hazell, Robert. 2010. *Fixed Term Parliaments*. Constitution Unit, UCL. Accessed 12 August 2015. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/publications/tabs/unit-publications/150.pdf>.
- R. v. Halliday, ex p. Zadig*. 1917. 260 AC. Accessed 17 August 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/resources/display/content/The+Federalist+Papers>.

## ICONOGRAPHY

- Law, David. 1953. Morning After. *The Guardian*, 3 June.
- Roseman, Daniel. 1996. Was This the Day When Royalty Lost the Plot? *The Independent*, 20 April. Accessed 7 August 2017. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/was-this-the-day-whent-royalty-lost-the-plot-1305932.html>.
- Marshall, Catherine, Bernard Lightman, and Richard England, eds. 2019. *The Metaphysical Society (1869-1880): Intellectual Life in Mid-Victorian England*, v-282. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# INDEX<sup>1</sup>

## A

- Abdication crisis (1936), The, 127, 130, 153, 161–165, 210
- Act of Union (1801), The, 95
- Act of Union (1707), The, 291
- Acton, J. E. Edward Dalberg-Acton, Lord, 300
- Alexander, John K., 28, 29
- Allan, Trevor, 289
- Anglo-British constitution, 1, 4, 7, 10n1, 17, 18, 130, 242, 285–287, 298, 300, 307, 310, 314, 315
- cabinet government, 131
- changes in, 2, 47, 86, 116–118, 131–137, 140, 146–148, 156, 177–188, 199, 203, 219–221, 232, 233, 237, 240, 260, 261, 285–287, 291–295
- codification, 4, 10, 87, 234, 236, 252, 256, 282–284, 310, 314
- constitutional conventions, 87, 103–106, 113, 114, 147–148, 155, 180
- and deference, 2, 3, 6, 7, 47–58, 67–88, 147, 148, 191
- and disguised Republic, 82
- flexibility, 18, 86, 117, 290
- and ministerial government, 131
- monarchy, 105, 153–165, 200, 209–218, 290
- parliamentary sovereignty, 62, 63, 87, 100, 103, 106, 114, 116–118, 147, 148, 153–165, 234, 236, 237, 241–247, 256, 281, 289, 300, 308, 318
- popular sovereignty, 62, 96, 100, 101, 103, 114, 117, 148, 234, 281, 318
- prime ministerial government, 131, 232–233, 251

<sup>1</sup>Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to notes.

- Anglo-British constitution (*cont.*)  
 and republicanism, 19, 21, 155,  
 156, 160, 218, 269  
 role of the prime minister, 131  
 royal prerogative, 147, 155  
 rule of law, 87, 103, 104, 106, 128,  
 135, 149, 155, 220, 236  
 whig description, 8, 12n19, 18,  
 25, 36–38  
 Whiggish in nature, 48  
*See also* Bagehot, Walter;  
 Dicey, A. V.
- Anne, queen of England, 116
- Ansart, Pierre, 315, 316
- Arnold, Matthew, 58–59, 169
- Asquith, Herbert Henry, 116, 138
- Attlee, Clement, 169, 182–185
- Aughey, Arthur, 286, 299, 301
- B**
- Bagehot, Walter, 8, 67–88, 99–109,  
 130, 131, 141, 144, 146, 147,  
 153, 252, 255, 286, 287,  
 307, 308  
 and the Anglo-British constitution,  
 67–88, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103,  
 107, 132, 134, 149, 220, 287  
 and deference, 2, 7, 9, 35, 59, 63,  
 67–88, 95, 96, 101, 103, 129,  
 179, 202, 204, 312  
*English Constitution, The*, 2, 4, 68,  
 69, 77–82, 85, 115, 118,  
 131, 252  
 and France, 22, 67, 70–71, 79  
 and limits of his analysis, 82–88  
 and the monarchy, 3, 11n7, 82,  
 160, 210, 213  
*Physics and Politics*, 69–73,  
 75–80, 82  
*See also* Anglo-British constitution
- Baldwin, Stanley, 158, 159, 162
- Balfour, Arthur James, 109, 111,  
 117, 138
- Barnett, Anthony, 257
- Barzun, Jacques, 86
- Beaverbrook, Sir Maxwell Aitken  
 (Lord), 162
- Beckett, Francis, 293
- Bellamy, Richard, 17
- Benn, Tony, 192
- Bercow, John, 317
- Bevan, Aneurin, 183, 185, 186,  
 190, 192
- Beveridge, William Henry, 165, 169,  
 183, 185, 186  
 Beveridge principles, 253
- Bill of Rights (1689), the, 18
- Blackstone, Sir William, 19, 105
- Blair, Tony, 265, 266, 269, 270, 279,  
 282, 283, 288, 293, 294, 297,  
 299, 311, 314, 317, 320  
*See also* New Labour
- Blake, William, 185
- Bogdanor, Vernon, 4, 130, 159, 161,  
 164, 177, 241, 243, 264, 269,  
 279, 290, 294, 296
- Bolshevism, 135
- Bonaparte, Louis Napoléon, 22, 75  
*See also* France
- Boothby, Robert, 193
- Bourke, Richard, 37
- Brexit, 4, 236, 245, 281, 284,  
 294–301, 307, 310–317, 321  
*See also* European Economic  
 Community (EEC);  
 European Union
- British Nationality Act (1948),  
 The, 212
- Britishness, 262, 291, 299
- British Union of Fascists, The,  
 137
- Brown, Gordon, 288, 317  
*See also* New Labour



- Burke, Edmund, 6, 21, 22, 31–42, 48, 62, 75, 96, 260  
 Burkean ideals, 69, 75, 98, 118, 251  
*See also* Whig historiography
- Butler, R. A., 187, 190, 196, 197
- Butterfield, Herbert, 12n20, 37
- Byrd, William, 29
- C**
- Cabinet manual, 11n11
- Callaghan, James, 197, 231
- Cameron, David, 294, 297, 300, 317  
*See also* Conservative Party, The
- Campbell, Alastair, 294  
*See also* New Labour
- Cannadine, David, 49, 50, 57, 108, 137, 200, 247–249
- Chamberlain, Neville, 166
- Charles, Prince of Wales, 217, 263, 265, 267, 315
- Charles I, king, 20, 27
- Charles II, king, 20, 27, 30
- Charter 88, 234, 254, 256–258, 260, 261, 263, 269, 280, 281
- Churchill, Sir Winston, 162, 166–169, 182, 193, 203, 301
- Clegg, Nick, 294
- Common law, 17, 36, 83, 103, 150, 232, 236, 256, 261
- Commonwealth of nations, 127, 132, 162, 180, 198, 211, 212  
 Statute of Westminster (1931), The, 132
- Communist Party of GB, The, 137
- Conservative Party, The, 100, 103, 107, 111, 138, 140, 169, 186–190, 193, 196, 197, 201, 202, 215, 244, 246–250, 296, 318
- Conservatives, 138  
 and deference, 3, 9, 11n5, 107–109, 201–205
- Constitutional Reform Act (2005), The, 283, 310
- Cook, Peter, 192
- Corbyn, Jeremy, 160
- Covid-19, 319
- Cripps, Sir Stafford, 157
- Cromwell, Oliver, 258
- Crossman, Richard, 77, 131, 241
- Crown-in-Parliament, 18–19
- Cummings, Dominic, 317
- D**
- Darwin, Charles, 69, 70, 83
- Deference  
 and class, 49, 96, 129, 149, 200, 206, 247  
 decline of, 169, 180–182, 188–201, 203, 240  
 definition, 1, 5, 18, 19  
 and democracy, 56–59, 78, 81–83, 86, 109, 128, 143, 153, 177, 182–187, 301, 313, 315, 320  
 end of, 259–262, 292  
 and English liberties, 5, 17–24, 31–42, 47–52, 62, 73, 149, 180, 236, 280, 315, 316  
 ethics of, 10, 316–321  
 involuntary, 5, 19–21, 112  
 irrational, 5, 21, 47–58, 62, 67–88, 95, 96, 107–110, 117, 118, 129, 140, 144, 151, 166, 178–179, 192, 234, 238, 239, 243, 250, 251, 256, 270, 291, 308, 312  
 and the monarchy, 153–165, 209–218, 262–270, 315  
 and national character, 2, 3, 7, 17–19, 21, 23, 70–73, 80, 85, 236  
 permanence of, 205–209

Deference (*cont.*)

- rational, 2, 5, 10, 11n14, 21, 47–58, 62, 67–88, 95, 106, 109, 110, 130–134, 140, 145, 148, 166, 178–181, 188–205, 232, 234–238, 241, 261, 264, 285, 290, 291, 293–295, 307, 312–316, 318–320
  - rejection of, 201–205, 237–241
  - typology of, 19–42
  - and WWII, 165–170
- Devolution, 282
- Diana, Princess of Wales, 262, 265–267, 269, 270, 290, 320
- Dicey, A. V., 7, 8, 10, 50, 87, 88, 96, 97, 101–107, 109, 111, 114–118, 128, 130, 132, 134–136, 141, 146, 147, 149, 151, 220, 236, 241, 284–286
- Diceyan principles, 155, 181, 219, 236, 241, 284, 310
- follower of Bagehot or Disraeli, 102–107
- See also* Anglo-British constitution
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 7, 8, 78, 88, 96–102, 108–110, 114, 143, 166, 234, 247, 308, 318
- Disraelian conservatism, 281, 318
- Douglas-Home, sir Alec, 196, 197, 215

## E

- Eden, Anthony, 189–193
- Education Act (1944), The, 199
- Edward VII, king, 115
- Edward VIII, king, 153, 162–164, 166
- Elizabeth II, queen, 2, 4, 34, 155, 187, 210, 212, 215–218, 262–270, 320
- coronation (1953), 207, 213, 262
- Silver Jubilee (1977), 232, 262, 264

- Emancipation Act (1829), The, 95
- European Communities Act (1972), The, 177, 181, 231, 233, 235, 236, 241–243, 284, 291
- European Convention on Human Rights, 232, 240, 257, 259, 282, 284–285
- European Economic Community (EEC), 9, 180, 194, 221, 232, 234–237, 241, 242, 244, 255, 256, 297, 309
- referendum of 1975, 242–245, 291, 295, 297
- European Free Trade Association, The, 234
- European Union, 234, 235, 241, 294–298, 300, 301, 311, 321
- referendum of 2016, 295
- See also* Brexit

## F

- Fabians, The, 140, 145, 146
- Fabianism, 130
- Factortame* litigation, 241, 271n26
- Federalist Papers*, the, 27
- See also* United States (US)
- First-past-the-post electoral system (FPTP), 294, 299
- Fixed-term Parliament Act (2011), 256, 314
- France
  - and its constitutions, 17, 149
  - and deference, 19, 21–24, 79, 84, 298, 307
  - and revolutions, coup d'état, 19, 21–24, 31, 38, 59, 63, 68, 72, 80, 99
  - second Empire (1852–1870), 22
  - second Republic (1848–1851), 22, 71
  - third Republic (1870–1940), 22, 71

*See also* Bagehot, Walter; France;  
Bonaparte, Louis Napoléon;  
Montesquieu; Rousseau,  
Jean-Jacques; Tocqueville,  
Alexis de  
Free-born Englishmen, 50–52, 56, 57,  
63, 100, 112, 150, 180

**G**

Gaitskell, Hugh, 221, 235  
Gamble, Andrew, 253  
Gaulle, Charles de, 235  
General election  
1959, 193  
1951, 183–187  
1964, 197  
1935, 161  
2017, 317  
2019, 281, 284, 317, 318  
George III, king, 99  
George IV, king, 267  
George V, king, 115–116, 138,  
153–155, 158, 160–164, 210, 216  
George VI, king, 164, 210, 212, 213  
Gladstone, William Ewart, 68, 100,  
103, 109, 110  
Gladstonian liberalism, 97, 103  
Glorious Revolution (1688), The, 6,  
18, 21, 26, 48, 52, 95, 168, 288,  
289, 308  
Goffman, Erving, 205  
Gough, J. W., 181  
Great Exhibition (1851), The, 67, 269  
Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl, 60  
Grigg, John, 214

**H**

Hailsham, Quintin Hogg, Lord, 195,  
233, 251, 252, 254, 255, 257  
Halévy, Elie, vii

Hardie, George, 164  
Hardie, Keir, 160  
Harrington, James, 19, 26–31,  
39, 40, 288  
Hattersley, Roy, 139  
Hayek, Friedrich, 248  
Heath, Edward, 235, 238, 244, 247  
*See also* Conservative Party, The  
Heffer, Simon, 299  
Hegel, G. W. F., 311  
Henderson, Arthur, 112, 158  
Hennessy, Peter, 296–298  
Hewart, Gordon, 1st Viscount,  
151, 152  
Hitler, Adolf, 113, 139, 166  
Hoggart, Richard, 216  
Home Rule Bill (1912), The,  
117, 154  
Human Rights Act (1998), The,  
284–286, 288, 289, 301, 310  
Hume, David, 6, 31–34, 36,  
37, 70, 319  
Hussein, Saddam, 292  
Hutton, Will, 257

**I**

IMF loan of 1976, 186, 188, 231  
Ireland, 198  
partition, 117, 127, 132, 298  
*See also* Act of Union (1801), The;  
Home Rule Bill (1912), The  
Irving, Clive, 215

**J**

James II, king of England, 95  
Jenkins, Roy, 180  
Jennings, Sir Ivor, 105, 130,  
145–150, 286  
Jessop, Bob, 205  
Johnson, Boris, 294, 317, 318

Johnson, Joy, 292  
 Johnson, Nevil, 254, 255, 257, 282  
 Joseph, sir Keith, 246  
 Judiciary, 135, 136, 233  
   judicial review, 197  
   modernisation of, 218–221, 256,  
     258–259, 291  
   role of, 9, 103–104, 150–153,  
     177, 291

**K**

Kahan, Alan, 307  
 Kant, Immanuel, 20  
 Kavanagh, Dennis, 204, 237–240  
 Keeler, Christine, 194, 195  
   *See also* Profumo Affair, The  
 Keynesianism, 248  
 King, Anthony, 282, 284, 291, 294

**L**

Labour Party, The, 8, 103, 108,  
   127–128, 130, 133, 137, 141,  
   143, 146, 150, 153, 155–161,  
   165, 166, 177, 178, 182–188,  
   190, 192, 197–199, 203, 234,  
   235, 242–245, 248  
   *See also* New Labour  
 Lamarck, J.-B. de Monet, chevalier  
   de, 70, 83  
 Laski, Harold, 128, 129, 134,  
   145–153, 155, 159–161, 178,  
   183, 231  
   rejection of deference, 140–146  
 Liberal Democrats, The, 234, 258,  
   259, 280, 314  
   *See also* Social Democratic  
     Party, The  
 Liberal Party, The, 108, 113, 128,  
   138, 150

Lloyd George, David, 112–113, 117,  
   128, 137–139, 142, 249  
 Locke, John, 20, 49  
 Loughlin, Martin, 258  
 Lubbock, Sir John, 72

**M**

MacDonald, Ramsay, 156–159  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 25, 26  
 Macmillan, Harold, 188, 190,  
   192–197, 215  
 Magna Carta (1215), the, 37, 47,  
   185  
 Maine, Sir Henry, 72  
 Major, John, 259  
 Marquand, David, 191, 250, 257  
 Martin, Kingsley, 156, 157  
 Marx, Karl  
   Marxism, 49, 141, 142, 145, 149,  
     200, 201, 203  
 Maxton, James, 164  
 May, Theresa, 316, 317  
 Metaphysical Society, The, 74  
 Mill, John Stuart, 57–59, 70,  
   71, 76, 86  
 Milton, John, 288  
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de  
   Secondat, baron de La Brède, 19,  
   32, 50, 67  
   *See also* France  
 Moore, D. C., 53–54  
 Mount, Ferdinand, 254–257

**N**

Nairn, Tom, 257, 263, 299, 300  
 Newby, Howard, 239–240, 264  
 New Labour, 153, 234, 258–259,  
   261, 269, 270, 280–289, 293,  
   294, 314, 320

and constitutional reforms, 3, 10,  
 11n4, 234, 258–259,  
 279–288, 291–293, 310,  
 311, 313  
*See also* Labour Party, The  
 New Left thinkers, 198–199, 257  
 Nicholas II of Russia, Tsar, 160, 210  
 Northern Irish Peace Agreement  
 (1998), The, 300  
 Norton, Philip, 232, 234

## O

Oakeshott, Michael, 260–261  
 O’Gorman, Frank, 54, 56, 57, 59  
 Old Age Pensions Act (1908),  
 The, 112  
 Ortega y Gasset, José, 293  
 Osborne, George, 294  
 Osborne, John, 192

## P

Paine, Thomas, 145  
 Palmerston, H. J. Temple, 3rd  
 Viscount, 61  
 Parliament Act (1911), The, 8, 102,  
 115, 117, 132, 134, 140, 255,  
 256, 309  
 People’s budget (1909), The, 107,  
 111, 112, 137, 139  
 Peterloo massacre (1819), The, 55  
 Philip, Prince, 217  
 Phillips, John A., 51–52, 57, 59  
 Pocock, J. G. A., 25–29, 40  
 Polybius, 18  
 Powell, Enoch, 193, 221  
 Prochaska, Frank, 266, 269  
 Profumo affair, The, 181, 189,  
 193–196, 203, 250  
*See also* Keeler, Christine

## R

Ray, John, 207–209, 238–240  
 Referral or Referendal Theory,  
 The, 109–112  
 Reform Act (1884), The, 50, 108,  
 289  
 Reform Act (1867), The, 4, 6, 47, 62,  
 78, 79, 84, 95, 97  
 Reform Act (1832), The, 7, 47, 48,  
 52, 53, 55–57, 60–63, 84,  
 95, 99, 289  
 Reform Act (1918), The, 127,  
 129, 132  
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 22  
*See also* France  
 Russell, Lord John, 55,  
 60–62  
*R v. Halliday, ex parte Zadig* (1917),  
 136, 150, 151, 219

## S

Salisbury, R. Gascoyne-Cecil 3rd  
 Marquess of, 100, 101,  
 109–111, 138  
 Samuel, Herbert, 158  
 Scarman, Lord Leslie George,  
 232, 233, 254, 256, 257,  
 259  
 Scotland, 245, 286  
 Sedley, Stephen, 289  
 Septennial Act (1716), The, 52  
 Sex Pistols, The, 263, 264  
 Shaw, Thomas, 1st Baron Craigmyle,  
 135, 136  
 Shils, Edward, 29, 205–209, 212,  
 233, 308, 312  
 and deference, 213, 239, 240,  
 280, 312  
 Sidney, Algernon, 288  
 Simon, John, 111

Simpson, Wallis, Duchess of Windsor, 162–164  
 Skinner, Quentin, 6  
 Smith, Adam, 6, 31–42, 48, 58, 70, 96, 206  
   smithian rhetoric, 74  
 Smolenski, John, 25  
 Snowden, Philip, 128, 157  
 Social Democratic Party, The, 234, 258  
   *See also* Liberal Democrats, The  
 Soper, Philip, 319, 320  
 Spencer, Herbert, 70  
 St John Stevas, Norman, 160  
 Succession to the Crown Act (2013), The, 268  
 Suez crisis (1956), 8, 181, 189–193, 195, 196, 198, 249  
 Suffrage  
   extension of, 21, 54–56, 60, 62–63, 127

**T**

Tamarkin, Elisa, 29, 30  
 Taylor, A. J. P., 198  
 Tegos, Spyridon, 32–36  
 Thatcher, Margaret, 188, 232–234, 240, 244–254, 297, 309  
   and deference, 247–254  
   Thatcherism, 231, 253, 257, 264, 265  
   *See also* Conservative Party, The; Joseph, sir Keith  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 23, 57–59, 75, 86, 319  
   *See also* France  
 Tomkins, Adam, 147, 151, 154, 220, 235, 237  
 Treaty of Versailles (1919), The, 132

**U**

Union State (the UK), 286, 310, 311, 321  
 United States  
   and its constitution, 17, 23, 145, 149, 252, 310  
   and egalitarian deference, 5, 6, 19–31, 36, 37, 68, 85, 308  
   and 1776 revolution, 19, 21–31  
   *See also* Federalist Papers, The  
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), The, 232, 257  
 Utilitarianism, 74, 99, 319

**V**

Vernon, James, 7, 47–48, 56, 57, 97, 180  
 Victoria, queen, 160

**W**

Walden, George, 293, 294  
 Walpole, Robert, 137  
 Whig historiography, 12n19, 48, 59–61, 75, 95, 146, 167, 317  
 William, Prince, 268  
 Wilson, Harold, 195, 197, 231, 243, 251, 253  
 Winch, Donald, 32  
 Winter of Discontent (1978–1979), 232  
 World War II, 170, 177, 178, 180, 181, 185, 190, 198, 210, 212, 219, 233, 243, 261

**Z**

Zetland, L. J. Lumley Dundas, second Marquess of, 163  
 Zuckerman, Michael, 24–25, 29