

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318944178>

History: An introduction to theory, method and practice, second edition

Book · April 2017

DOI: 10.4324/9781315684673

CITATIONS

0

READS

804

2 authors:



Peter Claus

University of Oxford

29 PUBLICATIONS 16 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



John Marriott

University of Oxford

55 PUBLICATIONS 21 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

HISTORY

AN INTRODUCTION TO THEORY,
METHOD AND PRACTICE

PETER CLAUS AND JOHN MARRIOTT

SECOND EDITION



History

Demystifying the subject with clarity and verve, *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice* familiarizes the reader with the varied spectrum of historical approaches in a balanced, comprehensive and engaging manner. Global in scope, and covering a wide range of topics from the ancient and medieval worlds to the twenty-first century, it explores historical perspectives not only from historiography itself, but from related areas such as literature, sociology, geography and anthropology.

Clearly written, accessible and student-friendly, this second edition is fully updated throughout to include:

- An increased spread of case studies from beyond Europe, especially from American and imperial histories
- New chapters on important and growing areas of historical inquiry, such as environmental history and digital history
- Expanded sections on political, cultural and social history
- More discussion of non-traditional forms of historical representation and knowledge like film, fiction and video games.

Accompanied by a new companion website (www.routledge.com/cw/claus) containing valuable supporting material for students and instructors, such as discussion questions, further reading and web links, this book is an essential introduction for all students of historical theory and method.

Dr Peter Claus is Access Fellow and Lecturer in History, Pembroke College, University of Oxford. His doctoral research on the Corporation of London was followed by work on the history of the City and East End of London, which developed into an interest in unofficial forms of urban social investigation in the metropolis along with a commitment to outreach, public history and the democratisation of the archive.

Professor John Marriott is Senior Associate, also at Pembroke College, Oxford. His research has focused on London and Empire with a particular emphasis on the nexus between East London and India since the eighteenth century. His numerous books include *Beyond the Tower: a History of East London* (2011) and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Imperial Histories* (2012), co-edited with Philippa Levine. He is now working on the origins of colonial land reform in the seventeenth century.

Routledge Companion Websites



Enhancing online learning
and teaching.



www.routledge.com/cw/claus

History

An Introduction to Theory, Method
and Practice

SECOND EDITION

Peter Claus and John Marriott

Second edition published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2012, 2017 Peter Claus and John Marriott

The right of Peter Claus and John Marriott to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published in 2012 by Pearson Education Limited

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Names: Claus, Peter (Research fellow in History), author. | Marriott, John, 1944– author.

Title: History : an introduction to theory, method and practice / Peter Claus and John Marriott.

Description: Second edition. | Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, [2017] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016056771 | ISBN 9781138924000 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781138923997 (pbk. : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781315684673 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Historiography.

Classification: LCC D13 .C5835 2017 | DDC 907.2—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016056771>

ISBN: 978-1-138-92400-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-92399-7 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-68467-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Berling and Futura
by Florence Production Ltd, Stoodleigh, Devon, UK

Visit the companion website: www.routledge.com/cw/claus

In dedication

David Brion Davis
Yale University

R. G. Collingwood (1889–1943)
Pembroke College, Oxford

'I miglior fabbri'



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Prologue: history matters</i>	<i>xvi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xx</i>

THEORY

Part 1 Perspectives and themes **3**

1	Proof and the problem of objectivity	5
1	History: a science or an art?	6
2	History and the status of historical knowledge	10
3	Choosing evidence, challenging interpretations	15
4	Causes in history	20
2	Ordering of time	27
1	Time, history, modernity	28
2	Newton and the 'time reckoner'	35
3	Time, history and the shape of things to come	39
4	Events, people and periods: what is 'Victorian'? When were the 'sixties'?	42

Part 2 Histories and philosophies **49**

3	Ideas of history: from the ancients to the Christians	51
1	Herodotus and gold-digging ants	51
2	Thucydides and reason: an historian for our times?	55
3	What did the Romans ever do for history?	58
4	Late antiquity, Christianity and the end of days	61
4	From the Middle Ages to the Early Modern	66
1	European Christendom and the 'age of Bede'	67
2	Peoples of the book: Jewish and Islamic conceptions of history	71

3	The Renaissance, humanism and the rediscovery of the classics	77
4	The battle of books: Camden, Clarendon and English historical writing	80
5	Enlightenment and Romanticism	87
1	The English Enlightenment?	87
2	Secular histories	91
3	Romanticism, nationalism and the hero in history: Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle	96
6	The English tradition	105
1	Responses to the Enlightenment: Edmund Burke	106
2	Constitutionalism and the Whig interpretation of history	112
3	The 'new Whigs'? The school of J. H. Plumb	115
7	The North American tradition	123
1	America and the New Order of the Ages	124
2	The progressive or 'new' historians	129
3	The consensus historians	132
4	The other America	136
8	Histories of revolutions; revolutionary histories	144
1	Thomas Paine and the radical tradition	145
2	Contemporary responses to the American and French revolutions	150
3	Germany, G. W. F. Hegel and the Spirit of History	155
4	Karl Marx and 'historical materialism'	157
5	Marxism in the twentieth century	161
9	Postmodernism and postcolonialism	167
1	Modernity and the Enlightenment	168
2	Postmodernism	171
3	Postcolonialism and the West	175

METHOD

Part 3 Varieties	183
10 Political history	185
1 Theories of the state	185
2 High and low politics: the case of the British Labour Party	192
3 Beyond state and party: political histories and civil society	197

11	Economic history	203
1	Economics, population and social change	203
2	Economic historians and the big historical questions	208
3	The business of business history	213
12	Social history	219
1	The emergence of social history	219
2	Class and authority	222
3	The family in history	226
4	The social history of faith	230
13	Cultural history	238
1	Toward a definition of cultural history	239
2	Survival of the carnival	244
3	Empire and the cultural turn	248
14	Feminism, gender and women's history	252
1	Feminism and history	252
2	The attack on class	257
3	Gender and identity	262
15	Public history	268
1	What is public about history?	269
2	Consumption of public history	275
3	Producing public history	278
4	Public history as contested knowledge	281
16	Visual history	285
1	Visual histories in film and television	286
2	Ways of seeing: paintings	292
3	Ways of seeing: prints and photographs	299
4	Playing with history: the rise of the video game	305
17	Global history	310
1	The challenge of global history	310
2	Origins of the global imagination	316
3	Enter 'new world history'	322
18	Environmental history	327
1	The scope of environmental history and historical precedents	328

2	European colonialism and the environment	331
3	Modern environmentalism	336

Part 4 History and other disciplines 345

19	Archaeology	347
1	The lure of archaeology	348
2	The theoretical turn: Collingwood and Childe	354
3	Historical archaeology	357
4	Jerusalem and its layers	360
20	Anthropology	366
1	Pens and pith helmets: the influence of anthropology on history	366
2	Functionalism and structuralism: understanding the Lord Mayor's Show	370
3	Myths and history: Jewish conspiracies and the 'blood libel'	373
4	The 'dying god': Captain Cook and ethnohistory	375
5	Microhistories: cheese, worms, night battles and ecstasies	379
21	Literature	383
1	Literature as history	383
2	Historicism: text and context	389
3	Nostalgia and the graphic novel	392
4	Writing the metropolis	397
22	Geography	405
1	History, space and place	405
2	Geographies of empire	409
3	How to lie with maps: maps, methodology and the metropolis	413

PRACTICE

Part 5 Doing history 423

23	Archives in a digital world	425
1	What is an archive?	425
2	'When we return as human beings again': archives and the ashes	428
3	'Speaking for ourselves': state and community archives	431
4	Archives and the digital turn	436

24	Oral history	446
1	‘Anthropologists of ourselves’: urban, rural, foreign	447
2	Oral historiography	454
3	Interviewing techniques and the limits of memory: Arthur Harding and the East End underworld	457
4	The wider conceptual problems	459
	<i>Bibliography</i>	465
	<i>Index</i>	489



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Figures

1.1	Summary executions by the British of Indian rebels in 1857	11
1.2	Chartist meeting at Kennington Common, London, April 1848	16
2.1	The third of John Harrison's four marine chronometers, now held at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, London	33
4.1	The library at Alexandria	69
4.2	Flavius Josephus	73
4.3	Oliver Cromwell at the English Civil War Battle of Marston Moor (1644)	81
5.1	Phillip James De Louthembourg, <i>An Avalanche in the Alps</i> (1803)	97
5.2	Thomas Carlyle	101
6.1	Edmund Burke	108
6.2	David Wilkie, <i>Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo</i> (1822)	118
7.1	Thomas Cole, <i>Oxbow: View from Mount Holyoke Northampton Massachusetts after Thunderstorm</i> (1836)	124
7.2	Charles Beard	130
7.3	The historian and politician Eric Williams	140
8.1	A portrait by Laurent Dubos of Tom Paine	146
8.2	Mary Wollstonecraft	149
8.3	Jacque-Louis David's <i>The Death of Marat</i> (1793)	154
9.1	The Indian literary theorist and philosopher, Gayatri Spivak	178
10.1	Ramsay MacDonald	194
11.1	The boundary stone at Eyam	204
11.2	1835 interior of cotton mill	212
12.1	Trade Union banners on Elvet bridge in Durham during 'The Big Meeting' or Durham Miners' Gala, Durham, England, UK	223
12.2	E. P. Thompson	235
13.1	Scene of social inversion from a European carnival of 1532	241
13.2	Engraved frontispiece to the 1537 edition of Rabelais' <i>Gargantua</i>	247
14.1	Women carrying baskets of coal from underground from I. Taylor's book <i>The Mine</i> (1829)	253
14.2	The women's liberation movement in the United States: march in Washington from Farrugut Square to Lafayette Park, August 1970	259
15.1	Mural of <i>The Battle of Cable Street</i> in East London	271
15.2	'Battle of Cable Street' in 'Jewish Aldgate', London, 5 October 1936	272

16.1	A scene from the decisive second battle of Fredericksburg during the American Civil War, 1863	289
16.2	Discovery of the heart of darkness in Francis Ford Coppola's <i>Apocalypse Now</i> , 1979	292
16.3	The 'Darnley Portrait' of Elizabeth I	295
16.4	Joseph Wright's <i>The Blacksmith's Shop</i> (1771)	298
16.5	'John Bull and the Sinking Fund', cartoon by James Gillray	299
16.6	John Dixon's 1774 mezzotint <i>The Oracle</i>	301
17.1	The great medieval Muslim traveller Ibn Battuta being shown around the ancient ruins of Pharaonic Egypt	317
18.1	Alexander von Humboldt	334
19.1	Excavation by Montroville Dickeson of an Amerindian burial mound in Mississippi, c.1850	350
20.1	Captain Cook	377
22.1	Niels Moeller Lund, <i>The Heart of the Empire</i> (1904)	407
22.2	Strabo (c.25 BCE), <i>Map of the World</i> , printed c.1888	412
22.3	T and O Map (c.630 BCE) after Isidore of Seville	412
22.4	Charles Booth, <i>Descriptive Map of London Poverty</i> , 1889	417

Tables

3.2	Sources used by Romans in thinking about the past	61
5.1	Key words and concepts of Enlightenment and Romanticism	96
6.1	Elements of old Whiggism in the new	116
15.1	Contesting knowledge – a table of binary opposites	282
22.1	Booth's street classification	415

Prologue

History matters

WHAT DID HISTORY EVER DO FOR US?

In the sense of both what happened in the past and the study of that past, history matters. At a personal level, history offers us an unrivalled means of making sense of where we have come from, and therefore where we are in the modern world. In this respect, we are all historians by instinct. The extraordinary popularity of history programmes, costume dramas, documentaries, historical novels and heritage sites testify to the enduring importance of history in our lives. While literature and the media may tend to produce a consensual view of the past, it is as well to remember that in practice the interpretation of the past is contested, often with devastating consequences. Different interpretations of the past have provoked, and continue to provoke conflict between peoples. When this escalates into war, opposing sides justify their actions by appealing to particular versions of the historical record. And past grievances – real or imaginary – which are fuelled by selective interpretations of the past, have often served as powerful stimuli to action.

But can history be a force for good in shaping our thinking about the present and the future? It is fashionable to bemoan the failure of contemporary leaders to learn from the mistakes of the past. Certainly, the atrocities perpetuated in continued conflict around the world have a sickening familiarity. And yet the rise of fascism as a European power, or the nuclear bombing of civilian populations thankfully seem remote possibilities. As for the future, well, historians are not astrologers; the vast majority would contend that since historical change always has unforeseen consequences it would be rash in the extreme to predict what is likely to happen in the future.

HISTORY, THIS BOOK AND YOU

This book is not intended, however, to persuade anyone of the importance of history. We anticipate that by the time you read it as a prospective historian or enthusiastic amateur, the case would already have been made in your mind. Rather, we wish to provide an accessible introduction to some of the concerns that have preoccupied historians over time. Instinctive though we may be as historians, we can become better historians if we take the trouble to learn something about the discipline of historiography, that is, how historians go about the task of exploring the past. This seemingly simple project is fraught with difficulties. From the time of Herodotus and Thucydides in the ancient world, the role of the historian and the very nature of history have been contested. For the past two thousand years, therefore, the boundaries of history have been fluid. Even now, some hundred or so years after the establishment of history as an academic discipline, we are not

entirely sure what 'proper' history is, or where the line separating history from, say, sociology or geography runs.

The difficulties are further compounded when we broach the question of historical truth. At school we were inclined to believe the claims that history books told us about the past as it actually happened. Much of this derives from the moment in the late nineteenth century when the discipline of history emerged, and embarked on what was considered as a realistic mission to retrieve the truth from the past. Prior to this, people who wrote about the past had other objectives in mind, most notably the political imperative to consolidate the authority of the state or peoples they represented. Many historians today are also committed to historical truth, but despite the various methods used to retrieve it, historical truth remains an elusive goal. Some critics go as far as to suggest that the promise is entirely false for the historical record is always open to different interpretations, and who is in a position to decide which one is the truth?

Thus while there may have been a perceptible shift away from the further reaches of linguistic theory, where postmodernism and 'deconstruction' methodologies have sought to convince us that there is no such thing as historical truth, and where history is merely a 'text' that can be read in endless different ways, historians continue to reflect on their craft. This book seeks to be part of that reflection but is written unapologetically for real tutors, real students and relates to courses actually being taught in colleges and universities today.

With an increasing emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches, as well as a greater focus on the processes of historical study and writing, courses on theory, method and historiographical practice seem to grow in number and significance. Our ambition is to be part of this debate about historiography but also to provide a resource to students working at both an introductory and an advanced level. In doing this, the book enthusiastically engages with theoretical perspectives and methodologies that have provided the foundation for what it recognized as good historical practice, but also engaged with areas such as literature, sociology, geography and anthropology which have entered into productive dialogues with history.

WHY THE BOOK?

The publication of the book is timely. Some of the classic introductory texts which opened up debates within historiography, such as E. H. Carr's *What is History?* (1961) and G. E. R. Elton's *The Practice of History* (1967), now look decidedly dated in that they do not address the important developments of recent years. John Tosh's popular and admirable *The Pursuit of History* (2009) claims to be an introduction to modern history, but is not for the person coming to history for the first time. We felt the need for a textbook that encompassed the broad range of historical inquiry in ways which were accessible to the non-specialist. We have assumed no previous knowledge of the discipline, eliminated as far as possible the use of jargon, and drawn upon historical examples which we anticipate will be of interest to a modern readership. Above all, in writing the book we had in mind a person who was about to embark on a serious study of history, and therefore needed to know more about the nature of the discipline from examples of studies undertaken by some of its leading figures. We hope too that it may be of interest in some of the areas it touches upon to postgraduates eager to consolidate their knowledge and to take that knowledge up to another level. Although this is a textbook, we are anxious not to imply that closure is either likely or desirable in history; in all areas of our discipline we would want to treat history as very much open to dispute. Indeed, we would like to encourage debate and dispute among students and general readers alike.

The book is not designed to be read sequentially; rather, we consider it as a handbook, and prefer that you simply dip into individual chapters when the need arises to know more about particular aspects of the discipline. The book is, however, organized in a way to help you make sense of the material. Here we have adopted the three broad themes of the title – theory, method and practice – which are addressed in turn. Theory is divided into three parts. In Part 1, Perspectives and themes, we begin by talking through issues which have been seen as the defining elements of history, in particular, the pursuit of historical truth, the nature of interpretation, causes in history, and the ordering of time. It will come as no comfort to know that these fundamental features of historical inquiry raise complex issues which continue to be hotly debated, but we take you carefully on the first steps of the journey.

Part 2, Histories and philosophies, examines the theoretical precepts and broad trajectory of modern historical practice, the origins of which can be traced to ancient Greece and Rome, but which were fundamentally reshaped during the Enlightenment, developed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and challenged in recent times by the critiques launched by postmodernism and postcolonialism. In Part 3, Varieties, we describe some of the more influential strands of history that have emerged in the postwar period as a challenge to traditional approaches. Their boundaries may be defined only imprecisely, but historians working in the fields of, say, cultural, global or public history have greatly extended the scope of historical inquiry, and at the same time placed on the agenda new ways of thinking about who and what are legitimate subjects and objects of study and, indeed, who might be regarded as a bona fide historian. Part 4, History and other disciplines looks at the often troubled relationships between history and disciplines within the social sciences, including geography and anthropology. Given that the boundaries of history are fluid and permeable, it comes as no surprise to learn that historians have tended to borrow freely from other disciplines. By breaking down what are often artificially constructed barriers between disciplines, this too has opened up exciting new avenues of historical inquiry. Finally, in Part 5, Doing history, we provide more practical guidance on some of the problems encountered by an historian embarking on an exciting venture of research. The focus is on evidence – what forms it takes, how it is gathered and stored, the opportunities opened up by digital archives, and some of the problems these present for us.

We have attempted to make the material accessible not only by avoiding overly complex theoretical discussion but also through various pedagogical devices. Each chapter therefore begins with a short introduction which elaborates on the themes in the context of the study of history. At the end of the chapters, there is a brief section entitled 'Postscript' which explains why the issues raised remain important to the study of history, and why they should be taken seriously by practising historians. Finally, the 'Further reading' section provides a selection of books and articles which we have found useful and hope will extend and deepen your awareness of the overarching themes.

WEBSITE

As a companion to the textbook we have constructed a website. This contains a range of supplementary materials which are designed to provide more in depth study of the themes raised in the book. Thus, for example, we include discussion documents and further readings, further illustrations and questions which might be usefully be addressed and which may be useful for students and their instructors.

HISTORY, THE BOOK AND US

Both of us are modern historians. Peter Claus has researched histories of the metropolis and education and has been committed to widening participation and the democratization of the archive, while John Marriott is a cultural and intellectual historian with a long-standing interest in London and Empire during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In writing this book we have understandably drawn upon knowledge of our particular specialisms, but at the same time we have attempted to widen the geographical and temporal scope of the book by including discussions of historical episodes in ancient and medieval periods, from both European and non-European worlds.

This is the second edition of the book. We have eagerly grasped the opportunity substantially to revise its content and approach. We have provided the structure with a stronger chronological narrative, and written new chapters on important areas of historical inquiry such as environmental history and the advances in digital history. Equally, we have extended the spread of historical examples and now give much greater emphasis to experience beyond Europe, most notably American and imperial histories.

Finally, we are ever more conscious of the diverse and hugely popular ways in which historical knowledge is created and disseminated. And so we have moved outside the academy to reflect on the production of history in the broadcast, cinematic, literary and digital worlds. Though often dismissed by historians as inaccurate, naïve and fanciful, these genres are worthy of consideration in their own right. Historical fiction, documentaries, films and even video games are some of the most powerful sources of historical knowledge and can be neither ignored nor accepted uncritically.

We stated at the outset that our primary intent was not to persuade anyone of the relevance and excitement of history, but we share a passion for the subject which we hope comes over in the writing. If some of this happens to rub off onto potential historians then perhaps that is no bad thing for at least one of our unstated goals will have been met.

Acknowledgements

It would seem an act of madness in this age of research assessment exercises, focused subject specialisms and narrow periodizations to embark on a textbook that roams across periods, disciplines and geographical boundaries with little apparent regard for the particular expertise of its authors. Hence our thanks are due to those colleagues and readers of the book who have helped us enormously to convey historical ideas and concepts familiar to us as experienced tutors, but often through the use of examples less familiar, say from the early modern or medieval periods or from the ancient world. If we have not always pulled this off it is our responsibility and not theirs.

Colleagues include Paul Sinclair at St Clare's College in Oxford, a medieval scholar, Dr Roy Edwards, University of Southampton who was instrumental for the section on business history, Avichag Valk (all things Tudor) and Jonathan Valk (all things ancient) in New York, Samuel Claus in Oxford (for his deep and encyclopedic knowledge of video games – a result of many years of painful research), Xavière Hassan, The Open University, Dr Abigail Green, Brasenose College, Oxford, Brian Smith (Shetland Archive) with his deep and wide knowledge, especially in this case, archaeology, Ken Warman (BSix College, Hackney), plus our colleagues at Pembroke Stephen Tuck (America) and Nicholas Cole (America and digital archives where he is transforming the field), Adrian Gregory (twentieth century and the First World War), Isabel Holowaty, history librarian at the Bodleian and Laura Cracknell at Pembroke.

The Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Oxford, provided both Peter Claus and John Marriott with a convivial academic home. Thanks also to the student body, whether those coming through our Access programmes, undergraduates or postgraduates, who make membership of this scholarly community a pleasure and a privilege.

The late Raphael Samuel has been a point of contact for both Peter and John. While Raph may have resisted the notion of a textbook, seemingly fixed in a point of time, he may well have appreciated the attempt to create a cross-disciplinary narrative that falls outside any special focus on period or subject and which may have utility for students of history.

At Routledge, the History Editor Dr Eve Setch and Senior Editorial Assistant Amy Welmars have eased the passage of the book with good grace and humour, while our copy editor Amy Thomas has responded with fortitude to what must have been seen as our unreasonable suggestions for last-minute revisions to the manuscript.

Finally we thank our families: Xavière Hassan, Samuel Claus, Avichag and Jonathan Valk, those beautiful kids from New York, Aya, Nava and (never forgetting) Jonah, plus June and Malcolm Claus on behalf of Peter, and for John, Kanta and the twins Kabir and Karishma.

THEORY



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PART 1

PERSPECTIVES AND THEMES



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Proof and the problem of objectivity

- 1 History: a science or an art?
- 2 History and the status of historical knowledge
- 3 Choosing evidence, challenging interpretations
- 4 Causes in history

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces history both as a discipline and as an approach to historical knowledge. While it cannot be comprehensive, we aim nevertheless to explore some of the fundamental problems faced by historians as they seek to understand past societies. How they do this is determined by many factors. At its simplest, however, it largely depends upon whether history is regarded as a science which has the historian as objective fact finder and analyst, or alternatively, as an art in which the historian presents an interpretation of the past that is a result of either personal experience or the social and cultural milieu in which the historian is located. The first section introduces these issues by looking afresh at the argument first raised in the 1960s between historians E. H. Carr and Geoffrey Elton but in the newer context of postmodernism. It sets out the varying ways in which these prominent historians approached the discipline and dealt with historical evidence in all its varied forms. Section 2 uses historical writing concerned with the events of 1857, the Indian 'Mutiny', in order to discuss whether history is a dependable basis of knowledge that can provide a comprehensive and reliable explanation of how past societies change. The third section focuses on another dispute between historians, that of Chartism. Chartism was a mid-nineteenth-century radical political and social movement in Great Britain that demanded far-reaching reform. We shall see how historical facts are generated but also how historians select evidence and then use innovative techniques to inform our historical understanding. This section will explain how historical explanations for a single historical event or period can radically change over time, either by the discovery of new evidence or, more likely, by shifts in the ways historians approach the evidence. Finally, we investigate the problem of causation in history. Since the Enlightenment, which will be encountered in Chapter 5, historians and social scientists have attempted to identify precisely what caused particular historical episodes to take place, but have these efforts been successful? Can we really ever know for certain what the causal factors were, or is this ultimately a futile quest?

SECTION 1: HISTORY: A SCIENCE OR AN ART?

Why bother? Why study history? Why does history matter? For professionals who teach and research history it provides, let it be said, a source of income and occasionally a very pleasing one at that. But it is much more than that. Most historians are deeply engaged in trying to uncover the past, not only because there are fascinating stories to be told, but also because the telling of the past has enormous contemporary importance. Our understanding of the present relies in large part upon how we view the past, and this vital issue is of concern to us all, whether or not we are trained historians. This recognition lies at the very heart of what we would describe as historical imagination – an imagination possessed by all those who look to the past as a means of understanding their place in the contemporary world. Something of this spirit is captured by the comic writer and raconteur, Stephen Fry:

Great and good men and women stirred sugar into their coffees knowing that it had been picked by slaves. Kind good ancestors of all of us in this room never questioned hangings, burnings, tortures, inequality, suffering and injustice that today revolts us. If we dare to presume to damn them with our fleeting ideas of morality then we risk damnation from our descendants for whatever it is that we are doing that future history will judge as intolerable and wicked: eating meat, driving cars, appearing on TV, visiting zoos, who knows? We haven't arrived at our own moral and ethical imperatives by each of us working them out from first principles, we have inherited them and they were born out of blood and suffering – as all human things, and human beings are. This does not stop us from admiring and praising the progressive heroes who got there early and risked their lives to advance causes we now take for granted. In the end, I suppose my point is that history is all about imagination rather than facts. If you cannot imagine yourself wanting to riot against catholic emancipation say, or becoming an early Tory and signing up to fight with the Old Pretender, or cheering on Prynne as the theatres are closed and Puritanism holds sway . . . knowing is not enough – if you cannot feel what our ancestors felt when they cried 'Wilkes and Liberty!' or indeed cried 'Death to Wilkes!' if you cannot feel with them, then all you can do is judge them and condemn them, or praise them and over-adulate them. History is not the story of strangers, aliens from another realm, it is the story of us had we been born a little earlier. History is memory, we have to remember what it is like to be a Roman, or a Jacobite or a Chartist or even – if we dare, and we should dare – a Nazi. History is not an abstraction, it is the enemy of abstraction.

(The Observer, 9 July 2006)

Although this raises a series of important points about the nature of history to which we return in the course of this book, it does not address the question of precisely *what* history is. Here we encounter the first difficulty, for as you make your way through this chapter, indeed this book, you will realize that this seemingly simple matter masks some complex issues. Note, for example, that there is a profound ambiguity in the term 'history'. When we talk of 'history', do we mean what happened in the past? Or do we mean what is written and taught about the past, that is, historiography? It is usually clear from the context which meaning we are using, but the very fact that we have the same term to describe both meanings says something rather important. Studying history at a more advanced level should make us a little more circumspect about the nature of the relationship between the past and what is written and taught about the past. Fry uses the term

history as writing about the past; that too will be the approach of this chapter. In particular, we shall examine the extent to which history as a discipline can be seen, crudely put, as either a science or an art and the consequences of taking one view over the other.

The former Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, Sir Geoffrey Elton (1921–94), put it succinctly: history is at once interesting and exciting, amusing and instructive, but above all it encompasses a quest for the past. Yet Elton opposed the idea that historians should have an empathy for the past, for such an emotional engagement displaces what should be the object of the historian, namely, rational enquiry into past events. As a traditional historian, he believed very much in the possibilities of history as an exercise in empirical or fact-based truth, and the ability of the historian to analyze objectively the results of research with a high degree of precision.

These ideas were expressed in Elton's *The Practice of History* (1967), which remains a useful elaboration of how history is conventionally viewed. It is a book, however, which was written consciously as a rejoinder to E.H. Carr (1892–1982) and his *What is History?* (1961), which had argued for a rather more sensitive approach to historical evidence. For Carr, history is subjective because historians are recognized as part of the process of doing history, unable to separate prejudices and presuppositions from conclusions drawn solely from evidence. It is this factor above all others that has secured Carr's reputation as a radical historian, while Elton is seen as a defender of the conservative approach to history. If both views are caricatures – arch conservative and radical – each historian has left us with a legacy upon which we can build.

This spat between Elton and Carr on the status of historical knowledge is by common consent the defining debate about how the study of the past should be approached. While Elton was unquestionably suspicious of history's ability to predict the future, he nonetheless understood the role of the historian and saw history as 'scientific', that is, a method based upon rational inquiry. By approaching evidence critically, he argued, historical truth can be revealed. 'Hard work' and 'clear thinking' would promote a healthy scepticism as the historian investigates the primary sources or considers the views of other historians.

According to Elton, the successful resolution of all historical problems depends upon the appropriate use of evidence. To this end three main stages of reading evidence are required: a review of the available evidence (what sources exist?), the informed criticism of that evidence (what does it testify to?), and from that process the framing of answers (what actually happened in the past?). Historical research must therefore 'arise from the evidence not from the mind of the enquirer', thereby avoiding the 'preconceived notions' of the historian. By following these guidelines, the historian 'well trained in the principles of scholarship' can reveal the truth, or 'as near to the truth of the past as he has any hope of getting' (Elton, 2002, pp. 46, 80). In his *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study* (1991), Elton develops these arguments by rejecting theory, 'theory mongers' and the abstraction of history because theory imposes ideas upon the evidence in ways which compromise its objectivity or distort its use. Elton was thus adamant that the involvement of the historian as a subjective individual, the 'infiltration of historiographical methods' and the 'problem of historical reconstruction' should be 'reduced to a minimum'. The historian must act only as a conduit through which the experiences of the past travel; indeed, a relationship with the dead provides the thrill and challenge of history. If nothing else, for the 'honest historian', as Elton put it, just doing history allows 'the enormous enlargement of one's acquaintances', a list that is renewed and refreshed with every visit to the archive (Elton, 2002, pp. 79, 83, 142).

Yet historians are social and cultural animals, prompting the suggestion that history is less a science and more an art: it is constructed through the imagination of a particular moment rather than discovered through experiment or objective methodology. The past can reveal truths which are part of our personal and collective lives. If, for example, we consider a landscape beautiful, it is because we have absorbed historical assumptions that influence how we understand that landscape. Mountains were seen only as obstacles to easy travel before the eighteenth century, and then subsequently regarded as glorious monuments to nature; these changing views were not based on objective approaches to the evidence but in sensibilities that emerged from the Enlightenment; that is, notions of the sublime majesty of nature that quite simply changed dramatically with the influence of Romanticism that emerged from or against the Enlightenment (see Chapter 5). In this context, for example, we may have an idea of the English village that is bucolic, charming and seemingly unchanging, the very epitome of Englishness. It may consist of a church, a duck pond, a war memorial, a cricket pitch or village green and a public house or 'pub', a sense of England as a pastoral idyll symbolized by the thatched roofed house or, perhaps, the 'babbling brook' or haystack, even if this particular feature of the countryside actually disappeared from English fields almost half a century ago (Samuel, 1994, p. 107). It is an image that contrasts with landscapes of smoking chimneys or rows of terraced houses that make up the 'pit' village of the former mining communities, the 'dark satanic mills' demonized by writers such as William Blake, Charles Dickens and Arnold Bennett. These images and narratives of industrialization were evoked when Victorian artists and writers described industrialization or the 'condition of England'.

Outside a European sensibility, this aesthetic may never be known, and instead the thatched roof in an English village could be seen as a sign of poverty. People of earlier periods might have read the picture differently not because they lacked humanity, sensibilities, taste, or should somehow be considered inferior to those who lived in Western cultures, but because the historical milieux in which they lived were simply different. William Cobbett (1763–1835), pamphleteer and social commentator, recalled in his *Rural Rides*, sometime in the 1820s, travelling through the rolling hills of the Cotswolds in England, not far from the city of Oxford. He hated the picturesque scenery: to him the livestock that populated its gentle hills and slopes would feed the 'Great Wen' or large drain; the teeming multitudes of London. Before Cobbett, or certainly in the century before he was born, the argument that the Cotswolds was a storehouse for the industrial masses could not have been made or would have been made in a quite different way.

It could be argued then that whatever period or era of history we live in is steeped with sensibilities and aesthetics that colour our lives and shade how we learn or write history, thereby challenging our efforts to be dispassionate in the way we read evidence. This may give us pause to consider whether our consciousness of eras and epochs can ever be identified in an objective manner. Did the middle classes feel themselves to be continually 'rising' or could the ancients have known that they were ancient any more than we can know precisely that we are somehow 'postmodern'. Johan Huizinga's highly speculative but extremely stimulating *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (2001), first published in 1924, looked at the culture of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France and the Low Countries and concluded that artists, as well as theologians, poets, chroniclers, princes and statesmen should be treated 'not as the harbingers of a coming culture, but as perfecting and concluding the old' (Huizinga, 2001, p. x). Chivalry, hierarchy, gothic forms and symbolism that were so important to medieval architecture, art and life were not the rotten remains of a stagnant, 'dark' or 'middle' age in history whose only real purpose was to stand in contrast to the bright, humanist 'Renaissance period' that was about to be born. If we were alive then, unknowingly on the cusp of the medieval and early-modern eras, we would surely have been

subject to a maelstrom of influences that dictated our attitudes to what might be uniquely considered *at that moment* to be pleasing in appearance.

If the contemporary observer can therefore differentiate between the beauty and ugliness of the rolling hills of the Cotswolds, and make historical judgements about what a landscape represents or how it has changed, it is because our experiences in the present are altogether more encompassing than attempts to recapture the past through the acquisition of analytical skills or training for historians proposed by Elton. Examples from the history of landscape, aesthetics or the competing ideas of the English village, serve to illustrate the message at the heart of this section: that history does indeed matter in a way that would find agreement between both Carr and Elton, yet in differing ways.

'The past is a foreign country' is the opening line to the novel by L. P. Hartley called *The Go-Between*, and is a place where 'they do things differently'. This articulates how from the perspective of Elton and others, the present is indeed separated from the past: 'they' are separated from 'us'. And yet as David Lowenthal noted in his 1985 book *The Past Is a Foreign Country*:

During most of history men scarcely differentiated past from present, referring even to remote events, if at all, as though they were then occurring. Up to the nineteenth century those that gave any thought to the historical past supposed it much like the present. To be sure, the drama of history recorded major changes of life and landscape, but human nature supposedly remained constant, events always actuated by the same passions and prejudices. Even when ennobled by nostalgia or depreciated by partisans of progress, the past seemed not a foreign country but a part of their own. And chroniclers portrayed bygone times with an immediacy and intimacy that reflected the supposed likeness.

(Lowenthal, 1985, p. xvi)

Only with the rise of scientific-type methodology when importance came to be placed on ways of gathering evidence objectively, could distinctions in time be made between 'then' and 'now'. This is a theme that we shall return to in the next chapter. Some commentators interested in questions that arise from the quest for historical objectivity and coherent narratives, such as the historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, have articulated an overwhelming need to revive histories that promote synthesized or unified themes concerned with class, nation, ideas and so forth. However universal or 'whole' narratives such as the story of nation or class have been, efforts to foster and promote a single, coherent and integrated history have become increasingly difficult, precisely because of renewed efforts to write histories of gender, race and so on that speak to our lives in the here and now.

Like Elton, Himmelfarb has argued that a downplaying of political history over a number of years has encouraged historical knowledge to be treated in isolation, with each topic treated like a piece of a jigsaw but where seldom a complete picture comes into view. The real distinction that Himmelfarb makes, however, is between an 'old' history that attempts to understand contemporaries in their own terms, and the 'new' history which, while laudable in taking notice of, say, the historical role of women or black people, tends to interpret the past solely through the optic of the present (Himmelfarb, 2004). This fragmentation of historical narratives into stories about 'identities' has happened under the influence of literary theory which, she argues, deconstructs the language used in historical sources to the point where the voice of the author is given no authority and the meaning of which can never be truly known. The text and the language of the text, from this perspective, have no context besides the preoccupations and concerns of the historian in the present day (see Chapter 9).

We are presented then with a serious choice about how history as a discipline works, what it can reasonably do and how it is approached. Taking our cue from historians such as Elton or Himmelfarb, is objectivity something we should strive for? Or is the subjectivity and (to an extent) present-mindedness of Carr and others more convincing? What are the pressures and influences bearing down on us as we 'do' history, and can we resist these pressures to the extent that we can really know things about the past? To address these questions, and to introduce others, we shall need to take a trip to India and the British Raj.

SECTION 2: HISTORY AND THE STATUS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

The Indian Mutiny began in the summer of 1857 and was finally crushed nearly a year later. It has entered into our popular imagination, but just note how. The use of the term 'mutiny', rather than, say, revolt, suggests that this was a traitorous act perpetrated by subjects of the British crown. This was how it was seen at the time, and helps to explain why the retribution of the British was so brutal. A memorial in Delhi remembers the mutiny. Built by the British in 1863, it takes the form of an octagonal shaped tower and ornamental facade in the gothic style. It is dedicated to the memory of those soldiers and loyal Indians of the Delhi Field Force who were killed or died of disease during what now might be considered as the initial war for Indian independence. In 1972 a new plaque was added, correcting any impression given on the original memorial that the 'enemy' were anything else but, as it is inscribed, 'freedom fighters and martyrs of India'. And so this was how the history of the Mutiny was first built and then reconstructed.

The mutiny was ostensibly sparked by the replacement of standard issue Minie rifles with Pattern Enfield's rifle-muskets. Both Hindu and Muslim soldiers were now required to bite off the end of the cartridge which was widely rumoured to be caked with cow or pig fat, thus in one stroke causing offence to each religious group that made up the Indian ranks of the East India Company's Bengal Army. The origins of the revolt, however, were complicated, and drew variously upon a range of grievances over the ways in which the British had intruded in the economic and cultural life of Indian peoples. Many of our generation learnt nothing about the Indian Mutiny of 1857/8 at school. Parents, no doubt as part of the general reassessment of the empire that took place in the midst of post-war decolonization, may have told stories about the cruelty of the British as they took revenge on the hacking to death of 260 women and children in the massacre of Kanpur in July 1857, or by lashing the mutineers to the mouths of cannons and blasting them to oblivion – a form of execution that the British reasoned was quick, yet spectacular, so giving fair warning to would-be protesters who harboured any lingering doubts about the wisdom and might of British rule. Above all, these were acts of calculated cruelty since – as the British knew full well – Hindus believed that the body needed to be intact in order to be reincarnated.

As far as the historiography of the revolt is concerned, let us look at an account by a noted, if traditional, historian of India, and ask what it reveals about his approach to an understanding of the repercussions of the mutiny. Percival Spear's *A History of India*, first published in 1965, contains the following passage:

In the summer of 1858 northern India lay inert and lacerated. The wisdom of Canning and strength of men like Sir John Lawrence restrained and soon ended the punitive measures and clamours for vengeance which followed the wake of the armies. But much remained



FIGURE 1.1 Summary executions by the British of Indian rebels in 1857, depicted by the Russian artist Vasily Vereshagin in 1884.

© Pictorial Press Ltd/Alamy

to be done. Most of the rebel leaders were killed in battle like the Rani of Jhansi, or disappeared like the Nana and Bakht Khan of Delhi, or were executed like Tantia Topi. The Emperor Bahadur Shah had been promised his life. After a trial of doubtful legality he was exiled to Rangoon where he died in 1862 at the age of eighty-seven. The Mughal family lost its royal status. Delhi and Lucknow slowly returned to normal life, but Delhi with its territory lost its semi-independent position and was attached to the Punjab. A number of implicated princelings lost their states and their lives. In Oudh Canning's confiscatory proclamation was not withdrawn, but its application was left to the discretion of the new Chief Commissioner Montgomery, and its rigour mitigated by a system of regrants.

These were the immediate and local results; there followed a number of measures of great importance. The East India Company ended its long career as the ruling power in India; a new attitude was adopted toward the princes; the army was reorganised; a new beginning was made in associating Indians with the supreme of their country. The new age was ushered in and its intended spirit defined in the Queen's proclamation of 1 November 1858. If good can come out of the evil the mutiny can claim the credit for most of these measures. There remained the psychological gulf between the peoples of India and Britain. This gulf was not created by the Mutiny as we have seen. The forces of separation had outstripped that of cooperation and the hope of self-government. This spirit was reinforced by that of fear on the British side and the resentment which it aroused was

12 Perspectives and themes

deepened by the memory of defeat and vengeance on the Indian. In this sense the Mutiny was a calamity whose effects only time could heal. Happily the progressive forces of reform and cooperation were not consumed but only consumed by the smoke of passion. They had received a severe set-back, but the next fifty years showed that it was a check rather than a halt.

(Spear, 1990, pp. 227–8)

Given that Spear, as a traditional historian, stressed the value of factual evidence, what facts did he actually use in this passage? We noted the following:

- 1 The Indian Mutiny ended in the summer of 1858
- 2 Most of the rebel leaders were killed, executed or disappeared
- 3 Clamour for vengeance against the Indians was tempered by the Viceroy Lord Canning and the Governor of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence
- 4 Delhi lost its independence and was absorbed into the Punjab
- 5 The East India Company lost its colonial authority, the Indian army was reorganized and Indians began to be incorporated into the apparatus of government
- 6 Queen Victoria issued a proclamation in November 1858 which outlined new policies toward India

In order to save time, these ‘facts’ are listed in a rough chronological order. They are all evidential facts that cannot seriously be disputed, at least not without some difficulty. But in themselves – even when arranged in the order that they happened – they say nothing about the nature of the British response to the revolt. Alone these facts do not constitute history; that is, they are part of the past but beyond their mere selection they are not yet part of historiography. They are like a catalogue of information, and so only become history when they are linked one to another as part of a narrative framework. Spear has done precisely this. Let us, however, look in a little more detail at what is going on in the passage. What he does here is to use the chronicle of events as building blocks of a particular story with a beginning (the end of the revolt) and an end (the subsequent fifty years of British rule). A number of important points follow from this:

- 1 The story is put together by linking the various chronological elements in causal relationships. The Indian Mutiny resulted in the death or disappearance of many of the rebel leaders. In the immediate aftermath there were demands for vengeance but these were silenced by the British authorities. Lessons were learnt from the mutiny. Measures were introduced to heal the wounds. The separation between Briton and Indian which had caused the mutiny were mitigated by the Queen’s proclamation, the end of the reign of the East India Company and the introduction of Indians in colonial administration
- 2 The story thus unfolds as a secondary narrative of British colonial authority in India. Britain ruled with humanity and harmony until events forced a separation, resulting in the mutiny, the defeat of which left India devastated and humiliated. But although the mutiny was a tragedy, in the longer term it promoted progressive forces of cooperation and hope which once again led to a happy and benign colonial relationship. Just consider how the language in the passage reinforces this narrative. India was ‘inert’ and ‘lacerated’; the ‘wisdom’ of Canning, the ‘strength’ of Lawrence muting the cries for vengeance; ‘good came out of the evil of the mutiny’

This narrative is part of a larger narrative that Spear inhabits in which colonial rule is exercised by the British as progressive and benign, and operates for the benefit of both colonizers and colonized. The story, however, is only one of many that can be constructed using this chronicle. Another, from the perspective of an Indian rebel could certainly be imagined or even retrieved from *exactly* the same evidence but it is one absent in Spear. Thus as an alternative history we could interpret the evidence as follows:

- After years of suppression large sections of the Indian population decided to take matters in their own hands and drive the British out of India
- The revolt was nearly successful, but because of the military superiority of the British and their access to technology such as the telegraph, the nationalist struggle was defeated
- The British press cried out for vengeance against those who had been responsible for the atrocities. Many of the rebels were executed, but not on the scale that some had wished for
- The British government now recognized that their rule could no longer be based on military power alone, and therefore decided to take due account of India's religion and customs in order not to cause offence, and assimilate influential sections into the British ruling elite as a means of diverting them from future nationalist struggle

What this example illustrates is that seemingly objective accounts based on hard factual evidence are riven by ideological influences, such as the historians' feelings about the nature of British rule in India. Here there is a critical difference between historical and evidential truth. There are certain truths in history but these tend to be evidential. Interpretations can never be self-evident truths because they are always open to challenge. All we can hope for is that through a dialogue between theory and evidence we can approach historical truth even though we never truly arrive there.

The received 'story' about the British Raj and others like it – the attacks by white settlers on American 'red' Indians in countless Westerns ('Got him' we shouted as they were shot from their horses), ruthless Nazis in comics, forever exclaiming *Achtung* – take us directly to questions about the nature of history, our understanding of the past and the role of the historian. Bearing in mind that many of us don't come to these subjects without prejudice, how can we gain access to the past with enough understanding and complexity that we neither accept unquestioningly an impressionistic historical narrative nor reject one that is broadly convincing to an intelligent reader? In short, how might we determine the status of historical knowledge?

In order to consider this question we must return to the historian Geoffrey Elton. The rather comfortable view held by Elton that the past is there and all we have to do is record it in a logical and coherent way is one which formed the cornerstone of the discipline of history when it emerged in the nineteenth century, largely with the life and work of the German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886). Von Ranke, whom we shall meet again in Chapter 8, lived by his famous maxim that the job of the historian was to show the past as it really happened. Since then, many important historians, with Elton-inspired rationalism, have attempted to do precisely this. From the perspective of Carr-like subjectivists, however, the whole edifice of that particular maxim is built on the mistaken premise that the past is out there just waiting to be discovered and then recovered by professionals trained in all the appropriate skills of gathering evidence and putting the fragments together again to form a whole picture true to its original likeness.

According to Elton 'the reality – yes, the truth – of the past exists in materials of various kinds, produced by the past at the time that it occurred and left behind by it as testimony' (Elton, 1998,

p. 52). What Elton is claiming here is that evidence is the basis of proper History with a capital 'H'. Historians are firmly bound by its authority, and must not use fiction to fill in the gaps that inevitably exist. It is in the sources – the evidential facts – that Elton's 'truth' can be found. But it is, of course, only the skilled, the professionally trained historian, who is able to do the proper work with such sources – only he or she who with an objective and open mind can select, evaluate and arrange them into a meaningful account of the past. These then are questions that take us to the heart of what it means to be objective in our approach to history; that is, how we can be free of bias or prejudice caused by personal feelings, excessive imagination or memories, and who it is that we can regard as a *bone fide* historian.

Now there are elements of this argument with which no historian, professional or otherwise, could quarrel. Elton recognizes that history is not the study of the past (we have no time machine to allow us to travel back in time), but the study of what remains of the past in the present. Clearly we must take evidence seriously: approach it with honesty and integrity, even if we find it does not accord with an argument we are trying to make. Historical facts found in the evidence cannot under any circumstances be squeezed into preconceived notions of what it is that we wish to argue and made to fit a pre-existing theory. Similarly, evidence ought not to be disregarded if we find it does not accord with our argument, no matter how beautifully designed that argument may be. We certainly should not make up evidence; making doubtful causal links between persons and events that may strengthen that argument but which would make that argument false. Even with these basic provisos, there remain real problems in relying purely on evidence as the necessary basis of an historical account.

Underlying Elton's approach to history is the premise that somehow the process of research and writing can be undertaken in an objective way by the historian. In a sense, Percival Spear's book on India contained that assumption. Others argue that subjectivity is unavoidable, that we are all creatures profoundly influenced by both the past and by history. Perhaps what Elton fails to recognize is the sheer impossibility of tackling evidence with neutrality. Not that all historians have a particular axe to grind – most are not engaged in propaganda work which blatantly sets out to assassinate historical characters or causes. Nor are we especially motivated by emotions such as anger, love or contempt. Rather, we all inhabit particular social and political environments which will inevitably influence how we construct our histories. For the new social historians of the 1960s and 1970s, as we shall find in Chapter 12, subjectivity became a virtue when certain historians were encouraged to use their own experiences in the present to shape their reading of historical evidence. This was true in particular of socialist and feminist historians who encouraged a dialogue between workers and historians.

It is the increasing recognition of the importance of historical truth that has given rise to something of a transformation in historical thought over the last twenty years. Such has been this transformation that there are now currents in the philosophy of history which almost completely invert the relationship between evidence and interpretation. As we have seen, for Elton evidence is the origin and basis of all historical knowledge, whereas more recent interventions point to the critical importance of the interpretation of evidence and indeed the status of evidence. We introduced the term postmodern in the opening section, and return to the topic in Chapter 9, but for now it is enough to say that postmodern historiography denies that historical truth is possible. The past is not out there simply to be grasped, but is actively created by historians working with particular values, ideologies and interpretations. The task, then, is not only to scrutinize the evidence, but also to reveal the processes through which that evidence is used to create interpretations of past events. This in many ways can be seen as a healthy development, not least

in revealing the hidden ideologies in historical accounts. Unfortunately, as in all such movements when established orthodoxies are being challenged, an awful lot of heat is wasted in vituperative debate, insult and misrepresentation.

Both these positions are unfair and untenable. We cannot dismiss the whole corpus of previous historiography as theoretically naive simply because emphasis is given to this evidence rather than to the problem of interpretation. Many historians working within this tradition have provided us with rich, sophisticated accounts of historical events and change. If we subsequently wish to read them with due recognition of the moment they were produced and the framework they inhabited, then they must retain their value. Yet, equally, we cannot dismiss postmodern history as a mere figment of their imaginations. To our knowledge, no historian working within this tradition would dismiss evidence as inconsequential – that, for example, the Holocaust had no material reality; all take it seriously. Postmodern historians, however, argue that for it to be understood, that materiality has to be appropriated by ideas and theories about the nature of historical change, of the rituals of human behaviour and the very status or form of writing itself. Historians, needless to say, are not neatly divided between ‘empiricists’ and ‘postmodernists’. When we say ‘empiricists’ we mean (in brief) historians that rely on fact-gathering and the narrow use of our senses to interpret those facts. All historians, however, are cognizant of the need to explore the limits of historical knowledge and the place of the historian in the creation and transformation of knowledge as they encounter the fragments of the past in the present. To do this well, something must be known about choosing and interpreting evidence – the very issues confronted in the next section with a survey of the historiography of Chartism.

SECTION 3: CHOOSING EVIDENCE, CHALLENGING INTERPRETATIONS

Monday was a traditional day of riot and protest in Britain and was derived from a traditional holiday called St Maundy. Probably for this reason, on Monday, 25 September 1838, the Manchester Political Union organized a rally at Kersal Moor, Salford in the north of England, where an estimated 300,000 people gathered and marched from the Manchester factories to the moors accompanied by bands and carrying banners rescued from the ‘massacre’ at Peterloo in 1819. ‘More pigs less parsons’, or ‘For children and wife, we war to the knife’ exclaimed the banners as they were carried that day by the so-called Chartists who demanded the ‘six points’ of political reform, namely, universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by secret ballot, abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament, payment of MPs and equal electoral constituencies.

Chartist activity, intense though it was, had all but ceased by the final National Convention in 1858. Nonetheless, in its aftermath, all Chartism’s demands were subsequently granted except, mercifully, annual parliaments. Since then, the rise and fall of Chartism has attracted much attention from historians: was it economic, social or political in nature? Was it a national or a regional movement? Was it well or badly led? Was it revolutionary? Did it succeed or fail? The purpose of this section then is to use Chartism as a case study in order to demonstrate how historians build knowledge through innovative approaches to research and the deployment of evidence, and in so doing transform our historical understanding.

Some historians have located Chartism in the long history of radicalism beginning with the seventeenth-century agitation by the Levellers, and their ‘People’s Agreement’ which included demands for popular sovereignty and the extension of suffrage, or the dissenting, agrarian

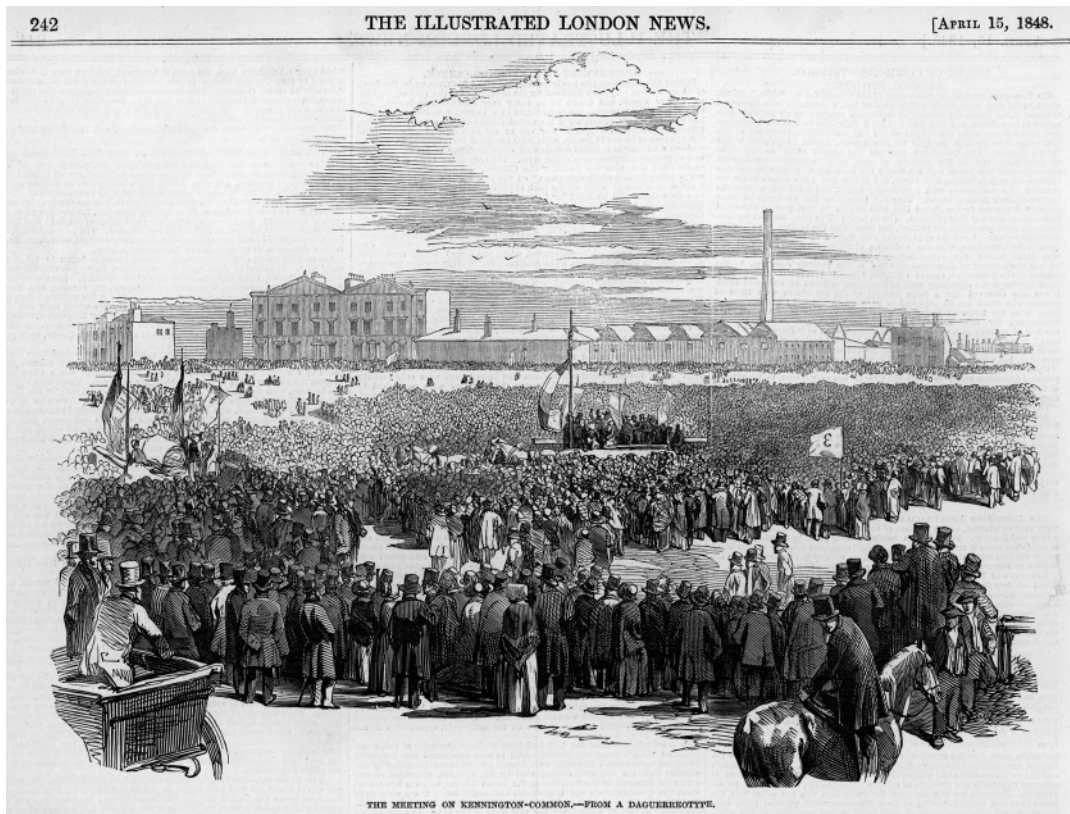


FIGURE 1.2 Chartist meeting at Kennington Common, London, April 1848. Although large, the gathering signalled the demise of the movement.

© Mary Evans Picture Library/Alamy

communism of the Diggers. Alternatively, the election of the radical John Wilkes in the Middlesex elections of the 1760s and 1770s (mentioned briefly in the opening section and discussed again in Chapter 10) is sometimes regarded as the beginning of the democratic impulse in Britain (see Chapter 8). Whatever its origins, radicalism in Britain received a boost from the American and French Revolutions and the radical pamphleteering of such activists as Obadiah Hulme, James Burgh and Major John Cartwright in the 1770s, which acted as counterweights to popular loyalism and led to the state suppression of radical agitation in the mid-1790s. Radicalism revived at the end of the French wars or else went underground, while political radicalism such as that of the Tory William Cobbett (he from the first section who despised the Cotswolds because it fed the industrial masses in London) prospered, taking us down to Peterloo in 1819 and beyond. Next, the rise of philosophical radicalism and economic reform gave rise to influential figures such as the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, and promoted a heightened interest in parliamentary reform. A quiescent state in the mid-1820s, during a period of relative prosperity, was followed by revival of activity over religious disabilities in 1828–9 which informed middle class agitation down to the First Reform Act of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and emergence of working-class agitation that fed Chartism until (and beyond) the European revolutions of 1848.

This largely working-class agitation demanded land nationalization and legislative change to free workers from 'industrial slavery'. Reforms to the poor law, support for the unemployed and calls for the disestablishment of the Church of England as administrators of relief to the poor, and for a system of free education (including the establishment of industrial schools) anticipated the rise of the welfare state of the early twentieth century. Likewise, the reforms to the state anticipated an inclusive pluralism that brought nonconformists (non-Anglican Protestants), Catholics, Jews and atheists into the 'pale of the constitution' in advance of the introduction of universal suffrage and the rise of mass politics.

Given this narrative, how has Chartism been treated by historians? How have they chosen which evidence to highlight and how have they interpreted that evidence? What, more generally, has characterized the changing approaches to these questions? Early histories of radicalism made an explicit link between the political and social motivations for Chartism – 'the knife and fork question'. Both Fabian (the intellectual arm of the British labour movement that argued for the evolutionary transformation of capitalism) and Marxist histories regarded Chartism as the forerunners of the modern Labour movement. A key figure in the movement and in its subsequent historiography was Francis Place (1771–1836). A follower of the radical William Godwin (1756–1836) and a member of the London Corresponding Society, which boasted of its unlimited membership sympathetic to the egalitarian aims of the French Revolution, Place had made his name as part of the Westminster elections with Francis Burdett. He also, in 1838, with the London Working Men's Association, helped to draft the People's Charter; only thereafter becoming disillusioned with Chartism and its rainbow coalition of currency reformers, socialist and cooperative followers of Robert Owen, and local heroes with their almost infinite variety of colourful views. After opposing factory reform and supporting the Anti-Corn Law League, he retired to write the voluminous account of his times which Robert Gammage's *History of the Chartist Movement* (1894), Graham Wallas' *Life of Francis Place* (1898) and countless scholars have drawn upon since.

The Place collection held in the British Library has been known about and used by historians since at least the 1890s. Evidence of the Chartist experience, however, was not yet fully known until the 1940s, and the interpretation of Chartism had advanced little. Marxist histories highlighted 'physical force' Chartism as part of a heritage of revolutionary politics and this too was of a piece with contemporary Communist politics. Likewise, both Theodore Rothstein's *From Chartism to Labourism* (1929) and Reg Groves' *But We Shall Rise Again* (1938) emphasized the evolutionary and revolutionary strands within Chartism but did so with a Popular Front agenda in mind (the touchstone of radical politics and historiography in the 1930s that argued for a united force on the left to counter right-wing and reactionary politics). Fabian historiography (in which for these purposes we can count G.D.H. Cole's *Chartist Portraits* (1941), continued the biographical tradition begun by Gammage), tended towards framing the 'moral force' element of Chartism as part of a constitutional and gradualist politics that he largely supported in his own day. Cole and then the historian George Kitson Clark (1900–75), in a 1953 book, were keen to emphasize how 'rational Chartism' or 'hungry Chartism' was a movement broken by working class divisions of the sort that wrecked the 1950s Labour Party, then out of power, and which served as a warning to internal dissidents of the danger of division. The concern was with contemporary working class unity as much as it was with the objective truths thrown up by historical research.

That Chartism served as a cautionary tale for those on the Left facing a formidable foe was emphasized less by the Liberal historians J. L. (1872–1949) and Barbara (1873–1961) Hammond who in their very popular *The Age of the Chartists, 1832–1852* (1930), did something to address the

ambivalence Liberals had hitherto felt towards Chartism. Likewise, Asa Briggs (1921–2016) wrote *Chartist Studies* (1959) and opened up a commentary from a social democratic perspective. Questions were posed about the effect of the trade cycle on the ebb and flow of Chartist militancy, seen very much as a local and regional phenomenon. As a celebrant of the radical tradition, Francis Williams, a journalist and Labour Party activist, wrote *Fifty Years' March: The Rise of the Labour Party* (1949) and *The Magnificent Journey: The Rise of the Trade Unions* (1954), but did so in a way that presented the history of radicalism as the history of class, which by then had become a shared determinant among historians of various political traditions.

Enter Dorothy Thompson (1923–2011) who was perhaps the most influential historian of Chartism. Her students and followers – James Epstein, Neville Kirk, John Saville and Geoff Eley – together transformed Chartist studies, emphasizing the national characteristics of Chartism as the culmination of a ‘literate and sophisticated’ working-class radicalism which simultaneously renewed Chartism as a political, rather than an economic movement. In the intervention launched by *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (1984), Thompson:

- saw a need for a general survey of what we thought we knew about Chartism
- rejected local studies which suggested that Chartism was simply a series of protest movements
- introduced a longer timeline for Chartism (back to 1832)
- placed less emphasis on the heterogeneity of Chartist support, rethinking the occupations of Chartists
- detected a common language based on what she argued to be a coherent political and social programme

Chartism is thus an example of an historical question that has been through several phases of historiography, its parameters set firm by both the evidence and the conceptual boundaries of the discipline. Biographical accounts focused on leadership, placing emphasis on ‘moral force’ or ‘physical force’ Chartism, the political or social aspects of their demands, Chartism as a series of local protests versus Chartism as a systematic national movement – all at one time or the other came to prominence. The archive, such as the Place papers, had been all but exhausted but still historians have found ways of reading evidence in new and interesting ways; this leads us to an important recent intervention in our understanding of Chartism by Gareth Stedman Jones.

Stedman Jones in an essay called ‘Rethinking Chartism’, republished in *Languages of Class* (1983), transformed our knowledge of Chartism and simultaneously the methodology of modern historical studies. Stedman Jones adopted the notion that language – how we describe the world – is prior to our experience of it. In short, for Stedman Jones social being was not reflected simply in consciousness to be revealed through empirical procedures of Marxism, it was organized by language. Thus by studying the language used by Chartists, he insisted that the movement was not a perfect contemporary reflection of a revolutionary class-consciousness in the 1840s but instead employed language that was situated as a challenge to the ‘Old Corruption’ of land, church and aristocracy which belonged to the period before 1832. This language was of the eighteenth century, not the 1840s, the decade in which Chartism ostensibly thrived. It was language used by Wilkes in the 1760s and 1770s and by other radicals in the 1790s following the French Revolution, not a language that could possibly be used to critique a new industrial order. Thus the banners carried onto Kersal Moor in 1838 with which we began the section – ‘More pigs less parsons’ – was indeed a political language but one aimed at the church not the poverty induced by industrialization. Nor could Chartism be a mirror held up to Peel’s 1841–6 government measures.

As suggested by Miles Taylor (1996), an historian of nineteenth-century popular politics, Thompson and Stedman Jones had much in common:

- both were sceptical about Chartism as a local phenomenon
- both said Chartism was not simply a protest movement but had greater coherence
- both wanted to emphasize the political elements of Chartism
- both recognized the rational nature of Chartist arguments
- both located Chartism within a longer chronology of radicalism

They disagreed profoundly, however, about why Chartism collapsed and they did so not because new evidence had become known but because new interpretations were now available. For Thompson it was because the working class had lost the collective belief that they could reform politics in the conditions thrown up by mid-century capitalism; for Stedman Jones it was the collapse of the Chartist critique of the state, a critique inherited from a pre-reform politics. (We shall say more about the state in Chapter 10.) This disagreement was as much a disagreement of approach to the relevant facts: for Stedman Jones, Chartism could not respond to the limited nature of factory reform – new policing legislation, reform of local government and the New Poor Law; for Thompson, the state restricted newspapers and trade unions, crushed class consciousness, which in turn led to the collapse of Chartism.

The result of this debate about what we consider to be evidence and how we approach it, has led to fresh strands of enquiry: especially the systematic study of language and symbols; what the early historian of Chartism Robert Gammage once called the ‘gaudy trappings’ of Chartism – poetry, ballads, hymns, banners and flags. Thompson was always inclined to seek out the expressive aspects of the movement, but this and revisions based on the languages of what the historian Edward Royle called ‘Chartist culture’, have seen some rich work undertaken in popular politics more generally. Patrick Joyce in his *Democratic Subjects* (1994) attacked class as a universal category and looked instead for ‘other discourses of “the People” that were not confined to Chartist agitation’. Margot Finn (1993) took Chartism beyond its usual periodization, connected it to European nationalism and socialism of the 1860s, while Eugenio Biagini and Alistair Reid took up Chartism, like Stedman Jones, as one part of a radical tradition that stretches forward to influence both Gladstonian Liberalism and a nascent Labour movement.

The most recent contributions to Chartist scholarship have not successfully challenged the approach of Stedman Jones, although Ariane Schnepf’s *Our Original Rights as a People* (2006) has attempted just that. Instead there are studies which take the reader across the whole narrative of Chartism, such as Malcolm Chase’s *Chartism: A New History* (2007), and W. Hamish Fraser’s *Chartism in Scotland* (2010). There is even a turn back to biography that had originally characterized historical writing about the Chartists from the 1850s with Stephen Roberts looking at the career histories of Chartist figures Thomas Cooper and Arthur O’Neill in his *The Chartist Prisoners* (2008). Yet none of these worthwhile additions to the genre was content to make do with accepted ‘facts’; instead they did what historians ought to do – they concentrated equally on both the choice and selection of evidence, and balanced theory and evidence.

By focusing on this one area of historiography we should be in a position to pull together some of the themes of the chapter. Whether the historian is objective or subjective about the Chartist phenomenon is not important if it is believed that historical evidence remains unsullied by the unreasonable prejudice of the historian or even influenced by the time in which the history is researched and written. Nor should an approach that regards the historian as objective, treating the

past as quite unconnected to the present, necessarily be a right-wing or conservative idea. The radical historian, E. P. Thompson (1924–93), for example, saw wife sales (like his essays on ‘rough music’ in 1972 or the ‘moral economy’ in 1971) as an instance of a ‘rebellious traditional culture’ among the masses against a background of industrialization, an illustration of ‘the disassociation between patrician and plebeian cultures’. This suggested a concern for radical and class-based experiences but these historical experiences were, Thompson maintained, first revealed to him through primary sources.

Thompson as a Marxist did not collapse into a subjective empathy – the historical imagination that Stephen Fry invited us to apply to the past may well have been far too soft focused and woolly for Thompson. He used the archive in order to glimpse social relations among a stratum of society previously treated with condescension: an attempt by the mainly rural poor to claim rights in the face of a rapidly changing economy and a plebeian culture that was separate from its patrician counterpart. In using that archive he applied method just as surely as Elton. Indeed, in an argument with Raphael Samuel in the pages of the *History Workshop Journal* in the 1990s, Thompson railed against the ‘modish subjectivism now so current’ and argued that the evidence of the archive was not ‘silent and inert to be manipulated into any form the questioner proposed. Nor can the choice of context or setting be decided by the flip of a coin’. When Samuel suggested that the idea of wife sales as an unofficial form of divorce was ‘like any piece of historical reasoning and research, it was a child or creature of its time’, Thompson insisted instead and not without irritation that his argument had derived ‘from the instances which kept popping up in the newspapers when I was researching’ (Thompson 1992). From this debate alone we can see that advances in our knowledge of the past depends upon – indeed thrives on – the judgements of historians and continued debates among them. History is about argument and so solid advice for any student would be to ‘go argue’.

SECTION 4: CAUSES IN HISTORY

We wish to end this chapter by focusing on the most important – and intractable – question faced by historians today, namely, can historians ever *explain* what happened in the past? The question may seem an obvious one, but it is perhaps surprising how little attention it has commanded among historians in the long term. As we shall see when we come, in Chapter 5, to review how the discipline developed, the question of interpretation was not taken seriously until the Enlightenment. Previous historians had tended to work in order to chronicle events as a means of celebrating past achievements, or of bolstering the claims of particular rulers. In this respect, history rarely rose above the level of propaganda. Furthermore, if ever they articulated a sense of historical process by describing, say, how a particular society progressed, this was almost invariably seen as the result of divine providence or accident.

The other barrier which modern historians needed to overcome was that of positivism, a system of thought that had dominated historical inquiry since the nineteenth century. We have already touched on this in the earlier discussion of Geoffrey Elton, a twentieth-century historian who continued to adhere to this philosophy, but now it is necessary to flesh out the arguments a little. Positivism was a philosophy of knowledge that had its roots in, and came to define the methodology of the natural sciences in the early modern period. It held that priority be given to the compilation and organization of facts on the basis of which general (scientific) laws could then be induced. Historians were seduced by this approach, and so set about gathering all the facts they

could lay their hands on. Not only that, they recognized that the facts – or historical evidence as they preferred to call this material – needed to be as reliable and authentic as possible. Much time was therefore devoted to a critical examination of the gathered evidence before it could be given their seal of approval. The result was a vast increase in the store of evidence, almost all of which derived from documentary sources such as commentaries, state papers, court records and correspondence. (It was to be many years before other sources including archaeological, literary and photographic were taken seriously.)

The transition from facts to general laws, however, which seemed to be accomplished with great success in the natural sciences, worked less well in history. The main problem was in the evidence itself. Scientific evidence tended to be much more secure, reliable and controllable. Facts were gathered by scientists under strictly monitored conditions. They derived from first-hand observation which, if necessary, could be repeated time and again. No historian enjoyed such privileges. The inevitable outcome was that history remained rooted in the compilation of facts which came to be seen as its sole *raison d'être*. Thus it was that nineteenth-century historians such as von Ranke could claim that the task of the historian was to report things as they actually happened.

Alternative currents of thought emerged in the course of the century which challenged this comforting orthodoxy. Sociological thinking gained momentum. Led by Auguste Comte (1798–1857), sociologists began to argue that historical evidence offered something more important and interesting than the mere recording of events (Collingwood, 1961, pp. 128–31). If historians could not follow the example of natural scientists, then he proposed a new social science of sociology, which would use historical and contemporary evidence as the platform to launch into an investigation of the causal connections among the facts, on the basis of which sociologists could explain patterns of human behaviour and derive laws of societal change. Thus, according to Comte, the sociologist was a super-historian because he or she elevated history to the rank of a science, and historians to scientists instead of mere collectors and recorders of evidence.

The second impulse for change came from the work of Charles Darwin. The idea of a static natural world had long been discarded before *The Origin of Species* first appeared in 1859, but that of evolution through natural selection was truly original and seismic in its impact. Despite its many detractors, evolution conquered science, *and* began increasingly to appeal to historians. Evolution, after all, was predicated on the notion of progress over time, and so it came to be viewed as a theory that could be applied as much to historical as natural change. Grand theories about the steady progress of civilization, particularly in the modern era when the Enlightenment had banished the age of bigotry, darkness and superstition, and industrialization and liberalization provided great hope for the future of a free and prosperous human race owed much to this current of thought.

This exciting opening up of historical inquiry, however, presented a whole new range of philosophical and methodological questions with which historians still grapple. Many historians employed narrative as a vehicle to identify causal links. Story telling was an integral part of positivist approaches to the past, especially in biographical accounts where the motives of individual actors could readily be unearthed, and so it was a matter of framing their narratives with a greater rigour. Diplomatic and political histories have been, and continue to be prone to approaches relying on the stated intent and tactics of the main players (Tosh, 2002, pp. 142–50). Individual motive, however, has proved an uncertain and unreliable guide to historical causation. There is often a real discrepancy between what historical actors say about their motives, understandings and policies, and how they actually choose to act in particular situations. The stated aims of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, for example, are poor guides to

measures taken by company officials on the ground in eighteenth-century India. Equally importantly, individuals rarely display an awareness of structural changes such as modernization, demography or popular sensibilities within which they worked and which necessarily underpinned the historical changes they witnessed.

Ultimately, because human behaviour is extraordinarily complex, as are its causes, one-dimensional explanations are unreliable and inaccurate. Stephen Kern has recently highlighted some of these issues by exploring the changing interpretations of murder in western culture and the bodies of knowledge upon which they have drawn (Kern, 2004). His emphasis is chiefly on literary forms but the same motifs operate in works of history. Concomitant with the rise of sociology in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Kern argues, western thinkers transformed understanding of human behaviour and its causes. Advances in disciplines including genetics, economics, biology, criminology and philosophy provided the impetus, but they were most popularly evident in the novel which came to act as a filter for 'scientific' explanations. Crime fiction is a particularly good example. Early novels of this genre displayed strongly determinist causal factors such as monomania in *Moby Dick* and poverty in *Oliver Twist*, but as the century wore on these factors became increasing layered and multifaceted. With this, the search for unambiguous causality found in many Victorian novels was abandoned as writers more willingly accepted open-ended plots with no definite closure (ibid., p. 12).

The pleasing irony here is that this move to complexity and uncertainty reflected broader structural changes in society, notably the increasing interdependence and remoteness of social and economic relationships which resulted from the expansion of industrial capitalism and urbanization. History, in other words, caused shifts in the ways in which causality itself was viewed. And these changes were manifest in the broad causal themes identified by Kern, namely, ancestry, childhood, language, sexuality, emotion, mind, society and ideas, all of which featured strongly both in scientific research and crime fiction. A few examples from Kern must suffice. In *Dracula* (1897), Bram Stoker skilfully combines ancestry and criminality. The count is heir to predatory impulses passed down through the bloodline from one generation to another. But Stoker also drew freely upon the work of the influential Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso who had done much to popularize the notion that 'criminal types' had clearly recognizable features. Thus, the count was identified as a criminal type with an imperfectly formed mind, evidence of which could be detected in his aquiline nose, bushy eyebrows and pointed ears. Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) depicts the use of hormones to activate and quell aggressive impulses. In his dystopian vision, female embryos are injected with male sex hormones, the urges of adult females are placated with mammary gland extracts, and adults chew sex-hormone gum. When necessary to discharge aggression, hormones are even used to simulate murder. And when in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) the house of a poor farmer is about to be bulldozed, his murderous intent is defused by the driver's assertion that there is no one to blame and therefore no one to be shot. Anonymous, remote corporate greed is ultimately responsible for the farmer's desperate plight.

These are solitary fictional characters whose experiences may not translate that readily into history. Except that there are abundant examples from biographies of real historical actors which employ the same strategies and narrative devices in identifying causal relationships. The all-too-numerous studies of Hitler, for example, include the full range of sociological, psychological, economic and sexual motives in attempting to explain his monstrous behaviour. Rudolph Binion's psycho-history *Hitler among the Germans* (1976) is typical. Binion proposes that traumas from Hitler's early life were largely responsible for his subsequent genocide of the Jews. Before his birth, Hitler's mother lost three children to diphtheria, in response to which she became over-

protective of Adolf, breast feeding him well into teething but simultaneously conveying feelings of guilt and inadequacy. Later she was diagnosed with breast cancer and had a double mastectomy, largely on the recommendation of a Jewish doctor. But the cancer returned, and Hitler insisted the doctor – against his better advice – apply daily a pungent drug Iodoform to the suppurating scars, but to no avail for the mother died, probably from ingesting the drug. Using notions of oral trauma and Freudian oedipal theory, Binion uses these events to explain Hitler's hatred of Jews and the constant references he makes to the removal of the poison and cancer within German society (Kern, 2006, pp. 79–85).

Most historians, however, justifiably remain sceptical of such approaches. The elevation of largely accidental events to principal causal status in explaining momentous historical happenings is misleading, even foolhardy. Quite apart from Binion's reliance on uncertain psychoanalytical theory, there remains the whole question of whether historical change can be explained by reference to a single factor. Arguably, Hitler's hatred of the Jews had just as much to do with Germany's crisis following defeat in the First World War, the ancient lineages of anti-semitism, and an aggressive nationalism.

In order to develop the critique of monocausal explanations let us consider examples of somewhat limited historical thinking about other momentous events. It is widely believed that the United States was eventually compelled to enter the Second World War by the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, but as John Gaddis shows with admirable clarity, the reality was rather different:

It would make no sense . . . to begin an account of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour with the launching of the planes from their carriers: you'd want to know how the carriers came to be within range of Hawaii, which requires explaining why the government in Tokyo chose to risk war with the United States. But you can't do that without discussing the American oil embargo against Japan, which in turn was a response to the Japanese takeover of French Indochina. Which of course resulted from the opportunity provided by France's defeat at the hands of Nazi Germany, together with frustrations Japan had encountered in trying to conquer China. Accounting for all this, however, would require some attention to the rise of authoritarianism and militarism during the 1930s, which in turn had something to do with the Great Depression as well as the perceived iniquities of the post-World War I settlement, and so on.

(Gaddis, 2002, p. 95, cited in Hewitson, 2014, p. 105)

The oft-quoted claim – to take another example – that the First World War was caused by the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand is likewise suspect for it ignores the deeper structural shifts brought by imperial and industrial rivalries, the struggles over resources, inept diplomatic manoeuvrings, and even the destructive impulses of modernization. And so it is simply not true (as we have found in this very chapter) that the Indian Mutiny was caused by forcing sepoys to bite rifle cartridges smeared with pig fat, or that the abolition of slavery was driven solely by humanitarian desires to free enslaved Africans and their descendants.

So where does all this leave the question of historical causation? If we reject the idea of a single causal factor, or of the determining influence of individual actors then are we necessarily forced to accept the view that historical causation is multivalent and multilayered? Yes, we think it does; and yet does this get us any further? It may well be that the sheer plurality of causation prevents us from achieving a totally satisfactory – and satisfying – explanation of any historical event. Perhaps the philosopher of science K. Codell Carter was right when he insisted 'how totally pointless,

hopeless, and downright silly it is to think one can ever state *precisely* what it is for one thing to cause another' (Carter, 2003, p. 199 cited in Kern, 2006, p. 26).

Inspired by the call of Comte and others, many historians applied themselves to the task of uncovering general laws that could explain the course of historical change. One of the most influential was, of course, Karl Marx (see Chapter 8). All history is the history of class struggle, he declared, and it was this which acted as a motor force to drive historical transformation from primitive communism through distinct stages to capitalism and eventually communism. Such approaches proved extremely resilient and versatile as they gave rise to most of the subsequent schools of interpretative history striving for a narrative of universal application. Marxism, the *Annales* school, modernization theory and the histories of imperialism were all built on nineteenth-century precursors. In the past thirty years, however, these have come under increasing attack. Few historians would now accept Marxist narratives. Not only do they rely too heavily upon determinist conceptions of the relationship between the economic base and societal infrastructure, but they are also wedded to a teleology of historical change which when compared with the detailed record is unreliable. It goes further, for now, as part of the postmodern critique of historical practice, all such grand narratives have largely been abandoned (Chapter 9).

What, then, is left to the hapless historian in pursuit of the holy grail of causation? If we are still interested (as we should be) in explaining human behaviour, then it remains the case that this has to be seen in the appropriate historical context in all of its manifestations. This is easier said than done. The paucity and fragility of much historical evidence, the distinction of relationships which are causal rather than merely linked, and the ordering of causal hierarchies according to their relevance continue to present significant challenges; and if we find monocausal approaches unattractive, or are overwhelmed by causal plurality, then perhaps we might make progress by thinking in terms of limits or boundaries. Thus recourse to an understanding of broad, underlying structural processes may provide the key also to an understanding of human actors, not in the sense of determining their behaviour but rather of setting limits to, or defining the boundaries of the options which are available to them. Joan Wallace Scott has nicely stated the case:

[S]ubjects do have agency. They are not unified, autonomous individuals exercising free will, but rather subjects whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them. Being a subject means being 'subject to definite conditions of existence, conditions of endowment of agents and conditions of exercise. These conditions enable choices, although they are not unlimited'.

(Scott, 2007, p. 793)

Precisely what a subject is, or what conditions we are interested in takes us into debates that cannot be pursued here. Such complex debates on causation continue to exercise the more philosophically minded historians, and the obscure detail need not trouble us unduly. But it is vital to retain a critical perspective on historical writing by constantly asking what notions of causality obtain, with what results?

POSTSCRIPT

Many of us were encouraged to believe at school that since history books recorded events as they happened they were reliable and truthful statements about the past. Hopefully, anyone who has continued an interest in history – whether an established researcher or someone reading a history

book or watching a television documentary as a source of relaxation and entertainment – has had the resourcefulness to develop a more critical awareness of such accounts, and therefore should be sufficiently aware of the need to ask probing questions about the nature of the evidence presented and how it has been used by the writers.

What is clear from the consideration in this chapter of how historians have approached the past is that there is no consensus; indeed the topic has remained a contentious one. In the course of the nineteenth century when history emerged as a discipline in its own right, the task of the historian was seen to be that of recording things as they actually happened. This seemed obvious enough. Under appropriate circumstances, any historian trained in the techniques of working with evidence could produce a solid picture of the past. This vision of the role of the historian has proved to be remarkably enduring; indeed, many historians today would accept in large measure that this is what they strive for.

Recent scholarship, however, has begun to unsettle this rather too convenient approach. Until we have a time machine, it is argued, historians cannot work in the past, but examine in the present what evidence has survived from the past. Even historians are creatures of their time, and so are in some ways influenced by the spirit of the age no matter how much they may wish to rise above such mundane considerations. The debate between Geoffrey Elton, in the blue corner, representing the traditional historian, and E. H. Carr, in the red corner (no necessary significance here in the colour coding), representing a more critical approach to evidence, addresses directly these sorts of concerns. Unlike Elton, Carr contends that since we are all unable to divorce ourselves from contemporary political and social concerns, our approach to historical evidence can never be objective or dispassionate. This challenges the idea of the potential neutrality of the historian as recorder and questions whether we can ever gain access to historical truth.

In certain respects, we can. We know beyond reasonable doubt, for example, that Earl Cornwallis surrendered to the combined forces of North America and France on 19 October 1781, that a Bosnian nationalist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914, and that Jawaharlal Nehru declared Indian independence from British rule at midnight, 17 August 1947. Yet historical debates still rage on the historical significances of these events and whether (another preoccupation of this chapter) historical cause can be established by the historian.

The topic of historical causality is neglected at our peril; that one agent, structure or event is the 'cause' of an historical trend, is difficult to defend. Thus although we have access to what might be described as evidential truth, that same evidence can be used in very different ways by historians to construct a narrative and hence interpret the historical significance of the episode. When Percival Spear wrote of the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, he used limited evidential truths to forge a distinct account that in many respects is open to challenge by historians who have less sympathy for British rule. Theories on nationalist struggles, the role of the individual in historical processes, the nature of imperial power and so on will thus shape how historians view evidence.

Carr concluded that evidence and theory must be in continual dialogue, that is, theories must be tested against evidence, and evidence viewed through the lens of theory. The theory in question can be that suggested by Gareth Stedman Jones to historians of Chartism. Without digging up a single new fact, Stedman Jones has suggested an approach to existing evidence that has utterly transformed the way modern historians think about both Chartism as a movement and popular politics more generally.

These, then, are the sorts of questions we should bear in mind when approaching the past. The past is gone – we can never gain access to it except through the evidence which has survived to the present. What we do with that evidence determines the sort of accounts which are written.

FURTHER READING

www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/carr1.html

E. H. Carr (2001) [1961] *What is History?*.

Codell Carter (2003) *The Rise of Causal Concepts of Disease: Case Histories*.

R. G. Collingwood (1961) *The Idea of History*.

Geoffrey Elton (2002) [1967] *The Practice of History*.

John Gaddis (2002) *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*.

Mark Hewitson (2014) *History and Causality*.

Stephen Kern (2004) *A Cultural History of Causality. Science, Murder Novels, and Systems of Thought*.

Joan W. Scott (2007) *The Politics of the Veil*.

Gareth Stedman Jones (1983) 'Rethinking Chartism', in *The Languages of Class*.

Dorothy Thompson (1984) *Chartism: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution*.

Miles Taylor (1996) 'Rethinking the Chartists: Searching for Synthesis in the Historiography of Chartism'.

References

- A'Hearn, Brian , Franco Peracchi and Giovanni Vecchi (2009) Height and the Normal Distribution: Evidence from Italian Military Data, *Demography* 46 (1) pp. 125.
- Abbott, Andrew (1991) The Lost Synthesis, *Social Science History* 15 (2) pp. 201238.
- Abbott, Edith (1917) Charles Booth 18401916, *Journal of Political Economy* 25 (2) pp. 195200.
- Abrams, Philip (1982) *Historical Sociology*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Achinstein, Peter (ed.) (2004) *Science Rules: A Historical Introduction to Scientific Methods*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Adams, John W. (1981) Consensus, Community, and Exoticism, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (2) pp. 253265.
- Alcock, Susan , Terence D'Altroy , Kathleen Morrison and Carla Sinopoli (eds) (2001) *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldgate, Anthony (2007) *Britain Can Take It*, I. B. Tauris.
- Alexander, Sally (1976) Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century London in A. Oakley and T. Mitchell , *The Rights and Wrongs of Women*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Alexander, Sally (1984) Women, Class and Sexual Differences in the 1830s and 1840s: Some Reflections on the Writing of a Feminist History, *History Workshop Journal* 17 (1) pp. 125149.
- Alexander, Sally (1994) *Becoming a Woman: And Other Essays in 19th and 20th Century Feminist History*, Virago.
- Allen, Rick (1998) *The Moving Pageant: A Literary Sourcebook on London Streetlife, 17001914*, Routledge.
- Althusser, Louis (1962) *For Marx*, Allen Lane.
- Amt, Emilie (ed.)> (1993) *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe. A Sourcebook*, Routledge.
- Anderson, Benedict (2006) [1983] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Virago.
- Anderson, Michael (1980) *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 15001914*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Anderson, Perry (1964) Origins of the Present Crisis *New Left Review* 23 pp. 2653.
- Anderson, Perry (1974) *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, New Left Books.
- Ange, Olivia and David Berliner (2015) *The Anthropology of Nostalgia*, New York: Berghahn.
- Ankersmit, Frank (2001) Edmund Burke, Historism, and History, in W.M. Verhoeven (ed.) *Revolutionary Histories. Transatlantic Cultural Nationalism, 17751815*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Ankersmit, Frank (2001) *Historical Representation*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Anon (1989) The Runes of Loki. A Mischievous Look at Wargamers, *Miniature Wargames* 71.
- Arendt, Hannah (2004) [1968] *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Schocken Books.
- Aristotle (1997) *Aristotle's Poetics*, trans. George Whalley , Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press
- Arnold, David and David Hardiman (eds) (1993) *Subaltern Studies, VII*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- 466 Ashworth, Tony (2000) [1980] *Trench Warfare 19141918: The Live and Let Live System*, Pan Books.
- Aston, T. H. (1967) *Crisis in Europe, 15601660*, New York: Anchor.
- Avis, Paul (2002) *Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective*, Edinburgh: T&T Clarke.
- Ayers, Edward L. (1996) *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Azzam, Reem (1999) Modern Historical Methodology vs. Hadeeth Methodology [www.islamreligion.com/articles/851/viewall/modern-historical-methodology-vs-hadeeth-methodology/].
- Bacon, D. (2006) Depoliticizing War. [<http://dbacon.igc.org/Art/03PolWar.html>].
- Baetens, Jan (ed.) (2001) *The Graphic Novel*, Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Baetens, Jan and Hugo Frey (2015) *The Graphic Novel. An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bagley, J. J. (1972) *Historical Interpretations: Sources of Medieval History, 10661540*, Devon: David & Charles.
- Bailyn, Bernard (1992) *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail (1984) [1965] *Rabelais and his World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ballantyne, Tony (2010) The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and its Historiography, *Historical Journal*, 53 (2) pp. 429452.
- Bancroft, George (1857) *History of the United States*, Boston: Little, Brown.
- Barbault, Anna Laetitia (1825) *On Monastic Institutions in The Works*, 2 vols, Longman.
- Barnard, Alan (2000) *History and Theory in Anthropology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnard, Alan and Jonathan Spencer (eds) (2002) *Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Routledge.
- Barnett, Correlli (1986) *The Audit of War: The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation*, Faber and Faber.
- Barratt Brown, Michael (1988) *Away with All the Great Arches: Anderson's History of British Capitalism*, New Left Review, 167 pp. 2255.
- Barrell, John (1980) *The Dark Side of the Landscape. The Rural Poor in English Paintings, 17301840*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barrow, J. W. (1981) *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Battuta, Ibn (2005) [1929] *Travels in Asia and Africa 13251354*, Routledge Curzon.
- Bayly, C. A. (1989) *Imperial Meridian*, Longman.
- Bayly, C. A. (1997) *Empire and Information. Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 17801870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bayly, C. A. (2004) *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Beard, Mary (1987) [1946] *Woman as a Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Realities*, New York: Persia Books.

Bdardida, Franois (1991) [1979] *Social History of Britain, 1851-1975*, Routledge.

Beinhart, William and Lotte Hughes (2007) *Environment and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Belich, James, John Darwin, Margret Frenz and Chris Wickham (eds) (2016) *The Prospect of Global History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bender, Thomas (2002) *Strategies of Narrative Synthesis*, *American Historical Review*, 107 (1) pp. 129-153.

Ben-Israel, Hedva (1968) *English Historians on the French Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benjamin, Walter (1968) [1936] *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, New York: Schocken Books.

Bennett, Judith M. (2006) *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bennett, Judith M. (2008) *Forgetting the Past*, *Gender & History* 20 pp. 669-677.

Bentley, Amy (1995) *Book Review Essay, Digest*, pp. 2024.

Bentley, Michael (2005) *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870-1970*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

467 Berg, Maxine (1994) *The Age of Manufactures: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain*, Routledge.

Berg, Maxine (2005) *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berg, Maxine and Pat Hudson (1992) *Rehabilitating the Industrial Revolution*, *Economic History Review* XLV (1) pp. 245-0.

Berger, John (1990) [1973] *Ways of Seeing*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Berlin, Isaiah (1976) *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in The History of Ideas*, Chatto & Windus.

Berman, Marshall (1983) *All that Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, Verso.

Bernstein, Barton (ed.) (1968) *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, New York: Chatto & Windus.

Bhabha, Homi (1994) *The Location of Culture*, Routledge.

Biagini, Eugenio F. and Alistair Reid (1991) *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Popular Politics 1850-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Binion, Rudolph (1976) *Hitler Among the Germans*, New York: Elsevier.

Bischoff, Bernhard (1990) [1979] *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blaas, P. B. M. (1978) *Continuity and Anachronism: Parliamentary and Constitutional Development in Whig Historiography and the Anti-Whig Reaction*, Germany: Springer.

Black, Jeremy (1997) *Maps and Politics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Black, Jeremy (2000) *Maps in History: Constructing Images of the Past*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Blanning, T. C. W. and Peter Wende (eds) (1999) *Reform in Great Britain and Germany, 1750-1850*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blythe, Ronald (1969) *Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bogdanor, Vernon (2003) *The British Constitution in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bondanella, Peter E. (1973) *Machiavelli and the Art of Renaissance History*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Booth, Charles (1889) *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Macmillan.

Boucher, David (1995) *The Life, Times and Legacy of R. G. Collingwood*, in D. Boucher, J. Connelly and T. Modood (eds), *Philosophy, History and Civilization*, pp. 131, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Boucher, David, James Connelly and Tariq Modood (eds) (1995) *Philosophy, History and Civilization. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on R. G. Collingwood*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1963) *The Attitude of the Algerian Peasant Towards Time*, in J. Pitt-Rivers (ed.), *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, pp. 55-72, The Hague: Mouton.

Bowering, G. (1997) *The Concept of Time in Islam*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141 (1) pp. 556-6.

Boyns, Trevor (2007) *Accounting, Information, and Communication Systems*, in G. G. Jones and J. Zeitlin (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Business History*, pp. 447-469, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Braudel, Fernand (1992) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Collins.

Brewer, John (1976) [1989] *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Briggs, Asa (1962) [1959] *Chartist Studies*, New York: St Martin's Press.

Broadberry, Steve (1997) *The Productivity Race: British Manufacturing Performance in International Perspective 1850-1990*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bromwich, David (2014) *The Intellectual Life of Edmund Burke: From the Sublime and Beautiful to American Independence*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brooks, Nicholas, (1985) *The Organisation and Achievements of the Peasants of Kent and Essex in 1381*, in H. Hayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (eds), *Studies in Medieval History*, Hambledon.

Brose, David (1973) *The Northeastern United States*, in J. Fitting (ed.), *Development of North American Archaeology*, pp. 84-96, University Park: Penn State University Press.

Brown, Callum G. (2009) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*, Routledge.

468 Brown, Jonathan (1998) *Painting in Spain 1500-1700*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Brown, Richard and Beth Davis-Brown (1998), *The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness*, *History of the Human Sciences* 11 (4) pp. 1732.

Brown, Stuart et al. (1980) *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*, Open University Press.

Brownley, Martine Watson (1985) *Clarendon and the Rhetoric of Historical Form*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bruce, Steve (1992) *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burckhardt, Jacob (2004) *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, New York: Modern House.

Burke, Edmund (2003) [1790] *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Frank Turner, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Burke III, Edmund (2009) *The Big Story. Human History, Energy Regimes, and the Environment*, in E. Burke and K. Pomerantz (eds) *The Environment and World History*, pp. 3353, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burke III, Edmund and Kenneth Pomerantz (eds) (2009) *The Environment and World History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burke, Peter (1985) *Vico*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burke, Peter (1997) *Varieties of Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, Peter (1998) *European Renaissance*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Burke, Peter (2005) [1992] *History and Social Theory*, Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Burke, Peter (2007) [2001] *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Burke, Peter (2008) *What is Cultural History?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, Peter (2009) [1978] *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Burton, Antoinette (1995) *Burdens of History: British Feminism, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Burton, Antoinette (ed.) (2005) *Archive Stories: Fact, Fiction, and the Writing of History*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Butterfield, Herbert (1970) [1944] *The Englishman and his History*, New Haven: Archon Books.

Butterfield, Herbert (2005) [1931] *The Whig Interpretation of History*, Continuum.

Bynum, Caroline Walker (1984) *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bynum, Caroline Walker (1987) *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins (1986) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, I. The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850*, *Economic History Review*, XXXIX, pp. 506.

Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins (1987) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, II. New Imperialism, 1850-1945*, *Economic History Review*, XL pp. 126.

Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins (2001) *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, Harlow: Longman.

Calder, Angus (1991) *Myth of the Blitz*, Pimlico.

Carlyle, Thomas (2010) [1837] *Carlyle's French Revolution*, ed. Ruth Scurr, Continuum.

Carr, E. H. (2001) [1961] *What Is History?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Carter, K. Codell (2003) *The Rise of Causal Concepts of Disease: Case Histories*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Chadwick, Owen (1975) *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (1989) *Rethinking Working-Class History. Bengal, 1890-1940*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

469 Chakravarti, Ranabir (2011) *Natural Resources and Human Settlements. Perceiving the Environment in India*, in N. S. Kapur (ed.), *Environmental History of Early India*, pp. 5562.

Chamberlain, Mary (1975) *Fenwomen: A Portrait of Women in an English Village*, Virago.

Chandler, Alfred (1990) [1962] *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the American Industrial Enterprise*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chandler, James (1999) *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chase, Malcolm (2007) *Chartism: A New History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Chaturvedi, Vinayak (ed.) (2000) *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*, Verso.

Cheney, C. R. (2000) *A Handbook of Dates for British Students*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheng, Eileen (2008) *The Plain and Noble Garb of Truth. Nationalism and Impartiality in American Historical Writing, 1784-1860*, Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Childe, V. Gordon (1956) *Piecing Together the Past. The Interpretation of Archaeological Data*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Childs, Peter and Williams, Patrick (1997) *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Cho, Jennifer (2007) *(Re)Remembering the Apocalyptic Specter: Art Spiegelman's In the Shadow of No Towers*.
[\[http://www.americanpopularculture.com/archive/venues/spiegelman.htm\]](http://www.americanpopularculture.com/archive/venues/spiegelman.htm)

Christian, David (2010) *The Return of Universal History*, History and Theory, 49 (4) pp. 627.

Clanchy, M. T. (1993) *From Memory to Written Record*: England 1066-1307, Oxford: Blackwell.

Clapham, John (1949) [1926] *Economic History of Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, Anna (1995) *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clark, Kenneth (1969) *Civilization: A Personal View*, BBC.

Clarke, Peter (2007) [1971] *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Claudio, Ester (2001) *Ergodic texts: In the Shadow of No Towers* [<http://blog.comicsgrid.com/2011/02/ergodic-texts-in-the-shadow-of-no-towers/>]

Cleghorn, Hugh (1861) *The Forests and Gardens of South India*, W. H. Allen.

Cobb, Richard C. , (1974) *Modern French History in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cobbett, William (2001) *Rural Rides*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cohn, B. (1980) *History and Anthropology: The State of Play*, Comparative Studies in Society and History 22 (2) pp. 198-222.

Cohn, B. (1990) [1987] *Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cohn, Norman (2005) [1967] *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Serif.

Cole, G. D. H. and Raymond Postgate (1938) *The Common People 1746-1938*, Methuen.

Cole, G. D. H. (1989) [1941] *Chartist Portraits*, Cassell.

Coleman, D. C. (1992) *Myth, History and the Industrial Revolution*, Hambledon.

Colish, Marcia L. (1997) *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition*, 400-1400, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Colley, Linda (2003) *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850*, Pimlico.

Colley, Linda (2005) *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Collingwood, R. G. (1939) *An Autobiography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collingwood, R. G. (1961) [1946] *The Idea of History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collini, Stefan (1999) *English Pasts: Essays in History and Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corfield, Penelope J. (2007) *Time and the Shape of History*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cosgrove, Denis E. (1999) *Mappings, Reaktion*.

Cosslett, Tess (1984) (ed.), *Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

470 Cowling, Maurice (1971) *Impact of Labour 1920-1924: The Beginning of Modern British Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crafts, N. F. R. and C. K. Harley (1985) *English Workers' Real Wages During the Industrial Revolution: Some Remaining Problems*, Journal of Economic History 45 pp. 139-144.

Crafts, N. F. R. and C. K. Harley (1992) *Output Growth and the British Industrial Revolution: A Restatement of the Crafts-Harley View*, Economic History Review 45 pp. 703-730.

Craig, David (2010) *High Politics and the New Political History*, Historical Journal 53 pp. 453-475.

Crewe, Emma (2005) *Lords of Parliament: Manners, Rituals and Politics*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Croche, Benedetto (1921) *Theory and History of Historiography*, Harrap.

Crosby, Alfred (1972) *The Columbian Exchange. Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Crosby, Alfred (1986) *Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Curtin, Philip (1969) *Atlantic Slave Trade*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Curtis-Wendlandt, Lisa , Paul Gibbard and Karen Green (eds)> (2013) *Political Ideas of Enlightenment Women: Virtue and Citizenship*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Daly, Mary (1979) *Gyn/Ecology*, The Women's Press.

Dangerfield, George (1997) [1935] *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Darnton, Robert (2001) [1984] *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes of French Cultural History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Daunton, Martin J. (1989) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Industry 1820-1914 Past and Present*, 122 (1) pp. 119-158.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall (1987) *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, Routledge.

Davis, David Brion (1988) [1966] *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davis, David Brion (2000) *Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspectives*, American Historical Review, 105 (2) pp. 452-466.

Davis, David Brion (2014) *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation*, New York: Vintage Books.

Davis, Jack (2002) *Review of Books: Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940-1980*, Stephen Tuck, American Historical Review, 107 (5) pp. 1595-1596.

Davis, Mike (2001) *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nio Famines and the Making of the Third World*, New York: Verso.

Dawson, Graham (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imaginings of Masculinities*, Routledge.

De Beauvoir, Simone (1997) *The Second Sex*, Vintage.

De Groot, Jerome (2016) *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*, Routledge.

Deal, Douglas (1993) *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, Revision of author's thesis.

Degler, Carl (1959) *Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice*, *Comparative Studies in Social History*, II, pp. 4966.

Deliege, Robert (2004) *Lvi-Strauss Today*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Delogu, Paolo (2002) *An Introduction to Medieval History*, Duckworth.

Denikin, Anton (1975) *The Career of a Tsarist Officer: Memoirs, 1872-1916*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Dennis, Richard (1991) *History, Geography, and Historical Geography*, *Social Science History* 15 (2) pp. 265-288.

Diamond, Jared (1997) *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, New York: Vintage.

Dickens, Charles (2003) *Pickwick Papers*, Penguin.

Dickens, Charles (2012) *Bleak House*, Penguin.

Dirks, Nicolas (ed.) (1992) *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

471 Doyle, Arthur Conan (1891) *The Man with the Twisted Lip*, *The Strand Magazine*, 2 (12).

Driver, Felix (2001) *Geography Militant: Geography, Exploration and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1992) [1935] *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*, New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Duffy, Eamon (2005) [1992] *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dunn, Elizabeth Bramm (2007) *Preserving or Distorting History? Scholars Reflect on Archival Repositories*, *Historical Methods* 40 (4).

Durkheim, Emile (2015) [1915] *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain, George Allen & Unwin.

Dyer, Christopher (2009) *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Edgerton, David (2006) *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edgerton, Gary (2001) *Ken Burns's Rebirth of a Nation: Television, Narrative, and Popular History*, in Marcia Landy (ed.) *The Historical Film*.

Egan, Pierce (1821) *Life in London*, London, Sherwood, Neely and Jones, reproduced facsimile in John Marriott (ed.), *Unknown London*, vol. 2.

Eisner, Will (1978) *Contract with God*, New York: Norton.

Eley, Geoff (2005) *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Eley, Geoff and David Blackburn (1985) *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, Reaktion Books.

Elsner, John and Joan-Pau Rubis (1999) *Introduction*, in idem (eds) *Voyages and Visions. Toward a Cultural History of Travel*, Reaktion Books.

Eltis, David (1987) *Economic Growth and the End of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Elton, G. E. R. (1998) *Return to Essentials: Some Reflection on the Present State of Historical Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elton, G. E. R. (2002) [1967] *The Practice of History*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Englander, David and Rosemary O'Day (1983) *Mr Charles Booth's Inquiry: Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered*, Hambledon.

Englander, David and Rosemary O'Day (eds) (1995) *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain 1840-1914*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Enumerate Thematic Network (2013) *Report on the Thematic Surveys on Digital Collections in European Cultural Heritage Institutions* (www.enumerate.eu).

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1971) *The Azande: History and Political Institutions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Feldman, David and Jon Lawrence (2011) *Introduction: Structures and Transformations in British Historiography*, in idem (eds) *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, Frances (2004) *Burke and the Response to the Enlightenment*, in Fitzpatrick, Martin, Peter Jones, Christa Knellwolf and Iain McCalman (eds) *The Enlightenment World*, London and New York: Routledge.

Ferguson, Niall (ed.) (2011) [1997] *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*, Penguin.

Ferguson, Niall (2011) *Civilization: The West and the Rest*, Allen Lane.

Ferguson, Wallace K. (1956) *The Renaissance*, New York: Holt.

Ferguson, Wallace K. (1981) [1948] *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*, New York: AMS Press.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe (1995) *Millennium*, Black Swan.

Febvre, Lucien (1924) *A Geographical Introduction to History*, New York: Knopf.

472 Figs, Orlando (1997) *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924*, Pimlico.

Finkelman, Paul (2014) [1996] *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*, New York: Routledge.

Finn, Margot (1993) *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fishman, William J. (1988) *East End 1888: Life in a London Borough Among the Labouring Poor*, Duckworth.

Fitting, James (ed.) (1973) *The Development of North American Archaeology. Essays in the History of Regional Traditions*, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Flood, Robert , James Ginther and Joseph Goering (eds) (2013) *Robert Grosseteste and his Intellectual Milieu*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies.

Floud, Roderick , Kenneth Wachter and Annabel Gregory (1990) *Height, Health and History: Nutritional Status in the United Kingdom, 1750-1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flower, Michael A. and John Marincola (eds) (2002) *Herodotus, The Histories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fogel, Robert and Stanley Engerman (1974) *Time on the Cross: The Economics of Negro Slavery*, Boston: Little, Brown.

Foner, Eric (1984) *Why Is there no Socialism in the United States?*, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 17 (Spring) pp. 234-249.

Foster, John (1974) *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Foucault, Michel (1995) [1977] *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel (2001) [1965] *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, Routledge.

Foucault, Michel (2002) [1972] *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Routledge.

Foucault, Michel (2003) [1973] *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, Routledge.

Fowler, Don and David Wilcox (eds) (2010) *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Fredenson, Patrick (2009) *Business History and History*, in G. Jones and J. Zeitlin (eds) *Oxford Handbook of Business History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fukuyama, Francis (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press.

Fulbrook, Mary (ed.) (1997) *German History Since 1800*, Arnold.

Funari, Pedro , Martin Hall and Sin Jones (1999) *Introduction: Archaeology in History*, in idem, *Historical Archaeology*, pp. 136.

Funari, Pedro , Martin Hall and Sin Jones (eds) (1999) *Historical Archaeology. Back from the Edge*, Routledge.

Furet, François (1998) *The French Revolution Revisited*, in Gary Kates (ed.) *The French Revolution. Recent Debates and New Controversies*, Routledge.

Fussner, Frank Smith (2010) [1962] *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Gaddis, John (2002) *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha (1993) *This Fissured Land. An Ecological History of India*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gallois, William (2007) *Time, Religion and History*, Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Galor, Katharina and Hanswulf Bloedhorn (2013) *The Archaeology of Jerusalem*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gamble, Andrew (2014) *Crisis Without End: The Unravelling of Western Prosperity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gammage, Robert (1894) *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-54*, Newcastle: Browne and Browne.

Gardiner, Samuel Rawson (1894) [1863] *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642*, Longmans Green & Co.

Garnett, Jane , H. C. G. Matthew and John Walsh (1993) *Revival and Religion Since 1700: Essays for John Walsh*, Hambledon Press.

473 Geary, Patrick J. (1994) *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the First Millennium*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books.

Ghosh, Peter (1999) *Whig Interpretation of History* in K. Boyd (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Historians and History Writing*, Fitzroy Dearborn.

Gibbon, Edward (1998) [1776] *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Lentin and B. Norman , Ware: Wordsworth.

Giddens, Anthony (1996) [1971] *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo (1983) *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ginzburg, Carlo (1990) *Myths, Emblems, Clues*, Hutchinson Radius.

Ginzburg, Carlo (1992) [1980] *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo (2004) [1989] *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Girouard, Mark (1999) *Alfred Waterhouse and the Natural History Museum, The Natural History Museum*.

Gissing, George (1999) [1889] *The Nether World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Given-Wilson, Christopher (2007) [2004], *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval Britain*, Hambledon Continuum.

Glacken, Clarence (1967) *Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Glinert, Edward (2000) *A Literary Guide to London*, Penguin Books.

Glinert, Edward (2003) *The London Compendium: A Street by Street Exploration of the London Metropolis*, Allen & Lane.

Goldman, Eric F. (1952) *The Origins of Beard's Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 13 (2) pp. 234-249.

Goldhill, Simon (2008) *Jerusalem: City of Longing*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Goldstone, Jack (1991) *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goldthorpe, John H. (1991) *The Uses of History in Sociology: Reflections on Some Recent Tendencies*, *British Journal of Sociology* 42 (2) pp. 211-230.

Goldthorpe, John H. (1994) *The Uses of History in Sociology: A Reply*, *British Journal of Sociology* 45 (1) pp. 55-77.

Gomery, Douglas and Allen, Robert Clyde (1993) [1985] *Film History: Theory and Practice*, Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Gooder, Eileen (1979) [1961], *Latin for Local History: An Introduction*, Longman.

Goody, Jack (1983) *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack, Joan Thirsk and E. P. Thompson (eds.) (1976) *Family and Inheritance. Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gospel, Howard, *Skill Formation for British Industry: A Historical and Comparative Perspective* (forthcoming).

Gourvish, Terence Richard and Anson, Mike (2006) *The Official History of Britain and the Channel Tunnel*, Routledge.

Gourvish, Terence Richard and Blake, N. (1986) *British Railways 1948-73: A Business History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gras, Norman (1939) *Business and Capitalism: An Introduction to Business History*, New York: F. S. Crofts.

Graves, Robert and Barry Unsworth (2006) *I, Claudius: From the Autobiography of Tiberius Claudius, Emperor of the Romans, Born 10 BC, Murdered and Deified AD 54*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.

Gray, Robbie (1976) *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

474 Green, Abigail (2010) *Moses Montefiore: Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Green, Eric M. (ed.) (1997) *An Age of Transition: British Politics, 1880-1914*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Green, John Richard (1992) [1892-1894] *A Short History of the English People*, Folio Society.

Green, Simon J. D. (1996) *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire 1870-1920*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Green, Simon J. D. (2010) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c.1920-1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Groensteen, Thierry, Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen (2007) *The System of Comics*, Oxford: University of Mississippi Press.

Groensteen, Thierry and Ann Miller (2013) *Comics and Narration*, Oxford: University of Mississippi Press.

Grove, Richard (1995) *Green Imperialism. Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grove, Richard (1998) *The East India Company, the Raj and the El Niño: the Critical Role Played by Colonial Scientists in Establishing the Mechanisms of Global Climate Teleconnections, 1770-1930*, in R. Grove, V. Damodaran and S. Sangwan (eds), *Nature and the Orient*, pp. 301-323.

Grove, Richard, Vinita Damodaran and Satpal Sangwan (eds) (1998) *Nature and the Orient*, Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Grove, Richard and Vinita Damodaran (2012) *Environment*, in Philippa Levine and John Marriott (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Imperial Histories*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Groves, Reginald (1938) *But We Shall Rise Again: A Narrative History of Chartism*, Secker and Warburg.

Guha, Ranajit (ed.) (1982-1989) *Subaltern Studies, Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Vols. I-VI, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Gunaway, Bryan (2003) *Review of Carolyn Steedman, Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*, *H. Net Reviews in the Humanities & Social Sciences*.

Gunn, Simon (2006) *History and Cultural Theory*, Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Habermas, Jürgen (1987) [1972] *Knowledge and Human Interests*, Cambridge: Polity.

Hadju, David (2004) *Review In the Shadow of No Towers*, *New York Times* [www.nytimes.com/2004/09/12/books/review/in-the-shadow-of-no-towers-homeland-insecurity.html?_r=2].

Hale, John (1967) *The Evolution of British Historiography from Bacon to Namier*, Macmillan.

Hall, Catherine (1990) *The Tale of Samuel and Jemima: Gender and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century England*, in idem, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Cambridge: Polity.

Hall, Catherine (ed.) (2000) *Cultures of Empire. A Reader*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hallam, Elizabeth M. (1990) *Nine Centuries of Keeping Public Records*, in Geoffrey Martin and Peter Spufford (eds) *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office, 1838-1988: The British Record Society, 1888-1988*, Woodbridge: Boydell.

Hallam, Henry (1908) [1827] *Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II (12 vols.)*, John Murray.

Hamblyn, Richard (2002) *The Invention of Clouds: How an Amateur Meteorologist Forged the Language of the Skies*, Picador.

Hamilton, Carolyn, V. Harris, M. Pickover, G. Reid, R. Saleh and J. Taylor, (eds) (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Hamish Fraser, W. (2010) *Chartism in Scotland*, Pontypool: Merlin Press.

Hammond, Barbara and John Hammond (1947) [1934] *The Bleak Age*, West Drayton: Penguin.

Hammond, Barbara and John Hammond (1962) [1930] *The Age of the Chartists, 1832-1852: A Study of Discontent*, Hamden, CT: Archon Books.

475 Hancock, David (1995) *Citizens of the World. London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Handlin, Oscar and Mary Handlin (1950) *Origins of the Southern Labor System*, William and Mary Quarterly, VII pp. 199-222.

Hannah, Leslie and Margaret Ackrill (2001) *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690-1996*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hare, J. Laurence (2014) *Nazi Archaeology Abroad: German Prehistorians and the International Dynamics of Collaboration, Patterns of Prejudice*, 48, (1) pp. 124.

Hareven, Tamara K. (1983) *Family Time and Historical Time: The Relationship between Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harper, Sue and Vincent Porter (2003) *The Decline of Deference: British Cinema of the 1950s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Jose (1994) *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain 1870-1914*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Harrison, Brian (1996) *The Transformation of British Politics, 1860-1995*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Hartwell, Max (1972) [1965] *The Industrial Revolution in England*, Historical Association.

Haskell, Francis (1993) *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hatzenbuehler, Ronald (2011) *Questioning whether Thomas Jefferson was the Father of American Archaeology*, History and Anthropology, 22, (1) pp. 121-129.

Hauser, Arnold (1999) [1951] *Social History of Art, 1892-1978*, Routledge.

Hartz, Louis (1991) [1955] *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution*, New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton (1999) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity.

Helmstadter, Richard (1985) *Victorian Faith in Crisis*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Helmstadter, Richard J. (1988) *The Nonconformist Conscience in Gerald Parsons, James Moore and Jonathan Wolffe (eds) Religion in Victorian Britain, Vols. I-IV*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Herodotus (2003) *The Histories*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hewitson, Mark (2014) *History and Causality*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Higham, John (1989) *Changing Paradigms: The Collapse of Consensus History*, The Journal of American History 76 (2) pp. 460-466.

Hill, Christopher (1991) [1972] *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Himmelfarb, Gertrude (2004) *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hinde, Andrew (2003) *England's Population: A History since the Domesday Survey*, Hodder Headline.

History and Sociology (1976) *British Journal of Sociology* 27 (3) pp. 295-412.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1964) *Labouring Men*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1969) *Bandits*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1971) *From Social History to History of Society*, Daedalus, 100 (1) pp. 2045.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence (1992) [1983] *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hochschild, Adam (2005) *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*, Macmillan.

Hodgson, Marshall G. S. (2011) [1974] *Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

476 Hodgson, Marshall G. S. and Edmund Burke (1993) *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman, John and Paul Graham (2006) *Introduction to Political Concepts*, Harlow: Pearson Education.

Hofstadter, Richard (1950) *Beard and the Constitution: The History of an Idea*, American Quarterly, 2 (3) pp. 195-213.

Hofstadter, Richard (1989) [1948] *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*, New York: Knopf.

Hofstadter, Richard (2012) [1968], *The Progressive Historians*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hoover, Dwight W. (1965) *Comments on Recent United States Historiography*, American Quarterly, 17 (2) Supplement, pp. 299-318.

Hopkins, F. Michael (2007) *Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History*, The Historical Journal 50 (4) pp. 913-934.

Hornblower, Simon (ed.) (1994) *Greek Historiography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Howkins, Alun (1985) *Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk, 1872-1923*, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hughes, J. Donald (2001) *An Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life*, Routledge.

Hughes, J. Donald (2006) *What is Environmental History?*, Cambridge: Polity.

Huizinga, John (2001) [1919] *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Humphries, Jane (1977) *Class Struggle and the Persistence of the Working Class Family*, Cambridge Journal of Economics 47 (1).

Humphries, Jane (1991) *Lurking in the Wings: Women in the Historiography of the Industrial Revolution*, Business and Economic History, 20, pp. 324-4.

Hunt, Edwin S. and Murray, James M. (1999) *A History of Business in Medieval Europe 1200-1550*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunt, Lynn (ed.) (1989) *The New Cultural History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Iggers, Georg G. , Edward Q. Wang and Supriya Mukherjee (2008) *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Ignatieff, Michael (1994) [1984] *The Needs of Strangers*, Vintage.

Jacob, Margaret and James Jacob (eds) (1991) *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*, Amherst, NY: Humanities.

Jacobs, Jane (1970) [1969] *The Economy of Cities*, New York: Vintage Books.

Jacobs, Jane (1985) [1984] *Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life*, New York: Vintage Books.

Jacobs, Jane (1994) [1993] *Systems of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics*, Hodder & Stoughton.

Jacobs, Jane (2000) [1961] *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Pimlico.

Jacobs, Jane (2000) *The Nature of Economies*, New York: Vintage Books.

Jacobs, Jane (2004) *Dark Age Ahead*, New York: Random House.

Janiak, Andrew (ed.) (2014) [1713] *Isaac Newton. Philosophical Writings*, Cambridge University Press.

Jefferson, Thomas (1954) [1787] *Notes on the State of Virginia*, New York: Norton.

Jenkins, Keith (1991) *Rethinking History*, Routledge.

Jenkins, Keith (1997) *The Postmodern History Reader*, Routledge.

Johnson, Martin (1999) *Rethinking Historical Archaeology*, in P. Funari , S. Jones and M. Hall (eds) *Historical Archaeology*, pp. 2336.

Jones, Geoffrey G. and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds) (2008) *The Oxford Handbook of Business History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, Peter (2004) Introduction, in Fitzpatrick, Martin et al., *The Enlightenment World*.

Jordan, Winthrop (2012) [1968] *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, New York: Oxford University Press.

477 Jordanova, Ludmilla (2006) [2000] *History in Practice*, Hodder Arnold.

Josephus (1981) *The Jewish War*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Joyce, Patrick (1994) *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Joyce, Patrick (ed.) (1995) *Class*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Joyce, Patrick (1999) *The Politics of the Liberal Archive*, *History of the Human Sciences*, 12 (2) pp. 3549.

Kapur, Nandini Sinha (ed.) (2011) *Environmental History of Early India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kassow, Samuel D. (2009) [2007] *Who Will Write Our History? Rediscovering a Hidden Archive from the Warsaw Ghetto*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Kaye, Harvey J. (1995) [1984] *The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Kean, Hilda , Paul Martin and Sally Morgan (eds) (2000) *Seeing History: Public History Now in Britain*, Francis Boutle.

Kekewich, Lucille (ed.) (2000) *The Impact of Humanism: A Cultural Enquiry*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kelley, Robert (1992) *Public History: Its Origins, Nature and Prospects*, in Phyllis K. Leffler and Joseph Brent (eds) *Public History Readings*, Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing.

Kelly, Joan (1984) *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kennan, George F. (1968) *Democracy and the Student Left*, Hutchinson.

Kern, Stephen (2003) [1983] *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kern, Stephen (2006) *A Cultural History of Causality. Science, Murder Novels, and Systems of Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Khalidi, Tarif (1994) *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kirby, Peter , (1997) *The Standard of Living Debate and the Industrial Revolution*, Refresh 25.

Klein, Herbert (1999) *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klingender, Francis and Arthur Elton (1975) [1968] *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, St Albans: Paladin.

Kloppenber, James T. (2001) In *Retrospect: Louis Hartz's The Liberal Tradition in America* , *Reviews in American History*, 29, pp. 460-478.

Knott, Sarah and Barbara Taylor (eds) (2005) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Kochan, Lionel (1977) *The Jew and his History*, Macmillan.

Kocka, Jurgen (1997) *New Trends in Labour Movement Historiography: A German Perspective*, *International Review of Social History* 42 (1) pp. 677-8.

Kolchin, Peter (2003) *American Slavery, 1619 - 1877*, New York: Hill and Wang.

Ladurie, Emmanuelle Le Roy (1990) [1975] *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French village, 1294-1324*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Ladurie, Emmanuelle Le Roy (2003) [1980] *Carnival in Romans: Mayhem and Massacre in a French City*, Phoenix Press.

Lal, Shyam Narayan (2011) *An Aspect of Rural Landscape in the Rashtrakuta Kingdom*, in Kapur (ed.), *Environmental History of Early India*, pp. 435-2

LaCapra, Dominick (2013) *History, Literature, Critical Theory*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Lambert, W. R. (1988) *Some Working-Class Attitudes Towards Organised Religion in Nineteenth Century Wales* in Gerald Parsons , James Moore and Jonathan Wolfe (eds) *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Vols. I-IV, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Lamoreaux, Naomi R. , Daniel M. G. Raff and Peter Temin (2008) *Economic Theory and Business History*, Oxford Handbook of Business History, DOI 10.1093/oxfordhdb/9780199263684.003.0003.

Landes, David (1999) [1998] *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor*, Abacus.

478 Landsberg, Alison (2015) *Engaging the Past. Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Landy, Marcia (ed.) (2001) *The Historical Film. History and Memory in Media*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Larner, Christina (1983) [1981] *Enemies of God: The Witch Hunt in Scotland*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Laslett, Peter (1971) [1965] *The World We Have Lost*, Methuen.

Laslett, Peter (1977) *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laslett, Peter (ed.) with assistance from Wall, Richard (1972) *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group Over the Last Three Centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and Colonial North America, with Further Materials from Western Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawrence, Jon (1998) *Speaking for the People: Party, Language and Popular Politics in England, 1867-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawrence, Jon (2013) *Back to Work. The Making and Unmaking of the English Working Class*, *Juncture*, 20 (1) pp. 8084.

Lawrence, Jon and Miles Taylor (eds) (1997) *Party, State and Society: Electoral Behaviour in Britain since 1820*, Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Le Goff, Jacques (1980) *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Le Goff, Jacques (2007) [2005] *The Birth of Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Leach, Stephen (2009) *An Appreciation of R. G. Collingwood as an Archaeologist*, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 19, (1) pp. 1420.

Lentin, Anthony and Brian Norman (1979) *Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Lentin, Anthony and Brian Norman (eds) (1998), *Edmund Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ware: Wordsworth.

Lester, Alan (2001) *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*, Routledge.

Levine, Joseph (1991) *Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Levine, L. W. (1977) *Black Culture and Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levine, Philippa and John Marriott (eds) (2012) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Imperial Histories*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Lvi-Strauss, Claude (1993/1994) [1958] *Structural Anthropology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Levy, Fred Jacob (2004) [1967] *Tudor Historical Thought*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Light, Alison (2015) *Common People: The History of an English Family*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lindert, Peter H. and Jeffrey Williamson (1985) *English Workers' Real Wages: Reply to Crafts*, *The Journal of Economic History*, 45 (1) pp. 145-153.

Linebaugh, Peter and Marcus Rediker (2000) *The Many-Headed Hydra. The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, Verso.

Lisle-Williams, M. (1984) *Merchant Banking Dynasties in the English Class Structure, Ownership, Solidarity and Kinship in the City of London, 1850-1960*, *British Journal of Sociology*, XXXV pp. 333-362.

Livingstone, David N. (1992) *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Louis, W. Roger (ed.) (1995/1999) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, 5 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lowenthal, David (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, David (1998) [1996] *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

479 Ludden, David (1999) *An Agrarian History of South Asia, The New Cambridge History of India*, IV (4), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacCalman, Iain (1988) *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840*, Oxford: Clarendon.

MacFarlane, Alan (1970) *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman. An Essay in Historical Anthropology*, New York: Norton.

MacFarlane, Alan (1973) *Imaginative Leaps*, *Times Literary Supplement*, January.

MacLeod, Duncan (1974) *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCullin, Don (1996) *Sleeping with Ghosts*, Cape.

McDonald, Forest (1997) *Colliding with the Past*, *American History*, 25 (1) pp. 1318.

McGinn, Bernard (1985) *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*, New York: Macmillan.

McKeon, Michael (1987) *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

McKibbin, Ross (1998) *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918-1951*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McNeill, William (1963) *The Rise of the West*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

McNeill, William (1978) *Plagues and Peoples*, New York: Anchor Press.

McNeill, William (1982) *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force and Society since AD 1000*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McNeill, William (1990) *The Age of Gunpowder Empires*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1929) *Sexual Life of Savages in North West Melanesia*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mann, Charles C. (2011) 1493. *How Europe's Discovery of the Americas Revolutionized Trade, Ecology and Life on Earth*, Granta.

Mandler, Peter (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mandler, Peter (2002) *History and National Life*, Profile Books.

Mandler, Peter (2006) *The English National Character*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mann, Michael (1986/2012) *The Sources of Social Power*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Manning, Patrick (2003) *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Mantel, Hilary (2010) *Wolf Hall*, Fourth Estate.

Marchand, L. A. (1957) *Byron: A Biography*, 3 vols., John Murray.

Marcus, Jacob R. (1999) [1938] *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.

Marriott, John (2000), Introduction, in idem (ed.) *Unknown London. Early Modernist Visions of the Metropolis, 1815-45*, 6 vols., Pickering & Chatto.

Marriott, John (2003) *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and Progress in the Colonial Imagination*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Martin, Bernice (1976) Review of *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism and Lineages of the Absolutist State* by Perry Anderson, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 27 (2) pp. 267-271.

Martin, C. T. (1976) [1910] *The Record Interpreter*, Dorking: Kohler and Coombes.

Martin, G. H. (1990) *The Public Records in 1888*, in Martin and Spufford (eds), *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office, 1838-1988*, Woodbridge: Boydell.

Martin, G. H. and Peter Spufford (eds) (1990) *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office, 1838-1988*, Woodbridge: Boydell.

Martin, Paul (1999) Look, See, Hear: A Remembrance with Approaches to Contemporary Public History at Ruskin, in Geof Andrews, Hilda Kean and Jane Thompson (eds), *Ruskin College, Contesting Knowledge, Dissenting Politics*, Lawrence & Wishart.

Marwick, Arthur (2005) [1998] *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

480 Marwick, Arthur (2001) *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Marx, Karl (1974) [1886] *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capital Production*, Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (2002) [1844] *The Communist Manifesto*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Mayer, Arno J. (1981) *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War*, Croom Helm.

Mellor, Ronald (1999) *The Roman Historians*, Routledge.

Mellor, Ronald (ed.) (2004) *The Historians of Ancient Rome*, Routledge.

Merridale, Catherine (2001) *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Russia*, New York: Viking.

Michie, Randal (1992) *The City of London: Continuity and Change, 1850-1990*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Midgley, Clare (1992) *Women Against Slavery: the British Campaigns, 1780-1870*, Routledge.

Mighall, Robert (1999) *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, Cecilia (1993) *Giambattista Vico: Imagination and Historical Knowledge*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Miller, Joseph (2012) *Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mokyr, Joel (2002) *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mokyr, Joel (2009) *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700-1850*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Momigliano, Arnaldo (1990) *Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Berkeley: California University Press.

Monmonier, Mark (1996) *How to Lie with Maps*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Moore, Barrington (1966) *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Morrison, Arthur (1982) [1896] *The Child of the Jago*, Chicago: Academy Publications.

Morrison, Toni (1993) *Beloved*, Vintage.

Mumford, Lewis (1934) *Technics and Civilization*, Routledge.

Mumford, Lewis (1938) *The Culture of Cities*, Secker & Warburg.

Mumford, Lewis (1944) *The Condition of Man*, Secker & Warburg.

Mumford, Lewis (1961) *City in History*, Secker & Warburg.

Munslow, Alun (2003) *The New History*, Harlow: Pearson.

Munslow, Alun (2007) *Narrative and History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome (2008) *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide: An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Muthu, Sankar (2003) *Enlightenment Against Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Namier, Lewis (1957) *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, Macmillan.

Nead, Lynda (2000) *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Newens, Stan (2007) *The Genesis of East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding*, History Workshop Journal 64 pp. 347-353.

Newton, Isaac (1999) [1713] *The Principia: Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, trans. Bernard Cohen and Anne Whitman, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Novick, Peter (1988) *That Noble Dream. The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Obeyesekere, Gananath (1997) *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Offer, Avner (1989) *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oliver, W. H. (1979) *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orr, Linda (1990) *Headless History. Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

481 Orser, Charles and Thomas Patterson (2004) Introduction: V. Gordon Childe and the Foundations of Social Archaeology, in Patterson and Orser (eds) *Foundations of Social Archaeology*, pp. 123.

Paddayya, K. (1995) Theoretical Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, in Peter Ucko (ed.), *Theory in Archaeology*, pp. 110-149.

The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504 (2005) 16 vols., Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Paine, Thomas (2004) [1794] *Age of Reason*, Dover Publications.

Pandey, Gyan and Partha Chatterjee (eds) (19xx) *Subaltern Studies, VII*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Parasher-Sen, Alok (2011) Of Tribes, Hunters and Barbarians. Forest Dwellers in the Mauryan Period, in Kapur (ed.), *Environmental History of Early India*, pp. 322.

Parker, Geoffrey (2013) *Global Crisis. War, Climate Change & Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Parker, Geoffrey and Lesley Smith (eds) (1997), *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, Routledge.

Parrott, David (2015) *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the 17th Century* by Geoffrey Parker, London Review of Books, 37 (5).

Parson, Gerald (1993) *The Growth of Religious Diversity*, Routledge.

Parsons, Gerald, James Moore and John Wolfe (eds) (1988) *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Vols. 11V, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Parsons, Talcott (1951) *The Social System*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Passerini, Luisa (1987) *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patterson, Thomas and Charles Orser (eds) (2004) *Foundations of Social Archaeology. Selected Writings of V. Gordon Childe*, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Pederson, Susan (2002) What is Political History Now? in Cannadine, David (ed.) *What Is History Now?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Perkin, Harold (1981) *The Structured Crowd*, Brighton: Harvester Press.

Perkin, Harold (1989) *The Rise of Professional Society*, Routledge.

Perks, Robert and Alistair Thompson (eds) (2006) *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge.

Perry, Marvin and Frederick M. Schweitzer (2002) *Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Pietrzak-Franger, Monika (2009) Envisioning the Ripper's Visions: Adapting Myth, in Alan Moore and Eddie Campbell (eds) *From Hell: Neo-Victorian Studies*, pp. 157-185.

Pike, E. Royston (1966) *Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain*, Allen & Unwin.

Plumb, J. H. (1988) *The Making of an Historian. The Collected Essays of J. H. Plumb*, 3 vols., Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Plumb, J. H. (2003) [1969] *The Death of the Past*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Pocock, J. G. A. (1985) *Virtue, Commerce and History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pomeranz, Kenneth (2009) Introduction, in Burke and Pomeranz (eds) *Environment and World History*.

Portelli, Alessandro (1991) *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

Porter, Bernard (2004) *The Absent-Minded Imperialists. Empire, Society and Culture in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Porter, Roy (1988) *Seeing the Past, Past and Present* 118 pp. 186-205.

Porter, Roy (1988) *Edward Gibbon: Making Histories*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Porter, Roy (1995) *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, Allen Lane.

Poster, Mark (2003) History in the Digital Domain, *Historian* 4 pp. 17-32.

Potter, M. David (1954) *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Potter, M. David (1954) *Democracy and Abundance*, Challenge 3 (2) pp. 37-41.

482 Potts, Alex (1988) *Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century*, History Workshop Journal 26 (1) pp. 28-56.

Pounds, N. J. G. (1994) [1974] *Economic History of Medieval Europe*, Longman.

Press, G. A. (1982) *The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity*, Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Price, Richard (1789) *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, np.

Price, Richard (2006) One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture, *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (3) pp. 602-627.

Pryde, E. B. and D. E. Greenway (eds) (1986) [1941] *Handbook of British Chronology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rabelais, Francois (1653) *Gargantua and his Son Pantagruel*, trans. Sir Thomas Urquhart, Baddely. (2006 Harmondsworth: Penguin for modern version.)

von Ranke, Leopold (1981) *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*, ed. Roger Wines, New York: Fordham University Press.

Readman, Paul (2009) The State of Twentieth-Century British Political History, *Journal of Public Policy* 21 (3).

Reeder, David (1995) Representations of Metropolis: Descriptions of the Social Environment in Life and Labour, in David Englander and Rosemary O'Day (eds), *Retrieved Riches*.

Rendall, Jane and Keith McClelland (2016) Leonore Davidoff and the Founding of Gender & History, *Gender and History*, 48 (2) pp. 283-287.

Renfrew, Colin and Paul Bahn (2014) *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, Thames & Hudson.

Richmond, Theo (1995) *Konin: A Quest*, Cape.

Roberts, Elizabeth (1996) [1984] *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Roberts, Elizabeth (1995) *Women: Work 1840-1940*, Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Roberts, Stephen (2008) *The Chartist Prisoners*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Robertson, E. W. (1872) *Historical Essays in Connexion with the Land and Church etc.*, Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

Robinson, Chase F. (2003) *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rohrbacher, David (2002) *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, Routledge.

Roper, Lyndal (1994) *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, Routledge.

Rose, Gillian and Miles Ogborn (1988) *Feminism and Historical Geography*, *Journal of Historical Geography* 14 (4) pp. 405-409.

Rose, Jonathan (ed.) (2008) *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Rose, Sonya (2003) *Which People's War: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain, 1939-45*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, Sonya (2010) *What Is Gender History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rosenstone, Robert (2006) *History on Film/ Film on History*, Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Rosenthal, Franz (1990), *Science and Medicine in Islam: A Collection of Essays*, Aldershot: Variorum.

Rosenzweig, Roy (2011) *Clio Wired: The Future of the Past in the Digital Age*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Rothstein, Theodore (1984) [1929] *From Chartism to Labourism*, Garland.

Rowbotham, Sheila (1973) *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*, Pluto Press.

Royle, Edward (1996) [1980] *Chartism*, Longman.

Rubinstein, W. D. (1977) *The End of Old Corruption in Britain, 1780-1860, Past and Present*, 76, pp. 558-6.

Rud, George F. E. (2005) [1964] *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*, Wiley.

483 Ryrie, Alex (2009) *The Canon: The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* by Eamon Duffy, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 7 May.

Sacks, Jonathan (2003) *The Chief Rabbi's Haggadah: Hebrew and English text with new essays and commentary*, Harper Collins.

Sahlins, Marshall (1981) *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Sahlins, Marshall (1987) *Islands of History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, Marshall (1995) *How Natives Think: About Captain Cook, For Example*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, Marshall (2004) *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History and Culture and Vice-Versa*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Said, Edward (1991) [1978] *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Said, Edward (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*, Chatto and Windus.

Samuel, Raphael (1975) *Quarry Roughs* in idem (ed.) *Village Life and Labour*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Samuel, Raphael (1992) *On the Methods of History Workshop: A Reply*, *History Workshop Journal* 9, pp. 162-175.

Samuel, Raphael (1981) *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding*, Routledge.

Samuel, Raphael (1993) *The Discovery of Puritanism, 1820-1914: A Preliminary Sketch*, in Jane Garnett and Colin Matthews (eds) *Revival and Religion since 1700*, Hambledon.

Samuel, Raphael (1994) *Theatres of Memory*, Verso.

Sandle, Mark (2013) *Studying the Past in the Digital Age: from Tourist to Explorer*, in Toni Weller (ed.) *History in the Digital Age*, Routledge, pp. 129-148.

Sarkar, Sumit (1997) *Writing Social History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Saunders, Peter (1981) *Social Theory and the Urban Question*, Hutchinson.

Savage, Mike and Andrew Miles (1994) *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*, Routledge.

Scarpino, Philip V. (1993) Some Thoughts on Defining, Evaluating, and Rewarding Public Scholarship, *Public Historian* 15 (2) pp. 5561.

Schama, Simon (1987) *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, New York: Knopf.

Schama, Simon (1989) *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, Viking.

Schama, Simon (1991) *Dead Certainties*, Granta.

Schama, Simon (1995) *Landscape and Memory*, Harper Collins.

Schama, Simon (1999) *Rembrandt's Eyes*, Allen Lane.

Schama, Simon (2002) *A History of Britain*, Vol. 3, BBC.

Schama, Simon (2009) *The Power of Art*, The Bodley Head.

Schlesinger, Arthur (1943) Presidential Address prepared for the Columbus Meeting but Delivered on the Evening of the Annual Business Meeting in Washington, December 30, 1942, *American Historical Review*, 48 (2) pp. 225244.

Schnepf, Ariane (2006) *Our Original Rights as a People*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Schreiber, Katharina (2001) The Wari Empire of Middle Horizon Peru: the Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire without Documentary Evidence, in Susan Alcock, Terence D'Altroy, Kathleen Morrison and Carla Sinopoli (eds), *Empires*, pp. 7092.

Scott, Joan W. (1986) Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, *American Historical Review* 91 (5) pp. 10531075.

Scott, Joan W. (1988) *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Scott, Joan W. (2007) *The Politics of the Veil*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Scott, Sir Walter (1834) [1816] *The Antiquary*, Edinburgh: Robert Cadell.

Seeskin, Kenneth (2004) Maimonides on the Origin of the World, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

484 Seeskin, Kenneth (2004) Maimonides Sense of History, *Jewish History* 18 pp. 125128.

Selden, Anthony and Joanna Pappworth (1983) *By Word of Mouth: Elite Oral History*, Methuen.

Sellar, W. C. and Yeatman, R. J. (1930) *1066 and All That*, Methuen.

Sellar, A. M. (ed) (1907) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England. A Revised Translation With Introduction, Life, and Notes*, George Bell & Sons.

Segev, Tom (2007) *Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*, New York: Metropolitan Books.

Semmel, Bernard (1960) *Imperialism and Social Reform. English Social and Imperial Thought 18951914*, Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Semmel, Bernard (1986) *Liberalism and Naval Strategy. Ideology, Interest, and Sea Power during the Pax Britannica*, Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Semmel, Bernard (1993) *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire. Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sexton, Jay (2005) The Transnational Turn in American Historical Writing, *Historical Journal*, Spring 2005.

Shiach, Morag (2004) *Modernism, Labour and Selfhood in British Literature and Culture, 18901930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shorter, Edward (1975) *The Making of the Modern Family*, Collins.

Singh, Jyotsna (1996) *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues. Discoveries of India in the Language of Colonialism*, Routledge.

Sinha, Mrinalini (1995) *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sinopoli, Carla (2001) On the Edge of Empire: Form and Substance in the Satavahana Dynasty, in Alcock, D'Altroy, Morrison and Sinopoli (eds) *Empires*, pp. 155178.

Skinner, Quentin (1981) *Machiavelli*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skowronek, Stephen (2004) *The Search for American Political Development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skowronek, Stephen (1982) *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 18771920*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slack, Paul (1985) *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Slater, Michael (ed.) (19941998) *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism*, 3 vols., Dent.

Smeeton, George (1828) *Doings in London*, reproduced in Marriott (ed.), *Unknown London*, vol. 3.

Smith, Adam (1977) [1776] *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols., Everyman.

Sobel, Dava (1998) *Longitude*, New York: Walker.

Spear, Percival (1990) [1965] *A History of Modern India, 17401975*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Spear, Thomas (1981) Oral Tradition: Whose History?, *Journal of Pacific History*, 16 (3) pp. 133148.

Spengler, Oswald (1922) *Decline of the West*, Allen & Unwin.

Spiegelman, Art (2004) *In the Shadow of No Towers*, Viking.

Spivak, Gyatri (2010) [1993] Rosalind C. Morris (ed.) *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, New York: Columbia University Press.

SRG (ed.) (1971) *Historical Studies Today*, Special Issue of *Daedalus* 100 (1).

Stedman Jones, Gareth (1971) *Outcast London: A Study of the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian London*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Stedman Jones, Gareth (1983) *Rethinking Chartism*, in idem, *Languages of Class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stedman Jones, Gareth (2002) *Introduction, Communist Party Manifesto*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stedman Jones, Gareth (2004) *An End to Poverty? An Historical Debate*, Profile Books.

Stedman Jones, Gareth (2016) *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion*, Allen Lane.

Steedman, Carolyn (2001) *Dust*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

485 Stiglmayr, Joseph (1909) *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite*, *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, New York: Robert Appleton Company [www.newadvent.org/cathen/05013a.htm].

Stoltman, James (1973) *The Southeastern United States*, in Fitting (ed.) *Development of North American Archaeology*, pp. 117137.

Stone, Lawrence (1979) *The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History*, Past & Present, 85, pp. 324.

Stone, Lawrence (1990) [1977] *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stubbs, William (1873-1878) *Constitutional History of England*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Suetonius (2003) *The Twelve Caesars*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Sureda, Joan (2008) *The Golden Age of Spain: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, New York: Vendome Press.

Sweet, Rosemary (2004) *Antiquaries*, Hambledon Press.

Tacitus (2008) [1965] *The Annals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tagg, John (1988) *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Tanner, Duncan (1990) *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Miles (1996) *Rethinking the Chartists: Searching for Synthesis in the Historiography of Chartism*, *Historical Journal* 39, pp. 479-495.

Tennyson, G. B. (1984) *A Carlyle Reader*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Observer (2006) 9 July.

Thomas, Hugh (1979) *An Unfinished History of the World*, Hamish Hamilton.

Thomas, Keith (1971) *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York: Charles Scribner.

Thomas, Robert E. (1952) *A Reappraisal of Charles A. Beard's An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, *The American Historical Review*, 57 (2) pp. 370-375.

Thompson, Dorothy (1984) *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution*, Hounslow: Temple Smith.

Thompson, E. P. (1963) *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Thompson, E. P. (1976) *Pit-Men, Preachers and Politics: The Effects of Methodism in a Durham Mining Community* by Robert Moore, *The British Journal of Sociology* 27 (3), Special Issue. History and Sociology pp. 387-402.

Thompson, E. P. (1978) *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, Merlin Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1991) [1971] *The Moral Economy of the Crowd*, in idem, *Customs in Common*, Merlin Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1991) [1972] *Rough Music*, in idem, *Customs in Common*, Merlin Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1991) [1962] *Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism*, in idem, *Customs in Common*, Merlin Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1992) *Theory and Evidence*, *History Workshop Journal* 35 (1) pp. 274-275.

Thompson, E. P. (2008) [1965], *The Peculiarities of the English*, in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, New York: NYU Press.

Thompson, E. P. (1975) *Whigs and Hunters: the Origin of the Black Act*, Allen Lane.

Thompson, Paul (1978) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thon, Daniel and Jan-Noel Thon (eds) (2015) *From Comic Strips to Graphic Novels: Contributions to the Theory and History of Graphic Narrative*, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Thucydides (1998) [1972] *The Peloponnesian War*, ed. Walter Blanco and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, New York: Norton.

Tignor, Robert et al. (2008) *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart*, New York: Norton.

Tilly, Charles (1992) [1990] *Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 990-1990*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Tilly, Louise and Joan W. Scott (1989) *Women, Work and Family*, New York: Routledge.

Tonkin, Elizabeth (1992) *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toplin, Robert (ed.) (1997) *Ken Burns's Civil War. Historians Respond*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Tosh, John (2002) *The Pursuit of History*, Longman.

Tosh, John (2005) *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Harlow: Pearson.

486 Toynbee, Arnold (1933-1961) *A Study of History*, 12 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trigger, Bruce (1978) *Gordon Childe. Revolutions in Archaeology*, Thames and Hudson.

Trigger, Bruce (2006) *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tristan, Flora (1840) *Promenades Dans Londres*, Paris.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph (1995) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Tuck, Stephen (2014) *The Night Malcolm X Spoke at the Oxford Union: A Transatlantic Story of Antiracial Protest*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Turner, Frank (1993) *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, Frederick Jackson (1920) [1893] *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York.

Ucko, Peter (ed.) (1995) *Theory in Archaeology. A World Perspective*, Routledge.

Underdown, David (1971) *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Underdown, David (1985) *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Upchurch, Charles (2012) Full-Text Databases and Historical Research: Cautionary Results from a Ten-Year Study, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 46 (1) pp. 89105.

Usher, Stephen (1985) *The Historians of Greece and Rome*, Hamish Hamilton.

Usner, Daniel H. (2009) *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Venezia, Tony (2009) Archive of the Future: Alan Moore's Watchmen as Historiographic Novel, *Peer English*, 4, pp. 1631.

Vansina, Jan (1985) *Oral Tradition as History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vansina, Jan (1994) *Living in Africa*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vansina, Jan (2009) [1961] *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, New Brunswick: Transaction.

Veeser, Harold (ed.) (1989) *The New Historicism*, New York: Routledge.

Velody, Irving (1998) The Archive and the Human Sciences: Notes Towards a Theory of the Archive, *History of the Human Sciences* 11 (4) pp. 116.

Vico, Giambattista (1999) [1744] *Principi di Scienza Nouva (The New Science)*, trans. David March, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Wallas, Graham (1898) *The Life of Francis Place*, Longman.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (2011) (19741989) *The Modern World System*, Academic Press.

Wallis, Patrick (2006) A Dreadful Heritage: Interpreting Epidemic Disease at Eyam, 16662000, *History Workshop Journal* 61 (1) pp. 3156.

Walton, Annette (2010) *Oxford Historian*, VIII.

Ward, Geoffrey, Ken Burns and Ric Burns (1990) *An Illustrated History of the War between the States*, New York: Knopf.

Ward-Perkins, Bryan (2005) *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ware, Vron (1992) *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*, Verso.

Weber, Eugen (1977) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*, Chatto and Windus.

Webster, Jim (1989) *Storming the Bastille: 1789 and All That*, Miniature Wargames 71.

Webster, Wendy (1998) *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity, 19451964*, University College London Press.

Wiener, Martin J. (1981) *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 18501980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weis, Charles and Frederick Pottle (1970) *Boswell in Extremes, 17761778*, Heinemann.

Weller, Toni (ed.) (2013) *History in the Digital Age*, Routledge.

Wells, H. G. (1920) *The Outline of History*, Cassell.

Wells, H. G. (2005) [1933] *The Shape of Things to Come*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

487 White, Hayden (1978) *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Whitehead, Andrew and Jerry White (eds) (2013), *London Fictions*, Nottingham: Five Leaves.

Wiesner, Merry (1993) *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry (2011) *Gender in History. Global Perspectives*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wilcox, D. J. (1987) *The Measure of Times Past: Pre-Newtonian Chronologies and the Rhetoric of Relative Time*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Willey, Gordon and Jeremy Sabloff (1993) *A History of American Archaeology*, San Francisco: Freeman.

Williams, Eric (1966) [1944] *Capitalism and Slavery*, Deutsch.

Williams, Francis (1949) *Fifty Years' March: The Rise of the Labour Party*, Odhams Press.

Williams, Francis (1954) *The Magnificent Journey: The Rise of the Trade Unions*, Odhams Press.

Williams, Jeffrey J. (2009) Critical Self-Fashioning: An Interview with Stephen J. Greenblatt *Minnesota Review* 7172, pp. 4761.

Williams, Raymond (2010) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Fontana.

Williamson, Philip (2010) Maurice Cowling and Modern British Political History in Robert Crowcroft (ed.), *The Philosophy, Politics and Religion of British Democracy: Maurice Cowling and Conservatism*, I. B. Taurus.

Wilmer, E. (2000) Public History Resource Center, [www.publichistory.org/what_is/definition.html].

Wilson, Adrian (1993) *Rethinking Social History: English Society 15701920 and its Interpretation*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Wilson, Kathleen (1995) *The Sense of the People. Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 17151785*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, Kathleen (ed.) (2004) *A New Imperial History. Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 16601840*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Windscheffel, Alex (2007) *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London*, Royal Historical Society.

Wise, Sarah (2008) *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum*, Bodley Head.

Wolf, Eric (1997) [1982] *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wood, Marcus (1994) *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 17901822*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wood, Marcus (2000) *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 17801865*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Woodward, W. E. (1936) *A New American History*, Faber & Faber.

- Woolf, D. R. (2000) *Reading History in Early Modern England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woolf, Virginia (2002) [1985] *Moments of Being*, ed. Jeanne Schulkind , Pimlico Press.
- Woolfson, Jonathan (ed.) (2005) *Renaissance Historiography*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Worster, Donald (1993) *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Wright, Patrick (1998) *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, Verso.
- Wrigley, E. A. (1990) *Continuity, Chance and Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wrigley, E. A. , David Eversley and Peter Laslett (1966) *An Introduction to English Historical Demography: From the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Wrigley, E. A. and Schofield, R. S. (1981) *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wrigley, E. A. , R. S. Davies , J. E. Oeppen and R. S. Schofield (1989) *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wu, Duncan (1994) *Romanticism: An Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yeo, Stephen (1977) A New Life. The Religion of Socialism in Britain 1883-1896, *History Workshop Journal* 4 (1) pp. 556.
- Yonge, C. M. (1988) [1876] On Woman and the Church, in James Moore (ed.) *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 488 Young, Michael and Willmott, Peter (1957) *Family and Kinship in East London*, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Young, Robert (1990) *White Mythologies: Writing, History and the West*, Routledge.
- Young, Robert (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zangwill, Israel (1998) [1892] *Children of the Ghetto*, ed. Meri-Jane Rochelson , Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie (1987) *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie (2007) *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds*, Faber.