

Citizens and saints

*Politics and anti-politics
in early British socialism*

Gregory Claeys

*Associate Professor of History,
Washington University, St Louis*

*The right of the
University of Cambridge
to print and sell
all manner of books
was granted by
Henry VIII in 1534.
The University has printed
and published continuously
since 1584.*

Cambridge University Press

Cambridge

New York Port Chester

Melbourne Sydney

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
List of abbreviations	xii
<i>Introduction: Socialism and political thought</i>	1
The problem of socialist politics	5
Owenism and political thought	14
Labour history and the language of politics	17
Outline	19
 PART I THE ROOTS OF POLITICAL AND ANTIPOLITICAL SOCIALISM	 21
1 <i>Republicanism, puritanism and natural jurisprudence</i>	23
The republican heritage	26
Millennial republicanism and puritan radicalism	30
Natural society	36
Two natural polities: Quakerism and the North American Indians	42
Independence, specialisation and rational character	49
The language of socialism	58
2 <i>Paternalism and democracy in the politics of Robert Owen</i>	63
Governing circumstances, 1816-34	67
'The germ of all party': anti-politics triumphant	75
'Elective paternal government' and the Chartist years	84
Paternalism and federalism: the millennial republic	94
 PART II SOCIAL SCIENCE, POLITY AND ECONOMY	 107
3 <i>The 'eye of the community': social science as communitarian government</i>	109
Social control and natural psychology	110

	The illocutionary force of necessitarianism	115
	Communitarianism and personal liberty	119
	Constitutionalism and early communitarianism	129
4	<i>'A mere trifle by comparison': social science, republicanism and political economy</i>	142
	Machinery and the progress of opulence	146
	The case against the taxation analysis	150
	The American model	152
	Intervention and administration	161
	PART III THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL RADICALISM	167
5	<i>Owenism and the emergence of social radicalism, 1820-35</i>	169
	The 'unpolitical' years, 1820-29	170
	Socialism politicised, 1829-35	174
	The National Union of the Working Classes, 1831-35	183
	The social radicalism of James Bronterre O'Brien	189
	Union without politics: the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union and radicalism, 1833-34	194
	The political odyssey of James Elishama Smith	199
6	<i>Owenism and Chartism, 1836-45</i>	208
	Chartist complaints	212
	Owenite grievances	218
	Charter socialism	223
	The Rational Society and the revolt over Queenwood	247
7	<i>The legitimisation of political socialism</i>	261
	Owenism radicalised, 1845-50	262
	Chartism socialised, 1845-50	268
	Alliance strategies, 1850-52	273
8	<i>Social radicalism, the state and revolution</i>	285
	Early and modern political socialism	287
	The American model revisited	292
	Politics and revolution	296
	Communitarianism and Marxism	299
	Republicanism revived	306
	Intervention and centralisation	309
	Conclusion: the state and the origins of social radicalism	318
	Bibliography	327
	Index	353