

18. Christopher A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (1988), pp. 79–105.
19. Brewer, *Sineas of Power*, p. 206.
20. Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, revised edn. (1987), p. li.
21. Sir Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn. (1957); Holmes, *British Politics*; Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975); E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (1991).
22. Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter (1964), p. 137. See David Armitage, 'Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World 1542–1707', *Past and Present*, 155 (May 1997), pp. 34–63, for a valuable study which helps place More's ideas in context.
23. Benjamin Franklin to Henry Home, Lord Kames, 11 April 1767, *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, 3rd edn. (1989), Vol. I, pp. 394–8; B. Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West* (1986), pp. 436–7, citing the Seafield Papers in the Scottish Record Office; Chatham, quoted in J. G. A. Pocock, '1776: The Revolution Against Parliament' in Pocock, ed., *Three British Revolutions* (1980), p. 276.
24. J. G. A. Pocock, 'A Discourse of Sovereignty' in N. T. Phillipson and Q. Skinner, eds., *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (1993), p. 419.
25. Compare Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (1989), pp. 3–166; 195–225; T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830*, revised edn. (1972), pp. 126–45, 261–81, 311–37; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (1992), pp. 362–77; Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales* (1992), pp. 17–80 and p. 418, 'The People Above'.
26. This is the organising concept behind Angus Calder's sprawling and neglected classic, *Revolutionary Empire* (1981).
27. Patrick K. O'Brien and P. A. Hunt, 'The Rise of a Fiscal State in England 1485–1815', *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), pp. 155, 163, 168, 170; Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, chapters 4, 6 and the Conclusion.
28. Colin Bonwick, *The American Revolution* (1991), p. 234; J. McCusker and R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (1985), pp. 371, 376–7.
29. D. Malone and B. Rauch, *Empire of Liberty*, Vol. II (1960), p. 103; Maldwyn Jones, *Limits of Liberty: American History*

- 1607–1992, 2nd edn. (1995), pp. 79–82, 93–9, 101–11; Joyce Appleby, 'What is Still American in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson?', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982), pp. 287–309, esp. 295, 303; Appleby, *Capitalism and a New State Order* (1984), pp. 88–9.
30. Hancock, *Citizens*, pp. 25–78.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2, 121.
32. For a negative perspective see Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity 1689–c.1830* (1993), pp. 205–16, 268–80. For a different perspective see Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 75–99; 133–63.
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39. Gary Wills, *Explaining America: The Federalist* (1981), pp. 13–23, 190–2; John Robertson, 'Empire', in Robertson, ed., *Union* (1995), p. 36; J. Pocock, 'Empire' in *ibid.*, p. 346.
40. Appleby, 'What is Still American in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson?', *passim*.