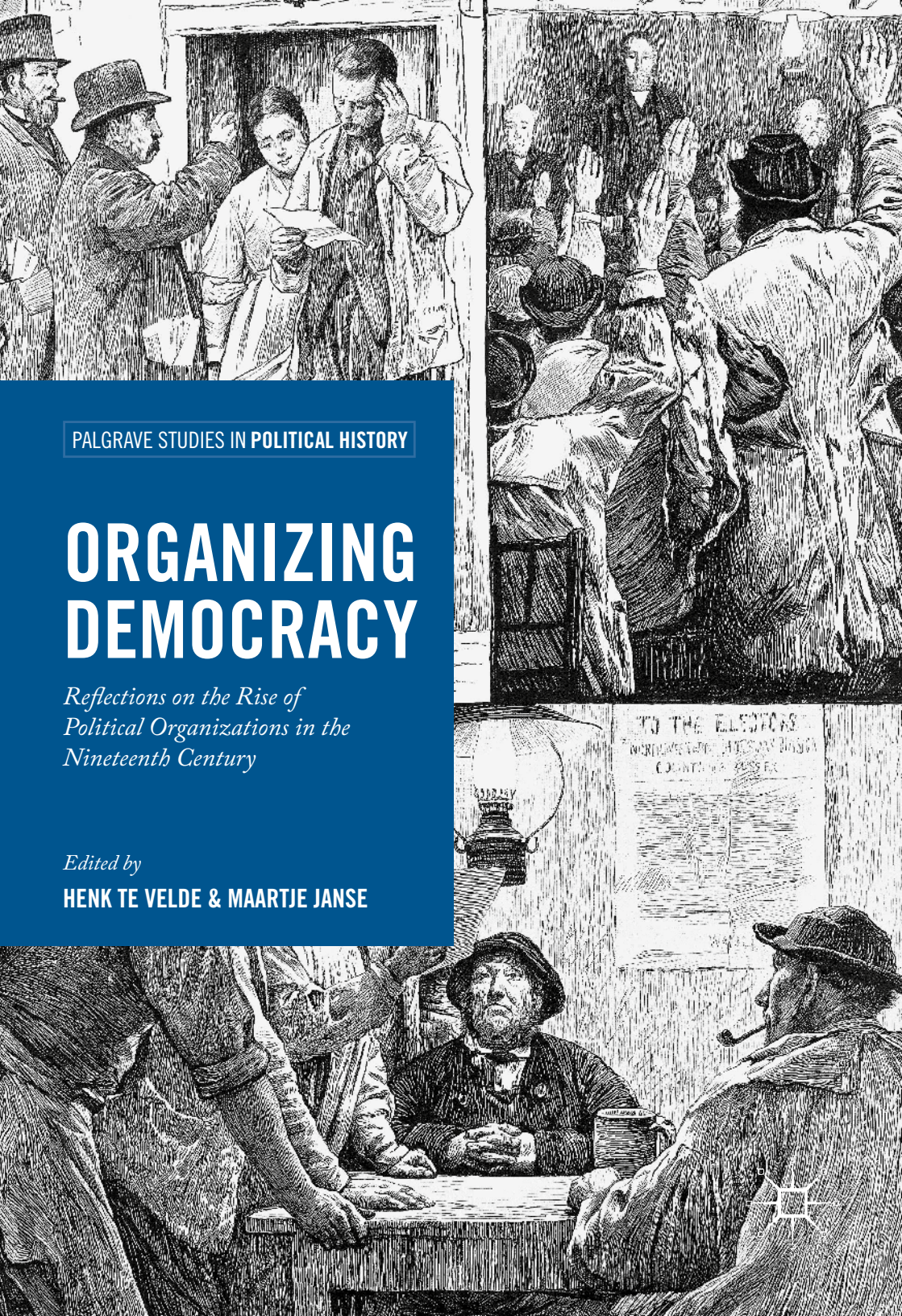

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ORGANIZING DEMOCRACY

Reflections on the Rise of Political Organizations in the Nineteenth Century

Edited by

HENK TE VELDE & MAARTJE JANSE

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The contested nature of legitimacy lies at the heart of modern politics. A continuous tension can be found between the public, demanding to be properly represented, and their representatives, who have their own responsibilities along with their own rules and culture. Political history needs to address this contestation by looking at politics as a broad and yet entangled field rather than as something confined to institutions and politicians only. As political history thus widens into a more integrated study of politics in general, historians are investigating democracy, ideology, civil society, the welfare state, the diverse expressions of opposition, and many other key elements of modern political legitimacy from fresh perspectives. Parliamentary history has begun to study the way rhetoric, culture and media shape representation, while a new social history of politics is uncovering the strategies of popular meetings and political organizations to influence the political system.

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Preface

This book studies the new types of political organizations that emerged in (western) Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century, from popular meetings to single-issue organizations and political parties. The development of these types has often been used to demonstrate a development toward democratic representation or political institutionalization. This book challenges the idea that the development of "democracy" is a story of rise and progress. It is rather a story of continuous but never completely satisfying attempts of interpreting the rule of the people. Taking the perspective of nineteenth-century organizers as its point of departure, this study shows that contemporaries hardly distinguished between petitioning, meeting and association. The attraction of organizing was that it promised representation, accountability and popular participation. Only in the twentieth century, parties became reliable partners for the state in averting revolution, managing the unpredictable effects of universal suffrage and reforming society. This book analyzes them in their earliest stage as just one of the several types of civil society organizations that did not differ that much from each other. The promise of organization, and the experiments that resulted from it, deeply impacted modern politics.

Maartje Janse and Henk te Velde (eds)

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Perspectives on Political Organizing

Maartje Janse and Henk te Velde

In the long century between the Revolutionary Era of the late eighteenth century and the extension of the franchise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, new types of political organization emerged, from nationwide pressure groups, to the revolutionary clubs of 1848, and to political parties. In hindsight, it is tempting to present these new organizations as part of a linear process of democratization and progress. In the twentieth century, the dominant understanding of democratization focused on the extension of suffrage rights and the emergence of the political party as indications of democracy. From this finalist perspective, a history of nineteenth-century political organizing would culminate in the 'invention' of the all-important political party. As one historian put it: 'The history of political associations belongs to the history of the emergence of parties as political agents'.[1]

This book instead takes the perspective of nineteenth-century contemporaries as its point of departure and unearths a far messier history: political organizations were established as part of a decades-long

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process of trial and error with new models of political expression. These experiments did not have a preconceived goal—and only a very limited number of them were primarily aimed at the extension of the franchise. Their purpose was broader: to develop new modes (or reinvent older modes) of popular participation and deliberation and of expressing popular opinion in the press, by petitioning, public meetings or organizations.

Some of the most influential nineteenth-century experiments were those that increased the scale and scope of previously known forms of organization. Changes in government and infrastructure, among other things, created both the need and possibility for national organization, in addition to often already existing local and regional organizations. This resulted in organizations with far greater membership than had been possible before. The supra-local mass organization first originated in the religious sphere but was applied to political issues from the 1820s onwards.

By political organizations we mean voluntary associations making claims that imply changing government policy and legislation, be it directly, through influencing parliament by means of petitioning; or indirectly, through trying to change public opinion, and attempting to influence voter's behaviour. These organizations eventually had a deep impact on political life at large. They stimulated citizens to redefine their relation to the state, forge new political identities and negotiate the boundaries of what was considered politics.

Seen from this perspective the history of democracy is not so much a history of 'phases' of democracy that occur one after the other, but rather a history of practices that were often used simultaneously in order to *organize* democracy. To better understand the phenomenon of political organization as it developed in relation to (representative) democracy, this book focuses on the nineteenth century, when political parties had not yet become the dominant mode of political organization. As a consequence, the case studies presented here are from Western Europe, mainly Britain, Ireland, Belgium, France, the German *Länder* and from the United States. The purpose of this book is, however, not to study these cases as such but to investigate the emergence of several types of organizations at a time when the difference between (ad hoc) meetings and (more permanent) associations still had to be defined.

Features of Nineteenth-Century Political Organizing

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the countries that appear in this book had at least developed a representative system of sorts, which allowed for participation of social elites within constitutional boundaries. This also implied a limited influence of a public opinion that was often narrowly defined as rational deliberation by financially independent, upper- and middle-class men—approximately the same group of citizens that was allowed to vote. During the French Revolution, the ideal of general suffrage had not been realized because even revolutionaries feared the direct influence of ordinary people on the political process.[2] Still, the limited post-revolutionary public opinion could put 'pressure from without' on the parliamentary system. The freedom of public opinion showed the (potential) gap between public opinion and parliament, and gave rise to fundamental questions such as: Do our representatives truly represent the people? How can we make heard the voices of those officially excluded from politics, as well as the voice of the people in between elections?[3]

Besides the press, public meetings and petitions, political organizing acquired increasing importance as a way to express opinions of the people in a broad array of issues. The attraction of organizing was that it could implement ideals of representation, accountability and popular participation already at the heart of popular protests but that had been very hard to realize. No matter their objectives, through their organizational practices alone, political associations challenged people's understanding of politics and expanded the political domain.[4]

Even though some histories of the pressure group go back as early as 1720, it is generally accepted that '[m]odern extraparliamentary political organization is a product of the late eighteenth century', as Eugene Black writes in the conclusion of his study of early British reform organizations.[5] Henry Jephson was, at the end of the nineteenth century, the first historian of public assemblies, and a strikingly perceptive scholar whose work remains worth reading. He too devotes an important part of his study to the rise of 'the Platform' in the eighteenth century.[6] Around 1780, he sees an important innovation in British political life: political associations were established to supplement and strengthen popular assemblies for the first time, and supra-local political organization was used 'as an instrument for giving cohesion and strength' to movements that had hitherto been ad hoc and local in character.[7]

Even in Britain, the legitimacy of a 'powerful Association to back up Platform agitation' was still broadly contested until the 1820s at least. The Platform agitation of public meetings itself was associated 'with the violent harangues of Athenian demagogues and Roman tribunes'. Similarly, the connected practice of petitioning was often regarded with suspicion and distaste, 'as tending dangerously towards government by the populace'.[8] Interestingly, and characteristic of the early nineteenth century, the critics hardly distinguished between meetings, petitioning and political organizations. All these things stirred up unrest and misled the innocent common people. In general, critics were annoyed that 'those who were excluded from the political nation could express their grievances to parliament'. According to most, they did not represent a real, legitimate 'interest' or point of view.[9] The political association both formulated public opinion and expressed it—it was 'both leader and follower of the people'—and as such the political association was seen as an illegitimate competitor to parliament. For the social elite, it was acceptable to voice demands only if they were presented in the form of polite requests to the respectable audience of the House of Commons or other political authorities.[10]

Some British radicals challenged the legitimacy of parliament by claiming that their organizations more faithfully represented the wishes of the people than did parliament and that they, in fact, were the true parliaments of the people. In a less radical manner, the right to petition was often invoked to legitimize political associations, as for instance in 1780: 'That association is a measure of unquestionable legality appears from the spirit of our laws, from the express right to present Petitions to Parliament, which involves the right to join in any peaceful mode for the more effectual support of those Petitions.'[11] It indicates that, at first, the organizers themselves also hardly distinguished between petitioning, meeting and association. Meetings were like short-term associations, and associations consisted of a series of meetings, while petitions could be the product of both. Only gradually did these forms become more clearly separated.

The eighteenth-century British campaign against the slave trade combined public assemblies, petitions and political organization in an innovative mode of agitation. Organized antislavery activity on a nationwide scale began in 1787 with the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, led by what was known as the London Committee. By employing travelling agents such as Thomas Clarkson, a 'new form of extraparliamentary action' and a 'novel type of reform movement' were conceived and developed. The London Committee 'set the movement on its "modern"

course, evolving a structure and organisation which made it possible to mobilize thousands of Britons across the length and breadth of the country'.[12] The antislavery movement deeply influenced subsequent single-issue movements, most notably the Anti-Corn Law League.[13]

The campaign against slave trade of the late eighteenth century introduced several remarkable innovations, but the numerous popular assemblies in the Anglo-American world and the new organizations connected to them usually had a markedly local or regional character. Religious, benevolent and moral reform organizations were crucial in the development of new organizing practices of the nineteenth century. The Missionary and Bible Societies, in fact, offered a blueprint of the modern mass organization, including most forms and activities that would become standardized later, such as local auxiliaries to national organizations.[14]

The proliferation of religious organizations explains why British, and to a lesser extent American, political organizations developed earlier and their organizational culture at large differed from that on the continent. The oppressive politics of some continental regimes also did much to dissuade their citizens from organizing in public. Here political associations often took the shape of networks of small-scale secret societies or crypto-political associations, rather than national mass organizations, and they were more likely to engage in either small societies or violent action than in mass petitioning.[15] And even when around mid-century there was a willingness to experiment with British-style antislavery organizations in countries such as France and the Netherlands, public meetings and agitation did not always prove to be the most obvious route to success. Differences in political culture, specifically a strong fear of mass organizations in the light of revolutionary experiences, prevented a ready transfer of 'foreign' organizational practices. However, after some adaptation to better fit the 'national character' and national political culture, some foreign organizational forms were adopted, albeit often without noisy mass meetings. Political organizing offered political outsiders the opportunity to experiment with, and test the limits of, popular participation in politics.[16]

Even in the United States, the country that called itself 'democratic' when that word was in other countries still a term of abuse, it turned out that democracy was easier said than done.[17] Here, fear of organizing was not related to a fear of democracy, as was the case in Europe. Still, organizing was far more contested than Tocqueville's famous account of the central role of voluntary associations in American democracy has made it seem. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, much as in Europe,

voluntary associations with a political aim were often considered as unconstitutional and dangerous moral crusades that endangered and destabilized the political system.[18] Specifically the fact that women and members of the free black community used the tool of organization to speak out in political matters as controversial as slavery was regarded as a threat to the political system.[19] Only white men were allowed to vote and seen as legitimate political actors.

There was another reason why American observers—and European ones for that matter—regarded political organizations as dangerous. As Johann Neem among others has shown, the early nineteenth-century suspicion of political organizations was rooted in the notion that national unity was created through the Revolutionary past; to 'organize' only a part of the whole equalled breaking up the nation.[20] This was partly an inheritance of the idea that 'parties' were not legitimate, as had been the common understanding of the phenomenon during most of the ancien régime.[21] On the other hand, the American attitude towards organizing reminds us of the French rejection of organization. There the story of the revolutionary origins of the nation created an even stronger discourse of national unity. Because of the importance the Jacobin tradition attached to the 'one and indivisible nation', full freedom of association was not granted until 1901. This was partly because citizens should relate to the government without interference of intermediate bodies that would 'usurp' power from the legitimate government.[22]

The 'communications revolution' that could be witnessed in the United States and Europe in the second quarter of the nineteenth century—produced by railways, postal systems, cheaper printing techniques—made organizing on a supra-local level easier, more common, and, in time, more accepted.[23] However, even then opinions differed on the best type of political organization. During the 1820s and 1830s, American Democrats had started to realize that single-issue organizations and their impressive moral crusades constituted a form of grass-roots politics that was hard to control. The modern Democratic Party was developed in these same decades, in part as an answer to the threat critical citizens posed through their organizations and protest. Organizing citizens as loyal partisans seemed a benign solution to the danger of instability that came with citizen protests, and one that allowed political leaders to retain control and stability.[24] Organization thus not only was a tool in the hands of political outsiders but could also be used by political elites to retain control over democracy. For Britain, it has even been argued that national

democracy-cum-organizations partly replaced older, more powerful forms of direct political participation by the local population.[25] Organization was not a democratic panacea.

In Britain, as early as 1818, the importance of party organization was similarly recognized by Whigs when they expressed the hope that 'The formation of a regular and respectable party to maintain the cause of the people, instead of blowing up the flame, and causing an explosion, is rather likely to moderate its violence, and give it a safe vent.'[26] It is, however, not easy to determine what they meant when they were talking about a 'party'. It is obvious that it was more than only the parliamentary party, but until the end of the nineteenth century no real national party organization existed, let alone determined political decisions inside parliament by organizing the voters. A party consisted of a cloud of associations, clubs and informal contacts, loosely held together by a common current of thought. When the Birmingham 'Caucus' in the 1870s first voiced its ambition to organize a national party, this caused quite a stir. Both defenders and critics of the Caucus agreed that it should not become a party 'machine' that manipulated the voters in order to gain electoral victory. Rather, its proponents argued, it should be an open forum that encouraged popular participation in politics. It turns out that the Caucus was, in practice, a rather rambling organization, which did not have nearly the demonic disciplining power its detractors accused it of having.[27] This form of organization was much closer to the earlier single-issue organizations than the older historiography, starting with the famous analysis by Mosei Ostrogorski, would have us believe.[28] In the same vein, American political organization, which had so many faces, was now mainly used to demonstrate the dangers of 'machine' politics.

In the meantime, liberal and Protestant continental political organizations were (rhetorically or literally) using the famous example of the British Anti-Corn Law League (1838–1846) to experiment with something that came close to a modern political party, as is demonstrated in this book by Andreas Biefang.[29] However, from our point of view, the question is not when exactly 'modern' political parties started. Instead we believe that these early parties belonged to the same category of associations as the ones that they took as examples for their organizational model. This is not to deny that something changed at the end of the nineteenth century, but this book will look at this history from a different angle. We are not interested in the history and prehistory of the modern political party as such but in the multifaceted forms of political organization and

mobilization during the nineteenth century. Political parties were not the necessary outcome of this process, but one of the subcategories of the larger species of political organization.

Even when full-blown mass parties emerged in Europe at the very end of the nineteenth century—the German socialist party of the 1890s being the first example—they still contained many features of earlier forms of organization. And in countries such as France, party organizations never succeeded in truly dominating national politics, not even during the twentieth century, as is shown in this book by Nicolas Roussellier. Still, the dominance of political parties grew, and they became the political organizations par excellence during the twentieth century. They have dominated the picture so completely that the resulting form of democracy has been characterized as 'party democracy'.[30] This was probably not because of their capacities for perfect representation and organization of the people as such but rather because they seemed to be able to bridge the gap between the political system and the electorate—a new concern in light of the extension of the franchise. Perhaps an even more important factor was that they proved to be reliable, dependable partners for the state who needed social partners for its endeavours to reform society and, later on, also build a welfare state. But this is a twentieth-century story. In the nineteenth century, political parties could already mobilize voters, but for this book their role as political organizations in civil society takes centre stage, and seen from this perspective, they do not differ that much from other organizations.

It is obvious that there are great differences between the countries discussed in the case studies of this book in terms of government, suffrage rights, public sphere, political culture and the pace of developments. However, this volume does not concentrate on these differences but analyses various forms of political organizing that emerged in the Western world in the nineteenth century. This book is not an attempt at a comparative history of political organizing, in the sense of juxtaposing individual national cases. Rather, we analyse the phenomenon of political organizing in the long nineteenth century through a series of case studies which all add to our understanding of the phenomenon. That the national contexts differ helps us to demonstrate how the phenomenon of political organizing worked in remarkably similar ways across the modern world. In that sense, this volume follows the footsteps of Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, who in his book *Civil Society* convincingly points out the remarkable similarities in associational life from Boston to St Petersburg. In a sense, our

volume supplements his book because Hoffmann excluded political organizations from his study.[31] While it is important to acknowledge differences, in this book we aim at a transnational study focusing on similarities between political organizations and in associational life at large. This will help us understand how and why political organizing was important to contemporary actors as well as to the development of political life, and why, on the other hand, so many commentators feared it so much.

Moreover, the occurrence of so many similarities despite all the national differences is no coincidence. Political behaviour is learned behaviour, and modes of organization are often the result of the transfer of foreign examples. Those seeking to mobilize others were always on the lookout for the optimal mode of organization and were eager to learn the best practices of other, including foreign, organizations. It depended on the circumstances whether they acknowledged their examples as prestigious models or rather ignored them because they wanted to show the purely 'national' character of their organization. Triggered by the successes of past- and present-day organizations, both at home and abroad, either with political, religious or social aims, they experimented further to build the ideal organizational forms to become successful in their own struggle. As Maartje Janse's essay on the way contemporaries thought and spoke of a new type of mass organizations suggests, from around 1830 organizing became 'modular', as historical sociologists term the adoption of organizational forms in new contexts.[32] Several of the chapters in this book focus on national organizations, especially since these were relatively new in the early nineteenth century: Andreas Biefang and Anne Heyer, for instance, discuss national political organizations in Germany, even before the country was fully unified. However, local organizations remained important throughout the century, as the contributions by Geerten Waling about Paris and Berlin in 1848 and Robert Allen about New York in the 1880s indicate.

Organizing Democracy

On an analytical level, this book shows the ways political organizations facilitated, organized and conceptualized democracy. Much has been written about the relationship between civic engagement and democracy, as the idea that a strongly developed civil society nurtures and sustains a stable democracy has become a dominant notion in political science since the Second World War.[33] Most important for historians perhaps was Jürgen Habermas' assertion about the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

that a flourishing public sphere depends on practices of sociability, which also links non-political activities to the realm of politics.[34] His work has stimulated research that underlines the merits of non-political—that is, not explicitly political—organizations in civil society for democracy. Meanwhile the relationship between political organizations and democracy seemed self-evident and unproblematic. Political historians and political scientists often assumed that political parties were the ideal bridge between parliament and the people.[35] On the other hand, social historians and historical sociologists wrote about social movements that furthered democracy by emancipating oppressed social groups, and historians of culture, gender and religion wrote about reform organizations such as antislavery that had important political aspects and implications. These debates were for a long time rarely informed by each other.

This book is the product of recent changes in the way we view politics at large and the way we understand democracy. The cultural turn in history has produced a rich historiography of 'political cultures' that takes contemporaries' perspectives as their point of departure and often tries to integrate what has been separated in our tradition of overspecialized history. In recent years, the interpretation of the development of democracy has changed. A couple of decades ago, scholars were first and foremost interested in 'democratization', understood as the spread, growth and reform of democracy. They did, of course, realize that democracy is a complicated concept, but were not primarily concerned with questioning the nature of democracy. No serious scholar would present a simple forward march of democracy, but many were interested in the connections between democracy and modernization, as, for instance, in interpretations about different waves of democratization, or, in the particular role of the state, as for instance in extending step by step citizen rights.

More recently, another perspective has been added, which addresses more directly the ambiguities and tensions inherent in the concept of democracy. Is it at all possible to have a 'real' democracy? Is not what we call democracy, in fact, a kind of representative aristocracy?[36] What did contemporaries mean when they used the term?[37] This new approach does not only exclude a simple linear development but also challenges the idea that the development of 'democracy' is a story of rise and progress at all. It is rather a story of continuous but never completely satisfying attempts of interpreting the rule of the people.[38] In this volume, we take this new interpretation as our point of departure, but we investigate democratic practices rather than democratic theory, even though we acknowledge

that conceptions of politics and political practices develop in dynamic relation to each other.

The contributors to this book are not interested in the 'phases' of democracy but instead investigate the various democratic organizational practices that were used and discussed during the nineteenth century. This could take the shape of the efficient and even bureaucratic form of a modern political party but also more floating forms, such as ad hoc mass meetings. The aim of this volume is not so much to challenge evolution per se but rather to uncover the implications, attractions and difficulties of the different modes of organizing democracy that coexisted at the time.

Robert Michels analysed the main example of the modern political party, the (German) Social Democratic Party, in his well-known *Political Parties. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1911). He argued that even in socialist parties, democracy ran the risk of turning into an oligarchy, at the expense of real popular participation. He set this tendency, partly implicitly, against a competing version of 'real' democracy which involved the direct participation of the members of the party, as opposed to merely formal representation. He did, of course, not invent this form of participatory democracy, whose ambitions and desires were certainly older than the parties themselves. The important thing is rather that these desires and this form of democracy did not disappear when the parties arrived.

Often the emergence of political parties has been interpreted as an indication of the modernization of politics.[39] In the same vein, Charles Tilly uses a dichotomy between pre-modern and modern repertoires of collective action to voice discontent and social and political protest. He also presents the rise of the social movement in the early nineteenth century as the transition from early modern to modern practices, and even seems to define the modern social movement as something that seems to be very close to the organization of a political party.[40] However, the history of political organization is much more than a history of political modernization, and concentrating on a pre-modern/modern dichotomy has led scholars to neglect the coexistence of the different democratic practices that, taken together, reveal the many faces of democracy, and perhaps also its inherent tensions. These tensions should be understood as the key characteristics of democratic practices, and, looking at democratic practices more closely, it appears that most forms of democracy also contain a combination of elements related to what we from a later perspective would define as either direct or representative democracy. The student

of the nineteenth century could therefore also be misled by a dichotomy between representative and direct democracy. At the time, many elements of democracy were merged. However, on the basis of this volume, three main democratic organizational practices or ways in which democracy was organized can be identified:

(1) **Popular meetings**: ad hoc mobilization and organization of the people as a manifestation of participatory democracy. These meetings both channelled and produced political ideas, energies and agitation, and gave people a sense of real participation in politics. Popular meetings were aimed at debating and voting on resolutions. These meetings were not 'direct democracy' in the classic sense of the word, the sense of plebiscites and referenda. However, as a democratic practice they produced a strong sense of direct involvement in politics, through voting and debating about the procedure, agenda, chairman and the order of the speakers. This was democracy on the spot, but its reach was limited and its effects often short lived. The contribution by Reeve Houston shows the importance of this side of democratic organizing in the United States, and Geerten Waling demonstrates that in the revolutionary situation of 1848, meetings were crucial, but that the difference between meeting and association was not obvious at all, particularly in revolutionary Paris. Gita Deneckere argues that public meetings, petitions, mass demonstrations and political associations in Belgium in the 1830s and 1840s were all closely related expressions of popular dissent, making use of the window of opportunity offered by the progressive constitution of the new kingdom, but with the intention to remain within the limits set by this new constitution. The story of political organizing in the nineteenth century is unthinkable without popular meetings. In fact, the two were closely related in most cases, and most of the contributions to this book contain references to these meetings, even if they are not the prime subject of the chapter.
(2) **Single-issue organizations**: semi-permanent mobilization, agitation and organization of people by means of meetings, petitioning and campaigns to right a social, moral or political wrong. More often than not, this included a substantial association that was, however, meant to be temporary, only for the duration of the campaign, and did not aim at permanent representation in (national)

politics. The single-issue organizations fostered a sense of connection and solidarity with like-minded people across the country. In doing so, they empowered in particular those who were formally excluded from politics to speak out in political matters. Maartje Janse shows that around 1830, the scale of national reform organizations, and the systematic nature of their campaigns, changed contemporaries' conceptions of the power of organization. Even though such associations were highly contested throughout the Anglo-American world, organizing had now clearly become a very powerful tool, or 'machine' as it was often referred to. The attraction of organizing grew in the early nineteenth century, and Kevin Butterfield's contribution addresses the remarkable fact that in the United States, membership was increasingly defined as the legal right of an individual citizen to join associations in civil society. This right was considered so important that the court could even overrule the decision of an association to expel a member. Henry Miller, in his contribution, does not concentrate on political organizations, but on petitioning as a form of political action. In doing so, he is able to show that for a long time, little distinction was made between single-issue organizations, on the one hand, and meetings and ad hoc protest forms, on the other.

(3) **Political parties**: permanent mobilization and organization of people who share political views. This normally included putting up candidates for (national) elections, a permanent board, national representation of local auxiliaries and some sort of bureaucracy, which, in the long run, ensured success in the game of established politics. The newly organized parties gave their members the sense they belonged to a powerful political and moral community that would eventually determine national politics. Andreas Biefang shows that the German Nationalverein of the 1860s already had the appearance of a modern party, but it was in practice a pressure group directed at influencing government policy rather than a social movement aiming at mobilizing the people for a just cause. Its organizational model was the by-that-time-iconic Anti-Corn Law League. Robert Allen makes visible a cloud of floating and flexible organizations based on personal engagement by concentrating on just a short time frame in political New York in the 1880s, instead of a teleological story of the development of political

organizing. What mattered was not the organization as such but what one wanted to achieve by it. Therefore, according to Anne Heyer, the early political parties that were often accused of manipulating the masses honestly attempted not only to organize the people but also to give them a voice. They had to do this, simply because it was their raison d'être, and also the only way to convince their potential followers to join up. Underlining organization as almost the only defining feature of the new parties is, at least partly, the result of hindsight, as Henk te Velde argues in his contribution. At the time, at the end of the nineteenth century, parties were part of a broad process of democratization that showed that participation was at least as important as organization. There were other ways to mobilize the people than through political parties. Even though in Western Europe political parties came to dominate politics in the twentieth century, Nicolas Roussellier uses the French case to stress that this result was less obvious than has often been thought. And where parties were dominant, as in Britain, even the Labour Party, modern party par excellence, could not simply rely on its organization but was to a certain extent dependent on older traditions of elite networking, as Hanneke Hoekstra argues.

The three forms of meetings, single-issue movement and parties could have been presented as a sequence of increasing sophistication in political organizing and a development towards a more democratic form of representation or towards political institutionalization. In this vein, the political party would appear as the democratic 'outcome' of the nineteenth century. We argue, however, that the three organizational forms are part of the same desire or need to organize democracy, and that they have always complemented each other. The three categories even partly overlap. Both single-issue organizations and political parties used popular meetings to express their aims and further their goals, and popular assemblies needed at least a rudimentary form of organization involving a chair, which sometimes evolved into a more permanent structure. Instead of necessarily identifying popular assemblies with direct participation and political parties with representation, this book contends that all three organizational forms contained at least some elements of both types of democracy. Reeve Huston's Chap. 4 in this volume shows that popular meetings have traits of representative democracy as well as direct democracy, and Henry Miller shows that this is also true for single-issue campaigns.

In the middle, or at the end of the nineteenth century—the moment differed according to the country—political organizations lost their revolutionary connotations and were increasingly understood as efficient means for putting pressure on the political system, disciplining the people or simply representing them. Politicians and reformers alike appreciated the possibility organization offered for streamlining the political process while still making the voice of the people heard. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was by no means clear what direct role, if any, 'the people' should play in politics. How to transform ideas about political participation into participatory practices? This was one of the key questions that dominated political life from the Revolutionary Era of the late eighteenth century onwards. Political organizations offered an answer that, eventually, appealed to both political outsiders and members of the political establishment. Though the latter group was often critical and fearful of the power of organizations, they realized that this was a preferable alternative to revolution. The political organization became a staple of modern politics, not in the least because it was a vehicle that seemed, on the one hand, to be able to avert revolution and, on the other, to manage the unpredictable effects of universal suffrage. The previous period of experimenting with new ways of mobilizing the people had demonstrated the power of organizing to all parties involved.

Notes

1. Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, *Civil Society, 1750–1918* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 8–9.
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3. Patricia Hollis, *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1974); Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [1997] 2004) 204–5.
4. James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture c.1815–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993] 2009) Ch. 5, esp. p. 183.

5. Graham Wootton, *Pressure Groups in Britain, 1720–1970* (London: Allen Lane 1975) 13; Eugene Black, *The Association: British Extraparliamentary Political Organization, 1769–1793* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968) 279.
6. Henry Jephson, *The Platform: Its Rise and Progress* 2 vols. (New York, London: Macmillan, 1892).
7. Jephson, *The Platform* I, 100.
8. Ibid., I, 102, 120.
9. T.M. Parssinen, 'Association, Convention and Anti-Parliament in British Radical Politics, 1771–1848', *English Historical Review*, 88 (1973) 504–33, 532; Hollis, *Pressure from Without*.
10. Parssinen, 'Association', 532.
11. Jephson, *The Platform* I, 101.
12. J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery. The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787–1807* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998) 41.
13. Simon Morgan, 'The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838–1846', *The Historical Journal* 52 (2009) 1, 87–107.
14. Peter Stamatov, 'The Religious Field and the Path-Dependent Transformation of Popular Politics in the Anglo-American World, 1770–1840', *Theory and Society* 40 (2011) 4, 437–73; Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, 'Introduction' in Idem (eds), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 'Introduction'.
15. Jonathan Sperber, 'Reforms, Movements for Reform, and Possibilities of Reform: Comparing Britain and Continental Europe', in: Burns and Innes (eds), *Rethinking the Age of Reform*, 312–30.
16. Maartje Janse, '"Holland as a little England"? British Anti-Slavery Missionaries and Continental Abolitionist Movements in the Mid Nineteenth Century', *Past & Present* 229 (Nov. 2015) 123–60.
17. See for instance Daniel Peart and Adam I.P. Smith (eds), *Practicing Democracy: Popular Politics in the United States from the Constitution to the Civil War* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 2015); Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books 2000).
18. Maartje Janse, 'A Dangerous Type of Politics? Politics and Religion in Early Mass Organizations: The Anglo-American world, c. 1830' in: J. Augusteijn, P. Dassen and M. Janse (eds), *Political Religion*

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19. Richard Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press 2016); Leonard L Richards, *Gentlemen of property and standing; anti-abolition mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
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24. Robert O. Rupp, 'Parties and the Public Good: Political Antimasonry in New York Reconsidered', *Journal of the Early Republic* 8 (Autumn, 1988) 253–79.
25. For example, Vernon, *Politics and the People*.
26. 'The State of the Parties', *Edinburgh Review*, (June 1818), 181–206, 197.
27. See Eugenio F. Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism 1876–1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) chapter 4, for a recent discussion.
28. Mosei Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (New York: Macmillan 1902). See Henk te Velde's Chap. 13 in this volume for the early historiography of political parties.
29. For the Anti-Corn Law League see Norman McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League: 1838–1846* (London: George Allen and Unwin Unlimited 1958) and Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London,

New York: Leicester University Press, 2000). For its reception in Europe see Annemarie Houkes and Maartje Janse, 'Foreign examples as eye openers and justification. The transfer of the Anti-Corn Law League and the anti-prostitution movement to the Netherlands', *European Review of History* 12 (2005) 2, 321–44.

30. Manin, *Principles of Representative Government*; Peart and Smith, 'Practicing Democracy: Introduction', in: Idem (eds), *Practicing Democracy.*
31. Hoffmann, *Civil Society*, 8–9.
32. Cf. Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (1994; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
33. The importance of a 'civic culture': Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); and social trust: Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
34. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); the original German edition appeared in 1962.
35. See as a classic instance Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics* 1 (1995) 5–28.
36. Cf. Manin, *Principles of Representative Government* and Frank Ankersmit, 'What if Our Representative Democracies are Elective Aristocracies?', *Redescriptions: Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory* 15 (2011) 21–44.
37. Joanna Innes and Mark Philp eds, *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions. America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jussi Kurunmäki, Jeppe Nevers and Henk te Velde eds, *Democracy in Modern Europe. A Conceptual History* (New York forthcoming).
38. At a more theoretical level, this is also one of the central elements of Pierre Rosanvallon's work.
39. See for instance Peart and Smith, 'Practicing Democracy: Introduction', in: Idem (eds), *Practicing Democracy*, 5.
40. Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Id., *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).