Parliamentary politics marks a shift from oratory to debate in deliberative rhetoric. The book analyses how this parliamentarisation of rhetoric took place in Westminster-related writings from late 18th century to WWII. Parliamentary insiders understood the shift better than outsiders.

Kari Palonen is Professor of Political Science at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, since 1983. He is the editor of the journal Redescriptions, was the director of the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Political Thought and Conceptual Change (2006-2011) and Academy Professor of the Academy of Finland (2008-2012).
Scientific Advisory Board:
Alan Finlayson (East Anglia, UK)
Olivia Guaraldo (Verona, Italy)
Irène Herrmann (Genève, Switzerland)
José María Rosales (Málaga, Spain)
Quentin Skinner (Queen Mary, London, UK)
Patricia Springborg (Bolzano, Italy, and Berlin, Germany)
Willibald Steinmetz (Bielefeld, Germany)
Nadia Urbinati (New York, USA)
Ole Waever (Kopenhagen, Denmark)

Politics-Debates-Concepts
Politik-Debatten-Begriffe

Edited by

PD Dr. Claudia Wiesner
Prof. Dr. Kari Palonen

Volume 3
Kari Palonen

From Oratory to Debate

Parliamentarisation of Deliberative Rhetoric in Westminster
Table of Contents

1. Rhetoric as political action 13
   1.1 Oratory and debate as forms of rhetoric 13
   1.2 The singularity of parliamentary debate 15
   1.3 Aims, questions and sources 17
   1.4 The parliamentary variety of deliberative rhetoric 19
   1.5 The story of parliamentarisation 22

2. The rise of parliamentary eloquence 27
   2.1 Hegewisch on English parliamentary eloquence 28
      2.1.1 Towards a debating parliament 28
      2.1.2 Parliamentary eloquence after the Glorious Revolution 31
      2.1.3 The elder Pitt as a British Demosthenes 34
      2.1.4 Parliamentary eloquence as a counterweight to majority rule 35
   2.2 Parliamentary eloquence in the eighteenth century 38
      2.2.1 Parliamentary eloquence in scholarly works 38
      2.2.2 Parliamentary advice-books 41
   2.3 William Gerard Hamilton’s guidebook for debaters 45
      2.3.1 Logic and rhetoric in parliament 46
      2.3.2 The deliberative genre: concepts and audiences 50
      2.3.3 Parliamentary history and procedure 54
   2.4 Oratory and debate in the eighteenth century 57

3. Outsider perspectives on parliamentary speaking 63
   3.1 The rise of parliamentary speech collections 63
      3.1.1 The remembrance of great speeches: Chapman, Browne and Hazlitt 64
      3.1.2 Parliamentary eloquence and political liberty 67
      3.1.3 Non-thematisation of debate and procedure 71
      3.1.4 Speech and debate in later collections 74
Table of Contents

3.1.5 Rhetoric and politics in parliamentary speech collections 78
3.2 Parliamentary oratory and debate in the school rhetoric 79
    3.2.1 Parliament and debate in the rhetorical introductions 80
    3.2.2 Parliamentary politics in the debate manuals 87
3.3 Debate in oratory and oratory in debate 92

4. Insider views on parliamentary rhetoric and debate 95
   4.1 Parliamentary journalism 95
      4.1.1 Oratory and eloquence 97
      4.1.2 Parliamentary and platform oratory 100
      4.1.3 Quality of debate 104
      4.1.4 Political conditions of debate 110
   4.2 Parliamentary officials on debate 117
      4.2.1 Oratory and debate in parliamentary politics 118
      4.2.2 Debate under scarce parliamentary time 121
   4.3 The conceptualisation of parliamentary debate among members 123
      4.3.1 Parliamentary eloquence, oratory and rhetoric in the *Hansard* 124
      4.3.2 Macaulay and the young Gladstone on parliamentary speaking 130
      4.3.3 Rhetorical reflections of post-reform parliamentarians 136
      4.3.4 Parliament and platform 138
      4.3.5 Parliamentary debating as playing with time 145
   4.4 Parliamentary debate and deliberative rhetoric 151

5. Political theories of parliamentary deliberation 155
   5.1 Grote’s reinterpretation of ancient Greek rhetorical culture 157
   5.2 Mill and Bagehot on the limits of rhetoric in parliamentary politics 162
   5.3 Two rhetorical defences of parliamentary government 174
   5.4 Rhetorical defences of liberty and novelty 184
   5.5 Debate as the core of the parliamentary theory of politics 194
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>The Westminster practice of the rhetoric of debate</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1 Procedural reforms as contexts of parliamentary self-reflection</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2 Deliberation as a <em>topos</em> in the 1882 procedure reform</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3 Deliberation as a <em>topos</em> in the 1914 procedure committee</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4 Facing the governmentalisation of parliamentary rhetoric</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Parliamentarisation of deliberative rhetoric</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1 Parliamentary government and parliamentary rhetoric</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.2 Rhetoric of debating</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.3 Four aspects of parliamentary debate</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td></td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td></td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>