

Contents

Acknowledgements vii

1. Introduction.....	1
The ‘Vow’.....	1
Constitutional Perceptions.....	4

PART I: The Written Constitutional Tradition

2. Before Magna Carta: Early Law Codes and Charters	23
The Ethelbert Law Code.....	23
Anglo-Saxon Codes After Ethelbert.....	30
Post-Conquest Texts	35

3. Magna Carta: The Life, Death and Afterlife of a Text.....	38
The Magna Carta Moment	39
The 1215 Text.....	45
Magna Carta After 1215	51
The Global Status of Magna Carta.....	57

4. Revolutionary Century	63
The Petition of Right 1628.....	68
Blueprints: The Army and the Levellers.....	70
Constitutions Under Cromwell.....	73
The Bill of Rights 1689.....	82
The Act of Settlement 1701: Alternative Constitutional Model?.....	87

5. Union and Parliament	92
The Creation of a Union.....	92
Great Britain and Ireland.....	100
Albert Venn Dicey and Parliamentary Sovereignty	103
The Parliament Act 1911	109

PART II: A System in Turmoil

6. The Dynamic Constitution	119
Constitution and Society.....	121
Parliament	130
The Civil Service.....	133
The Process of Change	135

7. European Integration and its Consequences.....	143
European Integration and the UK Constitution	144
The European Communities Act 1972	150
The Rise of the Referendum: 1975 to the Present	153
The Fracturing of Collective Responsibility	157
8. The Multination State.....	162
Devolution and its Implications	163
England Left Behind.....	173
Local Government in England.....	176
The English Question.....	178
9. The Rule of Law, Human Rights and Constitutional Conflict.....	183
The Rule of Law in the United Kingdom.....	184
The Human Rights Act.....	187
Protected Rights, their Limitations and their Impact	191
A Clash of Models	197
10. Direction of Travel.....	201
Codifying Convention and Limiting the Royal Prerogative.....	201
A New Model?.....	209
A Written Constitution: Proposals and Drafts	212
Practical Steps: Gordon Brown and Beyond.....	215
PART III: A Constitution for the United Kingdom	
11. Advocating and Creating a Written Constitution.....	225
The Positive Case for a Written Constitution	226
The Negative Case for a Written Constitution	238
Creating a Constitution.....	246
Preparatory Steps and Composition of a Convention	247
Remit, Working Methods and Ratification of the Text	252
12. The Constitution.....	258
Presentation, Writing Style and Preamble.....	259
A Federal Union.....	261
The UK Executive.....	264
Parliament After Sovereignty	271
The Composition of Parliament.....	271
Electing Parliament	272
Parliament and Accountability	273
Fundamental Rights	276
The Courts, the Legal System and Constitutional Review.....	278
Changing the Constitution	281
13. Conclusion	285
<i>Index</i>	292