

# Rebel, React, Reform Making the UK Parliament

An exhibition of material from UCL Special Collections
Curated in partnership with the History of Parliament Trust

2 March - 11 December 2020

# REFORM ANTICIPATED!

### A GLANCE AT THE FUTURE.

The accidents of wealth, rank, ancestry,

What are they to th' intelligent and free?

Man knows his just importance—and accords

Whate'er is due to governments or lords;

But abject homage, superstitious dread,

And slavish terror—are for ever fled.

Reform Anticipated.

### LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY B. STEILL, 23, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

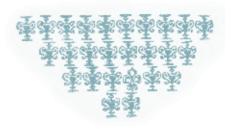
(One Shilling.)

## 1831.

### **Preface**

Throughout its history the UK Parliament has been challenged and re-modelled. Calls for change have come not only from outside Parliament, but also from within as MPs have rebelled against their sovereign, reacted to injustices and worked tirelessly, if not always fruitfully, for reform. This exhibition explores some key moments of change in two periods of war, protest and constitutional revolution: the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

What of wider society? Political awareness and engagement do not stop at Parliament. The exhibition also looks at politics closer to home, exploring how UCL's student rebels found their own voices – and raised them.



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### Introduction

### Insights into centuries of political life

UCL Special Collections is home to a substantial and varied body of printed and manuscript material relating to British political and parliamentary life. A diverse collection of correspondence, diaries, petitions, pamphlets and official state publications offers significant insights into the workings of Parliament and the varied fortunes of the royalists, parliamentarians, radicals, reformers and reactionaries who at different times have shaped Britain's political system.

The period of the English civil wars and the interregnum may be viewed especially through the Lansdowne collection of printed pamphlets (p.22). This provides titles complementary to those available at the British Library and via Early English Books Online (on UCL's subscription platform). Among manuscripts, the 'MS OGDEN' collection is a particularly rich seam of commonplace books to set alongside such resources as State Papers Online (also on UCL's subscription platform).

UCL houses one of Britain's leading collections of nineteenth-century political papers, reflecting the close connection between the founders of UCL and the world of nineteenth-century political and social reform. The items in this exhibition (taken from the Brougham, Bentham, Hume, Grote and Mocatta collections) offer a representative sample of what is available at UCL to researchers of nineteenth-century Britain.



# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS

# ENGLAND.

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING'S blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

# EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King Charles the First and the Second.

Klipa es así. Thuoyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II. PART I.

OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATER, An. Dom. MDCCVII.

# The civil wars: discontent, reform and dissent in Parliament and beyond

The civil wars that afflicted the three kingdoms of the British Isles in the mid-seventeenth century arose from a complex combination of long-term systemic weaknesses and short-term triggers. Economic, political, religious and legal factors were all involved, playing out differently in England, Scotland and Ireland. Hostility and suspicion between the nations were significant, as were alliances across borders. A crown under financial pressure faced complicated problems on many fronts. An educated political elite was becoming increasingly informed about both past and current events, and opinionated about its rights and privileges. The convening of Parliament in 1640 after a long gap lifted the lid on voicing grievances, and Charles I's need for money to maintain his government's policies ultimately prolonged its sitting. The king found that he could neither contain nor curtail the assault by MPs and peers upon the policies of his previous personal rule.

But as reform accelerated – attacks on royal ministers; the abolition of prerogative courts and of church government by bishops; and declarations that certain monopolies or categories of taxation were illegal – a reaction began. Some in Parliament were horrified by the extent of change and the influence of demonstrators on the streets of London. The king left the city, but drew supporters to his side, making a civil war possible. When military conflict became more protracted than many expected, divisions appeared in both camps. Parliament in Westminster found itself for the first time acting as the executive, with a remit over the whole of England after the surrender of the royalist capital at Oxford in 1646. Yet it was riven by faction, between the peace party and the war party, and between the Presbyterians and the Independents. Increasingly radical political ideas emerged, especially from the ranks of the victorious New Model army. Conviction that Charles himself could never be trusted to keep a negotiated settlement, and ought to pay dearly for the blood spilled in the conflict, drove some officers and politicians to seize control and put the king on trial. Following the delivery of the death penalty, the king was executed on 30 January 1649.

The regicide sent shock waves across Britain and Europe. A cult of Charles the Martyr was born. In the event, the almost accidental republic lasted less than five years. The purged 'Rump' Parliament attempted further reform and managed to beat the Dutch in a trade war, but by the end of 1653 was replaced by a protectorate headed by Oliver Cromwell. That too was short-lived, however, collapsing soon after his death in 1658. The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 ensured that the prevailing narrative of the previous two decades would be royalist, at least in the short term. But certain reforms proved irreversible, and some ideas resurfaced in the centuries to come.



Detail of cat.11, p.21.

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Cat. 1

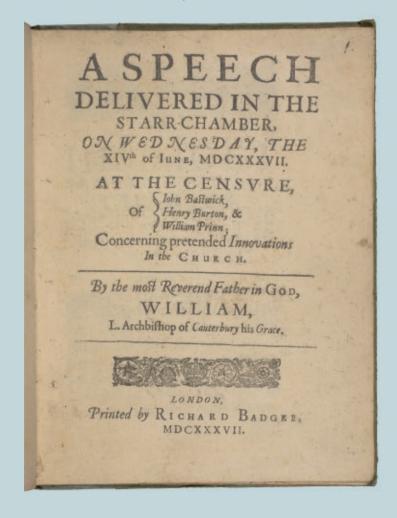
'Notes on Court of Star Chamber'; commonplace book compiled by Sir William Drake, seventeenth century

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS OGDEN/7/11

Cat. 2

Laud, William. A Speech Delivered in the Starr-Chamber, on Wednesday, the XIVth of lune, MDCXXXVII.: at the censure, of lohn Bastwick, Henry Burton, & William Prinn; concerning pretended innovations in the Church. By the most Reverend Father in God, VVilliam, L. Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace. London: Printed by Richard Badger, 1637

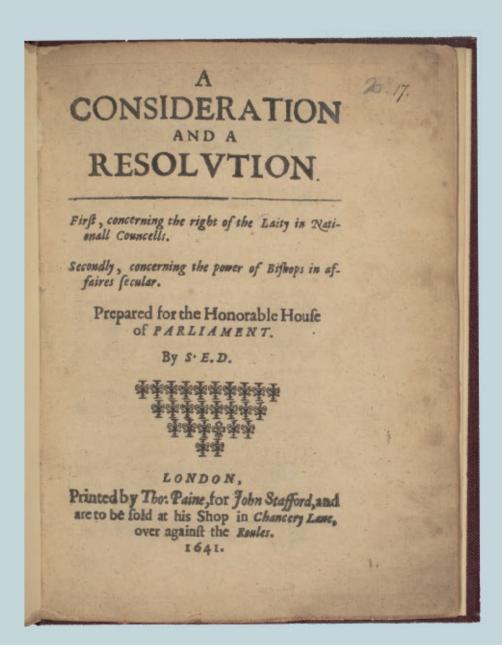
UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, STRONG ROOM OGDEN A 648



Cat. 3

Dering, Sir Edward. A Consideration and a Resolvtion: first concerning the right of the laity in nationall councells; secondly concerning the power of bishops in affaires secular: prepared for the honourable House of Parliament / by S. E. D. London: Printed by Thomas Paine, 1641

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LANSDOWNE TRACTS 20/17



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# Nineteenth-century reform: radicals, reformers, Whigs and Tories

Britain's ancient electoral system underwent a series of fundamental changes between the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the introduction of universal suffrage in 1928. The *Reforming Parliament* section of this exhibition starts towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars. It ends on the eve of the second major wave of parliamentary reform legislation, which commenced in 1867. In the aftermath of war with France a wide array of ideas for reform were put forward by radicals, reformers, Whigs and Tories. Each proposed a remedy to a different set of deficiencies in the political system and reacted with differing levels of outrage to each other's ideas.

Radicals aimed to cure endemic political corruption and economic distress by incorporating the voice of 'the people' into the parliamentary system, via universal male suffrage, the secret ballot, equal electoral districts and annual or three-yearly parliaments. By contrast, after decades of Tory control at Westminster, and with 'rotten boroughs' such as Old Sarum (with a population of 12) returning more MPs than Manchester (with a population of more than 150,000), reformers and Whigs looked to a more moderate redistribution of seats and franchise reform. As well as rebalancing political power and updating the ancient constitution to reflect Britain's transformed economic and demographic conditions, it was hoped that this method of reform had more chance of success at Parliament. The full power of the state was used to suppress radical reformers in the aftermath of the 1819 Peterloo Massacre, but by the end of the 1820s reform was even being contemplated in Tory and ministerial circles. Some could no longer defend the wild inconsistencies of the unreformed political system; others saw reform as an opportunity to consolidate the power of Anglican and agricultural interests at Westminster.

### 1832 and a century of reform

It was the Whig approach and solution that won out in 1832. The Great Reform Act redistributed over 140 parliamentary seats from 'rotten boroughs' to new county and borough constituencies, introduced new voting rights and registration requirements and updated the boundaries of Britain's constituency system. Although Britain's reformed electoral map appeared to represent contemporary Britain, enfranchisement rates remained limited. At the first election after reform around 20 per cent of adult males could vote in England and Wales, while the rate of adult male enfranchisement was closer to 10 per cent in Scotland and 5 per cent in Ireland.

This reform set the tone for how Parliament would gradually transform itself into a democracy over the following century. The failed radical cause of the post-Napoleonic

period was resumed in earnest by the Chartists in the 1830s. However, a hostile House of Commons that looked with trepidation upon democracy repeatedly rejected the Charter and other attempts at electoral reform during the 1840s and 1850s. The first proposals for women's suffrage were made in Parliament towards the end of the 1860s. It took over half a century of tireless campaigning and a world war eventually to provoke MPs into allowing some women to vote at parliamentary elections. As the Jewish Emancipation material featured in this exhibition reveals, proposals that would have allowed Jews to sit as MPs were fully formed by 1830. It was not until 1858 – after the repeated election of Jewish candidates had revealed the absurd state of the existing law – that Parliament finally agreed to reform itself.

### **The History of Parliament**

This exhibition has been curated in collaboration with staff from the History of Parliament Trust, a research project creating a comprehensive account of the English, British and UK Parliament from the thirteenth century onwards. Founded before the Second World War, 'The History' is funded principally by the two Houses of Parliament and its offices are located just down the road from UCL in Bloomsbury Square. Unparalleled in the comprehensiveness of its treatment, the History is generally regarded as one of the most ambitious, authoritative and well-researched projects in British history.

Covering most periods between 1386 and 1832, the History of Parliament's 40+ volumes of published research examine personnel, procedure, electioneering, politicking and legislation at Westminster and in the constituencies. At its core is the preparation of biographies of MPs and peers, constituency profiles and surveys of particular periods. Work is ongoing on a number of publications covering the periods 1386 to 1945, and in 2011 the History launched an oral history project to record the careers and political experiences of MPs since 1945. The project's published work is freely accessible at www.historyofparliamentonline.org and its staff publish regular short articles and blogs at thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com and victoriancommons.wordpress.com. Draft articles currently being researched and written by the 1832–68 section are available on a preview website. For access contact website@histparl.ac.uk.

### Vivienne Larminie

Assistant Editor, Commons 1640–1660 History of Parliament Trust

### Martin Spychal

Research Fellow, Commons 1832–1945 History of Parliament Trust

### **Parliament and the Civil Wars**

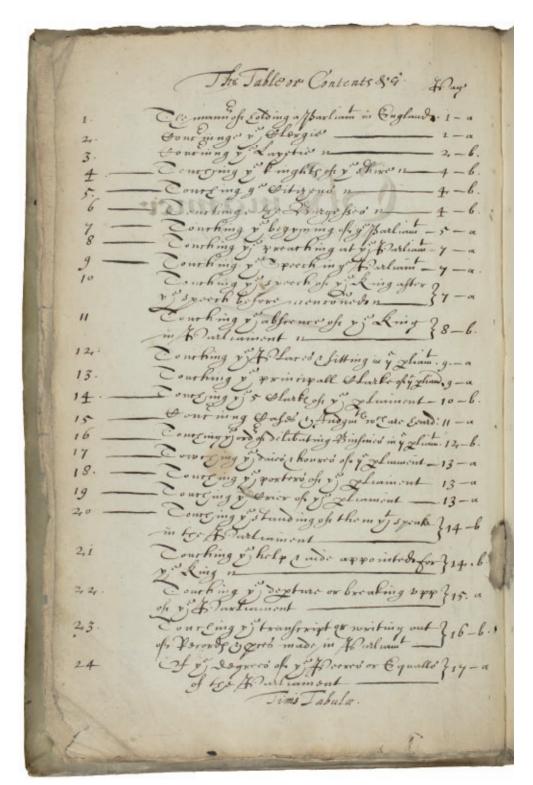
### Grievances and redress under Charles I

The challenges for Charles I of ruling his three kingdoms of England (and Wales), Scotland and Ireland were considerable. Two issues in particular were especially complex and liable to cause conflict. These were taxation, in a context where a century of inflation had eroded crown revenues, and religion, on which the monarch held controversial views and where each kingdom had a different confessional make-up. The English Parliament had had a say in raising taxation since the Middle Ages and had enacted religious legislation since the Reformation – but having found the institution intractable, for 11 years from 1629 Charles I governed without it.

He exercised his 'personal rule' through the Privy Council and the prerogative courts, especially Star Chamber (originally intended to provide swift royal justice circumventing the slow common law courts) and High Commission (the supreme ecclesiastical court). Professional lawyers and an increasingly well-educated gentry class – two overlapping groups – took advantage of friendship networks and of antiquarian scholarship and contemporary newsletters, circulating in print and in manuscript, to follow these proceedings. William Drake (1609–69), who had spent time at Oxford and Leiden Universities and had sampled legal training, left prolific notes on his reading, including a commonplace book (cat.1) containing entries from *c*.1625–35 relating to such matters as whether the king needed parliamentary consent for the imposition of import/export duties.

A key figure in Charles's administration, secular and religious, was William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. In June 1637 Laud delivered a verdict in Star Chamber (cat.2) against John Bastwick, Henry Burton and William Prynne, who had written pamphlets attacking the moves of Charles I and his archbishop to make the English and Scottish churches more ceremonial, more subject to the control of bishops and less accepting of different interpretations of the liturgy. Their punishment of standing in the pillory and having their ears cut off for libel shocked contemporaries, especially because they were gentlemen.

In 1640 war with his Scottish subjects and the military occupation of northern English counties forced Charles to call first the 'Short Parliament' and then the 'Long Parliament'. Drake attended from the start as MP for Amersham; Prynne, initially a parliamentarian propagandist, later became MP for Newport (Cornwall). Like many colleagues, they arrived well-versed in its privileges and procedures, which they believed went back to Anglo-Saxon times (cat.10).



Cat.10 A seventeenth-century manuscript volume on parliamentary history, see p.21.

### Reform, reaction and the coming of civil war

Its existence prolonged by the Scottish army of occupation, the Long Parliament proceeded to reform what it saw as abuses. Prerogative courts such as Star Chamber and the Court of Wards were abolished; people holding lucrative monopolies were prosecuted; unpopular royal servants fled abroad, were imprisoned or, in the case of Charles's lord deputy of Ireland, Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, impeached and executed. As regards the Church of England, regulations produced without Parliament (the *Canons* of 1640) were judged illegal, practices considered too close to those of the Church of Rome were suppressed, inadequate clergy were disciplined and the office of bishop was abolished. But the great wave of popular petitioning and counter-petitioning of Parliament that lay behind this rang alarm bells for some who had initially supported reform. One such was the learned Sir Edward Dering, MP for Kent. When his speech in the House of Commons on bishops (cat.3) was published contrary to parliamentary privilege, colleagues voted to deprive him of his seat.

In December 1641, galvanised by news of rebellion and alleged massacre in Ireland, Parliament presented to Charles I their *Grand Remonstrance*, outlining their chief grievances. In response, on 3 January 1642 (*Old Style* 1641)¹ the king attempted to arrest those he saw as the ringleaders of opposition – the so-called 'Five Members' of the House of Commons and one Member of the House of Lords (cat.4). In an iconic confrontation – depicted in the nineteenth-century mural in the current Palace of Westminster – Charles arrived with an armed force, only to discover that 'the birds have flown'. Forewarned, those concerned had absented themselves. Thwarted, the king soon left London, settling his court at York.

From the spring of 1642 through to the outbreak of civil war in August 1642 and beyond, both King and Parliament periodically issued justifications of their actions and declarations of their propositions for peace. This statement from Charles I (cat.5) came just after the first major military engagement at Edgehill on 23 October 1642. In early November a royalist army briefly advanced to the outskirts of London but, encountering resistance, withdrew. Charles established a military headquarters and rival capital at Oxford. This endured until the surrender of that city to Parliament in June 1646.

1. In 1752 the Gregorian calendar was adopted in England, in place of the 'Old Style' Julian calendar.

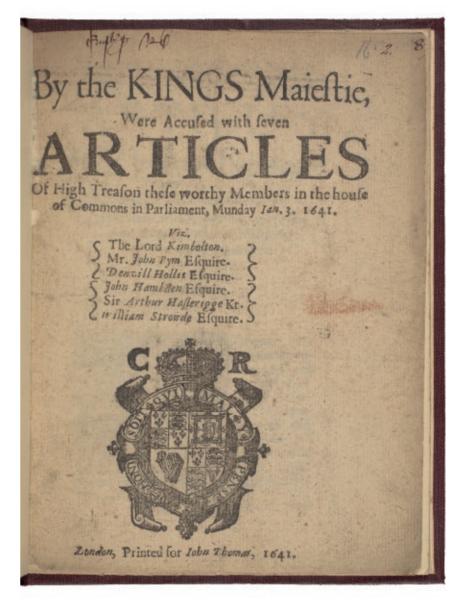
Cat. 4

Charles I. By the Kings Maiestie, Were Accused with seven Articles of High Treason these worthy Members in the house of Commons in Parliament, Munday Ian. 3. 1641: Viz. The Lord Kimbolton.

Mr. John Pym Esquire· Denzill Hollis Esquire· John Hambden Esquire· Sir Arthur Haslerigge Kt· William Strowde Esquire.

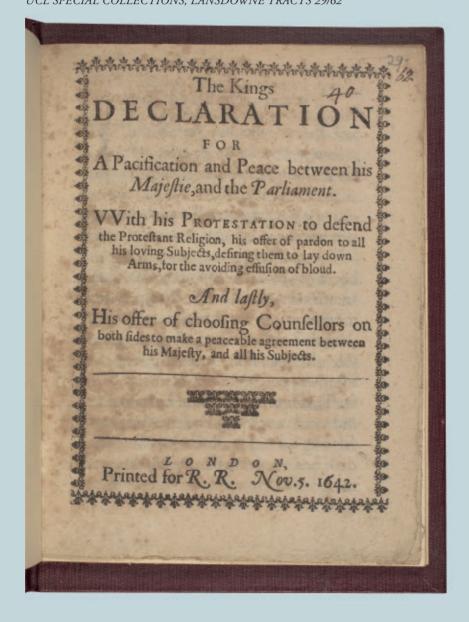
London: Printed for John Thomas, 1641

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LANSDOWNE TRACTS 16/2



Cat. 5

Charles I. The Kings Declaration for a Pacification and Peace between His Majestie and the Parliament: with his protestation to defend the Protestant religion, his offer of pardon to all his loving subjects desiring them to lay down arms for the avoiding effusion of bloud; and lastly his offer of choosing counsellors on both sides to make a peaceable agreement between His Majesty and all his subjects. London: Printed for R. R., 1642 UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LANSDOWNE TRACTS 29/62



Cat. 6

### Two casts of medals showing Oliver Cromwell, 1934

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, PEARSON/7/210/5



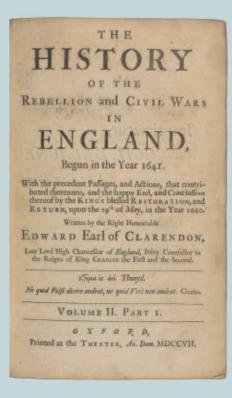


Cat.7

Hyde, Edward. The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in the year 1641: with the precedent passages, and actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy end and conclusion thereof by the King's blessed restoration and return upon the 29th of May, in the year 1660 / written by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon. (Vol.II. Part I). Oxford: UP, 1707

NEWSAM LIBRARY, BROOKE 114

See illustration, p.5.



### Civil war, faction and regicide

From 1642 Parliament never lost control of London. Other parts of the country were harder won, however; some areas changed hands many times, with attendant damage and distress. As identified in contemporary newspapers, divisions soon opened up in Parliament between 'Presbyterians', who wanted a 'soft' peace with the king, a Scottish-style state church and little toleration for other religious viewpoints, and 'Independents', who wanted a forceful prosecution of the war, a 'hard' peace and an inclusive, relatively tolerant religious settlement. In March 1643 (*Old Style* 1642) Nathaniel Fiennes, MP for Banbury and parliamentarian governor of Bristol, held off a royalist attack (cat.8), but his surrender of the city a few months later unleashed a furious backlash from 'Presbyterian' opponents. They seized the opportunity to undermine his father, 'war party' leader Viscount Saye and Sele. Pursued at court martial by the hostile William Prynne, Fiennes narrowly escaped with his life.

Over the 1640s royalist forces were ultimately defeated, but successive peace negotiations foundered, even after Charles I became a prisoner of Parliament. By late 1648 radicals in the victorious New Model army (founded 1645) and some of the Independents had concluded that the king could never be trusted and deserved punishment for the bloodshed of the wars. After a purge of Parliament (6 December), a court was set up to try the king (cat.9). After a trial in Westminster Hall attended by strenuous attempts towards legality, Charles was condemned to death. He was executed at Whitehall on 30 January 1649.

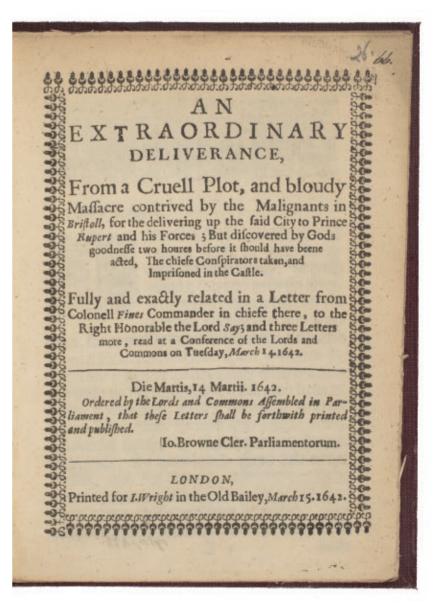
Almost immediately hagiographical images and text depicting the regicide and celebrating the saintly sufferings of the dead king began to circulate (cat.11). A more measured royalist assessment of the period of civil wars and ensuing interregnum was later offered by Edward Hyde, MP for Saltash in the Long Parliament and later Earl of Clarendon (cat.7). Hyde's perspective was both intimate and distant: he had left Parliament to join Charles I at York in the spring of 1642 and eventually, in 1651, followed the future Charles II abroad, where he endured the poverty-stricken and faction-ridden court in exile. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, his narrative prevailed, while the experiments of the English republic (1649–53, 1659–60) and the protectorates of Oliver Cromwell (1653–8) and Richard Cromwell (1658–9) seemed to leave few lasting impressions (cat.6).

Vivienne Larminie, Assistant Editor, Commons 1640–1660, History of Parliament Trust

Cat. 8

Fiennes, Nathaniel. An Extraordinary Deliverance, from a Cruell Plot, and bloudy Massacre contrived by the Malignants in Bristoll, for the delivering up the said city to Prince Rupert and his Forces: but discovered by Gods goodnesse two houres before it should have beene acted, the chiefe conspirators taken, and imprisoned in the castle. London: Printed for I. Wright in the Old Bailey, 1642

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LANSDOWNE TRACTS 26/66

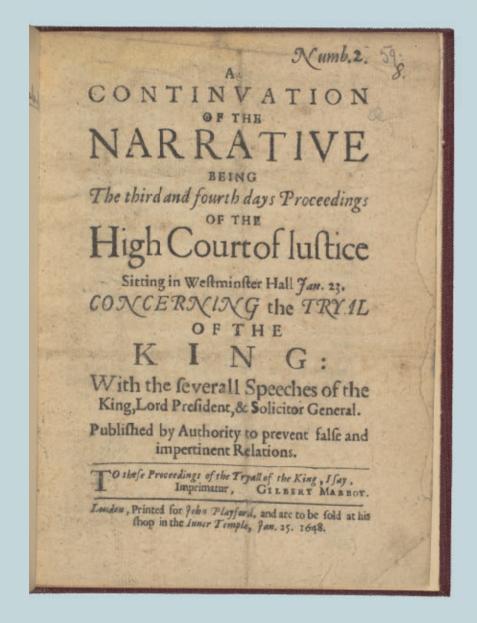


Cat. 9

A Continuation of the Narrative: being the third and fourth days Proceedings of the High Court of Iustice sitting in Westminster Hall on Jan. 23 concerning the tryal of the King: with the severall speeches of the King, Lord President, & Solicitor General.

London: printed for John Playford, 1648

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LANSDOWNE TRACTS 59/9



Cat. 10

Manuscript volume comprising eight texts on parliamentary history, seventeenth century

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS ANGL 4

See illustration, p.13.

Cat. 11

Gauden, John and Charles I (attributed). *Eikōn basilikē. The* pourtraicture of His sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings: together with his private prayers, used in the time of his restraint, and delivered to *D. Juxon*, *Bishop of London*, immediately before his death. London: Printed by Roger Daniel, 1649

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, STRONG ROOM OGDEN 399



### Collection in focus: the Lansdowne and Halifax Tracts

The Lansdowne and Halifax Tracts form a collection of over 4,000 political and economic works, printed in England and dating from 1559 to 1776. They cover the history, politics and economics of Britain, France and Belgium. The items included in this exhibition come from a group focusing on English history, collected by George Montague-Dunk, the 2nd Earl of Halifax (1716–71).

Montague-Dunk brought together material on many aspects of English history, but particularly the English civil wars, the Commonwealth and the Restoration. In addition to his own acquisitions, the collection includes pamphlets owned by the diarist Walter Yonge, a Member of Parliament during the Long Parliament from 1640 until 1648, and those owned by Fabian Philipps, a royalist who also wrote tracts himself, such as *King Charles the First no man of blood; but a martyr for his people, or, A sad and impartiall enquiry whether the king or parliament began the warre* (1649) and *The Royall Martyr* (1660). Copies of both works are in the collection.

One of the remarkable things about much of this material is that it survived at all. Its content, its authors and the political context in which it was published meant that much of it was ephemeral, thrown away or destroyed after being read. In some cases it was illegal to be in possession of the material; other titles were printed with false imprint details suggesting publication outside Britain, or with generic pseudonyms instead of the author's or organisation's names. The Lansdowne and Halifax collections present a rare opportunity to study surviving copies of historically controversial material together in a single collection.

The tracts were bought by the London Institution from Sotheby's in 1806, at the sale of the libraries of the 2nd Earl of Halifax and 1st Marquis of Lansdowne. When the London Institution closed in 1912, the collections moved to the School of Oriental Studies. They were subsequently deposited by the School at UCL in 1918, in exchange for materials more suited to the focus of the library of the School of Oriental Studies.

Tabitha Tuckett, Acting Head of Rare Books, UCL Special Collections



### Reforming Parliament, 1815–58

### Radical reform: Cartwright, Burdett and Bentham

Popular demands for a reform of Britain's ancient electoral system increased from the 1770s, aided by radicals such as Major John Cartwright (1740–1824). By the end of the century, however, these demands had been all but silenced by a concerted campaign of government suppression and a surge in loyalism during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802).

Towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), the popular movement for reform was reignited by Cartwright and Francis Burdett (1770–1844), the MP for Westminster. Detailing his commitment to annual parliaments and a tax-paying franchise, Cartwright's *The Union for Parliamentary Reform*, published in 1812 (cat.14), asserted that reform could only succeed with the support of a mass popular movement. This movement appeared to materialise during the summer of 1816, when a network of pro-reform Hampden and Union Clubs sprang up across the Midlands and the North. Burdett and Cartwright used these societies to mobilise a national petitioning campaign that returned parliamentary reform to the political agenda.

Spurred on by this campaign, Burdett introduced a series of motions for parliamentary reform to the House of Commons between 1817 and 1819. His 1818 reform proposal (cat.12) was written in conjunction with the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). Bentham convinced Burdett to argue for male suffrage, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts and the secret ballot. In June 1818 the Commons rejected his reform proposals by 108 votes to 2.

What proved more convincing to MPs was a campaign being initiated at the same time by Lord John Russell (1792–1878), a young Whig. Russell called for a reform that would restore the electoral system to its ancient principles, through a limited franchise extension and the redistribution of seats from rotten boroughs to the unrepresented industrial towns of Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham. For many radicals this was reform in name only – as Bentham quipped in July 1819: "Reform" indeed!' (cat.15). One month later the Peterloo Massacre prompted a new wave of government suppression. In this tense atmosphere *Bentham's Radical Reform Bill* (cat.13), published in December 1819, had little prospect of success.

### Visions of reform

Reform clearly meant different things to different people. For radicals it promised a rebalancing of power from the aristocracy to ordinary people and a path out of poverty and economic distress. For Whigs and moderate reformers it promised to restore the

Cat. 12

# Jeremy Bentham's proposed plan of parliamentary reform, sent to Sir Francis Burdett, 7 March 1818

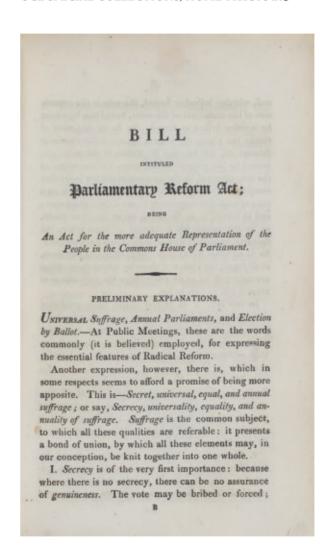
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Cat. 13

### Bentham's Radical Reform Bill, 1819. London: Printed by John M'Creery, [1820]

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, HUME TRACTS 213



Cat. 14

The Union for Parliamentary Reform According to the Constitution An appeal to the nation. London: Printed by J. M'Creery, 1812 UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, HUME TRACTS 185

Cat. 15

# Observations by Jeremy Bentham on a speech on Parliamentary Reform, 15 July 1819

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, BENTHAM/128/478

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authority of the Commons, relegitimising Parliament as a popular representative body, curbing decades of monarchical interference and political corruption. For anti-reformers the destruction of the ancient constitution threatened a state of constant political instability, if not anarchy and revolution.

The post-Napoleonic reform movement and the Peterloo Massacre (1819) hardened opposition to parliamentary reform within the 2nd Earl of Liverpool's Tory government and sparked a series of major political clampdowns on radical activities. The Queen Caroline affair of 1820 proved a defining moment in this struggle between government suppression and popular protest. The affair, which centred on an attempt by the deeply unpopular George IV to divorce his estranged German wife, prompted an outpouring of public outrage that threatened the downfall of the British Establishment.

Reports of proletarian petitioners meeting Queen Caroline at the behest of Alderman Matthew Wood – a rabble-rousing chemist, hop-merchant and radical MP for London (satirised in cat.16 as Solomon Logwood) – encouraged derision from Tory satirists. They portrayed the episode as a taster of what might happen in a nation turned upside down by reform. *The Loyalist's Magazine* (cat.18) and the emerging caricaturist George Cruikshank (1792–1878) took the threat posed by Queen Caroline even more seriously. They saw her as a leader of radical forces seeking to overthrow the crown and constitution. In the last of a series of prints, 'Radical Reform' depicted the Palace of John Bull destroyed by radicals who have smashed the three pillars of the constitution. In the background those same radicals turn on property and commerce as they set fire to buildings and fields of corn, while choppy waters threaten to capsize Britain's global trading prowess.

These visions of reform stand in stark contrast to *Reform Anticipated!* (cat.17). This poem in pamphlet form celebrates the Whig reform legislation of 1831 and looks forward to the demise of a corrupt electoral system that had allowed 'inveterate miscreants' to 'find the way to filthy gain and legislative sway'. Reputedly published and composed by an unemployed printer, the pamphlet heralded the improvements that reform would bring – education 'not as charity, but right', the reform of the infamous penal code that executed the poor for stealing the basics they needed to live and a reformed Church, accountable to its parishioners.

### Bloomsbury and the 1832 Reform Act

By the late 1820s Bloomsbury was a hub of reformist activity. In 1826 an influential circle of radicals, Whigs, scientists, political economists and utilitarians, led by Henry Brougham (1778–1868), an enigmatic Whig MP, formed the controversial London University (later UCL) and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK). The former was established as a secular alternative to Oxford and Cambridge, while the latter sought to disseminate educational materials to a mass readership.

Towards the radical end of this circle were Harriet Grote (1792–1878) and her husband George (1794–1871). Salons and dinner parties held by the Grotes at Threadneedle Street in the City of London (cat.19) brought together a number of progressive thinkers associated with the Bloomsbury set (such as John Stuart Mill, Edwin Chadwick, John Arthur Roebuck and George John Graham). Their discussions at the Grote household on the London University, political economy and parliamentary reform were then taken up with Brougham's wider coterie in the taverns and meeting rooms of Russell Square and Gower Street.

A figure to the political centre of the Bloomsbury set was the scientist and Royal Engineer Thomas Drummond (1797–1840). Since arriving in London from the Irish Ordnance Survey in 1829, Drummond's experiments with the newly discovered principles of limelight and his map-making exploits for the SDUK had impressed Brougham. During 1831 Drummond was appointed by Brougham (now Lord Chancellor) to chair the first ever boundary commission for England and Wales (cats 20 and 21). The Whig reform plans of 1831 required an ambitious survey of the nation's ancient constituency system. Most of the men recruited by Drummond and Brougham to complete this work had close links with the University of London and the SDUK.

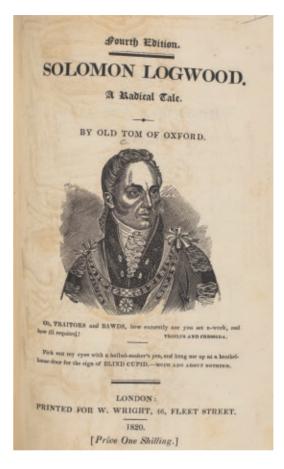
Thanks in no small part to the work of Drummond and his commissioners, the 'Great Reform Act' was passed in the summer of 1832. The Act redrew Britain's electoral map, redistributed hundreds of parliamentary seats, from 'rotten boroughs' to new county and borough constituencies, and introduced new voting rights and registration requirements.

### **Reformers after the Act**

After decades of debate and speculation about the changes that reform might herald, opinion in Bloomsbury about the Reform Act's ultimate effects proved mixed. For Brougham and Lord John Russell (1792–1878), his fellow government minister, reform had been a success. The Whigs commanded a massive majority at the 1832 election and the worst aspects of the old electoral system seemed to be in abeyance. Importantly, however, the influence of great Whig families remained intact; Russell and Brougham were still able to recommend constituencies where allies could find a seat in parliament (cat.22).

By contrast, George Grote confided to his sister in law Frances Lewin (1804–88) that the first session of the reformed parliament had failed to realise 'even the very moderate expectations which I had formed' (cat.24). Elected for the City of London constituency in 1832, Grote swiftly became disillusioned with his fellow reformer and radical MPs. He considered them a ragtag bunch, devoid of any capacity to institute the real political change that the UK required.

The one figure from Grote's circle of friends who did realise the opportunities of reform was the Benthamite Edwin Chadwick (1800-90; cat.23). In 1832 he secured



Cat. 16

Hook, Theodore Edward.
Solomon Logwood. A Radical Tale.
By Old Tom of Oxford. London:
Printed for W. Wright, 1820
UCL SPECIAL COLLECTION,
OGDEN HON NEW



Cat. 17

Reform Anticipated! A glance at the future. London: B. Steill, 1831 UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, HUME TRACTS 236.

See illustration, p.2.

Cat. 18

The Loyalist's Magazine; or, Anti-radical. no.III, Monday 1 January [1821]

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, OGDEN PAMPHLETS



Cat. 19

Letter from Harriet Grote to John Arthur Roebuck, 25 January 1827

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS MISC/2/G

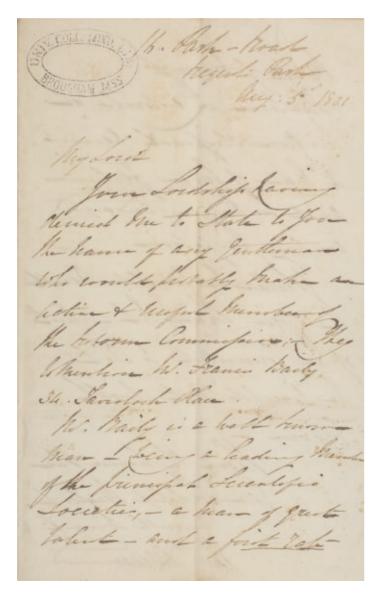


employment on the Poor Law Commission, which had been instituted to reform England's Elizabethan Poor Laws. Chadwick channelled his utilitarian reformist zeal into the commission, which by the end of the 1830s was infamous for its centralised enforcement of the harsh new poor law system and its dreaded workhouses. For those on the breadline, the workhouse ended any hopes that the 1832 Reform Act would bring positive change.

Martin Spychal, Research Fellow, Commons 1832-1945, History of Parliament Trust

### Cat. 20

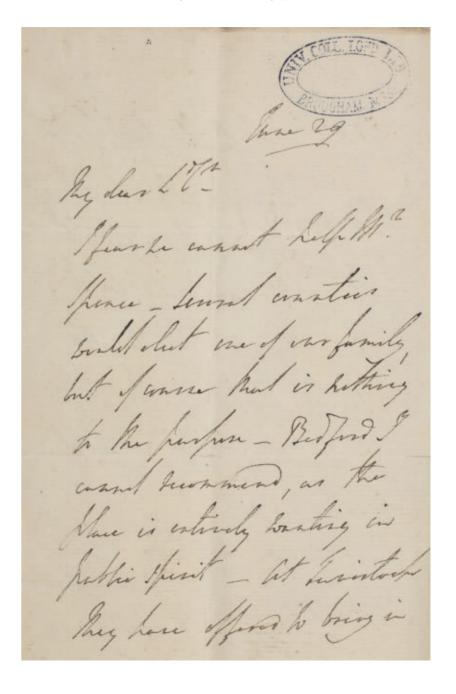
Letter from Thomas
Drummond to Henry
Peter Brougham, 1st
Baron Brougham and
Vaux, 5 August 1831
UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS,
BROUGHAM 33.076



Cat. 22

Letter from John Russell, Earl Russell, to Henry Peter Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux, 29 June 1832

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, BROUGHAM 38,139

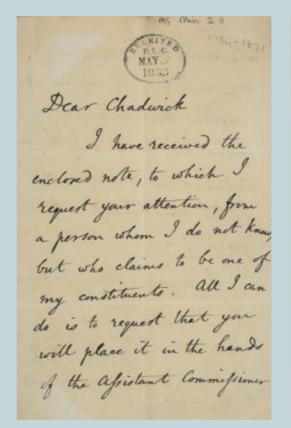


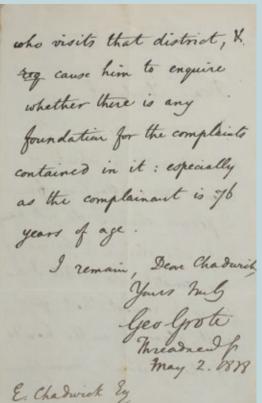
Cat. 21

Truro: Farther account of election proceedings in this borough, to their successful termination, on the 15th of December, 1832, together with a copy of the poll, accompanied by a map of the renovated and extended borough. Truro: Printed by G. Glyma, 1833

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, HUME TRACTS 66







Cat. 23

Letter from George Grote to Edwin Chadwick, 2 May 1838 UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS MISC/2/G

Cat. 24

Letter from George Grote to Frances Lewin, 1833

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS ADD 22/1/2.21

### **Collection in focus: the Brougham Papers**

Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778–1868), was one of the principal founders of UCL (the others being Thomas Campbell and Henry Crabb Robinson). He was the chief fundraiser of the new 'London University' and served as Chairman of the Council and President of the University until his death. Brougham had already made a name for himself as a lawyer, Whig politician and a social and educational reformer. He would go on to become one of the chief architects of the Great Reform Act of 1832 during his tenure as Lord Chancellor.

The Brougham archive is the largest collection held by UCL Special Collections and one of the most important. Around two-thirds of the collection consists of Henry Brougham's extensive correspondence (approximately 50,000 letters) with people from all areas of society on a vast array of subjects and covering the span of his remarkable life. Brougham's political and other activities are well represented. They include matters such as anti-slavery agitation in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the 'trial' of Queen Caroline in 1820, the Reform Bill of 1832, the foundation of the University of London in 1828 and the establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1825.

Notable correspondents include Jeremy Bentham, Francis Burdett (5th Baronet), Thomas Denman (1st Baron Denman), Thomas Drummond, Charles Grey (2nd Earl Grey), Isaac Goldsmid (1st Baronet), William Lamb (2nd Viscount Melbourne), George William Frederick Villiers (Earl of Clarendon), Sir Robert Peel, John Russell (Earl Russell), William Shepherd, Joseph Parkes, Henry John Temple (3rd Viscount Palmerston) and William Wilberforce, among many others.

The remainder of the archive consists of Henry Brougham's personal and working papers and material relating to other members of the family (chiefly his youngest brother William) and the Brougham estate in Cumbria. The papers were stored at the family seat, Brougham Hall near Penrith, but were sold by the 4th Lord Brougham in 1934. They were bought by the linguist Charles K Ogden for the Orthological Institute for £205 and remained in his possession until 1953, when they were purchased for UCL by the Nuffield Foundation. The collection is mostly uncatalogued, although there is a card index for the correspondence.

Katy Makin, UCL Archivist, UCL Special Collections

### **Collection in focus: the Hume Tracts**

The Hume Tracts collection of *c*.5,000 items was the working library of the radical and politician Joseph Hume (1777–1855). He grew up in Montrose, Scotland, studied medicine in Edinburgh and went on to pursue a variety of careers – including in business and as a surgeon, purser and director of the East India Company – before securing a seat in Parliament in 1812. Here he was introduced to James Mill and other reformers associated with philosophic radicalism.

Over the next 30 years Hume would advocate radical causes such as a wider franchise and the improvement of the condition of the working classes in Parliament, building up a national network of radical supporters and correspondents. During this period he amassed his collection of tracts on contemporary political issues, which he bequeathed to UCL.

The subject matter of the tracts reflects the major political, economic and social developments taking place in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century. These included some of the causes championed by Joseph Hume during his parliamentary career, such as universal suffrage, Catholic emancipation, a reduction in the power of the Anglican church and an end to imprisonment for debt.

Much of the material consists of addresses written by radicals and nonconformists pressing for reform on a wide variety of issues. Themes that feature particularly prominently in the collection include parliamentary reform and the extension of voting rights, the abolition of slavery in British colonies, the condition of the working classes, the Poor and the Corn Laws, child labour and the Factory Acts and the expansion of education.

Many of the pamphlets contain Hume's own annotations and his correspondence. As such, the Hume Tracts collection is a fascinating record of the workings of radical politics and reform in the early nineteenth century.

Erika Delbecque, Head of Rare Books, UCL Special Collections



38 | Rebel, React, Reform Reform Reform in Action: Jewish Emancipation | 39

### **Reform in Action: Jewish Emancipation**

Jews were unable to sit in the House of Commons until 1858. Until then practising and conscientious Jews were excluded from the Commons and Lords by the Abjuration Oath, which required that parliamentarians pledge to fulfil their duties 'upon the true faith of a Christian'. The removal of Jewish disabilities in 1858 partially ended this requirement by allowing persons 'professing the Jewish Religion' to omit the 'true faith of a Christian' line when they took their oath in the Commons. It was the first in a series of statutes that culminated in the removal of the Abjuration Oath in 1866, which enabled Jews also to be sworn in as members of the House of Lords.

The 1858 Jews Relief Act was passed following a campaign for Jewish emancipation that had spanned three decades. It commenced after Dissenters were granted the right to hold public office in 1828 and Catholics were allowed to sit in Parliameit in 1829. Three leading figures in the early stages of the campaign were the UCL founder Isaac Goldsmid (1778–1859), his son, Francis Henry Goldsmid (1808–78), who became the first Jew to be admitted to the Bar in 1833, and the Whig MP Robert Grant (1780–1838). In 1830, with the backing of the Board of Deputies and aided by pamphlets such as Francis Goldsmid's Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of British Jews (cat.25), Robert Grant introduced the first in a long line of bills calling on Parliament to allow Jews to sit in the Commons.

Grant's 1830 bill was rejected by a Tory-controlled Commons, but after the 1832 Reform Act the Whig Prime Minister, the 2nd Earl Grey, assured Isaac Goldsmid of his government's support for emancipation (cat.26). With the continued backing of the Jewish community (cat.27), members of Whig governments in 1833, 1834 and 1836 secured Commons majorities for the removal of Jewish disabilities. However, as would be the case on nine further occasions prior to 1858, the staunchly Anglican and Conservative majority in the House of Lords rejected Jewish emancipation. An array of deeply anti-Semitic explanations were offered for this opposition, the primary argument being that Jewish MPs would hasten the destruction of the connection between the Church and State.

In 1847, with the parliamentary campaign for emancipation seemingly dormant, Isaac Goldsmid, Julian Goldsmid, Lionel de Rothschild (1808–79) and David Salomons (1797–1873) sought to force reform by standing for election. Rothschild was returned for the City of London (cat.29), but could not with conscience take the parliamentary oath, prompting the Whig government of Lord John Russell to revive action on the issue. The Lords again rejected this legislation. Farcically Rothschild was again elected at the 1849 by-election caused by his forced resignation, prompting further failed legislation.

Jewish emancipation gained further traction when David Salomons (cat.28) was elected at the 1851 Greenwich by-election. Like Rothschild, Salomons refused to take the oath, but unlike Rothschild he took his seat in the Commons. This act prompted his

forcible removal by the Serjeant-at-Arms and a fine for illegally voting in several divisions. Salomons was rejected by electors at the 1852 election, but Rothschild continued to be returned by the City of London in 1852 and twice in 1857. With public and parliamentary pressure mounting, in 1858 the Lords accepted a compromise that allowed the Commons to introduce its own oath – finally allowing Rothschild to take his seat over 11 years after he had first been elected.

Martin Spychal, Research Fellow, Commons 1832-1945, History of Parliament Trust

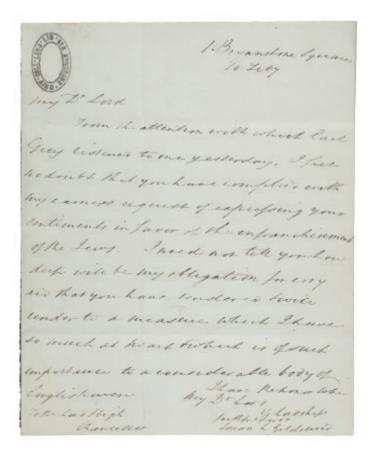
Cat. 25

Goldsmid, Francis Henry. *Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of British Jews*. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, [1830]

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, HUME TRACTS 132

Cat. 26

Letter from
Sir Isaac Lyon
Goldsmid to Henry
Peter Brougham,
1st Baron
Brougham
and Vaux,
10 February 1833
UCL SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS,
BROUGHAM 45,437



40 | Rebel. React. Reform

Cat. 27

# A copy petition to Sir Robert Grant on behalf of the Jewish Disabilities Bill, 1833

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MS MOCATTA/22/A

Cat. 28

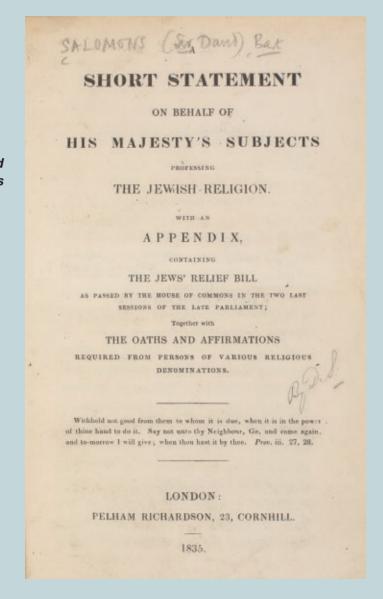
BOX 9

Salomons, Sir David.

A short statement on behalf of His Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion.: with an appendix, containing the Jews' Relief Bill as passed by the House of Commons in the two last sessions of the late Parliament.

London: Pelham
Richardson, 1835

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, SR MOCATTA PAMPHLETS

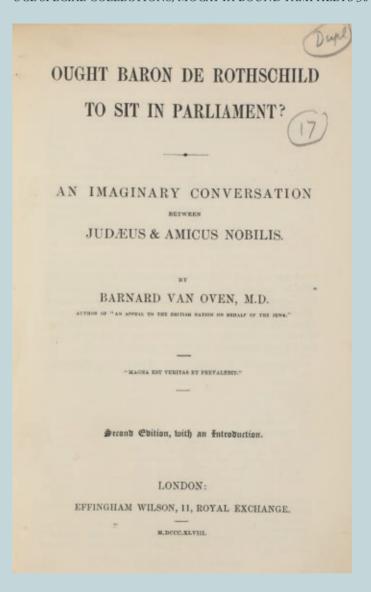


Cat. 29

Van Oven, Barnard. Ought Baron de Rothschild to sit in Parliament?: an imaginary conversation between Judæus & Amicus Nobilis.

London: Effingham Wilson, 1848

UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MOCATTA BOUND PAMPHLETS 30



42 | Rebel, React, Reform Reform Reform In Action: Jewish Emancipation | 43

### **Collection in focus: Mocatta pamphlets**

In 2014 UCL Special Collections began a project to catalogue some 4,000 Jewish pamphlets from its collections, revealing the wealth of knowledge held in these items. The pamphlets date back as far as the seventeenth century and continue through to the twentieth; they cover a wide range of subjects including Anglo-Jewish history, anti-Semitism, Zionism and liturgy. This scope reflects the interests of the pamphlets' collectors, originating from the libraries of people such as journalist Asher Myers, the Canadian rabbi Aaron David Meldola de Sola and, most significantly, the bibliophile, historian and philanthropist Frederick David Mocatta (1828–1905).

Mocatta grew up at a time when political reformists and advocates of Jewish emancipation were working hard to see the UK's Jewish community freed from all of their civil disabilities. The Roman Catholic Relief Act had done just that for Roman Catholics in the UK in 1829, but the Jews Relief Act, allowing Jewish MPs to sit in Parliament, was not passed until 1858. Pamphlets held in the Mocatta collection show arguments both for and against allowing elected Jewish MPs to sit in Parliament: Mocatta and his fellow collectors did not only amass publications that supported their own views.

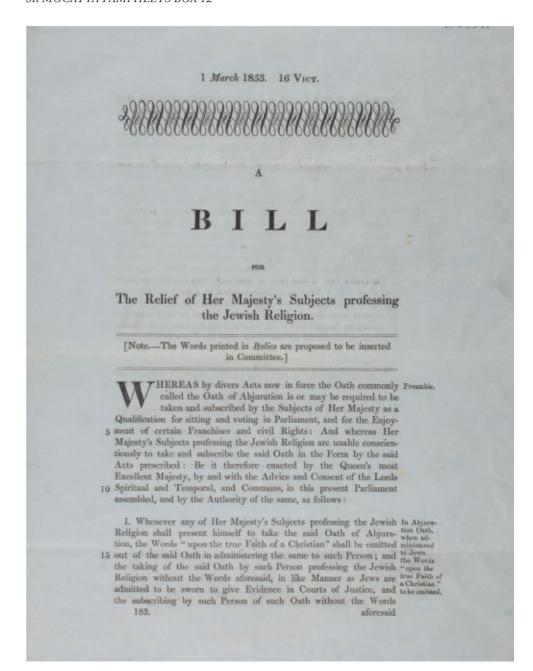
The Mocatta family had close ties to the Goldsmid family; Mocatta was himself a partner and director of the bullion broker Mocatta & Goldsmid. A number of items from the Goldsmid family are held in the Mocatta collection, including a letterbook of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid on display in this exhibition (cat.27).

Helen Biggs, Outreach and Exhibitions Coordinator, UCL Special Collections



Cat. 30

House of Commons. Jewish Disabilities: a Bill for the Relief of Her Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion. London, 1853
SR MOCATTA PAMPHLETS BOX 12



44 Rebel, React, Reform Student Rebels | 45

# Student Rebels: Politics on and off the University Campus

Student politics and protest have been evident at University College London for nearly as long as the University itself. Notable student protests have led to the reorganisation of the College, with the 1830–1 case against Granville Sharp Pattison, Professor of Anatomy, leading to dismissals and staff resignations, as well the organisation of the Senate and Faculties.

A small but ultimately successful example of student bravado is illustrated in an edition of *Pi* newspaper in 1959 (cat.31). UCL students had difficulty in crossing Torrington Place to the University of London Union and Senate House, and took matters into their own hands by creating a makeshift zebra crossing. A permanent crossing at Byng Place/Torrington Place was subsequently constructed in the same location. Another small but notable incident reported by *Pi* in 1961 (cat.32) was a heated debate involving Oswald Mosley, former leader of the British Union of Fascists, who was seconded during a debate on the rights of Commonwealth citizens by David Irving, then a UCL student.

The inter-war period saw the rise of political extremes, internationally and at home. The Gower Socialist Society, founded in the early 1930s, was one of a number of radical left-wing societies founded at British universities. Other student societies at UCL such as the Anti-War Movement (cat.33) were often at odds with College authorities, as the latter maintained that such societies should be 'for the purpose of political discussion, and not of political propaganda within or without the College' (1933–4 UCL Council Minutes).

A number of notable UCL students became leaders of new nations, independent from British rule. These included Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Benedicto Kiwanuka, First Prime Minister of Uganda (cat.34). Kiwanuka's index card and student file not only provide information about his studies, but also his political life, referring to articles in *The Times* right up to his imprisonment, torture and murder by Idi Amin's forces.

Student demonstrations are depicted in photographs (cats 35 and 38) 40 years apart, in 1933 and 1973, with banners revealing the political mood of each period. The National Union of Students (NUS) demonstration in 1973 brought 40,000 marchers to the capital, including those pictured representing the Institute of Education.

On Wednesday 9 March 1977 University College students joined in the NUS demonstration against education cuts and proposed fee increases (cat.36). The image

here, used as a poster, shows a meeting and vote on the steps of the Portico. March was a turbulent month that year, with Slade students occupying the department for ten days in protest at education cuts and the axing of the Film Unit, the first of its kind in an English university.

Robert Winckworth, Senior Library Assistant (Records), UCL Special Collections



Cat. 31

*Pi*, no.157, 26 February 1959 *UCL RECORDS*, *COLLEGE ARCHIVE* 

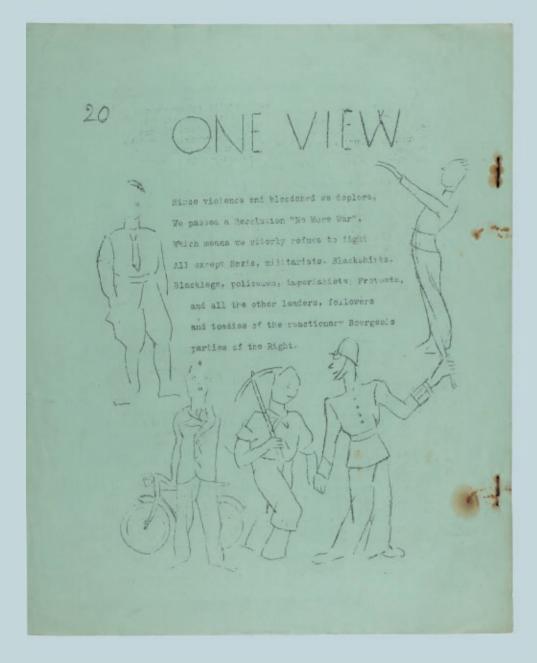
Cat. 32

Pi, no.170, 2 February 1961 UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE ARCHIVE 46 | Rebel, React, Reform Student Rebels | 47

Cat. 33

# Willy Nilly: The Organ of the University College Anti-War Movement, February 1934

UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE COLLECTION PERIODICAL



Cat. 34

### Student index card for Benedicto Kiwanuko, 1952

UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE ARCHIVE

DATE	HONOURS AND APPOINTMENTS	SOURCE OF INFORMATION	
	LEADER OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY VGANDA. PARTY WON RECTIONS APRIL AGI. BECOMES IN APRICAN CHIEF MINISTER.	T. 6 . 4. 61	
	MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO THEADER OF THE HOUSE POSSIBET TO BE PRIME MINISTER DET. 1962 WHEN UKANDA BECOMES INDEFENDENT.  Sworn in as let Prime Minister of Uganda (Uganda reed. internal self-gov. March 1 1962)	T. 10.10.61 Times 2.3.62	
	Resignation tendered defeated in elections Apr. 1962 (Leader of the Opposition) Arrested under Emergency Regulations & charged with sedition against President Obote.	Times 28,4,62 Times 8,9,69 % 10,9,69	
	Placed in detention following sttendance of the funeral of the Kabaka in January in London	Times 2,2,70	
	Preed after the Amin Coup and appointed Acting Chief Justice, then Chief Justice Uganda Arresyted again and detained Not Heard of Since arrest	Times 9.9.72 Times 22.9.72 Times 27.10.72	
	(6)		

# Photograph of student demonstration against introduction of means testing, 1933

UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE ARCHIVE (PHOTOGRAPHS)

Cat. 36

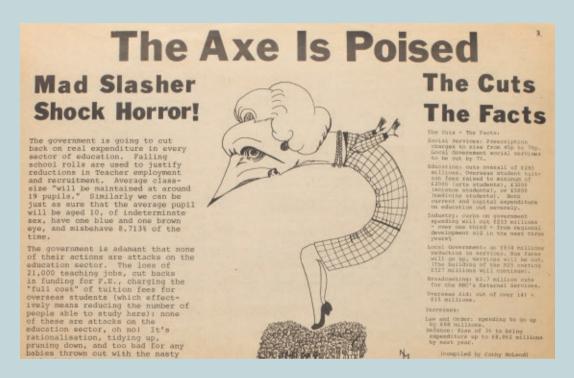
Poster of protest against education cuts, 1977

UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE ARCHIVE (PHOTOGRAPHS)

Cat. 37

### Insted, Iss.3, 9 November 1979

NEWSAM LIBRARY ARCHIVES, IE/UNS/15/5



Cat. 38

### Photograph of National Union of Students demonstration against government-controlled union funds. [1973]

UCL RECORDS, COLLEGE ARCHIVE (PHOTOGRAPHS)

Cat. 39

### Edlines, January 1985

NEWSAM LIBRARY ARCHIVES, IE/UNS/15/7

### **Acknowledgements**

The Library Services Exhibitions Group arranges themed exhibitions in the Main Library drawing on highlights from UCL Special Collections.

This exhibition has been curated in partnership with the History of Parliament Trust. Exhibition curators were Vivienne Larminie, Martin Spychal and Helen Biggs with Kate Cheney, Kieron Jones and Charles Littleton, and with the assistance of Erika Delbecque, Kathryn Hannan, Katy Makin, Colin Penman, Victoria Rea, Dr Tabitha Tuckett, Robert Winckworth and Jessica Womack.

Exhibition items were prepared by Laurent Cruveillier and Angela Warren-Thomas.

Photography for the exhibition was by Isabelle Reynolds-Logue and Steve Wright.

The catalogue has been prepared by Helen Biggs and written by Vivienne Larminie and Martin Spychal, with contributions from Erika Delbecque, Katy Makin, Dr Tabitha Tuckett and Robert Winckworth.

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Back cover: Illustration from *The Loyalist's magazine; or, Anti-radical.* no.III. Monday 1 January [1821]. UCL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, OGDEN PAMPHLETS.

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### **Exhibition Location**

Main Library staircase and first floor UCL Library Services Gower Street London WC1E 6BT

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