



**THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT**

**Annual Review 2022-3**

**July 2023**



## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### Review of activities in the year 2022-23

#### OVERVIEW

1. At the end of 2022-23 we delivered to the press our latest set of volumes, *The House of Commons 1640-1660*. *1640-1660* is our biggest publication yet. The nine volumes were published in May 2023 by The Boydell Press, early in the 2023-24 financial year.
2. During the year, the History began the process of conversion of the existing Charitable Trust into a Charitable Incorporated Organization. The new Trust, also to be called The History of Parliament Trust, was approved by the Charity Commission on 27 February 2023. In the course of 2023-24 the assets, liabilities and operations of the old Trust will be converted to the CIO.
3. In January, the Director, Dr Paul Seaward, informed the Trustees that he intended to step down from the Directorship towards the end of 2023. A process is currently underway to find a successor.

#### RESEARCH

4. Progress in each of the History's five current research projects and the oral history project is described below.

#### ***The House of Commons 1461-1504***

5. This project follows on from the recently completed and published *House of Commons 1422-1461*, and covers the period of the Wars of the Roses and the establishment of Henry VII in power. There are 1,325 biographies and 146 constituency articles to be completed. The editor is Dr Hannes Kleineke, and the other long term project staff were Dr Charles Moreton and Dr Simon Payling. Charles Moreton retired from the Trust at the end of December. In November we were joined by Dr Jonathan Mackman who was appointed as a one-year research assistant to the project, initially compiling indexes and other research resources for the section, although he has also contributed articles. In this third full year of operation of the new project, a total of 87 articles were produced (83 biographies and four constituency articles), totalling over 132,000 words. Among the biographical articles completed in the year were:
  - *Sir John Turberville*: MP for Dorset in 1491 and 1495. Descended from a junior branch of a prominent Dorset family, Turberville was implicated in the publication of the famous verse of 'The Cat, the Rat and Lovell, the Dog' lampooning Richard III and his confidants. He joined Henry Tudor in exile, and on Henry's return to England and seizure of the throne became knight marshal of the Household. One of Henry's 'new men' and part of the King's inner circle, he was to die young in 1502, having spent the final decade of his life serving as treasurer of Calais, an appointment which all but bankrupted the landless royal favourite.
  - *William Tailboys*: MP for Weymouth 1472. Barely of age in 1472, he appears to have sought election to assist his elder brother Robert in reversing their father's attainder, presumably securing the Weymouth seat through his family's various Yorkist connections. His marriage to the daughter of Thomas Croxton, coroner of the court of King's Bench, brought him interests in London and Hertfordshire, but also various

legal problems, and despite being provided for by his family, he seems to have had financial troubles in the 1480s and 1490s, and may have died in prison.

- *Ralph Hakeluyt*: MP for Leominster in 1478. A lawyer educated at Clifford's Inn who had a long career in local government, serving three terms as sheriff (over a period of more than 40 years) and more than 30 years on the Herefordshire bench. He was involved in disturbances at the time of the Leominster election of 1491 as an ally of Sir Richard Croft, and, in the following year, he served on Henry VII's French expedition.
- *Sir Ralph Hastings*: MP for Northamptonshire in 1472. Younger brother of Edward IV's chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings, Hastings made significant gains from royal patronage, gaining significant estates in Northamptonshire to which he added property in Essex through marriage. Knighted at the battle of Tewkesbury, he survived his brother's fall in 1483; later he was implicated in treasonable conspiracy against Henry VII but again survived.
- *William Rudhale*: MP for Herefordshire in 1491. A lawyer who made slow progress to the ranks of the serjeants-at-law, not reaching their august ranks until he was quite elderly. He served as Queen Katherine of Aragon's attorney-general and advanced his family from minor to major gentry. His striking tomb survives in the church of Ross-on-Wye.
- *William Case*: A minor gentleman from southern Somerset and retainer of Sir Giles, 1st Lord Daubeney, he went into exile with his master and the future Henry VII. Rewarded with an office in Henry VII's household, he was returned for Somerset to the Parliament of 1491, but soon fell under suspicion of involvement in plots against the King.
- *James Fitzjames*: A Somerset lawyer and customs official, Fitzjames was not above high-handed behaviour to further his own interests. From a family with long traditions of parliamentary service for the constituency of Bridgwater, he also was returned by that borough in 1467.
- *Thomas Grayson*: erstwhile servant of William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, he entered Edward IV's household as a groom of the Chamber. The household connexion was probably instrumental in his election for Dartmouth to the Parliament of 1478. He remained in royal favour under Richard III, but was rehabilitated by Henry VII in time to represent Plymouth in the Parliament of 1487, during which he died.
- *John Metcalfe*: A wealthy York merchant and merchant adventurer, trading in a broad range of commodities, including metals and oil; he was returned for the city in 1497, a year before his election to the mayoralty.
- *Miles Metcalfe*: Important lawyer and eventual recorder of York. He began his career in the service of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, but after the earl's death transferred into the service first of George, duke of Clarence, to whom he may have owed his return for Dartmouth in 1472, and subsequently of Richard, duke of Gloucester. Independently of his aristocratic connexions, the citizens of York valued his services and returned him to Edward IV's final two Parliaments of 1478 and 1483, though not to Richard III's of 1484).
- *John Pole I*: A Wiltshire lawyer with an exceptionally long parliamentary career in the service of the boroughs of Marlborough, Shaftesbury and Wilton, the latter of which he represented in the Parliaments of 1461, 1472, 1478, and 1483, as well as being elected to the abortive assembly summoned in Edward V's name.
- *Thomas Jobson*: MP for Colchester in 1487, 1489, and 1491. A Yorkshireman who became a major dealer in coal and salt after settling in Colchester. His investments in land provided a foundation for his family's move into the Essex gentry. His son and heir was one of the richest burgesses of the town.
- *John Seman*: An Oxford MP and active municipal office-holder, Seman was among the Oxford burgesses who exercised their town's traditional right to perform the

service of assisting the King's butler on coronation days, in his case during that of Edward IV.

- *Sir Richard de la Bere*: MP for Herefordshire in 1495, de la Bere enjoyed a long and varied career, which included four terms as sheriff of his native Herefordshire and service (albeit brief) in Edward IV's household, a place he probably owed to the patronage of his friend, Sir Richard Croft. His second wife, Elizabeth Mores, is the heroine of a contemporary narrative which describes her successful efforts to protect the son and heir of the duke of Buckingham from falling into Richard III's hands in the aftermath of the duke's abortive rebellion in the autumn of 1483. Memorialised by an extant brass in Hereford cathedral.
- *Sir Richard Croft*: MP for Herefordshire in 1478, Croft had one of the most remarkable careers of any MP of the period, through all of the political vicissitudes of the Wars of the Roses, achieving the surprising feat of serving both Richard III and Henry VII as treasurer of the royal household. A detailed trawl of the legal records provided new insights into his career, particularly in respect of his activities in the weeks before Bosworth and his involvement in local disorder, centred on Leominster, in the late 1480s and early 1490s. Memorialised in a striking extant tomb in the church of Croft.
- *John Guttyngs alias Lloyd*: a Shrewsbury draper who lived to a great age. His election in 1478 was contested in that it involved the setting aside of the town's bailiff, John Horde, who had expected to take the seat.
- *Robert Orton*: MP for Leicester in 1504, he maintained his place as the duchy of Lancaster's bailiff in his native Leicester for over 30 years, despite numerous acts of extortion and dereliction of duty as keeper of the town's gaol, a curious career that would be almost entirely undocumented but for the legal records.

6. The constituency histories completed in the year included:

- Weymouth: the minor Dorset sea port, separated from Melcombe Regis by the river Wey. The port and the manor of Wyke to which it was attached had passed from the Mortimer earls of March to the house of York, and were until 1492 held by the dowager duchess Cecily. In 1492, Henry VII granted Weymouth to his queen, Elizabeth of York, on whose death in 1503 it escheated back to the Crown. As a result of its royal connexions, the port was frequently represented by outsiders.
- Shrewsbury: extensive borough records survive although unfortunately they fill few of the gaps in the list of MPs. It seems that election to Parliament was seen as a poorly-rewarded distraction from routine business, and few were prepared to serve more than once. Yet, from the corporate perspective, representation was seen as vital to the protection and extension of the town's interests. This is particularly apparent in this period, as economic decline came increasingly to undermine the town's standing. That decline was not reversed by Henry VII's generosity, but the grants in 1485 and 1495, both of which had a parliamentary context, significantly alleviated the problems it posed.

7. The section also contributed 15 pieces to the History of Parliament's blog. They included: 'From Windsor to Westminster: The People of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in Parliament in the later Middle Ages and Beyond'; 'Come let's travel by the River: the Vicissitudes of getting to Parliament in the later Middle Ages'; 'From Windsor to Westminster: the people of St George's in Parliament in the later Middle Ages II: Knights vs Canons'; 'A Tribute to Professor Robert Palmer'; 'Always look a gift horse in the mouth': the abbey of Louth Park and the deathbed of Sir Henry Vavasour (d. 1342) of Cockerington, Lincolnshire'; 'The capture and execution of Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of King's bench, and the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388'; 'Oh! Earl of Lancaster! Where is your power, where are your riches, with which you hoped to subdue all?'

Thomas of Lancaster's defeat at the battle of Boroughbridge'; 'Funding the defence of the realm (or not...)' ; 'A Speakership that never was: Sir Thomas Hungerford and the Parliament of 1378'; 'In with the new: the appointment of Lord Chancellor Richard Neville in 1454'; 'The termination of medieval Parliaments on the demise of the reigning monarch'; 'Parliament and the Politics of Intimidation in Medieval England'; 'Thomas Burdet of Arrow, MP for Warwickshire in 1455, and the execution of George, duke of Clarence'.

### ***The House of Commons 1640-1660 and the House of Lords 1640-1660***

8. At the beginning of the year most of the staff of the House of Commons 1640-1660 project transferred to the new project covering the House of Lords over the same period, although the assistant editor, Vivienne Larminie, remained into 2022-23 in order to complete the introductory survey and other tasks associated with seeing the 1640-1660 volumes to the press. She retired at the end of July. The staff of the House of Lords project contributed to the task of proof reading the Commons volumes in the summer and autumn.
9. The new project began work in earnest in April 2022 with Dr David Scott as its editor, Dr Patrick Little as assistant editor and Dr Andrew Barclay as senior research fellow. During this first year the section was occupied largely with preparatory tasks: a section plan was produced and agreed with the Editorial Board; an authoritative checklist of peers and bishops was compiled, as were databases of legislation, committees, conferences, petitions, lawsuits, dissents and protests, and attendance. The section settled its conventions and style-guide and built up a comprehensive suite of online research resources. A temporary research assistant, Alex Beeton, joined the project at the beginning of 2023 to assist with this initial data collection exercise. In the second half of the year the section began to produce draft articles: 37 were written in total, containing around 117,000 words. Among them were:
  - *John Belasyse, 1st Baron Belasyse*: a Catholic, though outwardly conforming to the Church of England, Belasyse sat in the Short and Long Parliaments up to 1642 before becoming a 'gallant', though not terribly effective, royalist cavalry commander, and later a not terribly effective royalist conspirator. Created a peer in 1645, and therefore did not sit in the House of Lords before 1660.
  - *Francis Cottington, 1st Baron Cottington*: Coming from a family with many Catholic associations, the able Cottington achieved promotion and prominence as a professional diplomat in Spain. In 1631 he was promoted to the peerage and became one of the most influential ministers of Charles I's personal rule. A crucial member of the government's management team in the House of Lords in the Short Parliament, Cottington was a witness on behalf of the impeached Earl of Strafford – after whose trial he effectively ceased coming to Parliament. A major adviser in the royalist camp in the Civil War, Cottington was sidelined after the defeat because of his opposition to a Scottish alliance. He died in Spain, choosing to remain there as a Catholic, after his last, but abortive, royalist diplomatic mission in 1649-51.
  - *Culpeper, John, 1st Baron Colepeper*: an able, but widely disliked, MP early in the Long Parliament, Culpeper nailed his colours to the mast when appointed chancellor of the exchequer by the king in 1642; he was created Baron Colepeper in 1644 and went into exile, although he was increasingly marginalised at the royal court after the failure of his scheme for an alliance with the Scots.
  - *Arthur Capell, 1st Baron Capell*: one of the richest commoners in England, with estates across ten counties Capell was a reforming (but not too reforming) MP in the Long Parliament. He was promoted to the Lords in 1641 and drew the line at the Militia Ordinance which aimed to transfer military power to parliament. By the end of May he had joined the king at York. An unsuccessful military commander, he was leader of

one wing of the rising against the victorious Parliament in 1648, surrendering to its forces in Colchester. Though initially spared summary execution, the Rump Parliament put him on trial some months later, and he was beheaded outside Westminster Hall in March 1649.

- *William Petre, 4th Baron Petre*: from a Catholic family, whose estate was already bound up in confusion and litigation when he inherited it and the title in 1638, Petre was under age in 1640: despite parliamentary anxieties about the likelihood of his being indoctrinated by his co-religionists, or serving in the royalist army, he seems to have avoided commitment. Parliament seized his estates anyway. In desperation Petre eventually renounced Catholicism, upon which the sequestration was lifted. After the Restoration, however, Petre was openly Catholic, and narrowly escaped impeachment in 1678 during the Popish Plot crisis.
- *John Tufton, 2nd earl of Thanet*: The richest man in Kent, the son of a man who had bought a barony and an earldom in the 1620s, Thanet had improved his estate through a spectacular marriage. Beset by health problems he was rarely seen in the House of Lords, and in 1642 abandoned it altogether and joined the king at York. After being caught up in the surrender of Chichester, he made his way to the continent. On his return, protracted negotiations with Parliament forced him into paying substantial fines for which he had to sell Bodiam Castle. An equivocal relationship thereafter with the parliamentary and Interregnum authorities resulted in his becoming appointed sheriff of Kent in 1653, one of only two peers to receive such an appointment under the republic.
- *Thomas Wentworth, Baron Wentworth*: Notorious as a duellist in the 1630s, Wentworth was brought into the House of Lords early in 1640 by writ of acceleration into his father's barony. Making little impact in the House, he was one of the first peers to take up arms for the king, and won a growing reputation as a cavalry commander.
- *Henry Arundell, 3rd Baron Arundell*: A Catholic, and a royalist officer who succeeded his father in 1643 and sat briefly in the Oxford Parliament of 1644: having saved the republican Edmund Ludlowe from summary execution, he was helped by Ludlowe when his own estates and liberty were in jeopardy after the war. He was seen by royalists in exile as a hopeful rallying point for support from his co-religionists, though his involvement in a messy duel in which an opponent was killed led to him being burnt in the hand – an extraordinary punishment for a peer.
- *Ulick Bourke, 2nd earl of St Albans (the earl of Clanricarde)*: Son of the leading landowner in the Irish province of Connaught, who struggled to fight the earl of Strafford's plans to confiscate his Catholic father's lands to release them for English settlers: having defeated his efforts shortly before Strafford's arrest and imprisonment, he took no part in his prosecution in the Lords, returning to Ireland in time to experience the Catholic rebellion, and become a broker in peace talks during the mid-1640s, and later the king's lord deputy in Ireland who finally had to surrender to Cromwell's army in 1652.
- *Warwick Mohun, 2nd Baron Mohun*: from one of the proudest and most aggressive aristocratic families in England, with a history of irregular and even violent behaviour, Mohun inherited the title in time to sit in the Lords in 1641, but by June 1642 was with the king at York. He served successfully in the west country before resigning his command and retiring to Cornwall for reasons that are still unclear. Pursued in the late 1640s and 1650s for fines, and by estranged relatives for plundering their estates in the Civil War, Mohun was under great financial pressure, and agreed to make a renunciation of loyalty to the king in return for leniency.

10. The section made four contributions to the History of Parliament's blog, among them 'The House of Lords 1640-1660 Project'; 'Levelling the Lords'; 'The Madness of the Mohuns'; 'St Edward's Crown: A Restoration gift from Parliament'.

### **The House of Commons 1832-1868**

11. This project, begun in 2009, covers the period between the first and second Reform Acts. It will result in the compilation of 2,591 biographies and 401 constituency articles. Project staff are Philip Salmon (editor), Kathryn Rix (assistant editor), Stephen Ball and Martin Spychal (research fellows). Martin Spychal was promoted to senior research fellow in the course of the year. During the year the section completed 135 articles (52 from external authors) amounting in total to nearly 461,000 words. The articles completed during the year include the following:

- *John Ball (1818-1889)*: a well-known Alpine traveller and glaciologist, Ball was MP for Carlow from 1852-7. A former assistant poor law commissioner for Ireland, he was returned as a member of the Irish independent opposition, but soon moved into the mainstream of Liberal politics and was appointed colonial under-secretary in 1855. Defeated at the 1857 general election, he failed to regain a seat in Parliament and devoted the rest of his life to travel and science.
- *Edward James Saunderson (1837-1906)*: Saunderson has been described as 'the single most significant figure in the early development of organized Unionism in Ireland', although many of his political ideas can be traced back to the Whig MPs of the Irish Parliament. He was first returned for his native county of Cavan in 1865 as a Liberal, albeit one who joined the Adullamites in voting against Lord Russell's reform bill in 1866. Defeated in 1874, he later sat for Armagh North, 1885-1906.
- *Nicholas Aylward Vigors (1785-1840)*: Vigors was best known for his lifelong interest in ornithology and for administering the Zoological Society of London. A substantial landowner whose politics were 'of the most extreme Liberal character', he supported Daniel O'Connell's efforts to repeal the Union. Between 1832 and 1837 he fought five contested elections for the borough and county of Carlow, four of which were resolved by costly election petitions. Despite being considered a 'diligent and efficient' MP, he made little mark in Parliament before his untimely death in 1840.
- *George Pryme (1781-1868)*: the first professor of political economy at Cambridge University, Pryme 'had few equals as a scholar'. As Whig MP for Cambridge, 1832-41, he was remembered less for his brilliance than his 'solid virtues', being conspicuous among the 'active and capable' MPs who contributed to business in the chamber and the committee rooms. As a barrister, he took a particular interest in legal matters, but did not hesitate to share his views on a wide variety of questions.
- *Hon. Henry John Rous (1795-1877)*: better known for his naval service and his passion for horseracing than his brief political career, Rous spent five years as Conservative MP for Westminster after winning a notable victory in 1841. A 'bluff, hot-tempered' character, he was not afraid of speaking his mind in the Commons, particularly on naval questions. He was appointed by Peel as a lord of the admiralty in 1846, but failed to win the ensuing by-election and dedicated himself thereafter to the Turf.
- *John Henry Vivian (1785-1855)*: 'one of the most influential and popular men in South Wales', Vivian, a major industrialist in the copper trade, sat for his adopted borough of Swansea without a contest between 1832 and his death in 1855. He gave general support in the Commons to Whig ministers, but prided himself on his independence. His political views advanced as his parliamentary career progressed, considering himself as 'a Whig and something more' by 1852. While 'not an eloquent or confident speaker' at Westminster, he was more active in the committee rooms and in promoting the interests of his constituency.
- *Sir William Richard Geary (1810-77)*: the son of a Kent MP and a wealthy Irish heiress, Geary followed his half-brother Sir Edward Dering to Oxford University and into the Commons in 1835, sitting as an 'independent' Tory MP for Kent West until ill health forced his retirement in 1838. His 'miraculous' survival after an accident with a glass



screen severed his carotid artery in 1842 sparked national interest, but he never fully recovered and was later declared of 'unsound mind'.

- *Robert Hanbury (1823-67)*: a partner in the 'world's largest brewery', Hanbury sat for Middlesex as a 'friend to the working man' and a generally loyal Liberal from 1857-67. Best known for his philanthropic work setting up ragged and reformatory schools in the East End of London, he was also an important figure behind the scenes in the political campaign against 'ritualism' in the Church of England.
- *Henry Du Pré Labouchère (1831-1912)*: remembered today for his controversial 1885 amendment criminalising homosexuality, which was used to convict Oscar Wilde, Labouchère achieved celebrity status for his acerbic wit and 'tell-all' journalism during his second stint in the Commons, 1880-96. In his less well-known earlier career, as Liberal MP for Windsor, 1865-6, and Middlesex, 1867-8, he made major contributions on foreign policy and parliamentary reform, but never quite recovered from the indignity of being unseated for bribery in 1866.
- *Christopher William Giles-Puller (1807-1864)*: influenced by his 'deep and habitual study of the Bible', Puller represented Hertfordshire as an independent Liberal Anglican between 1857 and his sudden death in 1864. An active parliamentarian, he offered a distinctive critique of a wide range of Liberal and Conservative legislation. He was particularly vocal over religious, legal and educational policy.
- *Thomas Plumer Halsey (1815-1854)*: returned as a 'strictly Conservative' protectionist at the 1846 Hertfordshire by-election, Halsey represented the county until his death by drowning in the Mediterranean in 1854. He was the author of the 1850 Small Tenements Act, or 'Halsey's Act' as it became known in the registration courts on account of its unintended disfranchisement of certain parliamentary and local electors.
- *Frederick Lucas (1812-1855)*: the founder and editor of the *Tablet*, Lucas represented County Meath between 1852 and his death in October 1855. Raised as a Quaker, Lucas converted to Catholicism in 1839 and became one of England's most prominent Catholics and critics of British rule over Ireland. He was a leading figure in the Independent Irish opposition at Westminster. Despite his outspoken defence of Irish and Catholic interests proving controversial among the leaders of the Catholic Church in Ireland, he received the 'especial benediction' of Pope Pius IX.
- *Morgan O'Connell (1804-1885)*: known for his 'habit of walking about London with huge moustaches' and fighting a duel with Lord Alvanley in January 1835, O'Connell represented Meath as a Repealer between 1832 and 1839 thanks to the patronage of his father, Daniel, to whom he was loyal in the division lobbies. His only parliamentary interventions came in defence of his, or his father's honour.
- *John Patrick Somers (1800-1862)*: perhaps the most violent man in the reformed Commons, 'Pat Somers' contested eleven elections in the venal borough of Sligo from 1837, where 'not a family in town' was left untouched by his patronage. An independent Liberal with ties to O'Connell, Somers fought a duel in Paris with a former MP in 1838 and sought satisfaction from Roebuck on the floor of the House in 1845. He was unseated for failing to meet the property qualification in 1848, having narrowly avoided the same fate in 1837. His 'devotion to the pleasures of the table' and the Turf meant he was never far from debtors' prison. He was declared bankrupt in 1854 but continued to contest Sligo as a 'poor man', leading to a brief stint in Parliament in 1857 before he was unseated following polling fraud.
- *Fox Maule (1801-1874)*: Maule was best remembered as Lord Panmure, the war secretary who resisted Florence Nightingale's calls for reform after the Crimean War. Lytton Strachey famously noted of 'The Bison' (he had an unruly mop of hair) that the sobriquet 'fitted both physical demeanour and his habit of mind, four square and menacing, in the doorway of reform'. His earlier career as an active Liberal MP for Perthshire, 1835-7, Elgin Burghs, 1838-41, and Perth, 1841-52, however, paints a far less negative picture.

- *Albert Grant (1830-89)*: born Abraham Gottheimer in Dublin, Grant became one of the most notorious businessmen of mid-Victorian England. A pioneer of 'modern mammoth company promoting', he made several fortunes by the promotion of 'bubble' companies which were financially unsound and involved the shareholders in enormous losses. He was Liberal-Conservative MP for Kidderminster, 1865-8 and 1874, and despite being accused of electoral bribery and share-rigging, his financial ingenuity seemed endless. He is widely believed to have served as the model for the corrupt financier Melmotte in Anthony Trollope's novel *The Way We Live Now*.
- *Frederick William Mullins (1804-54)*: a cousin of Lord Ventry, Mullins was returned for County Kerry as a Reformer in 1831. His increasingly uneasy political relationship with the Irish agitator Daniel O'Connell, however, led to his defeat in 1837. A highly accomplished scientist, he published influential papers on electricity generation, but his lack of financial and business acumen led to bankruptcy. Taken into custody on a charge of fraud in 1854, he died in prison while awaiting trial.
- *Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish (1836-1882)*: a younger son of the 7th duke of Devonshire and nephew by marriage of William Gladstone, who considered him 'almost as a son', Cavendish was elected as Liberal MP for the Northern division of the West Riding in 1865. Although hampered in public speaking by 'the Cavendish lisp', his family connections and industrious nature helped him become a well-respected member. He was murdered in May 1882 in Dublin, where he had just taken up the post of Irish chief secretary.
- *Charles Edwards (1825-89)*: a wealthy Welsh landlord, who inherited and rebuilt Dolserau Hall in Snowdonia, Edwards became 'notorious for his enormous speculations' on the stock market before quitting the City under mysterious circumstances. In 1866 he was returned for the notoriously venal borough of Windsor as the running mate of his fellow 'stockjobber' Roger Eykyn MP. A loyal Liberal, he gave steady support to Gladstone in the lobbies but rarely spoke before retiring in 1868.
- *Sir John Elley (1764-1839)*: a famous soldier and veteran of Waterloo, who rose through the ranks on merit, Elley unsuccessfully contested Windsor as the Peel ministry's 'treasury' nominee in 1835. Seated on petition three months later, he became an active MP, making regular contributions to debates on military matters and the civil war in Spain, and giving steady support to the Tories in the lobbies. He retired in 1837.
- *Roger Eykyn (1830-96)*: a leading London stockbroker, Eykyn acquired notoriety for his electioneering shenanigans in Windsor, where aided by his large purse he sat from 1866-74 as an advanced Liberal. Active in the lobbies and debate, he loyally backed the Liberal leadership on most issues, speaking regularly in defence of Dissenters' rights and on behalf of Windsor's military knights. He failed to secure a seat at Taunton in 1880 and later joined the Liberal Unionists.
- *Lord John Hay (1793-1851)*: son of a Scottish peer, Hay was a long-serving naval captain credited with inventing a one-handed telescope after having his arm shot off by a cannon ball. Formerly a Tory MP for Haddingtonshire, 1826-31, in 1847 he returned to the Commons as a Liberal, sitting for Windsor from 1847-50 as a junior admiralty lord. He provided useful support for the repeal of the protectionist navigation laws, but a public row with the first sea lord over steam warships prompted his retirement from politics to take charge of Devonport dockyard.
- *Sir Henry Ainslie Hoare (1824-94)*: heir to his uncle's baronetcy and vast Stourhead estate, Hoare joined the family's prestigious private bank and became a profligate devotee of the turf. Returned for Windsor as a Liberal in 1865, he used his maiden speech to criticise the Liberal ministry's reform bill, calling it a 'carriage without horses', but was unseated for electoral bribery before he could join the 'Adullamite' rebellion against it. He later sat for Chelsea, 1868-74, but failed to secure a seat for East Somerset in 1885, by when his creditors were in full pursuit.

- *Samson Ricardo (1792-1862)*: younger brother of the famous political economist, Ricardo was a leading City financier, heavily involved in foreign loans, and a prominent activist in the 'currency school'. A convert from his family's Judaism, he briefly represented Windsor as a Liberal from 1855-57 after a series of abortive candidacies. A keen supporter of financial and banking reforms, he was silent in debate but extremely active in the voting lobbies and committee rooms.
- *Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888)*: son of a Scottish lawyer and chief justice of Ceylon, Oliphant became a noted traveller, writer, diplomat and mystic. Elected for Stirling Burghs as an 'advanced Liberal' on his second attempt in 1865, he played a prominent role in the 1866-7 reform debates, rebelling against Gladstone on a number of occasions. In 1867 he quit politics to join a religious cult in New York led by the preacher Thomas Lake Harris, with whom he later had a spectacular falling out.
- *Archibald John Primrose, Lord Dalmeny (1809-1851)*: father of the future Liberal PM Lord Rosebery, Dalmeny was elected on his family's interest for Stirling District as a Whig in 1832 and became an active MP, holding junior office at the admiralty. After falling out with his constituents over his support for the Maynooth grant in 1845 he retired in 1847. His celebrated pamphlet, *An Address to the Middle Classes upon the subject of Gymnastic Exercises*, highlighted the dangers of leading sedentary lives, but did not prevent his own demise 17 years before his father, the 4th Earl of Rosebery.
- *James Ewing (1775-1853)*: Ewing was an owner of plantations and enslaved people in Jamaica who lobbied the treasury and Parliament on behalf of Glasgow's West India interest. From 1832-35 he sat as a Tory MP for Glasgow. His other concerns included lay patronage in the Church of Scotland, which he opposed, although he was no supporter of disestablishment. His defence of William IV's controversial dismissal of the Whig government triggered his defeat at the 1835 election. He subsequently became one of the wealthiest businessmen in Britain.
- *Bernard Samuelson (1820-1905)*: a 'pioneer of the Cleveland iron trade' and founder of Britannia Works in Banbury, manufacturers of agricultural machinery, Samuelson represented Banbury as a Liberal very briefly in 1859 and then for three decades from 1865. Born in Germany to American and German-born parents, Samuelson's eligibility to stand in Parliament became the subject of an election committee in 1865, which resolved in his favour on account of his British born grandfather. He was an active Liberal backbencher, who spoke regularly on labour issues and from 1867 began a lifelong association with the campaign for technical education.

12. Among the constituency articles are:

- *Glasgow*: a vast and expanding inland port located beside the River Clyde, Glasgow was the Scotland's largest centre of shipping and manufacturing by mid-century and one of only two Scottish constituencies that returned two MPs. The city had its parliamentary boundaries redefined in 1832, but its electoral base remained comparatively narrow as a result of low rents, with the dominant elements being merchants and members of the city's trade incorporations who had elected its unreformed corporation. Reformist and radical sympathies were in the ascendancy and the Liberals enjoyed a monopoly on the city's representation after 1835. Yet 11 of the 13 elections that took place between 1832 and 1865 were contested, with Conservatism a force to be reckoned with even if it did not triumph. Religious and economic issues were fiercely debated and split the Liberals into opposing factions. By the 1860s, sectarianism and agitation by non-voters also began to present new challenges for Glasgow's elite.
- *Cheltenham*: a fashionable spa town assigned a single MP in 1832, this borough's 'fitness' for representation was ridiculed during the reform debates by the Tories. They

saw no reason to enfranchise 'the petty interests of the keepers of circulating libraries' and 'vendors of oranges and lemonade'. Widely regarded as a Whig 'pocket' borough, the town has been remarkably well documented by social and political historians, aided by its plethora of local newspapers. The Berkeley family, headed by the 'vulgar' libertine Lord Segrave, attempted to control the representation for much of the period, with Segrave acting as 'sort of King of Cheltenham' and returning various relatives. However, quarrels with his disreputable brothers over mistresses and money, combined with the rise of Chartism and Liberal divisions, increasingly undermined his position. Aided by the so-called 'Pope of Cheltenham', the staunchly Tory Rev. Francis Close, the Tories managed to win two parliamentary contests in 1847 and 1865. Despite having no previous electoral traditions, Cheltenham became one of the most colourful constituencies after 1832, with extensive bribery, lavish rituals and entertainment, riots, duels with pistols and even the occasional death accompanying its parliamentary elections.

- *Lymington*: a Hampshire port and former Tory 'pocket' borough, where the 1832 Reform Act initially did little to disturb the electoral dominance of the Burrard family, headed by Sir Harry Neale, not least because the borough's dramatic boundary enlargement, from just over 100 to 4,000 acres, encompassed the family's Walhampton estates. Their Tory nominees, who were elected without trouble until 1847, included John Stewart, one of the first mixed-race MPs. Neale's death in 1840 and the turmoil resulting from the repeal of the corn laws allowed a Liberal to capture one seat in 1847, establishing a pattern of shared representation which continued for the rest of the period. Influential women canvassers, such as the Dowager Marchioness of Hastings, played an unusually prominent role in the series of highly contested elections that followed. These featured a wide range of 'outsiders' attracted by the borough's relatively low electioneering costs. Reduced to a single MP by the 1867 Reform Act, the borough reverted to Tory representation before its disfranchisement in 1885.
- *Cardiff*: this single member Welsh constituency consisted of eight contributory boroughs before 1832, but the Reform Act reduced this to three: Cardiff, Llantrisant and Cowbridge. As the county town of Glamorganshire Cardiff expanded significantly during this period, thanks in no small part to investments by the marquesses of Bute, the major landowners, in extending its docks. In 1832 the second marquess of Bute, who had significant electoral influence, backed John Nicholl, a Conservative lawyer, in preference to his own brother, Lord Patrick Stuart, whose support for reform had disappointed him. Nicholl represented the constituency until ousted by a Liberal colliery owner, Walter Coffin, in 1852. With the third marquess, who had succeeded in 1848, still a minor, the Bute trustees stepped back from active involvement in elections after this defeat. However, family members continued to play a dominant role in the constituency and Lord Patrick Stuart's elder son James was elected unopposed as a Liberal in 1857 and held the seat until 1880.
- *Great Grimsby*: a market town and port on the Humber, transformed economically and socially by the arrival of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway (MSLR) and the discovery of new fishing grounds known as 'silver pits' in the North Sea, Grimsby had its representation reduced to one MP by the 1832 Reform Act. Thereafter the leading local Whig proprietors, the earls of Yarborough and the Heneages of Hainton, along with the formerly Tory Tennysons of Bayons Court, initially dominated the representation. A Liberal naval captain sat until 1835, and a Whig Protectionist, who enjoyed three unopposed elections, from 1835-52. The constituency, however, contained 'a more popular element than most', including Wesleyan Methodists opposed to Catholic concessions, a small but vocal radical tendency, and a large number of venal freeman voters. In 1852 a split in the Whig Yarborough-Heneage coalition enabled a Tory to win the seat, aided by his popular support for agricultural protection and his credentials as an Irish Protestant 'strongly opposed to Romanism'.

The Yarborough interest reasserted its control in 1857, and easily saw off a challenge by a local working man in 1859, but was unable to resist the political influence exerted by a new Tory chairman of the MSLR in 1862, in a by-election that attracted national attention for its violence, kidnapping of voters and rioting. Another MSLR shareholder, this time a Liberal, then ousted his Tory predecessor in 1865, in a spectacularly venal contest said to have cost £32,000. Contests continued to be dominated by a volatile mix of 'independent' freeman, Methodism, the railway interest and local landed influence after the 1867 Reform Act, usually resulting in the return of Liberals or Liberal Unionists.

13. Martin Spychal from the 1832-68 project was the first of the History's research staff to be able to take advantage of the new Collateral Research Project scheme, designed to provide staff with an opportunity to work for a time on specific projects defined by themselves that are related to their main work. Dr Spychal's project focused on the completion of his first monograph, *Mapping the State: Geography, Representation and the 1832 Reform Act*. The book will be the first full-length study of the 1832 Reform Act in over two decades and seeks to reinvigorate discussion about the electoral reforms of 1832 and their significance to modern British political history. It combines new archival discoveries and innovative digital methodologies with a traditional high political approach to provide a new analysis of how and why England's constituency system was redrawn in 1832. Drawing from the previously unused working papers of the English and Welsh boundary commission and taking the redrawing of England's electoral map as its chief focus, it offers a reassessment of why and how parliamentary reform was enacted in 1832, its impact on politics both at Westminster and in England's constituencies, and its significance to the expansion of the modern British state. The book will be published this year in the Royal Historical Society's New Historical Perspectives series.
14. In addition, the project published 16 blogs, divided between the History of Parliament's main blog and the Victorian Commons blog, which is run by the 1832-68 team. The blogs included 'The absentee MP'; 'Nineteenth-century election rituals: the charring of Members'; 'Happy New Year from the Victorian Commons!' [review of the year]; 'A place of business: the temporary chamber of the House of Commons, 1835-1851'; 'The Horse and Victorian Politics'; 'The 1872 Secret Ballot and Multiple Member Seats'; 'Mental illness on trial: Henry Meux's commission of lunacy and the 1857 general election'; 'Rotatory Parliaments: The 1848 campaign for parliamentary sessions in Ireland'; 'Sir Robert Peel's Smile Rehabilitated'; 'Queen Victoria and parliamentary ceremony'; 'Damn the secret ballot': the UK's public voting system before 1872'; '190th Anniversary of the 1832 Reform Act'; 'Local polls and national politics: a 19th century perspective'.

### ***The House of Lords 1559-1601***

15. This project began after the completion of *The House of Lords 1604-1629* in 2020 and covers the upper House in the reign of Elizabeth I, complementing the volumes published back in 1983 on the House of Commons in the same period. The staff, who all worked on the Lords 1604-29 project, are Andrew Thrush (editor), Paul Hunneyball (assistant editor) and Ben Coates (Senior Research Fellow).
16. With a total of 246 biographies to be tackled, it is planned to complete the project in five years, drawing in as far as possible external contributors, and aiming at a more abbreviated style of entry than in the previous project. Over the course of the year, the team produced 42 biographies (6 from external authors) in total, containing a total of 202,000 words. The project's target is to produce 50 internal, 33 external articles a year.
17. Among the biographies completed in 2022-23 were:

- *Charles Neville, 6th earl of Westmorland (1542/3-1601)*: one of the leaders of the rising of the northern earls in 1569, Westmorland subsequently went into exile and became a pensioner of the Spanish. He later tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a return to England and, having forfeited his title in 1571, died heavily in debt in the Spanish Netherlands in 1601. He sat only in one session, that of 1566-7.
- *Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst (c. 1536-1608)*: kinsman of the queen, Sackville inherited a large fortune from his father Sir Richard 'Sack-full', who had prospered from the Dissolution of the Monasteries. A poet and playwright in his youth, he was created Baron Buckhurst in 1567, and was sent as ambassador to France in 1571. He became a privy councillor in 1586, was sent on an embassy to the Netherlands in 1597 and became lord treasurer in 1601. He regularly sat in the Lords during this period.
- *Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester (c.1519-94)*: the son of a poor Oxford tailor, Cooper made his name as the author of Elizabethan England's most comprehensive English-Latin dictionary. A client of the queen's favourite, the earl of Leicester, under whom he served as vice-chancellor of Oxford University, Cooper subsequently proved an able bishop, both at Lincoln, where he imposed conformity on radical Protestants, and at Winchester, where the principal threat came from recusant Catholics. Cooper, who sat in five Parliaments, was a staunch upholder of the established Church, and so was targeted in the scurrilous puritan Marprelate tracts.
- *John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury (1522-71)*: a brilliant Oxford academic who chose exile under Mary's Catholic regime, Jewel emerged as one of the outstanding talents of the early Elizabethan Church. His famous Apology of the Church of England, the first significant defence of the Elizabethan settlement, brought him international recognition. His personal conduct as bishop of Salisbury, combining profound scholarship, energetic pastoral leadership, and a determination to maintain conformity, was seen as a template for the reformed episcopate. However, he died aged only 49, worn out by his labours, having sat in only two Parliaments.
- *William Stanley, 6th earl of Derby (c.1561-1642)*: Stanley, who sat in the last two Elizabethan Parliaments, unexpectedly succeeded to his earldom after his elder brother's sudden death in 1594. Now wealthy, he married a granddaughter of Lord Treasurer Burghley, only for his bride to have a lengthy affair with the 2nd earl of Essex. As a direct descendant of Henry VII, Stanley was a potential successor to Elizabeth I, who isolated him from political power. Frustrated, he became an amateur playwright to pass the time. Only after James I's accession did he become active in public life.
- *William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley (c.1520-98)*: Elizabeth's chief minister, Burghley sat in nine of the ten Elizabethan Parliaments, seven of them in the Lords. This biography focuses on Burghley's role in the upper House. It demonstrates that he was ennobled in order to manage the Lords. Burghley often tried to manage Parliament in the interests of the realm as a whole, even if this meant opposing Elizabeth's wishes. Because the queen refused to be thus manipulated, Burghley, for all his managerial skills, frequently failed to achieve his objectives in Parliament.
- *Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1504-75)*: Elizabeth's first archbishop of Canterbury, Parker reluctantly took office in 1559 but quickly fell into disfavour. Elizabeth objected to his marital status and refused to support him publicly at key moments, particularly in his battle with puritan nonconformity, which phenomenon first emerged during his archiepiscopate. Although his time in office has sometimes been regarded as a failure, it witnessed the formulation and statutory endorsement of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the doctrinal foundation of the modern Anglican Church.
- *Edward de Vere, 17th earl of Oxford (1550-1604)*: Largely remarkable for his extravagance, which forced him to sell his entire ancestral estate, Oxford was selfish, entitled and disagreeable, and fell out with most of the people who knew him. Today he is best known as the supposedly real author of Shakespeare's works.

- *John Lumley, Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609)*: Descended from one of England's oldest aristocratic families, Lumley was restored as a baron in 1547, following his father's execution for treason. A Catholic who supported the claim of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne, Lumley was implicated in the Ridolfi Plot to overthrow Elizabeth I, but escaped his father's fate, and spent his later years in semi-retirement, assembling an impressive library, and cultivating an improbable reputation for 'virtue, integrity and innocence'.
  - *John Piers, archbishop of York (c.1523-94)*: Of humble birth, Piers was reputedly a heavy drinker early in his clerical career, before turning teetotal. A long-term client of Elizabeth I's favourite, the earl of Leicester, he served as master of Balliol College and dean of Christ Church, Oxford, prior to becoming bishop of Rochester and then Salisbury. He was latterly a staunch ally of Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury, who nominated him in 1589 as archbishop of York. However, Piers struggled to meet the challenges of the northern province, and died, somewhat disappointed, five years later.
  - *Edmund Freake, bishop of Worcester (c.1516-91)*: As bishop of Peterborough, Freake was an enthusiastic supporter of 'prophesyings', training exercises organized by local puritan ministers for the benefit of clergy and laity alike. However, on his translation to Norwich diocese in 1575 he endeavoured to stamp out such practices, probably on the insistence of the queen. In the ensuing struggle, he was forced to enter into alliance with the local Catholics, to the fury of his own diocesan chancellor and leading members of the Privy Council. In order to defuse the situation, Freake was eventually promoted to Worcester.
  - *Walter Devereux, 2nd Viscount Hereford / 1st earl of Essex*: Staffordshire-based peer who persuaded the queen to elevate him in the peerage by proving a direct link between himself and the female descendants of the Bouchier earls of Essex. In the mid-1570s he led successive expeditions to Ulster, which ruined his finances. During one of these forays, he invited to dinner the local chief of the O'Neill clan and then slaughtered him and his family, an act so barbarous that it excited hatred and disgust of the English throughout the province.
  - *Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk*: Second cousin to Elizabeth I, Norfolk was the highest ranked member of the nobility and was in high favour during the early part of the reign. However, following the arrival in England of Mary, Queen of Scots, he entertained the idea of marrying the exiled Scottish monarch, thereby enhancing his status still further, as Mary was widely regarded as Elizabeth's heir-apparent. His plotting was exposed in 1571, and he was convicted of treason. However, only after considerable parliamentary pressure was exerted did the queen consent to his execution.
  - *William Howard, 1st Lord Howard of Effingham*: Great-uncle to Elizabeth I, Howard helped negotiate peace with France in 1559 and served as lord chamberlain until shortly before his death. He sat in the first four Elizabethan parliaments, during the first of which he was accused of hypocrisy by Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who contrasted his support of the royal supremacy in the Lords with his statement, allegedly made while he was serving as a peace commissioner, that a female monarch was incapable of headship of the Church.
18. The project is also compiling a resource which provides a framework to pull together the various sources which collectively provide evidence of the Lords' proceedings. The resource will flesh out proceedings in the Lords by integrating the sparse outline of the Lords Journal with material from elsewhere, including the Commons' Journal, D'Ewes's *Journals of all the Parliaments*, T.E. Hartley's *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, and various other printed and manuscript sources. When finished, it will result in a single, easily searchable database which gives the fullest possible picture of activities in the Lords, which will permit more effective analysis of that source material, both for History of

Parliament researchers and other interested scholars, and provide an easily searchable repository of all the raw parliamentary data which underpins the biographies.

19. The project provided 10 blogs over the year, including 'Parliament and the Elizabethan Energy Crisis'; 'Legislature meets library: Parliament at Oxford in 1625'; 'The jubilee tour of King James VI and I'; 'One of our seals is missing! How a summer vacation brought Charles I's government to a grinding halt'; 'The execution of Thomas Howard, 4th duke of Norfolk'; 'Execution or murder? Elizabeth I and the problem of how to kill Mary, Queen of Scots'; 'William Herbert, 3rd earl of Pembroke: the 'nearly man' of early Stuart politics'; 'William Turner and the reformation of gardening'.
20. The project is associated with one collaborative doctoral project. Emma Hartley at the University of Sheffield is working on the bishops and parliamentary legislation between 1558 and 1642.

### ***The House of Lords 1715-1790***

21. This project began in 2016 after the completion of *The History of Parliament: the House of Lords 1660-1715*. The project staff are Robin Eagles (editor), Stuart Handley and Charles Littleton (research fellows). There are 928 articles to be written; 73 of them were completed in 2022-3 (seven of them by external contributors), with a total of over 198,000 words; 557 articles remain to be written.

22. Among the articles completed this year were:

- *Henry Hyde, 2nd earl of Rochester and 4th earl of Clarendon (1672-1753)*: Rochester had been an active member of the Lords and a holder of minor office earlier in his career. From the later 1720s onwards he fell victim to a number of episodes resulting in two commissions for lunacy. The cause of his mental illness seems likely to have been alcoholism. The family battled to keep his condition as secret as possible and his final years were marked with tragedy. His heir died just months before him and his only surviving child was likely not his own.
- *Peregrine Bertie, 3rd duke of Ancaster (1714-1778)*: Ancaster had no experience of Parliament before succeeding to the peerage. With it he inherited political interest in Lincolnshire, especially in Boston. His involvement in the Lords was almost entirely ceremonial by virtue of his hereditary office of lord great chamberlain, but this involved overseeing important events, such as the trial of the bigamous duchess of Kingston. He was otherwise best known as a keen patron of the turf.
- *William Warburton, bishop of Gloucester (1698-1779)*: Warburton was unusual as a bishop. He did not attend university and had begun his career as a country attorney. Best known as a rather splenetic literary critic, he was also responsible for producing an edition of Pope's works. He became close to Ralph Allen of Bath, whose daughter he married, and through him to the MP Thomas Potter. Warburton came to prominence during the John Wilkes affair as Wilkes attributed his own annotations of his scandalous *Essay on Woman* to Warburton. Warburton then took a leading role in the proceedings against Wilkes, which were initiated in the Lords as a case of breach of privilege.
- *George Parker, 2nd earl of Macclesfield (c.1697-1764)*: Macclesfield benefitted from the political importance of his father, receiving a lucrative sinecure in the Exchequer, which he held for over 40 years. He joined the Whig opposition to Walpole, but his attendance was never very high. A celebrated astronomer and President of the Royal Society, Macclesfield played a significant role in Parliament when his scientific expertise was required, playing a his role in the legislation that changed the Julian



Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar in 1752, and in the promotion of the discovery of a means of measuring longitude at sea.

- *John Thomas, bishop of Peterborough, Salisbury and Winchester (1696-1781)*: Thomas had an inauspicious start in life as his soldier father was killed in a duel. However, he was sponsored through Charterhouse and Oxford and had some connection with Bishop Harris of Llandaff, probably through royal service with the Prince of Wales, who made him a prebend of the cathedral. George II's favour saw him promoted to the episcopate and he obtained the key role as preceptor to the future George III and his brother. Promoted to Salisbury by George II, his good relationship with George III saw him advanced to Winchester. He retained royal favour until his death.
- *Thomas Coke, earl of Leicester (1697-1759)*: a wealthy Norfolk landowner, Coke attached himself to his kinsman Walpole and was rewarded in 1728 with his creation as Baron Lovel. Throughout the 1730s he was busy in the House as a ministerial agent, and was promoted earl of Leicester shortly after Walpole's fall. As postmaster-general he had a strong interest in the port borough of Harwich, and took an active part in its complicated electoral politics.
- *William North, 6th Baron North and 2nd Baron Grey (1678-1734)*: a hero of Blenheim, North was one of the most active Tories, especially as part of Earl Cowper's opposition group in 1721-2. He was imprisoned in the autumn of 1722 as one of the chief planners of the Jacobite 'Atterbury Plot'. He was eventually released without trial, and settled on the continent where he died an officer in the Spanish army and a Catholic.
- *Francis Scott, 2nd duke of Buccleuch [S] and earl of Doncaster (1695-1751)*: Buccleuch's unsuccessful attempts to claim the English titles of his grandfather, the duke of Monmouth, may have led to his opposition to Walpole in 1741-2. The succeeding ministry restored him to his grandfather's earldom of Doncaster in 1743, but he barely sat in the House under this title. Later accounts suggest he lived a life of 'low amours' and in his will he recognized seven illegitimate children.
- *Augustus Berkeley, 4th earl of Berkeley (1716-1755)*: one of a select number of 18th-century peers to feature in contemporary works of fiction, Berkeley succeeded to the peerage while a minor and overseas. It was while travelling abroad that he took up with Lady Vane. Their affair was later published within Tobias Smollett's picaresque novel *Peregrine Pickle*. Initially closely associated with the Pelhams via his uncle, the duke of Richmond, Berkeley entered the orbit of the Leicester House opposition through his father-in-law but later returned to the Pelhams. He was said to have died as a result of quack remedies for gout.
- *William Feilding, 5th earl of Denbigh (1697-1755)*: Known as 'the Black Prince', Denbigh was inordinately proud of his (assumed) descent from the Hapsburgs and spent much of his time lobbying for offices, which were never forthcoming. Politically he seems to have veered fairly dramatically from the Tories on the Jacobite wing of the party to the Whigs. His marriage to the daughter of a Dutch burgomaster was reported to have been a love match, but brought him a considerable fortune and on at least one occasion he played a minor role at Court introducing a new set of Dutch ambassadors. He spent considerable amounts of time on the continent, helping to explain his poor attendance record in the Lords.
- *Robert Harley, earl of Oxford (1661-1724)*: One of the foremost political figures of the reign of Queen Anne, the Hanoverian accession spelled disaster for Oxford. In the summer of 1715 he was impeached and spent two years in the Tower awaiting trial. Following his acquittal he returned to the Lords, making several important interventions, though he was never the force he had been. His health, already poor before his imprisonment, was further damaged by his time in the Tower. While he remained highly influential, he proved unable to take on the kind of leadership in his final years wished for by his former lieutenants.

- *Thomas Parker, earl of Macclesfield (1667-1732)*: Macclesfield achieved fame for his role in the prosecution of the Tory clergyman Sacheverell in 1710, and secured promotion to the judicial bench. He became a peer in 1716 to bolster the ministerial debating power in the Lords and succeeded as lord chancellor two years later. A significant political figure, he was impeached for corruption in 1725. After a brief retirement in 1726, he re-emerged into society in 1727 and remained an important figure within the Royal Society.
23. The project also contributed 21 blogs to the History's output, most of them to the 'Georgian Lords' stream of the History's blog. They included: 'The Duke of Newcastle's "resignation honours list" of 1756'; "he, who surpass'd all the Heroes of Antiquity": John Churchill, 1st duke of Marlborough'; "A hotch-potch ministry" – the brief but tempestuous premiership of the 2nd earl of Shelburne'; "contagion lies in a wainscot": the tragic history of the dukes of Bolton & 37, Grosvenor Square'; 'Spending a penny in the old palace of Westminster'; 'The Mince Pie Administration or Plum Pudding Billy'; 'How to expel an MP from Parliament: The ejection of John Wilkes in 1764'; 'The Rivalship of Pompey and Caesar: the rift between John Wilkes and Parson Horne and the splitting of the Bill of Rights Society'; 'The true premier? Charles Spencer, 3rd earl of Sunderland'; "Why not you?" Sir John Cust, reluctant Speaker of the House of Commons'; 'The Last Peer Hanged for Murder'; 'Before Big Ben there was Old Tom'; 'To attend or not to attend: state trials during an outbreak of smallpox'; 'Robin the trickster" versus 'Stiff Dick': the election of Robert Harley as Speaker of the Commons in 1701'; 'The Last Burial of a King in Westminster Abbey'; ' "A frenzy of quitting": the art of resigning in the 18th century'.
24. The project continues its support of a doctoral student, Helen Wilson, through a collaborative doctoral award in conjunction with the Open University, now in its third year. Her project concerns the BAME presence in British politics, 1750-1850.

### **Contemporary History**

25. The oral history project was begun in 2011 to record 'life story' interviews with as many former members of Parliament as possible. The project is now managed by Emma Peplow as Head of Contemporary History, and Emme Ledgerwood, who works part time as Oral History coordinator. The project currently works with 24 active interviewers, 18 of whom are volunteers from a variety of backgrounds.
26. Fifteen new interviews (often comprising several sessions each) were completed in the period, meaning that by the end of 2022-23 we had completed a total of 199 interviews, with a further 13 in progress. The interviews are deposited with our partners in the project, the British Library. Another volunteer, Barbara Luckhurst, has taken a series of portrait photographs of our subjects, which are deposited along with the interviews.
27. Among the interviews completed in the period were:
- *David Sumberg, Conservative, Bury South, 1983-97*: Sumberg discusses his determination to hold a marginal Conservative seat, how he financed his parliamentary career and the greater freedom he felt after defending his seat in 1992 but fully expecting to lose in the following election. An unhappy period in the European Parliament followed, which turned Sumberg more Eurosceptic.
  - *Robert Hayward, Conservative, Kingswood, 1983-92*. Hayward describes his childhood interest in politics and activity in the Young Conservatives before a

business career. Selected for a working-class seat in Bristol, he refers to juggling politics and a growing expertise in polling with weekends on the rugby pitch as a referee, and his campaign for families of the hostages taken in the first Gulf War. After losing his seat in 1992 he failed to win the 1993 Christchurch by-election: he talks frankly about how his sexuality was an undercurrent in the campaign. He became a life peer in 2015 thanks largely to his polling advice and campaigns for LGBTQ rights.

- *Peter Bradley, Labour, The Wrekin, 1997-2005*. From a non-religious Jewish family, whose parents escaped Nazi Germany, Bradley studied in the US and took various research jobs before becoming a prominent Labour councilor in Westminster. His time on the council was dominated by the exposure of the 'homes for votes' scandal, which he helped to uncover. Bradley continued his campaigning as MP for a marginal seat, including establishing a group of rural Labour MPs and work on campaign funding.
- *Ron Davies, Labour, Caerphilly, 1983-2001*. In a wide-ranging interview, Davies discusses his upbringing in Wales, including a difficult relationship with his family, and long involvement in Welsh politics before rising to be Secretary of State for Wales under Tony Blair. Davies talks in detail about plans for devolution and the creation of the Welsh Assembly, and his later career as one of its members, as well as the Clapham Common scandal that led to his resignation as Welsh Secretary.
- *Gavin Strang, Labour, Edinburgh, 1970-97*: From a Scottish agricultural background, Strang studied applied genetics at university and took a PhD in Edinburgh related to animal breeding whilst developing his political career. Serving in government in both the 1970s and under Blair, as well as on Labour's front bench in opposition, he admitted preferring the backbenches and described press briefing against him during New Labour.
- *Syd Rapson, Labour, Portsmouth North, 1997-2005*: Adopted by his grandparents as a young child, Rapson discusses in this interview his reaction when the *Mail on Sunday* reunited him with his mother. From a strong working-class background, Rapson rose through the union at a Naval Base in Gosport whilst managing a busy career as a city and county councilor. He won the seat in the 1997 landslide and had a strong interest in defence whilst in parliament. He also discusses his appearance on the infamous 2001 'paedogeddon' episode of *Brass Eye* and the circumstances which led to this.
- *David Howarth, Liberal Democrat, Cambridge, 2005-2010*: Howarth describes his decision to join the Liberal party as his teenage rebellion from a Conservative schooling, and his academic and legal career as well as his involvement with the Liberal party. He describes in detail the Liberal/SDP merger and Paddy Ashdown's pre-1997 discussions with Tony Blair, as well as his own career as leader of Cambridge Council, before his election in 2005 (thanks in a large part to opposition to the Iraq War).
- *Parmjit Dhanda, Labour, Gloucester, 2001-2010*: Dhanda's parents arrived in Britain from the Punjab in the 1960s, his father working as a truck driver and mother a union shop steward for NHS cleaners. After university Dhanda worked in political and union jobs in the Labour party before winning the Gloucester selection in 2001 – a fiercely competitive process given the circumstances and a decision criticized by the local paper due to his ethnicity. Dhanda's discusses candidly the impact on his career of being one of a few MPs from an ethnic minority, referring to an incident where a pig's head was placed on the family car. Dhanda rose under Blair, but was not favoured by Brown, and lost his seat in 2010.

- *Lynda Waltho, Labour, Stourbridge, 2005-2010.* From a Labour family, Waltho became a New Labour convert: this interview charts her career as a party worker before her last-minute selection for her local seat following the withdrawal of Debra Shipley. Waltho reflects on the internal workings of New Labour, including the advantage of being able to 'catch' Gordon Brown in the voting lobby, his department's mild mockery of Jack Straw's 'ego' and a discussion of the 'dark arts' of Mandelson and Campbell. She also discusses in depth the impact of her election on her first marriage.
28. A collaborative doctoral project with the University of Keele and the University of Manchester has been suspended for personal reasons. However, a second collaborative doctoral project has been secured with the University of Leicester, covering minority ethnic MPs in the UK Parliament since 1987. A student has been selected who will begin the project late in 2023.
29. Our oral history team have contributed eight blogs over the year, with some more coming from our volunteers. They include: ' "You just become a tiny little speck of history": First Impressions of the Palace of Westminster'; ' "Always great fun: particularly when there was a row going on": memories of the 1922 Committee'; ' "The world of parliament extends beyond the Commons and Lords", Michael Morris (Lord Naseby) and Sri Lanka'; ' "Helping the Disabled to Live to Capacity": rediscovering Dr Margaret Agerholm through parliamentary history'; 'The search for good governance'; 'What is in a role: differing views about MPs' focus'; 'A tribute to Betty Boothroyd'.

## DISSEMINATION

### *The House of Commons 1640-1660*

30. Our next publication will be *The House of Commons 1640-1660*. Over the course of 2022-23 a large amount of effort was devoted to preparing these volumes for the press, involving work by our database developer, Alex Monaghan, typesetting company BehMeh Media, editor Jonathan Blaney, and publishers The Boydell Press. Having automatically migrated the text of the work from well over two thousand microsoft word documents into our online Drupal database, we then developed a system for extracting the XML from the database and using Adobe InDesign to provide page images for ultimate delivery to the publishers. The volumes were sent to the publishers at the end of February 2023, and were published in May. This is our longest publication yet, coming to nine printed volumes.

### *The History of Parliament Online*

31. Work on rebuilding the History of Parliament's website, integrating the new sections (including recent House of Lords sections) and migrating the site from various different versions of the Drupal programme into the latest, Drupal 9, was put to one side while we worked on the 1640-1660 publication, although much of the development work involved in the latter project will help to solve the remaining problems with the migration project. With the database tasks on 1640-1660 largely completed by the end of 2022, we returned to working on the website. The work entails fixing a number of problems that have arisen from the site's incremental development over the last few years, and an opportunity is being taken to present the data in a more granular way that will enable it to be interrogated by researchers much more deeply than at present.

32. The number of visitors to the current website was static and usage declined slightly, with around 346,000 users and 1.15 million page views in 2022-23, compared to around 389,000 users and 1.24 million page views in 2021-22. We would expect some increase after the rebuild is complete, including the addition of the new sets, published since 2010. We will continue to monitor the website statistics closely.
33. The History also hosts a small site, [membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org](https://membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org), initially built as a collaboration between the History, the Parliamentary Digital Service, and the House of Commons Library. The site is based on the database created originally by Professor Michael Rush from the University of Exeter and is kept up to date by staff of the House of Commons Library. We also maintain a permanent home for the database created by Sir David Beamish, the former Clerk of the Parliaments, of peerage creations since 1800. The site is available online at <https://peerages.historyofparliamentonline.org/>.
34. In addition, the History is a founding partner of the online library of digital resources developed by the Institute of Historical Research, British History Online.
35. The History's blogging and social media activity is dealt with below, as an aspect of our programme of public engagement.

## **DEVELOPMENT**

36. The History's detailed knowledge of the history of British politics is much sought after and shared through a number of collaborations with universities in the UK and abroad. These have largely taken the form of Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDAs), although the History is also involved in projects funded by major grants from the Research Councils and other grant-giving bodies. Such projects offer the History ways of enriching, developing and promoting and extending the reach of its own work in engagement with other scholars.

### ***Collaborative doctoral awards***

37. In these, a university provides funding, supervision and support for a PhD project; the History offers a co-supervisor and the opportunity for the student to be involved in the History's activities. Universities need to bid for funding for these in partnership with an external institution through the university consortia that hold the funding. The History is currently participating in three collaborative doctoral projects:
  - Robin Eagles is joint supervisor with Amanda Goodrich of the Open University of a PhD Studentship on 'The Black and Mixed Ethnicity Presence in British Politics, 1750-1850', one aim of which is to create a database of BAME people who are known to have participated in politics during the period. Helen Wilson was selected for the studentship and the project began in October 2020.
  - Emma Peplow will be joint supervisor with Dr Sally Horrocks and Dr Rick Whitaker at the University of Leicester of an ESRC-funded Doctoral Training Programme studentship project on 'Minority Ethnic MPs in the UK Parliament since 1987'. A candidate has been selected for the position and the project will begin with an initial masters degree in October 2023. The studentship jointly held at Keele University and Manchester University and associated with our Oral History project has been suspended for personal reasons.
  - Paul Seaward is joint supervisor with Anthony Milton of Sheffield University for a studentship on 'Bishops and the English Parliament c. 1558-1642'. The project will be carried out in conjunction with the current House of Lords 1558-1601 project and the

House of Lords 1640-60 project. Emma Hartley was selected for the studentship and the project began in October 2021.

### **Project collaborations**

38. The History is involved in a number of collaborations as a partner institution or co-applicant. Involvement normally means participation in the projects' respective advisory boards and offering advice and occasional assistance where required. Current collaborations underway involving the History are:

- Oxford University: *'Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture, 1500-1700: A New Approach to Representative Institutions'*, funded by the University's internal research fund, is an inter-disciplinary project concerned with the intellectual, literary, archival and material cultures of parliaments across early modern Europe. It will commence in September. The principal investigator is Paulina Kewes, at Oxford University. Paul Seaward is a co-investigator, along with Steve Gunn, Tracey Sowerby, Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves (Jagellonian University, Krakow) and Joris Oddens (REPUBLIC project, Huygens ING Institute, Royal Netherlands Academy).
- Durham University: the AHRC-funded *'Petitioning and People Power in Twentieth-Century Britain'* project, commenced in August 2020 and runs until July 2023 with Dr Richard Huzzey as principal investigator. The History is providing assistance through its oral history collection, and undertaking further interviews.
- Newcastle University: the AHRC funded *'Eighteenth-Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture (ECPPEC)'*, led by Matthew Grenby as principal investigator, started on 1 January 2020 and is ongoing. The History is contributing principally through the expertise of its eighteenth century House of Lords project.
- Exeter University and York University: the Leverhulme funded project *'Parliamentary Empire: British Democracy and Settler Colonialism, c.1867-1939'*, commenced in September 2021. It is led by David Thackeray (University of Exeter) and Amanda Behm (York). The History is a partner institution.
- University of East Anglia and Leeds Beckett University: the AHRC follow-on bid for *'The Letters of Richard Cobden (1804-65) Online: an exploration in active citizenship'*, led by Anthony Howe & Simon Morgan (UEA) and Helen Dampier (Leeds Beckett) was approved in 2022. The History is providing support through its public engagement activities.

39. Other potential partnerships are either in the application process or under discussion with Durham University and Exeter University.

40. The History continues to be a founder member institution of the network of European Parliamentary Historians, EuParl.net. Partners besides the History include the Centrum voor Parlementaire Geschiedenis at the University of Nijmegen and the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien (Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and political parties), which is funded by and works closely with the German Bundestag; the Institute of Contemporary History in Prague; the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, and the Comité d'histoire parlementaire et politique in France.

### **St James's House**

41. The History's relationship with the public relations and publishing company St James's House dates back to 2013, and is based around the production of a series of books on themes to do with the history of the British parliament and parliamentary politics. The history contributes the main text, usually written partly in-house and partly by external contributors; St James's House sell to companies and organisations the opportunity to

contribute text about their own activities and achievements, and the two elements are combined in a well-produced and highly illustrated volume which the company distributes widely and promotes through a launch in a central London location. The History receives from St James's House a regular fee for its collaboration, and, under previous contracts, a royalty on advertising sales over a defined threshold. The History also receives copies of a paperback version of each book, without the advertising. We have been selling some of these through the parliamentary bookshop and other outlets.

42. In 2022 we agreed with St James's House a renewal of the existing contract we hold with them, which expires in September 2023. The new contract covers four books to be published over five years. It offers an increased fee to the History totalling £480,000 over five years, though without royalties. The four books concern: Parliament and the National Health Service, to be published in 2023, marking the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NHS; the House of Commons chamber and the Commonwealth gifts, to be published in 2025; Parliament and UK Trade and Industry, marking the anniversary of the 1851 Great Exhibition, to be published in 2026; The Equal Franchise Act, marking the anniversary of the equalisation of the voting age for men and women in 1928, to be published in 2028.
43. In February 2023 we published the last book under our 2018 contract. It was designed to mark the 180<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone for the Clock Tower of the Palace of Westminster and the completion of the renovation of Big Ben and the Elizabeth Tower. The text was written by History of Parliament staff and others, and edited by Paul Seaward. The book was launched at a reception at the House of Lords.
44. Work is now underway on the first publication under the 2022 contract, which is expected to be launched in September 2023.

## **ENGAGEMENT**

45. The History's programme of public and academic engagement activities, is managed by our Public Engagement manager Connie Jeffery. In October she was joined by Kirsty O'Rourke as Public Engagement Assistant.

### ***Academic, university and professional engagement***

46. The History has continued its regular competition for the best undergraduate dissertation on British and Irish political and parliamentary history. The annual prize was awarded to Robert Cosby, of the London School of Economics, for his dissertation 'A war for 'Small Nations': Wales and Empire from the Boer War to the Great War, 1899-1918'. A commendation was awarded to Sebastian Erskine, Cambridge, for his essay 'The Conservative Party's Reaction to Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and Ian Smith's Government, 1965-79'.
47. Martin Spychal continued our relationship with the University of Buckingham. Martin worked with the course convener to incorporate History of Parliament blogs, articles and videos into the reading list for the University's BA History module, 'Confidence and Crisis: The United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century' module. Staff in the 1832-68 section will also participate in the 'The Historian at Work' module in the summer of 2023. The History of Parliament is now the sole partner heritage institution on the first year Sheffield Hallam BA module 'Communicating History' course.
48. The Parliaments, Politics and People seminar at the Institute of Historical Research is run by a number of the History's staff. Like other IHR seminars, the seminar has operated on

a part-online only, part-hybrid basis. The online format has led to an expansion of the seminar's audience and reach, with the fortnightly sessions now attracting around 70 attendees and is generating extra traffic to the History of Parliament blog. Some disruption was experienced to the seminar as a result of industrial action during the winter term 2023.

49. The History's staff continue to interact routinely with the wider academic community, principally through contributions to conferences and seminars and publication in academic history journals. Staff of the History are editors or members of the editorial board of a large number of journals concerned with British and parliamentary history, or trustees or board members of organisations that deal with these subjects, including the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, *Parliamentary History* and the Parliamentary History Trust, the Court Studies Society and the journal *Court Studies*, the *London Journal*, the Cromwell Association, the Victoria County History Trust, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, and many others.

### **Social Media, Videos and Podcasts**

50. Our social media statistics have been significantly affected by the major decrease in Twitter users globally in October/November 2022. November 2022 was the first month that we saw a decrease in followers since the @HistParl page was established in 2011. Despite this we recorded a growth in followers over the year, from 16,385 to 17,157. Twitter impressions grew over the year, although they are still lower than previously. We are now monitoring the Twitter 'engagement' rate, rather than just 'impressions'. This number records the users actively engaging with History of Parliament content (clicking links etc.), rather than simply seeing a post and scrolling on. The engagement rate for the History of Parliament is, on average, much higher than that expected for company-affiliated (i.e. not personal) Twitter accounts. No comparative analysis can be made until further data is collected in the next reporting periods, but with an average of 1.73% on the main account we are operating well above the expected average of 0.5%. There was a significant boost to the engagement rate in December 2022, which may be a result of the PE team's social campaign for the month, with an interactive, eye-catching 'advent calendar' campaign. This saw a very high engagement rate, with 100 people on average also voting in online 'polls' that related to content posted during the week. The PE team intend to continue this style of content in the next reporting period. However we recognise that Twitter changes may prevent this. In April 2023 more changes were made to the Twitter algorithm, with priority being given to those with 'blue tick' (authorised or paid for) accounts. Therefore, the History of Parliament will no longer naturally come up on the home feeds of those who do not follow us already. We anticipate that this may result in a further decrease in 'impressions', as @HistParl content will not be coming across as many screens. The 'engagement' rate therefore becomes even more important, as it allows us to recognise if those who do follow @HistParl are also interacting with content.
51. A total of 106 blogs were published on the History's three blogs in the course of the year. Most of these were written by the History's own staff, many of them within the five strands covering our various projects – the Commons in the Wars of the Roses; the First Elizabethan Age; James I to Restoration; the Georgian Lords; and the Victorian Commons. Also included are short summaries of the papers delivered to the History's Parliaments, Politics and People seminar, and a few blogs contributed by the Oxford Centre for Intellectual History's series on 'Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture, 1500-1700'. There were a further 21 blogs published on the Victorian Commons, the blog of the 1832-68 project. The three blogs (including the Director's 'Reformation to Referendum' blog) between them recorded a total of 188,216 views, close to the level achieved in 2020-21 when figures were inflated as a result of the pandemic.



52. Staff and time constraints have made it impossible until recently to take further our plans for video and podcasting. However, in March 2023 we began to develop a podcast series surrounding the Oral History project, working with an external podcaster to help record and edit and transfer skills and experience to our public engagement team. The series is intended to be released in 2023.

### Events

53. This year we have almost fully returned to holding events in person, although there have continued to be disruptions to events due variously to further COVID outbreaks, to the death of Her Majesty the Queen, and to industrial action, and some events have continued to be held online. Major events that have gone ahead included:

- 18 July Online event: The Ballot Act 1872: 150 years of secret voting, with The Parliamentary Archives
- 13 September, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London: Voting reform 150 years on from the 1872 Ballot Act: A symposium at the IHR in honour of Valerie Cromwell
- 15-17 September, Mile End Institute, Queen Mary, London: Breaking the Glass Chamber: Women, Politics, and Parliament, 1945-1997, conference in collaboration with the Mile End Institute
- 25 October, Attlee Suite, Portcullis House: History of Parliament Annual Lecture: Parliament, Politics & Pandemics in Later Medieval England, given by Professor Chris Given-Wilson.

54. Details of media and other engagement is given below in our Value Report.

### VALUE REPORT

55. The History of Parliament now includes within its annual report a statement on the value of the programme as a whole and its individual research projects based on feedback received and the use made of our research over the previous year. Our summary of recent feedback is based on the following categorisation of the History's value:

- The History is one of a small number of projects that form **the key infrastructure/ecosystem** of British historical knowledge and understanding. As well as the History, they include the Dictionary of National Biography (now the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, or ODNB) and the Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH). These are now supplemented by a growing number of smaller online database resources such as the Clergy of the Church of England, or the Legacies of British Slave ownership.
- The History goes beyond this to provide fresh and high-quality **contributions to our knowledge and interpretation** of British parliamentary, political and social history. Some of this is evident in the Introductory surveys to our publications, or the works we have published which have been closely based on our research. This contribution to the broader interpretation of political history also emerges through the History's several blogs, which constitute a large and growing resource, now often cited by other blogs, in undergraduate reading lists and in other academic work, and through works by individual researchers as academic books and journal articles.
- Beyond writing and publication, the **expertise** and background knowledge of the History's staff concerning parliament, political life, and the lives of the British political and social elite is deployed in cutting-edge engagements with academic history and other disciplines, working in partnership with scholars and universities world-wide; in the provision of advice to parliament and to other institutions and

organisations; in responding to queries from the public and in regular contributions to the UK and foreign media.

56. Below we provide a series of updates on the information provided in the 2020 report on these three areas.

#### 57. Infrastructure:

- A review of our publication of 2021, *The House of Lords 1604-1629* by Johann Sommerville appeared in *Parliamentary History* 41, part 3 (2022). It said that the biographies 'are packed with interesting and entertaining information', and that 'overall, these three volumes are an outstanding contribution to the history of parliament and to early Stuart history and are worthy companions to the six volumes on the house of commons in the same period which the History of Parliament Trust produced in 2010. They are based on a staggering range of original sources and are fully apprised of the latest modern scholarship'.
- A review of *The Political Lives of Postwar British MPs: An Oral History of Parliament* (published in 2020) by Eleanor Lowe appeared in *Twentieth Century British History* 34, 1 (2023). It said that 'with the excellent probing of the material [in the editors' text], the insights from this project are hugely rich and useful'; the book is 'unique in its analysis of what it felt like to be political. It also captures stories and themes difficult to find in other sources', it 'is an incredibly useful guide to the archive and jumping off point for researchers to delve into the material themselves. It is also a compelling narrative of the lives of MPs, and most importantly, an insight into what it felt like to be a member of Parliament in the latter half of the twentieth century'.
- The easy availability of our previous publications through the History of Parliament online and its value for a wide range of scholars is illustrated in numerous books and articles published in the the past year. Among books using articles published on the website appearing in 2022 or 2023 were Andrew Boon, *Lawyers and the Rule of Law* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022); Jason Peacey, *The Madman and the Churchrobber: Law and Conflict in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2022); Michael Brennan (ed.), *English Travellers to Venice 1450-1600* (Hakluyt Society, series III, vol. 29, 2022); Sara Elgaddari, *Britain and the Regency of Tripoli: Consuls and Empire-Building in Nineteenth Century North Africa* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022); David Farr, *Brokerage and Networks in London's Global World: Kinship, Commerce and Communities through the Experience of John Blackwell*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022); Kate Gibson, *Illegitimacy: Family & Stigma in England 1660-1834* (Oxford: OUP 2022); Scott McDermott, *The Puritan Ideology of Mobility: Corporatism, the Politics of Place and the Founding of New England Towns before 1650* (London, Anthem Press, 2022); Misha Ewen, *American Colonization and English Society, 1580-1660* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2022); Marion Sherwood and Rosalind Boyce, *Letters and Lives of the Tennyson Women* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022); Pepijn Brandon, Lex Heerma van Voss and Annemieke Romein, eds. *The Early Modern State: Drivers, Beneficiaries and Discontents* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022); Paul Dawson, *The Battle Against Slavery: The Untold Story of how a Group of Yorkshire Radicals began the War to End the Slave Trade* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword Books, 2022); Michael McCarthy, *Citizen of London: Richard Whittington, The Boy who would be Mayor* (London, Hurst & Co., 2022); Mabel Winter, *Banking, Projecting and Politicking in Early Modern England: The Rise and Fall of Thompson and Company 1671-1678* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Brian Short, *Turbulent Foresters: A Landscape Biography of Ashdown Forest* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2022); Philip Major, *Edmund Waller (1606-1687): New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2022); Christopher Highley, *Blackfriars in Early Modern London: Theater, Church and Neighbourhood* (Oxford:

OUP, 2022); Rosalind Crone, *Illiterate Inmates: Educating Criminals in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2022); Elena Woodacre, *Joan of Navarre, Infanta, Duchess, Queen, Witch?* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2023)

- Recent work has also discovered and used extensively our more recent publications, in particular the House of Lords 1660-1715. Works published in 2022 citing extensively those volumes, as well as the work available online, include Hannah Smith's *Armies and Political Change in Britain, 1660-1750* (Oxford, 2022); Nicholas Seager's *Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Daniel Defoe* (Cambridge, 2022); Thomas McGeary, *Opera and Politics in Queen Anne's Britain, 1705-1714* (Woodbridge, 2022); Andrew Thomson, *Church Courts and the People in Seventeenth-Century England: Ecclesiastical justice in peril at Winchester, Worcester and Wells* (UCL Press, 2022).
- Our blogs are also now used and cited in a range of publications and websites. Some blog articles are now built into other infrastructure websites such as layersoflondon.org, and the National Records of Scotland (nrscotland.gov.uk). Many are referred to in other publications: blogs for the Victorian Commons have been cited in (among other places), Terry Tastard, *Nightingale's Nuns and the Crimean War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022); and in articles in *The Trafalgar Chronicle*, *Modern Law Review*, and a Chapel Hill, USA thesis on 'Animal Welfare in Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Law'
- The History's routine practice of providing draft articles on request to scholars in advance of publication has assisted scholars and students of all kinds, from professional academics to an undergraduate dissertation at the University of Liverpool. One of them was Professor Charles Upchurch, who contributed a post to our blog explaining the value of the History of Parliament's articles in recovering nineteenth century queer history.
- We are now starting to see our oral history interviews, made available at the British Library, used more frequently in academic and other work, including obituaries written for *The Guardian* (Alice Mahon, April 2021, by Julia Langdon), *The Times*, and *The Independent*.

## 58. Interpretation:

- Johann Sommerville's review of *The House of Lords 1604-1629* cited above also said that The Introductory Survey to the volumes 'provides an excellent, lucidly expressed, detailed, and highly scholarly treatment of its subject. It is by far the best available modern account of the early Stuart house of lords'.
- The articles on the History of Parliament's various blogs in which themes of our research and individual details are brought out for a more general audience are widely shared through the internet. Martin Spychal's blogs on Harriet Grote were flagged up by Surrey History Centre as 'a brilliant source for Harriet Grote's life in politics, and the secret ballot campaign', and also referred to as an 'Excellent and fascinating article' by a twitter user (@markcraill, 16 May 2022); Blogs on The Victorian Commons which give guidance on sources have been treated as particularly valuable: that on Hansard has been referred to as 'Hugely useful' (@HistoryLondon, 9 Feb. 2023). Teachers at sixth-form level have commented a number of times on the value of the output: 'this is a must read in advance of your exam on Wednesday (to year 12 history students' (@MaelorPolitics, 15 May 2022). More generally, the blogs are often praised for fascinating sidelights and interpretations of politics and much more: 'wonderful stuff' (@andrewteale, 23 June 2022 on Wakefield election); 'excellent article' on blog on 1832 Reform Act (@Cameron1953, 7 June 2022); 'another highly interesting discussion' (@BennJurij, on blog on temporary chamber, 28 Oct. 2022); 'fantastic blog' (@A\_Meakin, on same blog, 31 Oct. 2022). Comments on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

the Victorian Commons blog included 'One of my favourite twitter accounts' (@DanJTPitt); 'the work you publish is fantastic' (@HansardHuds); 'Twitter at its best here: fun and instructive' (@ted\_morris), all 11 July 2022. The blogs are often picked up by commentators and journalists, for example Patrick Kidd of *The Times* diary (29 Nov. 2022, on the first use of the ballot in Pontefract in 1872).

59. **Expertise:** Our engagement activities with universities is described above, under 'Development' and 'Engagement'.

- The History's staff have given numerous talks and conference papers: audiences included the Bridge Ward Club, City of London; the Richard III Society Conference for Schools; the International Medieval Conference at Leeds; the Fifteenth Century Conference at Pembroke College, Cambridge; the 'Does British Political History have a future?' conference at Queen Mary College, London; 'Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture 1500-1700' conference at Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland; the IHR/History of Parliament 'Parliaments, Politics and People' seminar; Tudor and Stuart Ireland Conference, Aug. 2022; Eighteenth Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture conference, July 2022; conference on New Approaches to Editing Early Modern Parliamentary Records, Graz, Austria, April 2022; University of Warwick Early Modern and Eighteenth Century seminar; Global Conference on Parliamentary Studies, Budapest, Hungary, May 2022 (online); Monarchy in Turmoil Conference, Leiden, Netherlands, May 2022; the annual conference of the International Commission for the History of Parliamentary and Representative Institutions, Paris, Sept. 2022; St George's Windsor: the Maurice and Shelagh Bond Memorial Lecture, Oct. 2022; North American Conference on British Studies, Chicago (online) November 2022; British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, St Hugh's College, Oxford, Jan. 2022;
- Staff also serve as the book reviews editor for *Parliamentary History*, the assistant editor of *The Fifteenth Century*, a section editor on the *Bibliography of British and Irish History*, on the editorial boards of *Parliamentary History*, *Journal of Liberal History*; and as officers of the Jacobite Studies Trust, the Society for Court Studies, the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the British Association for Local History, the Victoria County History Trust; they serve as convenors for seminars, principally our own seminar at the Institute of Historical Research on 'Parliaments, Politics and People', but also the Late Medieval Seminar at the IHR
- Staff routinely publish elsewhere including editions (Andrew Barclay co-edited volume 1 of, and Patrick Little co-edited volume 3 of *The Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, (Oxford, 2022)); articles in edited collections (Kathryn Rix on parliament and electoral corruption in *The Many Lives of Corruption: The Reform of Public Life in Modern Britain* ed. I. Cawood and T. Crook (Manchester 2022)); articles in peer-reviewed journals (Patrick Little, 'Lobbying London: Scottish attempts to influence Oliver Cromwell's Government', *Scottish Historical Review*, 101 (2022)); reviews in *The Ricardian*, *Parliamentary History*, *Southern History*, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, *Huguenot Society Journal*,
- Media appearances have included on Times Radio on parliamentary traditions (Paul Seaward, Jan. 2023), on the secret ballot (Philip Salmon, July 2022); BBC Radio Wales, on the Earl of Pembroke (Paul Hunneyball, Aug. 2022); BBC Bristol (Robin Eagles, on No. 10 and on Big Ben); BBC CWR (Robin Eagles, various) and BBC Radio Berkshire (Robin Eagles, on Prime Ministers). A Christmas Quiz was contributed to *The House Magazine* in December 2022 (which was also picked up by The Times). We have provided assistance to various radio and TV series, including the producers of a BBC TV series on the Union.

- Staff routinely respond to a wide range of external inquiries from the media, academics, members of the public, parliamentary and other bodies.

## **GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST**

60. In February 2023, the Charity Commission approved our application to create a new Charitable Incorporated Organization under the Charities Act 2011 to replace the existing Trust. The CIO is an alternative legal form for a charity, which enables the charity to act in its own name (rather than collectively as Trustees), and limits the liability of trustees. In the course of the 2023-24 financial year the Trust will complete the process of transferring the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust to the new Trust. Once this process is completed, it expects to close down the current Trust.
61. The administrative team consists of the Director, Paul Seaward, along with the Office manager, Adam Tucker, and Finance Manager, Jonathan Comber. Early in the 2022-23 financial year Dr Philip, Salmon, editor of the 1832-1868 project, was appointed to the new post of Deputy Director, with a commitment of a day a week to the role.
62. The Trust occupies a building at 18 Bloomsbury Square, London, owned by the Bedford Estates, on a 10-year lease agreed in 2015. The top floor of the building is sub-let to a business. The current lease ends in 2025 and the Trust is currently considering its future accommodation in the light of this change.