

Index

Act against Tumultuous Petitioning Chartism and Chartists, 2, 60, 128, 139, (1661), 30, 91, 110 174, 186, 191, 204, 209, 211, 219-22 children, 190, 199 addresses to the Crown, 69, 72, 174, 175, 182, 183, 189, 191, 201, 239, 253, Church of England, 154, 160, 165, 238 263, 265, 266, 269-70 Church of Ireland, 56, 80, 69, 89, 158, and gender, 86-87 162, 200, 238 history of, 29, 85 Church of Scotland, 56-57, 162-63 individual petitioners to the Crown, 88, Church of Wales, 44, 57, 154, 201, 259 collective action, 18-19, 205, 228, 279. and popular monarchism, 91-93 See also petitioning; public meetings presentation of, 92, 94, 96 colonial and imperial issues, 52, 53, 69, procedure for receiving, 94, 96 80, 145-46, 249 on public issues, 88-91 colonial subjects, 258 as petitioners, 67, 69, 140, 185 quantity and quantification of, 90 regarding royal births, marriages, and representation of, 115 deaths, 87-88 and right to petition, 114-15 and right to petition, 94-96, 118 Conservative party, 163, 241, 268-71, 272 style and language of, 87, 89 Contagious Diseases Acts, 18, 60, 101, Anglicans. See Church of England 150-51, 164, 175, 198, 204, 207, anti-Catholicism, 61, 62, 89, 142, 150, 210, 213, 218, 220, 257 157, 161, 184, 186, 198-200, 216, corn laws, 39, 60, 80, 82, 90, 93, 137, 235, 251, 260. See also Maynooth 148, 157, 167, 170, 175, 190, 194, college; Papal aggression 197, 202, 220, 229, 236, 238, 251. Anti-Corn Law League, 44, 82, 93, See also Anti-Corn Law League 128, 182, 207, 209, 211, 212, 217, 219-22, 235. See also corn laws democratisation, 19-20, 279 anti-slavery, 38, 39, 47, 60, 113, 137, 145, Derby, Earl of. See Stanley, Edward, 14th 149, 157, 163, 175, 182, 200, 218, Earl of Derby 247, 248 Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield, 101, 102, 117, 130 Becker, Lydia, 1, 213, 217 Bill of Rights (1689), 110, 123 economic issues, 52, 53, 63, 65, 139, Birmingham, 123, 175, 181, 215, 249, 165-68. See also taxes 263 education, 44, 57, 80, 146, 158, 161, 163, 179 Canada, 34 election petitions, 74–77 Catholic Association, 125-26, 128 elections and electoral culture, 7 Catholic emancipation, 43, 79, 80, 142, electoral culture, 46, 179-80 161, 165, 199, 200, 235, 243 the electorate, 46-48, 256-57, 270-71, Catholics, 56, 119, 140-42, 148, 161, 273 - 74the franchise, 8, 48, 105, 113 chambers of commerce, 83, 97, 99, 135 employers, 170-72, 192-93, 197



Index 295

factory legislation, 40, 60, 86, 93, 98, 101, 170–71, 189, 192–93, 226, 251 foreign policy, 53, 69–70 four nations, 6, 54, 58–60, 156–64. *See also* Ireland; Scotland; Wales France, 32, 107, 275

Gladstone, William Ewart, 101, 130 Glasgow, 39, 123, 168–70, 181 government. See memorials Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, 79, 95, 101, 234, 241, 250 Grey, Henry, 3rd Earl Grey, formerly styled as Viscount Howick, 188,

Home Rule, 44, 59, 84, 90, 95, 158, 197, 260, 266, 267, 269, 270, 273

House of Lords, 116, 127, 272, 282
peers response to petitions, 83–84
and petitioners, 79
petitions procedure, 78, 118
petitions to, 72, 113, 133–34, 142, 163, 164
presentation of petitions by peers, 79, 113, 132, 227, 238, 241, 243, 249–50
quantity and quantification of petitions

to, 79–82, 234
Howard, George, 7th Earl of Carlisle, formerly styled as Viscount Morpeth, 40, 236, 247
Howick Viscount, See Grey, Henry, 3rd

Howick, Viscount. See Grey, Henry, 3rd Earl Grey

Ireland, 234 Irish petitioners and Parliament, 58–60,

245, 250

64, 111, 119, 132, 135, 140–42, 148, 156–59, 161–62, 164, 167, 168, 172, 194, 197 petitions regarding Irish issues, 55, 56, 58–60 and right to petition, 124–26 in UK political culture, 5 See also Catholic emancipation, Church of Ireland, four nations, Home Rule issues addressed by public petitions, 251, 257–58

mass and non-mass issues, 43–45, 60–63

number and expansion of, 36, 50–51, 53
See also colonial and imperial issues;
economic issues; legal issues; religious
issues; social issues; taxes

Jewish emancipation, 61, 165

Lambton, John, 1st Earl of Durham, 99, 244, 249 landowners, 165–67, 182, 193–94, 197 legal issues, 53, 63, 65, 169 Liberal party, 163, 246 Local government, 172–73, 182, 191, 258, 273, 282

Manchester, 1, 39, 72, 88, 123, 167,

169, 179, 184, 192, 193, 199, 200, 208, 224 mass petitioning, 203-205 cost of, 207-208 criticism of, 209-10, 255-56 and electoral politics, 211 and mass mobilisation, 213-17 model of, 206 and networks, 221-22, 227 petition drives, 43-44, 60-62 and political organisation, 217-20 power of, 212-13 and pressure on Parliament, 226-27 publicity and raising awareness, 222-25 and standardisation of petition texts, 208

as a technology, 206, 208 Maynooth college, 61, 79, 80, 83, 133, 154, 160, 163, 186, 211, 212, 216, 235, 246, 247

Members of Parliament

as advocates of petitioners, 67–68, 167, 215, 227 and constituency interests, 100, 230, 233, 240 correspondence with petitioners, 236–37, 240–48 and mass-letter writing campaigns, 261 as partition experience, 183, 213

as petition-organisers, 183, 212 and presentation of petitions, 229, 236–37, 240, 243–44, 248–51 response to petitioning, 9, 17, 108, 115–17, 188, 210, 230, 233–36, 255, 261, 271 and right to petition, 121–23, 126, 128,

131
memorials, 69, 72, 221
and deputations, 100–102, 239, 259
and government departments, 97, 100
and lobbying, 98
to Members of Parliament, 210,
259–61

to the Prime Minister, 97, 100–101, 260, 263, 266, 268 quantity and quantification of, 97 regarding fiscal and monetary policy, 97 style and format, 98



296 Index

Milton, Viscount. See Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, William Monarchy. See Addresses to the Crown 'monster' petitions, 40, 186, 209, 259, 265 - 67Morpeth, Lord. See Howard, George, 7th Earl of Carlisle National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 260, 261, 267, 268, 273-74 navigation laws, 84, 168 Netherlands, the, 107 new political history, 4, 7, 8, 46, 105, 155-56, 170, 179-80, 191, 230, 254, 276 - 77Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 39, 229, 240 Nonconformists. See Protestant Dissenters O'Connell, Daniel, 128, 130, 141, 158, 216. See also Catholic Association, Catholic emancipation Papal aggression, 61, 89, 90, 160, 161, 163, 164, 175. See also anti-Catholicism; Maynooth college Parliamentary reform, 39, 40, 42, 61, 79, 82, 83, 86, 89, 116, 118, 137, 174, 182, 186, 189, 192, 193, 197, 219, 233, 238, 240 Peel, Sir Robert, 69, 72, 97, 99, 108, 124, 125, 145, 250 Pelham-Clinton, Henry, 4th Duke of Newcastle, 92, 182 petitioners challenge to authority, 22, 235, 246-48 and collective identities, 113, 132-39, 153 individual petitioners, 10, 65-69 and right to petition, 111, 120, 123-24, 126-28, 130, 131, 196 See also petitioning communities; religious communities petitioning chronology of, 20-22, 41-45 compared to voting and electoral culture, 48-49 and contestation, 196-202 and counter-petitioning, 201-202 history of petitioning in Britain, 14-16, 27 - 31practice of, 6-7, 180-81 and print culture, 190, 193, 200, 207,

and representation, 17, 250-51 and spectacular presentations, 253, 262-63, 266 as technology of political organisation and recruitment, 19 See also mass petitioning; public petitions; signing and subscription petitioning communities, 154-56 and economic interests, 63-65, 136, 137, 149, 155, 170-72, 190 political parties, 46, 258-59, 268-71 popular constitutionalism, 14, 109-12, 121–24. See also right to petition popular sovereignty, 107-108, 208, 234-36, 241 private bill petitions, 72, 74-77, 167 prohibition. See temperance; United Kingdom Alliance Protestant Dissenters, 56, 142-47, 148, 160, 162-64, 249 public meetings, 42, 72, 119, 121-22, 183, 185, 199-200, 224 public opinion, 213-14, 255 public petitions, 72 and authority of Parliament, 71, 128-29, 280 comparison with other countries, 31-35, 187, 275 content, 2 decline of, 44-45, 266-67 drafting of, 181-83 language and style, 115-17 material form, 40, 117-18, 186, 266 - 67presentation of, 186-87 procedure, 2, 41, 66, 115-20, 127-31, 186 - 87quantity and quantification of, 2, 27, 35, 36, 39, 40, 43-45, 214-15, 218, 233-34, 259 See also addresses to the Crown; House of Lords; memorials; Select Committee on Public Petitions Queen Caroline affair (1820-1), 87, 88, 90, 182 radicals and radicalism, 91-92, 116, 118, 123, 210, 235 Ramsden, Sir John, 239, 240, 242, 244, 246, 249 referendums, 271-74 Reform Act (1832), 8, 19, 42. See also Elections and electoral culture: the franchise, Parliamentary reform

216–17, 223–24, 268

reinvention of, 45, 262-71

and protest marches, 91, 185-86, 268



> 297 Index

Reform Act (1867), 8, 42. See also elections and electoral culture: the franchise, Parliamentary reform religious communities, 134, 142-47, 154, 160-65 religious issues, 52, 53, 58, 61, 80, 140-47, 160-65 remonstrances, 91, 119-20, 211 representation and Parliament, 231, 232, 280 petitioning and the practice of representation, 236-40 representative claims, 17, 133-34, 167, 232, 242 theories of, 231, 243 'virtual' representation, 230 right to petition, 9, 51, 106 compared to other countries, 107-108, 112, 127, 129 and freedom of association, 125-27, 218 history of, 110 limitations on form and content of petitions, 115-20 and right of audience, 127-29 and right of discussion, 129-31 and right of public meeting, 121-25 right of subjects to petition, 112-15 See also popular constitutionalism Russell, Lord John, 1st Earl Russell, 129, 144, 236 Sabbatarianism, 61, 62, 158, 163, 164, 246, 260 Scotland, 273 electorate, 47 petitions regarding Scottish issues, 55-57, 59, 63 popular politics, 6 Scottish petitioners and Parliament, 64, 111, 135, 156-58, 162-63, 166-70, 172, 194, 198, 202, 239 seditious meetings legislation (1795, 1817, 1819), 72, 121-24 Select Committee on Public Petitions, 2, 79, 131, 187, 198, 208 classification system, 51, 52, 69 signing and subscription and canvassing, 185, 192, 209, 224-25 compared to electorate, 36-40, 256-57, 270 - 71complaints about, 187-89 forgery and fraud, 198-99, 270 influence and intimidation, 196–98 laying a petition for signature, 184, 224 and misrepresentation, 199-102

and political recruitment, 220-21 procedure regarding, 118-19 and public meetings, 185 quantity and quantification of signatures, 40, 82, 175 speeding up of signature-gathering process, 267 and street politics, 194-95, 222 subscriptional communities, 133, 263-65 social issues, 53, 62, 170-72 Spain, 32, 107, 275 Stanley, Edward, 14th Earl of Derby, 100, 124, 239 State, 9-11, 74, 281-82. See also government, petitioners taxes, 39, 52, 53, 63-65, 117, 137, 168, 169, 183, 241 temperance, 44, 61, 101, 157, 163, 164, 168-69, 172, 189, 201, 202, 208, 215, 237, 240, 246, 251, 259–61, 266, 273 Test and Corporation Acts, 144-45. See also Protestant Dissenters Tichbourne claimant, the, 116, 194 Ulster Covenant and Women's Declaration, 260, 263-65 United Kingdom Alliance, 44, 78, 208-10, 215, 224, 228, 257 Unlawful Societies Acts (Ireland, 1793, 1825), 125-26 USA, 33, 34, 118, 129, 132, 272, 275 vivisection, 62, 217 voluntary associationism, 22, 173, 204-205, 209, 217-20, 279 Wales petitions regarding Welsh issues, 55, 57,65 popular politics, 55 Welsh petitioners and Parliament, 135, 145, 156, 158, 161, 164, 168, 171, 201, 202 See also four nations Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Charles William, 5th Earl Fitzwilliam, 113 Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, William, 4th Earl Fitzwilliam, 240, 249 Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, William, styled as Viscount Milton, 237, 241-42, 248 Wesleyan Methodists, 145, 161, 163-64, 247



298 Index

Whigs, 112, 123–25, 227, 236 women and addresses to the Crown, 86–87, 90, 263 as canvassers, 192 and canvassing, 185 as collective petitioners, 1, 148–52, 175–76 as individual petitioners, 66–67, 149 and mass petitioning, 9

as petition-organisers, 159, 186, 189, 257, 266, 267, 273–74 and political participation, 147–48 and right to petition, 113–14, 128 and signing, 189–90, 221, 265 Women's Social and Political Union, 96, 253 women's suffrage, 1, 60, 101, 102, 128, 150, 152, 176, 207, 208, 219–21, 223, 238, 259, 269 workers, 170–72