#### A Nation of Petitioners

Between 1780 and 1918, over one million petitions from across the four nations were sent to the House of Commons. A Nation of Petitioners is the first study of this nineteenth-century heyday of petitioning in the United Kingdom. It explores how ordinary men and women engaged with politics in an era of democratisation, but not democracy, and restores their voices and actions to the story of UK political culture. Drawing on more than a million petitions, as well as archives of leading politicians, institutions, and pressure groups, Henry J. Miller demonstrates the centrality of petitions and petitioning to mass campaigning, representation, collective action, and forging collective identities at the local and national level. From the early nineteenth century, the massive growth of petitions underpinned and reshaped the popular authority of the UK state, including Parliament, the monarchy, and government. Challenging accounts that have stressed disciplinary or exclusionary processes in the evolution of popular politics, A Nation of Petitioners conclusively establishes the importance of the mass participation of ordinary people through petitions.

Henry J. Miller is Associate Professor (Research) at Durham University. He has published widely on the political culture of modern Britain, and led projects on petitions funded by the AHRC and Leverhulme Trust. His first book, *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature, and Visual Culture in Britain, 1830–1880*, was published in 2015 by Manchester University Press. He is co-editor of *Petitions and Petitioning in Europe and North America: From the Late Medieval Period to the Present*, which will be published by Oxford University Press for the British Academy.

Modern British Histories

Series Editors:

Deborah Cohen, Northwestern University Margot Finn, University College London Peter Mandler, University of Cambridge

'Modern British Histories' publishes original research monographs drawn from the full spectrum of a large and lively community of modern historians of Britain. Its goal is to keep metropolitan and national histories of Britain fresh and vital in an intellectual atmosphere increasingly attuned to, and enriched by, the transnational, the international and the comparative. It will include books that focus on British histories within the UK and that tackle the subject of Britain and the world inside and outside the boundaries of formal empire from 1750 to the present. An indicative – not exclusive – list of approaches and topics that the series welcomes includes material culture studies, modern intellectual history, gender, race and class histories, histories of modern science and histories of British capitalism within a global framework. Open and wide-ranging, the series will publish books by authoritative scholars, at all stages of their career, with something genuinely new to say.

A complete list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/modernbritishhistories



# A Nation of Petitioners

Petitions and Petitioning in the United Kingdom, 1780–1918

Henry J. Miller Durham University





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316511701

DOI: 10.1017/9781009053631

© Henry J. Miller 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-316-51170-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For my parents

### Contents

Lis Ac	t of Figures t of Tables knowledgements t of Abbreviations Introduction Petitions, Petitioning, and UK Political Culture Petitions and Petitioning in Comparative Perspective	page ix x xi xiii 1 3
	Rethinking Representation, Collective Action, and Democratisation Petitions and Petitioning: A Chronology	16 20
Pa	rt I Petitions	
1	Petitions to the House of Commons I: Scale and Trends The Emergence of a Petitioning Society The UK Experience in Comparative Perspective Public Petitions to the House of Commons: Scale Public Petitions to the House of Commons: Trends Petitions, Signatures, and the Electorate Conclusion	27 27 31 35 40 45 49
2	Petitions to the House of Commons II: Issues Petitions and Issues: A Four Nations Perspective Types of Issue Limitations of the Data: Empire and Foreign Policy Conclusion	50 54 60 69 71
3	Subscriptional Cultures and Petitionary Documents Other Petitions to Parliament: Private Bill and Election Petitions Petitions to the House of Lords Addressing the Monarch Memorials, Interests, and Lobbying Conclusion	72 74 77 85 96 102

#### Part II Petitioners

4	The Right to Petition	105
	Popular Constitutionalism and the Right to Petition	109

vii

	The Right of Subjects to Petition Limitations on Petitions: Form and Content Limitations on Petitioning: Meetings and Association Limitations on Petitioning: Presentation and Discussion Conclusion	112 115 120 127 131
5	Petitioners I: Collective Identities The Broadening of the Petitioning Public Petitioners and Collective Identities Conclusion	132 134 139 152
6	Petitioners II: Petitioning Communities Petitioners and the Four Nations Petitioning Communities and Local Political Cultures Conclusion	154 156 159 176
Par	rt III Petitioning	
7	The Practice of Petitioning The Process and Practice of Petitioning Signing and Popular Politics Petitioning and Contestation Conclusion	179 180 187 196 202
8	Mass Petitioning The Model of Mass Petitioning The Debate Over Mass Petitioning Mobilisation and Public Opinion Organisation and Voluntary Association Publicity and Raising Awareness Mass Petitioning and Parliamentary Politics Conclusion	203 206 209 213 217 222 225 227
9	Petitioning and Representation Petitioning and Parliamentary Representation Petitioning and the Practice of Representation Conclusion	229 232 236 251
10	Petitioning and Political Culture in an Age of Democratisation The Decline of Parliamentary Petitioning Reimagining the Practice of Petitioning Petitions, Referendums, and Political Culture Conclusion	253 255 262 271 274
	Conclusion	276
Sele Inde	ect Bibliography ex	283 294

### Figures

0.1	Orlando Hodgson, The Crisis (c. 1830-1832), coloured	
	etching, Bolton Library and Museum Services,	
	BOLMG.2008.61.289	page 21
1.1	Number of issues in public petitions to the House	
	of Commons per session, 1780–1918	37
1.2	Number of public petitions to the House of	
	Commons per session, 1780–1918	37
1.3	Number of signatures on public petitions to the House of	
	Commons per session, 1833–1918	38
1.4	Number of public petitions to the House of Commons	
	on issues generating more than 500 petitions or, after 1833,	,
	100,000 signatures per session ('mass') and those issues	
	with fewer than 500 petitions, or after 1833, 100,000	
	signatures per session ('non-mass'), 1780-1918	43
1.5	Number of signatures on public petitions to the House of	
	Commons per session, compared with registered	
	electorate and number of electors voting in UK	
	general election years, 1833–1910	48
5.1	Female inhabitants of Sheffield, petition to House of	
	Commons for enfranchisement, 18 February 1851	151
7.1	'Anti-corn-law petition street signatures', Illustrated	
	London News, 14 February 1846, p. 116	195

### Tables

page 36
52
53
80
90
260

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment

#### Acknowledgements

This book began when I first glimpsed the dusty, forgotten volumes of the Select Committee on Public Petitions in the Institute of Historical Research over a decade ago. Since then, I have been lucky enough to be generously supported by Leverhulme Trust (RPG-2016-097), the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) (AH/R008868/1), and smaller grants from the history division, University of Manchester. I would like to acknowledge the research assistance of Luke Heselwood, Peter Jones, who helped with data inputting, and Harry Cross, for his assistance in cleaning up the data; in the last case, this was supported by a grant from the Department of History, Durham University.

I would like to thank all those who commented on portions of the manuscript or the original book proposal: Daniel Carpenter, Diego Palacios Cerezales, the late Angus Hawkins, Maartje Janse, Emily Jones, Stuart Jones, Mark Knights, Philip Loft, Mary O'Connor, Joris Oddens, Gordon Pentland, Matthew Roberts, Robert Saunders, Tom Scriven, Paul Seaward, Miles Taylor, David Thackeray, Brodie Waddell, Philip Williamson, and David Zaret. I am particularly grateful to David Craig, Richard Huzzey, Christian Liddy, Naomi Lloyd-Jones, Kathryn Rix, Philip Salmon, Justin Willis, and Andy Wood for their considered criticism and reflections upon the entire manuscript. With Richard, my collaborator on three projects on petitions, I have discussed the subject matter of this book at great length, often over lunch at Lebeneat in Durham. I hope these intellectual exchanges have been as useful for him as they have been for me.

My mentors at Durham, Ludmilla Jordanova and Christian Liddy, have been sympathetic and valuable sources of advice during the writing of this book. For many years, Malcolm Chase was an unofficial mentor to me and was always encouraging. Malcolm took a keen interest in petitions, and I am sorry he is not here to read the finished work, especially as it has been influenced by his sympathetic, undogmatic approach to recovering the lives of ordinary people.

xi

#### xii Acknowledgements

My research has benefited from the kind assistance of librarians and archivists at Bolton Archives; the British Library manuscripts room; Carlisle Archive Centre; Palace Green Library, Durham University; Durham County Record Office; the Institute of Historical Research; Keele University Library; Lancashire Archives; Liverpool Record Office; John Rylands University Library of Manchester; Manchester Central Library; The Women's Library at the London School of Economics and Political Science; The National Archives; Northumberland Archives; Nottingham University Library; Oldham Local Studies and Archives; the Parliamentary Archives; the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland; Sheffield City Archives; Staffordshire Record Office; West Sussex Record Office; West Yorkshire Archive Service at Bradford and Kirklees; and the Working-Class Movement Library, Salford.

As I hope is clear from the text, I have learnt a lot from other scholars working on petitions, whether through conversations, email correspondence, hearing papers, or reading draft work, including, but not limited to, Benoît Agnés, Martin Almbjär, Yuval Ben-Bassat, Maggie Blackhawk, Catherine Bochel, Jean-Gabriel Contamin, Gwilym Dodd, Lara Douds, Aaron Graham, Marta Gravela, Peter Hill, Julian Hoppit, Joanna Innes, Robert Jones, Cristina Leston-Bandeira, Carrie Long, Ismini Pells, Ciara Stewart, Laura Stewart, Hannah Weiss Muller, Amanda Whiting, Hannah Worthen, Andreas Würgler, and Tim Verhoeven.

At the Press, I would like to thank Liz Friend-Smith, and the two anonymous reviewers, for seeing the potential in the book, and Lisa Carter for managing the production process. I am grateful to Castle Howard Estate Ltd for permission to reproduce material from Lord Morpeth's diary, to Bolton Council for permission to reproduce Figure 0.1, and to the Parliamentary Archives for permission to reproduce Figure 5.1. I would like to thank Wiley-Blackwell and the editors for permission to reuse material originally published in 'The Politics of Petitioning: Parliament, Government, and Subscriptional Cultures, 1780–1918', *History*, 106 (2021), 221–43; and Oxford University Press and the editors for permission to reuse material originally published in 'Petitions, Parliament, and Political Culture: Petitioning the House of Commons, 1780–1918', *Past & Present*, 248 (2020), 123–64. I am grateful to Richard, with whom I co-authored these articles, for agreeing to the reuse of material from them in this book.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family for their love and support during the writing of this book, particularly my wife Caroline, and our children, Toby and Clara, who have become increasingly skilled at petitioning parental authority. Much of this book was written during a time when I was unable to see my parents as much as I would have liked, but they were seldom far from my thoughts. This book is for them.

## Abbreviations

ABTC	Anti-Bread Tax Circular
ACLL	Anti-Corn Law League
Archives+, MCL	Archives+, Manchester Central Library
BL Add. MS.	British Library Additional Manuscripts
CA	Catholic Association
CD Acts	Contagious Diseases Acts
$C\mathcal{J}$	Journals of the House of Commons
EHR	English Historical Review
Hansard	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates
HJ	Historical Journal
HR	Historical Research
IRSH	International Review of Social History
ĴBS	Journal of British Studies
ĴMH	Journal of Modern History
JRULM	John Rylands University Library of Manchester
LJ	Journals of the House of Lords
LNA	Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the
	Contagious Diseases Acts
MG	Manchester Guardian
NCL	Northern Counties' Electoral League for the Repeal
	of the Contagious Diseases Acts
NSWS	National Society for Women's Suffrage
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
PA	Parliamentary Archives
PER	Parliaments, Estates, and Representation
PH	Parliamentary History
PP	Parliamentary Papers
P&P	Past & Present
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
SCA	Sheffield City Archives
SCPP	Select Committee on Public Petitions
SSH	Social Science History

xiii

xiv List of Abbreviations

Staffs. RO TCA TWL, LSE	Staffordshire Record Office Test and Corporation Acts The Women's Library, London School of Economics
UKA	United Kingdom Alliance
WSJ	Women's Suffrage Journal
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service