Dhananjayarao Gadgil Library

GIPE-PUNE-001768

3.1067/

1768

# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE YEAR 1830-1874.

# FROM THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT'S SPEECH AT BIRMINGHAM:

"It is a great misfortune that the history of our country that is nearest our own times young men are least acquainted with. It is not written in histories that were read at school, and they are not old enough, as I am old enough, to remember almost every political fact since the great Reform Bill of 1832. I wish young men would read some history of this period. A neighbour and a friend of mine, a most intelligent and accomplished clergyman—Mr. Molesworth—has published a work, being a political history of England from the year 1830—that is, from the first Reform Bill—until within the last two or three years: a book honestly written, in which facts are plainly—and I believe truly—stated, and a work which would give great information to all the young men of the country, if the could be prevailed upon to read it."

#### THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE YEAR 1830-1874.

BY

## WILLIAM NASSAU MOLESWORTH, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE REFORM BILL OF MICCOLLEGE," ETC.

Tenth Thonsand.

CHAPMAN AND HALL, LIMITED, 11 HENRIETTA ST., COVENT GARDEN, W.C. 1882.

#### Bungup:

CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

V3. M7 B2.1 1768

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

For reasons that are assigned at the beginning of my History I have commenced it with an account of the great reform struggle of 1831 and 1832; and I have embodied in the present volume my History of that contest; but greatly abridged, in some parts altogether re-written, in all carefully revised and corrected, and with a few additions. There is, however, one passage of that work which I have left entirely untouchedthat, namely, which narrates the interview of Lords Grey and Brougham with William IV. on the morning of the 22d of April 1831, and which gave rise to a protracted controversy. I have made a slight correction in the observations with which the anecdote was prefaced; but the story of the interview itself is told word for word as it was given in the first edition of my History of the Reform Bill of 1832. I felt that after the generous and honourable alacrity with which Lord Brougham came forward to rescue me from the embarrassing position in which the present Lord Grey's flat denial of my narrative had placed me, and to make himself distinctly responsible for the correctness of my narrative, I should be laying myself open to a charge of being wanting in the grateful respect I owe to the memory of that great man, if I were now to withdraw the passage from any desire to shorten this part of my work. I am now enabled to give that anecdote stamped with what Lord Grey justly termed 'the high authority of Lord Brougham;' an evidence in its favour which I say advisedly, and after having, I believe, read all that has been written on the subject, is not only unshaken, but rather corroborated by the efforts that have been made to confute it.

In that large portion of my work which is altogether new I propose to follow with regard to the debates on questions of great national importance the plan adopted in my History of the Reform Bill of 1832. I have given the report of the speeches which throw most light on the question, and on the manner in which it was received and regarded by different parties, in a very shortened form. Exordia, perorations, flights of rhetoric, even flights of eloquence, have been remorselessly pruned away, and the residue has been greatly condensed; but the style, and, as far as possible, the very words, of each orator have been carefully preserved.

I am aware that there are other histories which cover a portion more or less considerable of the ground over which this work is intended to extend; but their point of departure is different, and so also are the presiding ideas under which they are written.

W. N. M.

Spotland Vicarage, Rochdale, May 30, 1871.

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTORY.

| P.                              | AGE | PAGR                            |
|---------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| The Subject of the Work .       | 1   | Indignation of the Protestant   |
| Growth of Abuses                | 2   | Party 29                        |
| Reform by the Long Parliament   |     | Sir C. Wetherell 29             |
| and Cromwell                    | 8   | Distress                        |
| Re-appearance of the Question   | -   | Opening of Parliament at com-   |
| in 1745                         | 4   | mencement of 1830 32            |
| The elder Pitt on Reform .      | 4   | The Marquis of Blandford's      |
| Mr. W. Pitt's Motion for a      | -   | Reform Bill 33                  |
| Select Committee on Parlia-     | 1   | Other attempts 34               |
| mentary Reform                  | 5   | Death of George IV 34           |
| Mr. Pitt renews his attempt     |     | William IV 34                   |
| in 1783                         | 7   | Position of the Government on   |
| Mr. Pitt's last effort          | 8   | the eve of the General Elec-    |
| Mr. Grey                        | 9   | tion 36                         |
| Petition of 'the Friends of the |     | Revolution in France 37         |
| People'                         | 9   | Opening of the New Parlia-      |
| The Corn-laws                   | 10  | ment 38                         |
| 'The Blanketeers'               | 11  | Declaration of the Duke of Wel- |
| Agitation and consequent alarms | 12  | lington against Reform . 39     |
| Proceedings of the Government   | 13  | The Guildhall Dinner 40         |
| Great Manchester Reform         |     | Unpopularity of the Govern-     |
| Meeting                         | 14  | ment 41                         |
| Lord J. Russell's Motion .      | 17  | Defeat of the Government 43     |
| The Wellington Administration   | 19  | Resignation of the Wellington   |
| Mr. Huskisson's removal from    |     | Administration 43               |
| the Ministry                    | 19  | Influence of Freedom of Speech  |
| Catholic Emancipation           | 20  | and of the Press on the         |
| Daniel O'Connell                | 21  | Measures of Parliament . 45     |
| Embarrassment of the Govern-    |     | Earl Grey accepts Office 45     |
| ment                            | 22  | Mr. Brougham 47                 |
| The Clare Election              | 23  | Earl Grey's Explanations 49     |
| Effects of Mr. O'Connell's      |     | Committee to frame a Reform     |
| Election                        | 24  | Bill 49                         |
| Necessity of concession         | 26  | Distress and Discontent 51      |
| Perplexity of the Government    | 26  | Machine-breaking and Rick-      |
| Concession resolved             | 28  | burning                         |
| The Catholic Emancipation Bill  |     | State of the Country            |
| introduced                      | 28  |                                 |

## CHAPTER II.

#### FIRST INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORM BILL.

|                               | PAGE |                               | PAGE |
|-------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| Re-assemblage of Parliament,  |      | Reception of the Bill by the  |      |
| and announcement of the       |      | Country                       | 102  |
| Reform Bill                   | 57   | Political Unions              | 106  |
| Lord J. Russell               | 57   | The Press                     | 107  |
| Retrenchment                  | 59   | Meetings and Petitions .      | 108  |
| Appearance of the House of    |      | Public Feeling                | 109  |
| Commons                       | 61   | Second Reading                | 109  |
| Introduction of the Reform    |      | Lord J. Russell's Explana-    |      |
| Bill                          | 62   | tions                         | 111  |
| Lord J. Russell's Speech      | 63   | General Gascoyne's Motion     | 112  |
| Sir R. H. Inglis's Speech     | 76   | Lord Althorp's Speech         | 113  |
| Mr. Hume's Speech             | 79   | Mr. Stanley's Speech          | 114  |
| Mr. Hunt's Speech             | 80   | Mr. O'Connell's Speech        | 116  |
| Sir C. Wetherell's Speech     | 84   | Obstacles to a Dissolution    | 119  |
| The Attorney-General's Speech | 86   | Question of a Dissolution     | 120  |
| Lord Palmerston's Speech .    | 86   | Interview of Lords Grey and   | -200 |
| Sir R. Peel's Speech          | 88   | Brougham with the King .      | 122  |
| Mr. Stanley's Speech          | 94   | Scene in the House of Lords . | 124  |
| Mr. Croker's Speech           | 97   | The King's Speech             | 126  |
| Mr. O'Connell's Speech        | 98   | Scene in the House of Com-    | _==  |
| Lord J. Russell's Reply       | 101  | mons                          | 127  |
|                               |      |                               |      |

## CHAPTER III.

# SECOND INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORM BILL.

|                               | PAGE |                               |      |
|-------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
|                               |      |                               | PAGE |
| General Election              | 130  | Third Reading                 | 157  |
| Reëlection of the Speaker .   | 132  | The Bill passes the House of  |      |
| The King's Speech             | 133  | Commons                       | 158  |
| Re-introduction of the Reform |      | What will the Lords do ?      | 159  |
| Bill                          | 133  | The Bill carried up to the    |      |
| Second Reading                | 137  | House of Lords                | 159  |
| Prosecution of Cobbett        | 139  | Asserted Reaction             | 160  |
| Anomalies of the old system   |      | Earl Grey's Speech            | 161  |
| exhibited                     | 142  | Lord Wharncliffe's Speech .   | 165  |
| The Night of Divisions        | 143  | Lord Melbourne's Speech       | 165  |
| The Bill in Committee         | 144  | Duke of Wellington's Speech   | 166  |
| Alderman Thompson's 'Inad-    |      | Lord Lyndhurst's Speech .     | 166  |
| vertence'                     | 145  | Speeches of the Chief Justice |      |
| Sir A. Agnew's Motion         | 146  | and the Archbishop of Can-    |      |
| Mr. Mackinnon's Motion        | 147  | terbury                       | 168  |
| The Committee                 | 149  | Earl Grey's Reply             | 168  |
| The Coronation                | 156  | The Division                  | 170  |
| Report of the Committee .     | 157  |                               |      |

### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE REFORM BILL CARRIED.

|                                 | PAGE | •                             | PAGE |
|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| Rifects of the rejection of the |      | The Bill passed in the House  | • •  |
| Bill                            | 171  | of Commons                    | 206  |
| Popular Irritation              | 172  | The Waverers                  | 207  |
| Scene in the House of Lords .   | 173  | The Second Reading            | 208  |
| Procession                      | 178  | The Committee                 | 209  |
| Riotous Proceedings             | 179  | Lord Lyndhurst's Motion .     | 211  |
| Lord Brougham condemns the      |      | Lord Ellenborough's Pro-      |      |
| Outrages                        | 181  | gramme                        | 212  |
| Lord Ebrington's Resolution .   | 182  | Resignation of the Ministry . | 215  |
| The Birmingham Meeting .        | 182  | Altercation between Lords     |      |
| Impatience of the Nation .      | 184  | Carnarvon and Grey .          | 215  |
| Lord Brougham's Explanations    | 185  | Lord Ebrington's Resolution . | 216  |
| Prorogation of Parliament .     | 186  | State of the Nation           | 216  |
| Asserted Reaction               | 186  | Meetings                      | 217  |
| The Political Unions            | 187  | Efforts to embarrass the com- | _    |
| The Bristol Riots               | 188  | ing Administration            | 218  |
| Disturbed State of the Country  | 197  | Attempts to form a Ministry   | 219  |
| Parliament re-assembles         | 199  | Failure of the attempts to    |      |
| The Reform Bill introduced      |      | form a Ministry               | 220  |
| by Lord J. Russell              | 200  | Earl Grey re-called           | 221  |
| Sir R. Peel's Observations      | 202  | Explanations                  | 223  |
| Second Reading                  | 203  | The Bill in Committee         | 225  |
| What will be done with the      |      | The Amendments of the Lords   |      |
| Lords !                         | 203  | accepted by the Commons .     | 225  |
| Close of the year 1831          | 205  | Results of the Bill           | 227  |
| The New Year                    | 205  | The Royal Assent              | 227  |
| Re-assemblage of Parliament     | 206  | Periodical Literature         | 228  |
|                                 |      | Death of Sir Walter Scott     | 229  |

### CHAPTER V.

### THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT.

| INE FIRST METON.                | MED PARLIAMENI.                   |  |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| PAGE                            | PAGE                              |  |
| The Revision 230                | East India Company's Charter 252  |  |
| The Elections 231               | Abolition of Slavery 254          |  |
| Opening of the Parliament . 233 | Factory Bill 260                  |  |
| The King's Speech 234           | Bribery and Corruption 262        |  |
| Debate on the Address . 234     | The Ballot                        |  |
| State of Ireland 236            | Triennial Parliaments . 263       |  |
| The Coercion Bill 239           | End of the Session 265            |  |
| The Irish Church 242            | Death of William Wilberforce 266  |  |
| Irish Tithe Bill 245            | The British Association . 268     |  |
| Financial Measures of the       | Church Reform 272                 |  |
| Government 246                  | The Oxford Tracts 273             |  |
| Proposed Reduction of the       | The Opening of the Session of     |  |
| Malt-tax                        | 1834 283                          |  |
| House and Window-dutie 249.     | Scene in the House of Commons 284 |  |
| The Bank Charter 251            | Charges against Baron Smith 284   |  |

|                                     | •                                  |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| PAGE (                              | . PAGE                             |
| Mr. Ward's Motion . 287             | The Bastardy Clauses 314           |
| Changes in the Cabinet 290          | Introduction of the New Act 314    |
| Irish Church Commission . 291       | Results 319                        |
| Irish Tithe Bill                    | 'Agricultural Distress 319         |
| The Coercion Bill 294               | Financial Statements 320           |
| Mr. Littleton and Mr. O'Connell 297 | Ineffectual attempts at Legis-     |
| Resignation of Earl Grey . 301      | lation 321                         |
| Lord Melbourne Premier 302          | Position of the Ministry . 323     |
| The Irish Tithe Bill again . 303    | Dissatisfaction of the King . 324  |
| Church Questions 304                | The King's Reply to the Irish      |
| Admission of Dissenters to          | Bishops 325                        |
| University Degrees 304              | Dismissal of the Melbourne         |
| Church Rates 305                    | Administration 326                 |
| The New Poor-law 309                | Destruction of the two Houses      |
| Mr. Chadwick's Recommenda-          | of Parliament 327                  |
| tions                               | Death of S. T. Coleridge 330       |
| •                                   |                                    |
| CHAPT                               | ER VI                              |
| 011111 1                            |                                    |
| CORPORATIO                          | N REFORM.                          |
| PAGE                                | PAGE                               |
| The Appeal to the Country . 333     | Death of Cobbett 381               |
| Election of a Speaker 334           | The Budget of 1836 382             |
| Rumours of another Dissolu-         | Irish Corporation Reform Bill 384  |
| tion 335                            | Tithe Bills 385                    |
| The Marquis of Londonderry 337      | Registration of Births, Deaths,    |
| Report of the Ecclesiastical        | and Marriages 386                  |
| Commissioners 339                   | Ecclesiastical Reforms 388         |
| Defeats of the Government . 339     | Amendment of Corporation           |
| Lord J. Russell's Resolution 341    | Reform Act 391                     |
| Sir J. Graham's Speech . 345        | Counsel for Prisoners 392          |
| Mr. W. E. Gladstone's Speech 349    | The New Houses of Parliament 395   |
| Mr. O'Connell's Speech 352          | Agricultural Distress 396          |
| Sir R. Peel's Speech 353            | The Budget 397                     |
| Defeat and Resignation of the       | Reduction of the Newspaper         |
| Ministry 356                        | Stamp Duty 398                     |
| Lord Melbourne again in             | Opening of the Session of 1837 403 |
| Office                              | Irish Corporation Reform . 403     |
| Corporate Abuses 361                | The Westminster Election . 405     |
| The Corporation Reform Bill 361     | Church Rates 407                   |
| Lord J. Russell's Speech . 362      | The New Poor-law 409               |
| Committee 369                       | The Privileges of the House        |
| Sir W. Follett's Motion . 369       | of Commons 413                     |
| The Bill in the House of Lords 372  | Canadian Affairs 414               |
| Irish Tithes 373                    | Monetary Derangements . 416        |
| Loss of the Irish Tithe Bill . 375  | British Intervention in the        |
| Orange Lodges 376                   | Affairs of Spain 417               |
| Improvements made in the            | State of Public Business . 417     |
| Reform Bill 380                     | Death of the King 419              |
| Agricultural-distress Debates 380   | Character of William IV 419        |