

# Notes

## Introduction

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4. Robert Stewart, *Henry Brougham, 1778–1868: His Public Career* (London: Bodley Head, 1985), 43–4, 120.
5. Donald Read, *The English Provinces c. 1760–1960: A Study in Influence* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964).
6. Brougham, 'Rights and Duties of the People', *Edinburgh Review* (November 1812):424, Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 255.
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13. James Abercrombie to George Tierney, 1818, Tierney MSS.
14. Horner to Francis Jeffrey, 15 September 1806, *Horner Papers* 427.
15. Chester H. New, *The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 2–3; David Hackett Fisher, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 647–8.
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17. *Holland Memoirs*, II: 228–9.
18. Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* 15; Brougham to John Allen, January 1807, Add. MSS 52177.
19. New, 8, 16, 19.
20. William Thomas, *The Quarrel of Macaulay and Croker: Politics and History in the Age of Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 80.
21. Creevey Papers, I: 108.
22. Thomas, *Quarrel of Macaulay and Croker*, 81.

23. Frank O’Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England, 1734–1832* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1–2; H.T. Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth Century Britain* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1995), 15–17.

## 1 Party Structure and the Whigs in British Politics

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2. Mandler, 45, 52.
3. S.H. Romilly, *Letters to Ivy from the First Earl of Dudley* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905), 58.
4. J. Parry, ‘Constituencies, Elections, and Members of Parliament, 1790–1820’, *Parliamentary History*, 7.1(1988), 153.
5. Denis Gray, *Spencer Perceval: The Evangelical Prime Minister, 1762–1812* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963), 102.
6. Croker Papers, I: 372.
7. Thorne, I: 73, 99.
8. Thorne, I: 192; Memorandum in Lord Liverpool’s papers, Add. MSS 38363, f. 65.
9. Austin Mitchell, *The Whigs in Opposition, 1815–30* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 60.
10. Thorne, I: 237.
11. Peter Fraser, ‘Party Voting in the House of Commons, 1812–27’, *English Historical Review* 98(October 1983): 763–4; Thorne, I: 263.
12. Robert Stewart, *The Foundations of the Conservative Party, 1830–67* (London: Longmans, 1978), 16–17.
13. Harling, 179–80.
14. Mitchell, 79–80.
15. Caroline Robbins, ‘Discordant Parties: A Study of the Acceptance of Party by Englishmen’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 73(1958):505; Robert Willman, ‘The Origins of “Whig” and “Tory” in English Political Language’, *Historical Journal*, 17:2(1974), 264.
16. Mitchell, 64.
17. Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell in Holland, 1763–64* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1952), 129–30.
18. *Parliamentary Debates*, 2nd ser., 17(4 May 1827): 558.
19. Frank O’Gorman, *The Emergence of the British Two Party System, 1760–1832* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 56.
20. Croker to Brougham, 14 March 1839, Brougham MSS. Croker proceeded to state that it was possible for a man to be in the wrong party, ‘always hankering after the opposite doctrine’.
21. A.S. Foord, *His Majesty’s Opposition, 1714–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 444; Josceline Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends*, 2 vols (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1909), I, 148; Hawkesbury’s speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 4(May 10, 1804): 691; Sack, *Jacobite to Conservative*, 67–9, 73.

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24. J.E. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration: The Crucial Years, 1815–22* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), 40; Mitchell, 2.
25. O'Gorman, *Emergence of the British Two-Party System*, viii.
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27. Stewart, *Foundations of the Conservative Party*, 15.
28. Thorne, I:126, 149, 185, 192, 135, 263.
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30. W. Thomas, 'Whigs and Radicals in Westminster: The Election of 1819', *Guildhall Miscellany* 3.3(October 1970):184; Jenkins, 14; Clark, *English Society*, 499.
31. A.D. Kriegel, *Holland House Diaries, 1831–40: The Diary of Richard Vassal Fox, 3rd Lord Holland with Extracts from the Diary of Dr. John Allen* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977) xiv; Francis Place MSS, Add. MSS 36626, f. 21.
32. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.* 1st ser., 35(7 February 1817):270–1; Western's speech, *Parl. Deb.* 2nd ser., 9(11 June 1823):834.
33. Creevey Papers, I:25.
34. Croker Papers, I:401; Croker to Liverpool, 13 October 1824. Add. MSS 38299.
35. Cannon, *The Fox–North Coalition: The Crisis of the Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 235–6.
36. Thorne, I:348; William Banks Taylor, 'The Foxite Party and Foreign Politics, 1806–16', (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1974), 18; F. O'Gorman, 'Pitt and the "Tory" Reaction', in *Britain and the French Revolution, 1789–1815*, H.T. Dickinson, ed., (London: Macmillan Education, 1989), 27, 36.
37. Taylor, 418–9.
38. J.J. Sack, *The Grenvillites, 1801–29: Party Politics and Faction in the Age of Pitt and Liverpool* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 70–5; Peter Jupp, *Lord Grenville, 1759–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 328–9.
39. Sack, *The Grenvillites*, 125; *Examiner*, 16 April 1809;
40. Grey to Tierney, 27 June 1809, Tierney MSS; Grey to Grenville, 17 November 1812, Dropmore Papers, X:311–13; Grey to Sir Arthur Piggott, 21 January 1809, Grey MSS.
41. Henry Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen Who Flourished in the Time of George III*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: Parry & Macmillan, 1842), I:202; Sack, *Grenvillites*, 153.
42. Dean Rapp, 'The Left–Wing Whigs: Whitbread, The Mountain and Reform, 1809–15', *Journal of British Studies* 21:2(Spring 1982), 35–6, 59; 'The Anti-Royal Menagerie', *Satirist*, 1 December 1812, listed in *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320–1832 in the British Museum* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1978) as Print 11, 916.
43. Taylor, 290; E.A. Wasson, *Whig Renaissance: Lord Althorp and the Whig Party, 1782–45* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 39.
44. Holland to Brougham, February 1811, in Creevey Papers, I:144; Holland, *Further Memoirs*, 216; Richard W. Davis, 'Whigs in the Age of Fox and Grey', *Parliamentary History*, 12:2(1993), 203.

45. Kriegel, xvi, xviii; Clark, *English Society*, 445.
46. Holland to Brougham, 2 January 1810, Brougham MSS. Holland wrote that the seat was offered 'free of all expense', and Bedford only required a clear statement of Brougham's position 'to prevent all possibility of misunderstanding'; Michael A. Rutz, 'The Politicizing of Evangelical Dissent, 1811–13', *Parliamentary History*, 20:2(2001), 189.
47. John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers: The Edinburgh Review, 1802–15* (London: Faber & Faber 1957), 83.
48. Thomas, *The Philosophical Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practice, 1817–41* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 47; Jupp, 126; Mitchell, 21.
49. Earl of Ilchester, ed., *The Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland 1791–1811*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908), II:325–6.
50. Tierney to Grey, 26 November and 7 December 1807, Tierney MSS; Thorne, IV:94–5, 854.
51. Creevey Papers, I:181, 327; Brougham to Grey, 2 August 1812, Brougham MSS; Thorne, IV:861.
52. Thorne, IV: 856.
53. Holland to Grey, 17 November 1811, Add. MSS 51545; Creevey to H.G. Bennet, 30 December 1818, Creevey Papers, I:290.
54. Roberts, 106–7
55. Taylor, 272.
56. For two examples, see speeches by Robert Milnes, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(3 February 1808), 295; and Sir Thomas Turton, *Ibid.*, 10(8 April 1808), 1360. Milnes had become an adherent of Portland's government after the Talents' collapse and responded to Whitbread's 6 July 1807 motion on the state of the nation with a call for national unity. Turton was an independent who defeated Tierney at Southwark in 1806, Thorne, IV:598–9, V:420.
57. Grey to Sir Arthur Pigott, 21 January 1809, Grey MSS.
58. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(29 January 1808):182; Tierney's speech, *Ibid.*, 179.
59. Ponsonby's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(3 February 1808):253; *Ibid.*, 310; *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(21 March 1808):1235; Sharp's speech, *Ibid.*, 1197–8.
60. Whitbread's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(8 April 1808):1353–6, 1358; Turton's speech. *Ibid.*, 1360.
61. Grey to Brougham, 29 September 1808, Henry Brougham, *The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham*, 3 vols (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1871), I:413–4; *Morning Chronicle*, 15 June 1808; Brougham to Allen, July 1808, Add. MSS 52178.
62. Brougham to Allen, July 1808, Add. MSS 52178.
63. Brougham and Francis Jeffrey, 'Don Pedro Cevallos on the French Usurpation of Spain', *Edinburgh Review* (October 1808), 223.
64. *Ibid.*, 222.
65. Sydney Smith to Francis Jeffrey, October or November 1808, *Letters of Sydney Smith* Nowell C. Smith ed., 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), I:145–6; Rory Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon, 1807–15* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 260.
66. Muir, 59, 77.
67. Taylor, 248.

68. Roberts, 153–5.
69. Polypus (Eaton Stannard Barrett), *The Talents Run Mad or 1816* (London: Henry Colburn, 1816), 27–8.
70. Creevey Papers, I:97.
71. Romilly's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 15(26 January 1810):199; *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 16(30 March 1810):421–2
72. Roberts, 147.
73. Horner Papers, 633.
74. Irving Brock, *The Patriots and the Whigs: The Most Dangerous Enemies of the State* (London: J.M. Richardson, 1810), 44–5, 4; 'Sketch for a Prime Minister or how to purchase a Peace', *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 11,710.
75. Roberts, 168.
76. S.H. Romilly, ed., *Letters to Ivy*, 140–1.
77. *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 August 1812.
78. Nicholas C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden: Independent Radical* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 71; Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 74.
79. Eli F. Hecksher, *The Continental System* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 90.
80. Cabinet Memorandum of 12 October 1807, Perceval MSS, Add. MSS 41977. The file also contains other ministers' responses to Perceval's proposal.
81. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(27 January 1808):150–1.
82. Brougham, 'Late Orders in Council', *Edinburgh Review* (January 1808): 484–98.
83. Petty's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(5 February 1808):314–20; Perceval's speech, *Ibid.*, 328–30.
84. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(1808):671–6.
85. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 10(24 February 1808):726; *Ibid.*, 10(11 March 1808):1076.
86. Hecksher, 171; François Crouzet, 'Towards an Export Economy: British Exports During the Industrial Revolution', in *Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 222–3.
87. Muir, 423–4; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812, A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 22–3; B.H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Orders in Council and the War of 1812', in *Liverpool and Merseyside*, J.R. Harris ed. (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1969), 109.
88. Arthur Gayer, W.W. Rostow, and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790–1850: An Historical, Statistical, and Theoretical Study of Britain's Economic Development* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1975), 109.
89. Peter Fraser, 'Public Petitioning and Parliament Before 1832', *History*, 158(1961):208–9.
90. Brougham to Thomas Thornley, 14 and 22 November 1811, Brougham MSS.
91. Roscoe to Brougham, 11 March 1812, Roscoe MSS.
92. *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 December 1811.

93. D.J. Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaign against the Orders in Council and the East India Company Charter 1812–13', *Canadian Journal of History*, 11.2(1976):176; J.E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-war Liberalism in England, 1793–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 226.
94. *Leeds Mercury*, 25 January and 29 February 1812; *Morning Chronicle*, 10 March 1812.
95. Brougham to Holland, 11 March 1812, Add. MSS 51561.
96. Whitbread's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 21(13 February 1812):769–72.
97. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 21(3 March 1812):1092–8; Rose's speech, *Ibid.*, 1121–3.
98. Baring's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 21(3 March 1812):1126; Perceval's speech, *Ibid.*, 1151; Vote, *Ibid.*, 1163.
99. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 22(27 March 1812):1; *Ibid.*, 22(27 April 1812):1057–8.
100. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 21(April, 1812):1064–8; Moss, 178; *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 11,876.
101. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 22(29 April 1812):1092; Stephen's speech, *Ibid.*, 1111.
102. *Leeds Mercury*, May 2, 1812.
103. Holland, *Further Memoirs*, 132.
104. 'Minutes of Evidence Taken in the House of Commons Against the Orders in Council', *Parliamentary Papers*, 3(1812):95–135.
105. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 23(16 June 1812):489.
106. Rose's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 23(16 June 1812):529; Baring's speech, *Ibid.*, 536.
107. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 23(16 June 1812):538–45.
108. Grey to Grenville, 24 June 1812, Dropmore Papers, X:289.
109. Grey to Brougham, 20 October 1812, Brougham MSS; Thanet to Holland, 9 June 1812, Add. MSS 51571; Thomas Grenville to Lady Grenville, 24 April 1812, Dropmore Papers, X:240–1; Taylor, 342.
110. Rutz, 197, 204.
111. Perceval to Melville, 19 January 1807, Add. MSS 49174.
112. Romilly, *Letters to Ivy*, 99.

## 2 Elections, the Press and Whig Tactics in Opposition

1. Francis Jeffrey, 'The State of the Nation', *Edinburgh Review*, (January 1810):505, 513.
2. Mandler, 14.
3. John W. Derry, *Charles, Earl Grey: Aristocratic Reformer* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1992), 89; Cookson, *The Friends of Peace*, 158–62.
4. Brougham to Lansdowne, [no date], 1817, Lansdowne MSS.
5. Brougham to Allen, 1 May 1810, Add. MSS 52178.
6. Brougham to Allen, 21 June 1811, Add. MSS 52178.
7. Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, 13.
8. Brougham to Leigh Hunt, [no date], late 1812, Leigh Hunt MSS, Add. MSS 38108.
9. Brougham to Grey, 6 September 1811, Brougham MSS.

10. Taylor, 346–7.
11. Brougham to Creevey, 7 February 1814, cited in D. Rapp, *Samuel Whitbread, A Social and Political Study* (New York: Garland Publishing (1987)), 46.
12. Brougham to Roscoe, 21 October 1812, Roscoe MSS.
13. Romilly, *Letters to Ivy*, 107.
14. *Leeds Mercury*, 20 June 1812.
15. *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 July 1812.
16. *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 July 1812.
17. Sefton to Roscoe, 6 July 1812; Roscoe to Sefton, 9 July 1812, Roscoe MSS.
18. Cookson, *Friends of Peace*, 221.
19. E.M. Menzies, 'The Freeman Voter in Liverpool, 1802–35', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 124(1972):85–8.
20. Brougham to Hunt, Tuesday (1812), Add. MSS 38108.
21. Thorne, II:230–2; *Times*, 8 October 1812.
22. Sefton to Roscoe, 23 September 1812, Roscoe MSS.
23. Thorne, I:231.
24. *An Impartial Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs, & etc. Published During the Election of Members of Parliament for the Borough of Liverpool, October 1812* (Liverpool: Timothy Herring, 1812), 5, 12–13.
25. *Times*, 8 October 1812.
26. Creevey to Mrs. Creevey, October 1812. Cited in Thorne II:232.
27. Aspinall notes the omission to spare Victorian sensibilities, in 'Lord Brougham's Life and Times', *English Historical Review*, 59.233(January 1944):102.
28. Brougham to Grey, 16 October 1812, Brougham MSS.
29. *Collected Speeches*, I:485–6.
30. Creevey to Mrs. Creevey, 17 October 1812, Creevey Papers, I:172.
31. *An Impartial Collection*, 15.
32. 'An Impartial Review of the Candidates', *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 October 1812.
33. *An Impartial Collection*, 117, 42–3. The tune of 'Yankee Doodle' may have been chosen to highlight Brougham's support for conciliation with the United States.
34. Tarleton to Grey, 11 October 1812, Grey MSS.
35. Brougham to Grey, 16 and 18 September 1812, Brougham MSS; Grey to Brougham, 10 August and 1 October 1812, Grey MSS.
36. New, *The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830*, 76; *Times*, October 15, 1812.
37. *Times*, 20 October 1812; Brougham to Grey, 16 October 1812, Brougham MSS.
38. *Courier*, 20 October 1812.
39. Creevey to Mrs. Creevey, 17 October 1812, Creevey Papers, I:171.
40. Horner to J. Murray, 21 October 1812, Horner Papers, 742.
41. *Morning Chronicle*, 30 October 1812.
42. Brougham to Allen, 28 October 1812., Add. MSS 52178; Brougham to Grey, 16 October 1812, Brougham MSS.
43. Barbara Whittingham-Jones, 'Liverpool's Political Clubs, 1812–30', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 111(1959):117; Brougham likened Liverpool to Camelford, the close borough he represented earlier, and told Hunt the two boroughs were

- exactly the same in their proportion of inhabitants to voters and access to the suffrage. Brougham to Hunt, [no date] (October 1812), Add. MSS 38108.
44. Lansdowne to Allen, 1 November 1812, Add. MSS 52194.
  45. Brougham to Grey, November 1812, Brougham MSS.
  46. *Courier*, 23 October 1812.
  47. Liverpool to Egremont, 14 October 1812, Add. MSS 38249; Croker to Peel, 26 October 1812. Cited in Thorne, I:230.
  48. *Courier*, 24 October 1812.
  49. *Morning Chronicle*, 26 October 1812.
  50. Tierney to Grey, 17 September 1812, Grey MSS; Horner to Mrs. Dugald Stewart, 21 October 1812, Horner Papers, 745.
  51. Thorne, I:231.
  52. *Ibid.*, I:237. Treasury officials combined sure supporters with a proportion of those counted hopeful or doubtful to calculate expected support.
  53. Mitchell, 81, 116.
  54. *Courier*, 24 October 1812.
  55. Mitchell, 45–7.
  56. Horner Papers, 596–601.
  57. Tierney to Grey, 17 September 1812, Grey MSS.
  58. Lamb to Grey, 3 November 1812; Grey to Holland, 11 November 1812, Grey MSS.
  59. Brougham to Leigh Hunt, 20 October 1812, Add. MSS 38108.
  60. Brougham to Grey, November 1812, Brougham MSS.
  61. Romilly, *Letters to Ivy*, 173.
  62. Brougham to Roscoe, 25 September 1812, Roscoe MSS; *An Impartial Collection*, 132.
  63. *Courier*, 29 October 1812.
  64. Brougham, 'Rights and Duties of the People', *Edinburgh Review*, November 1812, 424.
  65. Brougham to Hunt, [no date] (1812), Add. MSS 38108.
  66. Ian R. Christie, 'British Newspapers in the Late Georgian Age', in *Myth and Reality in Late Eighteenth Century British Politics and Other Papers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 237.
  67. A.P. Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulations, 1800–1954', *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1954–5), 3–5.
  68. *Cobbett's Political Register*, 16 November 1816.
  69. John Ranby, *An Inquiry Into the Supposed Increase of the Influence of the Crown* (London: Hatchard, 1811), 45.
  70. Scott to Lockhart, 3 April 1829, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, Sir Herbert Grierson ed., 12 vols (London: Constable & Co., 1936), XI:162.
  71. A. Aspinall, 'The Social Status of Journalists at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', *Review of English Studies*, 21(1945):216, 220–5.
  72. John Penn Tinney, *The Rights of Sovereignty Vindicated: With Particular Reference to Political Doctrines of the Edinburgh Review and of Other Periodical Publications* (London: C. & R. Baldwin, 1809), 190.
  73. *History of the Times: 'The Thunderer' in the Making, 1785–1841* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), viii.
  74. Brougham to Allen, [no date]. Cited in A. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press* (London: Home & Van Thal Ltd, 1949): 292.



75. Ivon Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the Morning Chronicle', *Historical Journal*, 18.4(1975):721.
76. *Morning Chronicle*, 22 March 1812.
77. Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press', 720.
78. Rapp, 43.
79. Grey to Holland, 23 March 1818, Add. MSS 51553.
80. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 299–302; Brougham to Grey, 7 December 1821, Brougham MSS. The Whig *Guardian* should not be confused with the famous Manchester paper founded in the 1820s or the Tory weekly that Croker established from 1819 to 1824.
81. Wadsworth, 7.
82. Brougham's ties with Barnes and *The Times'* criticism of Grey in 1831 sparked an embarrassing quarrel that hurt Brougham's standing among the Whigs, Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 260–2.
83. Trowbridge H. Ford, 'Political Coverage in *The Times*, 1811–41: The Role of Barnes and Brougham', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 49.139(May 1986):95–106.
84. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 350.
85. Christie, 'British Newspapers in the Late Georgian Age' in *Myth and Reality in Late Eighteenth Century British Politics and other Papers*, 326.
86. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 352.
87. *Leeds Mercury*, 26 September 1812.
88. Donald Read, *Press and People, 1790–1850: Opinion in Three English Cities* (London: Edward Arnold, 1961), 202.
89. Edward Baines, Jr, *The Life of Edward Baines, Late MP for the Borough of Leeds* (London: Longmans, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851), 75, 64; Wahrman, 41; *Leeds Mercury*, 18 April 1812.
90. David Nicholls, 'The English Middle Class and the Ideological Significance of Radicalism, 1760–1886', *Journal of British Studies*, 24(October 1985):425–6.
91. Grey to Holland, 17 January 1817, Grey MSS.
92. Jenkins, 18.
93. Joanne Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers: The Edinburgh and The Quarterly in the Early Victorian Age* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 13, 132.
94. Holland, *Further Memoirs*, 386.
95. R. Wharton, *Remarks on the Jacobinical Tendency of the Edinburgh Review in a Letter to the Earl of Lonsdale* (London: Hatchard, 1809), 6.
96. Shattock, 4.
97. Smith to Lady Holland, 10 January 1809, Smith, *Letters of Sydney Smith* I:152; John Clive, 'The Earl of Buchan's Kick: A Footnote to the History of the Edinburgh Review', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 5.3(1951):362–70.
98. Brougham to Grey, 20 August 1808. Brougham MSS; Smith accused Brougham of acting in an 'unwhiglike manner' in a undated letter to Lady Holland from late 1808 and complained that it was hard to 'keep him right', *Letters of Sydney Smith*, I:151.
99. Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, 113.
100. Macro, *The Scotiad, or Wise Men of the North* (London: J.J. Stockdale, 1809), 49.
101. Polypus, *The Talents Run Mad: or 1816*, 55.

102. Tinney, 163, 41.
103. *Courier*, 2 December 1808; Wharton, 7.
104. Aspinall, 'Social Status of Journalists', 220.
105. Wharton, 6.
106. Taylor, 398.
107. W.W. Rostow, 'Trade Cycles, Harvests and Politics: 1790–1850', in *The British Economy of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 123–5.
108. *Ibid.*, 123–5.
109. Dror Wahrman examines this theme in *Imagining the Middle Class*.
110. Boyd Hilton, *Corn, Cash, and Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Governments 1815–30* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 153.
111. Taylor, 352–3.
112. Grenville to Grey, 14 November 1813, Grey MSS.
113. Thomas Grenville to Grenville, 4 March 1814, Dropmore Papers, X:384.
114. Grey to Holland, 14 January 1816, Grey MSS.
115. Taylor, 400; Sack, *Grenvillites*, 159–61.
116. Tierney to Grey, 1 November 1815, Grey MSS; Grey to Holland, February 1816., Add. MSS 51553.
117. Taylor, 381.
118. Brougham to Grey, 2 August 1812, Brougham MSS.
119. Brougham to Leigh Hunt, 20 October 1812, Add. MSS 38108; 'A New Song in Favor of Peace and Plenty', in *An Impartial Collection*, 62–3.
120. B.E.V. Sabine, *A Short History of Taxation* (London: Butterworths, 1980), 115–9; Patrick O'Brian, 'The Political Economy of British Taxation 1660–1815', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 41:1(1988): 21–2.
121. W. Smart, *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan & Co., 1910 and 1917.) I:67–8.
122. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 29(1815):885.
123. Brougham to Leigh Hunt, 29 February 1816, Add. MSS 38108.
124. Grey to Brougham, 13 November 1815, Grey MSS.
125. *Morning Chronicle*, 12 and 24 January 1816.
126. *Leeds Mercury*, 27 January 1816.
127. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(1 February 1816):36; *Ibid.*, 39, 44.
128. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(2 February 1816):65.
129. *Times*, 6 February 1816.
130. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(7 February 1816):332–3.
131. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(13 February 1816):434.
132. Burrell's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(23 February 1816):820; Althrop's speech, *Ibid.*, 32(26 February 1816):833.
133. *Leeds Mercury*, 10 February 1816.
134. *Morning Chronicle*, 9 February 1816.
135. *Times*, 15 February 1816.
136. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 33(7 March 1816):26.
137. *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1816.
138. *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 and 23 February 1816.
139. *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 12,786.
140. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(26 February 1816):833–4.
141. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(26 February 1816):837.

142. Tierney's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(27 February 1816):887; Brougham's speech, *Ibid.*, 889; Mackintosh's speech, *Ibid.*, 908.
143. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(27 February 1816): 887.
144. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 32(5 March 1816): 1120–2.
145. Hilton, *Corn, Cash, and Commerce*, 32.
146. *Ibid.*, 31–2.
147. Mitchell, 94–5; E.A. Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party, 1748–1833* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 333.
148. *Morning Chronicle*, 23 February 1816.
149. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 33(18 March 1816):450–1.
150. Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 107; *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 12,752.
151. *Morning Chronicle*, 20 March 1816; *Leeds Mercury*, 23 March 1816; *Times*, 19 March 1816.
152. Tierney to Grey, 20 January 1815, Grey MSS.
153. Mitchell, 94–5. Austin Mitchell rightly points out the difficulty of assessing 'the Whigs' share in the petitioning campaign' and he applies Tierney's verdict from 1815 to subsequent events. His conclusion that the Whigs' part has been overstated, however, neglects Brougham's management of debate in the Commons and his role in originating 'petition and debate' tactics earlier.
154. Polypus, *The Talents Run Mad, or 1816*, 54.
155. Francis Place's 'History of General and Westminster Politics, 1803–18', Add. MSS 27850; Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 107.
156. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 33(20 March 1816):495–7.
157. Holland, *Further Memoirs* 233–4; Thomas Wishaw to Thomas Smith, Lady Seymour *Pope of Holland House*, (London: T.F. Unwin, 1906) 149; Brougham to Grey, 21 March 1816, Brougham MSS.
158. Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 107–9.
159. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 73–7.
160. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 7; Boyd Hilton, 'The Political Arts of Lord Liverpool', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 38(1988):154.
161. Grey to Holland, 3 March 1816, Add. MSS 51553.
162. Grey to Lady Holland, 12 January 1817, Add. MSS 51553; Holland to Grey, [no date (January 1817)] Add. MSS 51553.
163. Robert Southey, 'Rise and Progress of Popular Disaffection', *Quarterly Review* (January 1817):512–3, 345.
164. Mitchell, 103.
165. Smart, I:548–50.
166. Mitchell, 107; Sack, *Grenvillites*, 163.
167. Clark, *English Society*, 516
168. Canning's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (25 February 1817):654–94.
169. Cochrane's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 35 (17 February 1817): 369–72; Place complained bitterly about Brougham response to the Seditious Meetings Act and, remarking on Cochrane's opposition to the bill, asked 'where were the shuffling Whigs?', Add. MSS 36672.
170. Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 116.

171. *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 12,867A.
172. *Times*, 24 February 1816; Brougham to Hunt, 29 February 1816, Add. MSS 38108.
173. Holland, *Further Memoirs*, 46.
174. Brougham to Lambton, [no date (1817)], Brougham MSS.

### 3 The Westmorland Election

1. Brougham to Creevey, 1814, Creevey Papers, I:192.
2. *Ibid.*, 132.
3. Thorne, I:253–4.
4. Darlington to Brougham, 7 January 1818, Brougham MSS.
5. *Kendal Chronicle*, 6 December 1817.
6. O’Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties*, 336.
7. Lonsdale to James Law Lushington, 12 September 1825, Lowther MSS, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle.
8. Stuart Reid, *Life and Letters of Lord Durham, 1792–1840*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906): I:68.
9. Thorne, II:406; Smith to John Wishaw, 13 April 1818, Smith, *Letters of Sydney Smith*, I:289.
10. Hugh Owen, *The Lowther Family: Eight Hundred Years of ‘A Family of Ancient Gentry and Worship’* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1990), 284–8, 381–6.
11. Charles Long to Viscount Lowther, 14 October 1806; Lowther to Charles Long, 27 October 1806, *Papers of the Earl of Lonsdale. Historical Manuscripts Commission 13th Report, Part 7* (London: HMSO, 1893), 204, 217; Buckingham to Thomas Grenville, 10 April 1807, Dropmore Papers, XI:134–5.
12. Thorne, I:408–9. Information on Thanet’s views and career largely derive from his letters in the Brougham and Holland MSS and comments from William Banks Taylor, to whom I am indebted.
13. Brougham to Grey, 20 February 1818, Brougham MSS.
14. Thanet to James Atkinson, 7 December 1817; Thanet to James Brougham, 11 January 1818, Brougham MSS.
15. William Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, 11 March 1818, Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill, eds, *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) II:438.
16. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press 354*; Stuart Melvin Brown, ‘The Growth of Middle Class Leadership in Kendal Society and its Influence on Politics, 1790–1850’ (MA diss., University of Lancaster, 1971), 8.
17. Carol Anne Dyhouse, ‘Social Institutions in Kendal, 1790–1850’ (MA diss., University of Lancaster, 1971), 25–6, 28.
18. John Burgess, ‘A Religious History of Cumbria, 1780–1920’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 1984), 418,339, 323.
19. Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1915), 347.
20. Alice Palmer, ‘Local Government and Social Problems in Kendal and Westmorland, c. 1760–1860’ (MA diss., University of Lancaster, 1972), 6–7.
21. J.D. Marshall and Carol Anne Dyhouse, ‘Social Transition in Kendal and Westmorland, c. 1760–1860’, *Northern History* 12(1976):129; Cornelius

- Nicholson, *The Annals of Kendal: Being an Historical and Descriptive Account of Kendal and the Neighbourhood*, 2nd edn (London: Whitaker & Co., 1861), 240–2.
22. J.D. Marshall and John K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-Twentieth Century: A Study in Regional Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), 1, 15.
  23. David Stoker, 'Elections and Voting Behaviour: A Study of Elections in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland, 1760–1832' (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1980), 3.
  24. John Bateman, *Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* 4th edn (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971 ), 60, 279.
  25. Thanet to Atkinson, 7 December 1817, Brougham MSS.
  26. *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 December 1817; *Kendal Chronicle*, 3 January 1818.
  27. Lonsdale to Lowther, 11 January 1818, Lowther MSS.
  28. *Kendal Chronicle*, 17 January 1818.
  29. Lowther to Lonsdale, 15 January 1818, Lowther MSS.
  30. Lord Darlington to Brougham, 7 January 1818, Brougham MSS. Darlington's mother was the sister of James Lowther, the 1st Earl from whom Lonsdale had inherited his political interest.
  31. Thanet to Brougham, 23 January 1818, Brougham MSS.
  32. *Kendal Chronicle*, 24 January 1818. The January 17 issue of *Carlisle Patriot*, a newspaper the Lowthers influenced, also mentioned Brougham as the London Committee's candidate.
  33. J.R. McQuiston, 'The Lonsdale Connection and its Defender, William Viscount Lowther, 1818–1830', *Northern History*, 11(1976):146–7; *Kendal Chronicle*, 31 January 1818.
  34. *Morning Chronicle*, 3 February 1818.
  35. Brougham to James Brougham, January 1818, Brougham MSS.
  36. *Kendal Chronicle*, 21 January 1818.
  37. Thanet to James Brougham, 1 February and 5 February 1818; Thanet to Henry Brougham, 1 February 1818, Brougham MSS.
  38. *Kendal Chronicle*, 7 February 1818.
  39. Stoker, 24, 33, 114–5.
  40. Wordsworth to Lonsdale, 29 January and 10 February 1818, Moorman and Hill, *Wordsworth Letters*, II:418, 125.
  41. *Kendal Chronicle*, 7 February 1818; *Times*, 8 April 1818. Report copied from the *Carlisle Journal*.
  42. Lowther to John Wilson Croker, 22 February 1818, Croker MSS, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
  43. Brown, 12.
  44. O'Gorman, 'Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England, 1780–1860', *Past and Present*, 135(1992):79–115.
  45. Stoker, 98, 87–8.
  46. *Times*, 23 February 1818.
  47. *Kendal Chronicle*, 3 January 1818.
  48. Brougham to James Brougham, undated packet of circular letters from 1818, Brougham MSS.
  49. *Kendal Chronicle*, 7 February 1818.
  50. *Times*, 23 February 1818.
  51. *Kendal Chronicle*, 17 January 1818, letter signed Old Noll.

52. *Kendal Chronicle*, 14 February 1818. Presenting a total calculated for seven years represented the income derived over the maximum life of a Parliament under the Septennial Act.
53. *New Times*, 26 February and 2 April 1818.
54. *Courier*, 4 July 1818.
55. *Kendal Chronicle*, 10 January 1818.
56. *Courier*, 23 February 1818.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Election Poster, D/LONS/L13/11, Box 4, Westmorland Election 1818, Lowther MSS.
59. *British Monitor*, 21 June 1818.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Enclosed in Wordsworth to Lonsdale, 24 March 1818, Moorman and Hill, *Wordsworth Letters*, 443.
62. *Courier*, 9 April 1818.
63. *New Times*, 1 April 1818.
64. *Courier*, 3 February 1818; *New Times*, 4 February 1818.
65. Thomas Harrison, *An Impartial Narrative of the Riotous Proceedings Which Took Place in Kendal on Wednesday, 11 February 1818* (Kendal: Airey & Bellingham, 1818), *passim*.
66. 1818 Election handbills, WD/CU/32, Cumbria Record Office, Kendal.
67. Colonel Henry Lowther to Lonsdale, 13 February 1818; Lord Lowther to Lonsdale, 11 February 1818, Lowther MSS.
68. *New Times*, 3 April 1818, letter signed 'An Old Englishman'.
69. *Morning Chronicle*, 16 February 1818.
70. *Leeds Mercury*, 21 February 1818.
71. O'Gorman, 'Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies', 84–6. Cultivating support through dinners and other entertainments became a common practice, albeit one disliked by the patrons and candidates forced to subsidize it. Before Brougham's challenge, however, Lonsdale organized few such overtly political entertainments.
72. James Losh to Brougham, 3 March 1818, Brougham MSS.
73. Thanet to Brougham, 15 February 1818, Brougham MSS.
74. McQuiston, 148.
75. Thanet to James Brougham, 5 February 1818, Brougham MSS; Owen, 290.
76. Stoker, 61.
77. Thanet to James Brougham, 18 February 1818, Brougham MSS.
78. Stoker, 67; *Kendal Chronicle*, 9 May 1818; O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties*, 238.
79. Lowther to Lonsdale, 27 February 1818, Lowther MSS.
80. *Carlisle Patriot*, 11 April 1818.
81. Lowther to Lonsdale, 21 March 1818, Lowther MSS.
82. Stoker, 59, 124.
83. Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 130.
84. McQuiston, 152; Brougham to Atkinson, 8 March 1818, Brougham MSS.
85. *Carlisle Patriot*, 28 March 1818; *Kendal Chronicle*, 28 March 1818. Accounts of the event and Brougham's speech differed slightly between the two papers.

86. John Edwin Wells, 'Wordsworth and DeQuincey in Westmorland Politics, 1818', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 55.4(1940):1099.
87. *Carlisle Patriot*, 28 March 1818.
88. *Kendal Chronicle*, 28 March 1818.
89. *Kendal Chronicle*, 23 March 1818.
90. Dorothy Wordsworth to Sara Hutchinson, 24 March 1818 and Wordsworth to Lowther, 6 May 1818, Moorman and Hill, *Wordsworth Letters*, II:470, 448–9; *Carlisle Patriot*, 2 May 1818.
91. Brougham to Lady Holland, 28 March 1818, Add. MSS 51564.
92. Brougham to Lady Holland, 24 and 28 March 1818, Add. MSS 51564.
93. *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 April 1818.
94. R.J. Mackintosh, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh*, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1836), II:353.
95. Lowther to Lonsdale, 28 and 30 March 1818, Lowther MSS.
96. Wordsworth to Lonsdale, 6 April 1818, Moorman and Hill, *Wordsworth Letters*, II:462.
97. *Carlisle Patriot*, 4 April 1818.
98. F.S. Janzow, 'DeQuincey Enters Journalism: His Contributions to the Westmorland Gazette 1818–19' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968), 2–3.
99. Thomas DeQuincey, *Close Comments on a Straggling Speech* (Kendal: Airey & Bellingham, 1818). Reprinted in Wells, 'Wordsworth and DeQuincey in Westmorland Politics', 1100–10.
100. Owen, 383.
101. Iain Robertson Scott, 'From Radicalism to Conservatism: The Politics of Wordsworth and Coleridge, 1797–1818' (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1987), 231–2, 241, 161–2.
102. William Wordsworth, *Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland* (Kendal: Airey & Bellingham, 1818). Reprinted in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, eds. 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), III:155.
103. *Ibid.*, 161, 162–3.
104. *Ibid.*, 171 and *passim*.
105. Stoker, 241–3; DeQuincey, *Close Comments*, 1102.
106. Brougham to Creevey [1818] Creevey Papers, I:120. The letter is misdated and printed with another from 1810.
107. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*, 304.
108. McQuiston, 150.
109. Thanet to Brougham, 12 and 15 February 1818, Brougham MSS.
110. Thorne, II:90–1.
111. Brougham to Lady Holland, 23 June 1818, Add. MSS 51564.
112. Lady Morpeth to Devonshire, 1 June 1818, cited in Thorne, II:91.
113. Brougham's Speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (27 May 1818):988–90.
114. Thorne, I:4.
115. *Kendal Chronicle*, 4 April 1818. The announcement appeared over several weeks.
116. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (27 May 1818):990–2.
117. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (31 May 1818):1053–4.

118. Lowther's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (31 May 1818):1054.
119. *Carlisle Patriot*, 6 June 1818; *Westmorland Gazette*, 6 June 1818; *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser. (4 May 1818):499–501.
120. Thorne, I:254; *The Late Elections; An Impartial Statement of All Proceedings Connected with the Progress and Result of the Late Elections* (London: Bensley & Sons, 1818), iv–vi; *Courier*, 11 June 1818.
121. Lambton to Grey, 30 June 1818, Grey MSS.
122. *Ibid.*, 20, 24, 33; Poll Book, Westmorland Election, 1818, Box 3, D/LONS/L13/11, Lowther MSS.
123. Croker to Lowther, 4 July 1818; Poll Book, Westmorland Election, 1818, Lowther MSS.
124. *Westmorland Election 1818* (Kendal: Richard Lough, 1818), 20–2, 25; Lambton to Grey, 31 June 1818, Grey MSS; *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 and 10 July; G. Butt, *Suggestions as to the Conduct and Management of a County Contested Election* (London: James Duncan, 1826), 119–21.
125. Lambton to Grey, 6 July 1818, Grey MSS; Brougham to Lady Holland, 3 July 1818, Add. MSS 51564.
126. *Westmorland Election, 1818*, 34–5.
127. *Leeds Mercury*, 10 July 1818.
128. *Courier*, 6 and 7 July 1818.
129. *Westmorland Gazette*, 18 July 1818.
130. Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, 3 July 1818, Dropmore Papers, X:440.
131. Brougham to Grey [late summer] 1818, Brougham MSS. Emphasis in original.
132. Smith to Grey, 12 August 1818, Smith, *Letters of Sydney Smith*, I:298.
133. Thorne, II:260–1; Mitchell, 116.
134. *Leeds Mercury*, 10 July 1818; Thorne, I:235, 263.
135. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 142–3.
136. Brougham to Holland, 28 May 1818, Add. MSS 51561.
137. Thorne, IV:865
138. Holland to Grey, 18 March 1818, Add. MSS 51545.
139. Mitchell, 33–4.
140. Requisition to Tierney, 1818, Tierney MSS.
141. Creevey to Henry Grey Bennet. December 30, 1818, Creevey Papers, I:290–1.
142. Lambton to Wilson, 19 July 1818, Add. MSS 30108.
143. Stewart, *Henry Brougham*, 119.
144. Tierney to Grey, 22 August 1818, Grey MSS.
145. Brougham, 'State of Parties', *Edinburgh Review* (June 1818), 203, 205.

#### 4 Social Tension and Party Politics

1. *Ibid.*, 194.
2. *Ibid.*, 197–8.
3. Tierney to Holland, 6 September 1818, Add. MSS 51584.
4. Wilson to Grey, 4 January 1819, Add. MSS 30123.
5. Lambton to Grey, 13 January 1819; *Ibid.*, 15 January 1819, Grey MSS.
6. *Morning Chronicle*, 6 January 1819.
7. Grey to Wilson, 8 February 1819, Grey MSS.



8. *Leeds Mercury*, 30 January 1819.
9. Holland to Grey, 8 December 1818, Add. MSS 51545.
10. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 158n; Vansittart's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(2 February 1819):229–30.
11. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(2 February 1819):175.
12. Lambton to Grey, 3 February 1818, Grey MSS.
13. Thorne, I:268.
14. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(8 February 1819):350–1; Canning's speech, *Ibid.*, 355–6; Calcraft's speech, *Ibid.*, 350; William Wynn's speech, *Ibid.*, 356.
15. Tierney's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(8 February 1819):351; Morpeth's speech, *Ibid.*, 358.
16. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(8 February 1819):358.
17. Cited in Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 161.
18. Gerrit P. Judd, *Members of Parliament, 1734–1832* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 28.
19. Tierney to Grey, 18 February 1819, Grey MSS.
20. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(2 March 1819):845.
21. Thomas, 'Whigs and Radicals in Westminster', 174.
22. Thorne, II:267, 279–81.
23. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 39(1 April 1819):1351–2.
24. Thorne, I:78–9; Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 166–7.
25. Hamilton's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(6 May 1819):178–80.
26. Canning's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(6 May 1819):195–6.
27. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(6 May 1819):197–8; Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 168.
28. Tierney's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(18 May 1819):474–9.
29. *Ibid.*, 490–1, 495.
30. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(18 May 1819):348, 501–3.
31. Canning's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(18 May 1819):527–8, 546.
32. Mitchell, 124.
33. Holland, *Further Memoirs*, 268.
34. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 40(18 May 1819):527–8.
35. *Courier*, 20 May 1819.
36. Smart, 683–6; Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, I:169–71.
37. *New Times*, 14 July 1819.
38. *Courier*, 14 June 1819.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Lambton to Grey, 5 February 1818, Grey MSS.
41. Fulford, Roger and Lytton Strachey, eds, *The Greville Memoirs*, 7 vols (London: Macmillan & Co., 1936), I:74.
42. *Courier*, 25 January 1819.
43. Mackintosh to Holland, 6 January 1819, Add. MSS 51653.
44. Smart, I:689–91.
45. Donald Read, *Peterloo: The 'Massacre' and its Background* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 16–17.
46. *Leeds Mercury*, 19 June 1819.
47. *Times*, 22 June 1819.
48. *Leeds Mercury*, 26 June 1819.

49. Letter published in the *Morning Chronicle* on 2 August.
50. *Morning Chronicle*, 4 August 1819.
51. *Times*, 12 August 1819.
52. Smart, I:720; *Times*, 15 July 1819; Read, *The English Provinces*, 74.
53. Smart, I:720–1.
54. Cookson, *Lord Liverpool's Administration*, 180–2.
55. Mitchell, 126; Wahrman, 201–2.
56. Grey to Brougham, 25 August 1819, Grey MSS.
57. Grey to Wilson, 24 October 1819, Add. MSS 30109.
58. Holland to Grey, 6 September 1819, Add. MSS 51546.
59. Tierney to Grey, 6 September 1819, Grey MSS.
60. *Leeds Mercury*, 28 August 1819.
61. *Times*, 23 September 1819.
62. Fitzwilliam to Holland, 11 September 1819, Add. MSS 51593; E.A. Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics*, 349–50.
63. *Leeds Mercury*, 2 October 1819.
64. *Leeds Mercury*, 16 October 1819.
65. *Courier*, 20 October 1819; *New Times*, 18 October 1819.
66. Grey to Holland, 21 September 1819, Grey MSS.
67. Mitchell, 128–9.
68. Tierney to Grey, 25 September 1819, Grey MSS.
69. Brougham to Lady Holland, 11 September 1819, Add. MSS 51561.
70. Brougham to Holland, 19 September 1819, Add. MSS 51561.
71. *Kendal Chronicle*, 2 October 1819; *Times*, 2 October 5 1819.
72. Brougham to Grey [no date (September 1819)], Brougham MSS.
73. *Carlisle Patriot*, 16 October 1819.
74. *Carlisle Patriot*, 30 October 1819.
75. *Leeds Mercury*, 6 November.
76. Mitchell, 131.
77. *Times*, 23 and 25 October 1819.
78. *Leeds Mercury*, 20 November 1819.
79. *Morning Chronicle*, 1 October 1819.
80. Horace Twiss, *The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1844), II:346; Liverpool to Canning, 10 October 1819, Add. MSS 38568.
81. Read, *Peterloo*, 185–6.
82. Grey's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(23 November 1819):4–10.
83. Liverpool to Canning, 10 October 1819. Add. MSS 38568.
84. Althrop's Speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):518–9.
85. Bathurst's Speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):526–7.
86. Lascelles' Speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):341.
87. Milton's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):544–7.
88. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):557–60.
89. Tierney's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(30 November 1819):560–9.
90. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(24 November 1819):218–28.
91. Read, *Peterloo*, 196–7.
92. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(6 December 1819):705–6.
93. Read, *Peterloo*, 197–8, 200.
94. Parry, 14.
95. Wilson to Grey, 24 December 1819, Add. MSS 30123.

## 5 Public Opinion and the Limits of Opposition

1. *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 35(4 March 1817):881.
2. Castlereagh's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 1st ser., 41(18 February 1820):1604–6.
3. *Morning Chronicle*, 31 January 1820.
4. *Westmorland Gazette*, 5 January 1820.
5. Stoker, 186.
6. *Kendal Chronicle*, 26 February 1820.
7. *Westmorland Gazette*, 18 March 1820; *Times*, 20 March 1820.
8. *Kendal Chronicle*, 18 March 1820; *Carlisle Journal*, 18 March 1820.
9. *Westmorland Gazette*, 18 March 1820.
10. Lowther to Lonsdale, Monday morning [March 20, 1820] Lowther MSS.
11. *Kendal Chronicle*, 25 March 1820; *Carlisle Journal*, 25 March 1820. The Kendal paper gave a more detailed account.
12. Thanet to Lady Holland, 18 March 1820, Add. MSS 51571; Thanet to Lord Holland, 21 March 1820, Add. MSS 51571.
13. *Westmorland Gazette*, 25 March 1820.
14. Thanet to Holland, 22 March 1820; 24 March 1818, Add. MSS 51571.
15. Lowther to Lonsdale, Sunday morning [March 1820], Lowther MSS.
16. Thanet to Holland, 24 March 1820, Add. MSS 51571.
17. Brougham to Holland, 21 March 1820, Add. MSS 51562.
18. Grey to Brougham, 18 April 1820, Grey MSS.
19. Mitchell, 66.
20. *Morning Chronicle*, 14 April 1820; Mitchell, 140–1.
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127. *Times*, 4 July 1826; 'Westmorland Election, 1826', Lowther MSS.
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129. William Vizard to James Brougham, 15 September 1826, Brougham MSS.
130. McQuiston, 166; 'Expenses of the Election for Westmorland, 1818', Westmorland Election, 1818, Box 4, Lowther MSS; Lowther to Lonsdale, 14 January, 29 July and 17 August 1826, Lowther MSS.
131. Stoker, 206, 195.
132. Mitchell, 185–6.

## 6 A Revolution in Parties

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6. Croker to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, 10 May 1824, Croker Papers I:265.
7. Holland to Grey, 2 September 1825, Add. MSS 51547.
8. Grey to Holland, 10 February 1826, Grey MSS.
9. New, *Life of Brougham*, 305.
10. *Times*, 20 February 1827.

11. Brougham to Allen, 25 February 1827, Add. MSS 52179.
12. Peel to Wellington, 18 February 1827; Canning to Huskisson, 21 February 1827, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 1,7; Norman Gash, *Lord Liverpool: The Life and Political Career of Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of Liverpool 1770–1828* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1984), 248–9.
13. Tierney's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 2nd ser., 17(30 March 1827):157–64
14. Canning to George IV, 30 March 1827, A. Aspinall, *Letters of George IV*, III:212–3; *Times*, 31 March 1827.
15. Lushington to Sir William Knighton, 26 March 1827, Aspinall, *Letters of George IV*, III:207–10.
16. A. Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, xxxiii–vii.
17. Brougham to Wilson, March 1827, Add. MSS 30111.
18. Wilson, *Narrative*, 3–6.
19. Brougham to Wilson. March 26, 1827. Copy in Canning MSS; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
20. Wilson, *Narrative*, 6–7.
21. Fulford and Strachey, *Greville Memoirs*, 23 September 1834, III:88.
22. Before succeeding his father in 1825 the Earl of Carlisle had been styled Viscount Morpeth, and had been MP for Cumberland as Lord Morpeth prior to his defeat in 1820.
23. Darlington to Lansdowne, 16 April 1827, Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 94–5
24. Brougham to Lansdowne, 16 April 1827, Lansdowne MSS.
25. Croker to Lowther, 17 April 1827, Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 106–7.
26. Holland to Lansdowne, 18 April 1827, Lansdowne MSS.
27. Grey to Lansdowne, 16 April 1827; Grey to Lansdowne, 17 April 1827, Lansdowne MSS.
28. Lansdowne Memorandum, 19 April 1827, Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 118–23.
29. Brougham to Althorp, 20 April 1827, Althorp MSS.
30. New, 311–4; Dudley to Canning, 20 April 1827, Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 134.
31. Essex to Wilson, 22 April 1827, Add. MSS 30111.
32. Wilson, *Narrative*, 23–5; Lansdowne to Holland. Saturday Morning, 21 April 1827, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 144–5.
33. Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, xlvii–iii.
34. *Times*, 19 April and 21 April 1827.
35. *Morning Chronicle*, 11 and 25 April 1827.
36. Mitchell, 200.
37. Brougham to Creevey, 21 April 1827, Creevey Papers, II:114.
38. Tavistock to Althorp, 25 April 1827, Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 222–3.
39. Althorp to Brougham, 18 April 1827, Althorp MSS.
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41. E.A. Wasson, 'The Coalitions of 1827 and the Crisis of Whig Leadership', *Historical Journal*, 20.3(1977):603.
42. Grey to Lansdowne, 27 April 1827; Brougham to Lansdowne, [early 1827], Lansdowne MSS.

43. Wilson, *Narrative*, 17; Abercrombie to Althorp [April, 1827]; Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, 104–6.
44. Grey to Holland, 7 March 1827, Add. MSS 51554.
45. Grey's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 2nd ser. 17(10 May 1827), 720–33.
46. E.A. Smith, *Lord Grey, 1761–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 247; Mitchell, 201.
47. *Leeds Mercury*, 26 May 1827; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 May 1827.
48. Holland's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 2nd ser. 17(17 May 1827):857–66.
49. Brougham to Allen, 26 August 1827, Add. MSS 52179.
50. Brougham to Holland, 15 August 1827, Add. MSS 51562.
51. *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum*, Print 15378; *Times*, 30 April 1827; *Morning Chronicle*, 24 April 1827.
52. Aspinall, *Formation of Canning's Ministry*, liii.
53. *Times*, 5 July 1827; New, *Life of Brougham*, 316. The patent of precedence that Brougham received granted the same rank as a King's Counsel of the same date. It restored his rank as the former Queen's Counsel, allowing him once more the privilege of appearing before the bar in a silk gown.
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73. *Courier*, 18 January 1828.
74. *Morning Chronicle*, 28 January 1828; *Times*, January 28, 1828.



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76. Mitchell, 210.
77. Machin, 'Resistance to Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828', *Historical Journal*, 22.1(1979)117–8; John Smith's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 2nd ser., 18(4 February 1828):596–7; William Smith's speech, *Ibid.*, (6 February 1828):124–5.
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81. *Ibid.*, 779–81.
82. *Parl. Deb.*, 2nd ser., 18(26 February 1828):781–4.
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85. *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March 1828.
86. *Morning Chronicle*, 27 February 1828.
87. *Courier*, 27 February 1828.
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90. *Times*, 19 June 1828.
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126. *Sheffield Iris*, 27 July 1830.
127. *Sheffield Iris*, 3 August 1830.
128. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 24 July 1830.
129. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 7 August 1830.
130. *Leeds Mercury*, 17 July; Fulford and Strachey, *Greville Memoirs*, 30 July 1830, II:18–9.
131. Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party*, 176.
132. *Leeds Mercury*, 27 July 1830.
133. *Leeds Mercury*, 27 and 31 July 1830.
134. Gash, 'Brougham and the Yorkshire Election', 31.
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159. *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., 1(2 November 1830):548.
160. Brougham's speech, *Parl. Deb.*, 3rd ser., 1(16 November 1830):562–3.
161. Le Marchant, *Memoir of Althorp*, 261.
162. Aspinall, *Brougham and the Whig Party*, 187.
163. Grey to Lansdowne, 18 November 1830, Lansdowne MSS; Lord Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life*, Lady Dorchester ed., 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1909–11), IV:256.
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165. Brougham, *Brougham's Life and Times*, III:80.
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## Conclusion

1. Brent, 21; Jenkins, 2–3.
2. *Times*, 22 November 1830.
3. Clark, *English Society*, 515; Jenkins, x.
4. Parry, 1.
5. Jenkins, ix, 19; Francis Jeffrey, 'The State of the Nation', *Edinburgh Review* (January 1810):505.
6. Philip Harling defines the Tory 'disciplinary ethos' in 'Robert Southey and the Language of Social Discipline', *Albion*, 30.4 (winter 1998).
7. Jenkins, 4.
8. Clark, *English Society*, 6–8.
9. Jenkins, 44–5; H.J. Hanham, *The Reformed Electoral System in Great Britain, 1832–1914* (London: Historical Association, 1968), 12, 28–30; Parry, 3, 5. An example of the redefinition can be seen in the way Lord John Russell equated the people with the middle classes in 1832, but then by 1861 came to include the working classes in his definition.

10. O’Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties*, 392–3.
11. Clark, *English Society*, 550–1.
12. N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in The Technique of Parliamentary Representation*, 2nd edn (Hassocks: Harvester, 1977), xiii, 393–6, Hanham, 18–22.
13. [Alexander Somerville], *Autobiography of a Working Man* (London: Turnstile Press, 1848), 143.
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15. Creevey Papers, I:287
16. *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1830.
17. *Times*, 12 October 1831.
18. Russell, *Recollections and Suggestions, 1813–1873* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1875), 74. Durham’s biographer, however, noted that others attributed the phrase to Edward Ellice, Grey’s brother-in-law and government whip in the Commons. Reid, *Life and Letters of Durham*, I:259.
19. Brougham thus holds credit for the longest speeches given to date in both Houses of Parliament for this speech and his 1828 address to the Commons on legal reform.
20. Le Marchant, *Memoir of Althorp*, 352
21. Kriegel, *Holland House Diaries, 1831–40* 106.
22. Kriegel *Holland House Diaries*, 264.
23. Grey to Holland, 25 October 1824, Grey MSS.
24. Donald Southgate, *The Passing of the Whigs, 1832–86* (London: Macmillan, 1962), 55n.
25. Fulford and Strachey, *Greville Memoirs*, January 1828, I:196.
26. Russell, *Recollections and Suggestions*, 140.
27. Melbourne’s speech, *Parl. Deb.* 3rd ser., 44(3 August 1838):976.
28. Grey made the comment to Creevey in late September or early October 1809, Creevey Papers, I:107–8.
29. Croker Papers, II:125.

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