

## THE MALICIOUS PRACTICES ACT, 1872

### Support

**Gladstone's Liberal** government in **1872**.

Prevent **aristocratic** influence, **bribery & intimidation**.

**1867** Act brought in **working men** – more **susceptible**?

**John Bright** led an element of the Lib, believing **tenant farmers** were **forced**.

### Opposition

**Lord John Russell**, architect of 1832, adamantly **opposed**.

Described it as **'a change from publicity to secrecy'**, **'an obvious prelude from household to universal suffrage'**.

**Undermine** the 'legitimate' influence of **aristocracey**.

Considered the whole process **unmanly** and **cowardly**.

## FORMATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY

### Independent Labour Party

**More concerned** with **social reform**.

**1892** First member elected.

More **militant** form of trade **unions** in the late **1880s** and early **1890s**.

**Pankhurst** was a member in **Manchester**, but disillusioned, Formed the **WSPU** in **1903**.

**1893** numerous societies form the **ILP** in **Bradford**.

**Strong** in **Lancashire** textile towns & woollen towns of the West Riding of **Yorkshire**.

In **favour** of **extension** of the franchise.

### Results

**Didn't please anyone**.

**Bribes** from **both sides** of contest.

**1880** election was the **most expensive** to date.

**1883** Corrupt Practices Act was the **first slight cleansing**.

### Labour Party, 1900

**Foundations** of the (**ILP**) Independent Labour Party.

Leading socialists **Keir Hardie** and **George Lansbury**, supporting the cease of female suffrage.

**1900** Established & won **2**.

**1906** **29** MPs

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

**1869** – single female ratepayers would vote in municipal council elections. **15%** of electorate.

**1870** – School Boards established, allowed to vote and stand. Also Poor Law Boards of Guardians.

Married Women's Property Acts – widows could retain property.

**1887** - Women's Liberal Federation (**WLF**), by **1893** **43,000** members – against Gladstone's wishes.

**1895**, **128** women elected to school boards and **893** as Poor Law Guardians.

**1888** - female ratepayers could vote in the elected county councils just set up.

**1894** – elected parish, rural and urban district councils – vote and candidates (ratepayers).

**1897** – NUWSS, Millicent Fawcett, 16 groups combined. Federal nature.

**1907** – Allowed to stand as candidates in county council elections.

THE PARLIAMENT ACT, 1911

Changes

Power of House of Lords severely reduced.

Veto lost, replaced by power to amend bills for **2 years**.

**No power over finance bills** passed by the Commons.

Parliamentary **elections** at least every **five years**.

**MPs** to have a **salary**.

General

**Abolition** or **replacement** by elected body suggested but never given much notice.

**Radicals** concentrated on making the **Commons more representative**.

**Liberal** governments had **problems - Tory majority**.

**1832** Act was one of problems. Gladstone found this with the **Irish Home Rule Bill** in **1894**.

The Lords **rarely barred legislation**, but had **worried the Liberals**.

Liberal Government 1906

**Large majority** and an extensive reform agenda.

Education Bill and abolition of plural voting were **vetoed**. Repeated in 1907.

Clash in 1909 with finance bill. Chancellor of the Exchequer, **David Lloyd George**, wanted to finance the new Old Age Pension scheme and to expand the Navy.

The wealthy would shoulder burden, landowners faced increased death duties and a tax on land values.

**Unwritten convention** that the Lords didn't interfere with finance bills was **broken** with the assent of the Conservative leader **Balfour**.

**Asquith's** Liberal government regarded **unconstitutional** and took the Lords on.

Third Reform Act, 1884

**Uniform franchise** for counties and boroughs. Based on £10 property.

**2.5 million** voters, most were laborers or rural craftsmen.

**Greatest** number ever **added**.

**Sir Herbert Maine** - '*unmoderated democracy*'

**Illiteracy** meant they wouldn't understand the bureaucratic nature of **registering**.

Before WWI a **third** of adult males were **disenfranchised**

Unskilled and casual workers, particularly evident in **large cities with little registration**.

Redistribution Act, 1885

**50,000** electors on **average**.

**>15000** lost representation.

**15000** and **50000** lost one MP

**50,000+** were **divided** in two.

The **Independent Boundary Commission** was set up for regular reviews.

Most constituencies had one MP.

Parliament lost its connections to historic communities.

**Bristol** was divided into **four**, North, South, East and West. Outlying suburbs included into neighboring counties.

All large towns and cities were divided in a similar way.

Boundaries were drawn with regard to '*the pursuits of the people*'.

Salisbury knew MC support for the the Tories. Ensured suburban constit for MC.

The result was a major increase in Tory MPs from large towns.

Other

THE THIRD REFORM ACT 1883-85

Parliamentary Progress

**Gladstone** uniforms qualifications in **1884**.

**Little pressure** from farm laborers; the radical Liberals.

**Tories opposed** the bill, **Lord Salisbury** used **tactical skill**.

Lords would look like a self-serving, reactionary. Salisbury a major **Redistribution Bill** needed.

Negotiations resulted in the **Arlington Street Compact**, laying down the principles of redistribution.

Malicious Practices Act, 1883

**'Bribery, treating, undue influence, assaulting, abducting or impersonating'** banned.

Punishable by a fine, imprisonment or ban for 7 yrs.

Better campaigners versed in the law needed.

More volunteer workers also needed

Primerose League

Principles of the church, landed classes and empire.

Founded by **Lord Randolph Churchill**.

Disraeli's favourite flower. 'True Union of the Classes'

Males '*Knights*', female '*Dames*', branches '*Habitations*'.

**Hierarchical structure**, to mirror structure they defended.

**1886 – 237,000 members.**  
**1891 – over 1 million.**  
**1910 – over 2 million.**  
**½ Women**

Great **vehicle** for policy.

**Lord Salisbury & Arthur Balfour** didn't want them to change policy.

**Lord Randolph Churchill's** talk of '**Tory democracy**' never materialised.

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**Parliament Progress**

**March 1831 - Lord Russell.** Passed 2<sup>nd</sup> Reading by one vote, Tories amended at committee stage.  
**Grey** refused amendments, persuaded King to **dissolve Parliament** and have a **GE**.  
**Decisive reform victory**, heavy Tory losses – most from ‘nomination’ seats.  
**2nd Bill** and amendments. ‘**Chandos clause**’, tenant farmers enfranchised, was accepted.  
**September 1831** the Bill had passed through all its stages in the Commons.

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 The bill was **rejected**, 21 Bishops voted against.  
**Major riots** occurred in cities. The Bill **revised** a little **Dec**.  
**March 1832** the Bill had been **approved by the Commons**. Grey asked King to create **50 Whig peers** after hold up.  
**Grey resigned**, Duke of Wellington form a government.  
**Peel not support Wellington** Grey recalled & demands met.  
**June 1832 passed** the Lords and given royal assent.

**General Causes**

**Industrialization**, lower class grew, hurt aristocracy claims.  
**Nonconformity in religion** undermined Anglican elite.  
 Growth of **political clubs** and **radical newspapers** added to political awareness of all.  
**Economic crises** caused allowed **Cobbett** to link unrep.

**Electorate**

**478,000 to 813,000** (UK). **8%** of the population.  
 Mainly middle class with the **£10** householder franchise.  
 Counties **40-shil freeholder** allowed tenant farmers.  
**Open voting** - bribery, intimidation and violence were just as prevalent after as before.  
**1806-32 < 38%** of elections (usually 30%) contested. First election **74%** contested. **1832-65** average was **59%**.

**Constituencies**

**22** new boroughs gained **two**.  
**20** new boroughs gained **one**.  
**56** of the small boroughs **lost**.  
**30** small boroughs **lost one**.

Among new constituencies were **watering places**, such as Brighton and Cheltenham and older industrial towns such as Stroud and Frome.

Whigs aimed enfranchise **‘interests’, not numbers**.

County representation was increased.

Extensive in major towns.

Still a preference for seats to be in rural Southern England.

Equal electoral constituencies were not a reality.

**‘To stop the Duke, go for gold’**

Politic unions had **mass meetings** and petitions.  
**Revolution in Birmingham**. **Place** and **Attwood** urged **political unions to arm**. The **MC** urged not to pay their taxes & **withdraw** from **banks**.

**Parliament**

MPs were **unpaid** and had to satisfy **property qualification**.

**Majority landed people**, not significantly more middle class and no working class.

**Party organization** and dominance of politics boosted.

**Manner of passing** - Commons dominated the House of Lords.

**Influence of the monarchy**, over ministers and general elections was much reduced.

**Local government** reformed, breaking Tory monopoly.

**General elections** began to become the means by which government were chosen.

**Public opinion** became a more important factor in political calculations.

**Days of May**

**Riots** occurred in Nottingham, **Bristol** and **Derby**. Bishops Palace, the Mansion House destroyed. Prisoners had been released. Death estimates from **12-120**. **Lord Melbourne, HSec**, **‘frightened to death’**.

**Historian’s Views**

**J. R. M. Butler** (1914) ‘placed the feet of the nation firmly in the direction of democracy’.

**Evans** (2000) ‘reform in order to preserve’.

**Gash** (1979) ‘no more than a clumsy but vigorous hacking at the old structure to make it roughly more acceptable’.

**Vernon** (1993) ‘English politics became progressively less democratic during this period as political subjectivities and the public political sphere were defined in increasingly restrictive and exclusive fashions.’

**Gash (1979)** ‘represented no more than a clumsy but vigorous hacking at the old structure to make it a roughly more acceptable shape’

**Evans (1996)** ‘legislation of prime importance’ as it redrew the political map.

**Evans** – ‘had dynamic as well as conservative implications’.

**Further Reform**

**1834 Poor Law Amendment Act**  
**1835 Municipal Corporations Act.**

**Pressure groups grew** - Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League.

THE SECOND REFORM ACT 1867

Gladstone's Bill, 1866

1864 **National Reform Union** and the **Reform League**.

£10 householder to £7 – giving another 200,000 men.

'Residuum' considered unfit. Party was split, Bill defeated.

Disraeli's Bill, 1867

'extensive, safe & satisfactory'

**Lord Derby** took office with a Conservative government,

**Disraeli** as architect of Bill. Atmosphere of crisis as **NRU** and **RL** united in a campaign.

Disraeli wanted to exploit the divisions in the Liberal party. Wanted credit for himself and Tories where Gladstone failed.

Male householder with **2 year** residence qualification and paying their own rates.

**400,000** proposed but **700,00** result. **1 year qualification** & '**compounders**' enfranchised.

Extra-Parl. Pressure

Hyde Park Riots of July 1866. Series of reform demonstrations in the north of England in autumn.

Constituencies

**38** small boroughs **lost one**. **Four** boroughs lost **both** members due to **corruption**.

**19** seats given to **boroughs**. **26** given to **counties**.

The **South-West** with **76,612** borough electors had **45 MPs**.

North-East with **232,431** electors had only **32 MPs**.

Parliament was still dominated by landowners.

Parliament

Politicians alarmed by WC, **cabinet resignations**.

**Lord Cranborne** accused **Disraeli** of betraying his party, Allowing democracy to sweep the aristocracy away.

Parliament was still dominated by landowners.

**1868** Liberals  
**1874** Tories (first in 30 years)  
**Liberal disunity** was cause.

Electorate

**Boroughs**, owners and lodgers resident for **12 months**.

Skilled artisans gained.

**Counties**, more **tenant farmers** & landowners. Still restrictive.

**Working classes** were **majority** in most of the **boroughs**.

**Poor relief, living with parents**, lodgers paying less than £10 a year rent & servants couldn't.

**30%** of **WC** were disqual. **40%** of **males** were disqual.

**Plural voting** grew to about **7%** of the total electorate.

Local officials interpreted the Act in slightly different ways.

**Vote was a privilege, not a right.**

Elections took on **greater significance**, electorate had **final say** over government.

Middle Classes

**Liberal Lord Granville** visited Manchester in 1867 – MC:

*'frightened out of their wits at the borough franchise'  
'that the power of the middle class was gone'*

**1868** MC supported liberals, but John Mill was defeat by W. H. Smith in Westminster.

**1874** Tories won a number of urban constituencies due to changes in MC votes.

Alarmed by increasingly **radical tone of Gladstonian Liberalism**.

Gladstone's did more for them 1868-74 than the LC they believed **Tories** would **halt the reform better**.

Disraeli quietly **dropped** policy of **trade protection**, patriotism appealed to both MC & LC.

Less attached to **nonconformist faith** of parents. Identified more with the landed classes.

**Disraeli resigned** in **1868** after the Liberal victory.

1880 election

**84%** contested.

Gladstone led a **national election campaign**.

**National tour** of the large town to arouse moral indignation against Disraeli's foreign policy.

**Clear choice the two parties.**

Foreign and imperial policy self interest and military expansion.

Gladstone's moral principles & conciliation of foreign powers.

**Pugh** (1982) '*the first modern election*'.

Tory Party

Election Year	No of Seats
1859	0
1865	0
1868	3
1874	10

Basis of a Tory Party built on an alliance of **property interests** was being laid in the 1860s and 1870s and would come to fruition in the 1880s and 1890s.

Post-Act



REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1918

	Background	Electorate	Labour Party	Liberal Party	Conservative Party
	<p><b>Lloyd George</b> &amp; others supported male suffrage.</p> <p><b>Evans</b> (2000) 'Britain was jerked into [democracy] by the horrendous discontinuity of the First World War'.</p> <p><b>Tories</b> continued to have <b>fears</b> about a <b>WC majority</b>.</p> <p>Tories believed <b>older women</b> would be an <b>equaliser</b>.</p> <p>By 1918 'a patriotic consensus' was in favour of reform.</p>	<p>Labour Party rise post 1918. Labour replaced the Liberal.</p> <p><b>1924 minority</b> government. <b>1929</b> Peaked with <b>37%</b>.</p> <p><b>Liberal split</b> continued, proving a handicap.</p> <p><b>Lloyd George's</b> Tory Coalition until they <b>ditched</b> him in <b>1922</b>.</p> <p><b>Asquith independent Liberal</b> Party in opposition to George.</p> <p><b>Reunited in 1923</b> but the damage was done.</p> <p>Post 1923 dropped in parliament.</p> <p><b>1929</b> they won <b>59</b> seats, an improvement on 1924 results.</p> <p>1918-31 Tories most successful.</p> <p><b>Coalition</b> with Lloyd George or in government on their own.</p> <p>In office for <b>10</b> of the <b>13 years</b>.</p>	<p>Only <b>modest gains</b> over 1920 in 1918.</p> <p><b>No immediate correlation</b> with increased suffrage support.</p> <p><b>New party structure</b> in 1918 was an alliance of TUs &amp; ILP.</p> <p><b>Individual membership</b> in constituency parties.</p> <p>A strong <b>central organisation</b> established in <b>1923</b>.</p> <p><b>Women's sections</b> drew in female supporters.</p> <p>Believed in great influence of <b>public meetings</b> for mass electorate, after <b>Gladstone</b>.</p> <p><b>Poster</b> campaigns effective.</p> <p><b>TUs</b> essential as main source of <b>finance</b> &amp; message vehicle.</p> <p><b>Union membership</b> grown dramatically in WWI.</p> <p><b>Majority</b> manual labour force <b>members</b>.</p> <p><b>Unemployment exploited</b> as failure of coalition &amp; Tories.</p>	<p>Expense of the Liberals.</p> <p><b>'First past the post'</b> system bias against 3rd party.</p> <p>1920 <b>often</b> in this <b>position</b>.</p> <p><b>Tories</b> safe <b>country</b> seats. <b>Labour</b> in <b>WC</b> areas.</p> <p>Liberals got over <b>29%</b> in <b>1922</b> &amp; in <b>1923</b> were still significant.</p> <p><b>Spread</b> across numerous seats, <b>difficult to win</b>.</p> <p>A vote was a <b>wasted vote</b>.</p> <p>MC Libs tended to go Tory whilst WC Libs went to Labour.</p> <p>Prop rep. would have been better, considered in 1918.</p> <p>Would prevent <b>Tory gov</b> in <b>1922 with &lt; 40%</b>.</p> <p>Opposed by Tories - Labour nor Libs were bothered.</p>	<p>Cultivate women, especially <b>Baldwin's</b>.</p> <p><b>1923</b> large numbers <b>voted against Baldwin</b> when he wanted to lose free trade.</p> <p><b>1/3 working class</b> regular or <b>intermittent Tory voters</b>.</p> <p><b>Labour Party never</b> got more votes during <b>1918-31</b>.</p> <p>Many volunteer helpers, including women.</p> <p>Primrose League &amp; disillusioned Liberals, over 1m.</p> <p><b>Professional</b> campaign, <b>efficient</b> party organisation.</p> <p><b>Full time</b> trained <b>agents</b>, as <b>richer party</b>, recognised need.</p> <p>More agents, ability to <b>adapt</b> policy to <b>changed</b> complexion.</p> <p>Presented <b>national party bulwark</b> against <b>revolution</b> but <b>some social reform</b>.</p> <p><b>1924-29 progressive social reforms</b> for LC &amp; women's.</p> <p>More <b>efficient canvass</b>, better at <b>'getting the vote out'</b>.</p>
	<p><b>Redistribution</b></p> <p><b>Extensive</b> redistribution of seats to <b>larger cities</b>.</p> <p><b>Small</b> boroughs <b>lost</b> their <b>seats</b> &amp; most became <b>1 seat</b>.</p> <p>Divided areas on <b>class lines</b>.</p> <p><b>Evans</b> (2000) seats dominated by <b>middle class</b> was <b>200</b>.</p> <p>Seats created coal mining areas with LC majority.</p>				
<b>Electorate</b>	<p>Males (<b>21+</b>) with <b>6mnths</b> res.</p> <p>Almost <math>\frac{3}{4}</math> of those <b>voting</b> in 1918 - <b>first time</b>.</p>	<p>Women <b>30+</b> able to vote if (a) local government electors (b) householders (c) husbands could vote.</p>	<p>An expansion of the electorate by <b>almost three</b>.</p> <p><b>8 million women</b>, <b>40%</b> of the electorate.</p>	<p><b>'Flappers'</b>, were considered to lack maturity necessary.</p> <p><b>5%</b> of adult males not register.</p>	<p><b>Plural voting</b> continued.</p> <p>It did <b>not</b> create a system of <b>'one person, one vote'</b>.</p>