

# HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

England & Wales · Charity number 1202089

## Details

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**Status** Registered

**Legal form** CIO

**Registered** 2023-02-27

**Register** [View on the Charity Commission register](#)

## Contact

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**Address** History Of Parliament  
14-18 Old Street  
London  
EC1V 9BH

**Phone** 02076369269

**Email** [website@histparl.ac.uk](mailto:website@histparl.ac.uk)

**Website** [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org)

## Activities

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**Objects:** THE OBJECTS OF THE CIO ARE: TO ADVANCE THE EDUCATION OF THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL ON THE SUBJECT OF THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT THROUGH: (A) SCHOLARLY AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ITS PREDECESSORS, THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THESE BODIES, PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES AND ELECTIONS, AND PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS IN GENERAL; (B) DISSEMINATING AND INTERPRETING THE RESULTS OF THIS RESEARCH TO THE WIDEST POSSIBLE AUDIENCE; (C) THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF RESEARCH BY OTHERS ON THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS; AND (D) THE PROMOTION OF RELATED SCHOLARLY AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

**Activities:** Scholarly and historical research on the parliament of the United Kingdom and its predecessors, and the members, of those bodies; on parliamentary constituencies and elections, and on parliamentary politics and institutions in general, and disseminating and interpreting the results of this research, and encouraging similar research by others, and other related scholarly activities.

## Classification

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- **How:** Provides Advocacy/advice/information, Sponsors Or Undertakes Research
- **What:** Education/training
- **Who:** The General Public/mankind

## Geography

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- Northern Ireland
- Scotland
- Throughout England And Wales

## Finances

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Period end	Income	Expenditure	Assets	Employees
2025-03-31	£1,545,055	£1,777,247	£810,770	24
2024-03-31	£1,259,309	£1,126,513	£1,042,962	25

## Trustees

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Name	Role	Appointed
<b>Professor The Lord Norton Of Louth</b>	Chair	2023-05-09
Baroness Dianne Hayter		2024-07-23
Christopher Evans MP		2026-02-03
Dame Clare Moriarty		2023-05-09
Gordon Marsden		2023-05-09
Lord Lexden Alistair Basil Cooke		2023-04-27
Mark Patrick D'Arcy		2024-07-23
Nusrat Ghani MP		2024-07-23
Patrick Matthias Vollmer		2022-10-11
Professor Pam Cox MP		2024-07-23
Rt. Hon. The Lord Clark Of Windermere		2023-05-09
Sarah Alice Ruth Davies		2023-05-09
Wendy Anne Chamberlain MP		2025-01-28

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

England & Wales - Charity number 1202089

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# Accounts

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**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

**Registered Charity Number: 1202089**

**ANNUAL REPORT  
AND  
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED  
31 MARCH 2025**

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

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**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**LEGAL, REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS**

Charity name		History of Parliament Trust
Charity number		1202089
Co-opted	<p>Mrs Wendy Chamberlain MP</p> <p>Rt. Hon. The Lord Clark of Windermere</p> <p>Professor Pam Cox MP</p> <p>Mr Mark D'Arcy</p> <p>Mr Jonathan Djanogly MP</p> <p>Baroness Dianne Hayter</p> <p>Rt. Hon. Kwasi Kwarteng MP</p> <p>Mr Gordon Marsden</p> <p>Dame Clare Moriarty (Treasurer)*</p> <p>Professor The Lord Norton of Louth (Chair)*</p>	<p>From 28 January 2025</p> <p>From 23 July 2024</p> <p>From 23 July 2024</p> <p>To 4 July 2024</p> <p>From 23 July 2024</p> <p>To 30 April 2025</p>
	<p>*Member of the Executive Committee</p> <p>Senior Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords: Lord Lexden on behalf of Lord Gardiner of Kimble</p> <p>Chairman of Ways and Means: Rt. Hon. Dame Eleanor Laing MP</p>	<p>From 27 April 2024</p> <p>To 4 July 2024</p>
Ex-officio Trustees**	<p>Chairman of Ways and Means: Ms Nusrat Ghani MP</p> <p>Clerk of the Parliaments, House of Lords: Mr Patrick Vollmer*, on behalf of Mr Simon Burton</p> <p>Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons: Mrs Sarah Davies</p>	<p>From 23 July 2024</p>
	<p>** Ex-officio trustees are appointed as a result of their position (ie. Clerk or speaker etc) rather than as an individual.</p>	
Secretary	<p>Dr Adam Evans, a Senior Clerk in the House of Commons</p>	

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION - CONTINUED

Editorial Board Members	Dr Paul Cavill (University of Cambridge) Professor Richard Cust (University of Birmingham) Dr Perry Gauci (University of Oxford) Professor Julian Hoppit (University College, London) Professor Helen Parr (University of Keele) Professor Gordon Pentland (University of Monash) Professor Laura Stewart (University of York) Professor Jane Winters* (School of Advanced Study, University of London) (Chair)	To January 2025
Director	Dr Jennifer Davey	
Principal Office	14-18 Old Street London EC1V 9BH	
Bankers	HSBC Plc 69 Pall Mall London SW1Y 5EY	
Solicitors	Broadfield Law One Bartholomew Close London EC1A 7BL	
Auditor	Comptroller and Auditor General 157-197 Buckingham Palace Road Victoria London SW1W 9SP	
Accountants	Citroen Wells Devonshire House 1 Devonshire Street London W1W 5DR	

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

#### *Structure and governance*

1. The History of Parliament Trust was established by a Declaration of Trust made on 31 December 1940, varied by an Order of the Chancery Division of the High Court made on 12 March 1956 and by Schemes made by the Secretary of State for Education and Science on 6 January 1967 and 27 October 1971 and the Charity Commissioners on 24 July 1996 with a charity number 306034. The Scheme made by the Charity Commissioners in 1996 provides that the body of Trustees should comprise four ex officio Trustees and such number of Co-opted Trustees as the Trustees may think fit; provided that the total number of Trustees shall not be less than five nor more than fifteen. The ex officio Trustees are as follows (provided that they are willing to act in this capacity): the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords (now usually known as the Senior Deputy Speaker), the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, and the Clerk Assistant in the House of Commons. The Clerk of the Parliaments is also an ex officio Trustee: he has delegated these responsibilities to the Librarian in the House of Lords. Co-opted Trustees are appointed by a resolution of the Trustees. The Trustees and their Secretary are listed on p. 3. The Trustees appoint an Editorial Board of distinguished scholars to advise them on academic policy and staff appointments. The members of the Board during the year are listed on p. 4. The staff of the Trust are headed by its Director, who is responsible for directing the management and administration of the History, has overall responsibility for supervising the research and editorial work, and also acts as secretary to the Editorial Board. The Trust also appoints an Executive Committee, whose function is to prepare an agenda for the Trustees' quarterly meetings and take such decisions as are needed in the period between those meetings.
2. During 2022/23, the Trustees applied to the Charity Commission for the creation of a new Charitable Incorporated Organisation, with the title of the History of Parliament Trust. The Charity Commission accepted the application, and the new Trust (CIO) was registered in February 2023, with Charity Number 1202089. The assets, liabilities and operations of the former Trust were transferred to the new CIO, HPT on 31 August 2023. The 1940 History of Parliament Trust ceased operations following the deed of transfer to the new Trust (CIO).
3. The Trust receives a grant in aid, the terms of which were announced to both Houses of Parliament on 20 February 1951 and to the House of Commons on 27 July 1967. In 2024-25 the Trust received 64% (normally 70%) of its grant in aid from the House of Commons Administration Estimate; the remaining 36% (normally 30%) was received from the House of Lords Estimate. The change in percentage shares in 2024-25 was due to the early receipt of the quarter 1 House of Commons grant in the last few days of 2023/24. A Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the authorities of both Houses sets out the aims and objectives of the History of Parliament Trust and the administrative and financial arrangements for its activities, including the conditions for the grant in aid. The grant in aid is approved annually by the Commissions of both Houses, with scrutiny also by the respective Finance Committees. The Trust's own Finance Committee brings together the Treasurer and Director with senior finance officials of both Houses and is the primary forum for the discussion of the Trust's grant in aid.
4. The trustees have examined the major risks the Trust faces. It has in place systems to monitor and control those risks to mitigate any impact they may have on the History in the future. It will continue to review its assessment of these risks as part of its annual Corporate Planning process.

### **Objectives and activities**

5. The History of Parliament Trust is a major academic project to create a scholarly reference work describing the members, constituencies and activities of the Parliament of England and the United Kingdom. The volumes either published or in preparation cover the House of Commons from 1386 to 1868 and the House of Lords from 1558 to 1832. They are widely regarded as an unparalleled source for British political, social and local history. Progress to date is presented in table 1 and 2 below.

**Table 1: Overall Progress on House of Commons**

<b>Time period</b>	<b>Status</b>
Pre-1386	
1386-1421	Published (1992)
1422-1460	Published (2020)
1461-1504	In Progress
1509-1558 <sup>[1]</sup>	Published (1982)
1558-1603	Published (1981)
1604-1629	Published (2010)
1640-1660 <sup>[2]</sup>	Published (2023)
1660-1690	Published (1983)
1690-1715	Published (2002)
1715-1754	Published (1970)
1754-1790	Published (1964)
1790-1820	Published (1986)
1820-1832	Published (2009)
1832-1868	In Progress
1868-1945	Scheduled
1945-present <sup>[3]</sup>	In progress

Note

[1] The last Parliament of Henry VII sat in 1504. Henry VIII did not summon his first Parliament until 1509

[2] There was no Parliament summoned between 1629 and 1640

[3] The Contemporary History Project covers the post-1945 period. Its current focus is creating a substantial collection of life story interviews with former MPs.

**Table 2: Overall Progress on House of Lords**

Time period	Status
Pre-1386	
1386-1421	
1422-1460	
1461-1504	
1509-1558	
1558-1603	In Progress
1604-1629	Published (2021)
1640-1660	In Progress
1660-1715	Published (2016)
1715-1790	In Progress
1790-1820	Scheduled
1820-1832	
1832-1945	
1945- present	In Progress

6. The original charitable objective for the 1940 History of Parliament Trust was the compilation of a literary and historical work know as 'The History of Parliament'. The revised charitable objectives of the Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO) are as follows:

To advance the education of the public in general on the subject of the History of Parliament through:

- Scholarly and historical research on the Parliament of the United Kingdom and its predecessors, those who have been members of these bodies, parliamentary constituencies and elections, and parliamentary politics and institutions in general.
  - Disseminating and interpreting the results of this research to the widest possible audience.
  - The encouragement of research by others on the History of Parliament and Parliamentary institutions.
  - The promotion of related scholarly and educational activities.
7. The volumes on the House of Commons consist of detailed studies of elections and electoral politics in each constituency, and of closely researched accounts of the lives of everyone who was elected to Parliament in the period. The volumes on the House of Lords provide political biographies of peers. In addition, the volumes contain surveys drawing out the themes and discoveries of the research and adding information on the operation of Parliament as an institution.
8. The History has now published over 27,000 biographies and 3,200 constituency surveys in fourteen sets of volumes (65 volumes in all). They deal with the House of Commons 1386-1421 (1992), 1422-1461 (2020), 1509-1558 (1982), 1558-1603 (1981), 1604-29 (2010), 1640-1660 (2023), 1660-1690 (1983), 1690-1715 (2002), 1715-1754 (1970), 1754-1790 (1964), 1790-1820(1986) and 1820-32 (2009); and the House of Lords 1604-1629 (2021) and 1660-1715 (2016). All of the House of Commons articles published up and

including to 2010 are now available on [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org). The History's staff of professional historians is currently researching the House of Commons in the periods 1461-1504 and 1832-1868, and the House of Lords in the period 1558-1603, 1640-1660 and 1715-1790.

9. As well as the biographies and constituency surveys, the History undertakes an oral history project designed to record long interviews with former Members of Parliament. These are deposited in the British Library and are made available to researchers.
10. Since 1995, the History has been funded principally by the two Houses of Parliament. It is based close to its original host, the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. It was founded before the Second World War, the brainchild of Josiah Wedgwood MP, a Labour parliamentarian and minister, and revived after the war when a number of the greatest British historians of the day, including Sir Lewis Namier, Sir Frank Stenton and Sir John Neale, were involved in its re-establishment. The project is governed by its Trustees, who are mainly Members and Officers of both Houses of Parliament. The quality of the project's research and writing is monitored by an Editorial Board of historians. For further details see the History's website at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org).
11. The History's objectives and its performance against previous objectives are set out in its annual plan. An annual plan was last approved by the Trustees in July 2024 and an updated plan was presented and approved Trustees in October 2025. Once the website has been re-launched the annual plan will be published online.
12. The Trust strives to ensure that the impact of its activities on the environment, consumers, employees, communities, stakeholders and all other members of the public sphere is taken into account at all times.
13. Trustees are provided with a set of documents concerning the charity and their responsibilities as Trustees. These are reviewed and updated with each appointment and as necessary. The Director provides additional induction material relating to current issues. New Trustees are offered more information through briefings by the Director and Secretary and are invited to visit the History. Trustees are required to sign a declaration indicating their understanding of their responsibilities as Trustees.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### Review of achievements and performance in the year 2024-25

#### OVERVIEW

1. During the year, the History added a further 1 million words of scholarly research to the project, including almost 300 biographies and 24 constituency histories. In addition, the History has recorded a further 129 hours of life histories of former parliamentarians, and completed 17 interviews. A detailed summary of the History's work across scholarly research, public engagement and academic engagement is below. The Trust website development project continued to progress and is almost completed. A new fundraising strategy was developed.
2. Alongside the continued publication of scholarly research, the HPT has been progressing plans to review its ways of working and the associated premises required to deliver those plans. After 20 years based in Bloomsbury Square, the HPT has moved to a smaller building with reduced accommodation costs as a result. In 2024-25, the financial memorandum was revised following the conversion to the CIO.
3. Following the July 2024 general election, the HPT has recruited several new trustees (see details on p.3).

# A Year in Numbers

<b>1m</b> words added to the project	<b>287k</b> active users on our website	<b>300</b> new biographies written
<b>156</b> hours of oral history recorded	<b>c3,000</b> podcast downloads	<b>24</b> new constituency histories written

# Progress Charts

These charts track progress of first drafts for each project

## House of Commons 1461-1504



## House of Lords 1558-1603



## House of Lords 1640-1660



## House of Lords 1715-1790



## House of Commons 1832-1867



- Progress in each of the History's five current research projects and the oral history project is described below.

#### ***The House of Commons 1461-1504***

- The project, begun in 2020 in succession to the 1422-61 Commons project, and expected to be completed in around 2037, is the largest of the History's current projects. In its completed form it is expected to comprise some 1334 biographical articles and 148 constituency surveys. It is concerned with the membership of the House of Commons during the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III and Henry VII. This was a period characterised by political instability and repeated usurpations of the throne (1461, 1470, 1483, 1485). Moreover, it was also a crucial period in terms of its parliamentary history, during which we first see in operation many elements of parliamentary procedure familiar from the present day. Conversely, the project has to contend with two major problems, the near complete loss of the parliamentary election returns for the reign of Henry VII and half of that of Edward IV, and the decline of both narrative sources and large parts of the public records from the later 1460s. As a result, it is often difficult to establish more than an outline of the biographies of many local MPs.

#### Summary Progress Table for 24-25:

Total number of Biographies Articles:	67
Total number of Constituency Articles (where applicable):	7
Total number of revised articles (where applicable):	11
Total Number of Words Written:	139,663

#### Research highlights:

- Dr. Mackman's work on the quorum of the commissions of the peace has led to the discovery of a number of hitherto unknown commissions of the peace. Among the striking discoveries in ongoing work on the pardon rolls for the period was a pardon granted by Richard III to his sworn enemy John Morton, later archbishop of Canterbury, in the days before the battle of Bosworth.

#### Biographies completed by the team include

- Sir Thomas Burgh*: MP for Lincolnshire 1463, 1467, 1478. One of the most prominent figures of the Yorkist regime, a knight for the King's body and Edward IV's Master of the Horse, Burgh navigated the various military and political difficulties of the period, serving three monarchs and eventually reconciling himself to the new Tudor monarchy and being elevated to the peerage. From a relatively humble but well-connected background, he established himself as the chief Yorkist agent in Lincolnshire, building up a significant landed base and a spectacular (and still extant) new house at Gainsborough, and being involved in most of the key events of the Yorkist and early-Tudor period. While much of his parliamentary career is probably obscured by the lack of evidence, research for this biography has now established that he almost certainly sat in the 1463 Parliament, probably for Lincolnshire. 11,369 words.
- Sir Hugh Peshale*: he was heir to one of the principal gentry families of Staffordshire, although he did not live to inherit. He advanced himself to the ranks of the knights of King's body by fighting for Henry VII at Bosworth. Yet, despite his rank, he failed to secure a valid

election for the borough of Stafford, a seat for which he was singularly over-qualified, to the Parliament of 1487. Two lesser men, both servants of the county sheriff, Sir Henry Willoughby, were returned in his stead. There can be no doubt that Willoughby rather than the borough electors were responsible for his exclusion, but there is no evidence to reveal Willoughby's motives. As he too was a member of the new King's household, he might have been expected to facilitate Peshale's election. 2,117 words.

9. *John Sturgeon*: he came from a Devon family, but Sturgeon's father had brought the family to Hertfordshire where this MP also made his home. From an early date a member of Edward IV's household, Sturgeon served first as clerk of the ordnance and then as Master of the ordnance during Edward's campaigns in France. He was subsequently appointed to the national office of Master of the ordnance, but dismissed in 1482. His final years were largely spent on his private affairs. MP Hertfordshire 1472, 1478. 2,386 words.

Constituency articles completed by the section include:

10. *Bridgnorth*: a Shropshire borough that retained representation within the limits of its political hinterland. Several of its MPs were journeymen lawyers from the minor gentry families from the surrounding vills. The most notable election came in 1461 when Humphrey Blount, a Yorkist disqualified from election for the county as its sheriff, was admitted to the borough's freedom and immediately returned to Parliament. 2,942 words.
11. *Derby*: throughout this period, the town's representation was dominated by its residents. Only the election of the non-townsmen, Roger Wilkinson, in 1472 is anomalous. He was a tenant of the duchy of Lancaster manor of Wirksworth, about 14 miles north of the town, and his return reveals something of the external forces that occasionally influenced the town's elections. That manor was part of the great honour of Tutbury, then in the hands of George, duke of Clarence, but locally administered by its steward, the Derbyshire peer, Walter Blount Lord Mountjoy. This connexion with the powerful Blount family is the only plausible explanation for Wilkinson's election for a borough with which he had no other documented connexion. The return of Mountjoy's younger son, James Blount, to the same Parliament for the county, demonstrates the family's interest in these elections. Furthermore, during the 1472 Parliament, the relationship between the honour of Tutbury, the Blounts and the town's representation was made explicit: on 12 Dec. 1474 William, Lord Hastings, who had succeeded Mountjoy as steward, entered an indenture with James, that 'where the town of Derby hath granted and ordained the said lord to have the rule and governance of the said town', James was to have the rule in his absence. 1,583 words.

### ***The House of Lords 1559-1601***

12. Established on 1 January 2020, the section consists of three highly experienced full time members of staff (an editor, an assistant editor and a research fellow). It is on course to complete in first draft form all 246 biographical entries by mid-November 2025 and to be ready for publication at the end of June 2027. The completed volumes, consisting of both biographies and an Introductory Survey, will be accompanied on the History of Parliament's website by a unique database that records in detail all the known primary sources for the Elizabethan House of Lords.

### Summary Progress Table for 24-25:

Total number of Biographies Articles:	45
Total Number of Words Written:	152,089

### Research Highlights:

13. Entries on three major figures were drafted in the course of the last year: Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite and paramour; John Aylmer, bishop of London 1577-94 and de facto archbishop of Canterbury following the suspension of Archbishop Grindal; and Richard Bancroft, bishop of London 1597-1604, Archbishop Whitgift's right hand man. The entry on Leicester, for whom there is still no satisfactory biography beyond his entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, examines in detail the earl's parliamentary influence, not only in the Commons but also in the Lords. The entries on Aylmer and Bancroft also fill large biographical holes. Students of Bancroft will undoubtedly find particularly interesting the latter's fruitless diplomatic mission to Emden in 1600, which Church historians, focussed on Bancroft's ecclesiastical career, have largely ignored.
14. Among the smaller fry whose entries have been drafted over the last year is William Grey, 13th Baron Grey of Wilton, who was captured on the fall of Calais in 1558 and yet nevertheless attended the early stages of the 1559 Parliament, the only peer ever known to have sat in the upper House while a prisoner of war. Another notable entry on a minor figure is that of William West, 1st Lord De La Warr, who was admitted to the peerage in 1570 under circumstances which hitherto were unclear.

### ***The House of Lords 1640-1660***

15. The project began in 2022 in succession to the 1640-60 Commons section and is expected to conclude in around 2029. When completed it will comprise the biographies of some 255 peers and bishops and an accompanying survey volume. The project covers arguably the most dramatic and significant decade in early modern British history – the 1640s; the Lords abolition by the Commons in 1649 meant that the House was in abeyance between then and the Restoration in 1660. As our work is beginning to reveal, peers featured prominently in the bicameral factions that took centre-stage at Westminster after 1640 and that constituted England's first ever national political parties. As royal counsellors and party politicians they helped master-mind policy and reform by both king and Parliament, and they were intimately involved in trying to reach a settlement within Charles I's war-torn kingdoms. Perhaps most striking of all was their high-profile participation in the modern (by contemporary standards) 'fiscal-military' state that Parliament constructed to defeat the king. The Lords sat more or less continuously during the period 1640-48 and their business expanded hugely, becoming more politically-charged and controversial as the decade progressed. There was a marked growth in the House's judicial business, and this, along with peers' integral role in Parliament's burgeoning – and highly authoritarian – war-state, provoked a powerful reaction among radicals against the peerage and its constitutional role. Investigating these developments will take the project to the heart of popular as well as parliamentary politics in the English Revolution. The editor is Dr. David Scott, the assistant-editor is Dr. Patrick Little, and the section's newly-appointed research fellow is Dr. Alex Beeton.

### Summary Progress Table for 2024-25:

Total number of Biographies:	43
Total Number of Words Written:	218,767

### Research Highlights:

16. Dr. Beeton was awarded the Pollard Prize for the best paper delivered by an early-career researcher at an Institute of Historical Research seminar series, and he appeared on Radio 4's 'Today in Parliament' in December. The section has written the biographies of several major figures in 2024-5 – most notably, that of William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele, the éminence grise of the parliamentarian peers during the civil war. At approximately 32,000 words this will probably be the largest biography of the project.

### Biographies completed include:

17. Henry Bouchier, 5th earl of BATH. A man with a very varied and colourful career, Bouchier began life as an academic in Ireland, and succeeded to the earldom unexpectedly, aged 50, in 1637. He was an antiquarian with a wide range of friends, notably Archbishop Ussher, and his circle was further widened by a successful marriage with the sister of the earl of Westmorland. He was a very active member in the first year of the Long Parliament, working with the junto in the trial of Strafford, but then gradually becoming disillusioned with attacks on royal authority and above all the Church. He sided with the king in 1642, but was lukewarm in his allegiances, and his career was somewhat checkered, as he was accused of lack of commitment and even conniving with the enemy. He died in 1654. (13,620 words)
18. Francis Russell, 4th earl of BEDFORD. Long-regarded as one of the most important peers before his death in May 1641, Bedford is revealed in this biography to be a more equivocal figure, whose attempts to broker a settlement between the king and his critics were hampered by ill-health and bereavement, as well as by bad-faith on both sides of the political divide. His scheme had already failed by the time of his premature death, of small pox, a few days before the execution of the earl of Strafford. (9,246 words)
19. Mildmay Fane, 2nd earl of WESTMORLAND. Fane's peerage and his extensive estates in Kent and Northamptonshire should have made him a major political player in the 1640s. Instead, 'seduced by love of the Muses', he devoted much of his time to literary pursuits, and during a 40 year period he would write some 900 (mostly execrable) poems in English and Latin and at least eight plays and 'entertainments'. He was a keen angler, and some of his better poetry recounted epic fishing trips. A royalist at the outbreak of civil war, he was quickly captured and in 1644 made his peace with Parliament. Although labelled a 'Presbyterian' by English literature scholars, he was anything but and remained deeply committed to the Church of England and the monarchy. He lived to see the Restoration and spent his final years writing against and harassing that 'cursed sect' of puritans. (4,964 words).
20. George Goring, 1st Baron GORING OF HURSTPIERPOINT. Goring excelled in the courtly arts of wit, easy manners and ingratiating himself with his royal masters and their favourites. So successful was he in wringing pensions and sinecures from the early Stuart kings or in selling himself as a manager of royal revenues that he acquired the sobriquet of 'captain projector'. He sided with the king during the first civil war and served as

Charles's ambassador to France in 1644. Appointed general of Kent's royalist rebels during the second civil war, he spent much of his time reading romances. Following his inevitable defeat and capture he only narrowly escaped execution. The restored monarchy's rejection in 1662 of his bid to recover the great farm of customs reportedly broke his heart and certainly his credit, and he died shortly afterwards, leaving massive debts. (7,559 words)

21. John Williams, bishop of LINCOLN. A scholar by inclination and a Calvinist theologically, Williams became most important bishop in the Lords before the civil war. His incarceration in the Tower of London at the hands of Archbishop Laud during the 1630s gave him great influence with the king's opponents after his release in November 1640, but his attempts to bring moderate reform to the Church of England were not successful, and he ended 1641 as a strong supporter of the king – a position that led to his promotion to the archbishopric of York and, after a ill-judged attempt to overawe the Lords, his return to the Tower. During the civil wars he held Conwy Castle for the king. (14,098 words)

***The House of Lords 1715-1790***

22. The project commenced formally in January 2018, following publication of the Lords 1660-1715 in 2016, and is set to complete in approximately 2034. During the financial year there were 3 full-time members of staff: the editor is Dr Robin Eagles, and there were two senior research fellows, Dr Stuart Handley and Dr Charles Littleton, though Dr Handley retired in May 2025. The project covers a key period in the history of the Lords, which is ripe for reappraisal and includes some of the most significant political players of the 18th century, including Sir Robert Walpole (in the Lords as earl of Orford), William Pitt the elder (earl of Chatham) and the duke of Newcastle. There are several peers famed for the wrong reasons: Earl Ferrers, the last peer hanged for murder, and Lord Hervey, the author of famously caustic memoirs of the reign of George II. During the period, the Lords also sat in trial on the duchess of Kingston, who was convicted of bigamy. The Lords considered issues relating to reform of the House, notably in 1719 when bills were introduced to abolish the anomalous Scottish representative peers, replacing them with 25 hereditaries, and freeze the size of the peerage. On several occasions, the Lords was the chosen battleground for significant political crises to be played out, notably over the 1783 East India bill, which precipitated the fall of the Fox-North coalition.

Summary Progress Table for 24-25:

Total number of Biographies Articles:	69
Total Number of Words Written:	199,872

Research Highlights:

23. Members of the section tackled several major figures in the period, most significantly, Dr Handley's article on William Pulteney, earl of Bath, a key figure in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and briefly appointed to the head of the treasury himself.

Biographies completed by the section include:

24. *Hugh Boscawen, 2nd Viscount Falmouth (1707-1782)*: From a powerful Cornish family, Boscawen lost his seat in the Commons in 1734, but succeeded his father the following year. In the Lords, he opposed Walpole and his electoral role in Cornwall was fundamental to the decline in Walpole's majority in the 1741 general election. Following Walpole's fall he moved to support the Court, his electoral power remaining his main attraction to leaders such as Henry Pelham, Newcastle and North. (5,089 words)
25. *James Brydges, duke of Chandos (1674-1744)*: 'Princely Chandos' was notorious for the vast fortune he had made as paymaster general, 1705-13, with which he built his lavish 'palace' of Cannons. During the Whig Schism he was approached to take up leadership of the Treasury, as a moderate Tory in a 'broad-bottomed' ministry. He lost heavily in the South Sea Bubble and, having to retrench his spending, largely retired from public life after 1731, regularly assigning his proxy to Walpole's son-in-law. (6,287 words)
26. *Thomas Howard, 3rd earl of Effingham (1747-91)*: Effingham resigned his military commission in May 1775 in a public gesture of refusal to fight the American colonists. Over the next few years, he was a key figure in the opposition to the North ministry: as a speaker and protester, and particularly as a teller. After the fall of the North ministry he took office, under the marquess of Rockingham as treasurer of the household, and then under William Pitt, first as Master of the Mint, and then as governor of Jamaica. (7,047 words)
27. *Thomas Pitt, Baron Camelford (1737-1793)*: Camelford was related to some of the most prominent politicians of the period, including two Prime Ministers: Pitt the Elder and George Grenville. He was much closer to the latter and it was during Grenville's administration that he held office as a lord of the admiralty. On occasion a lively speaker (both in the Commons and the Lords), periods of fierce activity were interspersed with long intervals when he avoided politics. He played a key role around the fall of the earl of Shelburne as a conduit between the king and other potential ministers and was even earmarked for a leading role himself. He declined, however, and instead was the first of his cousin Pitt the Younger's promotions to the Lords. (5,123 words)
28. *William Pulteney, earl of Bath (1684-1764)*: Prior to his elevation to the Lords, Bath's career had been defined by his opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. Following the earl of Wilmington's death in 1743 he attempted to secure the post of first lord of the Treasury, losing out to Henry Pelham. He tried again in 1746, when most of the Cabinet resigned. Bath lost his position in the Cabinet and henceforth played a peripheral role in national politics. The accession of George III saw a revival of his influence and the consolidation of his plans for a political dynasty in Shropshire, building on the estates he had acquired from the Newport family. (11,194 words)
29. *Laurence Shirley, 4th Earl Ferrers (1720-1760)*: Ferrers was little known outside of his locality beyond occasional anecdotes suggesting that he was a Jacobite sympathizer. He came to much wider attention over his ill-treatment of his countess, the breakdown of their marriage and his subsequent killing of his estate steward. He was tried for murder before the Lords in Westminster Hall and, in spite of trying to plead insanity, was found guilty. He was the last member of the Lords to be hanged for murder as a common criminal. (2,711 words).

## ***The House of Commons 1832-1868***

30. This project explores one of the most transformative periods in the United Kingdom's history, widely regarded as the birth of modern British democracy. Covering key political events such as the 'Great' Reform Act, it examines how MPs and Parliament dealt with an unprecedented range of social, economic and local issues arising from rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. Detailed biographies of 2,591 MPs are being produced, alongside political histories of all the 401 constituencies in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Aided by the latest digital research methods, articles are being produced far more rapidly than previous publications and presented in a new web layout, in which the text will be supported with links to original sources. Particular attention is being paid to the neglected role of non-élite MPs, behind-the-scenes activists, non-electors and women in shaping both local and national political life. 7 million words has been drafted so far, with a ['preview' website](#) providing pre-publication access to work that is already being cited widely and praised for its 'invaluable scholarship'.<sup>1</sup>
31. A related ['Victorian Commons'](#) website attracts over 30,000 views per year and includes hundreds of shorter articles showcasing highlights from the project. Alongside their research, staff host and attend conferences, run seminars and co-supervise PhDs in collaboration with universities. The project is very active in using social media to promote Victorian political history.
32. The project started in 2009 with 5 FTE staff, including Dr Philip Salmon (editor) and Dr Kathryn Rix (assistant editor). Staffing later declined to 3 members. A 4<sup>th</sup> member of staff joined in Nov 2024. The project's 3 senior staff also undertake management roles, making the current staffing level 3.2 FTE.

### Summary Progress Table for 24-25:

Total number of Biographies Articles:	74
Total number of Constituency Articles (where applicable):	17
Total Number of Words Written:	377,395

### Research Highlights:

33. The 17 new constituency articles totalling 150k words included entries exploring the local politics of Buckingham, Cambridge University, Denbighshire, Dorset, Dudley, Gloucester, Gloucestershire East, Gloucestershire West, Marylebone, Oxford University, Southampton and Tewkesbury.
34. *Southampton*: a spa town and port with a reputation for venality, Southampton's economic prosperity was transformed during this period, with the value of the exports growing from £62,000 in 1832 to £5 million by 1865. Its population and electorate almost tripled and by 1865 nearly half the electors were 'working-class'. The electoral shenanigans of a notorious local borough-monger John Fleming MP helped the Tories capture both of its two seats in 1835 and 1841. The overturning of the last election for extensive corruption, however, plus the construction of a railway and new docks for the P&O steamship company, marked a key turning point. In 1847 P&O's chairman Brodie Willcox was returned unopposed alongside another Liberal MP, the noted jurist Alexander Cockburn. This Liberal dominance lasted until 1862, when local disagreements allowed a

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<sup>1</sup> A. Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture* (Oxford, 2015), p. ix.

Conservative to slip in at a by-election. Thereafter shared representation became the norm, with the Liberal-Conservative Russell Gurney, a leading campaigner for women's rights, and the advanced Liberal George Moffat, a 'merchant prince' in the China tea trade, being elected in 1865.

35. The 74 biographies included many non-élite MPs and some 'colourful' characters:
36. *Humphrey Brown* (1803-60): a Tewkesbury merchant, Brown tried his hand at various enterprises and was twice declared bankrupt before making his fortune in the 'railway mania' of the 1840s. This enabled his successful candidature for his native town as an 'independent' Liberal in 1847. His decade as MP ended in disgrace, however, after he became embroiled in a major financial scandal following the collapse of the Royal British Bank. Defeated at the poll and declared bankrupt for a third time in 1857, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for fraud. Released early on health grounds, he made a failed attempt to re-enter the Commons in 1859 and died the following year.
37. *Edmund Lechmere Charlton* (1789-1845): a 'crazy-brained fellow', Charlton's brief parliamentary career as MP for Ludlow, 1835-7, included two averted duels, a threatened breach of privilege motion against the *Morning Chronicle* and a three-week imprisonment in the Fleet prison. A notorious gambler, Charlton was considered a 'political chameleon' who was 'by turns a republican, a Liberal, a Conservative, and an ultra-Tory'. He is best known for his campaign against the Whig municipal corporation reforms, which ultimately led to his imprisonment.
38. *John Pender* (1816-1896): a 'humble' Scotsman, Pender is best known for his extraordinary rags-to-riches career in the textile finishing industry and transition from 'merchant prince' to 'cable king' by creating the world's first submarine telegraph network. His brief stint as a Liberal MP for the notoriously corrupt borough of Totnes, 1862-66, where he was unseated for 'personal bribery', has attracted little attention. Yet it not only damaged his business reputation but also delayed formal recognition of his achievements as a founding father of modern telecommunications. He later represented Wick Burghs, 1872-1885, and 1892.
39. *Edward Scott* (1805-1868): 'poor as a rat' but fond of 'pretty women', gambling and the turf, Scott pursued an army career in India before seducing and marrying an heiress in Maidstone, where he became a Tory councillor. In 1857 he was returned for Maidstone by a wealthy local Tory MP, allegedly as a 'paper candidate' ready to resign in a secret 'compromise' with the Liberals involving election petitions. Instead, he sat as an active but silent Tory backbencher until 1859. A leading figure in Kent's volunteer movement thereafter, and an avid wine collector, he died from liver disease in 1868.
40. *Brodie McGhie Willcox* (1784-1862): the self-styled 'father and founder' of P&O, which he ran with Arthur Anderson MP and turned into the largest steamship operator in the world, Willcox was elected for Southampton in 1847. A close friend of Cobden, who considered him a 'good radical', he made short speeches on maritime issues and lobbied successfully for government contracts for Southampton as a port. He died in harness after being hit by a falling tree in 1862.
41. *Edwin James* (1812-82): a successful barrister, James was tipped for high judicial office before a spectacular fall from grace. Elected as a Radical for Marylebone in 1859, he gained notoriety for savaging the Liberals' reform bill and a much-publicised unofficial mission to support Garibaldi in Italy. In 1861, however, he resigned as an MP and was disbarred as a QC for taking loans from his clients' opponents and 'throwing' cases. Accused of owing £35,000, he filed for bankruptcy and fled abroad, marrying a rich widow,

who later divorced him and penned a savage novel attacking his behaviour. He died in poverty after unsuccessfully trying to restart his legal career in the USA.

### Contemporary History

42. The Contemporary History Section concentrates on creating, utilising and promoting our oral history sound archive of interviews with former MPs. This unique archive preserves the 'life stories' of Members throughout the country, from all parties and a wide range of backgrounds. The interviews are undertaken by a team of staff and volunteers, and are archived with the British Library; this year they averaged over 7.5 hours in length.
43. The materials collected give us a very personal insight into the parliamentarians who served between 1952 and 2024. They include rich details of private lives: family background, education, motivations to enter politics, selection experiences and the difficult balance of family life and a political career. The archive offers valuable insights into high politics – the passing of specific legislation, speaking in the chamber, ministerial lives – whilst also capturing parliament's culture 'behind the scenes': gossip in the tea room, party management and working conditions. They include a wealth of materials on constituency politics, case work and campaigns. They end with a reflective section on what changed in parliament over the course of the MP's career, and thoughts on achievements and regrets.
44. The project is staffed by Emma Peplow and a part-time oral history project manager (Emme Ledgerwood/Alfie Steer). We manage a team of around 20 volunteer interviewers, who are trained by the project/Oral History Society and are supported throughout their interviews with individual and group feedback. We draw on the archive for academic and public engagement work, including conference papers, academic collaborations, our podcast 'Tales from the Green Benches', and social media posts.

#### Summary Progress Table:

Total number of completed interviews:	241 (17 this year)
Total number of interviews commenced:	252 (17 this year)
Total Hours Recorded:	1,020 (129 this year)

#### Highlights:

45. This year our archive has expanded to include more material on politics after 2010. These include insights into the 2010 coalition government; Jeremy Corbyn's sometimes difficult leadership of the Labour party, and our first reflections on both the 2016 Brexit referendum and the political chaos that followed. These more recent MPs describe a changing culture in the Commons: one where MPs are less likely to congregate in the bars or tea rooms during late-night sittings; but one which is also more diverse and feminine, with notably different expectations on behaviour both in the Chamber and the Palace as a whole.

#### Key figures interviewed this year:

46. Menzies Campbell Liberal Democrat MP for North East Fife, 1987-2015. This interview includes Lord Campbell's reflections on his athletics and legal careers, before discussing his time as MP, including interesting material on foreign policy committees, and as party leader. Interviewed by Nick Walker, 5 sessions totalling 8 hours 7 minutes.

47. Andrew Hunter Conservative/DUP MP for Basingstoke, 1983-2015. Hunter was drawn into right-wing Conservative politics due to an interest in Rhodesia and Northern Ireland. Hunter's increasing involvement with Northern Ireland led to considerable personal difficulties when he was targeted by the IRA, and later led to him joining the DUP. He also discusses African politics and his involvement with the Monday Club. Interviewed by Peter Reilly, 4 sessions totalling 9 hours 15 minutes.
48. Joan Ruddock Labour MP for Lewisham Deptford, 1987-2015. Ruddock charts her career from a girls' grammar in South Wales, her almost accidental involvement with CND following the stationing of nuclear missiles at Greenham Common, and her election to parliament. Ruddock faced various difficulties due to her high profile whilst in parliament. However, the interview is particularly striking for Ruddock's reflections on her personal life, including her struggles with fertility, the breakdown of her first marriage, and her campaign for legalization of assisted dying following the death of her second husband, Frank Doran. Interviewed by Debra Davidson-Smith, 4 sessions totalling 9 hours 34 minutes.
49. Gisela Stuart Labour MP for Birmingham Edgbaston, 1997-2017. Born in Germany, Stuart recalls how she faced xenophobia in her political career, both from media and fellow-politicians. Her involvement in politics began with the electoral reform society and eventually led to a high-profile position in the 'Out' campaign during the 2016 Brexit referendum. Stuart is frank about her unusual career, and highlights include a humorous retelling of her 1997 election night phone call with Alistair Campbell. Interviewed by Richard Purnell, 5 sessions totalling 11 hours 4 minutes.
50. Anne Milton Conservative MP for Guildford, 2005-2019. Milton describes her unusual career from hospital and community nursing to a centrist Conservative politician. Her time in parliament is particularly interesting due to her role as 'welfare whip', and her efforts to change the culture of both the whips' operation and the House itself. The interview concludes with her reflections on the machinations around the Brexit deal which led to her losing the Conservative whip and standing as an independent in the 2019 general election. Interviewed by Emme Ledgerwood, 3 sessions totalling 8 hours 6 minutes.

### Engagement

51. The History's engagement work disseminates the results of research to the widest possible audience, encourages the research of others on the history of parliament and parliamentary institutions, and promotes scholarly and educational activity. Below is a summary of the History's work across these areas in 2024-25.

### Public Engagement

#### Overview:

52. 2024-25 marked a significant step forward in the History's commitment to deepening and embedding engagement across the History's activities, with the formal approval of engagement strategy 2024-2027. This outlines clear targets for embedding engagement at the heart of our research culture.

#### Key highlights this year have been:

53. **Capacity:** building capacity within existing teams has been a core priority. Staffing levels and support for engagement has increased (the PE team now has 2.5FTE and is supported by senior role holders from across the organisation). All staff are being encouraged and

supported to undertake engagement activities, and to share their research internally and externally.

54. **Digital:** significant progress has been made on developing the History's digital infrastructure. There have been two strands to this work. First, the rebuilding of the History's database, which is currently end-of-life. In 2024-5 significant progress was made on this complex database, and a BETA launch is scheduled for 2025-6. Simultaneously, the History's WordPress site has been redeveloped, this included the recategorization of all archive articles and restructuring the site's layout. This will be launched in 2025-6.
55. **Dissemination:** the History has engaged in a wide range of activity across the year, and this detailed below. Highlights include a new podcast *Tales from the Green Benches: An Oral History of Parliament*, made in collaboration with Zinc Media and widely reviewed in the national media; *Georgian Elections Project*, a social media campaign which ran alongside the General Election in 2024, introducing a new audience to eighteenth political culture; briefings with key parliamentary stakeholders, including the House of Commons Library and the House of Lords Library.

Summary Progress Table for 24-25:

Total website views (WordPress)	192K
Total website articles written	85
Total website views (.org)	287K active users
Total short form videos	20
Total video views	187K
Social Media followers (at end of Mar 25)	Twitter: 17.1K, BlueSky: 7,588, TikTok: 1,655
Total podcast downloads	2,706
Events Held	5

List of Events 24-25:

30 May	OH Volunteers Tour of Parliament	In person: 8 attendees
20 June	Introduction to the History of Parliament, House of Commons Library	Online talk: 30 attendees*
9 October	'The Commonwealth at 75' book launch, Westminster Abbey	In collaboration with publishing partners St James's House. 15 HPT attendees
4 November	'History Day', Senate House	Sector fair organised by SAS & IHR. Multiple visitors to HPT stall.
30 January	Introduction to the History of Parliament, House of Lords Library	Hybrid talk: 30 attendees
17 March	'London and Parliament', Jubilee Room	60 attendees

**Below is a summary of public engagement activity within each project:**

*The House of Commons 1461-1504*

56. The section has been engaged a wide range of academic and public engagement this year. A key highlight has been the section's hosting of an intern from the University of York's MA course in public history, who has been working on a project focused on the Commons during the Wars of the Roses. Members of the section have actively contributed a number of broader initiatives to raise awareness of the History's work, including the briefings to the House of Commons Library and University of Northampton; 'London and Parliament, from the medieval to the modern' event held in the Jubilee Room, Palace of Westminster; and academic papers and other engagement activity.

*The House of Lords 1558-1603*

57. The section has presented their key findings and research progress to a range of audiences. This includes disseminating research to key academic audiences, supporting media enquiries, and supporting wider History events, including briefings to the Lords Library and events on local histories.

*The House of Lords 1640-1660*

58. After the hectic year 2023-4, which saw multiple launch events for the Commons 1640-60 volumes, this year has been quieter for this section. Nevertheless, the section has built on its reputation as being a centre of excellence for the 1640-1660 Palace of Westminster. Key highlights have included a colloquium on Parliament in the 1640s, landmark publications on the Church in Ireland under the Stuarts, and appearances on Today in Parliament on BBC Radio 4. In September 2024, Alex Beeton was awarded the Pollard Prize for best paper delivered by an early career researcher at an Institute of Historical Research seminar, which took place during the 2023-24 academic year.

*The House of Lords 1715-1790*

59. During the year, members of the section have been actively involved in raising awareness about the work of the project and the History of Parliament more generally, as well as collaborating closely with colleagues across other sections. In April 2024 members of the section participated in a day workshop at the British Library co-organized with Dr Alexander Lock *Reconsidering the Legacy of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, 1724-2024*. In May, June and July, Dr Eagles worked with members of the engagement team in promoting the Georgian Elections Project, timed to coincide with the General Election. Much of the content was the result of work with two MA students from the University of York. This included an array of blogs and short-form videos contrasting the world of 18th-century politics with contemporary electioneering. It also involved colleagues previously involved in the AHRC-funded ECPPEC project (Universities of Newcastle and Liverpool), Dr Hillary Burlock and Dr Kendra Packham. Dr Eagles has spoken at a wide range of events, including Marx Memorial Library, Worshipful Company of Fletchers, as part of the Open House Weekend (alongside Dr Klennike), Shirley Townswomen's Guild on Wilkes and various History wide event on the Parliamentary Estate.

*The House of Commons 1832-1867*

60. Across 2024-25, the Victorian Commons section has disseminated and introduced its research to a wide range of audiences. The section's website has attracted over 30,000 views, and has a growing social media engagement. The Section have given 16 public talks and seminar papers to a wide range of audiences, including parliamentarian and academic. The section's members are regular contributors to print and broadcast media, and are co-creating a new BBC Radio 4 series 'Objects of State'. A major grant (c. £100k) was awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a new collaborative PhD

programme between the 1832-68 project and the University of Sheffield examining the experience of Irish MPs in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with Dr Salmon acting as co-supervisor.

#### Contemporary History

61. A key highlight for the section this year was the release of the podcast: 'Tales from the Green Benches'. The episodes are still available and have been well-received. The podcast featured in the national press and was discussed on *BBC Radio*. The section delivered the keynote lecture for the Political Study Association's 'Oral History and Politics' workshop, and Emma Peplow was also a panellist at an Institute for Government event on whipping that included former Chief Whips.. Academic collaborations have continued throughout the year, including a successful and long-term collaboration 'A Manly Place' with Professor Helen Parr (Keele University) and Grace Heaton (Mansfield College, Oxford) on the experiences of women MPs after 1997.

#### **Academic, university and professional engagement**

62. The History's unparalleled and detailed knowledge of the history of British politics is much sought after by the scholarly community. The History disseminates its scholarly research with academic audiences via publications, research collaborations, teaching, and academic citizenship.

#### Publications

63. The History's staff continue to build on their reputation as the country's leading experts in parliamentary and political history publishing numerous academic articles and monographs. Key highlights this year have includes: R. Eagles, *Champion of English Freedom: the life of John Wilkes, MP and Lord Mayor of London* (Amberley, 2024); P. Little, *The Church of Ireland under the Stuarts*, edited by Patrick Little (Four Courts Press, Dublin); H. Kleineke, *Pardon Rolls of Henry VII, 1485-1509* (List and Index Society 368, 2024); J. Mackman, *Justices of the Peace of the Reign of Henry VII 1485-1509* (List and index Society, 2024); K. Rix et al, *Routledge Historical Resource on Modern British Political History* <https://routledgelearning.com/rhr-politicalhistory/>.

#### Research Collaborations

64. The History has a number of collaborations with universities in the UK and abroad. These have largely taken the form of Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDAs), although the History is also involved in projects funded by major grants from the Research Councils and other grant-giving bodies. Such projects offer the History ways of enriching, developing and promoting and extending the reach of its own work in engagement with other scholars.
65. In 2024-25 the History participated in two CDAs:
- Robin Eagles is joint supervisor with Amanda Goodrich of the Open University of a PhD Studentship on 'The Black and Mixed Ethnicity Presence in British Politics, 1750-1850',
  - Paul Seaward continues to be joint supervisor with Anthony Milton of Sheffield University for a studentship on 'Bishops and the English Parliament c. 1558-1642'.
66. In 2024-25, the History secured funding for a further CDA project with the University of Sheffield. This will commence in 2025-26.
67. The History is involved in a number of collaborations as a partner institution or co-applicant. Involvement normally means participation in the projects' respective advisory

boards and offering advice and occasional assistance where required. Current collaborations underway involving the History are:

- Australia National University: Martin Spychal is Hansard Consultant, UK and Advisory Board member for the Australia National University, 'AI as Infrastructure', project, 2024-2026. The project explores the application of AI models to historic parliamentary debates in Australian, New Zealand and UK contexts. Other project partners: UK National Archives; Kings College, London; New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs; Australian Parliamentary Library
  - Exeter University and York University: the Leverhulme funded project '*Parliamentary Empire: British Democracy and Settler Colonialism, c.1867-1939*', commenced in September 2021. It is led by David Thackeray (University of Exeter) and Amanda Behm (York). The History is a partner institution.
68. Continued work on ongoing projects with Open University, Keele University, University of Manchester, University of Sheffield, University of Birmingham, University of Leicester, Durham University, Newcastle University, UCL, University of Northampton, University of Exeter, University of Oxford, UEA, Leeds Beckett University, Keele University, Nottingham Trent University, University of Southampton, University of Sussex, University of Buckingham, Royal Holloway, University of Worcester.
69. The History continues to be a founder member institution of the network of European Parliamentary Historians, EuParl.net. Partners besides the History include the Centrum voor Parlementaire Geschiedenis at the University of Nijmegen and the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien (Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and political parties), which is funded by and works closely with the German Bundestag; the Institute of Contemporary History in Prague; the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, and the Comité d'histoire parlementaire et politique in France.
70. Finally, the History encourages and supports research by others on the History of Parliament and Parliamentary institutions is supporting and sponsoring research events. In 2024-25, the History sponsored three events: *The Histories of Scottish Politics in the Age of Union c.1700-1945* at the University of Durham; *Reconsidering the Legacy of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, 1724-2024* at The British Library; *Parliament and Revolutionary Britain*, held at The History's offices. The Parliaments, Politics and People seminar at the Institute of Historical Research is run by a number of the History's staff, with the fortnightly sessions now attracting around 70 attendees per session

#### Teaching

71. The History has developed a national reputation for delivering skills based teaching to undergraduate and postgraduate students. This national reputation is highlighted by position as a partner institution on the AHRC-funded 'Inclusive Histories', a major project, which has received £1.5 million in funding, to support teachers with more inclusive UK political history resources. The project leads are Dr Matthew Smith, Royal Holloway, and Dr Ayshah Johnston, Learning and Engagement Manager at Black Cultural Archives. In 2024-25 staff delivered training support to students at UCL, Keele University, University of York, the University of Northampton and Buckingham University.
72. The History has continued its regular competition for the best undergraduate dissertation on British and Irish political and parliamentary history. The annual prize was awarded to *Jago Westaway, University of Cambridge, for 'Fragmentation and Coherence in Protestant Northern Irish Partisan Groups from 1969'*.

### Academic Citizenship

73. The History's staff continue to interact routinely with the wider academic community, principally through contributions to conferences and seminars and publication in academic history journals. Staff of the History are editors or members of the editorial board of a large number of journals concerned with British and parliamentary history, or trustees or board members of organisations that deal with these subjects, including the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, *Parliamentary History* and the Parliamentary History Trust, the Historical Association, the British Association for Local History, the Court Studies Society and the journal *Court Studies*, *London Journal*, the Cromwell Association, the Victoria County History Trust, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, *Journal of Liberal History*, *Scottish Historical Review*, and many more.

### Other engagement activity

#### Digital:

74. The History also hosts a small site, [membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org](https://membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org), initially built as a collaboration between the History, the Parliamentary Digital Service, and the House of Commons Library. The site is based on the database created originally by Professor Michael Rush from the University of Exeter and is kept up to date by staff of the House of Commons Library. We also maintain a permanent home for the database created by Sir David Beamish, the former Clerk of the Parliaments, of peerage creations since 1800. The site is available online at <https://peerages.historyofparliamentonline.org/>.
75. In addition, the History is a founding partner of the online library of digital resources developed by the Institute of Historical Research, British History Online.

### St James's House:

76. The History's relationship with the public relations and publishing company St James's House started in 2013, and is based around the production of a series of books on themes to do with the history of the British parliament and parliamentary politics. The history contributes the main text, usually written partly in-house and partly by external contributors; St James's House sell to companies and organisations the opportunity to contribute text about their own activities and achievements, and the two elements are combined in a well-produced and highly illustrated volume which the company distributes widely and promotes through a launch in a central London location. The History receives from St James's House a regular fee for its collaboration, and, under previous contracts, a royalty on advertising sales over a defined threshold.
77. In 2022 we agreed with St James's House a renewal of the existing contract we hold with them, which now expires in August 2028. The new contract covers four books to be published over five years. It offers an increased fee to the History totalling £480,000 over five years, though without royalties. The four books concern: *Parliament and the National Health Service*, which was published in 2023, marking the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NHS; *the House of Commons chamber and the Commonwealth gifts*, which was published in 2024; *Parliament and Monarchy*, to be published in 2026; *The Equal Franchise Act*, marking the anniversary of the equalisation of the voting age for men and women in 1928, to be published in 2028.
78. In October 2024 we published the second book under the 2022 contract, covering *Parliament Democracy and the Commonwealth*, "The Commonwealth at 75". There was a launch event at Westminster Abbey.

### Value Report :

79. The History is part of the key infrastructure/ecosystem of British historical knowledge and understanding.
80. The History provides original and significant contributions to our knowledge and interpretation of British parliamentary, political and social history. This is evident in the Introductory surveys to our publications, collateral research publications, and our short research articles published via our website. In addition to its published work, the History actively engages in knowledge transfer by collaborating with schools, HEIs, heritage organisations and other organisations.
81. The History's work is referenced and reviewed across a wide-range outputs. Examples from 2024-25 include: N. Abbas & Y. Arshad, 'Revisiting the British Forward Policy in Balochistan', *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs and Policy Studies* (2025); E. de Champs, 'The Reform Bill Crisis, 1830-1832' (2024), *French Journal of British Studies*, cites Salmon, 'English Reform Legislation'; E. Crewe, 'Strategic Ignorance and Interests in the UK Parliament The Case of Transatlantic African Trafficking and Chattel Enslavement', *International Journal of Parliamentary Studies* (2025); J. Parry, 'The Third Earl Grey, Liberalism, and the British Empire', *Modern Intellectual History* (2024); K. Packham, 'Mapping and 'stage-managing' elections in the long eighteenth century: electoral culture, popular politics and the rhetoric of political space', *Historical Research* (2025); N. Abbas & Y. Arshad, 'Revisiting the British Forward Policy in Balochistan', *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs and Policy Studies* (2025); H. Doe, *One Crew: The RNLi's Official 200-Year History* (2024); K. M. Nural Huda, *Electronic Voting in Government Elections to Promote Democracy* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2024); <https://routledgelearning.com/rhr-politicalhistory/timeline-resources/>; Thomas McGeary, *The Cultural Politics of Opera, 1720-1742: the era of Walpole, Pope, and Handel* (Boydell, 2024); Richard Harrison, 'FURTHER LIGHT on LANCASTER'S LATER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS' (*Northern History*, lxi, 2024); Danae Tankard, *Factionalism and Dissent in an English City: Chichester, 1678-1685* (Routledge, 2025); Andrea Zuvich, *Ravenous: A Life of Barbara Villiers, Charles II's Most Infamous Mistress* (Pen and Sword, 2024).
82. This year, History's staff shared their expertise to a wide range audiences and institutions. This includes: the British Library, the Institute of Government, parliamentary bodies, the Historical Association, HEIs including Cambridge, Durham, Keele, Leicester de Montfort Oxford, UCL, and Warwick.
83. The History's staff routinely respond to media enquiries, and this year this has included BBC Radio 4 and Radio 5, local radio stations, and public history podcasts (ie HistoryHit). The History also responds to a large number of external inquires from academics, students, members of the public, parliamentary bodies and other organisations.

## GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST

84. In February 2023, the Charity Commission approved our application to create a new Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO) under the Charities Act 2011 to replace the existing Trust. The CIO is an alternative legal form for a charity, which enables the charity to act in its own name (rather than collectively as Trustees), and limits the liability of trustees. In the course of the 2023-24 financial year the Trust transferred all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust to the new HPT. The formal transfer took place on 31 August 2023.

85. The administrative team consists of the Director (Dr. Jennifer Davey), along with the Office manager, Adam Tucker, and Finance Manager, Debbie Corrigan.

86. During the financial year 2024-25 the Trust occupied a building at 18 Bloomsbury Square, London, owned by the Bedford Estates, on a 10-year lease agreed in 2015. The top floor of the building was sub-let to a business. The current lease ended in November 2025 and in October 2025 the Trust re-located to 14-18 Old Street.

### **Staffing**

87. During the year to 31 March 2025 the History employed 20.12 (2024: 21.12) full-time equivalent members of its research resource including the Section Editors and Editorial Board; there were 1.95 (2024: 1.74) full-time equivalent members of the administrative staff. The Director's time is apportioned equally between research and administration. The Deputy Director spends 80% of their time on research activities and 20% on administration.

88. The Trust is committed to reducing sickness absence in the workplace and supporting the well-being of its staff. Procedures are in place to provide support to staff who are ill or who have a long-term disability. During 2024-25, the average number of days recorded as absent due to sickness per member of staff was 0.77 days (2023-24 0.76 days).

89. There were no incidents related to the loss or unauthorised issue of personal data in 2024-25.

### **Financial Review**

90. Unrestricted incoming resources for the year were £1,545,055 (2023-24: £2,149,130). 89% of the unrestricted income was provided by Grant-In-Aid, £1,381,482 (2023-24: £1,967,566). The significant difference between income for 2023-24 and 2024-25 is explained by an early payment of 2024-25 grant-in-aid from the House of Commons. As a result, five quarters of grant-in-aid were recognised in 2023-24 and only three in 2024-25. The unrestricted resources also include:

- receipts totalling £106,602 (2023-24: £100,459) under a fee arrangement made in consecutive contracts with Regalpress Limited, trading as St James's House, in relation to the publication of a series of books concerned with the history of parliament.
- £32,687 (2023-24: £29,057) of rental income from our building in Bloomsbury Square.
- £18,357 of income from cash held at the bank and investments. £9,695 of which was from material investments and was in line with expectations.
- £5,927 (2023-24: £30,865) from the sale of books.

There was no restricted income in 2024-25.

91. The incoming resources of HPT have been applied to further the objects of the Trust in the form of:

- a. Editorial and Research Staff costs
- b. Management and Support Staff costs
- c. General Expenses

92. All fixed assets (with a net book value of £2,254 (2024: £1,656)) were held for use by the HPT.
93. At 31 March 2025, HPT held total funds of £810,770 (2024: £1,042,962). These comprised restricted funds of £4,744 and unrestricted funds of £806,026 (2024: £4,744 and £1,038,218). Reserves have shown a large decrease year on year due to the receipt of House of Commons grant-in-aid, intended for 2024-25 spending, just before the end of March 2024 (referenced above in paragraph 90). As a result, only three quarters of the grant in aid for 2024-25 has been received in 2024-25, and the reserves, which had increased due to the early receipt in 2023-24 have been depleted. Some reserves are held for the purposes of funding future publications, and for some other purposes, including the estimated cost of dilapidations on our offices in Bloomsbury Square. Otherwise, the policy of HPT is to aim to hold reserves at a prudent level, equivalent to a maximum of three months' running costs (£468,000). Over the last few years, in agreement with House of Commons and House of Lords authorities, the Trust has been deliberately reducing its reserves in order to bring them down to this level.
94. In accordance with the Financial Memorandum, any funds held by HPT which are not required for immediate expenditure may be invested at the Trustees' discretion. The Trust held a total of £481,513 (2024: £478,597) invested in two savings accounts which is included in short term investments.
95. The net realisable value of the History of Parliament's stock of publications for sale at 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025 is £38,568 (2024: £69,901). Net realisable value is based on recent sales less impairment for slow moving stock.
96. At 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025, the 'debtors and prepayments' balance was £259,611 (2024: £254,369). It includes prepayments of £31,069, an outstanding VAT re-imburement of £1,567 and £226,975 of outstanding fee income.
97. At 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025, the 'creditors' balance was £90,987 (2024: £98,419). It includes trade creditors of £10,142 (2024:£14,036), accruals of £7,719 (2024:£8,266), deferred income of £7,423 (2024: £7,423) and PAYE/NIC creditor of £33,251 (2024:£31,368).
98. HPT is committed to the prompt payment of bills for goods and services received. Payments are normally made as specified in the contract. If there is no contractual provision or other understanding, they are paid within 30 days of the receipt of the goods or services, or on presentation of a valid invoice or similar demand, whichever is later.
99. The Comptroller and Auditor General is appointed under the Financial Memorandum to audit the financial statements.

### ***Plans for the future***

100. Our current major research projects are:

House of Commons, 1461-1504;  
House of Commons 1832-1868;  
House of Lords, 1558-1601;  
House of Lords, 1640-1660;  
House of Lords 1715-1790;  
Contemporary (oral) history

Information about the recent progress of each of these projects is included in the review section on page 8 above.

101. An Annual Plan for 2024-2025 was approved by the Trustees in July 2024. It included detailed targets for each research project, digital and engagement strategies, and the risk register.
102. HPT will continue to produce scholarly and historical research on the Parliament of the United Kingdom, including the biographies of members, histories of constituencies, and of parliamentary politics in general. Alongside its research activity, the Trust will also undertake a programme of public engagement, designed to disseminate knowledge of Britain's political past to the widest possible audience. In 2024-2025, HPT began the work on exploring possible fundraising avenues, and this will continue over the next few years.
103. HPT expects that most of the cost of its future plans will continue to be met from Grant-In-Aid. A 2% increase in the level of Grant-In-Aid has been agreed with the House of Commons and House of Lords for 2025-26. HPT anticipates that income classified as fee income in 2025-26 will be £105,000, all generated from St James's House. It is also anticipated that St James's House will pay the remaining £106,528 of royalties due under the previous contract in 2025-26 (See note 12 for further information). The rental income will reduce due to the planned move to other premises in 2025-26, however, accommodation related expenditure is expected to decrease. This indicates the Trust expects to receive a minimum of £1,862,000 of income, which is 20% more than the income received in 2024-25, due to the reduced Grant-in-Aid received in 2024-25 due to timing of receipt. HPT has sufficient reserves together with the expected Grant-in-Aid in the 12 months from the date of issue of these financial statements to meet liabilities falling due. As a result, HPT believes the going concern basis remains appropriate.

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer



Lord Norton of Louth  
On behalf of the Trustees



**The History of Parliament**  
15 December 2025

## **STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TRUSTEES AND OF THE ACCOUNTING OFFICER OF THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

1. Under law applicable to charities in England and Wales, the Trustees are required to prepare financial statements for each financial year which give a true and fair view of the History of Parliament Trust's financial activities during the year and of its financial position at the end of the year. In preparing financial statements giving a true and fair view, the Trustees should follow best practice and:
  - a. select suitable accounting policies and then apply them consistently;
  - b. make judgements and estimates that are on a reasonable basis;
  - c. state whether applicable accounting standards and statements of recommended practice have been followed; and
  - d. prepare the financial statements on the going concern basis unless it is inappropriate to presume that the charity will continue in operation.
2. Under applicable laws, the Trustees are responsible for keeping accounting records which enable them to ascertain the financial position of the Trust. The Trustees are also responsible for preparing financial statements that comply with the Charities Act 2011.
3. The responsibilities of an Accounting Officer include:
  - a. Confirming as far as she is aware there is no relevant audit information of which the auditors are unaware and that she has taken all the steps she ought to have taken to make herself aware of any relevant audit information, and to establish that the auditors are aware of that information.
  - b. Confirming that the Annual Accounts are fair, balanced and understandable and that she takes personal responsibility for the Annual Accounts and the judgements required therein.

The Accounting Officer confirms the above have been met.
4. The History of Parliament Trust receives its principal income from Grant-In-Aid from the House of Commons Estimate and the House of Lords Estimate. Under the Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the House of Commons and the House of Lords, responsibility for the preparation and signing of the annual accounts is vested with the Director of the Trust who is formally designated as the Trust's Accounting Officer by the Trustees. Notwithstanding the requirements of Charities law, the relevant responsibilities of the Trustees and the Accounting Officer, including responsibility for the propriety and regularity of public finances, for the keeping of proper records and the preparation of the accounts, are set out in the Financial Memorandum.
5. The Financial Memorandum provides that the Trust's Director as Accounting Officer will also be liable to be summoned, together with the Clerk of the House of Commons and the Clerk of the Parliaments, to hearings on any matters relating to the Grant-In-Aid which arise before the Committee of Public Accounts. She may also be required to appear before other parliamentary committees.

## **GOVERNANCE STATEMENT THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

### ***Scope of responsibility***

1. The Accounting Officer has responsibility for the Governance Statement which outlines the arrangements which have enabled her to discharge her responsibility for the management and control of the History of Parliament's resources during the course of 2024-25. Dr. Jennifer Davey was Accounting Officer for the 2024-25 financial year .
2. The system of internal control and controls in place are regularly reviewed with the Treasurer of the Trust and senior parliamentary staff, in particular through the regular meetings of the Trust's Finance Committee. Under the terms of the Financial Memorandum the internal controls should be reviewed every three years. They were reviewed and revised by the Finance Committee during 2024-25.

### ***The governance framework***

3. The History of Parliament Trust was established by a declaration of Trust made on 31 December 1940 with subsequent variations made in 1956, 1967, 1971 and 1996. The Trust is a registered charity. The Trust converted during 2023-24 to a Charitable Incorporated Organisation under the Charities Act 2011. The transfer of assets, liabilities and operations to the new HPT took place on 31 August 2023.
4. The Trust's original objectives were to compile and publish an authoritative History of Parliament from the 13th century in the form of publishing biographies of Members of Parliament and constituency histories, with introductory essays which analyse this information. This objective has been extended under the new HPT to also engage the interest of the widest range of publics in the history of the UK Parliament from earliest times to the present through its published work and other activities, and to disseminate, promote and encourage other research on the History of Parliament and Parliamentary institutions.
5. The Trust has an Executive Committee whose function is to prepare an agenda for the Trustees' quarterly meetings and take such decisions as are needed in the period between those meetings. It consists of the Chair and the Treasurer *ex officio*, together with two other Trustees nominated by the full body of Trustees (the 2024 general election significantly altered the trustee board, only one trustee has been identified so far. A further trustee will be nominated in the autumn); the Director of the History and Chair of the Editorial Board attend as advisers and the Secretary to the Trust acts as secretary to the Committee.
6. The Trust also has a Finance Committee, which consists of the Treasurer of the Trust, the Director and Accounting Officer, the Secretary of the Trust, together with the Director of Financial Management and Performance at the House of Commons and the Deputy Head of Finance at the House of Lords, together with other staff as appropriate. It meets twice yearly.
7. In setting the programme of research and publication, the Trustees have regard to the Charity Commission's general guidance on public benefit. The Trustees always ensure that the programmes the Trust undertakes are in line with our charitable objectives and aims.

8. The Trust is principally funded by Grant-In-Aid by the House of Commons and House of Lords. The House of Commons Commission delegates detailed scrutiny of the use of the Grant-In-Aid to the Finance Committees of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The Financial Memorandum sets out:
- the administrative and financial arrangements with regard to propriety, financial management and the safeguarding of public funds;
  - the responsibilities of the Trust's designated Accounting Officer, who is also the Director of the Trust; and
  - the responsibilities of the Trust for the day to day management of the Trust's Grant-In-Aid.
9. The Trust has in place a system of internal control and framework for risk management which is proportionate to the size and complexity of the organisation. Procedures have been put in place to deal with risks particularly those associated with the Trust's Reserves Policy, Information Technology and Employment Issues. Its risk register and procedures are reviewed annually as part of the History's planning process, and the register is incorporated in its annual plan.
10. The Director's performance and pay arrangements are reviewed by the Trustees every five years. The Director receives the same percentage cost of living increase as other staff under the Universities and Colleges Employers' Association (UCEA) arrangements.

#### ***The Trust's governance activities in 2024-25***

12. The Trustees met on 3 occasions in 2024-25 to consider among other things the following matters:
- The progress of the History's various research projects;
  - Financial planning and budgeting;
  - The History's public engagement activities;
  - The future governance of the Trust including the transfer to the new Trust.
13. The key data reviewed by the Board on the progress of its research is compiled on the basis of completed articles filed within the History's computer network and audited by the Director and members of its Editorial Board. Trustees regard this as good assurance of the existence and quality of the articles completed.
14. There was a 62% attendance of Trustees at Trust meetings. The timing of the general election in July 2024 had an impact on attendance.

*Trustee attendance at Trust meetings:*

	<b>Jul-24</b>	<b>Oct-24</b>	<b>Jan-25</b>
Professor The Lord Norton of Louth (Chair)*	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Dame Clare Moriarty DCB* (Treasurer)		<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Mrs Wendy Chamberlain MP			
Rt. hon. The Lord Clark of Windermere		<b>x</b>	
Professor Pam Cox MP		<b>x</b>	
Mr Mark D'Arcy		<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Mrs Sarah Davies		<b>x</b>	
Baroness Dianne Hayter		<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Mr Gordon Marsden	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Rt. hon. Lord Lexden	<b>x</b>		
Rt. hon. Kwasi Kwarteng MP			
Mr Patrick Vollmer*	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>*Member of the Executive Committee signifies attendance</b>	<b>x</b>		

***The risk and control framework***

15. A risk management strategy is in place and includes systems and procedures to mitigate identified risks and minimise their impact. A risk register is circulated to Trustees and is currently agreed by them annually as part of the History's Annual Plan. In future, the risk register will be reviewed bi-annually. The Plan will normally be made available online at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org) (the site is currently undergoing rebuilding).
16. The main risks identified in respect of Governance and management involve project specification and timetable; the relationship between practice and policies pursued by the Trustees and Editorial Board, and the potential loss of key staff as well as non-attendance by Trustees and vacancies among Trustees. In respect of research activities, the register identifies risk in terms of the quality of articles produced, and online and print publication processes. Operational risks include employment issues, cyber security, health and safety, staff turnover and recruitment, premises and property management and disaster. Financial risks include funding and budgeting, fraud and error, and banking.
17. Risks are assessed in terms of their probability and impact, assigned to a risk owner and a procedure for control and mitigation is set out, together with the current status of mitigation activities.
18. Additional risks added to the risk register in 2024-25 include: cyber security/IT failure and missed payments from St James's House. There were no lapses of protective security.
19. The system of internal control is based on an ongoing process designed to identify and prioritise the risks to the achievement of the Trust's policies, aims and objectives, to

consider the likelihood of those risks being realised and the impact should they be realised, and to manage them efficiently, effectively and economically.

20. The system of internal control is designed to manage risk to a reasonable level rather than eliminate all the risk of failure to achieve policies, aims and objectives of the Trust. In doing this, it can therefore only provide reasonable and not absolute assurance of effectiveness.
21. The system of internal control has been in place in the Trust for the year ended 31 March 2025 and up to the date of approval of the annual report and accounts and accords with Treasury guidance.

### **Review of effectiveness**

22. The Trustees comply with the principles laid out in corporate governance in central government departments, "the Code". There are certain principles in the Code which are not applicable to the Trust's Board and these relate in the main to central government boards' roles relating to government policy making and the power of ministers. Other elements which are not applicable include certain elements in the Code dealing with board composition and the board's relationship with its Arm's Length Bodies. The Trust seeks to uphold the highest standards of governance through the accountability and transparency of its management processes, decision-making and communications.
23. The History usually prepares, reviews and publishes its strategic plan each year. A survey of the academic and cultural value of the output of the Trust is also completed in each year as part of its annual review, and a summary is included in the Annual Report, above. The Trust continues to monitor its reserve closely and to discuss the appropriate level through its Finance Committee.
24. The Accounting Officer has responsibility for maintaining an effective system of internal control and periodically to review the procedures that we have in place. Her review of the Trust's internal control is informed by the work of Parliament's internal auditors, and comments made by the external auditors in their management letter and other reports. The last internal audit was carried out in 2020. She also has regard to guidance on internal control and financial management issued by HM Treasury. In her opinion the Trust's system of internal control meets the criteria for effectiveness set out in paragraph 23 above.
25. In the opinion of the Trustees and the Accounting Officer, the Governance processes and practices employed by the Trust have enabled us as Accounting Officer and Trustees to effectively discharge our responsibilities to manage and control the organisation's resources during the course of 2024-25.

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer



Lord Norton of Louth  
On behalf of the Trustees



**The History of Parliament**  
15 December 2025

# THE REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

## Opinion on financial statements

I have audited the financial statements of the History of Parliament Trust for the year ended 31 March 2025.

The financial statements comprise the History of Parliament Trust's:

- Balance Sheet as at 31 March 2025;
- Statement of Financial Activities and Statement of Cash Flows for the year then ended; and
- the related notes including the significant accounting policies.

The financial reporting framework that has been applied in the preparation of the financial statements is applicable law and United Kingdom accounting standards including Financial Reporting Standards (FRS) 102, the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice).

In my opinion, the financial statements:

- give a true and fair view of the state of the History of Parliament Trust's affairs as at 31 March 2025 and its net movement in funds for the year then ended;
- have been properly prepared in accordance with United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice; and Charities Statement of Recommended Practice; and
- have been properly prepared in accordance with the Charities Act 2011.

## Opinion on regularity

In my opinion, in all material respects, the income and expenditure recorded in the financial statements have been applied to the purposes intended by Parliament and the financial transactions recorded in the financial statements conform to the authorities which govern them.

## Basis for opinion

I conducted my audit in accordance with International Standards on Auditing (UK) (ISAs (UK)), applicable law and Practice Note 10 *Audit of Financial Statements and Regularity of Public Sector Bodies in the United Kingdom (2024)*. My responsibilities under those standards are further described in the *Auditor's responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements* section of my report.

Those standards require me and my staff to comply with the Financial Reporting Council's *Revised Ethical*

*Standard 2024*. I am independent of the History of Parliament Trust in accordance with the ethical requirements that are relevant to my audit of the financial statements in the UK. My staff and I have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with these requirements.

I believe that the audit evidence I have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for my opinion.

### **Conclusions relating to going concern**

In auditing the financial statements, I have concluded that the History of Parliament Trust's use of the going concern basis of accounting in the preparation of the financial statements is appropriate.

Based on the work I have performed, I have not identified any material uncertainties relating to events or conditions that, individually or collectively, may cast significant doubt on the History of Parliament Trust's ability to continue as a going concern for a period of at least twelve months from when the financial statements are authorised for issue.

My responsibilities and the responsibilities of the Trustees and Accounting Officer with respect to going concern are described in the relevant sections of this report.

### **Other information**

The other information comprises information included in the Annual Report, but does not include the financial statements and my auditor's report thereafter. The Trustees and Accounting Officer are responsible for the other information.

My opinion on the financial statements does not cover the other information and, except to the extent otherwise explicitly stated in my report, I do not express any form of assurance conclusion thereon.

My responsibility is to read the other information and, in doing so, consider whether the other information is materially inconsistent with the financial statements, or my knowledge obtained in the audit, or otherwise appears to be materially misstated.

If I identify such material inconsistencies or apparent material misstatements, I am required to determine whether this gives rise to a material misstatement in the financial statements themselves. If, based on the work I have performed, I conclude that there is a material misstatement of this other information, I am required to report that fact.

I have nothing to report in this regard.

### **Opinion on other matters**

In my opinion, based on the work undertaken in the course of the audit the information given in the Annual Report for the financial year for which the financial statements are prepared is consistent with the financial statements and is in accordance with the applicable legal requirements.

### **Matters on which I report by exception**

In the light of the knowledge and understanding of the History of Parliament Trust and its environment obtained in the course of the audit, I have not identified material misstatements in the Annual Report.

I have nothing to report in respect of the following matters which I report to you if, in my opinion:

- adequate accounting records have not been kept by the History of Parliament Trust or returns adequate for my audit have not been received from branches not visited by my staff; or
- I have not received all of the information and explanations I require for my audit; or

- the financial statements are not in agreement with the accounting records and returns; or
- certain disclosures of remuneration specified by the Charities Act 2011 have not been made.

### **Responsibilities of the Trustees and Accounting Officer for the financial statements**

As explained more fully in the Statement of Responsibilities of the Trustees and of the Accounting Officer of the History of Parliament Trust, the Trustees and Accounting Officer are responsible for:

- maintaining proper accounting records;
- providing the C&AG with access to all information of which management is aware that is relevant to the preparation of the financial statements such as records, documentation and other matters;
- providing the C&AG with additional information and explanations needed for his audit;
- providing the C&AG with unrestricted access to persons within the History of Parliament Trust from whom the auditor determines it necessary to obtain audit evidence;
- ensuring such internal controls are in place as deemed necessary to enable the preparation of financial statements to be free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error; and
- preparing financial statements which give a true and fair view and are in accordance with the applicable financial reporting framework;
- assessing the History of Parliament Trust's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless the Trustees and the Accounting Officer either intend to liquidate the entity or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so.

### **Auditor's responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements**

My responsibility is to audit and express an opinion on the financial statements in accordance with the Charities Act 2011.

My objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue a report that includes my opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with ISAs (UK) will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

### **Extent to which the audit was considered capable of detecting non-compliance with laws and regulations including fraud**

I design procedures in line with my responsibilities, outlined above, to detect material misstatements in respect of non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud. The extent to which my procedures are capable of detecting non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud is detailed below.

## **Identifying and assessing potential risks related to non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud**

In identifying and assessing risks of material misstatement in respect of non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud, I:

- considered the nature of the sector, control environment and operational performance including the design of the History of Parliament Trust's accounting policies;
- inquired of management, and those charged with governance, including obtaining and reviewing supporting documentation relating to the History of Parliament Trust's policies and procedures on:
  - identifying, evaluating and complying with laws and regulations;
  - detecting and responding to the risks of fraud; and
  - the internal controls established to mitigate risks related to fraud or non-compliance with laws and regulations including the History of Parliament Trusts's controls relating to the History of Parliament Trust's compliance with the Charities Act 2011 and Managing Public Money;
- inquired of management and those charged with governance whether:
  - they were aware of any instances of non-compliance with laws and regulations; and
  - they had knowledge of any actual, suspected, or alleged fraud;
- discussed with the engagement team regarding how and where fraud might occur in the financial statements and any potential indicators of fraud.

As a result of these procedures, I considered the opportunities and incentives that may exist within the History of Parliament Trust for fraud and identified the greatest potential for fraud in the following areas: revenue recognition, posting of unusual journals, complex transactions, and bias in management estimates. In common with all audits under ISAs (UK), I am required to perform specific procedures to respond to the risk of management override.

I obtained an understanding of the History of Parliament Trusts framework of authority and other legal and regulatory frameworks in which the History of Parliament Trust operates. I focused on those laws and regulations that had a direct effect on material amounts and disclosures in the financial statements or that had a fundamental effect on the operations of the History of Parliament Trust. The key laws and regulations I considered in this context included The Charities Act 2011, Managing Public Money, the Financial Memorandum with the House of Commons and the House of Lords, employment law and tax legislation.

### **Audit response to identified risk**

To respond to the identified risks resulting from the above procedures:

- I reviewed the financial statement disclosures and testing to supporting documentation to assess compliance with provisions of relevant laws and regulations described above as having direct effect on the financial statements;
- I enquired of management and the Trustees concerning actual and potential litigation and claims;
- I reviewed minutes of meetings of those charged with governance and the Trustee Board;
- I addressed the risk of fraud through management override of controls by testing the appropriateness of journal entries and other adjustments; assessing whether the

judgements on estimates are indicative of a potential bias; and evaluating the business rationale of any significant transactions that are unusual or outside the normal course of business; and

- I communicated relevant identified laws and regulations and potential risks of fraud to all engagement team members and remained alert to any indications of fraud or non-compliance with laws and regulations throughout the audit.

A further description of my responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements is located on the Financial Reporting Council's website at: [www.frc.org.uk/auditorsresponsibilities](http://www.frc.org.uk/auditorsresponsibilities). This description forms part of my report.

#### **Other auditor's responsibilities**

I am required to obtain sufficient appropriate audit evidence to give reasonable assurance that the expenditure and income recorded in the financial statements have been applied to the purposes intended by Parliament and the financial transactions recorded in the financial statements conform to the authorities which govern them.

I communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control I identify during my audit.

**Gareth Davies**

**Comptroller and Auditor General**

**Date**

**December 2025**

National Audit Office  
157-197 Buckingham Palace Road  
Victoria  
London  
SW1W 9SP

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES FOR YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025

	Notes	2024-25 Unrestricted Funds £	2024-25 Restricted Funds £	2024-25 Total Funds £	2023-24 Total Funds £
<b><u>Income from</u></b>					
<b>Donations</b>					
Grant-In-Aid	2	1,381,482	-	1,381,482	1,967,566
<b>Charitable Activities</b>					
Publications	3	5,927	-	5,927	30,865
Fees	3	106,602	-	106,602	100,459
Investments	4	18,357	-	18,357	18,837
<b>Other income</b>					
Accommodation	5	32,687	-	32,687	29,057
Research services	5	-	-	-	2,346
<b>Total income</b>		<b>1,545,055</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,545,055</b>	<b>2,149,130</b>
<b><u>Expenditure on</u></b>					
Charitable Activities	6	1,744,485	-	1,744,485	1,874,334
Other Costs	7	32,762	-	32,762	65,296
<b>Total expenditure</b>		<b>1,777,247</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,777,247</b>	<b>1,939,630</b>
<b>Net movement in funds</b>		<b>(232,192)</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>(232,192)</b>	<b>209,500</b>
<b>Reconciliation of funds:</b>					
Total funds brought forward		1,038,218	4,744	1,042,962	833,462
<b>Total funds carried forward</b>		<b>806,026</b>	<b>4,744</b>	<b>810,770</b>	<b>1,042,962</b>

All amounts relate to continuing activities. All recognised gains and losses are included in the Statement of Financial Activities.

The notes on pages 43 to 56 form part of these accounts.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST  
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 2025**

	Notes	As at 31 March 2025 £	As at 31 March 2024 £
<b>Fixed Assets</b>			
Tangible Fixed Assets	10	2,254	1,656
<b>Current Assets</b>			
Stock of Publications	11	38,568	69,901
Debtors and Prepayments	12	259,611	254,369
Short Term Investments	13	481,513	478,597
Cash in hand and at the bank	14	319,811	545,218
		1,099,503	1,348,085
<b>Current Liabilities</b>			
Creditors: amounts falling due within one year	15	(90,987)	(98,419)
<b>Net Current Assets</b>		<u>1,008,516</u>	<u>1,249,666</u>
<b>Total Assets less Current Liabilities</b>		1,010,770	1,251,322
<b>Provisions for Liabilities and Charges</b>	16	(200,000)	(208,360)
<b>Net Assets</b>		<u><b>810,770</b></u>	<u><b>1,042,962</b></u>
<b>The funds of the charity</b>			
Unrestricted Funds	17	806,026	1,038,218
Restricted Funds	17	4,744	4,744
<b>Total</b>		<u><b>810,770</b></u>	<u><b>1,042,962</b></u>

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer

  
.....

Lord Norton of Louth  
Chair of Trustees

  
.....

15 December 2025

The notes on pages 43 to 56 form part of these accounts.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025**

	Note	2025 £	2024 £
<b>Cash flows from operating activities:</b>			
<b>Net cash provided by/(used in) operating activities</b>		(238,947)	200,026
<b>Cash flows from investing activities</b>			
Interest from investments	4	14,567	15,704
Proceeds from sale of investments	4	6,779	-
Purchase of property, plant and equipment	10	(1,901)	-
<b>Net cash provided by/(used in) investing activities</b>		<b>19,445</b>	<b>15,704</b>
<b>Increase/(decrease) in cash and cash equivalents in the reporting period</b>		<b>(219,502)</b>	<b>215,730</b>
<b>Cash and cash equivalents at the beginning of the reporting period</b>	13 & 14	932,263	716,533
<b>Cash and cash equivalents at the end of the reporting period</b>	13 & 14	<b>712,761</b>	<b>932,263</b>

**RECONCILIATION OF NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) TO NET CASH FLOW FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES**

	Note	2025 £	2024 £
<b>Net income/(expenditure) for the reporting period (as per the statement of financial activities)</b>		(232,192)	209,500
Adjustments for:			
Depreciation charges and write off	7	1,303	993
(Income) from investments	4	(18,357)	(18,837)
Increase/(Decrease) in provision	16	(8,360)	8,360
Decrease/(Increase) in stocks	11	31,333	(31,447)
(Increase)/Decrease in debtors	12	(5,242)	23,611
Increase/(Decrease) in creditors	15	(7,432)	7,846
<b>Net cash provided by/(used in) operating activities</b>		<b>(238,947)</b>	<b>200,026</b>

**RECONCILIATION OF NET DEBT**

	Note	At 1/4/24 £	Cash-flows £	At 31/3/25 £
Cash in hand	14	545,218	(225,407)	319,811
Cash equivalents (notice deposits less than 3 months)	13	387,045	5,905	392,950
<b>Total</b>		<b>932,263</b>	<b>(219,502)</b>	<b>712,761</b>

The notes on pages 43 to 56 form part of these accounts.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025

#### 1. Accounting Policies

##### (a) Accounting Convention

- I. The financial statements are prepared in a form determined by the Trustees in accordance with the Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Without limiting the information given, the accounts meet the accounting and disclosure requirements of the Statement of Recommended Practice "Accounting and Reporting by Charities" (published by the Charity Commission for England and Wales) and the Charities Act.
- II. The History of Parliament Trust is a public benefit entity.
- III. As all income and expenditure in both 2023-24 and 2024-25 was unrestricted, no analysis is required showing the comparators split between restricted and unrestricted.

##### (b) Cash in hand and at the bank

This comprises of cash in hand and current balances with banks and other financial institutions which are readily convertible to known amounts of cash, which are subject to insignificant risk of changes in value and have an original maturity of less than three months.

##### (c) Income

- I. Grant-in-Aid is accounted for in the year it is received.
- II. All other income is included in the Statement of Financial Activities when the History is entitled to the income, receipt is probable and its amount can be measured reliably.
- III. Income from rental of office space under an operating lease (see notes 1(m) and 20) is accounted for over the period in which it is earned. Rent received in advance and in hand at the end of the financial year is accounted for as deferred income.

##### (d) Direct Charitable Expenditure and other costs incurred in achieving the objectives of the Charity

As required by the charity SORP, expenditure is analysed between that directly attributable to our charitable activities and those attributable to governance and support costs. Direct costs are allocated directly to an activity where possible (largely on the basis of staff time, following a survey of staff) and otherwise in the same proportion as the direct costs.

##### (e) Tax

The History of Parliament Trust is registered for VAT purposes. Where output tax is chargeable, income is stated net of VAT. Expenditure is stated net of recoverable VAT. The Trust is exempt from corporation tax under Section 505A ICTA 1988 on its charitable activities.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### (f) Tangible Fixed Assets and Depreciation

All tangible fixed assets purchased by the Trust are capitalised in the balance sheet at cost. The capitalisation threshold for 2024-25 is £500.

Depreciation is provided on a straight line basis at the following annual rates in order to write off the cost of each asset to its estimated residual value over its estimated useful life:

ICT equipment	4 years
Furniture, fittings and office machines	5 years

A full year's depreciation is charged in the year of acquisition, no depreciation is charged in the year of disposal. A review for impairment of a fixed asset will be carried out if events or changes in circumstances indicate that the carrying amount of the fixed asset may not be recoverable.

#### (g) Stock

Stock consists principally of published printed sets of the History of Parliament held for sale and is valued at the lower of cost and net realisable value. Net realisable value of stock is based on recent sales less impairment for slow moving stock. The provision takes into account the impact of free online publication on future sales.

#### (h) Employees' Pension Costs

In compliance with 17.18 of the Charity SORP, it is the Trust's policy to treat pension costs for employees as being equal to the actual contributions payable during the year (see Note 9d).

#### (i) Redundancy Costs

The History of Parliament recognises redundancy costs once a decision has been made to make staff redundant and includes the expected amount of the payment within staff costs.

#### (j) Debtors and Creditors

The year-end debtors and creditors are valued at amortised costs based on invoices or other reasonable estimates.

#### (k) Investments

The Trust values current asset investments at the cash amount of deposit including any interest receivable which had not been credited to the account at the year end. Current asset investments are defined as those with a maturity of less than a year at the balance sheet date.

#### (l) Projects and Collaborations

HPT is involved as a partner in a number of university-based collaborative projects mainly financed by the UK Research Councils and research charities. HPT's involvement is largely advisory, and is described more fully in the Annual Report. The benefits to the HPT include access to material and research that contribute to its overall research mission, and improving knowledge and usage of its own work.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### (m) Operating Leases

HPT holds an operating lease on its accommodation. Rent is charged to the SOFA and future rent is disclosed in note 20. It has no other operating leases.

#### (n) Going concern

See Note 17a for more details about the level of reserves and paragraph 103 of the Annual Report for more detail on our assessment of going concern.

#### (o) Provisions

The History of Parliament recognises a liability for a provision for a legal or constructive obligation when either the timing or the amount of the future expenditure required to settle the obligation is uncertain. The amount recognised as a provision is the best estimate of the expenditure required to settle or to transfer it to a third party at the reporting date. When calculating the amount, consideration will be given to when the payments are likely to be made and future events and uncertainties which may affect the amount required to settle the obligation. See Note 16 for more details.

#### (p) Development costs

Expenditure related to updating and redesigning the Trust's website are charged to revenue as they are incurred and are included within the website and outreach line in Note 6.

## 2. Income from donations

	2024-25	2023-24
	£	£
Grant-In-Aid		
Grant-In-Aid received from House of Commons Vote	879,126	1,465,210
Grant-In-Aid received from House of Lords Vote	<u>502,356</u>	<u>502,356</u>
	<b><u>1,381,482</u></b>	<b><u>1,967,566</u></b>

Grant-in-aid in 2024-25 received from the House of Commons Vote is lower than the prior year due to £293,042 relating to the 2024-25 financial year being received late in 2023-24 and in advance of the financial year it was intended for. Under the Charities SORP this was recognised in the year of receipt, however it remained within cash balances at 31 March 2024, and was utilised in the 2024-25 financial year.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### 3. Income from Charitable Activities

	<b>2024-25</b>	<b>2023-24</b>
	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Publications	5,927	30,865
Fee income	<u>106,602</u>	<u>100,459</u>
	<b><u>112,529</u></b>	<b><u>131,324</u></b>

The publication income includes royalty income received under agreements with Cambridge University Press (£1,178) and Boydell & Brewer (£4,649) and the balance being from the Houses of Parliament Bookshop (£100).

The fee income is the result of the Trust's collaboration with St James's House Publishing under a 2022 contract which expires in August 2028. The new contract relates to the production of four books over five years, and provides the Trust with an increased fee of £480,000, paid in monthly instalments over the period of the contract. Royalty income is not payable under this new contract. In October 2024 we published the second book under the 2022 contract, "The Commonwealth at 75".

#### 4. Income from Investments

	<b>Unrestricted Funds 2024-25</b>	<b>Unrestricted Funds 2023-24</b>
	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Interest on current bank accounts	8,662	8,477
Dividends and interest on investments*	<u>9,695</u>	<u>10,360</u>
	<b><u>18,357</u></b>	<b><u>18,837</u></b>

\*includes £3,790 of interest in 2024-25 (£3,133 2023-24) on a non-cash equivalent one year cash bond. The balance held in this account was reduced by £6,779 at the start of the year to enable protection from the Financial Services Compensation Scheme.

#### 5. Other income

	<b>2024-25</b>	<b>2023-24</b>
	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Accommodation	32,687	29,057
Research Services	<u>0</u>	<u>2,346</u>
	<b><u>32,687</u></b>	<b><u>31,403</u></b>

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

**(a) Accommodation** This income includes rent from the Trust subletting its third floor offices. The space is let on a serviced basis with the lessee paying in addition for certain services at cost and for occasional meeting facilities. The Trust also has an arrangement with the Parliamentary History Trust to provide office accommodation for a fee of £2,000 per annum.

**(b) Research Services** There was no income received in 2024-25. In 2023-34, the History received £1,000 from the Royal Historical Society towards the cost of running a workshop. In addition, a small amount of income was received from the Universities of Leeds, Durham and Keele towards some small projects.

#### 6. Expenditure on Charitable Activities

Direct Costs	Scholarly and historical Research £	Dissemination of research £	Research with others £	Promotion of educational activities £	Governance Costs £	Support Costs £	2024-25 £
Editorial and research staff costs	849,597	166,933	57,746	68,076	6,321	65,880	1,214,553
Editorial and research commissioned costs	16,312						16,312
Website and outreach staff costs	29,306	182,156	6,942	6,174			224,578
Website and outreach nonpay costs		5,989					5,989
Fees paid to Editorial Board	3,600						3,600
Stock storage costs		512					512
Cost of sales		31,334					31,334
Managerial and administration costs					9,239	55,069	64,308
Estates cost						142,278	142,278
Honoraria					5,083		5,083
St James House book fees		3,964					3,964
IT software, maintenance & support services						26,204	26,204
Small projects, travel and subsistence						4,611	4,611
Stationery, postage, telephones						828	828
Reprographic services						331	331
<b>TOTAL DIRECT CHARITABLE COSTS</b>	<b>898,815</b>	<b>390,888</b>	<b>64,688</b>	<b>74,250</b>	<b>20,643</b>	<b>295,201</b>	<b>1,744,485</b>
<b>7. Other costs</b>							
Depreciation	820	356	59	68			1,303
Notional audit fee					27,000		27,000
Operating costs (incl legal fees)	12,642	5,498	910	1,044	11,365		31,459
Reversal of notional audit fee					(27,000)		(27,000)
<b>TOTAL OTHER COSTS</b>	<b>13,462</b>	<b>5,854</b>	<b>969</b>	<b>1,112</b>	<b>11,365</b>		<b>32,762</b>
<b>TOTAL DIRECT AND OTHER COSTS EXC SUPPORT</b>	<b>912,277</b>	<b>396,742</b>	<b>65,657</b>	<b>75,362</b>	<b>32,008</b>		<b>1,482,046</b>
Allocation of support costs	185,723	80,769	13,367	15,342			295,201
Allocation of governance costs	20,137	8,758	1,449	1,664			32,008
<b>GRAND TOTAL COSTS</b>	<b>1,118,137</b>	<b>486,269</b>	<b>80,473</b>	<b>92,368</b>			<b>1,777,247</b>

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### Expenditure on Charitable Activities 2023-24

Direct Costs	Scholarly and historical Research	Dissemination of research	Research with others	Promotion of educational activities	Governance Costs	Support Costs	2023-24
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Editorial and research staff costs	987,977	136,114	60,349	61,850	6,992	72,568	1,325,850
Editorial and research commissioned costs	39,325						39,325
Website and outreach staff costs	27,475	173,922	4,667	2,335			208,399
Website and outreach nonpay costs		25,903					25,903
Fees paid to Editorial Board	3,875						3,875
Stock storage costs		477					477
Cost of sales		33,373					33,373
Managerial and administration costs					6,998	50,167	57,165
Estates cost						142,755	142,755
Honoraria					5,200		5,200
St James House book fees		128					128
IT software, maintenance & support services						23,102	23,102
Small projects, travel and subsistence						7,064	7,064
Stationery, postage, telephones						971	971
Reprographic services						747	747
	<b>1,058,652</b>	<b>369,917</b>	<b>65,016</b>	<b>64,185</b>	<b>19,190</b>	<b>297,374</b>	<b>1,874,334</b>
<b>7. Other costs</b>							
Depreciation	675	236	41	41			993
Notional audit fee					25,500		25,500
Operating costs (incl legal fees)	31,439	10,985	1,931	1,906	18,042		64,303
Reversal of notional audit fee					(25,500)		(25,500)
<b>Other costs</b>	<b>32,114</b>	<b>11,221</b>	<b>1,972</b>	<b>1,947</b>	<b>18,042</b>		<b>65,296</b>
<b>Direct and other costs</b>	<b>1,090,766</b>	<b>381,138</b>	<b>66,988</b>	<b>66,132</b>	<b>37,232</b>		<b>1,642,256</b>
Allocation of support costs	202,094	70,616	12,411	12,253			297,374
Allocation of governance costs	25,303	8,841	1,554	1,534			37,232
<b>GRAND TOTAL COSTS</b>	<b>1,318,163</b>	<b>460,595</b>	<b>80,953</b>	<b>79,919</b>			<b>1,939,630</b>

Auditors have not performed any non-audit work.

As required by the charity SORP, expenditure is analysed between that directly attributable to our charitable activities and those attributable to governance and support costs. Direct costs are allocated directly to an activity where possible (largely on the basis of staff time, following a survey of staff) and otherwise in the same proportion as the direct costs.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### 8. Total Expenditure

Analysis of Expenditure 2024-25

	2024-25			2023-24		
	Charitable Activities	Other costs	Total	Charitable Activities	Other costs	Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Cost of raising donations	4,120	-	4,120	5,343	-	5,343
Cost of Charitable activities	1,720,515	32,762	1,753,277	1,849,146	65,296	1,914,442
Cost of other income	19,850		19,850	19,845		19,845
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,744,485</b>	<b>32,762</b>	<b>1,777,247</b>	<b>1,874,334</b>	<b>65,296</b>	<b>1,939,630</b>

#### 9. Total Staff Cost and Trustee remuneration

##### (a) Staff Costs

	2024-25	2023-24
	£	£
Salaries of professional staff	1,170,292	1,196,393
Salaries/wages of support staff	34,883	33,417
Superannuation contributions	171,915	233,687
National Insurance contributions	135,031	136,992
Freelance work	17,012	39,325
	<b>1,529,133</b>	<b>1,639,814</b>

The number of employees, including the Director, whose emoluments as defined for tax purposes (excluding employer's pension contribution), amounted to over £60,000 in the year was as follows:

	2024-25	2023-24
	No.	No.
£60,000-£69,999	5	5
£70,000-£79,999	1	0
£80,000-£89,999	1	0
£90,000-£99,999	0	0

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

The average number of employees (full time equivalent for support staff) analysed by function was:

Full time equivalent staff analysed by function	2024-25		2023-24	
	Professional Staff	Support Staff	Professional Staff	Support Staff
Editorial and Research	20.12		21.12	
Management and Administration	1.15	0.8	0.94	0.8
	21.27	0.8	22.06	0.8

#### (b) Director's Emoluments

The salary and pension entitlements of the Director were as follows

	2024-25	2023-24
	£	£
Paul Seaward (April 23 to November 23)	-	78,020
Dr Jennifer Davey	97,886	32,170
	97,886	110,190

Dr Jennifer Davey's emoluments as Director of £97,886 (2023-24 £32,170, she joined the History in December 2023) comprised a salary of £85,490 and employer's contributions to the pension scheme of £12,396. Consistent with professional staff employed by the Trust, the Director is an ordinary member of the Universities Superannuation Scheme.

In 2023-24, Paul Seaward's emoluments as Director of £78,020 comprised a salary of £64,161 and employer's contributions to the pension scheme of £13,859. Dr Jennifer Davey's emoluments comprised a salary of £27,667 and employer's contributions to the pension scheme of £4,503.

#### (c) Trustees' Remuneration

No trustee or person with a family or business connection with a trustee has received any remuneration or expenses directly or indirectly from the Trust.

#### (d) Superannuation

The employer's superannuation contribution included in 6(a) above comprises £171,915 for staff (£233,687 in 2023-24) participating in the Universities Superannuation Scheme. The reduction in costs between 2023-24 and 2024-25 is largely explained by the reduction in the rate of employer contributions from 21.6% to 14.5% from 1 January 2024. The employers' National Insurance contribution included in 6 (a) above comprises £131,472 for professional staff and £3,559 for support staff (£133,342 and £3,650 respectively in 2023-24).

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### Universities Superannuation Scheme

The History of Parliament participates in the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS). The History of Parliament had 24 active members participating in the scheme at the 31st March 2025. The scheme is the principal pension scheme for academic and academic-related employees of UK universities and other higher education and research institutions. Due to the mutual nature of the scheme, the assets are not attributed to individual institutions and a scheme-wide contribution is set. The History is therefore exposed to actuarial risks associated with other institutions' employees and is unable to identify its share of the underlying assets and liabilities of the scheme on a consistent and reasonable basis. Like other institutions participating in USS, the Trust therefore accounts for the scheme as if it were a defined contribution scheme. As a result, the amount charged to the Statement of Financial Activities represents the contributions payable to the scheme. Since the History cannot identify its share of the USS assets and liabilities, the details below are for the scheme as whole.

An actuarial valuation report as at the end of March 2020 showed the scheme to be in deficit. Measures were agreed via the USS Joint Negotiating Committee to address the deficit in the autumn of 2021. These included changes to contributions and future service benefits, as well as an enhanced level of covenant support to the Scheme, including a rolling long-term moratorium on employers leaving the scheme without the consent of USS. These changes were implemented from 1 April 2022. Employer contributions were increased to 21.6% of salary, and employee contributions were 9.8% of salary. Following a further actuarial valuation in March 2023 and a valuation of a surplus of £7.4 billion, employer contributions were reduced to 14.5% of salary from 1 January 2024 and employee contributions to 6.1% from the same date. From 1 April 2024 the pre-April 2022 defined benefits were restored. The next valuation report is March 2026. As at 31 March 2025, the interim assessment indicates that the scheme is still in surplus. The assets of the scheme are held in a separate fund administered by the trustee, Universities Superannuation Scheme Limited. The auditors and actuary to the USS have advised that it is appropriate to take the pension costs in the Trust's accounts to be equal to the actual contributions paid during the year. Management agree with this assessment as it is compliant with 17.18 of the Charity SORP.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### 10. Tangible Fixed Assets

	IT Equipment £	Furniture, Fittings and Office Equipment £	Total £
<b>Cost</b>			
At 1 April 2024	13,554	39,039	52,593
Additions	1,901	-	1,901
Disposals	(537)	-	(537)
At 31 March 2025	14,918	39,039	53,957
<b>Depreciation</b>			
At 1 April 2024	12,380	38,557	50,937
On disposals	(537)	-	(537)
Charge	1,063	240	1,303
At 31 March 2025	12,906	38,797	51,703
Net Book value at 31 March 2025	<b>2,012</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>2,254</b>
Net Book value at 31 March 2024	1,174	482	1,656

#### 11. Stock

	31-Mar-25 £	Net Realisable Value at 31-Mar-24 £
Published Volumes	<b>38,568</b>	<b>69,901</b>

#### 12. Debtors and Prepayments

	31 March 2025 £	31 March 2024 £
Due within 1 year		
Trade Debtors	169,501	212,142
Prepayments & accrued income	31,069	42,227
Debtor VAT	1,567	-
	202,137	254,369
Due after 1 year		
Trade Debtors	57,474	-
Total	<b>259,611</b>	<b>254,369</b>

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

Under a 2018 contract with St James's House, royalty income was receivable and all the anticipated income (£233,457) was recognised in the 2021-22 accounts as accrued income. All of the outstanding trade debtors are St James's House. In 2023-24 it had been expected that all of the outstanding debt from St James's House would be cleared within 12 months. This did not happen and a new repayment plan has been agreed, the age profile of which is reflected above. Of the £226,975 outstanding at 31 March 2025 (£193,807 2023-24) £106,528 related to royalties (£136,754 2023-24), £109,387 relates to license fees (£57,053 2023-24) and the balance £11,060 is due to image costs and contributor fees. (£0 in 2023-24).

#### 13. Investments

	31 March 2025	31 March 2024
	£	£
Virgin money 1 year bond*	88,563	91,552
Scottish Widows (CAF) 90 day notice	392,950	387,045
	<b>481,513</b>	<b>478,597</b>

\* Virgin money 1 year bond is a non cash equivalent.

#### 14. Cash in hand and at bank

	31 March 2025	31 March 2024
	£	£
Cash at Bank	319,795	545,207
Cash in Hand	16	11
	<b>319,811</b>	<b>545,218</b>

Cash at Bank includes a £7,500 (2024: £7,500) rent deposit paid by our tenant, due to be returned in 2025-26.

#### 15. Creditors: amounts falling due within one year

	31 March 2025	31 March 2024
	£	£
Trade Creditors	10,142	14,036
Accruals	7,719	8,266
Funds held on behalf of third parties	7,500	7,500
Deferred income	7,423	7,423
Tax and social security	33,251	37,755
Other creditors	24,952	23,439
	<b>90,987</b>	<b>98,419</b>

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### 16. Provisions for Liabilities and Charges

	Lease Dilapidation Costs £	Employee Benefits £	Total £
Provision as at 1 April 2024	(200,000)	(8,360)	(208,360)
Provision utilised in year	-	8,360	8,360
Provision provided in year	-	-	-
Provision as at 31 March 2025	(200,000)	0	(200,000)

The History of Parliament's previous lease on its office accommodation in Bloomsbury Square expired in November 2015. In 2014-15 a provision was established for the expected Dilapidations costs that the Trust would incur if it leaves the accommodation, based on a Schedule of Dilapidations prepared by the landlord in Autumn 2014. In November 2015 the lease was renewed, but with a break clause operable in November 2020. The Trustees decided not to exercise the break clause and so most of the items on the dilapidations schedule have been held over until the end of the lease in 2025. A dilapidations review conducted by Hanway Commercial in June 2024 concluded that the provision in place was adequate. Management conclude this is still adequate for 2024-25.

The employee benefits provision in 2023-24 represented an assessment of the total amount due to HMRC for a taxable benefit previously undisclosed on a staff health scheme provision for eye tests and counselling. This came to light when a review was undertaken of the value for money of this scheme. A voluntary disclosure was made to HMRC. The provision represented the value an independent assessor had made and covered the amount due, interest, penalties and the fee to the assessor.

This matter was resolved through an agreement with HMRC during the latter stages of 2024-25 and the provision utilised.

#### 17. Funds

##### (a) Unrestricted Funds

At 31 March 2025, the Trust held total unrestricted funds of £805,230 (March 2024: £1,038,218).

##### (b) Restricted Funds

At 31 March 2025 the Trust held restricted funds of £ 4,744 (March 2024: £4,744) which are being held for use in the publication of the 1624 diaries project.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

#### 18. Financial instruments

##### (a) Liquidity Risk

The History of Parliament Trust is financed by Grant-In-Aid paid from both the House of Commons and House of Lords. It is not exposed to significant liquidity risk.

##### (b) Credit risk

The History of Parliament Trust held at the 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025 a total of £268,848 (2024 £569,370) with HSBC in five commercial current bank accounts, £29,031 (2024 £55,531) in a Charity Aid Foundation bank account and £20,841 (2024 £20,306) with the Monmouthshire Building Society in a savings account. The Trust's management does not consider that the Trust is exposed to a significant risk notwithstanding the current Financial Services Compensation Scheme guarantee of £85,000.

##### (c) Investment Risk

49% of the Trust's short term investments and cash balances are invested with the Scottish Widows Bank in a CAF 90 day account. Interest is paid monthly and reinvested in the account. Another 11% is invested in a 1 year Virgin Money Bond which was due to mature on the 25<sup>th</sup> April 2025 with interest paid annually. The Trust's management does not consider that the Trust is exposed to a significant risk notwithstanding the current Financial Services Compensation Scheme guarantee of £85,000.

#### 19. Related Party Transactions

The House of Commons and the House of Lords are regarded as related parties. Both Houses provide a Grant-In-Aid to the Trust under terms provided for in the financial memorandum. See Note 2 for the amounts. There were no receivables or payables at either 31 March 2025 or 31 March 2024.

The House of Commons also provides internal audit services at no charge to the Trust. None of the Trust's key management staff, or any other related party has undertaken any material transactions with the Trust during the year.

#### 20. Operating Lease

Total future minimum lease payments under operating leases are given in the table below for each of the following periods:

	31 March 2025	31 March 2024
	£	£
Buildings:		
Expiry		
Not later than one year	65,226	100,000
Later than one year and not later than 5 years	0	65,226
Lease expense recognised in year	100,000	99,979

The lease expired on 24th November 2025.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2025 – (CONTINUED)

At the 31<sup>st</sup> March 2025, the History of Parliament had received rent in advance for serviced sublet office space of £6,923. This income was deferred to 2025-26.

#### 21. Losses and special payments

There were no losses or special payments in the reporting period that require separate disclosure because of their nature or amount.

#### 22. Events after the end of the reporting date

There has been one non-adjusting event after the balance sheet date. A 10 year lease for a new principal office was signed on 14 August 2025, with a term commencement date of 1 September 2025 and a break after 5 years on 1 September 2030. The table below presents what the relevant note would look like had the lease been signed pre-year end.

#### Financial implications of new lease only

	31 March 2025	31 March 2024
	£	£
Buildings:		
Expiry		
Not later than one year	19,031	100,000
Later than one year and not later than 5 years	252,956	65,226
Later than 5 years	27,200	-

The annual report and financial statements were authorised for issue by the Accounting Officer on the same date that the audit certificate was signed by the Comptroller and Auditor General.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

England & Wales - Charity number 1202089

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# Accounts

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Charity Commission  
PO Box 211  
Bootle  
L20 7YX

Jennie Davey, Director  
History of Parliament  
18 Bloomsbury Square  
London WC1A 2NS  
020 7467 9811  
[jdavey@histparl.ac.uk](mailto:jdavey@histparl.ac.uk)

28 January 2025

Dear Sir/Madam

**Re: History of Parliament Trust - Annual Report and Accounts accompanying the Charity Commission Annual Returns 2023/24  
Former trust – 306034. New Trust – 1202089**

The attached annual report and accounts, submitted with the annual returns cover the entire financial year 2023/24 for both the old Trust (306034) and the new Trust (1202089).

The Trustees of the History of Parliament submitted a successful application to the Charity Commission for a new charity to be registered as a Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO), which was approved on 27 February 2023 (The History of Parliament Trust, Charity No. 1202089) and with the agreement of the Trustees of both the old and new bodies, all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust were transferred to the new Trust on 31 August 2023. The audited financial statements have been prepared on a going concern basis following a thorough assessment of the Trust's activities and level of financial risk over the 12 months following the date of approval of the statements. As all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust have been transferred to the new, both have been presented as a combined set of accounts using merger accounting under the Charities Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP) (FRS 102). The same set of accounts will be used to complete the annual return for both entities.

My Finance Manager was advised by telephone by the Charity Commission on 15 January 2025, that for completion of the annual returns for each entity, given the cessation of the old Trust mid financial year, and the creation of the new:

- a. To complete a partial annual return for each charity with a cut off date of the 31 August 2023 for the old Trust.
- b. To attach a covering letter to the annual report and accounts showing the splits for each charity and explaining for any reader how the 12 months figures divide between the 2 entities.

The financial statement for both entities are therefore presented below. These have not been subject to audit, although the full financial year accounts have been.

Yours sincerely

**Jennie Davey**  
Director

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

Charity number	Former Trust 1 April 2023 to 31 Aug 2023		New Trust 1 September 2023 to 31 March 2024		1 April 2023 to 31 March 2024	
	Unrestricted Funds	Restricted Funds	Unrestricted Funds	Restricted Funds	Unrestricted Funds	Restricted Funds
	£	£	£	£	£	£
<b>Income from</b>						
Donations	837,262	-	1,130,304	-	1,967,566	-
Grant-in-Aid						
<b>Charitable Activities</b>						
Publications	1,200	-	29,665	-	30,865	
Fees	34,101	-	66,358	-	100,459	
Investments	6,228	-	12,609	-	18,837	
<b>Other income</b>						
Accommodation	10,030	-	19,027	-	29,057	
Research services	1,000	-	1,346	-	2,346	
<b>Total income</b>	<b>889,821</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,259,309</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2,149,130</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Expenditure on</b>						
Charitable Activities	778,371	-	1,095,963	-	1,874,334	
Other Costs	34,746	-	30,550	-	65,296	
<b>Total expenditure</b>	<b>813,117</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,126,513</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,939,630</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Net movement in funds</b>	76,704	-	132,796	-	209,500	-
<b>Reconciliation of funds:</b>						
Total funds brought forward	828,718	4,744	905,422	4,744	828,718	4,744
<b>Total funds carried forward</b>	<b>905,422</b>	<b>4,744</b>	<b>1,038,218</b>	<b>4,744</b>	<b>1,038,218</b>	<b>4,744</b>

306034

1202089

Both entities 2023-24

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST  
BALANCE SHEET**

Charity number	306034	1202089
	As at 31 August 2023 £	As at 31 March 2023 £
<b>Fixed Assets</b>		
Tangible Fixed Assets	2,235	1,656
<b>Current Assets</b>		
Stock of Publications	103,274	69,901
Debtors and Prepayments	216,946	254,369
Short Term Investments	473,121	478,597
Cash in hand and at the bank	365,270	545,218
	1,158,611	1,348,085
<b>Current Liabilities</b>		
Creditors: amounts falling due within one year	(50,680)	(98,419)
<b>Net Current Assets</b>	1,107,931	1,249,666
<b>Total Assets less Current Liabilities</b>	1,110,166	1,251,322
<b>Provisions for Liabilities and Charges</b>	(200,000)	(208,360)
<b>Net Assets</b>	910,166	1,042,962
<b>The funds of the charity</b>		
Unrestricted Funds	905,422	1,038,218
Restricted Funds	4,744	4,744
<b>Total</b>	910,166	1,042,962

Please note, the balance sheet for the full financial year has been subject to audit.

Please see our annual report and accounts.

The balances at the 31 August 2023 have not been subject to audit.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

**Registered Charity Number: 1202089**

**ANNUAL REPORT  
AND  
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED  
31 MARCH 2024**

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
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## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### LEGAL, REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Charity name	History of Parliament Trust		
Charity number	Former Trust 306034	New Trust 1202089	
Date of transfer of assets, liabilities and operations	To 31 Aug 2023	From 31 Aug 2023	
Co-opted	Yes	To Oct 2023	
Sir Chris Bryant MP* (to October 2023)	Yes	Yes	
Rt. Hon. The Lord Clark of Windermere	Yes	To July 2024	
Mr Jonathan Djanogly MP	Yes	Yes	
Rt. Hon. Kwasi Kwarteng MP	Yes	To Jan 2024	
Lord Lisvane KCB DL	Yes	Yes	
Mr Gordon Marsden	Yes	Yes	
Dame Clare Moriarty (Treasurer)*	Yes	Yes	
Professor The Lord Norton of Louth (Chair)*	Yes	Yes	
Rt. Hon. Chris Skidmore MP	Yes	No	
Mr Mark D'Arcy	No	From 23 July 2024	
Baroness Dianne Hayter	No	From 23 July 2024	
Professor Pam Cox MP	No	From 23 July 2024	
*Member of the Executive Committee			
Senior Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords: Lord Gardiner of Kimble	Until 26 April 2024	No	
Senior Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords: Lord Lexden on behalf of Lord Gardiner of Kimble	No	From 27 April 2024	
Chairman of Ways and Means: Rt. Hon. Dame Eleanor Laing MP	Yes	Until 4 July 2024	
Chairman of Ways and Means: Ms Nusrat Ghani MP	No	From 23 July 2024	
Ex-officio Trustees**	Yes	Yes	
Clerk of the Parliaments, House of Lords: Mr Patrick Vollmer*, on behalf of Mr Simon Burton (from October 2022)	Yes	Yes	
Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons: Mrs Sarah Davies	Yes	Yes	
** Ex-officio trustees are appointed as a result of their position (ie. Clerk or speaker etc) rather than as an individual.			
Secretary	Yes	Yes	
Dr Adam Evans, a Senior Clerk in the House of Commons			

In 2022/23 the Trustees applied to the Charity Commission for the creation of a new Charitable Incorporated Organisation,(CIO) with the title of the History of Parliament Trust which would replace the former Trust, established on 31 December 1940. The Charity Commission accepted the application , and the new CIO was registered in February 2023 with a new Charity Number 1202089. The assets, liabilities and the operations of the Trust were transferred to the new CIO on 31 August 2023. Henceforth, the term HPT will be used to denote the new Trust.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION - CONTINUED

Charity number		Former Trust 306034	New Trust 1202089
Editorial Board Members	Dr Paul Cavill (University of Cambridge)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Richard Cust (University of Birmingham)	Yes	Yes
	Dr Perry Gauci (University of Oxford)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Julian Hoppit (University College, London)	Yes	Yes
	Professor John Morrill (University of Cambridge) (to October 2022)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Helen Parr (University of Keele)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Gordon Pentland (University of Monash)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Laura Stewart (University of York) (from October 2023)	Yes	Yes
	Professor Jane Winters* (School of Advanced Study, University of London) (Chair)	Yes	Yes
Director	Dr Paul Seaward to 30 November 2023 Dr Jennifer Davey from 1 December 2023		
Principal Office	18 Bloomsbury Square London WC1A 2NS		
Bankers	HSBC Plc 69 Pall Mall London SW1Y 5EY		
Solicitors	BDB Pitmans One Bartholomew Close London EC1A 7BL		
Auditor	Comptroller and Auditor General 157-197 Buckingham Palace Road Victoria London SW1W 9SP		
Accountants	Citroen Wells Devonshire House 1 Devonshire Street London W1W 5DF		

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

#### *Structure and governance*

1. The History of Parliament Trust was established by a Declaration of Trust made on 31 December 1940, varied by an Order of the Chancery Division of the High Court made on 12 March 1956 and by Schemes made by the Secretary of State for Education and Science on 6 January 1967 and 27 October 1971 and the Charity Commissioners on 24 July 1996. The Trust was a registered charity (No. 306034). The Scheme made by the Charity Commissioners in 1996 provides that the body of Trustees should comprise four ex officio Trustees and such number of Co-opted Trustees as the Trustees may think fit; provided that the total number of Trustees shall not be less than five nor more than fifteen. The ex officio Trustees are as follows (provided that they are willing to act in this capacity): the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords (now usually known as the Senior Deputy Speaker), the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, and the Clerk Assistant in the House of Commons. The Clerk of the Parliaments is also an ex officio Trustee: he has delegated these responsibilities to the Clerk of Committees in the House of Lords. Co-opted Trustees are appointed by a resolution of the Trustees. The Trustees and their Secretary are listed on p. 3. The Trustees appoint an Editorial Board of distinguished scholars to advise them on academic policy and staff appointments. The members of the Board during the year are listed on p. 4. The staff of the Trust are headed by its Director, who is responsible for directing the management and administration of the History, has overall responsibility for supervising the research and editorial work, and also acts as secretary to the Editorial Board. The Trust also appoints an Executive Committee, whose function is to prepare an agenda for the Trustees' quarterly meetings and take such decisions as are needed in the period between those meetings.
2. During 2022/23, the Trustees applied to the Charity Commission for the creation of a new Charitable Incorporated Organisation, with the title of the History of Parliament Trust, which would ultimately replace the current Trust. The Charity Commission accepted the application, and the new Trust (CIO) was registered in February 2023, with Charity Number 1202089. The assets, liabilities and operations of the Trust were transferred to the new CIO, HPT on 31 August 2023. The 1940 History of Parliament Trust ceased operations following the deed of transfer to the new Trust (CIO).
3. The Trust receives a grant in aid, the terms of which were announced to both Houses of Parliament on 20 February 1951 and to the House of Commons on 27 July 1967. In 2023-24 the Trust received 70 per cent of its grant in aid from the House of Commons Administration Estimate; the remaining 30 per cent is received from the House of Lords Estimate. Prior to April 1995 the grant was received from the Treasury Vote. A Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the authorities of both Houses sets out the aims and objectives of the History of Parliament Trust and the administrative and financial arrangements for its activities, including the conditions for the grant in aid. The grant in aid is approved annually by the Commissions of both Houses, with scrutiny also by the respective Finance Committees. The Trust's own Finance Committee brings together the Treasurer and Director with senior finance officials of both Houses and is the primary forum for the discussion of the Trust's grant in aid.
4. The trustees have examined the major risks the Trust faces. It has in place systems to monitor and control those risks to mitigate any impact they may have on the History in the future. It will continue to review its assessment of these risks as part of its annual Corporate Planning process.

### **Objectives and activities**

5. The History of Parliament Trust is a major academic project to create a scholarly reference work describing the members, constituencies and activities of the Parliament of England and the United Kingdom. The volumes either published or in preparation cover the House of Commons from 1386 to 1868 and the House of Lords from 1558 to 1832. They are widely regarded as an unparalleled source for British political, social and local history.
6. The original charitable objective for the 1940 History of Parliament Trust was the compilation of a literary and historical work know as 'The History of Parliament'. The revised charitable objectives of the Charitable Incorporated Organisation are as follows:

To advance the education of the public in general on the subject of the History of Parliament through:

- Scholarly and historical research on the Parliament of the United Kingdom and its predecessors, those who have been members of these bodies, parliamentary constituencies and elections, and parliamentary politics and institutions in general.
  - Disseminating and interpreting the results of this research to the widest possible audience.
  - The encouragement of research by others on the History of Parliament and Parliamentary institutions.
  - The promotion of related scholarly and educational activities.
7. The volumes on the House of Commons consist of detailed studies of elections and electoral politics in each constituency, and of closely researched accounts of the lives of everyone who was elected to Parliament in the period. The volumes on the House of Lords provide political biographies of peers. In addition, the volumes contain surveys drawing out the themes and discoveries of the research and adding information on the operation of Parliament as an institution.
  8. The History has now published over 27,000 biographies and 3,200 constituency surveys in fourteen sets of volumes (65 volumes in all). They deal with the House of Commons 1386-1421 (1992), 1422-1461 (2020), 1509-1558 (1982), 1558-1603 (1981), 1604-29 (2010), 1640-1660 (2023), 1660-1690 (1983), 1690-1715 (2002), 1715-1754 (1970), 1754-1790 (1964), 1790-1820(1986) and 1820-32 (2009); and the House of Lords 1604-1629 (2021) and 1660-1715 (2016). All of the House of Commons articles published up and including to 2010 are now available on [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org). The History's staff of professional historians is currently researching the House of Commons in the periods 1461-1504 and 1832-1868, and the House of Lords in the period 1558-1603, 1640-1660 and 1715-1790. The two Commons projects currently in progress contain a further 3,925 biographies of members of the House of Commons and 549 constituency surveys; the House of Lords projects contain 1,378 biographies between them. With what is now published and in progress, the History covers 414 years of the history of the House of Commons, and 243 of the House of Lords.
  9. As well as the biographies and constituency surveys, the History undertakes an oral history project designed to record long interviews with former Members of Parliament. These are deposited in the British Library and are made available to researchers. There are further details of the progress of the project at paragraph 19 below.

10. Since 1995, the History has been funded principally by the two Houses of Parliament. It is based close to its original host, the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. It was founded before the Second World War, the brainchild of Josiah Wedgwood MP, a Labour parliamentarian and minister, and revived after the war when a number of the greatest British historians of the day, including Sir Lewis Namier, Sir Frank Stenton and Sir John Neale, were involved in its re-establishment. The project is governed by its Trustees, who are mainly Members and Officers of both Houses of Parliament. The quality of the project's research and writing is monitored by an Editorial Board of historians. For further details see the History's website at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org).
11. The History's objectives and its performance against previous objectives are set out in its annual plan. An annual plan was last approved by the Trustees in July 2023 and is published on the History's website.
12. The Trust is committed to reducing sickness absence in the workplace and supporting the well-being of its staff. Procedures are in place to provide support to staff who are ill or who have a long-term disability. During 2023-24, the average number of days recorded as absent due to sickness per member of staff was 0.76 days (2022-23 0.36 days).
13. There were no incidents related to the loss or unauthorised issue of personal data in 2023-24.
14. The Trust strives to ensure that the impact of its activities on the environment, consumers, employees, communities, stakeholders and all other members of the public sphere is taken into account at all times.
15. Trustees are provided with a set of documents concerning the charity and their responsibilities as Trustees. These are reviewed and updated with each appointment and as necessary. The Director provides additional induction material relating to current issues. New Trustees are offered more information through briefings by the Director and Secretary and are invited to visit the History. Trustees are required to sign a declaration indicating their understanding of their responsibilities as Trustees.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### Review of achievements and performance in the year 2023-24

#### OVERVIEW

1. In May 2023, the History published our latest set of volumes, *The House of Commons 1640-1660*. *1640-1660* is our biggest publication yet. The nine volumes were published in May 2023 by The Boydell Press.
2. During the year, the History finished the process of conversion of the existing Charitable Trust into a Charitable Incorporated Organisation. The new Trust, also to be called The History of Parliament Trust (HPT), was approved by the Charity Commission on 27 February 2023. The assets, liabilities and operations of the Trust were transferred to the HPT on 31 August 2023.
3. In January 2023, the Director, Dr Paul Seaward, informed the Trustees that he intended to step down from the Directorship towards the end of 2023. In July the Trustees appointed Dr Jennifer Davey, formerly of the University of East Anglia, as his successor. Dr Davey took over the Directorship on 1 December 2023.

#### RESEARCH

4. Progress in each of the History's five current research projects and the oral history project is described below.

##### ***The House of Commons 1461-1504***

5. This project follows on from the recently completed and published *House of Commons 1422-1461*, and covers the period of the Wars of the Roses and the establishment of Henry VII in power. There are 1,334 biographies and 146 constituency articles to be completed. The editor is Dr Hannes Kleineke. Dr Simon Payling is the only other long term project staff member, following the retirement of Charles Moreton in December 2022. In November 2022, Dr Jonathan Mackman joined the project as research assistant for one-year. This was extended for a further year in July 2023. In March 2024, the Trustees agreed to appoint Dr Mackman to the project on a long term basis. In this third full year of operation of the new project, a total of 59 articles were produced (55 biographies and four constituency articles), totalling over 79,000 words. In addition, Dr Simon Payling spent three months (April-June) working on a collateral research project, examining the marked variation in the pattern of representation among counties in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During work in the Shropshire Record Office, Shrewsbury, Dr Payling discovered in local records the name of a hitherto unknown Member of the Parliament of 1523. John Leighton's constituency is not named, but it is likely to have been the county of Shropshire. Among the biographical articles completed by the project in the year were:

- *Robert Anketill*: Dorset gentleman in the service of Bishop Waynflete of Winchester, for whose borough of Taunton he was returned in 1467.
- *James Blount*: he played an important part in Richard III's fall by allowing the escape of the earl of Oxford from Hammes castle, of which he was lieutenant, flourished under Henry VII, died at the height of his career. MP Derbyshire 1472, 1491.

- *John Byron*: from a wealthy family long settled in Lancashire, he moved its main residence to Colwick in Nottinghamshire, fought for Henry VII at Bosworth and was granted the constablenesship of Nottingham castle, died in 1489 at the height of his career. MP Nottinghamshire 1478.
- *John Courtenay*: A younger son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, John spent much of his career in the English garrison at Calais, but subsequently entered Edward IV and Richard III's households. MP Devon in 1478.
- *Robert Curte*: This MP has in the past been misidentified, on the basis of a misreading of the return. It is, however, clear that the name intended was 'Curte', rather than 'Cinte', and that the MP was one of the auditors of the duchy of Cornwall of this name. Although originating in the home counties, Curte married into a local family. MP Truro 1478
- *John Devyok*: Cornish landowner, successively in the service of the Courtenay earls of Devon and of Humphrey Stafford, Lord Stafford of Southwick. Following Henry VI's Readeption, connected with Sir Henry Bodrugan in whose service he may have been killed at the siege of St Michael's Mount in late 1473. MP Bodmin 1467.
- *John Hawkes*: A busy Bristol merchant prominent in local office holding, Hawkes is chiefly notable for his acquisition of the property that the Cannon family attempted to assign to the Halleway chantry. MP Bristol 1478.
- *David Middleton*: Welsh-born servant of the house of York, for over 20 years receiver of the lordship of Denbigh. Married in dramatic circumstances, stealing his bride from her marriage to another man.
- *John Pynke*: A Bristol merchant whose ships repeatedly fell victim to piratical activities, Pynke followed the normal cursus honorum of the men of Bristol to be elected mayor in 1488. MP Bristol 1491.
- *Sir Ralph Shirley*: was wealthy and well-connected and took his due part in public affairs, even spending some time in the royal household. Yet without the survival of the family archive, it would be difficult to put much flesh on these bones. That archive, however, with the notable inventory taken at his death, gives a more than usually full account of his private life, particularly his marriages. MP Leicestershire 1495.
- *William Spencer*: A prominent Bristol merchant, Spencer over the course of a long career held the mayoralty of his town no fewer than three times. On the final occasion in 1478-9 he was charged with treason by Thomas Norton, but acquitted on the King's personal authority. MP Bristol 1467.
- *Brian Talbot*: advanced himself by supporting the house of York in 1460 and married a wealthy widow, who brought him an interest in the Rutland manor of Exton, her death meant that he ended his career in relative poverty. MP Rutland 1472.
- *Robert Tanfield II*: his father's place in the service of Queen Margaret enabled him to make a spectacular marriage to the daughter of a peer but the change of regime in 1461 meant his career did not flourish, involved in a colourful dispute with a Northamptonshire lawyer, he or his father was MP for Lostwithiel as a carpetbagger but it is not clear by what means the seat was secured. MP Lostwithiel 1467.
- *Richard Welby*: MP for Lincolnshire 1472. Head of one of the most prominent families in the Parts of Holland, with a long tradition of local service, Welby successfully negotiated the latter stages of the Wars of the Roses, serving

successive monarchs before his relatively early death in 1487. He enjoyed good relations with the local religious houses, was associated with the prominent justice Sir William Hussey, and served the Crown directly as receiver of the honour of Richmond in Lincolnshire, part of the nascent Yorkist system of chamber finance. His second marriage, to the widow of a London draper, brought him long-running legal issues in chasing outstanding debts, particularly involving trading links with Bilbao and goods seized as reprisals for English piracy.

- *John Westcote*: A younger son of Thomas Hewster alias Westcote, Edmund established himself in Bristol's mercantile society. He embarked on the civic *cursum honorum* and was elected to the mayoralty in the autumn of 1485, only to die a few weeks later. MP Bristol 1478, 1483.
- *William Wykam*: A Bristol dyer, Wykam stands out among the town's MPs by being elected mayor twice within the short period from 1484-87. He is thought have have represented Bristol in the Commons in 1483, but died in 1494.
- *Sir William Yonge*: from a middling Shropshire family, earned knighthood by fighting for Edward IV at one of the battles of the spring of 1471, then took a role in the administration of west Wales, seemingly compromised by accession of Richard III. MP Shropshire 1478.

6. The constituency histories completed in the year included:

- *Leominster*: representation remained in the hands of its residents with the exception of the 1478 Parliament when two more important men whose connexions with the borough were only peripheral.
- *Much Wenlock*: enfranchised in 1468 as the second borough, after nearby Ludlow, to be granted representation by charter. Perhaps reflecting its small population no more than about 300, it was given only one seat, but, by 1491, it was returning two. Its MPs, in so far as they are documented, were mostly drawn from its leading burgesses. Later the borough expanded its orbit to include local gentry, who served as both MPs and burgesses.
- *Shaftesbury*: small Dorset borough, the lordship of which was shared between the Crown and the local abbess.
- *Wells*: Among the better documented constituencies in this period, Wells stood on the main road from London to the south-west and consequently played its part in the dramatic events of the period, particularly the rising of 1497. While the citizens were generally content to be represented by some of their own number, the death of Bishop Stillington in 1491 left a vacuum of power that proved hard to fill, and the citizens consequently returned two relative nobodies (n.b. neighbouring Bath is unique in having no names on the surviving list of the Members of the 1491 parliament).

7. The section also contributed 7 pieces to the History of Parliament's blog. They were: 'Preparations for the Coronation of Richard II'; "No deed of shame so foul": the treachery of Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and the battle of Northampton, 10 July 1460'; 'The tomb of William Rudhale (d.1530), Queen Katherine's attorney-general, in the church of Ross-on-Wye'; 'Beast from the East or Song of Solomon? The coronation of King Henry V, 9 April 1413'; 'A Last Roll of the Dice? Richard III's pardon to John Morton, 16 August 1485'; 'The tomb of Sir Richard and Eleanor Croft in Croft Church, Herefordshire'; 'A King's Sister buried in a Shropshire Church: Elizabeth of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV, at Burford'.

### ***The House of Lords 1559-1601***

8. This project began after the completion of *The House of Lords 1604-1629* in 2020 and covers the upper House in the reign of Elizabeth I, complementing the volumes published back in 1981 on the House of Commons in the same period. The staff, who all worked on the Lords 1604-29 project, are Andrew Thrush (editor), Paul Hunneyball (assistant editor) and Ben Coates (Senior Research Fellow). There are a total of 246 biographies to be tackled. Over the course of the year, the team produced 46 biographies (4 from external authors) in total, containing a total over 203, 000 words. Among the completed biographies are:

- *George Clifford, 3rd earl of Cumberland (1558-1605)*: The only Elizabethan peer personally to lead privateering expeditions, Cumberland was the queen's 'champion' from 1590. Thanks to his gambling addiction and privateering investments, which rarely paid off, he fell heavily into debt. In 1593 he secured a private act of Parliament confirming his wife's jointure.
- *Richard Cox, bishop of Ely (c.1500-81)*: A former tutor and chaplain to Edward VI, Cox was the first Elizabethan bishop of Ely and a member of Archbishop Parker's inner circle. Headstrong, he famously incurred the queen's wrath for refusing to surrender to her one of his manors and part of his London property. In 1576, after his enemy Lord North threatened to complain to the queen, to the Council and to Parliament, he capitulated, leading to the loss of a large part of Ely House to Sir Christopher Hatton. In all, he sat in three Elizabethan Parliaments.
- *William Compton, 2nd Lord Compton (1567/8-1630)*: An inveterate gambler, Compton entered the circle of the royal favourite Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex in the mid-1590s. A chronic spendthrift, he sought to extricate himself from his financial woes by marrying the daughter of a wealthy London alderman against her father's wishes, smuggling out of her house in a laundry basket. He wisely avoided involvement in Essex's ill-fated 1601 rising, and under James I he was elevated to the earldom of Northampton.
- *Richard Davies, bishop of St Asaph and St Davids (c.1505-81)*: a prominent Welsh Protestant who went into exile in the reign of Mary and was appointed the first Elizabethan bishop of St Asaph before moving to the more prosperous see of St Davids. His most significant parliamentary activity was probably the role he played in the passage of the 1563 Act for translating the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into Welsh.
- *Richard Fletcher, bishop of Bristol, later Worcester and London (1544/5-1596)*: A prominent court preacher who also served as the queen's almoner from 1590, Fletcher moved rapidly from the see of Bristol to Worcester and then London, but was suspended from office in 1595 following his second marriage, of which the queen disapproved. He had largely regained Elizabeth's favour when he died suddenly in June 1596. The only Parliament in which he sat was that of 1593.
- *Francis Godwin, bishop of Llandaff (1561-1633)*: The author of an influential catalogue of the bishops of England, and chaplain to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Godwin was consecrated bishop of Llandaff during the last Elizabethan Parliament but there is no evidence that he took his seat in that assembly.
- *Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury (c.1519-83)*: A member of the original Elizabethan episcopate, Grindal, as bishop of London, was forced to grapple with

the twin problems of emergent puritan nonconformity and a disastrous fire at St Paul's. Following a six-year stint as archbishop of York, he was promoted to Canterbury. However, he was suspended just 15 months after his appointment for refusing the queen's command to suppress 'prophesyings'. Despite strenuous efforts by his allies at court, he was never reinstated. As illness kept him from attending the 1571 assembly, he sat in only two Elizabethan Parliaments.

- *Charles Howard, 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham and 1st earl of Nottingham (c.1537-1624)*: One of Elizabeth I's most trusted servants, Howard served as lord admiral from 1585 and commanded the naval forces that fought the Spanish Armada in 1588. Following the 1596 Cadiz expedition, in which he shared command, he was elevated to the earldom of Nottingham in recognition of his services. During the last two Elizabethan Parliaments he served as temporary lord steward, responsible for swearing in Members of the Commons.
- *Philip Wharton, 3rd Lord Wharton (1555-1625)*: Following the death of his father in 1572, Wharton, then under-age, became a ward of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd earl of Sussex. After attaining his majority in 1576, he played little role in public affairs, probably on account of his Catholicism. He failed to sit for most of the 1584-5 and 1586-7 Parliaments but otherwise attended the upper House regularly.
- *Edward Stanley, 3rd earl of Derby (1509-72)*: One of the greatest landowners in northern England, and a staunch Catholic, Derby was also a kinsman of the Tudors, but was viewed with suspicion by successive monarchs from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. Essentially loyal to the crown, but opposed to the Reformation, he spent his career cooperating with successive governments just enough to protect his power base in Lancashire. He diplomatically withdrew from the 1559 Parliament to avoid voting on the Elizabethan religious settlement, but did as little as possible thereafter to implement it.
- *Henry Stanley, 4th earl of Derby (1531-93)*: Educated as a Protestant alongside the future Edward VI, Stanley nevertheless came from a family and locality which broadly favoured Catholicism, and it took time for him to win Elizabeth I's trust. Initially summoned to the Lords as Baron Strange, he succeeded his father as earl of Derby in 1572. He missed part of the 1584-5 Parliament through serving as ambassador to France, but helped to preside over the 1586-7 session in the queen's absence. On the eve of the Spanish Armada, he led unsuccessful peace talks in Flanders.
- *William Overton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (c.1526-1609)*: An ambitious but quarrelsome and rapacious cleric, Overton initially enjoyed the backing of two powerful patrons, Lord Burghley and the earl of Leicester, but gradually alienated both of them through his poor behaviour. Finally appointed bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1580, he secured an Act of Parliament the next year which recovered rents due to the diocese. However, he was regularly pursued by the Exchequer for unpaid taxes. He dropped out of the 1589 Parliament early after word spread that he had obtained his bishopric through bribery.
- *John White, bishop of Winchester (c.1510-60)*: An ardent Catholic, White accepted Henry VIII's break with Rome, but opposed subsequent theological innovations in the English Church. In Mary I's reign, this hard-line stance earned him appointment as a bishop, initially of Lincoln and then Winchester. After

Elizabeth I became queen, White fiercely resisted the reintroduction of Protestantism and was imprisoned during the 1559 Parliament for allegedly threatening to excommunicate Elizabeth. In his absence, the Lords approved the new settlement, and he was then deprived of his see. Allowed to retire to the country, he died the next year.

- *John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (c.1534/6-1604)*: Elizabeth I's favourite archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, dubbed by the queen her 'black husband' on account of his jet black hair and beard, was a scourge of Protestant nonconformists. However, his treatment of puritans meant that he fell out with Elizabeth's chief minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who largely controlled episcopal appointments. As this groundbreaking biography explains, Burghley kept the archbishop short of bishops whenever Parliament met, while Whitgift encouraged the return to the Commons of several leading ecclesiastical officials to help defend the Church's interests. Sat in seven Parliaments.
9. The project is also compiling a resource which provides a framework to pull together the various sources which collectively provide evidence of the Lords' proceedings. The resource will flesh out proceedings in the Lords by integrating the sparse outline of the Lords Journal with material from elsewhere, including the Commons' Journal, D'Ewes's *Journals of all the Parliaments*, T.E. Hartley's *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, and various other printed and manuscript sources. When finished, it will result in a single, easily searchable database which gives the fullest possible picture of activities in the Lords, which will permit more effective analysis of that source material, both for History of Parliament researchers and other interested scholars, and provide an easily searchable repository of all the raw parliamentary data which underpins the biographies.
  10. The project provided 6 blogs over the year, these were 'Bishop Jewel and the lost archdeaconry'; "'So far out of order': the scandalous career of Henry, 2nd Viscount Howard of Bindon'; Elizabeth I's Swedish lady of the privy chamber: Helena Ulfsdotter née Snakenborg, marchioness of Northampton'; What if Elizabeth I had died in 1562?'; Picturing the Parliament of 1523'; 'The 1626 coronation: Charles I's botched political re-launch'.
  11. The project is associated with one collaborative doctoral project. Emma Hartley at the University of Sheffield is working on the bishops and parliamentary legislation between 1558 and 1642.

### ***The House of Lords 1640-1660***

12. This project follows on from the recently completed project the House of Commons 1640-1660. There are 255 biographies to complete. The project team is led by Dr David Scott as editor, and includes Dr Patrick Little as assistant editor and Dr Andrew Barclay as senior research fellow. Dr Andrew Barclay resigned from his position in April 2024. The project also employs a research assistant, Alex Beeton, who joined the project at the beginning of 2023. In its second year of operation, the project has completed 39 biographies, containing around 173,867 words. Among them were:
  - *George Brydges, 6th Baron Chandos*: A protégé of the 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Manchester, Chandos initially supported the 'junto' in the Lords before joining the king in the summer of 1642. Dismayed at royal policies, he returned to Westminster in 1644, where he was treated relatively leniently. He died in 1655.

- *Robert Carr (Kerr), 1st earl of Somerset.* A disgraced favourite of James I, Somerset failed to regain his position under Charles I, and his status as a peer was always in doubt – leading to an interesting debate in the Commons in May 1645, shortly before his death.
- *George Digby, Baron Digby.* Originally an opponent of the crown in the Commons, Digby defected to the king in 1641, when he was granted a peerage and became a thorn in the side of the parliamentarians. A controversial figure in royalist Oxford, where he served as secretary of state during the first civil war, he lost the trust of Charles II for many years. He succeeded as 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Bristol in 1653 and was restored to favour by the late 1650s, becoming a major political figure in the 1660s. He died in 1677
- *Edward Howard, 1st Baron Howard of Escrick.* Howard of Escrick was a member of the parliamentary 'junto' that defied Charles I in 1640-2, and he emerged in the mid-1640s as a leading Independent and supporter of the New Model army. Returned for Carlisle to the Rump Parliament, he was then ejected from the House for taking bribes. He attended Parliament diligently after the Restoration, dying in 1675.
- *Edward Littleton, 1st Baron Lyttleton.* Lord keeper from January 1641 until his death in 1645. He was thus Speaker of the Lords for the 17 months leading up to his flight to join the king at York in May 1642. He found the role of Speaker extremely difficult, partly because he was often unwell but also because Charles, with some justification, increasingly doubted his loyalties
- *Henry Parker, 14th Baron Morley and 6th Baron Monteagle.* Catholic peer who rarely attended Parliament during the 1640s. His involvement with Parliament mostly involved his personal affairs, including a murder accusation against him and his considerable debts. The sequestration of his estates only added to his financial problems.
- *Henry Pierrepont, Baron Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont.* Pierrepont was 'always much addicted to books' and in later life trained as a lawyer and physician. A zealous defender of the king and the church during the early 1640s, he became a prominent royalist and counselled Charles against making any concessions to Parliament. By the 1650s he had become a Catholic. Active in the Lords after the Restoration, he continued to favour settling personal and political scores by violence. On his death in 1680 he left the Royal College of Physicians, where he had been admitted a fellow in 1658, 'perhaps the best library for physics, mathematics, civil law and philology in any private hand in this nation'.
- *Sidney, Robert, 2nd earl of Leicester.* Leicester was a major figure at the Caroline court, serving as ambassador to France in the later 1630s and as lord lieutenant of Ireland from May 1641. Although most of his friends and relatives supported the 'junto' at Westminster and went on to become parliamentarians, Leicester was torn between his loyalty to the king and his duty to his friends, and soon lost his credibility with both sides. He eventually joined the king at Oxford at the end of 1642, but in 1644 he returned to Westminster. He was mostly left alone thereafter, and retired to Penshurst before re-emerging at the Restoration. He died in 1677.
- *Patrick Ruthven, 1st earl of Brentford.* A Scottish soldier who came home from the continent in 1639 and served Charles I in the bishops' wars and first civil war.

He was raised to the English peerage as earl of Brentford, a title that acknowledged his defeat of a parliamentary force outside London in 1642.

- *Thomas Savile, 2nd Baron Savile of Pomfret (Pontefract)*. Savile was part of the aristocratic circle that conspired with the Scottish Covenanters in 1640 to defeat Charles in the second bishops' war and force him to summon Parliament. He defected to the king's party in 1641 and became a prominent royalist and political intriguer at Oxford during the civil war. Disgraced at court in 1645 for trying to force the king to make peace with Parliament, he decamped to London, where his intriguing served to widen the division between the Presbyterians and Independents. He withdrew from public life in 1646 and died in 1659.
- *Jerome Weston, 2nd earl of Portland*. Weston was the son of Charles I's lord treasurer, and became an important politician in his own right in 1641-2, when he was a leading figure in opposing Parliament's ambitions. He remained at Westminster until the summer of 1643, when he joined the king and was made lord president of Munster in Ireland – a post for which he was singularly ill-suited. For reasons that are not at all clear, Portland was treated leniently by Parliament after the war, and survived to welcome Charles II, dying of apoplexy in 1663.
- *Thomas Wriothesley, 4th or 2nd earl of Southampton*. A melancholic, unsociable character, Southampton initially opposed Charles I, but his disgust at the trial of Strafford turned him against the junto, and he instead became a leader in the royalist party in the Lords in 1641-2. During the civil wars he was a strong advocate of peace, being employed as a commissioner in successive treaty negotiations, but he was never trusted by the king. Southampton received lenient treatment at the hands of Parliament, and in 1660 became an important minister under Charles II, working closely with the earl of Clarendon.
- *Philip Wharton, 4th Baron Wharton*. Wharton was one of the most important and radical politicians at Westminster during the civil-war period. He is mostly remembered today for his high-profile opposition to the crown in the reigns of Charles II and James II. Yet his career as a statesman and policy-maker was confined exclusively to the 1640s. A close collaborator of Oliver Cromwell, he was a champion of the New Model Army and a noted patron of Puritan ministers. His party-political zeal was such that it sometimes exceeded his concern for the institutional integrity of the Lords or the interests of the peerage more generally. He remained active in national politics until a little before his death in 1696.
- *Rupert Wittelsbach, 1st duke of Cumberland*: Charles I's nephew. Traditionally viewed as the most glamorous of the cavaliers. Major royalist commander and key figure in the wartime politics around Charles I. His parliamentary career in this period, necessarily very brief, amounting to only a few days attendance in the Oxford Parliament, has generally been overlooked.

13. The section made six contributions to the History of Parliament's blog, among them 'New Evidence for old Stories: the scribbled books of the House of Lords'; 'St Edwards Crown'; 'The Stuart Brothers in the House of Lords'.

#### ***The House of Commons 1832-1868***

14. This project, begun in 2009, covers the period between the first and second Reform Acts. It will result in the compilation of 2,591 biographies and 401 constituency articles. Project

staff are Philip Salmon (editor), Kathryn Rix (assistant editor), Martin Spychal (senior research fellow) and Stephen Ball (research fellow). Stephen Ball left from The History in December 2023. During the year the section completed 112 articles (57 from external authors) amounting in total to nearly 400,000 words. The articles completed during the year include the following:

- *William Beresford (1797-1883)*: a 'Tory of the old school', Beresford was a junior member of one of Ireland's most influential political families. A 'tall, rough, hot-tempered Irishman, given to profanity', he was MP for Harwich, 1841-7, and then Essex North and served as chief whip of the protectionist wing of the Conservative party between 1846 and 1852. Charges of electoral bribery ended his ministerial career as war secretary, but he remained an active and influential backbencher until his retirement in 1865.
- *Sir John Chetwode (1764-1845)*: one of just five MPs from the 1812 Parliament to be elected in 1841, Chetwode was a Staffordshire and Buckinghamshire landowner who had served briefly as Tory MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1815-18. In 1841 he was returned for Buckingham with the backing of the Duke of Buckingham. Credited with fathering at least 18 children, and staunchly anti-Catholic, he remained a loyal supporter of the Conservative leader Peel until 1845, when he rebelled against funding the Catholic seminary of Maynooth. He died later that year aged 81.
- *Philip Courtenay (1784-1841)*: a barrister who turned his hand to finance, Courtenay was elected as Conservative MP for Bridgwater in 1837 but made little mark in the Commons. William Wordsworth, whose financial affairs he managed, described him as 'one of the kindest of men', with 'a genius for money-making'. However, he suffered financial losses during the 1839-40 banking crisis, and stepped down at the 1841 election. His death from a morphine overdose later that year was ruled accidental but suspected by some to be suicide.
- *Frederick Dundas (1802-72)*: nephew of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Dundas (later 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Zetland), Dundas sat for Orkney and Shetland on his family's interest, 1837-47, and from 1852 until his death. A 'constitutional reformer', he gave steady support to most progressive causes, including the ballot, and was a founding member of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn Law Association. His family's 'inattention' to Shetland often drew criticism, but he was a regular presenter of petitions from its inhabitants.
- *John Hall (1799-1872)*: born into a military and landowning family, Hall clocked up 55 years as an army officer, rising to become a general without ever seeing active 'field service'. In 1846 he was elected as the Duke of Buckingham's nominee for the agricultural backwater of Buckingham. A silent but loyal Protectionist, he only broke ranks with Disraeli by opposing Jewish emancipation. He retired in 1859 and assumed the colonelcy of the 19<sup>th</sup> Hussars.
- *Cornelius O'Brien (c.1782-1857)*: a solicitor, active landlord and early tourism advocate, O'Brien represented County Clare as a repealer, 1832-47, and as an independent Liberal, 1852-7. Considered by Palmerston to be 'the best Irish MP we ever had' as 'he didn't open his mouth in twenty years', O'Brien exhibited a more cautious approach to repeal than O'Connell and gave general support to the Whigs. Temporarily unseated in 1853 following the Sixmilebridge massacre, he regained his seat at the 1853 by-election, but poor health restricted his activity prior to his retirement in 1857.
- *Sir John Ogilvy, 9<sup>th</sup> bt. (1803-1890)*: after two decades of philanthropic and civic activity in Dundee and Forfarshire, and defeat at the 1855 Montrose by-election, Ogilvy sat as a Liberal for Dundee from 1857-74. He took a more advanced line than the Liberal leadership on parliamentary reform but faced opposition from

local radicals on account of his support for the Maynooth grant. A 'conscientious member', who 'rarely absented himself from the business of the House', Ogilvy paid close attention to Scottish policy. He offered an independent critique of successive governments' Scottish reforms, was wary of Westminster's 'centralizing system', and introduced several proposals for the improvement of Scottish county administration.

- *Laurence Oliphant I (1791-1862)*: Oliphant represented Perth as a Reformer between 1832 and 1837. With family ties to plantations in Jamaica, he defied local radicals to make his only recorded speech in support of the government's gradualist scheme for the abolition of slavery. Initially an assiduous attender, he faced increasing local criticism for his declining attendance before stepping down in 1837.
- *Sir Henry Brooke Parnell (1776-1842)*: a leading radical in the unreformed Commons, Parnell was returned for Dundee at the 1833 by-election after being forced out of his long-term seat of Queen's County for failing to support repeal of the Union. A declining parliamentary force, his acceptance of office as paymaster-general in the 1835 Melbourne ministry attracted widespread radical criticism. He was raised to the peerage as 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Congleton following his retirement in 1841 and died by suicide in June 1842.
- *Charles Pearson (1793-1862)*: a leading radical on the common council of the city of London, and a prominent lawyer on behalf of prosecuted radical campaigners, Pearson became the city's solicitor in 1839 and key figure in the early planning of London's underground railway. He sat briefly for Lambeth from 1847-50, becoming especially active as a prison reformer. His wife Mary Pearson was a significant radical activist in her own right and a noted portrait painter.
- *John Henry Philipps (afterwards Scourfield) (1808-1876)*: a Pembrokeshire landowner, Philipps – or Scourfield as he became after an inheritance in 1862 – played a prominent role in county government, notably as chairman of quarter sessions. He brought this experience to bear as MP for Haverfordwest, 1852-68, and subsequently for Pembrokeshire, being a good example of the hard-working yet unsung backbencher who made a significant contribution in the committee rooms. Described in 1852 as a 'Liberal-Conservative', he was unafraid of taking an independent line in the division lobbies, but was sufficiently loyal to his party to be given a baronetcy by Disraeli shortly before his death.
- *Gillery Pigott (1813-75)*: described by John Bright as 'a very good lawyer and an excellent and honourable man', Pigott followed in his brother's footsteps as Liberal MP for Reading, 1860-3. During his brief parliamentary career, which acted as a stepping stone to a judicial appointment, he took a keen interest in legislation to tackle electoral corruption and made an unsuccessful attempt to reform Jersey's court system. He was 'a very efficient judge' in the court of exchequer until his death in 1875.
- *Thomas Redington (1815-1862)*: Whig MP for Dundalk from 1837-1846, Redington supported his party 'through thick and thin'. Regarded as a competent man of business, in 1846 he became the first Catholic to hold the important post of under-secretary for Ireland and for more than five years served the Irish executive during the worst period of the famine. He gave up his subsequent appointment as secretary of the board of control to seek another parliamentary seat, but after several failed attempts gave up politics and retired to his Galway estate.
- *Henry Tufnell (1805-1854)*: an important but relatively little-known parliamentarian, Tufnell briefly represented Ipswich from 1837-8. As MP for Devonport from 1840-54 he served as assistant and then chief whip for the Whigs until 1850, helping the party oppose the government of Sir Robert Peel

and subsequently maintain its hold on power. His commitment to policies of 'progressive reform' was tempered by his 'thoroughly amiable character', and his persuasive powers and 'social amiability' earned him respect from all parts of the Commons before his untimely death in May 1854.

- *Francis Pigott* (1809-63): a country gentleman, Pigott was elected in 1847 as Liberal MP for Reading, where his 'universal affability' made him popular. Although lacking in oratorical talents, he was credited with 'a fair share of tact and ability'. In the Commons he took a particular interest in income tax and in medical relief under the poor law, bringing in an abortive measure on the latter. Unafraid of taking an independent line in the division lobbies, he was supportive enough of Liberal ministries to be rewarded with the governorship of the Isle of Man in October 1860, but died in harness in January 1863.
- *Sir James Power* (1800-1877): the son of a prominent Irish whiskey distiller, Power represented County Wexford from 1835-47 and 1865-68. His increasing reluctance to campaign for a repeal of the Union contributed to his retirement at the 1847 election. He returned to Parliament as a Liberal in 1865, after overseeing the expansion of the family's Dublin distillery during the 1850s and playing a prominent role in the Wexford and Dublin magistracies. He was one of 73 MPs who supported the enfranchisement of women in 1867.
- *Robert Monsey Rolfe* (1790-1868): a barrister and Whig MP for Penryn between 1832 and his elevation to the bench in November 1839, Rolfe acted as solicitor-general in both Melbourne governments. Maligned by radicals and Conservatives for his ineptitude, lack of character and ability to 'set one asleep' with his speeches, he was diligent in his attention to official duties and regularly explained the legal rationale behind the Whig ministry's domestic reform agenda. Raised to the peerage as Baron Cranworth in December 1850, he later served as lord chancellor under Aberdeen, Palmerston and Russell.
- *Thomas Peers Williams* (1795-1875): considered by his near neighbour Disraeli to be a complete 'nincompoop', Williams, a fabulously wealthy grandson of the 'copper king' Thomas Williams MP, clocked up 48 thoroughly undistinguished years sitting for his own 'pocket borough' of Great Marlow, where his electoral shenanigans brought him to national attention. He was briefly 'father of the House' in 1867 before retiring the following year. A Whig turned Tory, but a very lax attender, he followed Disraeli into the lobbies on most issues except Jewish emancipation and only spoke once in debate.

15. Among the constituency articles are:

- *Ayrshire*: one of the largest county constituencies in Scotland, Ayrshire, on the west coast of the Lowlands, returned a single member. With fourteen elections in this period, eight of which went to a poll, it was one of the nation's most politically active counties. Liberals were bemused that an area where corn growing was limited and industrial concerns significant should have any truck with Conservative members. Richard Oswald, a popular Reformer, won a landslide in 1832 but retired shortly after his unopposed return in 1835. Following the death of his lacklustre successor in 1839 the Conservative Lord Kelburne consummated the re-establishment of Tory landed influence by winning the seat at the by-election. The Conservatives then held the seat unopposed until 1852, when they only narrowly survived a Liberal-Peelite challenge. After several large landowners defected to the Liberals, Lord Patrick Crichton Stuart was able to wrest the county from the Conservatives in 1857, but his death shortly after the 1859 election saw it pass once more into Tory hands.
- *Bridgwater*: a west Somerset river port, Bridgwater retained both its seats in 1832. The local landowner Charles Kemeys Tynte, who had represented the borough since 1830, remained influential, holding one seat for the Liberals until

1837, and his son later followed him as MP, 1847-65. More potent in elections than this personal and local influence, however, was the power of the purse. Corruption was Bridgwater's 'chronic disease', with around three-quarters of voters expecting a bribe as 'a common right'. This helped to explain the fluctuating fortunes of the rival parties and the regular influx of wealthy strangers as candidates. The involvement of both Liberals and Tories in electoral malpractice meant that election petitions were rare, despite the borough's notorious venality, with only one MP unseated during this period. However, its misdemeanours were exposed by a royal commission in 1869 which found that no election in this period had been pure, and it was disfranchised in 1870.

- *Chichester*: a cathedral city in Sussex, Chichester had a wide scot and lot franchise before 1832. Its elections continued to be lively and venal affairs in this period, with the dukes of Richmond controlling one seat but usually leaving local groups to vie for influence over the second. The 5<sup>th</sup> duke installed his younger brother Lord Arthur Lennox as a reformer in 1832, with the contest for the second seat being won by the sitting MP John Abel Smith, a Liberal banker unpopular with local radicals on account of his equivocal stance on the abolition of slavery. The two MPs comfortably saw off radical challenges in 1835 and 1837 and came in unopposed in 1841. By then, however, the duke and Lord Arthur had gravitated towards the Conservatives. The duke's controversial decision to force his free-trade supporting brother to resign in 1846, and to seat his Protectionist son Lord Henry Lennox, a confidante of Disraeli, attracted widespread publicity. Lord Henry and Smith sat unopposed until 1859, re-establishing the city's pre-reform culture of shared representation. A local Liberal challenger managed to oust Smith in 1859, only to resign in 1863, enabling Smith to regain the seat. Shared or 'one and one' representation continued until Chichester became a single member constituency after 1868.
- *County Kilkenny*: a fertile and relatively prosperous inland county in Leinster, this constituency was dominated by the Repeal party and the Whig / Liberals throughout the first half of this period. The county was then regularly contested from 1847 as the question of tenant right came to the fore and the different factions of Irish liberalism vied for supremacy. From then on, the two seats were generally shared between radical members of the Irish independent party and more conservative representatives of the county's landed interest.
- *Great Marlow*: 'one of the most depraved towns' in Buckinghamshire, Marlow was severely impacted by the Great Western Railway, which destroyed its coaching business and its commercial trade along the river Thames. By 1848 it was reckoned that 'no town in England' had so 'many public-houses' and so much 'petty theft'. In this former 'pocket' borough, the 1832, 1835 and 1837 elections resulted in the return of one Tory and one Liberal, mainly on account of a fragile truce between the dominant Williams and Clayton families, reinforced by extensive bribery and voter intimidation. The breakdown of their arrangement resulted in an extraordinary 'tie' at the 1841 election and an election inquiry which attracted national attention, not least for the light it shed on the role of women in selling their husband's votes. The unseating of Sir William Clayton for bribery in 1842, and the failure of his own costly revenge election petition against a Tory candidate in 1847, allowed the Williams family to assume complete control with the support of an 'opulent' local Tory brewer. As a result Great Marlow became even more of a 'close borough' in the decades after the Reform Act.
- *Hythe*: the massive extension of Hythe's boundaries in 1832 to include the port towns of Folkestone, Sandgate and their agricultural surrounds transformed electoral politics (if not always electoral outcomes) in a borough that had previously been controlled by the East India interest and the influence of non-

resident freemen. Reduced to single-member status in 1832, Hythe was represented by Liberals throughout this period. While they contested several elections, local Conservatives struggled to develop a sufficiently powerful electoral base and battles between Liberal candidates were common. The unexpected economic growth of Folkestone and Sandgate from the 1840s ensured that constituents in both towns quickly dwarfed Hythe in terms of their electoral significance. Treating and bribery remained an integral aspect of electioneering, as resident £10 householders (rather than non-resident freeman) became the beneficiaries of candidates' expenditure.

- *Lanarkshire*: Scotland's most populous and economically important county, Lanarkshire returned Liberals at the 1832 and 1835 election before a ruthless Conservative campaign in 1837 ushered in a twenty-year period of Conservative dominance. Divisions between Conservatives over their candidate, and the death of one of the county's chief proprietors, Lord Douglas, however, led to the return of a Liberal in 1857. Continued Conservative disunion and registration changes introduced by the 1861 Scottish County Franchise Act ensured the county remained in Liberal hands until its division in 1868. The county's massive urban population played a limited role in elections due to Glasgow's status as a double-member borough and the county being home to four contributory burghs.
- *Orkney and Shetland*: traditionally considered a 'nomination county' of the Dundas family (Baron Dundas / Earls of Zetland), Orkney and Shetland was anything but the easy berth that this implies. One of the UK's 'most impractical' constituencies, it comprised two distinct archipelagos off Scotland's north coast, 'separated by a stormy sea of more than 100 miles'. Since 1818 Orkney's leading proprietors had taken turns to nominate the MP in alternation with Dundas. Realising that the Scottish Reform Act would enfranchise electors in Shetland, where Dundas owned extensive property, Orkney's proprietors campaigned for separate representation during 1831-2. They were not successful, blaming Dundas and the sitting reformer George Traill. The 1832 contest between their 'local' reform candidate, Samuel Laing, and Traill, who was backed by Dundas, was desperately fought and complicated by Shetland's pollbooks going missing at sea. Traill's victory appeared to confirm Dundas's ascendancy, but in-fighting among the Liberals then enabled an Orkney-based Conservative to secure a 'revenge' victory in 1835. Dundas managed to get his nephew Frederick Dundas, a Liberal, returned in 1837 and 1841. In 1847, however, Arthur Anderson, the shipping magnate, was elected as a Liberal with Laing's help, ousting Frederick Dundas. Further divisions among the Liberals almost cost them the seat again in 1852, when Frederick Dundas saw off another Conservative. He was returned unopposed at the next three general elections, but not without all sorts of pre-electoral skirmishes always taking place.

In addition, the project published 17 blogs, divided between the History of Parliament's main blog and the Victorian Commons blog, which is run by the 1832-68 team. The blogs were 'A sheer genius in electioneering: John Frail (1804-79), Conservative party agent'; 'Irish Abstention from the House of Commons, 1844-6'; 'The "March of Reform" and the changing backgrounds of 19th century MPs'; 'A "noble" and "magnificent" occasion: MPs and Queen Victoria's coronation'; 'MPs and the coronation of Edward VII'; 'Politics beyond party: the survival of non-partisan traditions, 1832-68'; 'Reappraising England's reformed electoral map, 1832-1868: the impact of the 1832 Reform Act'; 'The most violent MP ever elected to the House of Commons? John Patrick Somers (1800-1862)'; 'Quakers in the Commons: Joseph Pease and the right to affirm'; 'The ladies' gallery in the temporary House of Commons'; 'Marrying for the Vote: the freedom-by-marriage franchise before 1832'; Whipping in the

reformed Commons: Henry Whitmore (1813-76)'; 'Identifying the Attlee Family Cars: Prime Ministers' Props'.

### ***The House of Lords 1715-1790***

16. This project began in 2018 after the completion of *The History of Parliament: the House of Lords 1660-1715*. The project staff are Robin Eagles (editor), Stuart Handley and Charles Littleton (senior research fellows). There are 928 articles to be written; 77 of them were completed in 2023-4 (six of them by external contributors), with a total of over 199,000 words; 480 articles remain to be written.

17. Among the articles completed this year were:

- *Willoughby Bertie, 4th earl of Abingdon (1740-1799)*: Abingdon was described by one contemporary as 'a man of genius, but eccentric, and irregular almost to madness'. A talented amateur composer and patron of musicians such as Joseph Haydn, Abingdon was also a significant figure in the Lords and a friend of John Wilkes. He was a fierce critic of Lord North's handling of the American crisis, championing the cause of American prisoners of war, and was a strident opponent of the Fox-North coalition. Many of his speeches made it into print, some because he sent them to the papers himself.
- *William Bouverie, earl of Radnor (1725-1776)*: Radnor had been in the Commons for 14 years before inheriting the viscountcy of Folkestone from his father. Four years later, and just two months after his marriage to the dowager Baroness Feversham, he was promoted to the earldom of Radnor. Broadly identified with Pitt the Elder, Radnor was influential in his home county of Wiltshire and tended to speak out on the subject of moral reform. In 1772 he stood against Lord North for the chancellorship of Oxford, but the 'independents' were divided between several candidates and he was eventually forced to withdraw.
- *William Cowper, Earl Cowper (1665-1723)*: Cowper began the period as lord chancellor, but by the time of his death he had become a leading opponent of the ministry. As such, he played a significant role in every important political event from the Hanoverian Succession to the Atterbury Plot, and a major one in attempting to bridge the divide between the rival courts of the prince of Wales and George I.
- *John Dalrymple, 5th earl of Stair (c.1721-1789)*: In 1768 Dalrymple inherited the earldom for which years earlier he had petitioned unsuccessfully. In 1771 the government nominated him as its preference at a by-election, a directive unpopular with many Scots peers, but then excluded him from the Court list at the subsequent general election, as he had voted against the American war. He produced pamphlets exposing the perilous state of the public finances.
- *Alexander Hume Campbell, 2nd earl of Marchmont [S] (1675-1740)*: Entering Parliament in 1727 after ten years of diplomatic service, Marchmont opposed the Excise in 1733, and was omitted from the Court list at the next election. He campaigned for freedom of elections in Scotland, and was one of the signatories of the unsuccessful Scots peers' petition against ministerial interference and corruption. He remained an extra-parliamentary leader of the anti-Walpole opposition in the following years.

- *Henry Liddell, Baron Ravensworth (1708-84)*: could afford to be eccentrically independent owing to his wealth derived from north-eastern coalfields. Kinder contemporaries thought him an honest, zealous Whig; more acerbic ones thought him muddleheaded and enthusiastic to the point of insanity. In 1753 he made public explosive allegations of past Jacobite activity against governors of the Prince of Wales. He was known for long, meandering speeches and stances which garnered no other support.
- *Alexander Montgomerie, 10th earl of Eglinton (1723-69)*: James Boswell thought Eglinton 'flighty', unreliable and easily distracted by music. He was a follower of Bute, through whom he was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber and elected a representative peer in 1761. He was in opposition from 1763, leading to his dismissal from Court. His time in the 1768 Parliament was cut short when he was shot accidentally during an altercation with a poacher.
- *John Monson, 2nd Baron Monson (1727-1774)*: Monson inherited significant interest in Lincolnshire from his father, which he continued to exercise with considerable success. He never quite matched his father's political prowess, though, and a feature of his career was a near constant demand for office. Broadly aligned with the Pelhams and then with the Rockinghams, he secured minor office during the Rockingham administration, but lost it when Rockingham was dismissed.
- *Charles Mordaunt, 4th earl of Peterborough (1708-1779)*: Peterborough's somewhat straitened circumstances led him to support the ministry of the day in return for a pension, although he did flirt with opposition to Walpole. His personal circumstances were colourful and, having fathered a number of illegitimate children with Robiniana Brown, he married her a mere 17 days after his first wife's death. In his later career, he showed complete loyalty to the government of the day, which he showed by turning up to vote on important occasions.
- *Thomas Onslow, 2nd Baron Onslow (1679-1740)*: The son of a Speaker of the House of Commons, Onslow was a Whig stalwart, who had a 'bubble' named after him, relating to what was to become the Royal Exchange Assurance. He survived an assassination attempt near Guildford in 1723, and a protracted law suit by Anne Meade who claimed he had married her following the death of his first wife.
- *James Stanhope, Earl Stanhope (1673-1721)*: Stanhope's short career in the Lords was defined by his role with the earl of Sunderland in a ministry intent on reforming the constitution in Church and State. Stanhope presided over a host of foreign policy initiatives designed to deal with the aftermath of the Spanish Succession War and the treaty of Utrecht. He died following a seizure in the chamber, whilst defending his and the government's conduct over the South Sea Bubble.
- *Edward Willes, bishop of Bath & Wells (1694-1773)*: A brilliant cryptographer, a skill he deployed early in life in helping to uncover the Gyllenborg Plot, Willes waited until his sons were established in the deciphering business before accepting a bishopric. As one would expect from such a master of detail, he was a conscientious administrator, but a limited preacher. Above all he was a consistent supporter of the administration

18. The project also contributed 17 blogs to the History's output, most of them to the 'Georgian Lords' stream of the History's blog. They included: 'Loud enough to wake the dead? Fireworks and celebration in the mid-18th century'; 'A very good bed for old courtiers to

rest in': The 18th-century Post Office and its Postmasters-General'; 'True Blue': the choice of political colours in the 18th century'; The earl of Abingdon and the treatment of American prisoners of war'; 'Not voting at all': the election of an imprisoned MP in 1769; 'The Early Career of Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh'; "Get a haircut": Celebrating the career of Lord Chancellor Cowper'; 'Hogarth in Derby'; 'The most solemn, magnificent, and sumptuous ceremony'; 'the coronation of George II and Queen Caroline, 11 October 1727'; 'Kind patron of the mirthful fray': the English aristocracy and cricket in the 18th century'; 'The Peerage and the Coronation of George I'; The buzz, the prattle, the crowds, the noise, the hurry'; 'the Coronation of George III and Queen Charlotte'; 'Almost an afterthought': Queen Charlotte; Who do they think they are?; 'Take care, or you will break my shins with his damned axe'; 'the genuine foundation of our evils'; the Tea Act and Boston Tea Party 250 years on; Tackling congestion in 18th-century London.

19. The project continues its support of a doctoral student, Helen Wilson, through a collaborative doctoral award in conjunction with the Open University, now in its third year. Her project concerns the BAME presence in British politics, 1750-1850.

### **Contemporary History**

20. The oral history project was begun in 2011 to record 'life story' interviews with as many former members of Parliament as possible. The project is now managed by Emma Peplow as Head of Contemporary History, and Emme Ledgerwood, who works part time as Oral History coordinator. Emme Ledgerwood is due to leave the organisation in August 2024. The project currently works with 24 active interviewers, 18 of whom are volunteers from a variety of backgrounds.

21. Twenty-five new interviews (often comprising several sessions each) were completed in the period, meaning that by the end of 2023-24 we had completed a total of 244 interviews, with a further 13 in progress. The interviews are deposited with our partners in the project, the British Library. Another volunteer, Barbara Luckhurst, has taken a series of portrait photographs of our subjects, which are deposited along with the interviews.

22. Among the interviews completed in the period were:

- *Gillian Merron* Labour MP for Lincoln, 1997-2010. In this long-running interview Merron describes her experiences as one of the 1997 intake of women and her role on the modernization committee, speaks fully about her time in various junior ministerial roles and the particular difficulties of being an MP as a younger, single woman. In an interesting final session she describes her role after Parliament on the Board of British Jews and her relationship with the Labour party during that time.
- *David Porter* Conservative MP for Waveney, 1987-97. Porter stood for local government and was a party agent before entering into Parliament himself in the late 1980s. This interview is particularly strong on parliamentary culture, thanks to the expertise of the interviewer. For example Porter described his whips as 'masochistic' for not giving him the night off following the birth of his fourth child.
- *Nicholas Bennett* Conservative MP for Pembrokeshire, 1987-1992. Bennett discusses his unconventional route into the Conservative party from his East London upbringing; recounting how his father let the air out of his bike tires to stop him delivering leaflets for the Conservatives. The interview is full of

- anecdotes about the whips' office and his time as a minister, and documents his struggle to return to Parliament following losing his seat in 1992.
- *Peter Snape* Labour MP for West Bromwich West, 1974-2001. Snape describes his route into politics through the army and involvement in transport unions. His interest in transport policy features throughout this interview, which is also full of anecdotes about the 1970s whips' office and other MPs, including the infamous incident when Edwina Currie poured orange juice over him during a TV interview.
  - *Lynne Featherstone* Lib Dem MP for Hornsey and Wood Green, 2005-2015. Featherstone describes her career in design before being drawn into local politics following the breakdown of her marriage. This is a frank interview and contains fantastic detail about local campaigning and personal campaign fundraising, as well as details of her treatment by the media, her relations with coalition partners, and internal Liberal Democrat politics.
  - *Colin Pickthall* Labour MP for West Lancashire, 1992-2005. Pickthall describes in some detail his upbringing in Cumbria and how this, and his grammar schooling, strongly influenced his political views.
  - *Phyllis Starkey* Labour MP for Milton Keynes SW, 1997-2010. In a detailed and long interview, Starkey describes her scientific work before Parliament, her advance through the Labour party on Oxford City Council and adoption for the new seat of Milton Keynes South West. It is full of explanations of local party politics and manoeuvring, as well as frank discussions about Starkey's experiences as a New Labour backbench MP, campaigner for Palestine, and chair of the Communities and Local Government Select Committee.
  - *Angela Bray* Conservative MP for Ealing Central and Acton, 2010-2015. Bray describes her mildly rebellious childhood and career in broadcasting and journalism which led her into working with the Conservative party. She recounts her time working in the Conservative press office, as one of the first members on the London Assembly, and her eventual election for a very marginal London seat. Throughout the interview, despite her committed Conservative views she describes good working relationships across parties and the change in parliamentary culture in the 2010s.
  - *Anne Begg* Labour MP for Aberdeen South, 1997-2015. We made considerable efforts to record this interview as we were keen to record Begg's perspective as (we think) the first wheelchair user to sit as an MP, and the unfortunate fact that Begg is now suffering from Parkinson's disease which affects her memory. Despite the challenges Begg recorded her journey to Parliament through involvement in teaching unions and facing difficulties overcoming others' perceptions of her abilities. She strove during her time in Parliament to be an 'MP with disabilities rather than the disabilities' MP', but felt drawn to issues around social security and equalities, eventually chairing the Work and Pensions Select Committee.
  - *Norman Baker* Lib Dem MP for Lewes, 1997-2015. An unconventional MP drawn into student politics and later into the Liberal Democrats, Baker describes his career in the music industry and as a Lib Dem councillor before being elected to Parliament on the third attempt. He describes his involvement with many controversial campaigns, including his investigation into the death of intelligence

officer Dr David Kelly, before discussing his time as a junior minister in Transport and the Home Office during the coalition government.

- *Matthew Parris*: Conservative MP for West Derbyshire, 1979-1986. This interview charts Parris' childhood in Cyprus and southern Africa; his later time in the Foreign Office and Margaret Thatcher's parliamentary office before becoming one of the youngest MPs elected in 1979. Parris was frank throughout about his ambitions, his dislike of Parliament as an institution, and the difficulties he faced because of his homosexuality. It was striking throughout this interview how much Parris considered himself a 'failure' before finding success as a writer.
- *Estelle Morris*: Labour MP for Birmingham Yardley, 1992-2005. Baroness Morris remembers her working-class roots deeply engaged in politics as both her father and uncle were MPs. She describes how her time as a teacher informed her political career, and speaks in depth about her decision to resign as Education Secretary in 2002. This interview was mostly recorded before the Covid-19 pandemic. A final session was completed in August 2023 which focused on Baroness Morris' experiences of Parliament.
- *John Cockcroft*: Conservative MP for Nantwich, 1974-79. Cockcroft's uncle was the Nobel-prize winning physicist Sir John Cockcroft. He describes a well-connected childhood, as his family also knew the Churchills. He shares memories of his time working on Fleet Street before joining Parliament in the 1970s. Sadly Cockcroft passed away before the interview was completed.
- *Clare Short*: Labour MP for Birmingham Ladywood, 1983-2010. This is a thoughtful interview with the high profile and outspoken former cabinet minister. She describes the importance of her large Catholic family, education and time as a civil servant in shaping her parliamentary career. Short talks passionately about her role in establishing the Department for International Development in 1997 and her relationship with the party leadership, particularly after the Iraq War.
- *Chris Davies*: Liberal Democrat MP for Littleborough & Saddleworth, 1995-97. Davies was only in Parliament for a short period as he was unable to repeat his 1995 by-election success in 1997. His life was very political however, including a period as a councillor in Liverpool during the Toxteth riots and in opposition to Militant, and repeatedly standing for election to Parliament. After his brief career in Westminster Davies went on to the European Parliament, which became his political home.
- *Robin Squire*: Conservative MP for Hornchurch, 1979-97. Squire was famous as a Tory 'wet' who remained consistently on the left of his party. In his interview he discusses his support for LGBT+ rights and describes his Labour predecessor in the seat as 'more right-wing than me.' He remembers his time in John Major's government, including being in Downing Street during the IRA mortar attack.
- *Tim Boswell*: Conservative MP for Daventry, 1987-2010. Boswell remembers his upbringing on the family farm and at Marlborough College, before discussing his time as a political advisor to Michael Jopling. After his election in 1987 Boswell speaks more frankly than most about his experiences in the Whips' office, his career in the Lords and that of his daughter, the current Attorney General Victoria Prentis.

- *David Heathcoat-Amory*: Conservative MP for Wells, 1983-2010. Heathcoat-Amory travelled extensively before becoming a chartered accountant after Oxford. In this interview he discusses his experiences in the Whips' office during the Maastricht debates, whilst his own opposition to the European Union was growing. A highlight is the detailed explanation of the events surrounding his resignation from the government in 1996 over the European single currency.
- *Sir Michael Hirst*: Conservative MP for Strathkelvin and Bearsden, 1983-87. Hirst discusses in some detail his multiple attempts to be elected to Parliament before winning in 1983. He remembers his campaign in Westminster to extend single-use hypodermic needles for diabetes patients following his daughter's struggle with the disease, and his ongoing involvement in the International Diabetes Federation. He partly blames the proposed changes to local government taxation for the loss of his seat, and he briefly discusses the scandal that led to his withdrawal from Conservative party politics after 1997.
- *Sandra Gidley*: Liberal Democrat MP for Romsey, 2000-2010. Gidley describes her career as a pharmacist and relatively late entry into active politics. She remembers in some detail internal Liberal Democrat politics, both locally and in Parliament. This interview includes reflections on the culture of Parliament, including the impact of the social life on some of her colleagues, and the impact of the expenses scandal.
- *Michael Foster*: Labour MP for Hastings and Rye, 1997-2010. Born to a single-mother who was also caring for her elderly parents, Foster was deeply involved in the Salvation Army as a child. The organization gave him educational opportunities and a lifelong faith. He remembers his involvement in a local Labour party with few expectations of electoral success before Tony Blair's leadership, and his time as Equalities Minister, helping to persuade many churches of the merits of the Equality Act 2010.

23. A collaborative doctoral project with the University of Keele and the University of Manchester has been suspended for personal reasons. However, a second collaborative doctoral project has been secured with the University of Leicester, covering minority ethnic MPs in the UK Parliament since 1987. A student began on the project late in 2023.

24. The project ran a successful internship programme in the summer of 2023. Alfie Steer was recruited to the position, and assisted the project with data management, volunteer resources, and outreach work.

25. Our oral history team have contributed nine blogs over the year, with some more coming from our volunteers. They include: 'All Women Shortlists: 30 Years On'; 'How MPs navigated changing constituency boundaries'; 'Parliamentarians on their past: Memories of the 1983 General Election'; 'Mo Mowlam and the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement'; 'The Monday Club'; 'Cooperation and the Co-operative Party'; 'Neither fish, fowl nor good red herring': Baroness Nicholson's experiences of hearing loss'.

## DISSEMINATION

### *The House of Commons 1640-1660*

26. In May 2023, the History published its latest set of volumes: *The House of Commons 1640-1660*. This is our longest publication yet, coming to nine printed volumes. Staff have been involved in a variety of events to mark the publication, including in Parliament, and seminar and workshops at the National Archives, the Cromwell Museum, Huntingdon, the Department for Continuing Education, Oxford, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Institute of Historical Research.

### *The History of Parliament Online*

27. Work on rebuilding the History of Parliament's website, integrating the new sections (including recent House of Lords sections) and migrating the site from various different versions of the Drupal programme into the latest, Drupal 9, was put to one side while we worked on the 1640-1660 publication, although much of the development work involved in the latter project will help to solve the remaining problems with the migration project. With the database tasks on 1640-1660 largely completed by the end of 2022, we returned to working on the website. The work entails fixing a number of problems that have arisen from the site's incremental development over the last few years, and an opportunity is being taken to present the data in a more granular way that will enable it to be interrogated by researchers much more deeply than at present.

28. Owing to changes in google analytics and the current website being at its end of life, it is no longer possible to record website traffic.

29. The History also hosts a small site, [membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org](https://membersafter1832.historyofparliamentonline.org), initially built as a collaboration between the History, the Parliamentary Digital Service, and the House of Commons Library. The site is based on the database created originally by Professor Michael Rush from the University of Exeter and is kept up to date by staff of the House of Commons Library. We also maintain a permanent home for the database created by Sir David Beamish, the former Clerk of the Parliaments, of peerage creations since 1800. The site is available online at <https://peerages.historyofparliamentonline.org/>.

30. In addition, the History is a founding partner of the online library of digital resources developed by the Institute of Historical Research, British History Online.

31. The History's blogging and social media activity is dealt with below, as an aspect of our programme of public engagement.

## DEVELOPMENT

32. The History's detailed knowledge of the history of British politics is much sought after and shared through a number of collaborations with universities in the UK and abroad. These have largely taken the form of Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDAs), although the History is also involved in projects funded by major grants from the Research Councils and other grant-giving bodies. Such projects offer the History ways of enriching, developing and promoting and extending the reach of its own work in engagement with other scholars.

### **Collaborative doctoral awards**

33. In these, a university provides funding, supervision and support for a PhD project; the History offers a co-supervisor and the opportunity for the student to be involved in the History's activities. Universities need to bid for funding for these in partnership with an external institution through the university consortia that hold the funding. The History is currently participating in three collaborative doctoral projects:

- Robin Eagles is joint supervisor with Amanda Goodrich of the Open University of a PhD Studentship on 'The Black and Mixed Ethnicity Presence in British Politics, 1750-1850', one aim of which is to create a database of BAME people who are known to have participated in politics during the period. Helen Wilson was selected for the studentship and the project began in October 2020.
- Emma Peplow is joint supervisor with Dr Sally Horrocks and Dr Rick Whitaker at the University of Leicester of an ESRC-funded Doctoral Training Programme studentship project on 'Minority Ethnic MPs in the UK Parliament since 1987'. A candidate has been selected for the position and the project will begin with an initial masters degree in October 2023. The studentship jointly held at Keele University and Manchester University and associated with our Oral History project has been suspended for personal reasons.
- Paul Seaward continues to be joint supervisor with Anthony Milton of Sheffield University for a studentship on 'Bishops and the English Parliament c. 1558-1642'. Since his retirement, he is doing this on a voluntary basis. The project will be carried out in conjunction with the current House of Lords 1558-1601 project and the House of Lords 1640-60 project. Emma Hartley was selected for the studentship and the project began in October 2021.

### **Project collaborations**

34. The History is involved in a number of collaborations as a partner institution or co-applicant. Involvement normally means participation in the projects' respective advisory boards and offering advice and occasional assistance where required. Current collaborations underway involving the History are:

- Oxford University: *'Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture, 1500-1700: A New Approach to Representative Institutions'*, funded by the University's internal research fund, is an inter-disciplinary project concerned with the intellectual, literary, archival and material cultures of parliaments across early modern Europe. It will commence in September. The principal investigator is Paulina Kewes, at Oxford University. Paul Seaward is a co-investigator, along with Steve Gunn, Tracey Sowerby, Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves (Jagellonian University, Krakow) and Joris Oddens (REPUBLIC project, Huygens ING Institute, Royal Netherlands Academy).
- Durham University: the AHRC-funded *'Petitioning and People Power in Twentieth-Century Britain'* project, commenced in August 2020 and runs until July 2023 with Dr Richard Huzzey as principal investigator. The History is providing assistance through its oral history collection, and undertaking further interviews.
- Newcastle University: the AHRC funded *'Eighteenth-Century Political Participation and Electoral Culture (ECPPEC)'*, led by Matthew Grenby as principal investigator, started on 1 January 2020 and is ongoing. The History is contributing principally through the expertise of its eighteenth century House of Lords project.
- Exeter University and York University: the Leverhulme funded project *'Parliamentary Empire: British Democracy and Settler Colonialism, c.1867-1939'*, commenced in September 2021. It is led by David Thackeray (University of Exeter) and Amanda Behm (York). The History is a partner institution.

- University of East Anglia and Leeds Beckett University: the AHRC follow-on bid for *'The Letters of Richard Cobden (1804-65) Online: an exploration in active citizenship'*, led by Anthony Howe & Simon Morgan (UEA) and Helen Dampier (Leeds Beckett) was approved in 2022. The History is providing support through its public engagement activities.
35. Other potential partnerships are either in the application process or under discussion with Durham University, Exeter University and Nottingham Trent.
36. The History continues to be a founder member institution of the network of European Parliamentary Historians, EuParl.net. Partners besides the History include the Centrum voor Parlementaire Geschiedenis at the University of Nijmegen and the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien (Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and political parties), which is funded by and works closely with the German Bundestag; the Institute of Contemporary History in Prague; the University of Jyväskylä in Finland, and the Comité d'histoire parlementaire et politique in France.

### **St James's House**

37. The History's relationship with the public relations and publishing company St James's House dates back to 2013, and is based around the production of a series of books on themes to do with the history of the British parliament and parliamentary politics. The history contributes the main text, usually written partly in-house and partly by external contributors; St James's House sell to companies and organisations the opportunity to contribute text about their own activities and achievements, and the two elements are combined in a well-produced and highly illustrated volume which the company distributes widely and promotes through a launch in a central London location. The History receives from St James's House a regular fee for its collaboration, and, under previous contracts, a royalty on advertising sales over a defined threshold. The History also receives copies of a paperback version of each book, without the advertising. We have been selling some of these through the parliamentary bookshop and other outlets.
38. In 2022 we agreed with St James's House a renewal of the existing contract we hold with them, which now expires in August 2028. The new contract covers four books to be published over five years. It offers an increased fee to the History totalling £480,000 over five years, though without royalties. The four books concern: Parliament and the National Health Service, which was published in 2023, marking the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NHS; the House of Commons chamber and the Commonwealth gifts, to be published in 2025; Parliament and UK Trade and Industry, marking the anniversary of the 1851 Great Exhibition, to be published in 2026; The Equal Franchise Act, marking the anniversary of the equalisation of the voting age for men and women in 1928, to be published in 2028.
39. In September 2023 we published first book under the 2022 contract, covering Parliament, politicians and the National Health Service, on the occasion of its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary. There was a launch event at Westminster Abbey.

### **ENGAGEMENT**

40. The History's programme of public and academic engagement activities, is managed by our Public Engagement manager Connie Jeffery. In February 2024, Kirsty O'Rourke Public Engagement Assistant, left the History. That position was advertised and filled in May 2024.

### **Academic, university and professional engagement**

41. The History has continued its regular competition for the best undergraduate dissertation on British and Irish political and parliamentary history. The annual prize was awarded to Joshua Franklin, University of Cambridge for his essay 'Thatcherism and deregulation in the City of London'.
42. The History has continued to develop its links with Higher Education Institutes. Martin Spychal continued our relationship with the University of Buckingham. Martin worked with the course convener to incorporate History of Parliament blogs, articles and videos into the reading list for the University's BA History module, 'Confidence and Crisis: The United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century' module. Staff in the 1832-68 section also participated in the 'The Historian at Work' module in March 2024. Kathryn Rix gave seminar to the Records and Responsible Government interdisciplinary group at the University of Essex in 2023. The Public Engagement team hosted two interns from the University of York's MA in Public History, who are assisting in developing an elections project.
43. The Parliaments, Politics and People seminar at the Institute of Historical Research is run by a number of the History's staff. Like other IHR seminars, the seminar has operated on a part-online only, part-hybrid basis. The online format has led to an expansion of the seminar's audience and reach, with the fortnightly sessions now attracting around 70 attendees and is generating extra traffic to the History of Parliament blog. Some disruption was experienced to the seminar as a result of industrial action during the winter term 2023.
44. The History has played a key role in supporting political history within the academy. It supported two conferences in 2023-24: 'Politics Before Democracy, Britain and its World c. 1750-1914' and 'Organise! Organise! Organise! Collective Action, Associational Culture and the Politics of Organisation in the British Isles, c. 1790-1914'.
45. The History's staff continue to interact routinely with the wider academic community, principally through contributions to conferences and seminars and publication in academic history journals. Staff of the History are editors or members of the editorial board of a large number of journals concerned with British and parliamentary history, or trustees or board members of organisations that deal with these subjects, including the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, *Parliamentary History* and the Parliamentary History Trust, the Court Studies Society and the journal *Court Studies*, the *London Journal*, the Cromwell Association, the Victoria County History Trust, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, and many others.

### **Social Media, Videos and Podcasts**

46. Our social media statistics have been significantly affected by the major decrease in Twitter users globally in October/November 2022. There is still considerable uncertainty surrounding the social media landscape. Although there has been some fluctuations, we continue to see a small increase in followers for all three Twitter accounts: @HistParl has 17,588 followers, @TheVictCommons has 6,177 followers and @GeorgianLords has 6,838 followers. Twitter impressions grew over the year, although they are still lower than previously. We are now monitoring the Twitter 'engagement' rate, rather than just 'impressions'. This number records the users actively engaging with History of Parliament content (clicking links etc.), rather than simply seeing a post and scrolling on. The engagement rate for the History of Parliament is, on average, much higher than that expected for company-affiliated (i.e. not personal) Twitter accounts. No comparative

analysis can be made until further data is collected in the next reporting periods, but with an average of 1.95% on the main account we are operating well above the expected average of 0.5%.

47. The History launched on TikTok in May 2023. The PE team approach TikTok videos in a similar way to Twitter content, with all information drafted by the PE team, before being checked by the relevant section lead. There are clear benefits of utilising TikTok to engage our 18-35 target audience. Our TikTok engagement rate is higher than on other platforms. The PE team have created 55 videos which have had over 43,000 views.
48. A total of 126 blogs were published on the History's three blogs in the course of the year. Most of these were written by the History's own staff, many of them within the five strands covering our various projects – the Commons in the Wars of the Roses; the First Elizabethan Age; James I to Restoration; the Georgian Lords; and the Victorian Commons. Also included are short summaries of the papers delivered to the History's Parliaments, Politics and People seminar, and a few blogs contributed by the Oxford Centre for Intellectual History's series on 'Recovering Europe's Parliamentary Culture, 1500-1700'. There were a further 21 blogs published on the Victorian Commons, the blog of the 1832-68 project. The three blogs (including the Director's 'Reformation to Referendum' blog) between them recorded a total of 249,197 views, close to the level achieved in 2020-21 when figures were inflated as a result of the pandemic.
49. In March 2023 we began to develop a podcast series surrounding the Oral History project, working with an external podcaster to help record and edit and transfer skills and experience to our public engagement team. The series is intended to be released in 2024.

### **Events**

50. This year we hosted a record number of events:

- 12 April 2023, Bloomsbury Square, Workshop: Settler Colonialism and Parliamentary Democracy
- 27 May 2023, Oxford Department of Continuing Education, Day Schools Special Event to mark the publication of the House of Commons 1640-1660 volumes.
- 20 June, Attlee Suite, Parliamentarians on their Past: Memories of the 1983 General Election
- 5 July, Jubilee Room, Houses of Parliament, Parliamentarians on their Past: Campaigning, Petitions and People Power.
- 11 July, Speakers House, Launch Event, House of Commons 16640-16660
- 6 September, Westminster Abbey, Launch event with St James House for NHS at 75 book
- 19 September, Attlee Suite, Cobden Project Launch event
- 14 October, Huntingdon Library, Cromwell Association Study Day 2023
- 16 November, Senate House, IHR & SAS History Day
- 27 November, River Room, House of Lords, Parliamentarians on their Past: Oral Histories in Parliament
- 16 February, The National Archives, Parliament in the Civil War: exploring the archives
- 19 March, Attlee Suite, 'A Manly Place': Experiences of Women in Parliament after 1997

51. Details of media and other engagement is given below in our Value Report.

## VALUE REPORT

52. The History of Parliament now includes within its annual report a statement on the value of the programme as a whole and its individual research projects based on feedback received and the use made of our research over the previous year. Our summary of recent feedback is based on the following categorisation of the History's value:

- The History is one of a small number of projects that form **the key infrastructure/ecosystem** of British historical knowledge and understanding. As well as the History, they include the Dictionary of National Biography (now the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, or ODNB) and the Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH). These are now supplemented by a growing number of smaller online database resources such as the Clergy of the Church of England, or the Legacies of British Slave ownership.
- The History goes beyond this to provide fresh and high-quality **contributions to our knowledge and interpretation** of British parliamentary, political and social history. Some of this is evident in the Introductory surveys to our publications, or the works we have published which have been closely based on our research. This contribution to the broader interpretation of political history also emerges through the History's several blogs, which constitute a large and growing resource, now often cited by other blogs, in undergraduate reading lists and in other academic work, and through works by individual researchers as academic books and journal articles.
- Beyond writing and publication, the **expertise** and background knowledge of the History's staff concerning parliament, political life, and the lives of the British political and social elite is deployed in cutting-edge engagements with academic history and other disciplines, working in partnership with scholars and universities world-wide; in the provision of advice to parliament and to other institutions and organisations; in responding to queries from the public and in regular contributions to the UK and foreign media.

53. Below we provide a series of updates on these areas:

- A review of *The Political Lives of Postwar British MPs: An Oral History of Parliament* (published in 2020) by Emma Crewe appeared in *Parliament, Estates & Representation* 44, 1 (2022). It praised the book for its eloquence and insights. The oral history collection is praised as being 'like gold for parliamentary scholars'. The reviewer noted that 'If this [book] was read widely, it might do a huge service to democracy simply by alerting people to how similar politicians are to the rest of us in some ways and how different they are from each other in other ways.'
- The easy availability of our previous publications through the History of Parliament online and its value for a wide range of scholars is illustrated in numerous books and articles published in the past year. Among books using articles published on the website appearing in 2023 or 2024 were H. Miller, *A Nation of Petitioners: Petitions and Petitioning in the United Kingdom, 1780-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 2023); Micheal W. McCahill, *English MPs: Legislators and Servants of their Constituents, 1750-1800* (Bloomsbury, 2023); Timothy Venning, *The Fall of Cromwell's Republic and the Return of the King: From Commonwealth to Stuart Monarchy, 1657-1670* (Pen and Sword, 2023); Christian R. Burset, *An Empire of Laws: Legal Pluralism in British Colonial Policy* (Yale University Press, 2023); J. A. Downie and Nicholas Seager (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Daniel Defoe* (Oxford University Press, 2024); Simon Deveraux, *Execution, State and Society in England*

- 1660-1900 (Cambridge University Press, 2023); Stephanie Barczewski, *How the Country House became English*, (Reaktion Books, 2023); C. O'Neil and F. O'Kane, *Ireland, Slavery and the Caribbean*, (Manchester University Press, 2023); Elena Woodacre, *Joan of Navarre, Infanta, Duchess, Queen, Witch?* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2023); Brid McGrath, *The Operations of the Irish House of Commons, 1613-48* (Dublin, 2023); David Farr, *Oliver Cromwell's Kin, 1643-1726*, (Taylor and Francis, 2023); S. Psarra, U. Staigher & C. Sternberg, *Parliament Buildings: The architecture of politics in Europe* (UCL Press 2023).
- Our blogs are also now used and cited in a range of publications and websites. Some blog articles are now built into other infrastructure websites such as layersoflondon.org, and the National Records of Scotland (nrscotland.gov.uk). Many are referred to in other publications: have been cited in (among other places), K. M. Nural Huda, *Electronic Voting in Government Elections to Promote Democracy* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2024); L. R. Schumacher, *The Eastern Question in 1870s Britain. Democracy and Diplomacy, Orientalism and Empire* (Springer, 2023); P. Cane and H. Kumarasingham, *The Cambridge Constitutional History of the United Kingdom: Volume 1, Exploring the Constitution* (Cambridge University Press, 2023); A. Norrie, C. Harris et al (eds), *Hanoverian to Windsor Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty* (Palgrave Macmillan 2023); H. Doe, *One Crew: The RNLi's Official 200-Year History* (Amberley, 2024); C. Eickelmann & David Small, *Dasent's Estate, Nevis, West Indies: enslavement and compensation* (University of Bristol, 2023); C. Kinealy, *Becoming Ira Aldridge, a Black Shakespearean Actor in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Newcastle, 2023); S. Priddy, 'Historical representation of ethnic minority groups in the House of Commons', [House of Commons Library, Research Briefing](#), 26 Sept. 2023; A. Marvin, 'Considering the Cayley Symposium', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Annual report for the year 2023* (2023), 26-31; D. Gatehouse, 'Estrangement at the church door: Silas Marner and the projection of new English spaces', *European Journal of English Studies* (2024); L. Smith, 'The saga of James Lucett and the process for curing insanity, Part 2 (1814–38): "Insanity cured" *History of Psychiatry*, 2023.
  - The Victorian Commons blogsite was praised in the Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine: which notes that the main website "a wealth of information about the political history of constituencies", and the Victorian commons blog 'is full of interesting gems about Victorian elections'.

**Expertise:** Our engagement activities with universities is described above, under 'Development' and 'Engagement'.

- The History's staff have given numerous talks and conference papers: audiences included; the Richard III Society Conference for Schools; the International Medieval Conference at Leeds; the Fifteenth Century Conference at Winchester; the Worshipful Company of Fletchers of London; Study of parliament Group Annual Conference; RHS Transactions Workshop, QMUL; Oral History Society; Politics Before Democracy Conference, UEA; Organise! Organise! Organise! Conference, Durham University; Research Day in Stuart and Civil War History, University of Buckingham; the IHR/History of Parliament 'Parliaments, Politics and People' seminar; North American Conference on British Studies, Baltimore November 2023; British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, St Hugh's College, Oxford, Jan. 2024.
- Staff also serve as the book reviews editor for *Parliamentary History*; the assistant editor of *The Fifteenth Century*; a section editor on the *Bibliography of British and Irish History*; on the editorial boards of *Parliamentary History*, *Journal of Liberal*

*History*; and as officers of the Jacobite Studies Trust, the Society for Court Studies, the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the British Association for Local History, the Victoria County History Trust; they serve as convenors for seminars, principally our own seminar at the Institute of Historical Research on 'Parliaments, Politics and People', but also the Late Medieval Seminar at the IHR

- Staff routinely publish elsewhere including editions, articles in edited collections (eg. Kathryn Rix, '1880', in *British general election campaigns 1830-2019*, ed. I. Dale (Biteback, 2024), articles in peer-reviewed journals (eg. Hannes Kleineke, 'The Hidden Presence: The People of St George's Chapel in Parliament in the later Middle Ages', *Annual Review of the Society of the Friends of St George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter*, x (2022-23), 153-64) and book reviews in numerous scholarly journals.
- Media appearances have included on BBC Radio 4 Today programme on MPs and coronations and on Times Radio on a similar subject (Kathryn Rix, April – May 2023); Researcher for BBC Radio 4 Series on Prime Minister's Props (Martin Spychal); Consultancy for BBC2 TV Series 'Union' (Andrew Thrush); Panellist on PoliticsHome podcast (Robin Eagles); Radio Bristol (Robin Eagles).
- Staff routinely respond to a wide range of external inquiries from the media, academics, members of the public, parliamentary and other bodies.

## GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRUST

54. In February 2023, the Charity Commission approved our application to create a new Charitable Incorporated Organisation under the Charities Act 2011 to replace the existing Trust. The HPT is an alternative legal form for a charity, which enables the charity to act in its own name (rather than collectively as Trustees), and limits the liability of trustees. In the course of the 2023-24 financial year the Trust transferred all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust to the new HPT. The formal transfer took place on 31 August.
55. The administrative team consists of the Director, Paul Seaward (to 30<sup>th</sup> November 2023), now Dr. Jennifer Davey (from 1<sup>st</sup> December 2023), along with the Office manager, Adam Tucker, and Finance Manager, Debbie Corrigan (who replaced Jonathan Comber in January 2024).
56. The Trust occupies a building at 18 Bloomsbury Square, London, owned by the Bedford Estates, on a 10-year lease agreed in 2015. The top floor of the building is sub-let to a business. The current lease ends in 2025 and the Trust is currently considering its future accommodation in the light of this change.

### **Staffing**

57. During the year to 31 March 2024 the History employed 21.12 full-time equivalent members of its research resource including the Section Editors and Editorial Board; there were 1.74 full-time equivalent members of the administrative staff. The Director's time is apportioned equally between research and administration.

## **Financial Review**

58. The majority (£1,967,566 (2022-23: £1,674,524)) of unrestricted incoming resources for the year of £2,149,130 (2022-23: £1,807,267) was provided by Grant-In-Aid. The unrestricted resources also include:

- receipts totalling £100,459 (2022-23: £73,155) under a fee arrangement made in consecutive contracts with Regalpress Limited, trading as St James's House, in relation to the publication of a series of books concerned with the history of parliament.
- £29,057 (2022-23: £32,161) of rental income from our building in Bloomsbury Square.
- £30,865 (2022-23: £19,970) from sale of books.

There was no restricted income in 2023-24.

59. The incoming resources of HPT have been applied to further the objects of the Trust in the form of:

- a. Editorial and Research Staff costs
- b. Management and Support Staff costs
- c. General Expenses

60. All fixed assets (with a net book value of £1,656 (2023: £2,649)) were held for use by the HPT.

61. At 31 March 2024, HPT held total funds of £1,042,962 (2023: £833,462). These comprised restricted funds of £4,744 and unrestricted funds of £1,038,218 (2023: £4,744 and £828,718). Reserves have shown a large increase due to the receipt of House of Commons grant-in-aid, intended for 2024-25 spending, just before the end of March 2024. Some reserves are held for the purposes of funding future publications, and for some other purposes, including the potential cost of dilapidations on our offices in Bloomsbury Square. Otherwise, the policy of HPT is to aim to hold reserves at a prudent level, equivalent to a maximum of three months' running costs. Over the last few years, in agreement with House of Commons and House of Lords authorities, the Trust has been deliberately reducing its reserves in order to bring them down to this level.

62. In accordance with the Financial Memorandum, any funds held by HPT which are not required for immediate expenditure may be invested at the Trustees' discretion. The Trust held a total of £478,597 (2023: £470,120) invested in two savings accounts which is included in short term investments.

63. The net realisable value of the History of Parliament's stock of publications for sale at 31<sup>st</sup> March 2024 is £69,901 (2023: £38,454). Net realisable value is based on recent sales less impairment for slow moving stock.

64. At 31<sup>st</sup> March 2024, the 'debtors and prepayments' balance was £254,369 (2023: £277,980). It includes prepayments of £35,311 and £212,142 of outstanding fee income.

65. At 31<sup>st</sup> March 2024, the 'creditors' balance was £98,419 (2023: £90,573). It includes trade creditors of £14,036 (2023:£21,027), accruals of £8,266 (2023:£24,568), deferred income of £7,423 (2023: £3,192) and PAYE/NIC creditor of £31,368 (2023:£30,270)

66. HPT is committed to the prompt payment of bills for goods and services received. Payments are normally made as specified in the contract. If there is no contractual provision or other understanding, they are paid within 30 days of the receipt of the goods or services, or on presentation of a valid invoice or similar demand, whichever is later.
67. The Comptroller and Auditor General is appointed under the Financial Memorandum to audit the financial statements.

### ***Plans for the future***

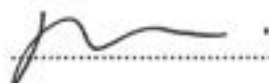
68. Our current major research projects are:

House of Commons, 1461-1504;  
House of Commons 1832-1868;  
House of Lords, 1558-1601;  
House of Lords, 1640-1660;  
House of Lords 1715-1790;  
Contemporary (oral) history

Information about the recent progress of each of these projects is included above; information about future progress and project timetables is included in the History's Annual Plan, which was approved by Trustees in July 2023, and is available through the History's website at <http://historyofparliamentonline.org/about/governance>.

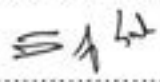
69. An Annual Plan for 2024-2025 was approved by the Trustees in July 2024. It included detailed targets for each research project, digital and engagement strategies, and the risk register.
70. HPT will continue to produce scholarly and historical research on the Parliament of the United Kingdom, including the biographies of members, histories of constituencies, and of parliamentary politics in general. Alongside its research activity, the Trust will also undertake a programme of public engagement, designed to disseminate knowledge of Britain's political past to the widest possible audience. In 2024-2025, HPT will also focus on exploring possible fundraising avenues.
71. HPT expects that most of the cost of its future plans will continue to be met from Grant-In-Aid. Grant-In-Aid has been agreed with the House of Commons and House of Lords for 2024-25 at the same level as that received in 2023-24. HPT anticipates that income classified as fee income in 2024-25 will be £105,000, all generated from St James' House. It is also anticipated that St James' House will also pay the remaining £128,208 of royalties due under the previous contract in 2024-25. The rental income will remain roughly the same. This indicates the Trust expects to receive a minimum of £1,832,000 of income or 99% of its 2023-24 income in 2024-25. HPT has sufficient reserves together with the expected Grant-in-Aid in the 12 months from the date of issue of these financial statements to meet liabilities falling due. As a result, HPT believes the going concern basis remains appropriate.

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer



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Lord Norton of Louth  
On behalf of the Trustees



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**The History of Parliament**  
10 **December 2024**

## **STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TRUSTEES AND OF THE ACCOUNTING OFFICER OF THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

1. Under law applicable to charities in England and Wales, the Trustees are required to prepare financial statements for each financial year which give a true and fair view of the History of Parliament Trust's financial activities during the year and of its financial position at the end of the year. In preparing financial statements giving a true and fair view, the Trustees should follow best practice and:
  - a. select suitable accounting policies and then apply them consistently;
  - b. make judgements and estimates that are on a reasonable basis;
  - c. state whether applicable accounting standards and statements of recommended practice have been followed; and
  - d. prepare the financial statements on the going concern basis unless it is inappropriate to presume that the charity will continue in operation.
2. Under applicable laws, the Trustees are responsible for keeping accounting records which enable them to ascertain the financial position of the Trust. The Trustees are also responsible for preparing financial statements that comply with the Charities Act 2011.
3. The responsibilities of an Accounting Officer include:
  - a. Confirming as far as she is aware there is no relevant audit information of which the auditors are unaware and that she has taken all the steps she ought to have taken to make herself aware of any relevant audit information, and to establish that the auditors are aware of that information.
  - b. Confirming that the Annual Accounts are fair, balanced and understandable and that she takes personal responsibility for the Annual Accounts and the judgements required therein.

The Accounting Officer confirms the above have been met.
4. The History of Parliament Trust receives its principal income from Grant-In-Aid from the House of Commons Estimate and the House of Lords Estimate. Under the Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the House of Commons and the House of Lords, responsibility for the preparation and signing of the annual accounts is vested with the Director of the Trust who is formally designated as the Trust's Accounting Officer by the Trustees. Notwithstanding the requirements of Charities law, the relevant responsibilities of the Trustees and the Accounting Officer, including responsibility for the propriety and regularity of public finances, for the keeping of proper records and the preparation of the accounts, are set out in the Financial Memorandum.
5. The Financial Memorandum provides that the Trust's Director as Accounting Officer will also be liable to be summoned, together with the Clerk of the House of Commons and the Clerk of the Parliaments, to hearings on any matters relating to the Grant-In-Aid which arise before the Committee of Public Accounts. She may also be required to appear before other parliamentary committees.

## **GOVERNANCE STATEMENT THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**

### ***Scope of responsibility***

1. Dr. Paul Seaward was Accounting Officer until the 30<sup>th</sup> November 2023 when he retired and was replaced by Dr. Jennifer Davey. I have responsibility for the Governance Statement which outlines the arrangements which have enabled me to discharge my responsibility for the management and control of the History of Parliament's resources during the course of 2023-24.
2. The system of internal control and controls in place are regularly reviewed with the Treasurer of the Trust and senior parliamentary staff, in particular through the regular meetings of the Trust's Finance Committee. Under the terms of the Financial Memorandum the internal controls should be reviewed every three years. They were reviewed and revised by the Finance Committee during 2019-20. These controls have continued to operate throughout 2023-24. A further review and revision has just been completed in July 2024.

### ***The governance framework***

3. The History of Parliament Trust was established by a declaration of Trust made on 31 December 1940 with subsequent variations made in 1956, 1967, 1971 and 1996. The Trust is a registered charity. As outlined above, The Trust converted during 2023-24 to a Charitable Incorporated Organisation under the Charities Act 2011. The transfer of assets, liabilities and operations to the new HPT took place on 31 August 2023. The transfer is being taken as an opportunity to review and update the Trust's governance arrangements, and the result will be reflected in next year's report.
4. The Trust's original objectives were to compile and publish an authoritative History of Parliament from the 13th century in the form of publishing biographies of Members of Parliament and constituency histories, with introductory essays which analyse this information. This objective has been extended under the new HPT to also engage the interest of the widest range of publics in the history of the UK Parliament from earliest times to the present through its published work and other activities, and to disseminate, promote and encourage other research on the History of Parliament and Parliamentary institutions.
5. The Trust has an Executive Committee whose function is to prepare an agenda for the Trustees' quarterly meetings and take such decisions as are needed in the period between those meetings. It consists of the Chair and the Treasurer *ex officio*, together with two other Trustees nominated by the full body of Trustees; the Director of the History and Chair of the Editorial Board attend as advisers and the Secretary to the Trust acts as secretary to the Committee.
6. The Trust also has a Finance Committee, which consists of the Treasurer of the Trust, the Director and Accounting Officer, the Secretary of the Trust, together with the Director of Financial Management and Performance at the House of Commons and the Deputy Head of Finance at the House of Lords, together with other staff as appropriate. It meets twice yearly.
7. In setting the programme of research and publication, the Trustees have regard to the Charity Commission's general guidance on public benefit. The Trustees always ensure that the programmes the Trust undertakes are in line with our charitable objectives and aims.

8. The Trust is principally funded by Grant-In-Aid by the House of Commons and House of Lords. The House of Commons Commission delegates detailed scrutiny of the use of the Grant-In-Aid to the House of Commons Finance and Services Committee. The Financial Memorandum sets out:
  - the administrative and financial arrangements with regard to propriety, financial management and the safeguarding of public funds;
  - the responsibilities of the Trust's designated Accounting Officer, who is also the Director of the Trust; and
  - the responsibilities of the Trust for the day to day management of the Trust's Grant-In-Aid.
9. The Trust has in place a system of internal control and framework for risk management which is proportionate to the size and complexity of the organisation. Procedures have been put in place to deal with risks particularly those associated with the Trust's Reserves Policy, Information Technology and Employment Issues. Its risk register and procedures are reviewed annually as part of the History's planning process, and the register is incorporated in its annual plan.
10. The Director's performance and pay arrangements are reviewed by the Trustees every five years. The Director receives the same percentage cost of living increase as other staff under the Universities and Colleges Employers' Association (UCEA) arrangements.

#### ***The Trust's governance activities in 2023-24***

12. The Trustees met on 4 occasions in 2023-24 to consider among other things the following matters:
  - The progress of the History's various research projects;
  - Financial planning and budgeting;
  - The History's public engagement activities;
  - The future governance of the Trust including the transfer to the new Trust.
13. The key data reviewed by the Board on the progress of its research is compiled on the basis of completed articles filed within the History's computer network and audited by the Director and members of its Editorial Board. Trustees regard this as good assurance of the existence and quality of the articles completed.
14. There was a 62% attendance of Trustees at Trust meetings.

*Trustee attendance at Trust meetings:*

	May 2023	July 2023	Nov 2023	Jan 2024	March 24
Professor The Lord Norton of Louth (Chair)*	X	X	X	X	X
Dame Clare Moriarty DCB* (Treasurer)			X	X	X
Mr Gordon Marsden	X	X	X	X	X
Sir Chris Bryant MP *					
Rt. hon. The Lord Clark of Windermere		X	X	X	
Mrs Sarah Davies	X		X	X	X
Mr Jonathan Djanogly MP	X	X	X		X
Rt. hon. Lord Lexden	X	X			
Rt. hon. Kwasi Kwarteng MP			X		
Dame Eleanor Laing				X	
Lord Lisvane KCB DL	X		X	X	X
Mr Patrick Vollmer	X	X	X	X	X
*Member of the Executive Committee x signifies attendance					

***The risk and control framework***

15. A risk management strategy is in place and includes systems and procedures to mitigate identified risks and minimise their impact. The strategy is set out in a risk register which is circulated to Trustees and agreed by them annually as part of the History's Annual Plan. The Plan will normally be made available online at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org) (the site is currently undergoing rebuilding).
16. The main risks identified in respect of Governance and management involve project specification and timetable; the relationship between practice and policies pursued by the Trustees and Editorial Board, and the potential loss of key staff as well as non-attendance by Trustees and vacancies among Trustees. In respect of research activities, the register identifies risk in terms of the quality of articles produced, and online and print publication processes. Operational risks include employment issues, cyber security, health and safety, staff turnover and recruitment, premises and property management and disaster. Financial risks include funding and budgeting, fraud and error, and banking.
17. Risks are assessed in terms of their probability and impact, assigned to a risk owner and a procedure for control and mitigation is set out, together with the current status of mitigation activities.
18. There was one additional risk and one 'potential problem' identified in 2023-2024: cyber security/IT failure and missed payments from St James' House. Both have been added to the risk register. There were no lapses of protective security.
19. The system of internal control is based on an ongoing process designed to identify and prioritise the risks to the achievement of the Trust's policies, aims and objectives, to consider the likelihood of those risks being realised and the impact should they be realised, and to manage them efficiently, effectively and economically.
20. The system of internal control is designed to manage risk to a reasonable level rather than eliminate all the risk of failure to achieve policies, aims and objectives of the Trust. In doing this, it can therefore only provide reasonable and not absolute assurance of effectiveness.

21. The system of internal control has been in place in the Trust for the year ended 31 March 2024 and up to the date of approval of the annual report and accounts and accords with Treasury guidance.

**Review of effectiveness**

22. The Trustees reviewed their practices and processes in 2023-24 with regard to effectiveness in enabling the Trust successfully to meet its objectives and consider them to be satisfactory.

23. The Trustees comply with the principles laid out in corporate governance in central government departments, "the Code". There are certain principles in the Code which are not applicable to the Trust's Board and these relate in the main to central government boards' roles relating to government policy making and the power of ministers. Other elements which are not applicable include certain elements in the Code dealing with board composition and the board's relationship with its Arm's Length Bodies. The Trust seeks to uphold the highest standards of governance through the accountability and transparency of its management processes, decision-making and communications.

24. The History prepares, reviews and publishes its strategic plan in July each year. A survey of the academic and cultural value of the output of the Trust is also completed in each year as part of its annual review, and a summary is included in the Annual Report, above. The Trust continues to monitor its reserve closely and to discuss the appropriate level through its Finance Committee.

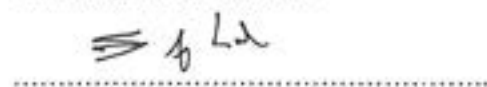
25. The Accounting Officer has responsibility for maintaining an effective system of internal control and periodically to review the procedures that we have in place. Her review of the Trust's internal control is informed by the work of Parliament's internal auditors, and comments made by the external auditors in their management letter and other reports. The last internal audit was carried out in 2020. She also has regard to guidance on internal control and financial management issued by HM Treasury. In her opinion the Trust's system of internal control meets the criteria for effectiveness set out in paragraph 23 above.

26. In the opinion of the Trustees and the Accounting Officer, the Governance processes and practices employed by the Trust have enabled us as Accounting Officer and Trustees to effectively discharge our responsibilities to manage and control the organisation's resources during the course of 2023-24.

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer



Lord Norton of Louth  
On behalf of the Trustees



**The History of Parliament**  
10.12 2024

## THE REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### Opinion on financial statements

I have audited the financial statements of the History of Parliament Trust for the year ended 31 March 2024.

The financial statements comprise the History of Parliament Trust's:

- Balance Sheet as at 31 March 2024;
- Statement of Financial Activities, and Statement of Cash Flows for the year then ended; and
- the related notes including the significant accounting policies.

The financial reporting framework that has been applied in the preparation of the financial statements is applicable law and United Kingdom accounting standards including Financial Reporting Standards (FRS) 102, the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice).

In my opinion, the financial statements:

- give a true and fair view of the state of the History of Parliament Trust's affairs as at 31 March 2024 and income and expenditure for the year then ended;
- have been properly prepared in accordance with the United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice and Charities Statement of Recommended Practice; and
- have been properly prepared in accordance with the Charities Act 2011.

### Opinion on regularity

In my opinion, in all material respects, the income and expenditure recorded in the financial statements have been applied to the purposes intended by Parliament and the financial transactions recorded in the financial statements conform to the authorities which govern them.

### Basis for opinions

I conducted my audit in accordance with International Standards on Auditing (UK) (ISAs (UK)), applicable law and Practice Note 10 *Audit of Financial Statements and Regularity of Public Sector Bodies in the United Kingdom (2022)*. My responsibilities under those standards are further described in the *Auditor's responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements* section of my report.

Those standards require me and my staff to comply with the Financial Reporting Council's *Revised Ethical Standard 2019*. I am independent of the History of Parliament Trust in accordance with the ethical requirements that are relevant to my audit of the financial statements in the UK. My staff and I have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities in accordance with these requirements.

I believe that the audit evidence I have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for my opinion.

### **Conclusions relating to going concern**

In auditing the financial statements, I have concluded that the History of Parliament Trust's use of the going concern basis of accounting in the preparation of the financial statements is appropriate.

Based on the work I have performed, I have not identified any material uncertainties relating to events or conditions that, individually or collectively, may cast significant doubt on the History of Parliament Trust's ability to continue as a going concern for a period of at least twelve months from when the financial statements are authorised for issue.

My responsibilities and the responsibilities of the Trustees and Accounting Officer with respect to going concern are described in the relevant sections of this report.

### **Other information**

The other information comprises information included in the Annual Report but does not include the financial statements and my auditor's report thereafter. The Trustees and Accounting Officer are responsible for the other information.

My opinion on the financial statements does not cover the other information and, except to the extent otherwise explicitly stated in my report, I do not express any form of assurance conclusion thereon.

My responsibility is to read the other information and, in doing so, consider whether the other information is materially inconsistent with the financial statements, or my knowledge obtained in the audit or otherwise appears to be materially misstated.

If I identify such material inconsistencies or apparent material misstatements, I am required to determine whether this gives rise to a material misstatement in the financial statements themselves. If, based on the work I have performed, I conclude that there is a material misstatement of this other information, I am required to report that fact.

I have nothing to report in this regard.

### **Opinion on other matters**

In my opinion, based on the work undertaken in the course of the audit:

- the information given in the Annual Report for the financial year for which the financial statements are prepared is consistent with the financial statements and is in accordance with the applicable legal requirements.

### **Matters on which I report by exception**

In the light of the knowledge and understanding of the History of Parliament Trust and its environment obtained in the course of the audit, I have not identified material misstatements in the Annual Report.

I have nothing to report in respect of the following matters which I report to you if, in my opinion:

- adequate accounting records have not been kept by the History of Parliament Trust or returns adequate for my audit have not been received from branches not visited by my staff; or
- I have not received all of the information and explanations I require for my audit; or
- the financial statements are not in agreement with the accounting records and returns; or
- certain disclosures of remuneration specified by the Charities Act 2011 have not been made.

## **Responsibilities of the Trustees and Accounting Officer for the financial statements**

As explained more fully in the Statement of Responsibilities of Trustees and Accounting Officer, the Trustees and the Accounting Officer are responsible for:

- maintaining proper accounting records;
- providing the C&AG with access to all information of which management is aware that is relevant to the preparation of the financial statements such as records, documentation and other matters;
- providing the C&AG with additional information and explanations needed for his audit;
- providing the C&AG with unrestricted access to persons within the History of Parliament Trust from whom the auditor determines it necessary to obtain audit evidence;
- ensuring such internal controls are in place as deemed necessary to enable the preparation of financial statements to be free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error;
- preparing financial statements, which give a true and fair view, in accordance with the applicable financial reporting framework;
- assessing the History of Parliament Trust's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless the Trustees and the Accounting Officer either intends to liquidate the entity or to cease operations, or has no realistic alternative but to do so

## **Auditor's responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements**

My responsibility is to audit and express an opinion on the financial statements in accordance with the Charities Act 2011.

My objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements as a whole are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue a report that includes my opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with ISAs (UK) will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

## **Extent to which the audit was considered capable of detecting non-compliance with laws and regulations including fraud**

I design procedures in line with my responsibilities, outlined above, to detect material misstatements in respect of non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud. The extent to which my procedures are capable of detecting non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud is detailed below.

## **Identifying and assessing potential risks related to non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud**

In identifying and assessing risks of material misstatement in respect of non-compliance with laws and regulations, including fraud I:

- considered the nature of the sector, control environment and operational performance including the design of the History of Parliament Trust's accounting policies;
- inquired of management and those charged with governance, including obtaining and reviewing supporting documentation relating to the History of Parliament Trust's policies and procedures on:
  - identifying, evaluating and complying with laws and regulations;
  - detecting and responding to the risks of fraud; and
  - the internal controls established to mitigate risks related to fraud or non-compliance with laws and regulations including the History of Parliament Trust's controls relating to the History of Parliament Trust's compliance with the UK Generally Accepted Accounting Practice, Charities Statement of Recommended Practice, Charities Act 2011, and Managing Public Money;
- inquired of management, and those charged with governance whether:
  - they were aware of any instances of non-compliance with laws and regulations;
  - they had knowledge of any actual, suspected, or alleged fraud;
- discussed with the engagement team regarding how and where fraud might occur in the financial statements and any potential indicators of fraud.

As a result of these procedures, I considered the opportunities and incentives that may exist within the History of Parliament Trust for fraud and identified the greatest potential for fraud in the following areas: revenue recognition, posting of unusual journals, complex transactions, and bias in management estimates. In common with all audits under ISAs (UK), I am required to perform specific procedures to respond to the risk of management override of controls.

I obtained an understanding of the History of Parliament Trust's framework of authority and other legal and regulatory frameworks in which the History of Parliament Trust operates. I focused on those laws and regulations that had a direct effect on material amounts and disclosures in the financial statements or that had a fundamental effect on the operations of the History of Parliament Trust. The key laws and regulations I considered in this context included, United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice, The Charities Act 2011, Managing Public Money, the Financial Memorandum with the House of Commons and House of Lords, employment law and tax Legislation.

#### **Audit response to identified risk**

To respond to the identified risks resulting from the above procedures:

- I reviewed the financial statement disclosures and testing to supporting documentation to assess compliance with provisions of relevant laws and regulations described above as having direct effect on the financial statements;
- I enquired of management and the Trustees concerning actual and potential litigation and claims;
- I reviewed minutes of meetings of those charged with governance and the Trustee Board
- addressed the risk of fraud through management override of controls by testing the appropriateness of journal entries and other adjustments; assessing whether the judgements on estimates are indicative of a potential bias; and evaluating the

business rationale of any significant transactions that are unusual or outside the normal course of business.

I communicated relevant identified laws and regulations and potential risks of fraud to all engagement team members and remained alert to any indications of fraud or non-compliance with laws and regulations throughout the audit.

A further description of my responsibilities for the audit of the financial statements is located on the Financial Reporting Council's website at: [www.frc.org.uk/auditorsresponsibilities](http://www.frc.org.uk/auditorsresponsibilities). This description forms part of my report.

#### **Other auditor's responsibilities**

I am required to obtain sufficient appropriate audit evidence to give reasonable assurance that the expenditure and income recorded in the financial statements have been applied to the purposes intended by Parliament and the financial transactions recorded in the financial statements conform to the authorities which govern them.

I communicate with those charged with governance regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control I identify during my audit.

**Gareth Davies**

**Date**

**Comptroller and Auditor General**

National Audit Office  
157-197 Buckingham Palace Road  
Victoria  
London  
SW1W 9SP

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES FOR YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024

	Notes	2023-24 Unrestricted Funds £	2023-24 Restricted Funds £	2023-24 Total Funds £	2022-23 Total Funds £
<b>Income from</b>					
<b>Donations</b>					
Grant-In-Aid	2	1,967,566	-	1,967,566	1,674,524
<b>Charitable Activities</b>					
Publications	3	30,865	-	30,865	19,970
Fees	3	100,459	-	100,459	73,155
Investments	4	18,837	-	18,837	7,107
<b>Other income</b>					
Accommodation	5	29,057	-	29,057	32,161
Research services	5	2,346	-	2,346	350
<b>Total income</b>		<b>2,149,130</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2,149,130</b>	<b>1,807,267</b>
<b>Expenditure on</b>					
Charitable Activities	6	1,874,334	-	1,874,334	1,872,408
Other Costs	7	65,296	-	65,296	29,798
<b>Total expenditure</b>		<b>1,939,630</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1,939,630</b>	<b>1,902,206</b>
<b>Net movement in funds</b>		<b>209,500</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>209,500</b>	<b>(94,939)</b>
<b>Reconciliation of funds:</b>					
Total funds brought forward		828,718	4,744	833,462	928,401
<b>Total funds carried forward</b>		<b>1,038,218</b>	<b>4,744</b>	<b>1,042,962</b>	<b>833,462</b>

All amounts relate to continuing activities. All recognised gains and losses are included in the Statement of Financial Activities.

The notes on pages 51 to 63 form part of these accounts.


**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST  
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 2024**

	Notes	As at 31 March 2024 £	As at 31 March 2023 £
<b>Fixed Assets</b>			
Tangible Fixed Assets	10	1,656	2,649
<b>Current Assets</b>			
Stock of Publications	11	69,901	38,454
Debtors and Prepayments	12	254,369	277,980
Short Term Investments	13	478,597	470,120
Cash in hand and at the bank	14	545,218	334,832
		1,348,085	1,121,386
<b>Current Liabilities</b>			
Creditors: amounts falling due within one year	15	(98,419)	(90,573)
<b>Net Current Assets</b>		<u>1,249,666</u>	<u>1,030,813</u>
<b>Total Assets less Current Liabilities</b>		1,251,322	1,033,462
<b>Provisions for Liabilities and Charges</b>	16	(208,360)	(200,000)
<b>Net Assets</b>		<u><u>1,042,962</u></u>	<u><u>833,462</u></u>
<b>The funds of the charity</b>			
Unrestricted Funds	17	1,038,218	828,718
Restricted Funds	17	4,744	4,744
<b>Total</b>		<u><u>1,042,962</u></u>	<u><u>833,462</u></u>

Dr Jennifer Davey  
Director and Accounting Officer

  
.....

Lord Norton of Louth  
Chair of Trustees

  
.....

The notes on pages 51 to 63 form part of these accounts.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024**

	Note	2024 £	2023 £
<b>Cash flows from operating activities:</b>			
Net cash provided by/(used in) operating activities		200,026	1,061
<b>Cash flows from investing activities</b>			
Interest from investments	4	15,704	6,543
Purchase of property, plant and equipment	10	-	(2,350)
Net cash provided by/(used in) investing activities		15,704	4,193
<b>Increase/(decrease) in cash and cash equivalents in the reporting period</b>		<b>215,730</b>	<b>5,254</b>
Cash and cash equivalents at the beginning of the reporting period	13 & 14	716,533	711,279
Cash and cash equivalents at the end of the reporting period	13 & 14	<b>932,263</b>	<b>716,533</b>

**RECONCILIATION OF NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) TO NET CASH FLOW FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES**

	Note	2024 £	2023 £
Net income/(expenditure) for the reporting period (as per the statement of financial activities)		209,500	(94,939)
Adjustments for:			
Depreciation charges and write off	7	993	2,684
(Income) from investments	4	(18,837)	(7,107)
Increase/(Decrease) in provision	16	8,360	25,000
Decrease/(Increase) in stocks	11	(31,447)	12,582
(Increase)/Decrease in debtors	12	23,611	44,711
Increase/(Decrease) in creditors	15	7,846	18,130
Net cash provided by/(used in) operating activities		<b>200,026</b>	<b>1,061</b>

**RECONCILIATION OF NET DEBT**

	Note	At 1/4/23 £	Cash-flows £	At 31/3/24 £
Cash	14	334,832	210,386	545,218
Cash equivalents	13	381,701	5,344	387,045
<b>Total</b>		<b>716,533</b>	<b>215,730</b>	<b>932,263</b>

The notes on pages 51 to 63 form part of these accounts.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024

#### 1. Accounting Policies

##### (a) Accounting Convention

- I. The financial statements are prepared in a form determined by the Trustees in accordance with the Financial Memorandum agreed between the Trustees and the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Without limiting the information given, the accounts meet the accounting and disclosure requirements of the Statement of Recommended Practice "Accounting and Reporting by Charities" (published by the Charity Commission for England and Wales) and the Charities Act.
- II. The History of Parliament Trust is a public benefit entity.
- III. As all income and expenditure in both 2022-23 and 2023-24 was unrestricted, no analysis is required showing the comparators split between restricted and unrestricted.

##### (b) Cash in hand and at the bank

This comprises of cash in hand and current balances with banks and other financial institutions which are readily convertible to known amounts of cash, which are subject to insignificant risk of changes in value and have an original maturity of less than three months.

##### (c) Income

- I. Grant-in-Aid is accounted for in the year it is received.
- II. All other income is included in the Statement of Financial Activities when the History is entitled to the income, receipt is probable and its amount can be measured reliably.
- III. Income from rental of office space under an operating lease (see notes 1(m) and 20) is accounted for over the period in which is earned. Rent paid in advance and in hand at the end of the financial year is accounted for as deferred income.

##### (d) Direct Charitable Expenditure and other costs incurred in achieving the objectives of the Charity

As required by the charity SORP, expenditure is analysed between that directly attributable to our charitable activities and those attributable to governance and support costs. Direct costs are allocated directly to an activity where possible (largely on the basis of staff time, following a survey of staff) and otherwise in the same proportion as the direct costs. A retrospective assessment was made of the prior year using the same approach.

##### (e) Tax

The History of Parliament Trust is registered for VAT purposes. Where output tax is chargeable, income is stated net of VAT. Expenditure is stated net of recoverable VAT. The Trust is exempt from corporation tax under Section 505A ICTA 1988 on its charitable activities.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 – (CONTINUED)

#### (f) Tangible Fixed Assets and Depreciation

All tangible fixed assets purchased by the Trust are capitalised in the balance sheet at cost. The capitalisation threshold for 2023-24 is £500.

Depreciation is provided on a straight line basis at the following annual rates in order to write off the cost of each asset to its estimated residual value over its estimated useful life:

ICT equipment	4 years
Furniture, fittings and office machines	5 years

A full year's depreciation is charged in the year of acquisition, no depreciation is charged in the year of disposal. A review for impairment of a fixed asset will be carried out if events or changes in circumstances indicate that the carrying amount of the fixed asset may not be recoverable.

#### (g) Stock

Stock consists principally of published printed sets of the History of Parliament held for sale and is valued at the lower of cost and net realisable value. Net realisable value of stock is based on recent sales less impairment for slow moving stock. The provision takes into account the impact of free online publication on future sales.

#### (h) Employees' Pension Costs

It is the Trust's policy to treat pension costs for employees as being equal to the actual contributions payable during the year (see Note 9d).

#### (i) Redundancy Costs

The History of Parliament recognises redundancy costs once a decision has been made to make staff redundant and includes the expected amount of the payment within staff costs.

#### (j) Debtors and Creditors

The year-end debtors and creditors are valued at amortised costs based on invoices or other reasonable estimates.

#### (k) Investments

The Trust values current asset investments at their evidenced year end value including any interest receivable which had not been credited to the account at the year end. Current asset investments are defined as those with a maturity of less than a year at the balance sheet date.

#### (l) Projects and Collaborations

HPT is involved as a partner in a number of university-based collaborative projects mainly financed by the UK Research Councils and research charities. HPT's involvement is largely advisory, and is described more fully in the Annual Report. The benefits to the HPT include access to material and research that contribute to its overall research mission, and improving knowledge and usage of its own work.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 – (CONTINUED)

#### (m) Leases

HPT holds an operating lease on its accommodation. Rent is charged to the SOFA and future rent is disclosed in note 20. It has no other operating leases.

#### (n) Going concern and merger accounting

The Trustees of the History of Parliament submitted a successful application to the Charity Commission for a new charity to be registered as a Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO), which was approved on 27 February 2023 (The History of Parliament Trust, Charity No. 1202089) and with the agreement of the Trustees of both the old and new bodies, all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust were transferred to the new Trust on 31 August 2023. The financial statements have been prepared on a going concern basis following a thorough assessment of the Trust's activities and level of financial risk over the 12 months following the date of approval of the statements. Funding for 2024-25 has been agreed in accordance with the Financial Memorandum.

See Note 17a for more details about the level of reserves and paragraph 70 of the Annual Report for more detail on our assessment of going concern.

As all the assets, liabilities and operations of the existing Trust have been transferred to the new, both have been presented as a combined set of accounts using merger accounting under the Charities Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP) (FRS 102)..

#### (o) Provisions

The History of Parliament recognises a liability for a provision for a legal or constructive obligation when either the timing or the amount of the future expenditure required to settle the obligation is uncertain. The amount recognised as a provision is the best estimate of the expenditure required to settle or to transfer it to a third party at the reporting date. When calculating the amount, consideration will be given to when the payments are likely to be made and future events and uncertainties which may affect the amount required to settle the obligation. See Note 16 for more details.

#### (p) Development costs

Expenditure related to updating and redesigning the Trust's website are charged to revenue as they are incurred and are included within the website and outreach line in Note 6.

## 2. Income from donations

	2023-24	2022-23
	£	£
Grant-In-Aid		
Grant-In-Aid received from House of Commons Vote	1,465,210	1,172,168
Grant-In-Aid received from House of Lords Vote	502,356	502,356
	<u>1,967,566</u>	<u>1,674,524</u>

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST

### NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 – (CONTINUED)

Grant-in-aid in 2023-24 received from the House of Commons Vote is higher than the prior year due to £293,042 relating to the 2024-25 financial year being received in advance of the financial year end. Under the Charities SORP this has been recognised in the year of receipt, however it remains within cash balances at the balance sheet date, and will be utilised in the 2024-25 financial year.

#### 3. Income from Charitable Activities

	2023-24	2022-23
	£	£
Publications	30,865	19,970
Fee income	<u>100,459</u>	<u>73,155</u>
	<u><b>131,324</b></u>	<u><b>93,125</b></u>

The fee income is the result of the Trust's collaboration with St James's House Publishing under a 2022 contract which expires in August 2028. Income in 2023-24 consisted of £83,000 in fee income plus other amounts related to the production of the books concerned. The new contract relates to the production of four books over five years, and provides the Trust with an increased fee of £480,000, paid in monthly instalments over the period of the contract. Royalty income is not payable under this new contract.. In September 2023 we published the first book under the 2022 contract, covering Parliament, politicians and the National Health Service, on the occasion of its 75th anniversary.

Under a 2018 contract with St James's House, royalty income was receivable and all the anticipated income (£233,457) was recognised in the 2021-22 accounts as accrued income which is being recovered under a payment plan which runs until early 2025.

#### 4. Income from Investments

	Unrestricted Funds 2023-24	Unrestricted Funds 2022-23
	£	£
Interest on current bank accounts	8,477	4,993
Dividends and interest on investments*	<u>10,360</u>	<u>2,114</u>
	<u><b>18,837</b></u>	<u><b>7,107</b></u>

\*includes £3,133 of interest in 2023-24 (£564 2022-23) on a non-cash equivalent one year cash bond.

#### 5. Other income

	2023-24	2022-23
	£	£
Accommodation	29,057	32,161
Research Services	<u>2,346</u>	<u>350</u>
	<u><b>31,403</b></u>	<u><b>32,511</b></u>

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 – (CONTINU**

**(a) Accommodation** This income includes rent from the Trust subletting its third floor offices. The space is let on a serviced basis with the lessee paying in addition for certain services at cost and for occasional meeting facilities. The Trust also has an arrangement with the Parliamentary History Trust to provide office accommodation for a fee of £2,000 per annum.

**(b) Research Services** The History received £1,000 from the Royal Historical Society towards the cost of running a workshop. In addition, a small amount of income was received from the Universities of Leeds, Durham and Keele towards some small projects. (In 2022-23 the Trust received £350 from Durham University to fund an oral history workshop).

**6. Expenditure on Charitable Activities**

Direct Costs	Scholarly and historical Research	Dissemination of research	Research with others	Promotion of educational activities	Governance Costs	Support Costs	2023-24
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Editorial and research staff costs	987,977	136,114	60,349	61,850	6,992	72,568	1,325,850
Editorial and research commissioned costs	39,325						39,325
Website and outreach staff costs	27,475	173,922	4,667	2,335			208,399
Website and outreach nonpay costs		25,903					25,903
Fees paid to Editorial Board	3,875						3,875
Stock storage costs		477					477
Cost of sales		33,373					33,373
Managerial and administration costs					6,998	50,167	57,165
Estates cost						142,755	142,755
Honoraria					5,200		5,200
St James House book fees		128					128
IT software, maintenance & support services						23,102	23,102
Small projects, travel and subsistence						7,064	7,064
Stationery, postage, telephones						971	971
Reprographic services						747	747
	<b>1,058,652</b>	<b>369,917</b>	<b>65,016</b>	<b>64,185</b>	<b>19,190</b>	<b>297,374</b>	<b>1,874,334</b>
<b>7. Other costs</b>							
Depreciation	675	236	41	41			993
Notional audit fee					25,500		25,500
Operating costs (incl legal fees)	31,439	10,985	1,931	1,906	18,042		64,303
Reversal of notional audit fee					(25,500)		(25,500)
<b>Other costs</b>	<b>32,114</b>	<b>11,221</b>	<b>1,972</b>	<b>1,947</b>	<b>18,042</b>		<b>65,296</b>
<b>Direct and other costs</b>	<b>1,090,766</b>	<b>381,138</b>	<b>66,988</b>	<b>66,132</b>	<b>37,232</b>		<b>1,642,256</b>
<b>Allocation of support costs</b>	<b>202,094</b>	<b>70,616</b>	<b>12,411</b>	<b>12,253</b>			<b>297,374</b>
<b>Allocation of governance costs</b>	<b>25,303</b>	<b>8,841</b>	<b>1,554</b>	<b>1,534</b>			<b>37,232</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL COSTS</b>	<b>1,318,163</b>	<b>460,595</b>	<b>80,953</b>	<b>79,919</b>			<b>1,939,630</b>

## Expenditure on Charitable Activities 2022-23

Direct Costs	Scholarly and historical Research £	Dissemination of research £	Research with others £	Promotion of educational activities £	Governance Costs £	Support Costs £	2022-23 £
Editorial and research staff costs	988,020	131,028	58,571	62,050	7,365	75,091	1,322,125
Editorial and research commissioned costs	41,550						41,550
Website and outreach staff costs	19,900	144,839	3,773	1,887			170,399
Website and outreach nonpay costs		38,228					38,228
Fees paid to Editorial Board	5,880						5,880
Stock storage costs		517					517
Cost of sales		12,582					12,582
Managerial and administration costs					7,580	51,514	59,094
Estates cost						178,151	178,151
Honoraria					5,200		5,200
St James House book fees		14,963					14,963
IT software, maintenance & support services						16,375	16,375
Small projects, travel and subsistence						6,337	6,337
Stationery, postage, telephones						722	722
Reprographic services						285	285
	<b>1,055,350</b>	<b>342,157</b>	<b>62,344</b>	<b>63,937</b>	<b>20,145</b>	<b>328,475</b>	<b>1,872,408</b>
<b>7. Other costs</b>							
Depreciation	1,859	602	110	113			2,684
Notional audit fee					23,600		23,600
Operating costs (incl legal fees)	10,897	3,533	644	660	11,380		27,114
Reversal of notional audit fee					(23,600)		(23,600)
Other costs	12,756	4,135	754	773	11,380		29,798
Direct and other costs	<b>1,068,106</b>	<b>346,291</b>	<b>63,098</b>	<b>64,710</b>	<b>31,525</b>		<b>1,573,731</b>
Allocation of support costs	227,496	73,757	13,439	13,783			328,475
Allocation of governance costs	21,834	7,079	1,290	1,323			31,525
<b>GRAND TOTAL COSTS</b>	<b>1,317,436</b>	<b>427,127</b>	<b>77,827</b>	<b>79,815</b>			<b>1,902,206</b>

Auditors have not performed any non-audit work. As required by the charity SORP, expenditure is analysed between that directly attributable to our charitable activities and those attributable to governance and support costs. Direct costs are allocated directly to an activity where possible (largely on the basis of staff time, following a survey of staff) and otherwise in the same proportion as the direct costs. A retrospective assessment was made of the prior year using the same approach.

## 8. Total Expenditure

### Analysis of Expenditure 2023-24

	2023-24			2022-23		
	Charitable Activities £	Other costs £	Total £	Charitable Activities £	Other costs £	Total £
Cost of raising donations	5,343	-	5,343	5,501	-	5,501
Cost of Charitable activities	1,849,146	65,296	1,914,442	1,847,050	29,798	1,876,848
Cost of other income	19,845		19,845	19,857	-	19,857
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,874,334</b>	<b>65,296</b>	<b>1,939,630</b>	<b>1,872,408</b>	<b>29,798</b>	<b>1,902,206</b>

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
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**9. Total Staff Cost and Trustee remuneration**

<b>(a) Staff Costs</b>	<b>2023-24</b>	<b>2022-23</b>
	<b>£</b>	<b>£</b>
Salaries of professional staff	1,196,393	1,151,492
Salaries/wages of support staff	33,417	33,085
Superannuation contributions	233,687	239,955
National Insurance contributions	136,992	138,166
Freelance work	39,325	41,551
	<u>1,639,814</u>	<u>1,604,249</u>

The number of employees, including the Director, whose emoluments as defined for tax purposes amounted to over £60,000 in the year was as follows:

	<b>2023-24</b>	<b>2022-23</b>
	<b>No.</b>	<b>No.</b>
£60,000-£69,999	5	3
£70,000-£79,999	0	0
£80,000-£89,999	0	0
£90,000-£99,999	0	1

Number of staff employed during the year	28
Of which Full time	23
Of which Part time	5

The average number of employees (full time equivalent for support staff) analysed by function was:

<b>Full time equivalent staf analysed by function</b>	<b>2023-24</b>		<b>2022-23</b>	
	<b>Professional Staff</b>	<b>Support Staff</b>	<b>Professional Staff</b>	<b>Support Staff</b>
Editorial and Research	21.12		20.27	0
Management and Administration	0.94	0.8	0.83	0.8
	<u>22.06</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>0.8</u>

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
**(CONTINUED)**

**(b) Director's Emoluments**

**There was a change in Director during the year (November).**

The salary and pension entitlements of the Director were as follows

	2023-24	2022-23
	£	£
Paul Seaward (April to November)	78,020	117,030
Dr Jennifer Davey (December to March)	32,170	
	<u>110,190</u>	<u>117,030</u>

Paul Seaward's emoluments as Director of £78,020 (£117,030 in 2022-23) comprised a salary of £64,161 and employer's contributions to the pension scheme of £13,859. Dr Jennifer Davey's emoluments comprised a salary of £27,667 and employer's contributions to the pension scheme of £4,503. Consistent with professional staff employed by the Trust, the Director is an ordinary member of the Universities Superannuation Scheme.

**(c) Trustees' Remuneration**

No trustee or person with a family or business connection with a trustee has received any remuneration or expenses directly or indirectly from the Trust.

**(d) Superannuation**

The employer's superannuation contribution at above comprises £233,687 for staff (£239,955 in 2022-23) participating in the Universities Superannuation Scheme. The employers' National Insurance contribution at above comprises £133,342 for professional staff and £3,650 for support staff (£134,926 and £3,240 respectively in 2022-23).

**Universities Superannuation Scheme**

The History of Parliament participates in the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS). The History of Parliament had 22 active members participating in the scheme at the 31st March 2024. The scheme is the principal pension scheme for academic and academic-related employees of UK universities and other higher education and research institutions. Due to the mutual nature of the scheme, the assets are not attributed to individual institutions and a scheme-wide contribution is set. The History is therefore exposed to actuarial risks associated with other institutions' employees and is unable to identify its share of the underlying assets and liabilities of the scheme on a consistent and reasonable basis. Like other institutions participating in USS, the Trust therefore accounts for the scheme as if it were a defined contribution scheme. As a result, the amount charged to the Statement of Financial Activities represents the contributions payable to the scheme. Since the History cannot identify its share of the USS assets and liabilities, the details below are for the scheme as whole.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
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An actuarial valuation report as at the end of March 2020 showed the scheme to be in deficit. Measures were agreed via the USS Joint Negotiating Committee to address the deficit in the autumn of 2021. These included changes to contributions and future service benefits, as well as an enhanced level of covenant support to the Scheme, including a rolling long-term moratorium on employers leaving the scheme without the consent of USS. These changes were implemented from 1 April 2022. Employer contributions were increased to 21.6% of salary, and employee contributions were 9.8% of salary. Following a further actuarial valuation in March 2023 and a valuation of a surplus of £7.4 billion, employer contributions were reduced to 14.5% of salary from 1 January 2024 and employee contributions to 6.1% from the same date. From 1 April 2024 the pre-April 2022 defined benefits were restored.

The assets of the scheme are held in a separate fund administered by the trustee, Universities Superannuation Scheme Limited. The auditors and actuary to the USS have confirmed that it is appropriate to take the pension costs in the Trust's accounts to be equal to the actual contributions paid during the year.

**10. Tangible Fixed Assets**

	IT Equipment £	Furniture, Fittings and Office Equipment £	Total £
<b>Cost</b>			
At 1 April 2023	13,554	39,039	52,593
Additions	-	-	-
Disposals	-	-	-
At 31 March 2024	<u>13,554</u>	<u>39,039</u>	<u>52,593</u>
<b>Depreciation</b>			
At 1 April 2023	11,627	38,317	49,944
On disposals	-	-	-
Charge	753	240	993
At 31 March 2024	<u>12,380</u>	<u>38,557</u>	<u>50,937</u>
Net Book value at 31 March 2024	<u>1,174</u>	<u>482</u>	<u>1,656</u>
Net Book value at 31 March 2023	<u>1,927</u>	<u>722</u>	<u>2,649</u>

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
**(CONTINUED)**

**11. Stock**

	Net Realisable Value at 31/03/24 £	Net Realisable Value at 31/03/23 £
Published Volumes	69,901	<u>38,454</u>

**12. Debtors and Prepayments**

	31 March 2024 £	31 March 2023 £
Due within 1 year		
Trade Debtors	212,142	159,176
Prepayments & accrued income	42,227	33,334
Debtor VAT		-
	<u>254,369</u>	<u>192,510</u>
Due after 1 year		
Trade Debtors	-	85,470
Total	<u>254,369</u>	<u>277,980</u>

In 2023-24, all of the outstanding debt from St James house, £193,807 is due within 12 months. See note 3b for further information. £136,754 of this outstanding debt relates to royalties. £57,053 of the above outstanding debt relates to fees for the 2022 contract.

**13. Investments**

	31 March 2024 £	31 March 2023 £
Virgin money 1 year bond*	91,552	88,419
Scottish Widows (CAF) 90 day notice	387,045	381,701
	<u>478,597</u>	<u>470,120</u>

\* Virgin money 1 year bond is a non cash equivalent.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
**(CONTINUED)**

**14. Cash in hand and at bank**

	31 March 2024	31 March 2023
	£	£
Cash at Bank	545,207	334,788
Cash in Hand	11	44
	<u>545,218</u>	<u>334,832</u>

Cash at Bank includes a £7,500 (2023: £7,500) rent deposit paid by our tenant.

**15. Creditors: amounts falling due within one year**

	31 March 2024	31 March 2023
	£	£
Trade Creditors	14,036	21,027
Accruals	8,266	24,568
Funds held on behalf of third parties	7,500	7,500
Deferred income	7,423	3,192
Other creditors	61,194	34,286
	<u>98,419</u>	<u>90,573</u>

**16. Provisions for Liabilities and Charges**

	Lease Dilapidation Costs	Employee Benefits	Total
	£	£	£
Provision as at 1 April 2023	(200,000)	-	(200,000)
Provision utilised in year	-	-	-
Provision provided in year	-	(8,360)	(8,360)
Provision as at 31 March 2024	<u>(200,000)</u>	<u>(8,360)</u>	<u>(208,360)</u>

The History of Parliament's lease on its office accommodation in Bloomsbury Square expired in November 2015. In 2014-15 a provision was established for the expected Dilapidations costs that the Trust would incur if it leaves the accommodation, based on a Schedule of Dilapidations prepared by the landlord in Autumn 2014. In November 2015 the lease was renewed, but with a break clause operable in November 2020. The Trustees decided not to exercise the break clause and so most of the items on the dilapidations schedule will be held over until the end of the lease in 2025. A dilapidations review conducted by Hanway Commercial in June 2024 concluded that no adjustment to this provision was necessary.

The employee benefits provision represents an assessment of the total amount due to HMRC for a taxable benefit previously undisclosed on a staff health scheme provision for eye tests

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST  
NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –  
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and counselling. This came to light when a review was undertaken of the value for money of this scheme. A voluntary disclosure was made to HMRC and the Trust is awaiting a formal outcome. The provision represents the value an independent assessor has made and covers the amount due, interest, penalties and the fee to the assessor.

**17. Funds**

**(a) Unrestricted Funds**

At 31 March 2024, the Trust held total unrestricted funds of £1,083,218 (March 2023: £828,718). It has been agreed by the House of Commons Commission that the Investment fund which has been built up over time from various sources (donations, interest, sales and net under spends on the Grant-In-Aid aid) will be used to finance the Trust's future publications.

**(b) Restricted Funds**

At 31 March 2024 the Trust held restricted funds of £ 4,744 (March 2023: £4,744) which are being held for use in the publication of the 1624 diaries project.

**18. Financial instruments**

**(a) Liquidity Risk**

The History of Parliament Trust is financed by Grant-In-Aid paid from both the House of Commons and House of Lords. It is not exposed to significant liquidity risk.

**(b) Credit risk**

The History of Parliament Trust held at the 31<sup>st</sup> March 2024 a total of £569,370 with HSBC in five commercial current bank accounts, £55,531 in a Charity Aid Foundation bank account and £20,306 with the Monmouthshire Building Society in a savings account. The Trust's management does not consider that the Trust is exposed to a significant risk notwithstanding the Government's guarantee of £85,000.

**c) Investment Risk**

38% of the Trust's short term investments and cash balances are invested with the Scottish Widows Bank in a CAF 90 day account. Interest is paid monthly and reinvested in the account. Another 9.0% is invested in a 1 year Virgin Money Bond which was due to mature on the 25<sup>th</sup> April 2024 with interest paid annually. The Trust's management does not consider that the Trust is exposed to a significant risk notwithstanding the Government's guarantee of £85,000.

**HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT TRUST**  
**NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2024 –**  
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**19. Related Party Transactions**

The House of Commons and the House of Lords are regarded as related parties. Both Houses provide a Grant-In-Aid to the Trust under terms provided for in the financial memorandum. See Note 2 for the amounts. There were no receivables or payables at either 31 March 2023 or 31 March 2024.

The House of Commons also provides internal audit services at no charge to the Trust. None of the Trust's key management staff, or any other related party has undertaken any material transactions with the Trust during the year.

**20. Operating Lease**

Total future minimum lease payments under operating leases are given in the table below for each of the following periods:

	31 March 2024	31 March 2023
	£	£
Buildings:		
Expiry		
Not later than one year	100,000	100,000
Later than one year and not later than 5 years	65,226	165,205
Lease expense recognised in year	99,979	100,000

The lease is due to expire on 24th November 2025.

At the 31<sup>st</sup> March 2024, the History of Parliament had received rent in advance for serviced sublet office space of £6,923. This income was deferred to 2024-25.

**21. Losses and special payments**

There were no losses or special payments in the reporting period that require separate disclosure because of their nature or amount.

**22. Events after the end of the reporting date**

There have been no events after the balance sheet date.

The annual report and financial statements were authorised for issue by the Accounting Officer on the same date that the audit certificate was signed by the Comptroller and Auditor General.

