Notes to the text

Notes to Chapter 1: May–September 1838: ‘I hold in my hand a charter – the people’s charter’

1. The following account is based on (and, unless otherwise stated, direct quotations taken from) the *Scotch Reformers’ Gazette* (26 May 1838), Birmingham Central Library (BCL), Lovett Collection, vol. 1, fos 181–7; supplementary details are drawn from A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 48–52.
2. Banner slogans reported in *Northern Star* (NS), 2 June 1838, quoting the *Scots Times*.
3. R. Burns, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (Glasgow, Blackie, 1829), pp. 69–70.
4. For Wade see *Dictionary of Labour Biography* (DLB), vol. 11.
5. On newspaper prose style and audience response see C. Yelland, ‘Speech and writing in the *Northern Star*’, *Labour History Review*, 65:1 (2000), pp. 22–40, reprinted in S. Roberts (ed.), *The People’s Charter* (London, Merlin, 2003).
6. E.g. ‘I print, what, if circumstances had permitted, I should have spoken’: R. Oastler, *Damnation! Eternal Damnation to the Fiend-begotten, ‘Coarser Food’ New Poor Law: A Speech by Richard Oastler* (London, Hetherington, 1837), p. 2.
7. NS, 2 June 1838; R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle, Browne, 1894), p. 21.
8. M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), p. 181.
9. E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* by Edwin Chadwick, ed. M. Flinn (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p. 99; G. J. Harney writing in NS, 2 September 1843; J. C. Symons (Assistant Handloom Weavers’ Commissioner, 1839), quoted in W. H. Fraser, *Conflict and Class: Scottish Workers, 1700–1838* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1988), p. 159.
10. E. King, *Strike of the Glasgow Weavers, 1787* (Glasgow, Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries, 1987), p. 29.
11. Fraser, *Conflict and Class*, p. 110; P. B. Ellis and S. Mac a’Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London, Pluto, 1989), pp. 179–90; see also the account, apparently written by a participant, ‘The pioneers: or, a tale of the radical rising at Strathaven in 1820’, *Chartist Circular*, 21 and 28 May 1842.
12. M. Gebbie, *Sketches of the Town of Strathavon and Parish of Avondale* (Edinburgh, Menzies, 1880), p. 86. This banner was also borne at the Ayrshire county meeting at Kilmarnock in November 1819: A. Mackay, *History of Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock,

- Wilson, 1848), p.210. A substantial remnant survives in the John Hastie Museum, Strathaven. Woven from cream silk, it was originally 1.8 metres square and included an embroidered Bible. Another flag, ‘borne by our forefathers in the wars of the Covenant’, was carried at a Chartist rally at Cumnock in 1840: *NS*, 17 October 1840; see also article on the Battle of Drumclog in *Chartist Circular*, 5 March 1842.
13. D.J. Moss, *Thomas Attwood: Biography of a Radical* (Montreal, McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1990), p.77.
 14. ‘One of no party’, *Random Recollections of the House of Commons* (London, Smith Elder, 1836), p. 281. In essence, Attwood argued that gold and silver were commodities the value of which was subject to variations unrelated to the economy and hoarding, which exaggerated shifts in public confidence. A circulatory medium based on notes alone would permit the controlled expansion of money supply and the stimulation of demand: Moss, *Attwood*, esp. pp.56–70.
 15. *Birmingham Journal*, 23 December 1837.
 16. ‘The BPU radicals were steered, by their underlying philosophy, dangerously close to a theory of “virtual representation” of working-class interests by the middle-class’: C. Behagg, ‘An alliance with the middle class: the Birmingham Political Union and early Chartism’, in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *Chartist Experience* (London, Macmillan, 1982), p.74.
 17. T.A. Devyr, *The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Greenpoint, 1882), p.160.
 18. British Library (BL), Add. Mss 37,773, LWMA Minutes, vol.1, fo.107.
 19. *Address to Reformers on the Forthcoming Elections* (1838), quoted in W. Lovett, *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), p.118.
 20. *The People’s Charter; Being the Outline of an Act to Promote the Just Representation of the People of Great Britain and Ireland in the Commons House of Parliament*, 3rd edn (London, Hetherington, 1838); the opening address was dated 8 May, when Lovett’s text was approved by the LWMA. This is commonly assumed to indicate the publication date but for the delay in production see BL, Add. Mss 37,773, LWMA Minutes, vol.1, fos 105–7.
 21. For quickening interest in Magna Charta see: *John Bull’s Mirror, or Corruption and Taxation Unmasked* (London, Johnston, ?1814); *Fairburn’s Edition of Magna Charta, or the Great Charter of Liberties* (London, Fairburn, ?1817); *The Queen and Magna Charta; or, the Thing that John Signed* (London, Dolby, 1820); ‘Magna Charta, or the Great Charter of Liberties’, in *The Extraordinary Red Book* (London, Johnston, 1819), pp.xvii–xviii; see also J.A. Hone, *For the Cause of Truth: Radicalism in London, 1796–1821* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982), p.323.
 22. *A Brief Account of the French Revolution of 1830 ... to which is added an appendix, containing ... the New Charter* (Glasgow, Ogle & M’Phun, 1830); *The New Charter, Humbly Addressed to the King and Both Houses of Parliament; Proposed as the Basis of a Constitution for the Government of Great Britain and Ireland, and as a Substitute for the Reform Bill* (London, Strange, 1831); *The People’s Charter ... giving a Condensed View of the Great Principles of Representative Government, and the Chief Objects of Reform* (London, Brooks, 1832).
 23. A point made by George Howell in his unpublished history (1900) of the LWMA – edited by D.J. Rowe, as *A History of the Working Men’s Association* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Graham, 1970), p.87. There is no evidence to support Gammage’s claim that O’Connell suggested the title: Gammage, *History*, p.6. The extent of the LWMA’s provincial correspondence is evident in its pamphlet *The Radical Reformers of England, Scotland, & Wales, to the Irish People* (London, Cleave, ?1838), pp.6–8.

24. *The People's Charter*, pp. 2 and 4.
25. BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 1, fo. 22, poster for public meeting at the Crown & Anchor Tavern, 28 February 1837, annotated by Lovett: 'the Prayer of this was the first of the People's Charter'.
26. *Ibid.*, fo. 170, Lovett to Sharman Crawford (?3 June 1838). Place claimed, in an unpublished history of the LWMA, that he wrote most of the Charter: BL, Place Collection, Set 56, vol. 1, fos 8–9. In this, as in much else, he misled subsequent historians.
27. The following is based on a more-detailed account in Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, pp. 182–4.
28. NS, 10 February 1838.
29. *Ibid.*, 17 February 1838. Lovett clearly felt the publication of this letter was a defining moment in his career and reproduced it prominently in his *Life and Struggles*, pp. 159–62.
30. I. J. Prothero, 'London Chartism and the trades', *Economic History Review*, 24:2 (1971), p. 202; *Address and Rules of the Working Men's Association, for Benefiting Politically, Socially, and Morally, the Useful Classes* (London, 1836), copy in BL, Add. MSS 27,835, fos 257–50.
31. BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 1, fo. 34A, Prospectus of the East London Democratic Association; see also J. Bennett, 'The London Democratic Association, 1837–41', in Epstein and Thompson (eds), *Chartist Experience*, pp. 87–119.
32. *London Democrat*, 18 May 1839.
33. NS, 21 December 1850.
34. Important correctives in terms of understanding metropolitan Chartism are I. J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics* (Folkestone, Dawson, 1979), and D. Goodway, *London Chartism, 1838–48* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), to both of which the present author is indebted.
35. On the election see J. A. Epstein, *Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832–42* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 21–4; and S. A. Weaver, *John Fielden* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1987).
36. As late as 1913, a leading Oldham Liberal equated the Labour Party's role in the borough's 1911 by-election with O'Connor in 1835: A. Marcroft, *Landmarks of Liberalism* (Oldham, privately published, 1913), pp. 90–1.
37. NS, 26 June and 16 January 1841.
38. *Weekly Free Press*, 26 September 1829, quoted in J. Belchem, 'Orator' Hunt: *Henry Hunt and English Working-Class Radicalism* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985), pp. 198–9.
39. M. Bush, *The Casualties of Peterloo* (Lancaster, Carnegie, 2005); Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC), Manchester, Vincent MSS 1/1/9, Vincent to J. Miniken, 18 August 1838.
40. O'Connor, Manchester speech, July 1835, quoted in Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 23–4.
41. R. Balmforth, *Some Social and Political Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, Sonnenschein, 1902), p. 189; Balmforth's father was a Huddersfield handloom weaver and a supporter of O'Connor.
42. *Barnsley Times*, 27 May 1882.
43. Papers of General Francisco Burdett O'Connor, now in the possession of Eduardo Trigo O'Connor d'Arlach, Bolivia (hereafter, O'Connor d'Arlach Papers), letter to Frank O'Connor, 28 September 1843. O'Connor may have exaggerated the loss, but his personal finances by the mid-1830s were in considerable disarray. On this theme in political leadership see J. Belchem and J. Epstein, 'The nineteenth-century gentleman leader revisited', *Social History*, 22:2 (May 1997).

44. H. Southall, 'Agitate! Agitate! Organize! Political travellers and the construction of a national politics, 1839–80', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, ns, 21:1 (1996), pp. 178–82.
45. NS, 16 January 1841.
46. For his own account see *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 28 January 1837.
47. G. Claeys, 'A utopian tory revolutionary at Cambridge: the political ideas and schemes of James B. Bernard', *Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), pp. 583–603; Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 42–8; BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 1, fos 58–79.
48. Oastler, *Damnation!*, pp. 3–5.
49. J. H. Burland, 'Annals of Barnsley and its Environs', unpublished MS, Barnsley Central Library, Archives and Local Studies Section (hereafter, Burland), vol. 2 (1881), fo. 68. Burland based his account on a mixture of press reports and recollections. For a consistent, more detailed, contemporary account, see *Leeds Mercury*, 20 May 1837; also J. Knott, *Popular Opposition to the 1834 New Poor Law* (London, Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 113–22.
50. Burland, fo. 71. In understanding the development of NS, Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, chap. 2, is invaluable; for Hobson see *DLB*, vol. 8.
51. M. Chase, 'Building circulation, building identity: engraved portraiture and the *Northern Star*', in J. Allen and O. R. Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People* (London, Merlin, 2005), pp. 25–53.
52. Gammage, *History*, p. 17.
53. Oastler, *Damnation!*, p. 4.
54. *Monthly Liberator*, 13 June 1838.
55. *Barnsley Chronicle*, 29 June 1889.
56. C. Driver, *Tory Radical: The Life of Richard Oastler* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 378f.
57. NS, 21 April 1838.
58. J. Jackson, *Demagogue Done Up: An Exposure of the Extreme Inconsistencies of Mr Feargus O'Connor* (Bradford, Wilkinson, 1844) p. 6; NS, 4 August and 8 September 1838.
59. NS, 30 June, 21 July and 18 August 1838.
60. For example: NS, 13 October; *The Times*, 26 December; and *Morning Post*, 29 December 1838; *Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year of 1838* (London, Rivington, 1839), p. 310; J. Watkins, *Five Cardinal Points of the People's Charter* (Whitby, Forth, 1839), p. 35; West Yorkshire Archives Service (WYAS), Leeds, Harewood Papers. Lieutenancy Box 2, deposition of J. Glover, 26 July 1839; *Temperance Journal*, January 1840; O'Connell to D. Pigot, 30 September 1838, reprinted in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. M. R. O'Connell (Dublin, Blackwater, 1977), vol. 6, p. 185.
61. B. Wilson, *Struggles of an Old Chartist* (1887), reprinted in D. Vincent (ed.), *Testaments of Radicalism: Memoirs of Working-Class Politicians, 1790–1885* (London, Europa, 1977), pp. 209–10.
62. C. Feinstein, 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Britain during and after the industrial revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 58:3 (1998).
63. J. Leach, *Stubborn Facts from the Factories* (London, Ollivier, 1844), p. 11.
64. F. von Raumer, *England in 1841* (London, Lee, 1842), vol. 1, p. 106; E. Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale* (London, Macmillan, 1914), vol. 1, p. 80.
65. *People's Magazine*, April 1842.
66. A. B. Reach, *Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849*, ed. C. Aspin (Helmshore, Helmshore Local History Society, 1972), p. 73.

67. NS, 3 May 1845; see also A. Peacock, *Bradford Chartism, 1838–40* (York, Borthwick Institute, 1969), pp.42, 48.
68. NS, 16 June 1838.

Notes to Chapter 2: October–December 1838: ‘The people are up’

1. *Leeds Times*, 20 October 1838.
2. NS *Extraordinary*, 16 October 1838.
3. Ibid.; M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp.145, 157–8 and 163–4.
4. D.J.V. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists* (London, Allen Lane, 1975), p.103; for Vincent as a Chartist missionary see also H. Southall, ‘Agitate! Agitate! Organize! Political travellers and the construction of a national politics, 1839–80’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, ns 21 (1996), pp.182–3.
5. HO, 40/53, fos 937–44, J. Beecham to Vincent, 17 February 1839.
6. NS, 29 September 1838.
7. *Warwick Advertiser* and NS, 22 September 1838.
8. *Leeds Times*, 20 October 1838; J.C. F. Barnes, ‘Popular protest and radical politics: Carlisle, 1790–1850’, D.Phil. thesis, Lancaster University (1981), p. 328; *Essex and Suffolk Times* quoted in A.F.J. Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk* (Chelmsford, Essex County Records Office [CRO], 1982), p.48; *North Staffordshire Mercury* quoted in R. Fyson, ‘Chartism in north Staffordshire’, D.Phil. thesis, Lancaster University (1999), p.78; *True Scotsman*, 20 October 1838; *Bolton Free Press*, 12 September 1838; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 3 November 1838, quoted in J.K. Edwards, ‘Chartism in Norwich’, *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research* 19:2 (1967), p.91.
9. Entries for Ashton: *Dictionary of Labour Biography (DLB)*, vol.3; Knight: *ibid.*, vol.9; George: *ibid.*, vol.10; Richardson: *ibid.*, vol.11; NS, 2 June (Elland) and 8 September (Stratford) 1838, 27 November 1847 (Smart); R. Fyson, ‘Homage to John Richards’, in O. Ashton, R. Fyson and S. Roberts (eds), *The Duties of Discontent: Essays for Dorothy Thompson* (London and New York, Mansell, 1995), pp.71–96.
10. R.G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle, Browne, 1894), pp.42–3; NS, 17 November 1838.
11. NS, 1 September 1838.
12. W.R. Ward (ed.), *Early Victorian Methodism* (Oxford, University of Durham Press, 1976), p. 51.
13. NS, 9 June 1838; Norwich speech quoted in H. Jephson, *The Platform: Its Rise and Progress* (London, Macmillan, 1892), vol.2, p.247; *Wigan Gazette*, 16 November 1838.
14. NS, 25 August 1838.
15. Ibid., 11 August 1838; D. Goodway, *London Chartism, 1838–48* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.24–5.
16. LHASC, Vincent MSS 1/1/10, Vincent to J. Miniken, 26 August 1838.
17. Ibid., Vincent to Miniken, 23 September 1838; Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement*, p. 79; A. Randall, *Before the Luddites* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.149–86 and 278–82.
18. *Leeds Times*, 24 November 1838; R. Wells, ‘Southern Chartism’, *Rural History* 2:1 (1991), p. 39; W. Barnes, ‘The Unioners’, *Dorset County Chronicle*, 16 December 1838, reprinted in J. Draper, ‘William Barnes and “The Unioners” in Dorset’, *Southern History*, 22 (2000), pp.209–10.
19. Roberts quoted by Draper, ‘William Barnes’, p.216; BCL, Lovett Collection, vol.1, fo.291b, Vincent to Lovett, 16 November 1838.

20. T. Middleton, *History of Hyde and its Neighbourhood* (Hyde, Higham, 1932), p. 99; *Monthly Messenger*, 3 November 1838; R.B. Pugh, 'Chartism in Somerset and Wiltshire', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (London, Macmillan, 1959), p. 178; NS, 10 November 1838; W. Aitken, 'Remembrances and struggles of a working man for bread and liberty', quoted in R.G. Hall and S. Roberts (eds), *William Aitken* (Ashton-under-Lyne, Tameside Leisure Services, 1996), p. 30.
21. Gammage, *History*, pp. 94–5; for Gammage see *DLB*, vol. 6.
22. Barnes, 'Popular protest', p. 333; see also W. Farish, *Autobiography of William Farish* (privately published, 1889), p. 38; Home Office, 40/40, 23 November 1838, evidence of Foley and Stapledon; H. Goddard, *Memoirs of a Bow Street Runner* (London, Museum Press, 1956), p. 155; *Leeds Times*, 15 December 1838.
23. W. Wilks, *The Half Century: Its History, Political and Social* (London, Cash, 1853), p. 279; C. Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840–41), ch. 45.
24. Brown, *Chartism*, p. 75; M. S. Edwards, *Purge This Realm: A Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens* (London, Epworth, 1994), p. 58; Goddard, *Memoirs*, pp. 154–60.
25. L. Croft, *John Fielden's Todmorden* (Todmorden, Tygerfoot, 1994), pp. 43–8.
26. Goddard, *Memoirs*, pp. 158–60.
27. NS, 29 December 1838; Edwards, *Purge This Realm*, p. 60; Goddard, *Memoirs*, p. 159; J. R. Stephens, *Political Preacher* (London, Whitaker, 1839), p. 13.
28. For O'Connor's earlier lukewarm view of the other points of the Charter see NS, 21 April 1838 and 16 January 1841.
29. *True Scotsman*, 17 November; NS, 10 November; *Nottingham Review*, 9 November 1838.
30. Data extrapolated from the Appendix to D. Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (London, Temple Smith, 1984), pp. 341–68; for 1839 Thompson lists 109 female societies (all but 5 in localities with other recorded activity), 429 non-gender-specific associations and 208 localities with other Chartist activity, i.e. 642 places in all; data for 1830–32 taken from N. LoPatin, *Political Unions* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1999), pp. 103, 174–7, 179 and 182, and C. Flick, *Birmingham Political Union* (Folkestone, Dawson, 1978), pp. 185–6. LoPatin (p. 182) describes twenty-nine PUs as 'infrequent one-time meeting Unions'. None of these figures are completely accurate but they do permit useful broad comparison.
31. (W. Lovett) *Radical Reformers of England, Scotland, & Wales, to the Irish People* (London, Cleave, 1838); this is commonly supposed to have been published in 1841, but see discussion of it in *Leeds Times*, 3 November, and *True Scotsman*, 10 November 1838.
32. For Birmingham's FPU see H. Rogers, 'What right have women to interfere with politics?', in T. Ashplant and G. Smythe (eds), *Explorations in Cultural History* (London, Pluto, 2001).
33. Indeed a *Montrose Review* report on the Kerriemuir 'female union', quoted in *True Scotsman*, 22 December 1838, refers to 'the other political union'.
34. For a male Chartist's complaint about exactly this, see *Fleet Papers*, 9 April 1842.
35. BL, Add. Mss 34245A, fo. 341, Carlisle FRA to Lovett, 30 April 1830; Thompson, *Chartists*, Appendix.
36. J. Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (Basingstoke, Macmillan 1991), p. 239.
37. BL, Add. Mss 34245A, fo. 124, Vincent to Lovett, 13 March 1839; HO, 40/42/311, Mason to Home Office, 18 July 1839; and NS, 3 August 1839; *Charter*, 27 October 1839.
38. *True Scotsman*, 22 December 1838 (my emphasis).
39. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 47.

40. See especially D.Thompson, 'Women and nineteenth-century radical politics: a lost dimension', in J.Mitchell and A.Oakley (eds), *Rights and Wrongs of Women* (Harmondsworth, 1976); A.Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London, Rivers Oram, 1995), pp.220–47; M.de Larrabeiti, 'Conspicuous before the world: the political rhetoric of the Chartist women', in E.J.Yeo (ed.), *Radical Femininity* (Manchester, MUP, 1998), pp.106–26; Rogers, 'What right have women to interfere in politics?'; and H.Rogers, *Authority, Authorship and the Radical Tradition in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp.80–123.
41. Stephens and Salt quoted in Rogers, *Authority*, p.89; Deegan, NS, 1 June 1839.
42. Clark, *Struggle*; also A.Clark, 'The rhetoric of Chartist domesticity: gender, language and class in the 1830s and 1840s', *Journal of British Studies*, 31:1 (1992), pp.62–88.
43. *Western Vindicator*, 23 February 1839.
44. NS, 8 December 1838.
45. *True Scotsman*, 24 November 1838; *Birmingham Journal*, 6 October 1838; the Birmingham FPU address is reprinted in Rogers, 'What right have women to interfere in politics?', pp.69–70, see also pp.76 and 78.
46. O.Ashton, 'Western Vindicator and early Chartism', and W.H.Fraser, 'The Chartist press in Scotland', in J.Allen and O.Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press* (London, Merlin, 2005); J.Allen, "'A small drop of ink": Tyneside Chartism and the Northern Liberator', in O.Ashton, R.Fyson and S.Roberts (eds), *The Chartist Legacy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Merlin, 1999); see also R.Harrison, G.Woolven and R.Duncan (eds), *The Warwick Guide to British Labour Periodicals* (Brighton, Harvester, 1977), and A.Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970).
47. BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fo.82.
48. J.Burnett, *Useful Toil* (London, Allen Lane, 1974), p.308; B.Grime, *Memory Sketches* (Oldham, Hirst & Rennie, 1887), p.26; B.Brierley, *Home Memories and Recollections of a Life* (Manchester, Heywood, 1886), p.23; NS, 6 May 1838 and 6 May 1848; W.H.Challinor (ed.), 'Reminiscences of Thomas Dunning', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 59 (1947), pp.112–13 and 121; W.Cudworth, *Rambles Round Great Horton* (Bradford, Brear, 1886), pp.27–8; J.A.Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star', *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), pp.74–6; B.Wilson, 'Struggles of an old Chartist' (1887), in D.Vincent (ed.), *Testaments of Radicalism: Memoirs of Working-Class Politicians* (London, Europa, 1977), p.206; T.Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections* (London, Sampson Low, 1880), pp.181–3.
49. W.H.Fraser, *Conflict and Class: Scottish Workers, 1700–1838* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1988), p.110; P.B.Ellis and S.Mac a'Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London, Pluto, 1989), pp.179–90; George: *DLB*, vol.10; Preston: *ibid.*, vol.8.
50. *True Scotsman*, 24 November and 1 December 1838.
51. Quoted in Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, p.61.
52. NS, 15 December, and *True Scotsman*, 22 December 1838; Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, pp.62–3.
53. *Ayr Examiner* quoted in Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, pp.63–4.
54. NS, 12 January 1839.
55. Letter to P.Fitzpatrick, 11 February 1839, reprinted in D.O'Connell, *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. M.R.O'Connell, vol.6 (Dublin, Blackwater, 1977), p.216.

56. *Birmingham Journal*, 1 December 1839; see also 17 and 24 November.
57. For example Robert Lowery in his autobiography (1856–57), reprinted in B. Harrison and P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist* (London, Europa, 1979), p. 112.
58. NS, 17 November 1838.

Notes to Chapter 3: January–July 1839: ‘The People’s Parliament’

1. NS, 2 February 1839; ‘William Carpenter’: ODNB; *Charter*, 15 March 1840.
2. ‘Our position, principles and prospects’, *Charter*, 27 January 1839.
3. *Operative*, 27 January 1839.
4. BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fos 11 and 240; C. Behagg, ‘An alliance with the middle class: the BPU and early Chartism’, in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–1860* (London, Macmillan, 1982), esp. pp. 73–9; NS 30 April 1839.
5. *Rules and Regulations of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes* (London, Northcott, 1839).
6. *National Instructor* 14 September 1850; *Charter*, 3 March 1839; NS, 15 June 1839; *Western Vindicator*, 23 February 1839.
7. See especially chapter 6 below for hostility between Chartism and ACLL.
8. National Archives, Kew, Home Office Papers (HO), 40/37, 3 February 1839; NS, 49 February 1839; J. Hawkes (trans.), *The London Journal of Flora Tristan* (London, Virago, 1982), p. 48; I. McCalman, ‘Ultra-radicalism and convivial debating clubs in London, 1795–1838’, *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), pp. 309–33. On the Lumber Troop see J. Grant, *Sketches in London* (London, Tegg, 1838), pp. 89–128.
9. Anon, *The Critic in Parliament and in Public ...* (London, Bell, [1841]), pp. 186–7; Tristan, *London Journal*, p. 48; Fletcher quoted in J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O’Connor and the Chartist Movement* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), p. 140.
10. *Charter*, 17 February 1839; *Hansard*, vol. 45, 11 February 1839, col. 220.
11. HO, 40/37, fos 72ff., T. J. Mills to Home Office, 16 February 1839.
12. HO, 40/37, 4 February 1839; Bolton Central Library, Local Studies Library, Heywood Papers, ZHE 35/43, 20 January 1839, and ZHE 35/47, nd; Attwood quoted by G. J. Holyoake, *Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens* (London, Williams & Norgate, ?1881), p. 103; *London Dispatch*, 13 January 1839; NS, 5 January 1839; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 12 January 1839, quoted in J. Baxter, ‘Armed resistance and insurrection’, *Our History*, 76 (1984), p. 14; *Leicestershire Mercury*, 9 February 1839, quoted by A. Little, ‘Chartism and liberalism: popular politics in Leicestershire, 1842–74’, D. Phil thesis, University of Manchester, 1991, p. 47.
13. *The Times*, 18 March, 2 April 1839; C. C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. L. Strachey and R. Fulford, vol. 4 (London, Macmillan, 1938), p. 117; W. Napier, *The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier*, vol. 2 (London, Murray, 1857), pp. 5, 6 and 8.
14. R. Sykes, ‘Physical-force Chartism: the cotton district and the Chartist crisis of 1839’, *International Review of Social History*, 30 (1985), pp. 214–15; W. Cudworth, *Rambles Round Great Horton* (Bradford, Brear, 1886), p. 27; R. O. Heslop, ‘A Chartist spear’, *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*, vol. 3 (1889), pp. 148–50; J. E. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 106; HO, 40/48, fo. 5.
15. (J. Hobson), ‘Now then – heads of families!!’, *A Copy of the Poll ...* (Huddersfield, Hobson, 1837), p. 23; *Address of the Radical Association of Colne*, 26 November 1838, reprinted in D. Thompson, *Early Chartists* (London, Macmillan, 1971), pp. 193–4; NS, 3 February 1839.

16. W.Benbow, *Grand National Holiday and Congress of the Productive Classes* (London, Benbow, 1832), p.13; *DLB*, vol.6 and *ODNB*.
17. *Charter*, 17 February 1839.
18. BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fo.41; NS, 23 February.
19. BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fos 24, 102, 320 and 323.
20. It has been suggested the response rate to these questionnaires was poor, but this is purely conjectural: see D.J.Rowe, 'The Chartist Convention and the regions', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 20 (1969).
21. *Charter*, 26 February 1839; BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fos 61, 74f., 175 and 388, 34245B, fos 276f.
22. *Western Vindicator*, 30 March 1839; D.J.V.Jones, *The Last Rising: The Newport Insurrection of 1839* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985), p.65.
23. A.Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp.70–1; NS, 16 and 30 March 1839; BL, Add. MSS, fos 101, 145, 148, 162–3.
24. Vincent wrote up his travels each week for the *Western Vindicator*; they can also be read on the 'Vision of Britain' website: www.visionofbritain.org.uk/Travelers.
25. *Western Vindicator*, 23 March 1839.
26. *Ibid.*, 9 March 1839; NS, 22 June 1839.
27. For Salt's jeremiads see BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fos 41 (17 February) and 102–10 (9 March); NS, 30 March 1839.
28. NS, 9 and 16 March 1839.
29. *Charter*, 24 March 1839; NS, 27 March 1839; *Morning Chronicle*, 19 March 1839.
30. W.A.Munford, *William Ewart MP, 1798–1865* (London, Grafton, 1960), p.98; Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, p.74; NS, 29 June 1839. Craig polled 46 votes, the Conservative 1758 and the Whig-liberal 1296.
31. *Western Vindicator*, 30 March, 6 and 13 April 1839; *The Times*, 28 March and 3 April 1839.
32. *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 13 April 1839, cited in Jones, *Last Rising*, p.70; NS, 6 April 1839, see also p.83; HO, 40/44, fo.260 (20 March 1839); *The Times*, 10 and 29 April, 8 May 1839.
33. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 11 April 1831. Manchester-born Macerone (sometime aide-de-camp to Napoleon's puppet king of Naples) lived in London at this time: see *ODNB* entry for Macerone.
34. R.J.Richardson, *The Right of Englishmen to Have Arms* (London, Cleave, 1839).
35. For comments on the magistracy during April and May 1839 see Napier, *Life*, pp.7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 24, 28, 36 and 45; also HO, 40/43, fo.342, 15 July 1839 and Napier's 23 May 1840 report on garrisoning in HO, 50/451.
36. Letter, 24 April 1839, quoted in Napier, *Life*, p.16; see also pp.8, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26 and 32.
37. Napier to Ross, 22 April, and to Fitzroy, 12 May, and journal entries for 5, 6 and 8 May, quoted in *Life*, pp.15, 24, 25, 26 and 33.
38. Napier to Wemyss (commanding officer at Manchester), 22 April 1839, quoted in Napier, *Life*, p.14.
39. Napier to Ross, 25 May 1839, and journal entry for 27 April, quoted in *ibid.*, pp.39 and 23.
40. HO, 40/50, fo.40, Scolefield to Russell, 9 May 1839; Sykes, 'Physical-force Chartism', p.216.
41. BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fo.31, undated [June?] letter from Joseph Goulding, Shoreditch CA; on Goulding see D.Goodway, *London Chartism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.245, n77;

42. W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), pp. 206–8; (W. Lovett), *Manifesto of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes* (London, Dyson, 1839), pp. 4–6.
43. *Manifesto*, pp. 7 and 8.
44. Barnsley, Bradford, Dewsbury, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Todmorden, Wakefield (all west Yorkshire), Ashton, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Colne, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Wigan (Lancashire), Congleton, Hyde, Stockport (Cheshire), Bristol, Cirencester and Stroud (Gloucestershire), Bradford-on-Avon, Devizes, Trowbridge and Warminster (Wiltshire), plus Birmingham, Derby, Mansfield, Nottingham and Newcastle upon Tyne. Welsh towns covered were Monmouth, Newtown, Newport, Merthyr Tydfil and Pontypool. Scotland was ignored. A diluted version (without instructions regarding immediate arrests) was sent to Bath, Coventry, Leicester and Northampton. See the copy of the circular in HO, 41/13, fo. 260 (7 May 1839).
45. Fielden to the Convention, 1 May 1839, BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fo. 365.
46. *Western Vindicator*, 18 May 1839; *Charter*, 12 May 1839; NS, 11 May.
47. *The Times*, 3 and 6 May 1839; D. Williams, *John Frost: A Study in Chartism* (Cardiff, University of Wales, 1939), pp. 158–9; O. Ashton, 'Chartism in mid-Wales', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 62:1 (1971), pp. 25–33.
48. *The Times*, 14 May 1839; Napier, *Life*, pp. 27–8; R. Fyson, 'Chartism in north Staffordshire', University of Lancaster D.Phil thesis (1999), pp. 106–7.
49. *The Times*, 13 May 1839; NS, 18 May 1839; A. R. Schoyen, *Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney* (London, Heinemann, 1958), pp. 67–8.
50. *Western Vindicator*, 4 and 18 May 1839; Jones, *Last Rising*, p. 80.
51. NS, 4 May 1839; O'Brien quoted by Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, p. 157.
52. *Birmingham Journal*, 6 April 1839.
53. Duddeston-cum-Nechells, address to Convention, 13 May 1839, BL, Add. MSS 34245A, fo. 442.
54. NS, 11 May 1839, Sykes, 'Physical-force Chartism', pp. 214 and 216.
55. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1839; Napier, letters to Home Office and Sir Hew Ross, 25 May 1839, reprinted in *Life*, p. 39; see also pp. 35 and 37.
56. J. A. Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the *Northern Star*', *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), pp. 69 and 96–7.
57. *Halifax Guardian*, 25 May 1839; NS, 25 May 1839; R. G. Gammage, *The History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle, Browne, 1894), pp. 113–22.
58. HO, 45/249A, fo. 120, Tower Armoury dispatch note, 25 May 1839.
59. A. Prentice, *The History of the Anti-Corn-Law League*, vol. 1 (London, Cash, 1853), pp. 214–18.
60. The Seditious Societies Amendment Act reduced from £20 to £5 the penalty for issuing a publication without the name and address of the printer; and henceforward only the government could initiate a prosecution. This has been spuriously hailed as evidence of an almost permissive attitude to Chartism on the part of the Government: see K. Judge, 'Early Chartist organization and the Convention of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, 20 (1975), p. 396; L. Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law*, vol. 4 (London, Stevens, 1968), p. 247.
61. NS, 22 June 1839.
62. *Ibid.*, 15 June 1839; Benbow, *Grand National Holiday*, p. 14, see also p. 12; *Charter*, 14 July 1839, see also Schoyen, *Chartist Challenge*, p. 70; B. Harrison and P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist* (London, Europa, 1979), p. 142; *Operative*, 28 April 1839.

63. NS, 18 May 1839. On Chartist–trade union relations see M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp. 184–90.
64. Harrison and Hollis, *Robert Lowery*, p. 142; NS, 6 and 27 July 1839; Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 167–8; BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fos 53–4.
65. *Birmingham Journal*, 21 September 1839.
66. C. Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 1990), pp. 201, 211–14.
67. *Bolton Free Press*, 13 July 1839; p. 170; ‘A member of the Northern Political Union’, *State of the Question between the People, the Middle Classes, and the Aristocracy* (Newcastle, Northern Liberator Office, 1839), p. 19; see also NS, 13 and 20 July 1839. For Cold Bath Fields see M. Chase, ‘*The People’s Farm*’ (Oxford, Clarendon, 1988), pp. 161–2.
68. Taylor to Arthur, quoted in W. H. Fraser, *John Taylor, Chartist: Ayrshire Revolutionary* (Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2006), p. 60.
69. Quoted in J. A. Langford, *Staffordshire and Warwickshire Past and Present* (London, Mackenzie, ?1870), vol. 2, p. 585.
70. *Charter*, 14 July 1839; National Archives, Kew, Treasury Solicitor’s Papers (TS), 11/816, fo. 114.
71. Lovett, *Life*, p. 220; TS, 11/816, fo. 116–18; Gammage, *History*, p. 133.
72. NS, 6 July 1839; *State of the Question*, p. 22; T. A. Devyr, *Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century* (Greenpoint, NY, 1882), p. 177; HO, 40/43, fo. 342 (15 July 1839); *Western Vindicator*, 13 July 1838; LHASC, Vincent MSS 1/1/19, Vincent to J. Miniken, 19 July 1839.
73. *The Times*, 18 July 1839.
74. *Hansard*, vol. 49, 12 July 1839, cols 219–77; BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 2, fo. 52; Harrison and Hollis, *Robert Lowery*, p. 140.
75. BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fo. 53; Goodway, *London Chartism*, p. 262; R. Challinor, *A Radical Lawyer in Victorian England* (London, Tauris, 1990), pp. 26–7; prosecution brief against Higgins, TS, 11/1030/4424; for the Binns’ family and Samuel Cook, see ODNB; for James Williams see J. O. Baylen and N. J. Gossmann (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, vol. 1 (Hassocks, Harvester, 1979), pp. 544–8; S. Roberts, *Radical Politicians and Poets in Early Victorian Britain* (Lampeter, Mellen, 1993), pp. 14–15.
76. Lowery’s autobiography is reprinted in Harrison and Hollis, *Robert Lowery*, pp. 37–194. See also Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 171f. Direct quotations that follow are from *Charter*, 28 July 1839.

Notes to Chapter 4: July–November 1839: ‘Extreme excitement and apprehension’

1. This paragraph follows C. Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 1990), pp. 206–18, Wellington quoted p. 217; C. C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. L. Strachey and R. Fulford, vol. 4 (London, Macmillan, 1938), p. 189.
2. ‘State of the country’, *Charter*, 28 July 1839; *The Times*, 22 July 1839; Henry Vincent: ODNB entry; W. H. Maehl, ‘Chartist disturbances in northeastern England, 1839’, *International Review of Social History*, 8(1963), pp. 402–3.
3. *Charter*, 28 July 1839.
4. West Yorkshire Archives Service (WYAS), Leeds, Harewood Papers, Lieutenancy Box 2, depositions of W. Egan and J. Glover, 26 July 1839.
5. Meetings of ‘great numbers of people’ were held to be illegal under common law if they exhibited ‘such circumstances of terror as are calculated to excite alarm and

- to endanger the public peace', a point emphasised by the Home Office in a circular of 3 June, see F.C.Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1959), p.188.
6. Wales: Dowlais, Merthyr Tydfil and Pontypool; England: Ashton, Barnsley, Bath, Birmingham, Blackburn, Bolton, Bradford, Bristol, Bury, Cheltenham, Chester, Chorley, Cirencester, Darlington, Dewsbury, Halifax, Hull, Hyde, Leigh, London (St Pauls and Spitalfields), Loughborough, Manchester, Mansfield, Newcastle, Norwich (four different locations), Nottingham, Preston, Rochdale, Sheffield, Stockport, Stroud and Wigton.
 7. C.Wilkins, *A History of Merthyr Tydfil* (Merthyr Tydfil, 1867), p.307; for a full analysis of Chartist church-going see E.J.Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist struggle, 1838–42', *Past & Present*, 91 (1981), pp.109–39.
 8. J.W.Whittaker, *Dr Whittaker's Sermon to the Chartists*, second edn (Blackburn, 1839), pp.16–17; I.Collingridge, *Outline of an Address to the Chartists* (East Dereham, Wigg, 1839), p.4; see also *The Times*, 9 September 1839 and W.Cobbett, *History of the Protestant Reformation*, first published 1824; E.Stanley, *Sermon Preached in Norwich Cathedral, on Sunday, August 18th, 1839* (London, Limbard, 1839), p.7; D.J.V.Jones, *The Last Rising: The Newport Insurrection of 1839* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985), p.95; F.Close, *The Chartists' Visit to the Parish Church* (London, Hamilton, 1839), p.17; *Preston Chronicle*, 17 August 1839, quoted in Yeo, 'Christianity', p.134.
 9. W.Brimelow, *Political and Parliamentary History of Bolton* (Bolton, Tillotson, 1882), p.367; W.Napier, *Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier* (London, Murray, 1857), vol. 2, p.61.
 10. Some estimates put peak sales as high as 60,000 copies. Average weekly sales for 1839, based on stamp returns, were 36,000 but this obviously masks wide variations. *NS*, 17 August 1839, claimed an average of 42,000 for the April–June quarter. In September O'Connor reported a weekly circulation of 48,000 (*NS*, 14 September 1839). Privately he claimed 43,000 (letter to Frank O'Connor, 28 September 1843, O'Connor d'Arlach Papers); see also J.A.Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star', *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), pp.69–70 and 96–7.
 11. Broadside, *To the Middle-classes of the North of England* (Sunderland, Williams & Binns, [1839]), copy in HO, 40/42 fo.249, also printed in *Northern Liberator* 21 July 1839; see also T.A.Devyr, *The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Greenpoint, 1882), pp.182–6 (Devyr claimed to have written the address).
 12. Broadside, *To the Middle Classes of Darlington, and its Neighbourhood* (Darlington, Oliver, [1839]), copy in HO, 40/42, fo.361.
 13. WYAS, Leeds, Harewood Papers, Lieutenancy Box 2, deposition of Marsden, 26 July 1839, and copy 'Address of the working men to the shopkeepers, butchers, &c., of the town of and neighbourhood of Bradford'.
 14. R.J.Richardson, *To the Officers and Members of Trades' Unions* (Manchester, Willis, 1839); Bolton WMA, Placard, 'Appeal to the Trade Societies of Bolton', in HO, 40/43, 29 July 1839.
 15. *Hansard*, vol.49, col. 727–39; see also D.Foster, *The Rural Constabulary Act 1839* (London, Bedford Square Press, 1982).
 16. Bolton WMA, *Appeal; Charter*, 28 July 1839; Richardson, *To the Officers and Members of Trades' Unions*.
 17. Poster, 'General Strike!' (Newcastle, Bell, 7 August 1839) – copy in the Working-Class Movement Library, Salford: see its *Bulletin*, 3 (1993), p.26.
 18. R.P.Hastings, *Chartism in the North Riding of Yorkshire and south Durham, 1838–48* (York, University of York, 2004), p.7.

19. See M.Chase, 'Chartism, 1838–58: responses in two Teesside towns', *Northern History* 24 (1988), pp.149–52. Quotations from HO, 40/42, fols 229 and 241, *Gateshead Observer*, 27 July 1839.
20. *Charter* 28 July 1839, quoting *Northern Liberator*; BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fo.126, Knox to the Convention.
21. BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fo.103, Bussey to Convention 5 August 1839; WYAS, Leeds, Harewood Papers, Lieutenancy Box 2, Thompson to Harewood, 9 July 1839.
22. BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fols 103–26; B.Harrison & P.Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist* (London, Europa, 1979), p.143; T.Clarke, 'Early Chartism in Scotland: a "moral force" movement?' in T.M.Devine (ed.), *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700–1850* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1990), pp.106–21.
23. BL, Add. MSS 34245B, fols 114, 116–17 and 124.
24. *Charter*, 18 August, NS, 17, 24 and 31 August, *The Times*, 14 August 1839. Dukestown poster, Newport Museum and Art Gallery.
25. *Ashton Reporter*, 30 January 1869, which however misdated this incident to 1838.
26. NS, 3 August 1839; Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, pp.144–8.
27. *The Times*, 14 August 1839; NS, 3 April and 6 November 1841; K.Wilson, 'Chartism and the north-east miners', in R.W.Sturgess (ed.), *Pitmen, Viewers and Coalmasters* (Newcastle, Northeast Labour History Society, 1986), p.96.
28. *Charter*, 18 August 1839; *The Times*, 14 August 1839; J.Baxter, 'Early Chartism and labour class struggle, South Yorkshire, 1837–40', in S.Pollard and C.Holmes (eds), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire* (Sheffield, South Yorkshire County Council, 1976), pp.135–72.
29. This account is based on Bolton Central Library, Local Studies Library, Heywood Papers, ZHE 35/61 – Alderman Heywood's 'authentic account', *Bolton Chronicle* and *Bolton Free Press*, 17 August 1839; *Bolton Evening News*, 23 June 1874.
30. 'One of the people', writing in *National*, 29 June 1839; Lowery, *Carlisle Journal*, 13 July 1839, quoted in B.Harrison & P.Hollis, 'Chartism, Liberalism and the life of Robert Lowery', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), p.514; O'Connor, letter in NS, 15 September 1838.
31. *Charter*, 28 July 1839; Jones, *Last Rising*, pp.82, 93–4.
32. Burland, vol.2, fo.113.
33. J.Jackson, *Demagogue Done Up: An Exposure of the Extreme Inconsistencies of Mr Feargus O'Connor* (Bradford, Wilkinson, 1844), pp.3, 16; J.C.F.Barnes, 'Popular protest and radical politics: Carlisle, 1790–1850', D.Phil thesis, University of Lancaster (1981), p.342.
34. O'Connor speech to Convention quoted in *Charter*, 28 April 1839; 'To the working men of Bolton', NS, 17 August 1839.
35. Jackson, *Demagogue*, p.18.
36. W.M.Torrens, *Memoirs of the Rt Hon. William, Second Lord Melbourne*, vol.2 (London, Macmillan, 1878), pp.311–12; H.Martineau, *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816–46*, vol.2 (London, Knight, 1850), p.413.
37. The Act and the three other police bills received Royal Assent on 26 and 27 August; news of Stephens's and McDouall's trials broke mainly through NS, 24 August 1839.
38. NS, 14 September; *Charter*, 15 September 1839. The Declaration was written by a German émigré lawyer and associate of Hetherington called Schroeder (*London Dispatch*, 18 August 1839).
39. NS, 24 August 1839; W.Thomson, 'Preface', *Chartist Circular*, 23 October 1841. See also Clarke, 'Early Chartism in Scotland'; A.Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp.85–8.
40. HO, 40/44, fo.860.

41. *Western Vindicator*, 6 April 1839; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 27 April 1839, quoted in Jones, *Last Rising*, p.73, cf. pp.93–4 and 118; *Charter*, 16 June 1839; poster quoted D.Williams, *John Frost: A Study in Chartism* (Cardiff, University of Wales, 1939), p.169.
42. NS, 3 May 1845, reprinting *National Reformer*, 30 March 1845 (of which no copy survives). Ashton alleged Hill and O'Connor spoke before 6 October, specifically at the Bull & Mouth Hotel in Leeds, which Hill later denied; *National Reformer*, 19 April and 10 May 1845.
43. HO, 20/10, interviewed by W.J.Williams, 23 December 1840; W.Farish, *The Autobiography of William Farish* (self-published, 1889), p.40.
44. Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p.155. In an earlier version, Ashton claimed that a rising was hatched by a group of delegates, Taylor prominent among them, who were antagonistic to O'Connor, see NS, 29 February 1840.
45. (A.Somerville), *Autobiography of a Working Man* (London, Gilpin, 1848), pp.423–4 and 441–2, and *Cobdenic Policy: The Internal Enemy of England* (London, Hardwicke, 1854), pp.28–30. For Somerville's anti-physical force writings see his *Warnings to the People on Street Warfare* (London, 1839), and advertisements in NS, 25 May and 1 June 1839.
46. See HO, 40/44 and National Archives, Kew, Metropolitan Police Papers (MEPO), 2/43; on Beniowski see P.Brock, 'Polish democrats and English radicals, 1832–62', *Journal of Modern History*, 25:2 (June 1953), pp.146–7; and J.Bennett, 'The London Democratic Association', in J.Epstein and D.Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–1860* (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp.87–119 and generally. Also NS, 30 August 1845 for disputes with other Polish émigrés and claims 'he had renounced his Democratic opinions, and passed over to the opposite camp'.
47. Published by George Crawshaw as 'The Chartist correspondence' in *Free Press Serials*, 13 (January 1856) – hereafter 'Chartist correspondence' – quotation from anonymous letter of 22 September 1839, p.1. Two letters in this collection (pp.3–4) were sent by Taylor to Birmingham FPU secretary Mary Ann Groves, subsequently an Urquhart supporter. Ashton alleged Taylor had a five-week 'childish, criminal (not carnal) dalliance'; with her, NS, 29 February 1840.
48. Balliol College Library, David Urquhart Papers, Box 8, IEI, P.Taylor to anon (H.Cameron), 22 September 1839, cited in R.Fyson, 'Chartism in north Staffordshire', D.Phil thesis, University of Lancaster (1999), p.114.
49. Urquhart to Willis, 19 December (1855?), 'Chartist correspondence', p.19; D.Urquhart, *Recent Events in the East* quoted in *Northern Tribune*, 1:12 (December 1854), p.390; Urquhart quoted in Gertrude Robinson, *David Urquhart* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1920) p.89.
50. On Urquhartite suspicions of Beniowski see 'Chartist Correspondence', pp.1–4 and D.Urquhart, 'Chartism: A Historical Retrospect', *Diplomatic Review*, 31:3 (July 1873), pp.222–4.
51. W.Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), pp.239–40. Taylor gave his version to Lovett in a letter dated 10 June 1841, now in BCL, Lovett Papers, vol.2, fo.5.
52. NS, 2 November 1839; Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p.155; Devyr, *Odd Book*, pp.194–7. For an account placing some weight on the Blakey correspondence see A.Peacock, *Bradford Chartism, 1838–40* (York, St Anthony's Press, 1969), p.31.
53. During the Gordon Riots of 1780, 75 had been killed; at least 22 died at Newport: Jones, *Last Rising*, pp.154–6. The section that follows is much indebted to Jones's work.

54. NS, 19 October 1839: announcement that Frost was to speak at the Halifax Theatre (with Bussey, O'Connor, Pitkethley and Taylor) on 21 October. Peacock, *Bradford Chartism*, p. 32 suggests this was a deliberate ruse to confuse the authorities as to the men's whereabouts; Lovett, *Life and Struggles*, p. 240.
55. HO, 40/44, fos 958–9, R.J. Edwards to Normanby, 6 November 1839; Letter to Taylor (13 November 1839), Durham University Library, Grey Papers, GRE/B102/7/4, reprinted in W.H. Fraser, *Dr John Taylor* (Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society, 2006), p. 93.
56. Jones, *Last Rising*, p. 12.
57. J. Humphries, *The Man from the Alamo* (St Athan, Glyndwr, 2004) is a lively recreation of Rees' life, arguing he was the Rising's fourth key leader. For Samuel Shell see BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 2, fo. 160.
58. Jones, *Last Rising*, pp. 98, 104–9, at 108.
59. Ibid., pp. 109–13; TS, 11/503, Homfray to Phillips, 2 November 1839.
60. George Sanger, *Sixty Years a Showman* (London, Pearson, 1910), p. 27; Hughes quoted in O. Jones, *Early Days of Sirhowy and Tredegar* (Tredegar Local History Society, 1969), p. 102; M. Ferriday quoted in Jones, *Last Rising*, p. 123.
61. Jones, *Last Rising*, pp. 136–40; Shell's letter, 'Sunday night, November 4th' first appeared in the *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 23 November 1839 and was widely reprinted, e.g. NS, 30 November 1839. Williams (*Frost*, p. 230) suggests it is inauthentic because of misdating and language use. But Shell was an articulate son of a radical father who had recently tried to persuade him to leave Chartism: the language is consistent with that context.
62. B. Reay, *Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990).
63. Thomas Watkins quoted in Jones, *Last Rising*, p. 153; (E. Dowling), *Rise and Fall of Chartism in Monmouthshire* (London, Bailey, 1840), p. 43.
64. *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 16 November 1839, cited in I. Wilks, *South Wales and the Rising of 1839* (London, Croom Helm, 1984), p. 65; Jones, *Last Rising*, pp. 154–6, provides the most authoritative and sensitive analysis of casualties.

Notes to Chapter 5: November 1839–January 1840: After Newport

1. (E. Dowling) *The Rise and Fall of Chartism in Monmouthshire* (London, Bailey, 1840), p. 46; HO, 40/47, Brewer to Bristol, 4 November 1839; anonymous resident quoted in D.J.V. Jones, *The Last Rising: The Newport Insurrection of 1839* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985), p. 159.
2. D. Williams, *John Frost* (Cardiff, University of Wales, 1939), pp. 232–4; Jones, *Last Rising*, pp. 169–86; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 5 November 1839; R. Challinor, *A Radical Lawyer in Victorian England* (London, Tauris, 1990), p. 43; NS, 30 November 1839.
3. Jones, *Last Rising*, pp. 185–7; Newport Museum and Art Gallery, Poster, 'Monmouthshire Special Commission, January, 1840: Sentences of the Prisoners' (Monmouth, Heath, 1840).
4. Durham University Library, Grey Papers, GRE/B102/7/4, letter to Taylor (London, 13 November 1839), reprinted in W.H. Fraser, *Dr John Taylor* (Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society, 2006), p. 93.
5. NS and *True Scotsman*, 9 and 16 November; *Charter*, 10 and 17 November.
6. BCL, Lovett Collection, vol. 2, fo. 5; T.A. Devyr, *The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Greenpoint, 1882), pp. 194–6; 'Yours devotedly' (13 November 1839) to Taylor, reprinted in Fraser, *Taylor*, p. 93.
7. W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), pp. 239–40.

8. NS, 5 October 1839 and, for O'Connor's retrospective account, 3 May 1845; see also J.A. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832–42* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), pp.198–200. The libel case was the culmination of extensive official scrutiny of NS; see e.g. HO, 73/52/61, 9 December 1837, and papers relating to *R. v. O'Connor* in TS, 11/813, fos 81–96, 11/814, fos 52–7 and 65–76, 11/817, no. 2694.
9. B.Harrison and P.Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist* (London, Europa, 1979), p.155; and see above, chap. 4.
10. NS, 30 November 1839.
11. *True Scotsman*, 16 November 1839.
12. NS and *True Scotsman*, 23 November 1839.
13. C.C.F.Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. L.Strachey and R.Fulford, vol.4 (London, Macmillan, 1938), p.221.
14. NS, 7, 14 and 28 December 1839.
15. Letter to Taylor (13 November 1839), reprinted in Fraser, *Taylor*, p.93.
16. Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p.156; HO, 40/43, Wemyss to Home Office, 12 November 1839, HO, 40/45, Phillips to Home Office, 16–19 November, inc., HO, 40/44, 16 November 1839 and HO, 65/10 fo.23–4 (13 November 1839); J.C.F.Barnes, 'Popular protest and radical politics: Carlisle, 1790–1850', D.Phil thesis, University of Lancaster (1981), p.346; NS, 2, 30 November, 7 and 14 December 1839.
17. WYAS, Bradford, DB3 C4/1; R. Holder, *Lines on Busy Peter's Escape from Bradford*. Bussey went to New York where he ran a boarding house. He remained in regular contact with Yorkshire Chartists, suggesting he had neither robbed the movement nor perhaps played the part of a coward. He returned to run a pub near Leeds in 1854. See also *Yorkshire Daily Observer*, 12 February 1902, and A.Peacock, *Bradford Chartism* (York, St Anthony's Press, 1969).
18. Taylor to 'My dear Mary Anne' (Groves), 8 December 1839, published in 'The Chartist correspondence', *Free Press Serials*, 13 (January 1856), pp.3–4; original in Balliol College Library, Urquhart Bequest, 1E1, fos 15–16.
19. HO, 40/51 17 December; see also WYAS, Leeds, Harewood Papers, Lieutenancy Box 2, enclosure with letter of 19 December 1839 to Home Office; HO, 40/43, 12 November 1839; W.Napier, *Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier* (London, Murray, 1857), pp.101–2.
20. *Regenerator*, 2 November 1839; Napier to Huband, (27) November 1839, to Home Office, 28 November, and journal entries for December, and 1, 2 and 4 January, quoted in *Napier*, pp.92–3, 101 and 107; J.Baxter, 'Early Chartism and labour class struggle', in S.Pollard and C.Holmes (eds), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire* (Sheffield, South Yorkshire County Council, 1976); Harewood Papers, Lieutenancy Box 2, enclosure with letter of 19 December.
21. NS, 7 December 1839.
22. *Ibid.*, 3 May 1845; Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p.159.
23. J.Campbell, *Speeches of Lord John Campbell* (Edinburgh, Black, 1842), p.485; M.S.Hardcastle, *Life of Lord Campbell*, vol.2 (Edinburgh, Murray, 1881), p.127; NS, 3 May 1845; see also Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, p.208.
24. NS, 6 May 1848; *National Instructor*, 25 May 1850; W.Thomasson, *O'Connorism and Democracy Inconsistent* (Newcastle, Tyne Mercury, 1844), p.8.
25. NS, 11 January 1840; R.Sykes, 'Physical-force Chartism: the cotton district and the Chartist crisis of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, 30 (1985), p.234; Napier, *Life*, p.109; Devyr, *Odd Book*, pp.204–7; *Leeds Mercury* and *Leeds Times*, 18 January 1840; *Halifax Guardian*, 18 January 1840.

26. Quotation from examination of Samuel Thompson, TS, 11/816/2688, also reproduced in D. Thompson, *Early Chartists* (London, Macmillan, 1971), pp. 270–9.
27. University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections, ‘Sexagenarian’, ‘Sheffield as it was: the Chartists and their attempt at revolution’, undated (1872) cutting from the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*; J. Baxter, ‘The life and struggle of Samuel Holberry, physical force Chartist’, in *Samuel Holberry: Sheffield’s Revolutionary Democrat* (Sheffield, Holberry Society, 1978), pp. 7–21; Baxter, ‘Early Chartism’, pp. 149–52; TS, 11/816/2688, examinations of Foxhall and Thompson, reprinted in Thompson, *Early Chartists*, pp. 264–79; HO, 40/44, fo. 545.
28. *Morning Herald* and *Morning Post*, 16 January 1840. *Charter*, 19 and 26 January 1840.
29. TS, 11/18/2678; NS, 3 May 1845; J. Taylor, *The Coming Revolution* (Carlisle, Arthur, 1840), pp. 3 and 11.
30. For an authoritative account see Peacock, *Bradford Chartism*, pp. 39–43.
31. Committal hearing, *Leeds Times*, 15 February 1840.
32. Interview with W. J. Williams, HO, 20/10.
33. Williams, *John Frost*, p. 286; Lord Broughton (J. C. Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life*, vol. 5 (London, Murray, 1911), p. 244; *Greville Memoirs*, vol. 4, pp. 233–5.
34. NS, 29 February 1840; Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 208–9; A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 106–7.
35. H. Martineau, *History of England during the Thirty Years’ Peace, 1816–46*, vol. 2 (London, Knight, 1850), p. 413.
36. Hobhouse, *Recollections*, vol. 5, p. 244.
37. NS, 3 May 1845.
38. *John Bates of Queensbury: The Veteran Reformer. A Sketch of his Life* (Queensbury, Feather, 1895), pp. 5–6.
39. In the following paragraphs all un-attributed information is taken from NS, 28 September 1839–26 December 1840.
40. NS, 23 May 1840; J. Christodoulou, ‘The Glasgow Universalist Church and Scottish radicalism’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43:4 (October 1992), pp. 608–23.
41. *True Scotsman*, 9 November 1839; Barnsley Central Library, Archives & Local Studies Section, unpublished MS by J. H. Burland, ‘Annals of Barnsley and its environs’, vol. 2 (1881), fo. 117; *Hymns to be Sung at the Bradford and Barnsley Chartist Camp Meeting* (Sheffield, Smith, 1839).
42. On this theme see E. Yeo, ‘Culture and constraint in working-class movements, 1830–1855’, in E. and S. Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict* (Brighton, Harvester, 1981), pp. 155–86.
43. NS, 20 June 1840. Cromwell never visited Stockton but this was an understandably appealing myth.
44. *True Scotsman*, 22 February 1840; NS, 19 December 1840; for sales of the *Chartist Circular* in France see its 18 September 1841 issue.
45. NS, 16 November 1839. See also J. A. Epstein, *Radical Expression* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 147–65.
46. Sutton-in-Ashfield, see TS, 11/601, letter to T. Cooper, 16 May 1842; Barnsley, see Burland, ‘Annals’, vol. 2, p. 82. See also Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, p. 201. Chartist amateur dramatics deserve further investigation, but see P. Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (London, Macmillan, 1995), pp. 186–7, and C. Barker, ‘The Chartists, theatre reform and research’, *Theatre Quarterly*, 1:4 (December 1971), pp. 3–10.
47. *Leeds Times*, 3 March 1838.

48. *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 17 (24 July 1841); see also C. Turner, 'Politics in mechanics institutes, 1820–50: a study in conflict', D.Phil thesis, University of Leicester (1980), esp. p.78.
49. *NS*, 9 May 1840 8 August 1840; *True Scotsman*, 29 February 1840.
50. 'Reform, by a Radical of the old school', *People's Magazine*, March 1841, pp.88–9.
51. M. Tylecote, *Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1957), 241.
52. *NS*, 3 October and 12 December 1840, 17 July 1841; A. Briggs, 'Industry and politics in early nineteenth-century Keighley', *Bradford Antiquary*, ns, 9 (1952), p. 314; HO, 107/2278, fos 495–6.
53. B. O'Brien, *Life and Character of Maximilian Robespierre*, vol.1 (London, Watson, 1838), p. 284; *True Scotsman* 22 February 1840; *NS*, 12 September, 29 August and 16 May 1840. On contemporary mutualism see S. Cordery, *British Friendly Societies, 1750–1914* (London, Palgrave, 2003).
54. *NS*, 5 January and 6 April 1839; *Charter*, 8 September 1839; see also M. Purvis, 'Co-operative retailing in England, 1835–50: developments beyond Rochdale', *Northern History*, 22 (1986), pp.198–215; R.C.N.Thornes, 'Change and continuity in the development of co-operation, 1827–44', in S.Yeo (ed.), *New Views of Co-operation* (London, Routledge, 1988).
55. *NS*, 21 December and 1 August *Northern Liberator*, 7 September 1839.
56. *True Scotsman*, 22 February 1840.
57. For a contemporary tribute to *NS* temperance coverage see W. Farish, *Autobiography of William Farish* (self-published, 1889) p.41; W.Hick, *Chartist Songs and Other Pieces* (Leeds, Hobson, 1840); *NS*, 3 April 1841.
58. *Essex & Suffolk Times*, 2 February 1838, quoted in A.F.J.Brown *Colchester, 1815–1914* (Chelmsford, Essex County Council, 1980), p.112.
59. Pickering, *Chartism*, p.186.
60. These are a few valedictions in personal letters to Thomas Cooper, seized by police when he was arrested in 1842 and preserved in TS, 11/600 and 601.
61. P.Pickering, 'Chartism and the "trade of agitation" in early Victorian Britain', *History*, 247 (June 1991), pp.222–37.
62. *NS*, 25 July 1840; for a printed Chartist circuit plan on the Methodist model, see HO, 45/46 fo.3; also E.Yeo, 'Practices and problems of Chartist democracy', in J.Epstein and D.Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–1860* (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp.345–80.
63. H.Heavisides, *Centennial Edition of the Works of Henry Heavisides* (London, self-published, 1895), and *Gateshead Observer*, 27 July 1839; M.Fletcher, *Letters to the Inhabitants of Bury* (Bury, 1852), quoted in Thompson, *Early Chartists*, pp.27–8.
64. This 'political emigration' (Harney's term in *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 6 May 1882) included Devyr from Newcastle, Thornton from Halifax and a dozen Sheffield Chartists, among them the Convention delegate James Wolstenholme.
65. HO, 20/10, interview with Hutton by W.J.Williams.
66. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1840 (600) vol. 38, analysed in C.Godfrey, 'Chartist prisoners, 1839–41', *International Review of Social History*, 24 (1979), pp.231–2. Professionals (including publishing) accounted for 21, shopkeepers and publicans 18; occupations of 58 prisoners were not given.
67. 'The reminiscences of Thomas Dunning', *Transactions of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol.59 (1947), p.119; *Bradford Observer*, 19 December and *Halifax Guardian*, 21 December 1839; see chapter 8 below on the sexual allegations.
68. 'James Williams', in G.Batho (ed.), *Durham Biographies, Volume 2* (Durham, Durham County Local History Society, 2002), p.126; R.Peddie, *The Dungeon Harp*

(Edinburgh, self-published, 1844), p.17; NS, September 1840; Godfrey, 'Chartist prisoners', pp.217–21.

69. *Barclay Fox's Journal*, ed. R.L. Brett (London, Bell & Hyman, 1979), p.181; Frost's letter was reprinted in full in R.G. Gammage, *The History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Browne, 1894), pp.171–2.

Notes to Chapter 6: February 1840–December 1841: 'The Charter and nothing less'

1. LHASC, Vincent Papers 1/1/24, Vincent to Miniken 5 March 1840.
2. NS, 21 December 1839; 11 April 1840; *Charter*, 23 February 1840; J. Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2002), pp.200–1.
3. J. Campbell, *An Examination of the Corn and Provision Laws* (Manchester, Heywood, 1841), pp.11, 70; for Campbell see P.A. Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1995), esp. p.190.
4. HO, 45/50, fo.30, placard (May 1841).
5. Anon., *Memoranda of the Chartist Agitation in Dundee* (Dundee, Kidd, 1889), p.16; *Anti-Corn Law Circular* 25 March 1841; un-named workman quoted in D.J.V. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists* (London, Allen Lane, 1975), p.126.
6. NS, 4 January, 18 and 25 April, 29 August 1840; *Charter*, 15 and 29 December 1839; D. Goodway, *London Chartism, 1838–48* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.31, 38.
7. NS, 20 June 1840.
8. See T.M. Parssinen, 'Association, convention and anti-parliament', *English Historical Review*, 88 (July 1973), pp.504–33.
9. *Southern Star*, 23 February 1840.
10. LHASC, Vincent Papers 1/1/23(i), Vincent to Miniken 28 February 1840.
11. NS, 18 and 25 April, 2 May 1840; *Northern Liberator*, 21 March 1840.
12. NS, 18 and July 1840.
13. See the 'Aims and rules' of the NCA in *ibid.*, 1 August 1840, reprinted in D. Thompson, *The Early Chartists* (London, Macmillan, 1971), pp.288–93, from which the unattributed quotations that follow are taken.
14. NS, 11 April 1840; on Leach see entry in *DLB*, vol.9, and Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists*, esp. pp.198–9.
15. NS, 18 April 1840; HO, 45/258A, fo.21, NCA membership card; see also S. Roberts and D. Thompson, *Images of Chartism* (Woodbridge, Merlin, 1998), p.58.
16. *Ibid.*, 11 December 1841 claimed 282 localities totalling 13,000 members; the higher figures relate to 1842, see NS 16 April 1842 and Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, pp.70–6.
17. A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), p.91. *Chartist Circular* claimed an average weekly circulation of 40,000: see its 18 September 1841 issue. In total, 27 Chartist papers were published during some or all of 1839, but only 22 in 1840: calculation based on periodicals listed in O.R. Ashton, R. Fyson and S. Roberts (eds), *The Chartist Movement: A New Annotated Bibliography* (London, Mansell, 1995), pp.62–70.
18. BL, Place Newspaper Collection, set 56, copies of *Executive Journal of the National Charter Association*, issues 1–4 (16 October–6 November 1841).
19. NS, 7 March 1840; see also J.A. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832–42* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), pp.211–12 and 215–20.
20. NS, 21 March 1840.

21. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1840.
22. *Ibid.*, 23 May; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 May and 6 June 1840.
23. *NS*, 6 June 1840; O'Connor d'Arlach Papers, letter to Frank O'Connor, 20 September 1843; F.O'Connor, *Practical Work on the Management of Small Farms* (London, Cleave, 1843).
24. For example see *NS*, 23 May, 6 June, 11 and 18 July, 15, 22 and 29 August, 31 October 1840.
25. *Ibid.*, 16 May 1840.
26. M. Chase, 'The People's Farm' (Oxford, Clarendon, 1988), pp. 1–17, 136, 143–4, 178–9; and *DLB*, vols 8 and 10. For earlier Chartist interest in land reform see *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 15 January, 25 February and 4 March 1837; *Charter*, 1 December 1839; *Chartist Circular*, 21 December 1839; *London Democrat*, 18 May 1839; *London Dispatch*, 4 and 18 June 1837; *Northern Liberator*, 23 and 30 December 1837, 20 January, 7 and 14 April, 27 October 1838, 15 June, 6 and 13 July 1839; *NS*, 16 June and 18 October 1838, 25 April and 2 May 1840; *Operative*, 25 November 1838; Lowery, speech at Carlisle, *Carlisle Journal*, 27 October 1838, reprinted in B. Harrison and P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist* (London, Europa, 1979), pp. 223–7.
27. *NS*, 11 and 18 July 1840.
28. Cirencester 'Agrarian Company', *NS*, 29 August 1840; Christian Co-operative Joint Stock Company (Manchester), *ibid.*, 26 September 1840; see also Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists*, pp. 117–19.
29. *NS*, 31 October 1840; and see *DLB*, vol. 8.
30. F.O'Connor, 'The Land' the Only Remedy for National Poverty and Impending National Ruin (Leeds, Hobson, 1842), p. 14.
31. Lovett and Collins to Normanby, 6 May 1840, quoted in W. Lovett, *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), p. 235.
32. *NS*, 1 August 1840.
33. W. Lovett and J. Collins, *Chartism; A New Organization of the People* (London, Watson, Hetherington & Cleave, 1840), p. 1.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 16 and 21.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 24; J. Wiener, *William Lovett* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 80–4.
36. *To the Political and Social Reformers of the United Kingdom: An Address, by W. Lovett and others, in reference to the formation of a National Association of the United Kingdom*, reprinted in Lovett, *Life*, pp. 245–50; *NS*, 10 April 1841.
37. Lovett, *Life*, p. 243.
38. *NS*, 28 November 1840.
39. LHASC, Vincent Papers 1/1/36, Vincent to Miniken 5 October 1840.
40. H. Vincent et al., *Address to the Working Men of England, Scotland, and Wales* (London, Johnston, 1841–42); *ECC*, 9–11 (March–April 1841).
41. *NS*, 3 April 1841.
42. *Ibid.*, 7 March 1846; similarly, T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper, Written by Himself* (London, Hodder, 1872), p. 136.
43. *Leeds Times*, 8 June 1839; *NS*, 12 and 19 September 1840; see also J. F. C. Harrison, 'Chartism in Leeds', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (London, Macmillan, 1959), pp. 83–5; D. Fraser (ed.), *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 284–5, and Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, pp. 265–73.
44. *Leeds Times*, and *NS*, 23 January 1841; Smiles to O'Connell, 4 January, and Stansfield to O'Connell, 8 January 1841, reprinted in *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. M. R. O'Connell, vol. 7 (Dublin, Blackwater, 1978), pp. 1 and 5.

45. *Leeds Times*, 23 January 1841.
46. *Ibid.*, 23 October 1841.
47. M.Chase, 'Building identity, building circulation: engraved portraiture and the *Northern Star*', in J.Allen and O.Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People* (London, Merlin, 2005), pp. 32–3.
48. *NS*, 8 May 1841.
49. *Ibid.*, 10–24 April, 1–15 May, 5 and 12 June 1841; Wiener, *Lovett*, p. 87.
50. Wiener, *Lovett*, p. 88; cf. Goodway, *London Chartism*, p. 41; D.Stack, 'William Lovett and the National Association', *Historical Journal*, 42:4 (1999), p. 1028.
51. Wilton Lodge Museum, Hawick, Sederunt Book for 1842.
52. W.J.Linton, *James Watson* (Manchester, Heywood, 1880), p. 50.
53. *NS*, 24 April 1841.
54. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1841; see M.Chase, 'Chartism 1838–58: responses in two Teesside towns', *Northern History*, 24 (1988), pp. 146–71.
55. *Hansard*, vol. 58, 25 May 1841, cols 742ff.; *NS*, 5 June 1841.
56. *McDouall's Chartist & Republican Journal*, 12 June 1841, see also 19 June 1841 and the 'Address of the eighteen stonemasons', *ECC*, 24 (?June 1841).
57. 'One of no party', *Random Recollections of the House of Commons* (London, Smith Elder, 1836), p. 251.
58. *NS*, 5 June, and *McDouall's Chartist & Republican Journal*, 12 June 1841.
59. The adage is L.P.Hartley's, from the prologue to *The Go-Between* (1953). On the evolution of election procedures and their significance for the emergence of parties see P.Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832–41* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2002).
60. Unattributed quotations and information in the following paragraphs are from the Chartist press, checked against C.R.Dod, *Electoral Facts from 1832 to 1852* (London, Whitaker, 1852) and *McCalmont's Parliamentary Pollbook* (1879), enlarged and edited by J.Vincent and M.Stenton (Brighton, Harvester, 1971). I have followed McCalmont's practice of using 'Liberal' to designate candidates supportive of the Whig Government.
61. See Harrison & Hollis, *Lowery*, pp. 181–6.
62. For Brooker see his *Appeal to the British Nation ... for the Repeal of the Poor Law Amendment Act* (Brighton, Andrews, 1840), *NS*, 1 September 1838 and 19 June 1841.
63. Northampton's plebeian electors were mainly surviving members of an unusually inclusive pre-1832 electorate. For a detailed analysis of this contest see J. A. Phillips, *The Great Reform Act in the Boroughs* (1992), pp. 169–70.
64. *NS*, 5–26 June, 3 and 10 July 1841; *McDouall's Chartist & Republican Journal*, 12–26 June and 10–24 July 1841; *Dundee Chronicle*, 9 July 1841 (cutting in 'Richardson's Works' scrapbook, Manchester Central Library, Local Studies Section).
65. HO, 45/102A, fo. 29, police report (June 1841).
66. Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p. 185.
67. *NS* 3 July 1841; *The Speech Delivered by Mr William Dixon, the People's Candidate at the Nomination of Members* (Wigan, Ramsdale, 1841), p. 8; Derby Local Studies Library, MS BA/909/16186, item 9, Police report, 'Mr Martin's Language on Thursday the 3rd of June 1841'; W.E.Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, vol. 1 (London, Hutchinson, 1903), p. 183.
68. Harrison and Hollis, *Lowery*, p. 186.
69. *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 27 August 1892; Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, p. 285.
70. York City Library, Local Studies Section, 'Chartism MSS', Y342.42T, Rooke to R.Hawkin, 31 October 1901; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 28 August and 4 August 1841; *NS*,

4 September 1841 and 19 February 1842; O'Connor d'Arlach Papers, Feargus to Frank O'Connor, 28 September 1843.

71. 'Alfred' (S.H.G. Kydd), *History of the Factory Movement*, vol. 1 (London, Simpkin, 1857), pp. 235–54; NS, 8 May and 4 September 1841. This analysis follows P. Pickering's perceptive article, 'Class without words: symbolic communication in the Chartist movement', *Past & Present*, 112 (1986), esp. pp. 156–62.

Notes to Chapter 7: 1842: 'Toasting muffins at a volcano'

1. Letter to G. Arbuthnot, 4 October 1841, quoted in D. Read, *Peel and the Victorians* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1987), p. 103; J. Sinclair, *National Education and Church Extension* (London, Rivington, 1849), p. 52.
2. Derby Local Studies Library, MS BA/909/16186, item 17, J. Bairstow, quoted in police report, 18 July 1841.
3. For a transcript of the Peel–Hobson interview see *The Ten Hours' Question: A Report Addressed to the Short Time Committees of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (London, Ollivier, 1842), pp. 4–15.
4. HO, 45/256, 22 February 1842; Read, *Peel*, pp. 108, 119, 120–1; entry for Daniel McNaughton: ODNB; *True Scotsman*, 13 June 1841.
5. Letter to A.W. Weston, 24 June 1841, reprinted in C. Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1974), p. 154.
6. *Barclay Fox's Journal*, ed. R.L. Brett (London, Bell & Hyman, 1979), entry for 8 February 1842, p. 259.
7. Quoted in entry for Edward Miall: ODNB.
8. See A. Tyrell, *Joseph Sturge* (London, Croom, 1987).
9. *Nonconformist*, 3 and 17 November and 15 December 1841; A. Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League* (London, Cash, 1853), p. 276.
10. W. Jones, *Chartism: Authentic Report of the Speech* (Liverpool, Stewart, 1841), p. 12; for Thorogood see A. F. J. Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk* (Chelmsford, Essex CRO, 1982), pp. 49 and 86–7; and *Address to All Rational Chartists and Rational Anti-Chartists by a Stranger* (London, 1840).
11. *Nonconformist*, 29 December 1841; A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 174; NS, 29 January 1842; *Reconciliation between the Middle and Labouring Classes* (Manchester, Heywood, 1842); TS, 11/600, Anon. to T. Cooper, 18 February 1842.
12. ECC, 59 (March 1842); *Nonconformist*, 22 December 1841, 26 January and 16 February 1842; NS, 19 February and 12 March 1842.
13. For example: *Leeds Times*, 1 October 1842; *Leicester Chronicle*, 1 January 1842; NS, 22 January 1842. The author was ACLL activist William Biggs: see A. T. Patterson, *Radical Leicester* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1975), pp. 326–7.
14. *Nonconformist*, 23 February 1842.
15. ECC, 58 (March 1842); NS, 26 March 1842.
16. NS, 2 April 1842.
17. Perronet Thompson differentiated 'sensible Chartists from the *unsensible*' in a letter of April 1841, quoted in M. J. Turner, 'Thomas Perronet Thompson, "sensible Chartism" and radical unity', *Albion*, 33:1 (spring 2001), pp. 63–4.
18. NS, 9 April; *Nonconformist*, 23 February 1842.
19. NS, 12 March and *Manchester Guardian*, 9 March 1842; see also E. Royle, *Chartism* (Harlow, Longman, 1996), pp. 108–10.
20. HO, 45/249C, fo. 25, report of Manchester Police Commissioner; Watkin to Cobden, quoted in N. McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1958), pp. 102–3.

21. *Nonconformist*, 16 March 1842. Bailey, Doyle, Murray and Scholefield were leading Manchester Chartists: see P. Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1995) *passim*, and, for Scholefield, especially O. Ashton and P. Pickering, *Friends of the People* (London, Merlin, 2002), ch. 5.
22. See the important reassessment by P. Pickering and A. Tyrell, *The People's Bread* (London, Leicester University Press, 2000).
23. *NS*, 2 April 1842.
24. *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Delegates of the Middle and Working Classes, held at Birmingham* (London, Davis, 1842), pp. 29–30.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6 and 62.
26. *Nonconformist*, 13 April 1842; *Report*, pp. 55 and 67.
27. Bright to Cobden, 10 April 1842, quoted in McCord, *Anti-Corn Law League*, p. 115.
28. *Report*, p. 76.
29. Brook, Burrows, Dewhirst, Hodgson and J. W. Smyth (all Bradford), Cook (Stroud), Linney (Eccles) and McCartney (Liverpool).
30. *NS*, 16, 30 April, 7 and 14 May, and *British Statesman* 15 May and 9 July 1842.
31. J. B. O'Brien, *Mr O'Brien's Vindication of His Conduct at the Late Birmingham Conference* (1842), quoted in A. Plummer, *Bronterre* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1971), p. 174.
32. G. Weerth, *A Young Revolutionary in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berlin, Seven Seas, 1971), pp. 106–7.
33. LHASC, Vincent Papers, 1/1/51, Vincent to Miniken, 30 July 1842.
34. T. Cooper to R. G. Gammage, 26 February 1855, printed in the latter's *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Browne, 1894), pp. 404–10; Cooper: *DLB* entry, vol. 9.
35. D. M. MacRaild, *Irish Immigrants in Modern Britain, 1750–1922* (London, Macmillan, 1999), pp. 54–6.
36. B. Harrison & P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery* (London, Europa, 1979), pp. 144–8.
37. D. Thompson, 'Ireland and the Irish in English radicalism before 1850', in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–1860* (London, Macmillan, 1982), p. 136; B. Reaney, 'Irish Chartists in Britain and Ireland', *Saothar*, 10 (1984), p. 98.
38. [P. O'Higgins], *Chartism and Repeal* (Dublin, Dyott, 1842), pp. 15–16.
39. 'The National Petition of the Industrious Classes', copy in BL, Add. MSS 27835, fo. 189.
40. *Chartist Circular*, 29 January 1842; *NS*, 15–29 January, 5, 19 and 26 February 1842; Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, pp. 171–3.
41. O. Ashton, 'Chartism in mid-Wales', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 62:1 (1971), pp. 39–43.
42. *Y Gofyniad Pabeth yw Siartist?* (Merthyr, John & Williams, 1840) and *Cyfieithad o Lythyr Diweddf Mr. Feargus O'Connor* (Merthyr, John & Williams, 1840); *Udgorn Cymru* appeared fortnightly, March 1840–October 1842, the *Advocate* monthly, July 1840–April 1841.
43. HO, 45/265, fos 18–26; in June 1841 bullet moulds and a copy of Macerone's *Defensive Instructions*, hidden in a consignment of haberdashery, were intercepted in transit from Birmingham to a Pontypool address used (under an alias) by Black: HO, 45/49, fo. 6, T. J. Phillips (Newport) to MO, 7 June 1841.
44. *NS*, 23 April 1842; R. Wallace, *Organise! Organise! Organise! A Study of Reform Agitations in Wales, 1840–86* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1991), p. 43; D. J. V. Jones, *The Last Rising* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 218–20.

45. NS, 16–30 April 1842: totals reported to the National Convention (1839 figure in brackets) Boston 1,400 (3,074); Colchester 2,250 (2,092); Ipswich 1,400 (7,312); King's Lynn 197 (550); Norwich 2,200 (6,646).
46. R. Wells, 'Southern Chartism', *Rural History*, 2:1 (1991), pp. 45–51; and cf. petition figures for Lewes of 1,100 (2,966); R. P. Hastings, *Chartism in the North Riding of Yorkshire and south Durham, 1838–48* (York, University of York, 2004), pp. 26–8.
47. NS, 13 November 1841 and 8 January 1848. Beesley was a pivotal figure in north Lancashire Chartist: W. Turner, 'The lion of north Lancashire', in A. Duckworth (ed.), *Aspects of Blackburn: Discovering Local History* (Barnsley, Wharncliffe, 1999), pp. 43–55; also chapter 8 this book.
48. *Hansard*, vol. 62, 2 May 1842, cols 1373–81, and NS, 16–30 April and 7 May 1842: totals reported to Parliament and/or the National Convention (1839 figure in brackets): Aberdeen 17,606 (8,116); Ashton-under-Lyne 14,200 (6,300); Banbury 4,000 (2,200); Barnsley 6,800 (3,645); Bolton 18,500 (16,600); Brighton 12,700 (8,000); Bristol 11,000 (8,160); Cheltenham 5,800 (1,720); Exeter 3,000 (2,560); Huddersfield 23,181 (19,432); Hull 7,400 (3,091); Leamington 1,800 (1,000); Leicester 18,000 (13,126); Liverpool 32,000 (20,689); Loughborough 7,600 (6,180); Merthyr Tydfil 21,934 (14,710); Oldham 21,800 (13,566); Plymouth 4,400 (2,250); Preston 24,000 (18,533); Rochdale 19,600 (9,050); Sheffield 27,200 (16,829); Shrewsbury 2,800 (850); Stalybridge 10,000 (4,863); Stockport (14,000 (10,781); Todmorden 8,400 (7,328); Tonbridge 2,000 (461); Warrington 4,200 (1,500); Wolverhampton 3,000 (1,960).
49. Calculations based on summary data from 1841 Census in B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 12–13, and from electoral data in C. Rallings and M. Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts, 1832–1999* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), p. 97.
50. *The Times*, 3 May 1842; NS, 16 April 1842; Duncombe lived in set F3 and Macaulay in E1: G. Doré and D. Jerrold, *London* (London, Harper, 1890), p. 84.
51. *The Times and Morning Chronicle*, 3 May 1842; NS, 7 May 1842; see P. Pickering, '“And your petitioners &c.”: Chartist petitioning in popular politics, 1838–48', *English Historical Review*, 116 (April 2001), pp. 368–88.
52. *Hansard*, vol. 63, 3 May 1842, cols 31 and 51.
53. *Chartist Circular*, 14 May 1842; NS, 7 May 1842.
54. London School of Economics, Allsop Papers, Coll. Misc., 525/2, O'Connor to T. Allsop (n.d., but 1843); NS, 14 May 1842.
55. E.g. NS, 28 May 1842.
56. Beesley, letter to the editor, *ibid.*, 30 April 1842.
57. TS, 11/601, J. Sweet to T. Cooper, enclosing Nottingham NCA handbill (n.d., but May 1841).
58. T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper, Written by Himself* (London, Hodder, 1872), p. 157; TS, 11/601, letter to Susanna Cooper (n.d., but August 1842).
59. See R. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham, 1815–1900* (London, Cass, 1966), pp. 141–3.
60. See M. Jenkins, *The General Strike of 1842* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1980). The interpretation here largely follows M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp. 190–200, but places greater emphasis on the confrontational, as opposed to theatrical, nature of the strike-wave.
61. Cited in C. S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from His Private Papers*, vol. 2 (London, Murray, 1899), p. 541.
62. HO, 45/43, fo. 4; *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 17 April 1841.
63. D. McNulty, 'Bristol trade unions in the Chartist years', in J. Rule (ed.), *British*

- Trade Unionism, 1750–1850* (London, Longman, 1988), p. 227; I. Prothero, ‘London Chartism and the trades’, *Economic History Review*, 24 (1971), p. 202; NS, 16 July, 20 and 27 August 1842; Thompson, *Chartists*, pp. 186, 193; Pickering, *Chartism*, pp. 61–2.
64. Quoted in D.J.V. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists* (London, Allen Lane, 1975), p. 138.
 65. *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor Esq. (Barrister-at-Law) and Fifty-Eight Others* (Manchester, Heywood, 1843), p. 98 (hereafter *Trial*).
 66. Operative Stone Masons Fortnightly Returns 22 April – May 1841, quoted in C. Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 1990), p. 109.
 67. ECC, 62 (April 1842); G. Barnsby, *The Working-Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750–1867* (Wolverhampton, Integrated Publishing, 1977), pp. 103–10.
 68. *North Staffordshire Mercury*, 23 July 1842, quoted by R. Fyson, ‘The crisis of 1842’, in Epstein and Thompson (eds), *Chartist Experience*, p. 198, to which this paragraph is particularly indebted.
 69. *Manchester Guardian*, 23 July, and NS, 16 and 30 July 1842; Jenkins, *General Strike*, pp. 60–3.
 70. HO, 45/263, fo. 36, placard, ‘TOILING SLAVES, UNION IS STRENGTH’; Cooper, *Life*, p. 186.
 71. NS, 20 August 1842.
 72. On miners’ pragmatic links to Chartism see, e.g., D. Phillips, ‘Riots and public order in the Black Country’, in R. Quinault and J. Stevenson (eds), *Popular Protest and Public Order* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1974), esp. pp. 153–8.
 73. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, p. 201; *Trial*, p. 246.
 74. McCord, *Anti-Corn Law League*, pp. 123–6; N.C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden* (Boston, MA, Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 11–14; NS, 16 July 1842; *Quarterly Review*, 71 (December 1842), pp. 244–314; see also N. Gash, *Sir Robert Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel after 1830* (London, Longman, 1972), pp. 354–5.
 75. HO, 45/249, fo. 121, 15 August.
 76. NS, 5 March 1842.
 77. *Trial*, pp. 17, 27 and 73; Jenkins, *General Strike*, pp. 64–6.
 78. *Trial*, p. 28.
 79. HO, 45/249, fo. 51, 8 August; A. Watkin, *The Diaries of Absalom Watkin*, ed. M. Goffin (Stroud, Sutton, 1993), p. 224, 9 August 1842; Jenkins, *General Strike*, pp. 72–5.
 80. Pickering, *Chartism*, p. 70.
 81. HO, 45/264, fos 102–4, enclosed with letter from Mayor of Hull to Home Office, 11 August 1842.
 82. HO, 45/249, fo. 94; Watkin, *Diaries*, pp. 225–6.
 83. Evidence of Bannister, *Trial*, pp. 76–80; HO, 45/249C, fo. 137.
 84. HO, 45/244, fos 24 and 25 (14 and 12 August).
 85. Stockport Central Library, Family and Local History Library, SH/11, ‘Stockport Chartist Papers’, unsigned note of meeting on Waterloo, 13 August, 8.00 p.m.; HO, 45/242, fo. 61.
 86. HO, 45/264, fo. 49 (14 August 1842); *Bradford Observer*, quoted in D. Wright, *The Chartist Risings in Bradford* (Bradford, Bradford Libraries, 1987), p. 30.
 87. HO, 45/249, fo. 121, 15 August; Tameside Local Studies Library (Ashton-under-Lyne) Broadsheets L322; Bolton Central Library Local Studies Section, Heywood Papers, ZHE 38/62, H. Heywood to R. Heywood, 24 August 1842 (referring to ‘the last fortnight’).

88. A. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1979), pp.250–2; L.C.Wright, *Scottish Chartism* (Edinburgh, Oliver, 1953), p.146; NS, 13 August 1842.
89. NS, 20 August 1842; Cooper, *Life*, pp.191–9; Fyson, ‘Crisis of 1842’, p.213.
90. HO, 45/264, fo.80; F.H.Grundy, *Pictures of the Past* (London, Griffith, 1879), p.98; F.Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists & Plug-Drawers*, 3rd edn (Brighouse, Hartley, 1895), pp.333–4 and 338–9.
91. Grundy, *Pictures*, pp.103, 105; HO, 45/264, fos 171–5; NS and *Halifax Guardian*, 20 August 1842; M.Blatchford, *History of Halifax Industrial Society* (Halifax, Womersley, 1901), pp.29–30; B.Wilson, *Struggles of an Old Chartist* (1887), reprinted in D.Vincent (ed.), *Testaments of Radicalism: Memoirs of Working-Class Politicians, 1790–1885* (London, Europa, 1977), p.200–1.
92. Wilson, *Struggles*, p.201.
93. *Bolton Free Press*, 20 August 1842; J.Lewis ‘to the Committee meeting at Glossop’, 16 August 1842, reprinted in *Trial*, p.149; Jenkins, *General Strike*, pp.150–9.
94. ‘Stockport Chartist Papers’, report from station master, 16 August 1842; Cooper, *Life*, p.206.
95. Cooper, *Life*, pp.208–11; NS, 20 August 1842; P.McDouall, *Letters to the Manchester Chartists* (Manchester, Leach, ?1843), p.9.
96. ‘Stockport Chartist Papers’, ‘Sunday’ (16 August).
97. HO, 45/266, fos 8 and 13; Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, pp.250–2.
98. Quoted in Phillips, ‘Riots and public order’, p.155.
99. ‘The executive committee of the National Chartist Association: To the People!!!’, poster in HO, 45/249C, fo.218, MS copy in 45/249A, fo.171f. and reprint in NS, 20 August 1842.
100. *Derby & Chesterfield Reporter*, 25 August 1842 and NS, 27 August; Derby Local Studies Centre, scrapbook BA 900 WAL(14117), A.Wallis, ‘Some reminiscences of old Derby’, West: DLB entry, vol.7.
101. HO, 45/266, fo.114, Dundee strike placard (19 August); 45/249, fo.233, Blackburn JPs; 45/242, fo.2, Mayor of Carlisle to Home Office; NS, 20 and 27 August 1842.
102. HO, 45/261, fo.71, transcript of Duddeston Row placard.
103. HO, 45/250, fo.95; NS, 27 August and 3 September 1842.
104. HO, 45/265, fo.38.
105. NS, 27 August and 3 September 1842; HO, 45/242 (Chard) and 262, fos 4–7.
106. Cooper, *Life*, pp.211–12; NS, 3 September 1842; A.Little, ‘Chartism and liberalism: popular politics in Leicestershire, 1842–74’, D.Phil thesis, University of Manchester (1991), p.71.
107. J.A.Epstein, ‘Feargus O’Connor and the Northern Star’, *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), pp.91–2; *Evening Star*, 23 August 1842.
108. HO, 45/254, Mayor of Nottingham to Home Office, fos 13 and 22; see also R.Church, *Economic and Social Change*, pp.143–4.
109. M.Winstanley, ‘Oldham radicalism and the origins of popular liberalism’, *Historical Journal*, 36:3 (1993), p.636; NS, 20 August 1842 (third edition, reprinted in early editions the following week).
110. J.C.F.Barnes, ‘Popular protest and radical politics: Carlisle, 1790–1850’, D.Phil thesis, University of Lancaster (1981), pp.355–6; HO 45/262 fo.4.
111. HO, 45/249C, fo.287, and 45/244, fos 150–1.
112. HO, 45/264, fos 181, 184, 191, 214, 217 and 223.
113. HO, 45/249, fo.233, and 45/265, fos 50 and 52.
114. Little, ‘Chartism and liberalism’, p.67; HO, 45/242, 18 September (Macclesfield’s Mayor to Home Office); Watkin, *Diaries*, p.229, entry for 1–30 September.

115. The Home Office under Graham spent a monthly average of £3.24 on domestic espionage, compared to £25.69 under Normanby and £40.68 under Russell.
116. 'Stockport Chartist Papers', letter from T. Stringer, 15 August; Gash, *Peel*, p. 344.
117. C. S. Parker, *Life and Letters of Sir John Graham*, vol. 1 (London, Murray, 1907), pp. 323–4; Gash, *Peel*, pp. 344–5.
118. Sinclair, *National Education*, pp. 57 (30 August) and 75 (7 September 1842); see also introduction to this chapter and W. B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 132–3.
119. University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections, MS 739/6, 3 September 1842; MS 739/1, 16 August 1842; MS 739/5, 'Thursday' (18 August 1842).
120. J. Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey* (Stannington, Birdsall, 1887), p. 132.
121. I borrow this notion (via Fyson, 'Crisis of 1842', p. 216) from A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History*, rev. edn (London, Methuen, 1961), p. 69.
122. HO, 45/266, fos 258–9, deposition of Hannam.
123. HO, 45/41, Napier to Phillips 11 August 1841; HO, 50/451, 23 May 1840 (Napier's report on barracks under his command).
124. HO, 45/264, fos 195–8 and 480.
125. H. M. Boot, *The Commercial Crisis of 1847* (Hull, Hull University Press, 1984), p. 77; BL, 695.L.14 (76), poster, 24 September 1842.
126. Copy in HO, 45/249C, fos 325 and 333.
127. Jenkins, *General Strike*, p. 218; *Leeds Mercury*, 3 and 10 September 1842; Pilling: DNB entry, vol. 6.
128. *Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, to Political Reformers of All Shades of Opinion* (Trueman, Birmingham, 1842), reprinted in Lovett, *Life*, pp. 276–82.
129. NS, 17 September and 19 November 1842.
130. Tailor William Blackwood, in a speech at Coalbrookdale, HO, 45/258A, fo. 40 (police report, 23 May).
131. HO, 45/265, fo. 60, 29 August 1842.
132. Lovett, *Life*, pp. 282–3.
133. Cooper, *Life*, p. 221; NS, 3, 17 and 24 December 1842.
134. Following account based on Cooper, *Life*, pp. 221–7; Lovett, *Life*, pp. 283–5; Tyrell, *Sturge*, pp. 129–31; *Nonconformist*, 28 and 31 December and 4 January 1843; and NS, 31 December 1842 and 7 January 1843.
135. S. Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge* (London, Dent, 1919), p. 78; Cooper, *Life*, p. 224.

Notes to Chapter 8: 1843–46: Doldrums years

1. TS, 11/600, White to Cooper, (n.d., but July 1842).
2. *Brighton Gazette*, 8 December 1842, quoted by R. Wells, 'Southern Chartism', *Rural History*, 2:1, p. 48; NS, 3 and 17 September 1842; A. Plummer, *Bronterre* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1971), p. 177; R. Fyson, 'Bronterre O'Brien: a Chartist in the Isle of Man, 1844–47', *Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, 10:4 (1998), pp. 393–400.
3. NS, 10 December 1842, 4 February 1843; P. Storey, entry for James Williams in *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals* (Hassocks, Harvester, 1979), pp. 544–8; S. Roberts, *Radical Politicians and Poets in Early Victorian Britain* (Lampeter, Mellen, 1993), pp. 50–4 and 110.
4. TS, 11/601, Mead to Cooper, (n.d. but July 1842).
5. LHASC, Miniken Papers, 1/1/50, Vincent to Miniken, 13 July 1842; *The Times*, 20 May 1844; W. Dorling, *Henry Vincent* (London, Clarke, 1879), pp. 33–40. Perronet Thompson equalled Vincent's number of unsuccessful challenges but was

- also elected an MP on two occasions: *McCalmont's Parliamentary Poll Book*, ed. M. Stenton and J. Vincent (Brighton, Harvester, 1971).
6. *ECC*, 62 (?April 1842); *TS*, 11/601, White to Cooper, 12 July 1842.
 7. *NS*, 3 September, 29 October and 19 November 1842.
 8. Main quotation from *NS*, 10 December 1842, see also 26 November, 3, 17 and 24 December 1842; *British Statesman*, 19, 26 November and 3 December 1842; see also E. Yeo, 'Practices and problems of Chartist democracy', in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *Chartist Experience* (London, Macmillan, 1982), p. 357.
 9. *NS*, 7 January 1842.
 10. *Ibid.*, 28 January and 4 February 1843.
 11. *Ibid.*, 4 February 1843; J. A. Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star', *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), pp. 92 and 97.
 12. *NS* 12 August 1843; F. O'Connor, *A Letter from Feargus O'Connor, Esq., to the Reverend William Hill* (London, Cleave, 1843); W. Hill, *A Scabbard for Feargus O'Connor's Sword* (Hull, Johnson, 1844); see Hill's periodical, *Lifeboat* (December 1843–January 1844).
 13. F. C. Mather, 'The Government and the Chartists', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (Macmillan, 1959), pp. 390–3.
 14. Pollock to Graham, 9 October 1842, quoted in Mather, 'Government and the Chartists', pp. 391–2.
 15. BL, Peel Papers, Add. Mss 40436, fo. 93, 10 March 1843, quoted in J. A. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832–42* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), p. 301.
 16. Calculations based on O. Ashton et al., *The Chartist Movement: A New Annotated Bibliography* (London, Mansell, 1995), pp. 64–70; *ECC*, 153 [January 1843]. None of the Scottish papers cited here surface in W. H. Fraser's survey, 'The Chartist press in Scotland', in J. Allen and O. Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People* (London, Merlin, 2005), pp. 82–105.
 17. *NS*, 3, 17 June, 2, and 9 September 1843, 24 March 1849; O. Ashton, 'Chartism in mid-Wales', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 62:1 (1971), p. 43.
 18. M. Chase, 'Chartism, 1838–58: responses in two Teesside towns', *Northern History*, 24 (1988), p. 162; *NS*, 2 September 1843.
 19. O'Connor sold large numbers of membership cards on such occasions but apparently added to reported totals the quantities he left behind for his hosts to sell: *Lifeboat*, 30 December 1843, *National Reformer*, 16 January 1847, A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 206.
 20. R. Challinor and B. Ripley, *The Miners' Association* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1968); R. Colls, *Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 281–301; M. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000), pp. 205–7, 224 n. 6.
 21. Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, pp. 205–6; Challinor and Ripley, *Miners' Association*, p. 62.
 22. 'The English collieries' workforce was approximately 103,000 in 1841: see J. Benson, *British Coalminers in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Longman, 1989), p. 217. Scottish membership of MAGBI peaked around 6,000 and the union failed completely in Wales, see Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, pp. 206 and 224 n. 6.
 23. HO, 45/348, fo. 2; *NS*, 30 September 1843.
 24. Mines agent to Earl Fitzwilliam, 22 April 1844, quoted in Challinor and Ripley, *Miners' Association*, p. 163.
 25. *Newcastle Journal*, 22 June 1844, quoted in Colls, *Pitmen*, p. 300.
 26. Challinor and Ripley, *Miners' Association*, p. 241.

27. D.R.Green, *From Artisans to Paupers* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1995), pp.99–100; R.Gurnham, *200 Years: The Hosiery Unions, 1776–1976* (Leicester, NUHKW, 1976), pp.15 and 19; A.Little, ‘Chartism and liberalism: popular politics in Leicestershire, 1842–74’, D.Phil thesis, University of Manchester (1991), pp.79–127.
28. T.Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.481; D.McNulty, ‘Bristol trade unions in the Chartist years’, in J.Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750–1850* (Harlow, Longman, 1988), p.239; C.Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 1990), p.115. Mason introduced Cooper to Chartism, see the illuminating vignette in *Life of Thomas Cooper, Written by Himself* (London, Hodder, 1872), pp.135–7.
29. W.H.Fraser, *Trade Unions and Society* (London, Macmillan, 1974), p.43; R.G.Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Browne, 1894), pp.251–2; National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, *Trade Societies and Strikes* (London, Parker, 1860), p.542.
30. J.B.Jefferys, *The Story of the Engineers* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1945), p.25; P.Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1995), p.238; A.F.J.Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk* (Chelmsford, Essex CRO, 1982), p.74; D.Goodway, *London Chartism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.165 and 173; I.J.Prothero, ‘London Chartism and the trades’, *Economic History Review*, 24 (1971), pp.212–13.
31. NS, 30 December 1843.
32. Ibid., 5 December 1846 and 28 October 1843; McNulty, ‘Bristol trade unions’, 229–32; Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, pp.208 and 224 n.9.
33. S.Pollard, *History of Labour in Sheffield* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1959), pp.74–5; NS, 9 and 16 November 1844.
34. For the history of the NAUT see Chase, *Early Trade Unionism*, *passim*; Prothero, ‘London Chartism and the trades’, pp.213–19; Goodway, *London Chartism*, *passim*.
35. Wheeler: DLB entry, vol.6.
36. NS, 16 September 1843,
37. Yeo, ‘Practices and problems’, pp.357–8; *Letter from Mr. Lovett to Messrs. Donaldson and Mason ...* (London, Hetherington, 1843), pp.2 and 4.
38. NS, 29 April 1843; apart from internal evidence, the claim that Wheeler wrote much of *Practical Work* was made by W.Stevens, *A Memoir of Thomas Martin Wheeler* (London, Leno, 1862), p.25.
39. E.Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998).
40. M.Chase, ‘We wish only to work for ourselves: the Chartist land plan’, in M.Chase and I.Dyck (eds), *Living and Learning* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), pp.139–40.
41. Quoted by J.A.Phillips, *The Great Reform Bill in the Boroughs* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1992), pp.155–6; on the congruence of Owenism and Chartism see E.Royle, ‘Chartists and Owenites – many parts but one body’, *Labour History Review*, 65:1 (Spring 2000).
42. NS, 8 April 1843.
43. J.F.C.Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites* (London, Routledge, 1969), pp.59–60.
44. F.O’Connor, *Practical Work upon the Management of Small Farms* (seventh edition, Manchester, Heywood, 1847), pp.40–1.
45. NS, 2 September 1843; *The Poor Man’s Guardian and Repealer’s Friend*, 1 (3 June 1843).

46. Quotation from *NS*, 27 April 1844; Registration – 25 May, 22 June, 10, 17 August, 7 September and 12 October 1844; McDouall, 6 April and 18 May 1844; National Hall 15 June; O'Brien and Vincent, 29 June; Moir, 29 June and 13 July.
47. Quotation from *NS*, 6 June 1844; White, 25 May; Liverpool 27 July; *NCA* 18 May.
48. A. Marcroft, *Landmarks of Liberalism* (Oldham, privately published, 1913), p. 101, but cf. J. Vernon, *Politics and the People* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 223.
49. *NS*, 15 June 1844. He had been injured at Frome, Somerset, the previous July when the floor of an upper room in which he was speaking collapsed, *NS*, 29 July 1843.
50. *Ibid.*, 10 August 1844; cf Gammage, *History*, pp. 253–5.
51. *NS*, 19 October and 30 November 1844, 5 April 1845.
52. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1844; see also 26 October and 2 November.
53. For detailed analysis of the ideology of the land plan see Chase, 'We wish only to work for ourselves'.
54. *NS*, 28 December 1844; C.C.F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. L. Strachey and R. Fulford, vol. 5 (London, Macmillan, 1938), p. 183.
55. Peel to Queen Victoria, 29 March 1842, quoted in Goodway, *London Chartism*, p. 56; *NS*, 7 March and 11 July, *The Times*, 9 and 13 July 1846.
56. *Morning Star*, 1 February 1845.
57. *NS*, 3 May 1845.
58. *Ibid.*, 26 April 1845.
59. *Ibid.*, 1 February 1845.
60. *Ibid.*, 8 and 15 February 1845, see also 16 and 23 November 1844.
61. *Ibid.*, 3 May 1845, reprinting *National Reformer* of 30 March 1845.
62. *NS*, 10 May 1845.
63. The exact number of subscribers was never clear: see chapter 10 below.
64. *NS*, 7 June, 23 August, 30 December 1845; Chase, 'We wish only to work for ourselves', pp. 142–3.
65. The best account is Yeo, 'Practices and problems', pp. 366–74 to which the ensuing two paragraphs are indebted.
66. *National Reformer*, 14 November 1846, 6 February, 1 and 15 May 1847. For Bowkett societies see M. Chase, 'Out of radicalism: the mid-Victorian Freehold Land Movement', *English Historical Review*, 106 (April 1991), p. 323; and S. Newens, 'Thomas Edward Bowkett', *History Workshop Journal*, 9 (1980), pp. 143–8.
67. *NS*, 11 January, 15 and 22 November, 20 December 1845; *Chartist Co-operative Land Society: Important Meeting of Members Resident in the West Riding* (Huddersfield, Brown, 1845).
68. *NS*, 14 March, 18 April 1846. The best source for detailed information about the Chartist estates remains A. M. Hadfield, *The Chartist Land Company* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1970).
69. *NS*, 23 May, 13 June, 11 July 1846, Hadfield, *Chartist Land Company*, p. 96.
70. M. Chase, 'The concept of jubilee', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 132–47.
71. *NS*, 22 August 1845.

Notes to Chapter 9: July 1846–April 1848: 'A time to make men politicians'

1. R. Stewart, *The Politics of Protection* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 41.
2. R. Q. Gray, *The Factory Question and Industrial England, 1830–60* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 36, 171.

3. NS, 4 July 1846; C. F. Henningsen, *Sixty Years Hence* (London, Newby, 1847), 3 vols; M. Chase, 'Building identity, building circulation', in J. Allen and O. Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People* (London, Merlin, 2005), p. 44.
4. G. S. Jones, 'Rethinking Chartism', in his *Languages of Class* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), esp. pp. 175–8; there is a briefer version of this seminal essay in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–1860* (London, Macmillan, 1982); see also B. Hilton, 'Peel: a reappraisal', *Historical Journal*, 22:3 (1979), esp. p. 614.
5. Feargus to Frank O'Connor, '28 September' (completed 14 December) 1843, O'Connor d'Arlach Papers; all unattributed quotations in this and the following paragraphs are from this source.
6. See J. Dunkerley, 'Francisco Burdett O'Connor', in his *Warriors and Scribes: Essays on the History and Politics of Latin America* (London, Verso, 2000), pp. 145–67.
7. *Hansard*, vol. 48, 28 February 1845, cols 154–5.
8. Goldsmiths' Library, University of London (Senate House), 'Cuttings from the *Manchester Examiner* of Hobson's letters on the land scheme of Feargus O'Connor'; R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Browne, 1894), pp. 287f.; *DLB*, vol. 8; NS, 26 June, 6 November to 11 December 1847.
9. London School of Economics, Allsop Collection, Coll. Misc. 525/2, fo. 10, O'Connor to T. Allsop 25 June (1847); NS, 13 June 1846 and 13 November 1847.
10. T. Cooper, *Two Orations Against Taking Away Human Life Under Any Circumstances* (1846), cited in S. Roberts, 'Thomas Cooper: radical and poet, c. 1830–60', M. Litt thesis, Birmingham University (1986), p. 148; NS, 21 February, 11 April and 20 June 1846; *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 28 June 1846.
11. NS, 20 June, 8 and 22 August 1846.
12. Explored by M. Taylor, *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics, 1819–1869* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 79–83, and A. Janowitz, *Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 159–94.
13. T. Cooper, *Life of Thomas Cooper* (London, Hodder, 1872), p. 273; NS, 20 September–13 December 1845 and 28 April 1848; T. Cooper, *Purgatory of Suicides* (London, How, 1845).
14. Taylor, *Ernest Jones*, pp. 66, 69, 77–8.
15. *Labourer*, January (1847), title page. G. Airey, 'Fergus O'Connor, Ernest Jones and the *Labourer*', in J. Allen and O. Ashton (eds), *Papers for the People* (London, Merlin, 2005), pp. 106–28.
16. NS, 1, 8 and 29 May 1847.
17. *Cooper's Journal*, 17 January 1850.
18. NS, 19 December 1846.
19. *Ibid.*, 3 April 1847; *Labourer*, vol. 1 (1847), p. 45.
20. 'You mean he was an Owenite; all for equality, and community of goods, and that kind of absurdity?' 'No, no! John Barton was no fool.' E. Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (first published 1848), chap. 37.
21. *Labourer*, vol. 2 (1847), p. 181; NS, 19 December 1846, 20 February 1847.
22. NS, 28 December 1844, 27 December 1845, 7 March, 4–18 July, 8 and 15 August 1846.
23. *Ibid.*, 8 August, 12–26 September 1846.
24. *Ibid.*, 13 and 20 February, 6 March 1846.
25. *Hansard*, vol. 90, 23 February 1847, col. 406.
26. NS, 24 April 1847; J. Bright to G. Crosfield, quoted by H. Hanham, *Nineteenth-*

- Century Constitution* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 242. For a detailed study of registration as a live political issue at this time see J. Prest, *Politics in the Age of Cobden* (London, Macmillan, 1977).
27. *The Times*, 17 June; NS, 19 June; *Derby Mercury*, 23 June 1847.
 28. NS, 3–17 July 1847; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 24 July 1847; J.K. Edwards, 'Chartism in Norwich', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, 19:2 (1967), pp. 85–100.
 29. B. Wilson, *Struggles of an Old Chartist* (1887), reprinted in D. Vincent (ed.), *Testaments of Radicalism* (London, Europa, 1977), p. 205; T. Iwama, 'The middle class in Halifax, 1780–1850', D.Phil thesis, University of Leeds (1983), pp. 196–204.
 30. Muntz and Scholefield (Birmingham), Bowring (Bolton), Thompson (Bradford), Duncombe and Wakley (Finsbury), John Williams (Macclesfield), George Thompson (Tower Hamlets), Crawford (Rochdale).
 31. Quotation from NS, 17 July 1847;
 32. NS, 31 July and 7 August 1847; C. Binder, 'The Nottingham electorate and the election of the Chartist, Feargus O'Connor, in 1847', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 107 (2003), pp. 145–62; R. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham, 1815–1900* (London, Cass, 1966), pp. 144–5.
 33. NS, 5 June, 3 and 31 July 1847; West: DLB entry, vol. 7.
 34. NS, 31 July, *Derby Mercury*, 4 August 1847; G. Barnsby, *Working Class Movement in the Black Country, 1750–1867* (Wolverhampton, Integrated, 1972), pp. 128–33; *Plymouth & Devonport Weekly Journal*, 5 August 1847; R. Wallace, *Organise! Organise! A Study of Reform Agitations in Wales, 1840–86* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1991), p. 45.
 35. R. S. Neale, *Bath* (London, RKP, 1981), pp. 376–7; A. F. J. Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk* (Chelmsford, Essex CRO, 1982), p. 78.
 36. See chapter 6, this book.
 37. NS, 17 July and 7 August 1847.
 38. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1847 and 1 January 1848.
 39. A. T. Patterson, *Radical Leicester* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1975), p. 346; Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk*, pp. 78–9; NS, 7 August.
 40. NS, 23 October 1847.
 41. O'Connor's habit of sitting 'on the foremost seat of opposition' is widely attested: G. Weerth, *A Young Revolutionary in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berlin, Seven Seas, 1971), p. 169; *Daily News*, 9 December 1847; Lord Stanley, diary entry for 23 March 1849, reprinted in J. Vincent (ed.), *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party* (Hassocks, Harvester, 1978), p. 2.
 42. W. Lovett, *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (London, Trübner, 1876), pp. 307–8; J. Wiener, *William Lovett* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 110–11.
 43. *Address of the Council of the People's International League* (London, Palmer, 1847), p. 3; *Report of a Public Meeting ... to Explain the Principles and Objects of the People's International League* (London, People's International League, 1847), pp. 3–4.
 44. Lovett, *Life*, pp. 312–19; D. Goodway, *London Chartism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 56.
 45. H. Weissner, *British Working-Class Movements and Europe, 1815–48* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1975), pp. 140–4; A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney* (London, Heinemann, 1958), pp. 138–40.
 46. NS, 26 September 1846, 24 July 1847.
 47. F. O'Connor, *The Employer and the Employed* (London, McGowan, 1845), pp. 29, 42; NS, 16 January 1841.

48. NS, 22 August 1840; Manchester Central Library, Local Studies Section, BR/F942.081/RiI, unsourced, undated press cutting in ‘Richardson’s Works’; J.Campbell, *Examination of the Corn and Provision Laws*, 2nd edn (Manchester, Heywood, ?1842), p.11; *Northern Liberator*, 6 April 1839, 7 November 1840; ‘A Tyne Chartist’, *The Way to Universal Suffrage* (Newcastle, *Northern Liberator*, 1839), pp.28–9. See also, I.Haywood, *Chartist Fiction*, vol.1: *Sunshine and Shadow* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999), pp.8–9, 15–16.
49. E.g. T.M.Wheeler, ‘Sunshine and shadow’, NS, 26 May 1849 (and see Haywood, *Chartist Fiction*, pp.71, 90); and E.Jones, ‘Woman’s wrongs’, *Notes to the People*, vol.2 (1852), p.651; see also I.Haywood, *Chartist Fiction*, vol.2: *Ernest Jones, Women’s Wrongs* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001), p.49.
50. NS, 4 December 1847.
51. *Ibid.*, 18 and 25 July 1846, 4 December 1847.
52. J.A.Epstein, ‘Feargus O’Connor and the Northern Star’, *International Review of Social History*, 21 (1976), p.97. Average weekly sales in both 1842 and 1847 were 8,700 but these figures obscure wide variations. On 4 September the paper said it was planning for a circulation increase of 4,000.
53. NS, 7 August and 4 September 1847; G.J.Barnsby, *Birmingham Working People* (Wolverhampton, Integrated, 1989), p.105.
54. B.R.Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp.418 and 470; H.M.Boot, *Commercial Crisis of 1847* (Hull, Hull University Press, 1984), p.77. A quarter was a capacity measure equal to 64 gallons, approximately 291 litres.
55. Boot, *Commercial Crisis of 1847*, pp.34, 51–2.
56. *Memoirs of the Life and the Correspondence of Henry Reeve*, ed. J.K.Laughton, vol.1 (London, Longmans, 1898), p.190; E.P.Thompson and E.Yeo, *The Unknown Mayhew* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973), pp.435–8; see also Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.68–9, 227.
57. Boot, *Commercial Crisis*, p.39; Wilson, ‘Struggles’, p.206.
58. Wilson, ‘Struggles’, p.206; NS, 27 November 1847.
59. NS, 1 January 1848.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, 18 September, 4, 11 December 1847, 8 January 1848.
62. *Ibid.*, 31 July, 7 August, 28 August (H.Gracchus, ‘Lowbands’), 4 September, 11 December 1847.
63. *Ibid.*, 15, 22 January, 15 February 1848.
64. (W.H.Dyott) *Reasons for Seceding from the Seceders by an Ex-Member of the Irish Confederation* (Dublin, Dyott, 1847), pp.9 and 17; NS, 8 August 1846, 1 and 22 January 1848.
65. NS, 22, 29 January, 19 February, 25 March 1847; Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.64–7; J.Treble, ‘The Irish agitation’, in J.T.Ward (ed.), *Popular Movements* (London, Macmillan, 1970), pp.174–7.
66. *Douglas Jerrold’s Weekly Newspaper*, 1 April 1848; J.Belchem, ‘Liverpool in the year of revolution’, in J.Belchem (ed.), *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1992), pp.75–8.
67. T.Brotherstone and L.Leicester, ‘Chartism, the great hunger, and the “hugest question”’, in T.Brotherstone, A.Clark and K.Whelan (eds), *These Fissured Isles: Ireland, Scotland and the Making of Modern Britain, 1798–1848* (Edinburgh, Donald, 2005), pp.195–218; NS, 1 January 1848.
68. T.Carlyle, ‘Chartism’, *Selected Essays*, ed. I.Campbell (London, Dent, 1972), pp.182–3; National Library of Scotland, MS 618, fo.191r, J.S.Mill to T.Carlyle, 1839.

69. E. Jones, *The March of Freedom*, NS, 18 March 1848; see *Labourer*, vol. 3 (March 1848), pp. 100f.
70. O'Connor to Harney, 4 and 6 January (1848), reprinted in *The Harney Papers*, ed. F.G. Black and R.M. Black (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1969), pp. 61–2; NS, 26 February 1848.
71. T. Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections* (London, Sampson Low, 1880), pp. 128–9; Schoyen, *Chartist Challenge*, p. 159.
72. J. Kavanagh, 'A Barnsley man's autobiography', *Barnsley Chronicle*, 9 June 1900.
73. Ludlow, unpublished lecture notes, quoted by J.F.C. Harrison, *History of the Working Men's College* (London, RKP, 1954); A. Alison, *Some Account of My Life and Writings*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1883), p. 572; Hughes quoted in *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life*, ed. F.E. Kingsley, vol. 1 (London, King, 1877), p. 161.
74. M. Brodie, 'Free trade and cheap theatre', *Social History*, 28:3 (October 2003), p. 357.
75. G.W.M. Reynolds, *Mysteries of London*, vol. 4 (ns, vol. 2), no. 77 (4 March) 1848, p. 199 (ch. 157); see also I. Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 177–9.
76. HO, 45/2410/3, fos 403–5, 4 March 1848; and 2410/5, fos 849 and 853, 12 March; R. Pugh, 'Chartism in Somerset and Wiltshire', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies* (London, Macmillan, 1959), p. 215.
77. Alison, *Some Account*, pp. 573, 575; *The Times*, 7 August 1848; A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 218–19.
78. P. Pickering and A. Tyrell, *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London, Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 170. There is a burgeoning literature on Reynolds but the best introduction remains the entry in *DLB*, vol. 3; see also I. Haywood, 'Reynolds and the "Trafalgar Square revolution"', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 7:1 (spring, 2002), pp. 23–59.
79. MEPO, 2/64, 6 March 1848, report of Haynes; Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp. 71, 112–14.
80. NS, 18 March ignored income tax altogether in its report, but Reynolds and McGrath alluded to it in passing according to the *Morning Chronicle*, 14 March 1848; see also Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp. 71–2, 114–16.
81. Reynolds, *Mysteries*, vol. 4 (ns vol. 2), no. 78 (11 March) 1848, p. 202; NS, 11 March 1848.
82. NS, 25 March 1848.
83. NS, 11 March, 1 April 1848; see also W. Stevens, *Memoir of T. M. Wheeler* (London, Leno, 1862), p. 42.
84. Stevens, *Memoir*, p. 42; T. Allsop to O'Connor, 9 April 1848, quoted in Allsop's *ODNB* entry. Allsop's papers passed at his death to G.J. Holyoake, author of the 1885 *Dictionary of National Biography* essay on Allsop, and this letter was subsequently lost; see also G.J. Holyoake, *Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens* (London, Williams, 1881), pp. 189–90.
85. Duncombe to O'Connor, 6 April 1848, quoted in T.H. Duncombe (ed.), *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe*, vol. 1 (London, Hurst, 1868), p. 275.
86. NS, 25 March and 1 April 1848.
87. *Ibid.*, 8 April 1848; *Morning Chronicle*, 10 April 1848.
88. *The Diary of Colonel Peter Hawker*, vol. 2 (London, Longmans, 1893), p. 286; J. Saville, 1848: *The British State and the Chartist Movement* (Cambridge, Cambridge

- University Press, 1987), p. 105; C.C.F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. by L. Strachey and R. Fulford, vol. 6 (London, Macmillan, 1938), pp. 47–8.
89. *The Gladstone Diaries*, ed. M.R.D. Foot and H.C.G. Matthew, vol. 4: 1848–54 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 23.
 90. HO, 45/2410/1, fo. 270; and 45/2410/4, fos 844–90.
 91. National Archives, Kew, War Office Papers (WO), 30/111, memos 8, 9 April, and telegraph 8.00 a.m., 10 April 1848; Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp. 134–6.
 92. E. Miller, *That Noble Cabinet* (London, Deutsch, 1973), pp. 167–72; W. A. Munford, *Edward Edwards* (London, Library Association, 1963), pp. 52–3.
 93. HO, 45/2410/1, fo. 277f, payments to coal-whippers; C. Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections* (London, Chapman, 1877), p. 54; W. A. Munford, *William Ewart* (London, Grafton, 1960), pp. 174–5.
 94. *Letters of the Rt Hon. George Cornewall Lewis*, ed. G. F. Lewis (London, Longmans, 1870), p. 172; Lord Broughton (J. C. Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, Murray, 1911), pp. 214–15.
 95. HO, 45/2410/4, fo. 68, 7 April 1848; NS, 2 February 1850; *The Times*, 10 April 1848; G. Grey to Russell, 9 April 1848, quoted in S. Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. 2 (London, Longman, 1889), p. 69; and see Taylor, *Ernest Jones*, p. 108.
 96. R. Crowe, *Reminiscences of Robert Crowe, the Octogenarian Tailor* (New York, 1901), p. 9.
 97. Mackay, *Forty Years*, pp. 55–7. The contentious issue of how many attended on 10 April is carefully analysed in Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp. 136–42.
 98. HO, 45/2410/1, fo. 453, Mayne to HO, '1/4 to 12: Kennington'; George Howard, diary entry for 10 April, quoted in D. D. Olien, *Morpeth: A Victorian Public Career* (Washington, DC, University Press of America, 1983), p. 329; NS, 15 April 1848.

Notes to Chapter 10: April 1848–52: 'Decent revolutionaries'?

1. This account is based on *The Times*, 14 April, NS, 15 and 22 April, *Hansard*, vol. 98, cols 284–301 and *National Instructor*, 5 October 1850; see also P. Pickering, "And your petitioners &c": Chartist petitioning in popular politics', *English Historical Review*, 466 (April 2001), pp. 383–6.
2. Cripps's Cirencester constituents explained that they copied out names because a lack of printed sheets meant that most signatures were submitted on slips of paper: NS, 29 April 1848. Many argued that large numbers of petitioners could not write, others that some signatories were afraid to identify themselves and used pseudonyms instead.
3. NS, 22 April 1848.
4. D. Goodway, *London Chartism, 1838–48* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 136–42.
5. Lord Broughton (J. C. Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, Murray, 1911), p. 214.
6. *Reports of State Trials* (London, HMSO, 1896), ns vol. 7, col. 480.
7. D. Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness* (London, Allen Lane, 1999), p. 412.
8. *Papers for the People*, 6 May 1848.
9. *The Times*, 15 April and NS, 15 April (3rd edn) 1848.
10. NS, 22 April and 1 July 1848; HO, 45/2410/3, fo. 318, 4 April (High Wycombe); and 45/2410/4, fo. 920 (Buckley); (A. Applegarth) *A Letter on Chartism* (Dartford, Reeves, 1848), p. 6; Council of the Dartford NCA, *Reply to a Letter on Chartism* (Dartford, Reeves, 1848); D. Thompson, *Chartists* (London, Temple Smith, 1984), Appendix.
11. Chadwick: *DLB*, vol. 7; Clubb: A. F. J. Brown, *Chartism in Essex and Suffolk*

- (Chelmsford, Essex CRO, 1982), p.81, and Anon., *History of the Philadelphian Bible-Christian Church* (Philadelphia, PA, Lippincott, 1922), pp.67–89.
12. A. Alison, *Some Account of My Life*, vol.1 (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1883), p.580.
 13. *Bolton Chronicle*, 20 May 1848. The best account of the Assembly remains R.G.Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–54* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Browne, 1894), pp.324–30.
 14. *Memoranda of the Chartist Agitation in Dundee* (Dundee, Kidd, 1889), p.75; A.Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp.225–32.
 15. NS, 6 and 20 May 1848.
 16. J.Belchem, 'Britishness, the United Kingdom and the revolutions of 1848', *Labour History Review*, 64:2 (1999), p.147.
 17. *Bradford Observer*, 16 March 1848; HO, 45/2410/3, fo.997.
 18. HO, 45/2410/5, fos 1002 and 1017–23; see also D.Wright, *The Chartist Risings in Bradford* (Bradford, Bradford Libraries, 1987), pp.45–50.
 19. T.W.Reid, *The Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster* (London, Chapman, 1888), p.138; A.Peacock, 'Chartism in York', *York History*, 3 (1976), pp.142–3.
 20. *Halifax Guardian*, 27 May 1848.
 21. HO, 45/2410/5, fos 1038 and 1048.
 22. Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.81–3, 117–19, at 81; J.B.Leno, *The Aftermath* (London, Reeves, 1892), pp.57–8; *The Times*, 2 June 1848; Leno: *DLB*, vol.11.
 23. C.C.F.Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–60*, ed. L.Strachey and R.Fulford, vol.6 (London, Macmillan, 1938), p.73.
 24. NS, 15 July 1848; Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.83–5, 119–22.
 25. MEPO, 2/66 and 2/67.
 26. TS, 11/136, fo.91.
 27. MEPO, 2/43 (Aliens file), 7 June 1848; *The Times*, 14 June 1848; *The Gladstone Diaries*, ed. M.R.D.Foot and H.C.G.Matthew, vol.4: 1848–54 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974), p.42; T.Hughes quoted in F.E.Kingsley (ed.), *Charles Kingsley*, vol.1 (London, King, 1877), p.161.
 28. Wilson, *Chartist Movement in Scotland*, pp.231–2; NS, 17 June 1848.
 29. T.Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections* (London, Sampson Low, 1880), p.152.
 30. HO, 2410/3, 13 June (Isle of Wight), and fo.103B (Nottingham poster, 7 June); White quoted in *Manchester Observer*, 13 June; see also HO, 2410/5, fo.534.
 31. A.M.Hadfield, *The Chartist Land Company* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1970), p.190.
 32. *Greville Memoirs*, vol.6, p.77; *The Times*, 13 June; NS, 17 June 1848.
 33. HO, 45/2410/2, information of Davis, 12 and 14 June, and Reading, 12 June; Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.88 and 264.
 34. Goodway, *London Chartism*, pp.86–9.
 35. NS, 1, 22 July 1848; *The Authentic Report of the Trial of Doctor Peter McDouall* (Manchester, Heywood, 1848), p.1.
 36. This paragraph is indebted to Goodway's meticulous reconstruction in *London Chartism*.
 37. TS, 11/141/388, fo.248.
 38. TS, 11/138/380, fo.3.
 39. NS, 22 July 1848.
 40. HO, 45/2410/3, fo.972; *Manchester Guardian*, 2, 5, 12 August 1848; for Theobald's later career see, e.g., NS, 23 September 1848, 3 February 1849; also J.Schwartzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (London, Macmillan, 1991), pp.237–8.

41. *Bolton Chronicle*, 29 July 1848; HO, 45/2410/3, fo. 284.
42. *The Times*, 18 August 1848; J. Belchem, 'Liverpool in the year of revolution', in J. Belchem (ed.), *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 92.
43. *The Times*, 17–19 August 1848; see also J. Belchem, '1848: Feargus O'Connor and the collapse of the mass platform', in J. Epstein and D. Thompson (eds), *Chartist Experience* (London, Macmillan, 1982), pp. 298–9.
44. F.C. Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 24; A. Marcroft, *Landmarks of Liberalism* (Oldham, Wildgoose, 1913), p. 104 (Marcroft misdates the episode to 1 May).
45. HO, 45/2410/2, fo. 302; *The Times*, 17 and 18 August, 1848; R.G. Hall, 'Work, class and politics in Ashton-under-Lyne 1830–1860', D.Phil thesis, Vanderbilt University (1991), pp. 224–6; H. Davies, 'A shot in the dark', in S.A. Harrop and E.A. Rose (eds), *Victorian Ashton* (Ashton, Tameside Libraries, 1974), pp. 16–28.
46. HO, 48/40, deposition of Thomas Brown, quoted in Mather, *Public Order*, p. 25.
47. *The Times*, 19 August 1848; HO, 45/2410/5, fo. 1132; *Halifax Guardian*, 19 August 1848; Belchem, '1848', pp. 298–9.
48. *The Times*, 25 August; NS, 30 December 1848.
49. Frost, *Forty Years*, pp. 164–5.
50. NS, 11 November 1848; Ashton quotation from Davies, 'Shot in the dark', p. 27.
51. P. Gregory, 'The exile of Thomas Winterbottom', quoted by *Chartist Ancestors* at www.chartists.net/Prosecution-witnesses; see also Davies, 'Shot in the dark', p. 25.
52. HO, 45/2410/3, fo. 1014.
53. NS, 11 November 1848; for other ramifications in Ashton, see R.G. Hall, 'A united people', *Journal of Social History*, 38 (fall 2004), pp. 194–5.
54. NS, 17 June, 19 August–9 September 1848.
55. *Ibid.*, 9 and 23 September 1848.
56. Select Committee on the National Land Company (SCNLC), *Parliamentary Papers* (Reports from Committees), Session 1847–48 (398), vol. 19, Sixth Report, p. iii.
57. *Ibid.*, Third Report, para. 2454, and Fifth Report, para. 4541; M. Chase, 'We wish only to work for ourselves', in M. Chase and I. Dyck (eds), *Living and Learning* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), p. 134, erroneously gives a figure of 115 years.
58. M. Chase, 'Wholesome object lessons: the Chartist land plan in retrospect', *English Historical Review*, 475 (2003), pp. 59–85, Sillett quotation at 63.
59. Quotation from SCNLC, Fifth Report, paras 4416, 4445 and 4468; for a possibly higher figure compare First Report, para. 58, and Second Report, para. 1218.
60. SCNLC, First Report, paras 186, 768–90, and Second Report, paras 1829–30.
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Notes to Chapter 11: Chartist lives: 'Ever present to the progressive mind'

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