Chartism, Cultural Memory and Popular Politics in the early Victorian period.

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PhD

December 2023

Abstract

This thesis explores remembrance at the dawn of the Victorian age. It does so by using cultural memory, a framework concerned with acts of engaging with the past through rituals, texts, and memorials. These were all facets of Chartism's commemoration culture that were used to remember radical icons like Thomas Paine. The reporting of this activity in the Chartist press allows this memory to be retrieved and analysed. The comparison of these transcripts reveals how the past was customised and reproduced through commemoration, an engagement with the past that allowed representations of an 'illustrious dead' to conflict and proliferate. Through this analysis we see a multiplicity to Chartist memory – one of the main outcomes of this project. Acknowledging this aspect allows the fluidity of memory to become part of the discussion around how Chartists used radical memory to support their campaigns for major political change. Reinterpreting the past was common for this period, as was hunger, popular politics, and innovations in journalism. These themes intersect and reveal how cultural memory formed part of Chartist identity against a social-political elite they were attempting to restructure. Whereas scholars have explored the means of commemorating the past, less attention has been placed on the outcomes of commemoration and how this memory was customised. This thesis approaches Chartist memory with the view to better understand what was said about the 'illustrious dead'. It is possible to retrieve these sentiments by examining coverage of commemoration in Chartist newspapers like the *Northern Star*. This catalogue of print, or 'paper pantheon' as scholars have termed it, contains the many representations of Paine. By comparing these portrayals, the layers of Paine's memory, so selectively reconstructed by Chartists, are themselves restored, the multiplicity revealed, and Chartism's relationship with the past better understood.

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List of Abbreviations

A.C.L.L.	Anti-Corn Law League
L.C.S.	London Corresponding Society
L.D.A.	London Democratic Association
L.W.M.A.	London Working Men's Association
M.P.	Member of Parliament
MoC	Museum of Cambridge
N.A.	National Archives
N.C.A.	National Charter Association
N.C.S.U.	National Complete Suffrage Union
W.C.M.L.	Working Class Movement Library

Introduction

“Dead! Is it so, indeed? No; it cannot be; for this is not the 'oblivion' of the grave.”[1]

The 29th of January is of great significance to this thesis, for it was the birthdate of Thomas Paine. Born in the East Anglian town of Thetford in 1737, Paine went on to write a series of political and theological works that radically challenged the established order of Britain and the *ancien regimes* of Europe in the later part of the eighteenth century. His writings denied the rights of monarchs and challenged the authority of priests. For these works, he was both vilified and venerated in his lifetime. His legacy maintained this dichotomy, and Paine continued to have an enduring influence into the nineteenth century. One example of this division at the outset of Chartism is seen with the East London Democratic Association (L.D.A.).[2] Following a dispute over trade unionism and political support from the middle classes, the L.D.A. broke away from the more moderate London Working Men’s Association (L.W.M.A.). In a ‘prospectus’ proclaiming the intentions of the newly formed LDA in January 1837, much was made of Paine’s birthday anniversary. His memory helped to define its identity, and naturally promoting his memory formed part of their intentions:

> ‘The object of this Association is to promote the Moral and Political condition of the Working Classes by disseminating the principles propagated by that great philosopher and Redeemer of mankind, the Immortal Thomas Paine… the annual meeting of the Association be held on the 29th January, being the anniversary of the death of that great Man, whose character and principles we duly appreciate, by a social and convivial supper on that occasion’[3]

Such was the opening proclamation by the L.D.A. They consciously drew upon Paine’s credentials as a political writer, agitator, and even a ‘Redeemer’ in pursuing their political aims and recruiting other radicals to their cause.[4] This demonstrates the power of Paine’s memory and the important role of commemorative banquets in this period's political cultures. Such feasting, drinking of toasts, and speech making might appear quaint to us now. However, as this and many other instances show, they were a dynamic form of expressing political identity. In this instance, the republican Paine helped the L.D.A. enunciate their independence from

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[1] *The Odd Fellow*, 9 October 1841, 1. This line is from ‘the Infidel’s Dream’. It was published in the Chartist-supporting newspaper *The Odd Fellow* in 1841 and tells the story of an outspoken free thinker who denies the existence of an afterlife in a speech to friends at a dinner.

[2] In May 1838 it dropped the ‘East’ portion of its title to become the London Democratic Association.

[3] The document says ‘death’ but the 29th of January was in fact Paine’s birthday. Paine died on 8th June 1809. See Dorothy Thompson, *The Early Chartists* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1971), 55.

[4] For more information on the L.D.A. and its aims see Jennifer Bennett ‘The London Democratic Association 1837 to 1841 a Study in London Radicalism’ in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982), 87-119; for a study into the L.W.M.A. see Iorwerth Prothero, ‘The London Working Men’s Association and the “People’s Charter”’, *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), 169-73.

the L.W.M.A. and lay down a more radical, albeit still embryonic, form of Chartism against social elites.

Paine did not live to see Chartism. Three decades after he died in 1809, Chartism, by this point a fully formed movement, presented its first great National Petition to Parliament that contained over one million signatures. None of Paine's close contemporaries lived long enough to participate in this campaign. Whilst some octogenarians, like Tommy Preston and John Knight, lived through to Chartism, this was a rare exception of lived memory. Instead, Chartism was primarily a youthful movement.[5] As a result, Chartists were not 'remembering' Paine in the same sense as recalling events from their own lives. Rather, they relied upon texts and inherited practices, such as anniversary dinners called for by the L.D.A. The absence of many of Paine's contemporaries within Chartism makes cultural memory an appropriate framework for filling this gap. Mary Fulbrook's deconstruction of collective memory helps elucidate these different relationships. She separates audiences into two categories. On the one hand, there are 'communities of connection' composed of people who have experienced an event or epoch. This group communicates a 'post-memory'.[6] The other category includes 'communities of identification'. These people recognise an episode or a historical person but have no direct experience of it, and therefore channel a 'prosthetic memory' instead.[7] Chartism's relationship with Paine therefore largely falls into the latter grouping. Their remembrance of the great republican was imagined and relied mainly on cultural texts and rituals.

Yet, far from being detached, a radical past to which Paine now belonged continued to be evoked in the Chartist present. The bookish cabinet maker William Lovett, the most prominent author of the 1839 Petition, drew upon a history of radicalism that Paine had contributed towards. The intention was to assert the six points of the People's Charter to Parliament. Fundamentally, this document was not so much a list of original radical demands but rooted in earlier unachieved radical redesigns of Britain's political structure.[8] The People's

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[5] Many of the leading personalities of Chartism were born in the very late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century. Feargus O'Connor (b.1796), William Lovett (b.1800), Henry Vincent (b.1813), George Julean Harney (b.1817). Malcolm Chase refers to several octogenarians embodying the radicalism of the 1790s, see Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 33, 167.

[6] The term 'post-memory' has been coined by Marianne Hirsch, whose study explores the transition of traumatic memory, specifically the Holocaust, from one generation to the next. See Marianne Hirsch 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics Today*, 29.1 (2008), 103–28.

[7] Mary Fulbrook, 'History Writing and Collective Memory', in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, *Writing the History of Memory* (London: A&C Black, 2014), 65-88.

[8] Miles Taylor, 'The Six Points: Chartism and the Reform of Parliament', in Robert Fyson, Owen R. Ashton, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (London: Merlin Press, 1999), 1-23; Josh Gibson, 'The Chartists and the Constitution: Revisiting British Popular Constitutionalism', *Journal of British Studies*, 56.1 (2017), 70–90.

Charter, written up the previous year in 1838 by the L.W.M.A., was to be a modern-day Magna Carta. It demanded 'universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, annual parliamentary elections, the abolition of the property qualification for Members of Parliament (M.P.), payment of M.P.s, and the secret ballot.'[9] Ultimately, this grand gesture was to fail, as would Chartism's subsequent National Petitions in 1842 and 1848.[10] It would be easy to continue this exploration of Chartism through its greatest exertions as it unfolded, treating the earlier origins as antecedents. Yet, to do so would risk treating the past as mere trigger points to Chartism, and relegate Chartism's rich association with memory to the background. Instead, this thesis explores an engagement with memory as something that undersigned the wider efforts of Chartism.

Chartism merits an investigation into memory due to its dedication towards commemoration. It was not the first radical movement to initiate this relationship with the past. Rather, it inherited an amalgamation of rituals that can be identified as forms of cultural memory, including anniversary dinners, a radical lexicon, and texts.[11] However, these practices formed part of a Chartist identity that by 1838 had grown to a national scale. Chartists were aware of their inheritance of these radical traditions and showed a willingness to act as the duty-bound custodian commemorating this past.[12] This practice of remembering an 'illustrious dead' helped to enthuse Chartism with an emotional drive towards its political goals and foster kinship through a shared radical past. To acknowledge this subtler aspect is to recognise the practice of a radical cultural memory. Rituals, such as commemorating Paine's birthday and republications of his works, formed part of Chartism's wider 'movement culture'. [13] Three further factors qualify an investigation into this Chartist possession of radical memory. The first is the scope of Chartism. It lasted from the late 1830s through to the 1850s, providing an epoch instead of an instance of radicalism. This is not to take away from the lasting

[9] Malcolm Chase, 'What Did Chartism Petition For? Mass Petitions in the British Movement for Democracy', *Social Science History*, 43.3 (2019), 531–51; *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 8.

[10] In the longer term, points from the Charter were eventually passed into law, such as the Ballot Act of 1872 which allowed the casting of a secret ballot. However, this reform was not always received with acclaim. In his memoirs published in the same year, ex-Chartist Thomas Cooper wrote 'Of all the "Six Points" of the "People's Charter" there was but one I did not like: the Ballot. And I do not like it now'. Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), 136.

[11] James Epstein has explored the 'constitutional idiom' and the significance of symbols and rituals in radical culture from the late eighteenth century to Chartism in the nineteenth century. See James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[12] Robert Hall, 'Creating a People's History: Political Identity and History in Chartism, 1832-1848', in Owen Ashton, Robert Fyson, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (Suffolk: Merlin Press, 1999), 232-254.

[13] James Epstein, 'Some Organisational and Cultural Aspects of Chartist Movement in Nottingham', James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982), 221-68.

significance of earlier events such as the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, which left a profound legacy celebrated by the Chartists. Yet, this violence was momentary, whereas Chartism endured across three decades. During this time, regular commemorations of the illustrious dead took place under Chartism's banner, thus providing multiple anniversaries to examine. Second, the scale of Chartist activity was vast. Communities in towns and cities everywhere participated in its politics and 'movement culture'. This commemorative activity made Paine part of Chartism's politics in many towns and cities for over two decades. This unprecedented involvement in popular politics provides a much greater and more consistent output of commemoration to explore compared to earlier flashpoints of radicalism. This participation brings us onto the third, but no less crucial, element for selecting Chartism as a case study, the press coverage. Newspapers like the *Northern Star* consistently reported on and promoted remembrance of figures like Paine. As will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 4, newspapers, especially radical ones, tended to last only a few years, and in many cases, a few months. With regards to memory, this prevented some from ever getting the chance to report on Paine dinners. In contrast, the Chartist press sustained itself for a far longer duration. It is true that some of these newspapers like Henry Vincent's *Western Vindicator* only lasted a few months. The vanguard, however, was led by the *North Star*, which continued for fifteen until 1852. For contemporaries, this coverage included a running commentary on commemoration. For the historian, it provides a rich source material to draw from. More specifically to the aims of this thesis, the *Northern Star* provides a wider sample to analyse and more representations of the past to compare.

For these reasons, Paine is an excellent and deserving guide through Chartism's commemoration culture. His significance in the Chartist pantheon is notable for the level of cultural commemoration evidenced in the many regular anniversary dinner transcripts and republications of his work printed in the Chartist press. David Goodway labels Paine one of the 'unrivalled influences' in Chartism. In a sign that more can be said about the significance of the commemorative banquets, Goodway singles out the regular Paine dinners in the Metropolis, as well as the LDA as a 'Paineite club' (as seen earlier in the introduction) helping to build his standing in the minds of Chartists.[14] Conversely, Matthew Roberts observes Paine's deity like status amongst Chartists. More important to justifying a closer analysis of his memory, Roberts notes a tendency amongst scholars to focus discussions on Chartist remembrance around figures like Henry Hunt over Paine, an unfair and imbalanced perspective given the weight of commemorative material remembering the latter. To ignore

[14] David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 12, 23.

this disparity only helps to serve a 'master commemorative narrative'.[15] Once again, the dissonance between Chartists commemorating Paine's memory as seen in the rich source material and researchers overlooking this engagement becomes apparent. By exploring the cultural remembrances of Paine, and the representations this interaction produced, this thesis shifts away from the 'master commemorative narrative' to appreciate the stature of Paine in the Chartist pantheon and the attention Chartists paid to his memory.

By exploring this connection between Chartism and the past, this thesis makes three key arguments. The first of these has already been stated, that cultural memory formed part of Chartism's relationship with the past. Cultural memory is a form of 'collective memory' that groups share and recognise as part of their identity. It operates outside the more familiar types of individual memory and is instead embedded within rituals, objects, and gestures in order to transfer the past from one generation to the next. Whereas Chartist heroes like the radical publisher William Cobbett, or the illustrious Henry 'orator' Hunt, were equally celebrated, both men had died in 1835. When we speak of Paine's afterlife, we can identify Chartist anniversary dinners as a type of cultural memory with this illustrious radical as 'situation-transcendent'.[16] However, Paine did not simply pass Chartism by. Rather, he was equipped with its politics, remade, and deconstructed to fit its needs. As this thesis claims, there needs to be a greater allowance for memory's flexibility. Understanding such dynamics of memory enables this work to take a closer look at Chartism's relationship with the past. Whereas previous scholarship has explored rituals as a means of interaction, this thesis is more concerned with the reactions to memory, the distortions Chartists produced, and the applications they found. Key to understanding this engagement will be a look at the speeches and toasts recorded from commemorative events, for these were the dialogical instruments which produced representations of Paine's memory. By adapting these frameworks of memory studies to Chartism, we can better understand their relationship to the past they duly commemorated.

The second key argument centres on the role of newspapers. More specifically, how the press remediated Chartism's cultural memory practices. Remediation is an important aspect of identifying changes within cultural memory. Its application in this thesis not only helps bind frameworks of memory studies with Chartism, but it also highlights how the press transformed memory from a social occasion into a format that was shared amongst its readership networks. For example, speeches given at anniversary dinners appeared in the columns of newspapers. From this process, we can retrieve the representations given at

[15] Matthew Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration and the Cult of the Radical Hero* (Oxford: Routledge, 2019), xiii-xiv, see also Roberts chapter on Paine, 'The Chartists and Mister Thomas Paine', 105-29.
[16] Jan Assmann, 'Memory: Individual, Social, and Cultural', Astrid Erll and others, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 110-11. For a longer definition on cultural memory, see the Methodology section on page 22.

commemorative banquets and interpret the manner in which memory was customised. It is only possible to recover these representations of radical heroes like Paine due to the publishing and recording practices of Chartist newspapers like the *Northern Star*. Indeed, one can venture to say that this thesis, and many other Chartist studies, are possible because of the cultural memory provided by the Chartist press.[17]

The third key argument of this thesis centres around conflict. Like social engagement and remediation, conflict is an important aspect of memory. Locating contrasting representations helps to signal its fluidity. By looking at Chartist understandings of Paine, conflict quickly emerges, as seen with the example of the L.W.M.A. and the L.D.A.. Pursuing this concept reveals how multiple, that is to say, different, representations of Paine were produced through adherence to his memory in different towns and cities and over a long distance of time. Indeed, one group of Chartists at a commemorative dinner could produce an entirely different portrayal compared to another site practicing the same ritual. Such discussions are not unusual to memory, which is itself dialogical in nature.[18] Ultimately, the past exists to be deliberated in the present. This helps to expand the thinking around what Chartists made of radical memory and align their remembrance with the dynamics of memory. Although the existence of rituals allude to an engagement with the past, they themselves remain limited on what they tell us about how those participating in its performance interpreted memory. However, if these are viewed individually and the dialogical exchanges from a single instance analysed, then an infinite number of interpretations are exposed. As Mikhail Bakhtin's research has explored, social interactions generate utterances that respond to other utterances to produce an unending series of exchanges.[19] Applying this logic to Chartist commemoration we see this interaction with memory through a variety of speeches and toasts that reshaped the past. By taking the remnants of this commemoration together, this thesis will apply Louisa Passerini's understanding of memory as something constructed of multiple representations, or the 'layers of memory'. Indeed, this 'chain' as Passerini writes:

> 'is indeed a process of representations of representations where any step refers to or mirrors another one, and where the subject moves between as well as creating multiple layers of representations: the subject cannot

[17] Dorothy Thompon writes about the fragile printed record of Chartism, the somewhat patchy catalogue in the British Library, and how many 'newspapers, pamphlets, minute books and other records belonging to the chartists have long since been destroyed'. Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism* (London: Verso Books, 2015), 71.

[18] Duncan Bell has explored how dialogue allows groups to communicate their association or indifference to a particular memory. Duncan Bell, 'Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory', *Constellations*, 15.1 (2008), 148–66.

[19] M. M. Bakhtin and others, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 93.

> receive representations without creating new ones, in other words it cannot communicate without contributing to this multiplicity'[20]

Again, this concept is true of how Chartists eulogised their 'illustrious dead' at annual anniversaries. Undoubtedly, representations of Paine overlapped. Intersection was inevitable since Paine's memory was shared amongst a national collective of Chartists who commemorated his memory for over a decade. However, not all anniversary dinner transcripts were the same. Nor were reactions to the controversies of his legacies or his writings. The layers of Paine's memory which Chartists added to inevitably created gaps in how he was remembered. It is this natural element of memory. Indeed, this concept of conflict within memory will be extended to considering other forms of commemoration, the multitude of reactions to public memorials and the friction between Chartism's political rivals, the Whigs and Tories. Elites nurtured their own commemoration cultures and pantheons. Like the Chartists, memory helped to project their identity. Whilst commemorations could be jovial amongst kindred members of the same political group, they could quickly become adversarial. Partisan newspapers defended their pantheons and mocked rivals for melancholy expressions of remembrance. These experiences of a cultural memory, their transition into print, and the variation produced were all aspects of Chartists reconstructing the past. With these aims clearly set out, an analysis will now be given on what scholars have made of memory within Chartism.

[20] Luisa Passerini, 'Memories between silence and oblivion', Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 239.

Historiography

'Every art and science, however imperfectly known at first, has been studied, improved, and brought to what we call perfection by the progressive labours of succeeding generations'.[21] This opening line from Paine's *Dissertation on First Principles of Government* acknowledges the manner in which subjects develop over succeeding generations. This section will consider such ideas by exploring the place of memory within the historiographical debate on Chartism. The conception of the two together has gradually emerged, but only in more recent years. This study contributes a more forensic investigation into Chartist representations of memory to deliver a more methodical approach to understanding different Chartist interpretations of the past. In doing so, it provides a bridge between the cultural studies of Chartism and the methodologies of memory studies. One of the aims of this project, and the purpose of this literature review, is to show how Chartism's uses of memory are ripe for further investigation.

The literature on Chartism is wide and sprawling and the spectre of memory has not been absent from its historiography. However, it has been peripheral. This marginalisation seems odd when one considers the earliest histories of Chartism came from reminiscences in the form of memoirs and autobiographies. The ex-Chartist Robert Gammage provided the first history of the movement in 1854.[22] It appeared two years after the leading paper of Chartism, the *Northern Star*, had changed hands, and a year before its original owner and Chartist chieftain Feargus O'Connor died. Gammage set a trend with this work, and further autobiographies followed.[23] These reflections provide a valuable record of speeches delivered at meetings, as well as the character of speakers, and hint at the attitudes towards remembrance of men like Paine. Such biographies were published as whole volumes and also serialised in newspapers, as in the case of ex-Chartists like William Aitken.[24] This remediation of memory shows how Chartism itself had become part of a later 'paper pantheon', a repository into which the documentation of public commemorations was recorded in newspapers. Those who neglected to document their experiences were encouraged to carry out the task. In the biography of William Adams, he describes his frustration at the reluctance of prominent Chartists to 'write out […] recollections'. He refers to printers like James Watson and one of

[21] Paine, *Selected*, 503.
[22] Robert George Gammage, *The History of the Chartist Movement, from Its Commencement Down to the Present Time. Pt. I.*, (London: Holyoake,1854).
[23] Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872); Benjamin Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist: What He Knows, and the Part He Has Taken in Various Movements* (London: J. Nicholson, 1887).
[24] These memoirs appeared in the Liberal local press, the *Ashton News*, and the *Ashton Reporter* in 2 October 1869, Robert G. Hall, 'Chartism Remembered: William Aitken, Liberalism, and the Politics of Memory', *Journal of British Studies*, 38.4 (1999), 445–70.

the editors of the *Northern Star*, George Julian Harney, who failed to make anything of such 'exhortations', and 'So was lost a wealth of memorable reminiscences that can never now be chronicled'. Heeding his 'own medicine', Adams decided to put his life into print and provide such 'wealth of memory'.[25] All was not lost, however, as Watson was the subject of a biography by William Linton in 1879.[26] Nonetheless, the concern shown by Adams is a useful reminder of the fragility of living memory and signals the importance of securing its survival in the form of written narratives before it was gone. Securing this legacy is typical of biographic writing, as it puts in place a sense of truth, or at least a truth subjective to the reader.[27] This is the case with Gammage's autobiography. In the opening, Gammage explains how he intended to set a 'foundation' of 'truth' so that the historian may interrogate 'vices as well as virtues'.[28] According to Gammage, the movement's main vice was the demagogic leader O'Connor. The influence of this memory cast a long shadow over the reputation of O'Connor in the subsequent literature. It seems Paine, cast as a mean drunkard by his critics, was not the only radical who suffered a blackened reputation.[29] Even when memoir became 'stoic' history, this portrayal of O'Connor continued to appear in the studies of Chartism, such as G.D.H. Cole's *Chartist Portraits* (1941). Nearly a century later, Cole maintains this image. A look at the notes reveals Gammage was 'most extensively' drawn upon, and so it is no surprise the reader encounters the demagogic O'Connor.[30] It was not until the later work of biographers that this 'O'Connor mythology' was washed away.[31] However, from these earlier autobiographies the concentration on memory faded as Chartism moved from living recollection to a documented subject. It would not reappear in any significant fashion until the cultural turn at the end of the twentieth century.

Histories in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth century tried to place Chartism into different categories. First, Fabian histories 'drew on a tradition of liberal radicalism' and

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[25] William Edwin Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom* (London: Hutchinson & co., 1903), xvii.
[26] William James Linton, *James Watson: A Memoir* (London: Appledore Private Press, 1879).
[27] David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (Methuen, 1981), 4-5. See also Kelly Mays, 'Subjectivity, Community, and the nature of Truth-telling in two Chartist Autobiographies', in Owen Ashton, Robert Fyson, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (Suffolk: Merlin Press, 1999), 196-231.
[28] Gammage, *History*, 3-4; Gammage's work was again republished in 1894, after his death with alterations to the work. Confirming Adams's fear of losing memory and commencing the ongoing process of historicising Chartism.
[29] For a section on 'The Slanderers' of Paine see William James Linton, *The Life of Paine* (London: J.Watson, 1842), 44-5.
[30] George Douglas Howard Cole, *Chartist Portraits* (London: Cassell, 1989), 300-36; this classification of memory as emotional and history as 'stoic' is borrowed from, who also writes how popular histories begin with autobiographies, as was the case for Chartism, see Raphael Samuel Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), 8 -11.
[31] James Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832-1842* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2015); Paul A. Pickering, *Feargus O'Connor: A Political Life* (London: Merlin Press, 2008).

absorbed Chartism into a teleology of liberal progress.[32] John Richard Green's *A Short History of the English People,* first published in 1874, gives an overview of nineteenth-century politics but pays next to no attention to Chartism. Instead, he focuses on their middle-class political rivals, the Anti-Corn Law League (A.C.L.L.), 'free traders' who sought an end to the protectionist laws around importing grain.[33] Yet, class-based histories reshaped this discussion. Frederick Engels himself had commentated upon the poor living conditions in the industrialised north of England (though he himself was not active in Chartism), and his subsequent work recognised the social and political character of the 'Industrial Proletariat'.[34] Much later, works such as Asa Briggs's *Chartist Studies* (1959) provided a compendium of sophisticated essays investigating the localities of Chartism, and gave a cultural analysis that remains influential.[35] Whilst scholarly attention has subsequently moved more towards a more national focus, the local character of Chartism has not disappeared from scholarly view. Rather, the examination of the regional activity of Chartism is reflected in the aims of this thesis, to explore remembrance in different communities around Britain and piece together these localities through the commemorations carried out in towns and cities.

A few years after the work of Briggs, E. P. Thompson's seminal study on working-class lives took the bold step of rescuing the artisan and weaver from the 'condescension of posterity'.[36] Without placing too much upon this turn of Thompson's, it is interesting to reflect how such histories of the marginalised align with studies on the contested past.[37] Such a classification resonates with the spirit of Chartism in its attempts to produce an oppositional history against the master narratives laid down by elites. Thompson traces this history from Paine's time to the Great Reform Act of 1832 – just before the threshold of Chartism. He chooses this moment to end his study with the justification that a working-class mentality had fully formed. He explored the local dimensions of Chartism, but with an eye to emphasising the topic of class over a political agenda, and so arguing against tradition in favour of a new class consciousness.[38] However, whilst significant for rethinking earlier scholarship, historians

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[32] Mark Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011), 42.
[33] John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London: Macmillan, 1874).
[34] Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (London: Penguin Books, 2002); John Charlton, *The Chartists: The First National Workers' Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), 87-88.
[35] Asa Briggs, *Chartist Studies* (London: MacMillan St Martin's Press, 1974).
[36] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin UK, 2002), v.
[37] Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone explore the notion of 'truth' and what this means in constructing an historical record, how it can be a contest between authorities and an alternative marginalised view. Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, 'Introduction: Contested Pasts', in Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 23-8.
[38] Mark Bevir, 'Republicanism, Socialism, and Democracy in Britain: The Origins of the Radical Left', *Journal of Social History*, 34.2 (2000), 351–68.

later challenged the Marxist framework and this separation from the past.[39] The breakaway from such master narratives have allowed more sub-genres of thinking to emerge in the scholarship around language, ideology, and the culture of Chartism.

Two influential works shifting Chartism studies onto this new cycle came from the work of Dorothy Thompson in the 1970s and Gareth Stedman Jones.[40] The former helped to move interpretations of Chartism beyond a class-conscious determinism and set off a 'rethinking' within the scholarship. This included recognition of Chartism's political character as something refined and not spontaneous, shifting attention from the local to the national, and expanding the view of Chartism as belonging to a longer radical history.[41] As this thesis will explore, a national political culture that included commemorative celebrations was significant for maintaining Chartism and sustaining memory. Gareth Steadman Jones produced a significant departure from the Marxist interpretation with his work on the 'linguistic turn'. In this research, Jones drew away from the 'gravitational pull' of earlier economic perspectives to one that analyses and appreciates the political expression of Chartism's ideology.[42] The success of this rethinking within Chartist studies removed the earlier deterministic principles of class. Instead, it presented the complex rhetoric and ideology of Chartism as something that was 'coherent' with an earlier radicalism, 'Constructed and inscribed within a complex rhetoric of metaphorical association, causal inference, and imaginative construction'.[43] Other works followed Jones's lead into the linguistic and cultural history of Chartism. Patrick Joyce, whose work explores memory through the biographies of working men, is one such example breaking from the 'master category' of class, and advocated for a greater decentralising of the structure towards studying the past.[44] A greater incorporation of interdisciplinary approaches, such as the one provided by this thesis, contributes to this decentralising. However, mindful of Paine's quote that opened this literature review, Jones's linguistic turn eventually came under scrutiny. In her criticisms, Dorothy Thompson argued it has become polarised, with the 'rhetoric vocabulary

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[39] J. R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003), 403-4.

[40] Dorothy Thompson, *The Early Chartists*; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[41] Miles Taylor gives an excellent overview of Thompson's work and compares its developments with Stedman-Jones's, see Miles Taylor, 'Rethinking the Chartists: Searching for Synthesis in the Historiography of Chartism', *The Historical Journal*, 39.2 (1996), 482; see also James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982). Dorothy Thomspon, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Wildwood House, 1986).

[42] Gareth Stedman Jones *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 93-94, 102.

[43] *Ibid*, 102.

[44] Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

and semiotics of the movement' separated from Chartism's wider context.[45] The focus had become too magnified, and the meaning of what was said risked distracting from what was taking place. This distortion is an interesting observation with regards to memory. It echoes Alon Confino's guidance in approaching the study of collective memory.[46] First, context is necessary to ground memory and make sense of it, as are the wider elements of society (this is the second point to consider – the holistic). Finally, there is the reception of memory and how others received it. This is not to lessen the significance of the linguistic turn of Chartism. Indeed, it remains an important discussion to return to in the historiographical analysis. After all, this thesis advocates for a close textual analysis of what originated from commemoration, and in this pursuit of meaning reflects the principle of the linguistic turn. However, this is not to say that all the points covered in this study resonate with Jones. According to his linguistic interpretation of Paine and Cobbett – both hugely popular in the Chartist pantheon – these men had no relevance to the factory workers in places like Oldham. Their 'social visions' are deemed by Jones to be outdated. [47] To make this literal comparison fails to recognise the process of memory being recalibrated to remake the incompatible relevant in the present. In doing so, Jones fails to answer for the consistent cultural commemoration of both men in such towns by Chartists. This thesis gives attention to such activity, and so twists the linguistic turn towards the language of commemoration. Not only do commemorative dinners tell us much about Chartism's relationship with the past, how they invested their identity and politics into memory, but how discussions at meetings were multidirectional, unanchored by a set dialogue on the past, yet influenced by a shared lexicon inherited from previous generations of political radicals.

The studies that followed this rethinking continued to broaden discussion around Chartism's cultural rituals of memory. James Epstein explores this in great detail, drawing attention to radical traditions that allowed memory to transcend generations through the early nineteenth-century.[48] Whilst Epstein does not explicitly frame this as a study in memory, he does explain his intention to explore the significance of how political radicals contributed a 'production and reproduction' of the past. Epstein does much to explore the operation of Chartism's commemoration culture in the early nineteenth century.[49] Yet, there remains room

[45] Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism*, 16.
[46] Confino, Alon, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, 102.5 (1997), 1386-1403
[47] Jones *Languages of Class*, 56.
[48] James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). Edward Royle had also investigated these rituals in his earlier study on radical culture, that includes commemoration of Paine, see Edward Royle *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974); *Infidel Tradition From Paine to Bradlaugh*, (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1976).
[49] Epstein, *Radical Expression* , 179.

to explore the reproduction of memory by such radical groups in more depth. Exploring the different responses to Paine's memory in newspapers carries forward this investigation into ongoing recycling and 'reproduction' of radical memory. In doing so, this thesis pays closer attention to the outcomes of these rituals (referred to as representation in this work). It expands this analysis to different parts of the country to show how the reproduction of memory was committed on a national scale through the press.

In the 2000s, studies into the relationship between memory and Chartism continued to gain pace. 'The Chartist Studies Series' responded to history writing, profiles, and commemoration. Works by Paul Pickering and Owen Ashton investigated the memory of Chartism's more obscure figures in *Friends of the People*.[50] Similar to Cole's *Chartist Portraits*, they chose a series of six personalities to shed light on the 'big picture' of Chartism.[51] The application of this method to recover individual memory is an encouraging sign for this project's approach of sampling the Chartist press to recover representations from the Chartist pantheon. Paul Pickering continued this exploration into memory. Along with Alex Tyrell, they produced an edited collection that explores radical memory and memorials in the early nineteenth century. [52] This work helped address what Gordon Pentland describes as the 'lacuna' that has lingered over studies into British memory.[53] Pickering and Tyrell achieve this by directly applying concepts like 'collective memory' to British radicalism in this period.[54] The outcomes of this collection contributed a much-needed interdisciplinary analysis of memory, which they describe as a 'work-in-progress that will open up the study of oppositional commemoration in British popular politics'.[55] Pickering and Tyrell demonstrate a compatibility between memory theories and British radical histories; my study expands this approach by using cultural memory as a method for identifying instances of collective memory from the press. An analysis of these sentiments from a variety of individuals, Chartists, journalists, and elites, are compared to show how contrasting interpretations of the past were not contained to sites of memory, nor defined in a single instance, but rather remained part of a wider discursive field in the early Victorian press.

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[50] Owen R. Ashton and Paul A. Pickering, *Friends of the People: Uneasy Radicals in the Age of the Chartists* (London: Merlin, 2002). Other works in 'The Chartist Studies Series' include Owen Ashton, Robert Fyson, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (London: Merlin Press, 1999); Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton, *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press* (London: Merlin Press, 2005); Robert Hall, *Voices of the People: Democracy and Chartist Political Identity, 1830-1870* (London: Merlin, 2007).
[51] Ashton, '*Friends*', 149.
[52] Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004).
[53] G. Pentland, '"Betrayed by Infamous Spies"? The Commemoration of Scotland's "Radical War" of 1820', *Past & Present*, 201.1 (2008), 143.
[54] Pickering *Contested Sites*, 6.
[55] Ibid, p.14

Like Dorothy Thompson, Malcolm Chase's research has been an invaluable point of reference for this thesis and the wider field of Chartist studies. Chase's 2007 *Chartism: A New History* is the encyclopaedia of Chartist studies frequently quoted throughout this study.[56] This chronological account provides a concise yet detailed overview of Chartism and puts in place a foundation of context. Furthermore, his inclusion of 'Chartist lives', biographical segments at the end of each chapter, is a familiar return to sketching and rescuing from obscurity the lives of Chartists who were deeply involved in the cultural aspect of the movement. Chase's catalogue of research has included work on the language of the Chartist National Petitions (including historical references to an earlier radicalism)[57]; Paine's connections to Chartism;[58] and consideration of the legacies of Chartism.[59] This rich cultural exploration shows an awareness into the value remembrance contributed to Chartism, from commemorative rituals to the popularity of pocket almanacs, small texts that included the calendar of radical anniversaries. Both Chase's *The Chartists: Perspectives and Legacies* and Dorothy Thomspon's *The Dignity of Chartism* give attention to the significance of Chartism's cultural value and the fortitude that was drawn from it.[60] The exploration of commemoration, with its social gatherings and sense of duty in remembering its heroes, likewise recovers the sense of pride Chartists had in their identity.

Perhaps the biggest stride in exploring Chartist memory has been the movement in the debate towards selectively reconstructing the past. Starting with Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid, their work explores the legacy of Chartism in the later nineteenth century. [61] This study put forward the argument of antecedents, the flow of ideas from one period of radicalism to the next. The work was important for considering where Chartism transitioned to in the later nineteenth century.[62] However, later research has challenged the 'imprisonment' of Chartist memory in this school of thought. Returning to 'The Chartist Studies Series', Robert Hall has drawn attention to the 'selective nature of memory' and argues that such treatment in

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[56] Chase, *Chartism*.

[57] Malcolm Chase, 'What Did Chartism Petition For? Mass Petitions in the British Movement for Democracy', *Social Science History*, 43.3 (2019), 531–51.

[58] Malcolm Chase, '"The Real Rights of Man" : Thomas Spence, Paine and Chartism', *Miranda*, 13, 2016.

[59] Malcolm Chase, *The Chartists: Perspectives & Legacies* (London: Merlin Press, 2015). This work also forms part of 'The Chartist Studies Series'.

[60] *Ibid*, Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism*.

[61] Eugenio F. Biagini, Alastair J. Reid, and Biagini Eugenio F, *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[62] Miles Taylor, Rethinking the Chartists: Searching for Synthesis in the Historiography of Chartism', *The Historical Journal*, 39.2 (1996), 479–95.

reconstructing the past cannot be overlooked without losing nuance.[63] He illustrates this point with ex-Chartist William Aitken's process of writing his memoirs, building it around a liberal identity and choosing to focus on certain areas whilst ignoring other aspects of his life. Hall draws away from antecedents as the mode of interpreting Chartism's relationship with the past. His re-evaluation opens the discussion for a deeper analysis into the motivations behind Chartist remembrance. We start to ask why the memory took a particular shape, rather than have this question answered for us by a predetermined flow of radical ideas.

Interpreting Chartists as free to selectively rebuild their past persisted into further scholarly discussions around commemoration. Most notably, Roberts's research has energised this logic. He convincingly presents the argument that Chartists selectively reconstructed their understanding of the past through the production of an alternative radical history and accompanying canon.[64] For this reason, Roberts's work has been an invaluable foundation to this research project. He does much to identify who was commemorated, how this interaction with memory was achieved, and thereby providing an important study in Chartist memory. This thesis builds upon this earlier work through its application of memory theory to ask what this remembrance produced, and to deliver a more methodical analysis of these engagements with memory. In a sign of the growth of this discussion, other studies have started to broach this subject. For instance, Steve Poole expands the ideas of Pickering's 'oppositional commemoration' by recognising the emotional aspect of memory, along with its flexibility to have multiple interpretations.[65] Poole explores the disagreements that occurred amongst nineteenth-century radicals commemorating esteemed heroes, such as the leadership of the London Corresponding Society (L.C.S.), Thomas Hardy and John Thelwall. Most important to this thesis, this appreciation for memory's complexity widens the conversation on radical readings of the past to include dissonance and the fluid way the past is remembered. Despite being published a decade after Pickering and Tyrell, Poole echoes their call for further analysis into radical memory, describing such studies as 'welcome attention'.[66] In the same year Poole's work appeared, Sam Edward and Marcus Morris published an investigation into the legacy of Thomas Paine. It traces his long memory, with contributions from Roberts, and discusses the controversies of Paine's memory, including the

[63] Robert Hall, *Voices of the People: Democracy and Chartist Political Identity, 1830-1870*, (London: Merlin, 2007), 142-3.
[64] Matthew Roberts, 'Chartism, Commemoration, and the Cult of the Radical Hero', *Labour History Review*, 78.1 (2013), 3–32; *Chartism, Commemoration and the Cult of the Radical Hero* (Oxford: Routledge, 2019).
[65] Steve Poole, 'The Politics of "Protest Heritage", 1790-1850', in C. J. Griffin and B. McDonagh (eds.), *Remembering Protest in Britain since 1500 Memory, Materiality, and the Landscape* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 187-214.
[66] *Ibid*, 189.

difficulties of getting a statue of him long after his death.[67] It reveals an interesting mixture between loyalty to his legacy and a willingness to forget his principles. These different reactions to his memory signal the fluidity of his reputation. As this study shows, this difference should not be overlooked, but rather, the conflicting portrayals should be studied.

So far this literature review has considered the place of memory within Chartist studies. Before proceeding onto the methodology employed in this thesis, it is worth reflecting on the place of labour histories like Chartism within the scholarship of memory studies, or rather the lack thereof. The field has grown at a rapid pace, with a *Memory Studies Journal* founded in 2008 and a *Memory Studies Association* arriving in 2017. Whilst these resources have been filled with important research on topics from different cultures around the globe, including nations and regimes that no longer exist in the modern world[68], there has been a greater tendency to chronicle more traumatic histories, such as legacies of colonialism, slavery, war, and the Holocaust.[69] However, there is little in the way of considering how these same frameworks could apply to Chartism. There is, perhaps, an argument to be made that the industrialisation of Britain contributes to this large corpus on traumatic memories. Many Chartist memoirs recall terrible working conditions and a dearth of nourishment. However, implying a requisite for distress to study a topic of memory is a poor precedent. As the case study on Paine in Chapter 5 will show, remembrance of such figures was multilayered, and elicited different emotional reactions of joy, frustration, hope, and even instances of nostalgia. Looking back on the past provided a fortitude to Chartism by remembering Paine for his endurance, veneration of his intellect, admiration at his international achievements, and division over his political visions. By taking stock of how this past was remembered, this thesis contributes to an under researched topic in memory studies. Moreover, it connects this history to new and emerging discussions within the scholarly debate, such as 'memory activism'. This 'sub-field' of the 'activist turn' was published in 2023 and explores how the past is mobilised by groups to challenge authorities.[70] The chapters of this thesis explore such material through discussions on Chartism's culture of commemoration challenging the anti-radical narratives of

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[67] S. Edwards and M. Morris (eds.), *The Legacy of Thomas Paine in the Transatlantic World* (Oxon: Routledge, 2018).

[68] The corpus of material here is too large to recount. Some examples that have provided ample research in memory studies include the legacy of the Soviet Union, Nanci Adler, 'Reconciliation with – or Rehabilitation of – the Soviet Past?', *Memory Studies*, 5.3 (2012), 327–38; and the German Democratic Republic, see Anna von der Goltz, 'Making Sense of East Germany's 1968: Multiple Trajectories and Contrasting Memories', *Memory Studies*, 6.1 (2013), 53–69.

[69] A few examples of this large corpus include Robert G. Moeller, 'War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany', The American Historical Review, 101.4 (1996), 1008–48; Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Caroline Elkins, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* (London: Random House, 2022).

[70] Yifat Gutman and Jenny Wüstenberg, *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism* (London: Routledge, 2023).

elites in the public realm. More widely, it explores how memory was used by Chartists as part of their protest pressing for political change in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Other studies exploring the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for forgotten legacies have proven fruitful and revealed intriguing results. Tom Devine's study into Scotland's involvement in the slave trade is an excellent example. By taking the concept of 'collective amnesia' he has recovered Scotland's links to a slave owning past and convincingly challenged the earlier 'popular amnesia'.[71] Devine's study demonstrates the significance of reinvestigating the memory of past legacies to provide important commentaries on our society in the present.[72] Similarly, it shows the great potential that memory studies has in opening the scholarly debate on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[73] By exploring conflict within memory, this project has equally found important lessons from Chartist commemoration, and how a shared sense of the past can both ease and add to tension within society. For the most part, this assessment on the impact of an individual's legacy has been a task left to the biographer.[74] Although there has been a tendency to focus too narrowly on the role of individuals, these studies confirm the elastic potential of memory to elucidate the linkage between a collective spirit of radical personalities and later periods of popular radicalism. Studies into the rituals and materials of memory from early nineteenth-century radicalism show the existence of this culture of remembrance, but one that was divided between those following a mainstream elite commemoration and radicals supporting an oppositional one. Studies that have explored this abundance of commemoration have produced interesting social and cultural research from even the smallest fragments of memory. Ruth Mather has investigated the material culture of late Georgian Britain in the domestic space.[75] Chase and Roberts have

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[71] T. M. Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

[72] Universities such as Glasgow and Cambridge are two examples of institutions exploring a darker heritage, see https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/23/glasgow-university-slave-trade-reparations; https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/apr/30/cambridge-university-study-how-it-profited-colonial-slavery; accessed 17/01/2020; Cambridge responds to legacies of enslavement inquiry; accessed 15/11/2023.

[73] Already Alan Forrest has explored the legends of the French 'nation-in-arms' at the time of the Revolutionary wars. See Alan Forrest, 'Introduction: The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars', in A. Forrest, *The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[74] These include Marianne Elliot, *Robert Emmet The Making of a Legend* (London: Profile Books, 2004); Murray Armstrong, *The Liberty Tree: The Stirring Story of Thomas Muir and Scotland's First Fight for Democracy* (Edinburgh; World Power Books, 2014); Gerald Carruthers and Don Martin (eds), *Thomas Muir of Huntershill: Essays for the Twenty First Century* (Edinburgh: Humming Earth, 2016); Amanda Goodrich, 'Radical 'Citizens of the World', 1790-95: The Early Career of Henry Redhead Yorke', *The Journal of British Studies* 53:3 (2014), 611-35; Emma Macleod has also produced an excellent summary of the scholarship exploring the politics of the 1790s that has emerged since the 1980s, Emma Macleod, 'British Attitude to the French Revolution', *The Historical Journal* 50:3 (2007), 689-709.

[75] Ruth Mather, 'Remembering Protest in the Late-Georgian Working-Class Home', in Carl J. Griffin and Briony McDonagh, *Remembering Protest in Britain Since 1500: Memory, Materiality and the Landscape* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), 135-158.

explored how the Chartist press helped to furnish these spaces with 'material reminders' by frequently offering portraits of radical heroes. Equally, Chartists named their children after radicals, baptisms that went recoded in the *Northern Star*'s 'Young Patriots' segment.[76] They celebrated the anniversaries (in lieu of jubilees) of the radical heroes, inscribed banners with their maxims, and donned caps of liberty.[77] This was, after all, the period of fame culture.[78] This analysis shows the huge potential for memory studies to be applied to a subject like Chartism, which was bursting with commemoration and a means to record it. In this thesis these two subjects are brought together using the theoretical framework of cultural memory to explore this rich catalogue of remembrance in the Chartist press. To this apparatus and the methods of this project attention will now turn.

[76] Chase, Chartism, 145. For other examples of this ritual, see *Northern Star*, 16 January 1841, 5. One example in this extract was Mary Grassby of Hull, who had her son christened 'Feargus Roger O'Connor Grassby, after the brave champion of the people's rights, and his most illustrious and immortal father'.
[77] Mark Nixon, Gordon Pentland, and Matthew Roberts, 'The Material Culture of Scottish Reform Politics, c.1820-c.1884', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32.1 (2012), 28–49.
[78] Simon James Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions: Popular Politicians in the Age of Reform, 1810–67*, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

Methodology

The project presented here examines the memory of Paine in an interdisciplinary fashion. It will take frameworks from memory studies (cultural memory, collective memory, the layers of memory, etc.) and apply them to a catalogue of commemoration recorded in the Chartist press. One of the questions this thesis has grappled with is whether it is a memory studies project that makes a case study out of Chartism or a Chartist studies examination of memory. Ultimately, the work claims to be both. The former allows a method of interpretation, yet, without the latter, there is insufficient context to inform understanding. It therefore presents itself to the reader as a balanced interdisciplinary study of Chartist memory. Cultural memory offers the most promising apparatus to help disentangle the complex layers behind Chartist commemoration of its illustrious dead. It allows the study of remembrance through cultural texts and rituals, artefacts and practices that were embedded with memory and used by Chartists. This section will begin with a look at this concept in greater detail. An examination will then briefly be given to the earlier influences of collective memory and its development to reveal the interesting relationship memory studies shares with the history of industrialisation. Attention will then turn towards how methods of sampling and keyword searches were adopted to extract the multiple representations of radical memory from Chartism's paper pantheon.

Throughout this thesis, Chartist commemoration in the early Victorian period has been viewed through the structures of cultural memory. This concept has been attributed to Jan Assmann who developed this theory in the mid-1990s. Assmann defines cultural memory as something that is far more focused upon the means and mediums of commemoration compared to monitoring living memory and its sustainability amongst social interactions. As he writes:

> 'memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance)'[79]

Refining Assmann's definition further, cultural memory uses 'festivals, rites, epics, poems, [and] images' to commemorate the past.[80] These 'islands of time' were all components of Chartist remembrance of Paine, with anniversary dinners, republications of his works, poems, and conversations around monuments at a time of 'statuemania' all contributing to a cultural memory. To this definition we can add audience engagement with the past. As Geoff Cubitt writes, memory alone cannot survive in texts. Instead, there needs to be an active participation

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[79] Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65, 1995, 128–29.
[80] *Ibid*.

with this past through 'repetition and reproduction'.[81] This emphasis reminds us of the importance of the reactions to memory from an identifiable audience responding to remembrance. As we shall see, Chartists were keen to commemorate an illustrious dead in opposition to elites. Equally, its press responded to these interests and provided the reproductions of memory. The exploration of Paine's 'islands of time' in the Chartist press offers a means of locating Chartist engagement with his memory. A close textual analysis of this coverage reveals a variety of responses to this memory, as well as different motivations for evoking Paine.

Whilst memory studies provides frameworks in the present for understanding historical subjects like Chartism, the origin of the discipline itself presents some interesting parallels.[82] At the time of writing, one of the most influential studies in memory – Maurice Halbwachs's 1925 *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* – will shortly celebrate its centenary. The work is a frequent reference point in most studies on social memory.[5] It set out the idea of collective memory, the understanding that memories are formed through social interaction and a shared identity. Unlike individual memories, which die alongside an individual, collective memories endure.[83] Halbwachs's concept of collective memory was developed from Emile Durkheim's earlier research on industrialisation within French communities in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He centres his study around the "cult of the individual" who he claimed had been reduced for the sake of rapid industrialisation. He argued how the self's sense of tradition was being sacrificed in favour of specialising work routines to maximise industrial output. The result was to leave the individual diminished and isolated. In the race for efficiency, Durkheim believed in the importance of individuals to be shaped not by work, but the rituals of society. To make this point, he referred back to 'the values that inspired the French Revolution, which were concerned with the dignity and worth of "man"'.[84] Without wishing to transgress upon Durkheim's work, one could even suggest a lineage to the Paine's concept of the 'rights of man', and a desire to see these restored. The examination of commemoration rituals in this thesis and how they gave Chartists a means for protesting the overproduction of industrialisation is an intriguing echo of this earlier lineage within memory studies. It seems appropriate that this thesis takes as its subject those who themselves felt their rights infringed upon by the phenomenon of industrialisation and used rituals of memory to restore their sense of identity. Indeed, the crux of Halbwachs's work explores how forms of remembrance arise

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[81] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory*, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
[82] Yifat Gutman and *et al*, *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism* (Oxford: Routledge, 2023), 1.
[83] For a brief overview of this work see Jean-Christophe Marcel and Laurent Mucchielli, 'Maurice Halbwachs's mémoire collective', in Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and others, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 141-150.
[84] Kenneth Thompson, *Emile Durkheim* (London: Routledge, 2002), 36.

from communities of individuals who share a certain styled projection of the past.[85] We see these kinds of engagements when considering how Chartists identified with a shared heritage of radicalism, of which, Paine was a big contributor. The reading of his political writings, the annual celebration of his birthday anniversary with dinners are all examples of this collective memory.

Memory scholars and historians alike have continued to apply collective memory to their work. For instance, both Pickering and Roberts have incorporated Halbwachs's concept of collective memory into their research. Pickering refers to this with regards to memorials, stating Halbwachs has 'a special importance for the historian of public monuments', a view this thesis has expanded upon by looking at more intangible collective commemoration, such as birthday anniversary dinners and republications of radical writings. Likewise, Roberts describes Halbwachs's collective memory as a 'useful heuristic tool for conceptualising the different ways in which Chartists engage with the past'.[86] Undoubtedly, his influence and the collective memory remain influential to investigating the past. This thesis maintains that tradition. However, as Fulbrook rightfully reminds us, collective memory is not harmonious in its composition. Significant to one of the three key contributions of this thesis, Fulbrook defines collective memory as 'conflict oriented' between different 'remembering agent[s]'.[87] Applying these considerations to Chartism's relationship with the past allows a greater understanding of how multiple interpretations of memory were shared amongst Chartist communities.

By dealing with the multiple reactions to memory we see how icons like Paine were customised through dialogical exchanges. Throughout this thesis, newspaper transcripts around commemoration are extensively explored to show the different representations of Paine that arose from Chartist events. Anthony Wood has applied a similar approach to deciphering the collective memory of agricultural labourers in early modern England.[88] Whereas rituals are constantly rehearsed, customs, writes Woods, are not 'paradigmatic'; rather they contribute a 'discursive field' and are malleable.[89] Therefore, whilst the radical calendar of anniversaries was a set point celebrated throughout the Chartist period, the experiences at anniversary dinners varied. Equally, this point applies to other reactions to commemoration. For instance, the mixed reactions to memorials in the public sphere that were received with joviality and cynicism in the press. Newspapers helped to expand this discursive

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[85] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020). Incidentally, Halbwachs includes a section on 'Dreams and Memory Images', a conceptualisation reflective of Paine's remarks on memory. This symmetry is entirely coincidental, but an intriguing mirroring on how engagement with the past has been considered, see pages 41-2.
[86] Pickering, *Contested Sites*, 6; Roberts, *Chartism: Commemoration*, 63-5.
[87] Fulbrook, 'History Writing', 67, 77.
[88] Andrew Wood, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[89] *Ibid*, 13-15.

field on memory beyond mnemonic rituals. Continuing with Woods's argument, he convincingly makes the point that engagement with memory is customisable. This follows the argument set out by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger on 'invented traditions', that customs are customisable.[90] Alone, this theory implies that no two dinners could be the same, and an exploration of the transcripts shows this to be the case. This discussion helps to bring out the conflict within memory. Barbara Misztal's study of collective memory in democratic movements rejects Halbwachs's claim that only by severing tradition can we create new ones.[91] Instead, she argues, memory is always being remade. Whilst it might seem contradictory to its name, collective memory should be thought of as pockets of memory coexistent with one another. When one considers the layout of Chartism, it was a patchwork of communities connected through an identity via the press. Cultural practices remembering Paine and others took place within localities, and it is through these geographical boundaries that the *Northern Star* recorded such activities (though traveling spokesmen still went between these regions). Comparing the reports reveals the conflict and with it, the layers of Paine's memory.

Textual analysis of newspapers is therefore at the centre of this investigation into Chartist memory. The reminiscences of Paine and other radicals explored here have largely been taken from online databases, primarily the *British Newspaper Archive* and its predecessor, the *British Library Newspapers*, *1800-1900*. Digital copies of the *Northern Star*, *The Charter*, *Chartist Circular*, *Northern Liberator,* and many others have been examined through these online depositories.[92] Hardcopies of newspapers not included on these platforms, such as the *Western Vindicator* and *English Chartist Circular*, have also been studied. However, the opportunities afforded by these new technologies do not immediately present the user with the answers required. Newspaper collections like the *B.N.A.* confront the researcher with the issue of quantity. In *Hard Times*, Charles Dickens aptly described the output of newspapers as 'the howling ocean of tabular statements'.[93] More recently, Patrick Leary has put it as the 'vast *terra incognita* of print'.[94] Methods of sampling and keyword search analysis has helped to locate the remnants of memory from such a vast howling ocean. By collecting together a series of results using the inbuilt Optical Character Recognition functions of online archives, the exploration of this print became a more navigable stream of research. Again, this is not a simple fix to the problem. In this research project, keyword searches have

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[90] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-14.
[91] Barbara A. Misztal, 'Memory and Democracy', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 48.10 (2005), 1329.
[92] Digital arms became even more crucial to this project with the closures brought on by COVID-19 lockdowns during the early 2020s.
[93] Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (London: Penguin UK, 2012), 57.
[94] Patrick Leary, 'Victorian Studies in the Digital Age' Miles Taylor and Michael Wolff, *The Victorians Since 1901: Histories, Representations and Revisions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 206; incidentally, Leary's work alos applies this method to Victorian print culture.

been employed, and a working glossary has been developed to extract the fragments of radical memory buried in the pages of the Chartist press. Phrases other than names like 'Thomas Paine', or just 'Paine', used in this research include 'birthday', 'dinner', and 'anniversary'. At times, they are indicative of the commemorative culture of this period, with words like 'illustrious' and 'sentiments' also yielding results and helping to recover even the most obscure or minute acts of remembering Paine.[95] Locating anniversaries was also made all the easier through inbuilt filters, such as sifting by publication title, the year, and, in subsets, the month, week, and day. Considering anniversaries are paradigmatic, this made the process of locating anniversary dinner transcripts all the easier. In the case of Paine, reports of dinners were published either in late January or in early February. This method of data analysis has not examined all the representations of Paine's memory. Indeed, not all of the Chartist press has survived. Rather, this thesis has considered much of the collection that remains.

The act of gathering this data shows how the Chartist press itself has been remediated. As the research experience of this thesis has shown, readers of the *Northern Star* can now peruse the periodical through clicks, 'favourite' pages to return to at any time, and set the page size to fit the entirety of their screen. From its original design to be read aloud to a room of people, this media has now been refashioned into a digital viewing experience, usually carried out on a personal computer in silence. It is not the first study to implement such digital methodologies to Chartism. Leary makes this point on new technologies changing, or 'mediating' to use his phrase, the interactions between the 'textual legacy' of the Victorian period and digital research. Even this engagement has been transformed. We have gone from 'Googling the Victorians' to 'Tweeting the Victorians'.[96] With regards to Chartism, Chase has documented the various websites and their collections where 'Chartists are electronically immortalised'. [97] This change has taken the core documents, such as founding of the L.D.A. and the Charter, from resource books to whole websites sharing this material.[98] It is entirely in keeping with Chartism's democratic character and sense of self-improvement that it's archives should be accessible online. This digital exploration has not been limited to the political

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[95] Bob Nicholson, 'The Digital Turn: Exploring the Methodological Possibilities of Digital Newspaper Archives', *Media History*, 19.1 (2013), 59–73.

[96] Patrick Leary, 'Googling the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10.1 (2005), 72–86; Bob Nicholson, 'Tweeting the Victorians', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.2 (2015), 254–60. Yet, even during this PhD, the shifting landscape of social media has again changed. In July 2023 Elon Musk rebranded Twitter to 'X'.

[97] Malcolm Chase, 'Digital Chartists: Online Resources for the Study of Chartism', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 14.2 (2009), 294–301; As Malcolm Chase has pointed out, Chartism itself has a tangential genealogy through the author of its second petition (Robert Kemp Philp), a personality whose cataloguing and dissemination of information inspired the internet's inventor Sir Tim Berners-Lee. The above quote from Chase is with regards to the website www.chartistancestors.co.uk.

[98] Two example of these books are Dorothy Thompson, *The Early Chartists* (New York: Springer, 1971); and Patricia Hollis, *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth-Century England, 1815-1850. Ed. by P. Hollis* (Oxford: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

aspects of Chartism. Important to the research of this thesis, there have been steps towards recovering the cultural elements too. Already, Katrina Navickas and Adam Crymble have shown what the combination of data processed through Geographical Information Systems (G.I.S.) can reveal about the *Northern Star*'s 'Chartist Intelligence' sections. The fruits of this labour have produced a map plotted with the gatherings of Chartists nationwide.[99] Whilst not providing a digital plan, the analysis of newspaper transcripts provides its own patchwork of Chartist memories using similar text-mining methods to drop in and out of local Chartist meetings. This approach allows the path between commemoration and remediation into newsprint to be retraced, the dialogue reviewed, and compared with other occurrences of remembrance.

By adopting this comparative approach, the research provided is a much more systematic review of the digital archive. It makes use of the advances made from digitalisation to search the original printed single issue and bound volumes of newspapers to locate acts of remembrance. As with the ease of recalling memory, the archive and its contents has become more accessible to the researcher. James Mussell has related these advances to the nineteenth century newspaper archive. He explains how in the last few decades, the digitalisation of newspapers has transformed engagement with this source material from foreboding bound compendiums (encountered as part of the research for this thesis), to a remade digital system unlocked through keyword searches and filtering results.[100] Perhaps this earlier inaccessibility of newspapers contributed to the lack of research comparing what Chartists said about radical memory. Roberts's own research on the radical tradition suggests this to be the case. He advocates the advantages of digitalisation as a tool for drawing commemoration into focus, whereas previously such 'research questions would have been answered impressionistically in the analogue era [but] can now be approached much more systematically'.[101] With its greater focus on comparing Chartist sentiments on radical memory, this thesis utilises the digital approach much more rigorously to give a fuller picture on how Chartist memory functioned and what was said about radicals like Paine. Conversely, incorporating interdisciplinary aspects of memory theory to determine what was said by Chartists demands such a systematic method. This approach fulfils the call by Mussell's 'to interrogate the resources that present [newspapers] in digital form', that is to say, the digital archive itself.[102] By independently reviewing representations of Paine, and considering

[99] *Ibid*, 243.
[100] J. Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age* (Basingstoke: Springer, 2012), 1. The front cover for this book is a clipping from a newspaper reporting the 'Monument to the Memory of Henry Hunt' from 20th August 1842, a rare example of a monument erected by Chartists covered in Chapter 3.
[101] Matthew Roberts, 'Essay in Review: Labouring in the Digital Archive', *Labour History Review*, 78.1 (2013), 114-5.
[102] Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century*, 5.

expressions of remembrance through different forms of cultural memory, the methodology employed avoids the pitfall of digitalisation, as it recognises that the digital version of the newspaper being scrutinised is not an exact copy of the original archival document. Rather, this remediated version is not without its problems. Automated transcripts scanned from the original newspapers can appear with incorrect letters, symbols, or fail to register characters entirely. These blemishes have been accounted for. Each of the newspapers examined in this thesis have been closely read by looking at the digital images rather than relying on automated transcripts. Despite these issues, the findings from the digital archive nevertheless provide an effective means of recovering Chartism's commemoration culture like never before. By extracting this data, the results have been cross compared to show contrasts as well as consistencies in how the illustrious dead were represented at various commemorative events. The 'analogue research' of hardcopies from in person visits to archives has been conducted (for instance, the English Chartist Circular in Chapter 5 has provided ample evidence of Chartists engaging with a radical past). However, the method of focusing efforts through online newspaper archives has proven far more effective in delivering fragments of memory to scrutinise. This thesis heeds the lessons from scholars like Roberts and Mussell whilst extending the research practices implemented.

Chapter Outlines

This thesis is broadly set out into three sections. The first deals with the means of producing cultural memory during the early Victorian period, the second is concerned with memory's transference into print, and the third explores the multiplicity of memory. Each section builds upon the last to deliver an investigation into what was made from Chartism's efforts to sustain a culture of commemoration for over a decade. With the wider parameters of this thesis defined a guide on the chapter structure navigating the pathways of this study will follow.

Whereas other chapters in this thesis explore the relationship with the past, Chapter 1 is very much rooted in the present. That is to say, the Chartist period. It opens with Victoria's Coronation in June 1838. The purpose of this focus is to set a contextual foundation for the rest of the thesis. It will explore the political identity of three competing political cultures. These are the Chartists, and the ruling political parties the Whigs and the Tories. Each of these rival factions contested commemoration and attempted to portray their pantheon as superior. Before delving into this use of the past, Chapter 1 will examine the interactions between these three groups in the formative years of Chartism in the 1830s and throughout the Chartist period. Though Chartists sought to challenge these social elites, they had different interactions with them. This contextual analysis will establish a sense of competition and political tension between these groups. In doing so, it will set up further discussion on how these three groups projected their identity onto the past.

The next two Chapters (2, and 3) will follow on from this discussion. Chapter 2 will look at how partisan commemoration assigned political ideology onto sites of memory. This will provide the first forays of this thesis into looking at how meaning was applied onto the past by political groups. In a study on 'agonistic memory', Duncan Bell discusses the need for inclusive memory (multiplicity) to allow a more stable society to succeed.[103] However, this type of inclusion was distinctly lacking from the political cultures of the early Victorian period. To highlight the competing claims between Chartists and elites, two case studies are explored. The first is the national memorial to Nelson, completed in 1843, a year after Chartism's second National Petition and five years before the third one in 1848. Attitudes towards this monument ranged from adoration to contempt. It also became highly politicised, with class identity drawn into the conversation that later materialised as a physical confrontation between the state and Chartists in 1848. The second case study will examine the waxwork pantheon of Madame Tussauds. This included a mixture of well-known elites (including royalty) and radical

[103] Duncan Bell, 'Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory', *Constellations*, 15.1 (2008), 148 – 66.

likenesses filling its halls. Adjoining this grand hall of recreated personalities was a second room into which the traumatic memory of the French Revolution was placed. Exploring this compartmentalisation of memory provides interesting conversations around how it was reproduced and subsequently made part of the political discourse in the press. In both examples, we see Chartist attitudes contrast with the elites. Yet, even these reactions were not final but rather fluid. Interpretations were later reversed and contradicted, only for the original standpoint to be returned through political triggers. This chapter will argue how, overall, the power of political identity intruded on these places of commemoration and overwhelmed the possibility for neutral personalities and sites of commemoration.

Having explored how political identity was inscribed onto public sites of memory, Chapter 3 will take a more inward look at these political cultures. It will examine how political groups used components of cultural memory within their competing commemoration cultures. It will analyse how books were produced as part of selective histories, with canons put in place to instruct communities of these various factions on how to view the past. This printed pantheon will then revolve to looking at stone memorials. This introduces the phenomenon of 'statuemania' taking place in the 1840s. Each political group considered these to be a means of projecting identity over the landscape. However, not all were successful at these ambitious projects of commemoration. In the case of Chartists, there was dissenting opinions over the need for statues. This conversation helps to show the fluidity of commemoration within Chartism, and the openness of the heritage discourse. It also shows the preference of commemorative dinners as the main mode of remembrance. For this reason, this analysis will be conducted in much greater depth. It will extract this ritual from the wealth of commemorative acts to show it was the most practical means for a working-class movement to remember an 'illustrious dead'. It will start broadly with a look at the use of dinners by Whigs and Tories, for it was from these elites that Chartists appropriated their choice of commemorative ritual. Examples of dinners used to commemorate various calendars of anniversaries will show how the same ritual produced different meanings. Added to this analysis will be a look at the reactions of these performances by political rivals. It will show how Chartists and Tories mocked Whig dinners of commemoration, only to have the tables turned and the same treatment given when Chartist and Tories came to celebrate their anniversary dinners. The final section will explore mechanics of these dinners, such as where they took place, their cost and logistical arrangements, and finally, a look at the rituals used to orchestrate them, such as toasting and speech making. The last of these rituals will be examined with greater attention, as it was through these dialogical practices that meaning was placed onto memory. Again, this will hint towards the multiplicity that these evenings of remembrance produced.

With these political relationships explored along with their interactions with memory, attention will turn to newspapers and memory.

Chapter 4 will follow on from the previous discussions on commemoration culture and look at the role of the press as a 'paper pantheon'. Whilst cultural memory appeared in the form of books, statues, and rituals, and each political faction practiced them to varying degrees of success, much of this remembrance was documented in the press. By acknowledging this process of recording commemoration, this Chapter draws upon cultural memory theories of remediation, the refashioning of formats from one to another, or in this case, a sociable commemorative dinner into a printed transcript. To open this discussion into the context of the press is a look at the changes that took place over the governance of the media before Chartism. In 1836 new legislation eased restrictions on newspapers, a change that Chartism's paper pantheon was able to benefit from. This exploration will include a look into the earlier 'unstamped press', and how those like Henry Hetherington provided a radical culture memory in publications like the *Poor Man's Guardian* before participating in the press of Chartism. Building from this introduction will be a look at several Chartist newspapers. The purpose of this analysis will be to understand the different relationships these newspapers had with the past and what they offered readers in terms of remediated cultural memory. In preparation for the case study in the following chapter (5), this analysis will be focused around the kinds of interactions these newspapers provided with Paine's memory. This analysis will then examine the foremost popular Chartist publication, the *Northern Star*. A greater deconstruction of this pantheon will reveal this newspaper's ability to capture local remembrance of Paine. Within this content are the many speeches and toasts, dialogical reconstructions that when compared reveal the multiplicity of his memory. With this foundation of the paper pantheon, the thesis will turn to the final section, a case study into the layers of memory that coalesced around Paine.

Chapter 5 is split into three parts. The study will begin with a biographical exploration of Paine and his most famous works. Attention will then turn to an examination of the pre-Chartist memory of Paine in the early 1820s. These earlier layers of memory make for an interesting comparison with later Chartist ones. First, there appears to be more disagreement and fluidity. Second, aspects of living memory from men like Thomas Clio Rickman, a friend of Paine's, was lost before the advent of Chartism. The next segment is thematically led in its analysis of Chartist layers of remembrance. The first of these is religion, the trickiest aspect of Paine's legacy. It will discuss how Chartists approached this matter and the contradiction of how Paine was secularised as a totem of reason, and yet, given theological portrayals as a martyr. Next will be the impact of Chartist identity. This will mainly focus upon the issue central

to Chartism, that of class, and how this shaped the memory of the rebel staymaker. The last of these themes is his reputation as a citizen of the world', and what the pro-internationalist Chartists made of this legacy. The last two examples of multiplicity will relate more to the nature of memory. This will include a brief discussion on emotion, and the way in which different sentiments were expressed and the reactions commemoration produced. Finally, the case study will be brought to a close with consideration into how relevant Paine was by the time of Chartism. Whether the *Rights of Man* had been and gone, whether the *Age of Reason* was something to aspire for, or whether Chartism had grown into this glorious epoch.

This study will show how 'invented traditions' and rituals were more nuanced than merely Chartists exercising their political ideology through gatherings. There were outcomes to this remembrance, and it was multilayered and imprinted with their ideas. It shows there was a relationship with the past. It was nurtured, shared the same practices, a similar dialogue inherited from radicals like Paine, but it was above all pieced together selectively. Representations overlapped in some cases, were formulaic tropes in other circumstances, yet were responded to and reconstructed through adherence to memory.

Chapter 1: Political Groups Contesting Commemoration in early Victorian Britain

‘… let the name Whig and Tory be extinct’[104]

There was much to be amused about with Victoria’s Coronation in June 1838. In his report for the *Examiner*, Charles Dickens revelled in the public enjoyment, recording that ‘great had been the merriment at the fair’.[105] This was the three-day celebration at Hyde Park.[106] What impressed Dickens most was not just the scale, but the logistical achievement of food and vendors, as well as the multitude of ‘delighted gazers’. However, this festive atmosphere was belied by an undercurrent of tension between various political groups, the Whigs, Tories, and Chartists. This section explores the ideologies and identities of each of these factions and how

Figure 1: The London Times, ‘View of the Coronation Fair in Hyde Park’ (1838).[107]

they interacted with one another. It will reveal how each mobilised a political culture to project their political principles with a culture of commemoration embedded into each one. In his analysis on memory, Geoff Cubitt describes how ‘personalities are sometimes the pegs that are used to fix events in memory’s patterns’.[108] This is true of how these political adversaries used the past. Yet, shaping these figures around their political identity was not performed in isolation; rather, it was done in competition with one another. Commemoration generated

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[104] This quote is taken from *Common Sense*. See Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Common Sense, and Other Political Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 54.
[105] *Examiner*, 1 July 1838, 408-9.
[106] Paul Schlicke opens his study into Dickens and entertainment with a mention of Chartism, the coronation, and a shift towards ‘large-scale spectator entertainments’, Paul Schlicke, *Dickens and Popular Entertainment* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 1988), 1-5.
[107] National Air and Space Museum, A20140738000.
[108] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 213.

conflict within an environment of partisan political cultures. To begin the process of exploring this behaviour, this section sets out the political identities of these groups. It puts in place an understanding of their different values and the relationships, or collisions, they had with one another. Rather than give priority to the elites, this analysis will start with Chartism and their experiences. Attention will then turn towards a look at the Whigs, one of two aristocratic groups to dominate this period and bitterly disliked by the Chartists. This will be followed by an analysis of the Tories. Their relationship to Chartism was slightly better than their political opponents the Whigs. However, an animosity towards these elites prevailed. Exploring the conflict between these political cultures in the present will make clear how the past was made partisan.

The Chartists

Chartism was the first great effort by the working classes to achieve a restructuring of Britain's political system in the nineteenth century. The first attribute of this group's identity has already been alluded to – Chartism was about class. As Dorothy Thompson succinctly observes, if the concept of class means anything, Chartism was a working-class movement'.[109] The poor performance of Britain's economy from the mid-1830s chuntered along for over a decade, leading to depressions that rattled through 1836, 1838-1839,1841, 1842, 1846, 1847-1848.[110] These spells of recession only fuelled discontent amongst workers and provided a conductor for agitation. Trades such as the handloom weaver endured a devastating decline from 225,000 in 1829 to an astounding 40,000 by 1850.[111] Weavers made up a sizeable portion of the leading agitators in Chartism.[112] Yet, they were not alone. Low wages and precarious trades saw suffering among 'carpenters, millers, shoemakers, printers, [and] small shopkeepers'.[113] Widening Chartist support beyond occupations, its presence was national. There was strong support in manufacturing regions, such as Lancashire with its textile mills and the West Riding, as well as in Leeds, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and South

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[109] Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism* (London: Verso Books, 2015), 19.

[110] John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*, (London: Orion Publishing,1975), 80-3; Incidentally, there is a striking resemblance between these years and the occurrence of multiple Chartist dinners commemorating Paine.

[111] G. Kitson Clark, 'Hunger and Politics in 1842', *The Journal of Modern History*, 25.4 (1953), 355–74; Charles H. Feinstein, 'Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, 58.3 (1998), 625–58.

[112] Dorothy Thompson, *The Early Chartists* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1971) 12; Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Wildwood House, 1986), 152-73; David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153-217.

[113] Emma Griffin, *Bread Winner: An Intimate History of the Victorian Economy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 198.

Wales.[114] This is not to label generalisations onto industrialisation and the collapse of working standards. The peaks and troughs of a rapidly evolving society brought work as well as unemployment. As Malcolm Chase writes, '[t]here were winners and there were losers'.[115] Yet, even with attempts to withstand oversimplifying these phenomena, the plight of workers during this period is difficult to avoid. To return to Dorthy Thompson, workers endured a 'long agony'.[116] Chartism provided a political response to these hardships.

The working classes made up the rank and file of Chartism. A class-based rhetoric gave expression to protecting labourers, their rights, and their property.[117] At times, this risked tension with the middle classes, with some distrustful of their intentions, and others seeking their support.[118] This wariness extended to Whig and Tory elites, who, it was felt, exacerbated the impoverished conditions, and used their position to pass 'class' legislation for their own self-interest. Workers viewed themselves as victims of overproduction. Abuses in labour by elites had allowed mechanisation's superhuman output to disrupt worker relations with employers, and disturb the equilibrium of the markets between what was manageable and what was ruinous oversaturation. Chartist newspapers like the *Northern Star* vented this suffering. Established in November 1837, this newspaper printed articles attacking the financial situation and championed the rights of the labouring poor whilst denigrating working conditions. This was an important vehicle for giving expression to Chartist identity. Elites were portrayed as 'the fatteners upon national folly', ruinous towards 'a sound labour market', and comprised manual work with 'the existence of an unsound monetary system' to produce 'FICTIOUS CAPITAL', and allowing the "extension" of trade to fill the markets at home and abroad and thereby eroding the value of labour and goods.[119] Yet, five years before this article, the *Northern Star* concluded that the worker had no problem with machinery, and recognised its potential to deliver 'man's holiday'. Instead, machinery had 'been made man's curse' through a lack of regulation to create an unfair distribution of wealth and stealing wages from men, women, and children.[120]

In the later part of the 1830s, these grievances between the classes coalesced into Chartism. A people's champion emerged in the form of the Irish aristocratic politician Feargus O'Connor. He himself was to supply the means of a 'people's paper' in the shape of the *Northern Star* and became a leading personality of Chartism. He was committed to popular

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[114] Thompson, *The Early Chartists*, 12.
[115] Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 20-1.
[116] Thompson, *Dignity*, 77.
[117] John Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), 72-3.
[118] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 237-70.
[119] *Northern Star*, 26 August 1843, 4.
[120] *Northern* Star, 31 March 1838, 4.

politics and through speaking tours in the north of England came to succeed Henry Hunt, the great orator of early nineteenth century radical politics.[121] O'Connor was not the sole driver behind Chartism. Its political culture continued to take shape in the 1830s, with groups like the L.W.M.A., who sent 'missionaries' to establish local branches in towns and provinces. In May 1838, the People's Charter was published by the L.W.M.A. and gave Chartists 'a flag of convenience under which various forms of protest could be mobilised'.[122] Before the end of the decade, Chartism transformed agitation into action, holding a General Convention of the Industrious Working Classes, and presented a National Petition to Parliament. Despite these early failures, Chartism's political culture sustained a class-based ideology against the Whigs and Tories, elites we shall now examine.

The Whigs

The Whigs were one of two political groups that dominated British politics. Broadly, their political identity encompassed principles of progress; in manufacturing; constitutionalism; civil and religious liberties, and free trade. For much of the 1830s, the Whigs were in office under the leadership of Viscount Melbourne. Their rivalry with the Tories extended back to the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This moment saw the English throne under the Stuarts resettled under a Protestant succession. Parliament oversaw this transition, with the Tories out of favour and preference shown to the Whigs by successive monarchs.[123] It was a historical reference point for this political group. Edmund Burke recalled this sacred moment continuously in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in 1789, a subject on succession that Paine was quick to mock as 'an assumed, usurped dominion over posterity forever'.[124] In the early 1830s, it again fell to the Whigs to recalibrate the political structure of Britain. However, this reconfiguration of the political system in the form of the 1832 Reform Bill contributed to much animosity between Chartists and Whigs.

The passage of reform was itself memorable. It was one of the great achievements that continued the Whig tradition of progress. Charles Grey's ministry had led the bill through the stormiest traverses in Parliament. The Tories, led by the Duke of Wellington, opposed it in the House of Commons, whilst the House of Lords also attempted to block its passage.

[121] Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 12-6.
[122] Miles Taylor, 'The Six Points: Chartism and the Reform of Parliament', in Robert Fyson, Owen R. Ashton, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (London: Merlin Press, 1999), 18.
[123] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 20.
[124] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16-20; Paine, *Rights of Man*, 95.

Meanwhile, outside Parliament, there was extreme extra-Parliamentary pressure for the success of the Reform bill. When it faltered in the House of Lords, parts of the country descended into rioting.[125] This escalation formed the 'Days of May', with the bill finally receiving Royal Ascent on 7th June 1832.[126] Whilst the Reform Act showed the need for Parliament to change, and indeed proved that it could be done, it did not usher in the kinds of reform hoped for by some radicals. Henry Hunt, M.P. for Preston had opposed the bill, and yet the radical member for Oldham, William Cobbett had accepted the change.[127] Many of the recollections by Chartists of this momentous event fail to recognise this distinction, and both men were held in high esteem, despite the lingering animosity shown to the memory of the 1832 Reform Bill. Instead, vexed Chartists remembered this great moment of history for the Whigs as 'their £10 Reform Bill'.[128] Chartists considered it trickery and dominated by the self-interest of a few personalities – 'The GREYS, the 'STANLEYS, the RUSSELLS, the RICHMONDS'.[129] Yet, this reform was foundational to Chartism. Of note were the extra-parliamentary predecessors in the form of Political Unions that appeared across the country. Particularly prominent ones were in the Metropolis and cities like Birmingham. The franchise remained attached to the property qualification, with £10 in property required to vote, down from the initial £40. This was nowhere near the expectations of radicals in their beliefs of natural rights, as advocated by Paine. Nonetheless, it removed archaic practices such as the hated rotten borough system. These constituencies were small but more represented in Parliament than larger places like Manchester. Most famously they were signified by places like Old Sarum in Wiltshire. The Reform Bill also redistributed 63 seats to urban towns, prompting local government reform with the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.[130] It was through these authorities, or 'settled ratepayer democracies', that Chartists in places like Leeds, a base of Chartist power, eventually gained some political power at a local level.[131] Yet, at the time, this was not the perspective, and the memory of 1832 was a bitter one not to be repeated but improved upon through the Charter.

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[125] Steve Poole, '"Some examples should be made": prosecuting Reform Bill rioters in 1831-32', in Michael T. Davis, Emma Macleod, and Gordon Pentland, *Political Trials in an Age of Revolutions: Britain and the North Atlantic, 1793-1848* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 237-63.
[126] For a history on the passage see Chapter 8 'The Struggle for Reform' in Turner, *The Age of Unease*, 218-55.
[127] John Belchem, *'Orator' Hunt: Henry Hunt and English Working-Class Radicalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 221-2.
[128] *Northern Star*, 18 August 1838, 4.
[129] *Northern Star*, 13 October 1838, 4; Steve Poole, 'The Politics of "Protest Heritage", 1790-1850', in C. J. Griffin and B. McDonagh (eds.), *Remembering Protest in Britain since 1500 Memory, Materiality, and the Landscape* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 491.
[130] Matthew Roberts, *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832-1914* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008), 17-20.
[131] *Ibid*, 21; Malcolm Chase rates this as one of the achievements of Chartism, see Malcolm Chase, *The Chartists: Perspectives & Legacies* (London: Merlin Press, 2015), 128-55.

Relations between political activists in the 1830s before Chartism continued to sour. A list of heavy-handedness followed 1832 and fostered a mentality of the Whigs as a repressive ruling elite. There was the Irish Coercion Act of 1833, a response to an increase in political agitation in Ireland following the government's attempts to reform the old Church tithe allocation system.[132] Whatever the intentions, the results produced shock among radicals as well as Tories. One member of the House of Commons remarked that it had surpassed all earlier repressive legislation passed by successive Tory governments from the 1790s':

> 'a compound of the Proclamation Act, the Insurrection Act, the Gagging Bill, the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act, and Martial Law'.[133]

This legislation was followed a year later by the New Poor Law of 1834. It was an attempt at putting in place a more centralised framework around administering welfare, or, as it was known, outdoor and indoor relief. It was sustained through a tax-based system (rather than relying on generous donations), and governed by the Poor Law Commission with Poor Law Guardians as the local operatives in parishes and towns.[134] However, those requiring relief who were deemed able-bodied were sent to the workhouse. They endured punitive labour and intensive tasks on diets insufficient to complete their work. These draconian measures quickly provided Chartists with a symbol of hatred – 'Whig Bastilles'. This imagery lingered on in Chartist imaginations.[135] Culturally, Carl Griffin identifies these institutions as marking a shift in social attitudes, transforming emotional outlooks that replaced sympathy towards those starving with opprobrium. This was was to be the 'age of Malthus'.[136] These political and social attitudes were influenced by Thomas Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, first written in 1798.[137] It viewed existing relief systems, notably the Speenhamland system, as wasteful and an incentive for more problems than solutions. The New Poor Laws first took hold in the southern agricultural towns before being implemented in northern manufacturing districts by the late 1830s. This welfare transformation coincided with the economic downturn in the heartlands of Chartism.[138] Malthus was cast as a 'wretch' in the Chartist press, self-

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[132] Mary D. Condon, 'The Irish Church and the Reform Ministries', *Journal of British Studies*, 3.2 (1964), 120–42.
[133] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 18.
[134] Chris Renwick, *Bread for All: The Origins of the Welfare State* (London: Penguin UK, 2017), 20-2; David R. Green, *Pauper Capital: London and the Poor Law, 1790-1870* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 1-5.; In his succinct summary, E. P. Thompson classified the socio-economic restructure of the New Poor Laws as 'insane', 'an ideological dogma' that challenged reason and 'human need' E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin UK, 2002), 295.
[135] George Cole argues the New Poor Laws were in part responsible for remembering of the People's Charter itself. See George Douglas Howard Cole, *Chartist Portraits* (London: Cassell, 1989), 18.
[136] Carl J. Griffin, *The Politics of Hunger: Protest, Poverty and Policy in England, C. 1750-C. 1840* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 3.
[137] Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population: Or, a View of Its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness* (London: Johnson, 1803).
[138] Cole, *Portraits*, 16.

entitled through pensions all his life. The Whigs were treated as Malthus's 'drivelling and besotted followers' in the Chartist press, and the New Poor Law as 'Malthus Improved; or, the theory of child-murder'.[139]

The distrust of the Whig government continued into the 1830s. First, there was the harsh treatment shown towards Trade Unionists by the Whigs.[140] This included the transportation of the Dorset labourers in 1834, and later in 1837 the prosecution of the Glasgow Cotton Spinners (see Figure 2). It was this latter episode that brought the

Figure 2: 'Portraits of the Five Convicted Glasgow Cotton Spinners', (1838).[141]

acrimonious split between early Chartist groups the L.W.M.A. and the L.D.A.. In February 1838, the Irish nationalist M.P. Daniel O'Connell, who had been an honorary member of the L.W.M.A. and had made suggestions to the People's Charter (none of them were taken), gave a speech in the House of Commons pushing for greater pressure against combination practices. Already, the relationship with O'Connell had soured when in 1835 he entered into the 'Litchfield House compact', an alliance with the Whigs that drew middle class support from working class reformers.[142] By the time of Chartism, these Trade Unionist martyrs had been welcomed into the Chartist pantheon. Animosity towards the Whigs increased in 1839 with the Rural Police Bill. The police force had been growing since the passage of the Six Acts in 1819, and by the time of Chartism had created a sense that the government were acquiring something akin to a standing army.[143] Chartism feared this emerging force, whilst the

[139] *Northern Liberator*, 19 October 1839, 4; *The Champion*, 20 January 1839, 4.
[140] J. R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003), 406.
[141] *Manchester Times*, 20 January 1838, 3.
[142] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 257
[143] Tom Scriven, *Popular Virtue: Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820–70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 55; William Henry Maehl, 'The Dynamics of Violence in Chartism:

authorities feared Chartism. And yet, it was this burning opposition towards the Whigs that helped fuel Chartism. As Michael Taylor has observed in his study on the People's Charter, it was a culmination of these earlier discrepancies that 'fuelled the take-off of Chartism during 1838'.[144]

The Tories

The Tories were (and continue to contest) the party of tradition. Whereas the Whigs professed free trade markets, the Tories advocated landownership, protectionism, Anglicanism, and belief in institutions. This sentiment was expressed at Tory dinners through hymns such as *non nobis domine*. The intention of this anthem was to give thanks to God for their achievements and washed away any sinful pride. One can speculate that such practices implied the vanity of their Whig rivals. Like the Whigs, loyalist sentiment was also given through songs such as 'God Save the Queen', along with toasts to her Majesty and the 'Army and Navy'. Like the Whigs, these rituals reinforced the identity of Toryism around the pillars of government. Yet, as Peter Brett notes, the toast given to express pride in 'the Protestant Ascendancy' came to cause friction amongst attendees. The passage of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and which signalled the Whig Reform of 1832, caused awkward moments at Tory dinners, with some acknowledging this ongoing toast and others refraining from it.[145] Tory disapproval of Whig entrepreneurialism, however, was a more acceptable sentiment. Indeed, into the 1840s some Tories favoured a programme of 'paternalism' as a 'defensive social reform ideology' from the profligate Whigs.[146] Chartists generally grouped the Tories alongside their opponents the Whigs through a class rhetoric, with phrases like 'aristocracy' blurring elites together. Yet whilst their relationship with Tories was poor, it was not as bad as the Whigs. The latter were an immediate threat to be destroyed, whilst the Tories were a problem to be nullified. As the *Northern Star* wrote at the time of the 1841 General Election, 'A blow for one, a smile for the other'.[147]

Chartism did find allies amongst some radical Tories. These included Richard Oastler – the 'factory king' – whose Toryism was found in his motto of 'the alter, the throne, and the

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A Case Study in Northeastern England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 7.2 (1975), 108.

[144] Taylor, 'The Six Points', 9.

[145] *Bucks Herald*, 8 June 1844, 3; Peter Brett, 'Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground', *History*, 81.264 (1996), 535.

[146] R. N. Soffer, 'Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North, 1830–1850', *International Review of Social History*, 10.3 (1965), 429–54. J. R. Dinwiddy contests this claim that Peel's Conservative government produced any significant counter to legislation passed by the Whigs, such as the New Poor Law. See Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform*, 406.

[147] *Northern Star*, 5 June 1841, 5.

cottage'. He was a loud critique of conditions in factories and championed the Ten Hours Bill. This legislation eventually passed in 1847 and regulated work hours and conditions.[148] Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, the radical M.P. and member for Finsbury, was another important Parliamentarian for Chartism. A unique figure, this unlikely 'champion of the Charter' acquired the benediction of the Chartists. He had a known tendency for holding the government to account, and above all won the right to have the second National Petition presented to the Commons.[149] Outside of Parliament, the Tory radical activists Joseph Rayner Stephens proved a poplar critic of the Whig New Poor Laws. A dissenting minister, Stephens travelled the country drawing on his emotion and religion to supply a brand of 'demagogic Toryism'.[150] As for Sir Robert Peel, who went on to become Prime Minister following the success of the 1841 General Election, attitudes towards him were more ambivalent. Chase's assessment of this relationship shows a cordial respect towards Peel by Chartists. O'Connor warmed to him as he was seen to have a rare reliability in a corrupt Parliament.[151] Peel's death in July 1850 saw an outpouring of grief, even among the working classes, with some proposing memorials.[152] However, a speech by the popular Chartist orator Henry Vincent in 1837 shows how Sir 'Bobby' Peel was liable to come 'in for a lash or two'. This followed Peel's speech in Glasgow in which he had trampled upon the reputation of the 'American system of government', Vincent responded with a tongue lashing to a cheering crowd of 'Four thousand democrats' gathered at the Crown and Anchor tavern.[153] Even if Peel came to be respected by some Chartists, others were comfortable attacking his reputation. This behaviour is characteristic of how Chartism's relationship with elites veered from the respectful to jovial lampooning.

This analysis has taken stock of the different political identities active at the time of Victoria's Coronation. The relationship between these groups was strained. Chartism had emerged from the hardships of industrialisation and found its political voice which it used to express a class-based ideology in newspapers like the *Northern Star*. With its press,

[148] For an exploration of the vying Whig and Tory political cultures in getting this piece of legislation through Parliament, see Caroline L. Browne, 'The Leeds Mercury and the Leeds Intelligencer: Reporting on the "Race of Factory Bills," 1833', Northern History, 57.2 (2020), 198–214.

[149] Chase, *Chartism*, 178-80; Jamie Bronstein, 'Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, the "Member for All England": Representing the Non-Voter in the Chartist Decade', *Labour History Review*, 80.2 (2015), 109–34; See also Chapters 4 and 5 of Matthew Roberts, *Democratic Passions: The Politics of Feeling in British Popular Radicalism, 1809-48* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), 115-175.

[150] Cole, *Portraits*, 71-4.

[151] Chase highlights the budgets of 1842 and 1845 were perceived to be predicated less on self-interest, along with reform legislation, such as the Mines Act of 1842, which prohibited women and children from working underground. Chase, *The Chartists*, 9; Chase, *Chartism*, 271-2.

[152] David Cannadine, *Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800–1906* (London: Penguin UK, 2017), 237.

[153] Thompson, *The Early Chartists*, 57-61.

leadership, and political groups in different parts of the country, it took the fight to social elites. There was an overwhelming sense of distrust towards Whigs and Tories who themselves were wary of these politicised masses. However, the tension with the former in the 1830s helped to form Chartism into a cohesive movement, and amongst the radical Tories Chartists found some sympathetic allies. Yet, for the most part, there was an intense rivalry between these political groups. The Whigs and Tories clashed over matters such as markets and protectionism, yet just as ferociously contested customs such as the national anthem. These ideologies were entrenched in the respective political cultures and mobilised to project group identity. The next section will explore how these partisan factions imprinted themselves onto popular personalities and public pantheons for their own purpose. From this process we see the contest over politicising memory.

Chapter 2: Contesting People and Claiming Pantheons

Commemoration of the past was popular at the start of Victoria's reign. This section will explore how the vying political cultures claimed personalities from a British pantheon and assigned meaning onto sites of memory. By looking at newspaper reports we see how monuments and icons were claimed through various representations in the press. Distortions of memory included amplifying elements and ignoring other unfavourable qualities unsuited to political ideologies. Two case studies on memorialisation will form this chapter. The first is on the Admiral Horatio Nelson's monument, completed in 1843. Reactions to this memorial varied, and, as tension in society escalated in 1848, this memorial transformed from a site of memory to one of conflict as Chartists clashed with the authorities. The second case study is on the Madame Tussauds gallery. This space recreated popular personalities for the public to visit. It provides a novel site of memory in early nineteenth century Britain to study, one that commodified fame culture, but also represented the macabre nature of the French Revolution that threatened to engulf radical memory. Like the Nelson monument, the Tussauds gallery was open to commentary from the Chartist press, whose attitude towards this pantheon oscillated between favourable and satirical. An exploration of these instances of commemoration reveals how political factions imprinted their identities onto these sites of memory.

Claiming the Nelson Monument

A hero of the nineteenth century whom both Chartists and elites claimed was Horatio Nelson. His exploits had been popularised during his lifetime in song and print.[154] The naval hero had sealed his fame in the fatal conclusion of the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The outcome of this naval engagement was to reduce fears of invasion which had pervaded the country greatly.[155] Napoleon Bonaparte had conquered much of the European continent. Indeed, a few months after Trafalgar, he ended 1805 with his famous victory at the Battle of Austerlitz. Before this, he had eyed Britain as his next target and even consulted dissidents like Paine on strategy.[156] Excited by the prospects that the British government needed to be defeated to effect change,

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[154] Mark Philip, 'Politics and memory: Nelson and Trafalgar in popular song', in Mark Philp, *Reforming Ideas in Britain: Politics and Language in the Shadow of the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 232-59.
[155] For a summary of wartime politics in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars see Chapters 4 and 5 of Michael J. Turner, *The Age of Unease: Government and Reform in Britain, 1782-1832* (Cheltenham: Sutton, 2000), 76-137.
[156] Christopher Hitchens, *Thomas Paine's Rights of Man* (London: Atlantic Book, 2008), 64-7.

Paine was eager to see Napoleon succeed. However, Trafalgar prevented any such change. Whilst neither Napoleon nor Paine gave up on the idea of invading Britain, nothing came to pass.[157] Despite Paine's dismissal of Nelson's success in a letter to President Jefferson, the Battle was commemorated with euphoric vigour back in Britain. The impact of Nelson's victory on British political culture extinguished much of the revolutionary passions. Longer term, however, this did not prevent the Chartists from welcoming Nelson, nor indeed Napoleon, into their pantheon, though the latter was less commemorated and more commented upon. As explored in the next chapter, his military counterpart, the arch-conservative Wellington, and his famous victory, the Battle of Waterloo, remained coldly vilified. The Battle of Trafalgar was hardly free from carnage. In the closing stages of the battle Nelson was fatally wounded and soon died. Yet, he was portrayed not as a sick dying man in the gloom of a ship's hold, but with an 'epic representation… in a way to excite awe and veneration'.[158] The 'chariot and the horses of fire' that were to 'vouchsafe' the heroic martyrdom of Nelson's deeds, as Robert Southey's biography concluded, provided Britain with an icon to draw upon.

Yet, neither this national hero, nor the trappings of his memory, were exclusive. Neither was his famous phrase at the commencement of Trafalgar – 'England expects everyman to do his duty'. Chartists appropriated this great clarion call into their politics. For instance, it was inscribed upon banners at demonstrations, as seen at a march in Manchester in 1838 to support the People's Charter. The words "England expects every man this day to do his duty" was held aloft above the heads of blacksmiths, dyers, dressers, Fustian shearers, shoemakers, bricklayers, cotton spinners as they marched.[159] In ironic twists of memory, Nelson's words were joined with French tricolours and other inscriptions like the "Rights of Man". Whereas loyalists may have seen Nelson as the saviour of Britain's institutions, another banner belonging to the Bolton Union depicted three dead bishops and read 'their characters are as black as hell'.[160] There was no ready order in how this culturally rich past was to be organised. Performances like these put it to use along with a series of other assembled slogans to suit the needs of the present. Nelson's words continued to be reinterpreted, stitched, and decorated with radical memory to suit Chartism's needs. In a more direct example, appearing in the *Northern Star* at the end of December 1842 and headed with the famous phrase, the article deconstructed the meaning of 'duty' in a Chartist context. It opens

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[157] Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon the Great* (London: Penguin UK, 2016), 375-5; J. C. D. Clark, *Thomas Paine: Britain, America, and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 364-6.
[158] Helmut von Erffa, Allen Staley, and Benjamin West, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 222.
[159] *Leeds Times*, 29 September 1838, 7-8.
[160] *Ibid*.

by giving the historical significance of these words. It was memorable ‘Because they were uttered by the greatest naval hero’. This is then appropriated into the politics of Chartism:

> ‘Nelson used these words in a mistaken sense – the duty he was then about to engage in was not the duty which England expects of every man or of any man – he falsely thought that he was to fight for his king and country, but it was for his king alone’[161]

Absent from this duty was a ‘good cause’. More appropriately, duty in this sense entailed ‘peace, law, and order’. Nelson is at once adapted for his historical value and shunned at the same time. Elsewhere, articles had commented upon the overrepresentation of martial memories, what one article termed ‘*heroes of the sword*’, in places like St Paul’s Cathedral.[162] Yet, here Nelson's memory was drawn upon to give a shorthand instruction on ‘duty’ while withdrawing any martial glorification to speak upon moral force Chartism. This was the passive approach of using non-militant methods and relying instead on learning and self-improvement. By the early 1840s, physical force Chartism was in decline. The definition applied to Nelson’s sense of duty is reflective of this change. Yet, it does not lose its radical tone. It continues with lessons on the natural born rights of the populace and widens its use of Nelson’s motto – ‘England expects every woman to do her duty’. Here, the past is used to galvanise women in their role as an extra-parliamentary force. It recognises their powers to canvass and persuade, ‘Who are better tract distributors, collectors, or teachers than women?’. [163] This reinforces the role of female Chartists as the adjutants to the movement and recognises their organising prowess.[164] Nelson’s battle cry is redirected to the fight for the Charter. It becomes a call encouraging the involvement of all its members, both male and female. However, it was unlikely that such a national figure like Nelson was kept to Chartism’s ‘good cause’. Rather, the national monument provides an opportunity for the nation to celebrate his memory, but have it divided amongst political factions.

The Nelson monument in Trafalgar Square is perhaps the most renowned instance of memorialisation in nineteenth-century Britain. With the Battle having taken place at the start of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1843 that the monument was completed. Nelson had been commemorated prior to this with a monument in St Paul’s Cathedral in 1818. Still, it was another two decades before a Nelson Memorial Committee was formed and the design for the

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[161] *Northern Star*, 24 December 1842, 7.

[162] The ‘Martial Monuments’ in question relates to a description of the interior of St Paul’s Cathedral, see *Northern Star*, 24 November 1838, 7.

[163] *Northern Star*, 24 December 1842, 7.

[164] For discussions on female Chartist involvement, see , 42; Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism* (London: Verso Books, 2015), 45-6; for a more detailed look at female Chartists and commemoration see Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 20-3.

monument eventually chosen.[165] Indeed, the *Globe* newspaper spoke of the current generation of Britons being 'aliens from the blood of their forefathers' if they were to remain 'indifferent' to having a monument to Nelson, who epitomised Britain's naval superiority.[166] It was designed by William Railton (the column) and Edward H. Bailey (the Nelson statue). The foundation stone was to be laid on 1st August 1840 to coincide with the anniversary of Nelson's triumph at the Battle of the Nile in 1798.[167] However, this seems to have been delayed until October. With none of the Monument Committee present, the 'honorary secretary' C. D. Scott, presided over the occasion. Sanctifying the monument formed part of the fanfare. During this event, Scott inserted a bottle containing coins, 'from a sovereign to a silver penny', a list of the Committee members, and an inscription detailing the purpose of the monument into a cavity 'in the foundation under the stone'.[168] Pierre Nora writes how such monuments 'owe their meaning to their intrinsic existence'.[169] However, whilst these materials seem fairly neutral in their politics, newspapers provided a means of expressing the reception to these monuments. As the following section shows, in these courts of opinion, the intrinsic meaning could be overruled by the reaction to memory discerned by newspaper editors.

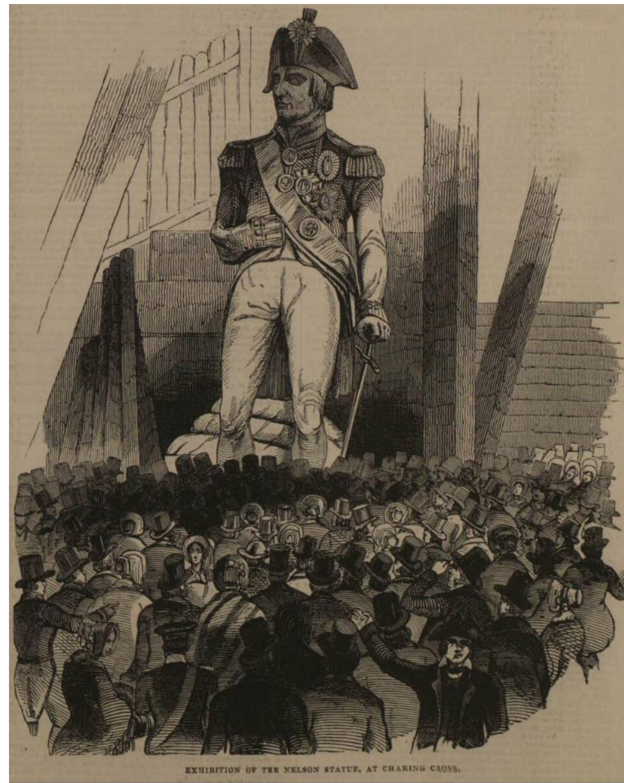
Nelson's monument was finally unveiled to the public in late 1843. Chartist coverage and more established newspapers both signalled adoration for Nelson. If the laying of the foundation stone had been indifferent in its politics, the unveiling of this memorial certainly galvanised contrasting responses. The *Illustrated London News* (*I.L.N.*), which specialised in providing engravings as part of its coverage, gave readers an impression of the Nelson statue on the front page (see Figure 3).[170] The accompanying article opens with a discussion on the need for further grand acts of public commemoration, 'an impulse to great exertions'. Despite this demand for further use of the arts to commemorate memory, it disapproved of the 'common-place character' of the National Gallery situated at the rear of the monument.[171] Continuing its analysis, the *I.L.N* entwines the memory of Nelson with the public character of the nation. It does this to such a degree that it questions the ability of the memorial to even evoke such a sense:

> 'His monument can hardly be considered as a national tribute to his fame; it is a funeral record, it is raised in a sacred spot, and is consecrated by religion; the interest it possesses is of a higher and more sacred kind. This

[165] Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 87.
[166] *Globe*, 13 April 1840, 3.
[167] *Morning Herald*, 11 July 1840, 5; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 July 1840, 5; *Morning Post*, 11 July 1840, 5.
[168] For a full reading of the inscription see *Globe*, 1 October 1840, 3.
[169] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 1989, 22.
[170] *Illustrated London News*, 4 November 1843, 1.
[171] *Ibid*; Read notes the unpopularity of the column and the desire by the Art Union for the column to topple over and crash through the equally disliked National Gallery, Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 87.

statue is the public and secular memorial – the tribute of the citizen to the warrior'

The review is almost overcome with its analysis of the monument as if the statue is a self-defeating exercise unable to contain the magnitude of Nelson's fame. Before this can happen, it reconciles with the point and finally rests the issue. The *Northern Star*'s report chose not to



EXHIBITION OF THE NELSON STATUE, AT CHARING CROSS.

Figure 3: Exhibition of the Nelson Statue at Charing Cross, (1843).[172]

focus on the meaning of the monument. Rather, it took what might be considered a bottom-up approach. The emphasis of its coverage is not on the pinnacle of the memorial but on the crowd at the opening. Whilst the sentiment to Nelson is similarly positive, the report is indignant at the spectacle of Greenwich Pensioners. These veteran tars (sailors) were stationed at the entrance and requesting charity from the crowd with their begging boxes. It identifies these men and their kinship to Nelson as an indictment on the failure of the state to support these people. The report details the placard inscribed with Nelson's famous motto on duty. Beneath this is a request for charity, this time twinned with another Nelson anniversary:

> 'drop a copper in the locker for the entertainment which is to be given to Poor Jack, on the glorious anniversary of the battle of Copenhagen'[173]

[172] *Illustrated London* News, 4th November 1843, 1.
[173] *Northern Star*, 4 November 1843, 4.

This 'national ingratitude' is further condemned by bringing class into the matter. It refers to another memory: Nelson's state funeral in January 1806 in which aristocrats, and not Nelson's crew, were given the privileged role of pallbearers. Whilst one newspaper report renders the commemoration spectacular, the *Northern Star* portrays destitution. In a similar affair, the piece awakens the contest over Nelson's memory from the earliest moments following his death. There was a desire amongst elites like Pitt to use the pageantry of Nelson's funeral to energise loyalist fervour or, as Timothy Jenks writes, create a 'pseudo-monarchy'. In contrast, radicals like Cobbett refused to bestow the honours of Nelson onto 'the Pitts, Melvilles, the Roses and the Cannings'.[174] Decades later, whilst the great Admiral rested and his monument was raised, his memory continued to be fought over. The public tributes to this 'warrior' remained contested, with commemoration reinforcing elites but also allowing Chartists' opportunities to reaffirm their outrage.

However, this meaning assigned by the *Northern Star* was also susceptible to change. Its tone of disapproval was not always consistent. A few months later, another review appeared in the *Northern Star*. Far from criticising the space, it encouraged tourists to visit the monument.[175] Yet, this was not a final rapprochement. The involvement of the monarchy appears to have agitated this relationship with Nelson's monument. A visit by the Russian Czar in the summer of 1844 provided the political trigger to return to earlier class hostility.[176] The Russian leader and the country were traditionally viewed as a benchmark for despotism amongst radicals in the early nineteenth century.[177] This image of Russophobia was projected by the *Northern Star* and the Fraternal Democrats, founded in 1845. It was supportive of its 'friends of Poland', their regeneration through nationalism against the expansionistic and oppressive symbol to its eastern border. The memory of the Polish uprising in 1830 was recalled at dinners, and men like Major Beniowski were welcomed into the radical pantheon.[178] The indignation around the Nelson monument returned with the Czar's visit when it was reported that the 'royal robber' had funded a significant portion of the memorial. This seems to dampen the sentiment towards Nelson who is placed within the same category as Wellington for his role in bloody 'anti-Gallican' wars. However, the main jab is again aimed at the British aristocracy. The construction of the monument was completed at a huge cost to the

[174] Timothy Jenks, 'Contesting the Hero: The Funeral of Admiral Lord Nelson', *Journal of British Studies*, 39.4 (2000), 422–25.
[175] *Northern Star*, 10 February 1844, 3.
[176] *Northern Star*, 15 June 1844, 4.
[177] For a examination of Chartist internationalism see Chase, *Chartism*, 286-9; for a more general view of how Russia was perceived in early nineteenth century Britain, see Richard J. Evans, *The Pursuit of Power: Europe, 1815-1914* (London: Penguin UK, 2016).
[178] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 6; see footnote 25 for a full list of references to Beniowski; Malcolm Chase, Malcolm, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 287.

nation (£50,000,000 in taxes), but the bulk of this according to the *Northern Star* was spent on luxuries, thus requiring the input of despots like the Czar to make up the difference. Whereas other newspapers had called for greater displays of commemoration, the implication here is an ability to provide national monuments but a reluctance by self-interested elites to pay for them. The cultural memory of this memorial is made to reflect Chartist ideology. Whilst the Monument Committee may have placed coins under the base of the statue, the *Northern Star* was content with criticising the profligacy of elites and cheapening remembrance of Nelson.

Contesting the meaning of Nelson's Monument continued into the 1840s. The physical clash between the authorities and Chartists in the newly constructed Trafalgar Square in March 1848 certainly challenged notions of Nelson as a neutral national figure to unite around. On the afternoon of 6th March, a meeting was held to discuss the ongoing development of Trafalgar Square. George W. M. Reynolds, a London Chartist whose work included *Reynolds Political Instructor* (1849-50) and the longer-lived *Reynolds News* (1850-1967), attended this gathering. Upon its conclusion, those returning to the streets were jeered by a nearby crowd with 'libellous language'. This confrontation quickly turned to aggression. Reynolds, almost spontaneously, found himself before a crowd, attempting to calm matters. Yet, the violence escalated. The aggression by the local police intensified the unrest into a riot that would last two days. Buildings were damaged, and the police were temporarily driven away. The rioters were in control of Trafalgar Square. At the site of the revered warrior admiral, the occupants armed themselves with the very materials of memorialisation, taking wooden boards from around the monument and granite from the Square.[179] Not only was meaning assigned via newspapers. Here, this public memorial was claimed by the crowd, an occupation that gave this public sphere an alternative resistant ideology.[180] Ian Haywood explores this episode and the hostile representations from the anti-Chartism press. *Punch* magazine customised it as 'The Trafalgar Square Revolution', with attendants as self-righteous 'Windmill Street Washington[s]' occupying Trafalgar Square seeking to achieve 'the pinnacle of human greatness' by 'abolishing everything'.[181] The boiling over of this agitation into confrontation shows how national monuments were something customisable in the febrile political atmosphere of this period. Producing cultural memories of figures like Nelson in the form of monuments were not free from reinterpretation. Rather, representations in print prized,

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[179] For a detailed account of this episode see David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 111-16.

[180] The 1848 occupation of Trafalgar Square is a good example of Geoff Eley's observation that space, like memory, is customisable by 'competing publics', see Geoff Eley, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas I the Nineteenth Century', in Craig Calhoun, *Habermas and Public Space* (London: MIT Press, 1993),289-339.

[181] Ian Haywood, 'George W.M. Reynolds and "The Trafalgar Square Revolution": Radicalism, the Carnivalesque and Popular Culture in Mid-Victorian England', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 7.1 (2002), 23–59.

derided, pantheonised and defrocked such memorials. Attitudes towards Nelson's memory were not settled. Rather, they were adapted to suit political needs. Newspapers took even the mightiest monument from the public realm and imprinted it with new meaning. It did so from the conflict over his funeral procession to the building of his monument. Appropriation of idioms attached to his memory, reactions to his memorial, and even the very materials of Trafalgar Square were transformed. If the memories and monuments of personalities were customised to meet the expectations of different political groups, what about other public pantheons?

Tribalism at Tussauds

One unique place for this activity in the early nineteenth century was Madame Tussauds. This was home to a collection of waxworks and provided a cultural repository of artificial portrayals. It took a traditional medium of waxworking and shaped it around the growing fame culture in this period.[182] Pleasure seekers were able to visit and interact with recognisable heroes or infamous villains within society and history. It was the past made present and commodified. However, important to the discussion on different political cultures, it tended to favour elites. The earlier experiences of its master wax worker, from whom the institution took its name, are indicative of this allegiance. The Swiss-born emigrant to France, Madame Marie Tussauds (nee. Groshalt) had experienced the upheaval of the French Revolution. She was a victim of the instability, having previously been employed to instruct the sister to Louis XVI – Elizabeth Phillipe Marie Helene of France. This position came to an end in the autumn of 1789 with the Revolution. Tragically for Madame Tussaud, Elizabeth was one of many of the nobility who fell victim to the Great Terror and the guillotine, a fate that she almost shared with Madame Tussaud (along with Paine). While Tussaud had initially been welcomed into the court for her skills at creating life-like waxworks, death and revolution transformed this talent. Her 1838 memoirs recall horrific experiences, witnessing mob violence and the destruction of people she knew personally. [183] The memoirs provide intimate sketches of those she had encountered. The fairness of their hair, its style, descriptions of facial features, beauty, complexions, and dress. A short mention of Paine, who Tussauds 'well remembers', elicits a comparison between Paine's 'physiognomy' and the enlightened philosopher Voltaire.[184] Such details belie her craft as an artist, but equally, they build this macabre element of her recollections. In one anecdote, she describes visiting the Bastille which had become a location

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[182] Uta Kornmeier, 'The Famous and the Infamous: Waxworks as Retailers of Renown', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 11.3 (2008), 276–88.
[183] Marie Tussaud, *Madame Tussaud's Memoirs and Reminiscences of France, Forming an Abridged History of the French Revolution* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838).
[184] *Ibid*, 168-69.

of interest in Paris. Descending the stairs, she nearly slips only to be saved from a fatal injury by one of the leaders of the Revolution – Maximilien Robespierre. According to the memoir, the two would be later rejoined. However, there was to be no intervention from Robespierre's fatal fall:

> 'How little did Madame Tussaud then think, that she should, in a few years after, have his severed head in her lap, in order to take a cast from it after his execution'.[185]

Whilst the novel pageantry of waxwork may distract from this episode, such recollections exhibit a traumatic memory within the genealogy of her recreations at Tussauds.

In 1802, she left France to set up this business. First arriving in, and then touring, Britain before extending this to Ireland, she eventually returned to Birmingham before finally settling in London to establish a cultural repository 150 feet wide and 50 feet long.[186] The regular 'Biographical Sketches' that contained information on the collection were intended to 'blend utility with amusement' and educate 'young minds'.[187] This same sentiment was later echoed by Chartists like Henry Hetherington at anniversary banquets to Paine and appears to be a valuable aspect of commemoration culture during this period. These figures intended to offer such didactic amusement taken from the political world, the battlefield, and the royal household. This collection included British and international icons. Heroes like Wellington as well as his ally at the Battle of Waterloo Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, along with M.P.s from both sides of the political divide; William Pitt and his rival Charles James Fox. Living members, like Lord Russell, were also included among the waxworks, an inclusion that allowed these imitations to further obscure the boundaries of past and present. It is worthwhile considering these forms for their value to memory. Elizabeth Tonkin's work on 'realism' – striving to achieve the most accurate portrayal in history or myth – describes what Madame Tussauds offered patrons. Tonkin observed that 'history must have a face: it cannot exist without a form and forms are cues to points of view'. [188] In their professed accuracy, the waxworks (literally) provided this face.

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[185] *Ibid*, 96.

[186] *Illustrated London Life*, 13 Aug 1843, 296.

[187] Marie Tussaud, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of the Whole Length Composition Figures and Other Works of Art, Forming the Unrivalled Exhibition of Madame Tussaud, Etc* (Bristol: J. Bennett, 1823), 2; Madame Tussaud and Sons' Exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of the Distinguished Characters Which Compose the Unrivalled Exhibition of Madame Tussaud and Sons* (London: Madame Tussaud and Sons, 1842), 2.

[188] Elizabeth Tonkin, 'History and the Myth of Realism', in Raphael Samuel and Paul Richard Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (Oxford: Routledge, 1990), 25-35.

The pleasure seekers who paid to visit this gallery 'could visually engage with cultural memory' and encounter past figures and historical scenes.[189] The press played a role in accessing this pantheon. In August 1843, the *Illustrated London Life* provided readers with a walking tour of the gallery, highlighting the coterie of inhabitants and their arrangement with accompanying engraving (see Figure 4).

INTERIOR OF MADAME TUSSAUD'S SALOON.

Figure 4: 'Interior of Madame Tussaud's Saloon'. (1843)[190]

As could be expected, royalty was positively represented. This place of commemoration kindly recreated monarchs like George IV (see Figure 5). For a leader who had been intensely unpopular in his lifetime, he was transformed with the power (or distortion) of memory into a regal figure. The Biographical sketch entry boasted three robes. One was modelled on the regalia he had worn enroute to his coronation at Westminster Hall on 19th July 1821. The other two were the 'Imperial Robe' used upon his return from Westminster, and the Parliamentary Robes for opening the two Houses. This was 'five hundred and sixty-seven feet of velvet and embroidery, and, with the Ermine lining, cost £18,000'.[191] From his decade-long reign (1820-30), Tussaud captured the moment he ascended to the throne. The grandeur is self-evident from the costly robes, but the occasion was anything other than regal. His coronation was ostentatious, a compulsion that would mark his time as King, so much so that 'It was necessary

[189] Guy Beiner, 'Forward: Unravelling the Nineteenth-Century Nexus of Consuming Commemoration', in Katherine Haldane Grenier and Amanda R. Mushal, *Cultures of Memory in the Nineteenth Century: Consuming Commemoration* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2020), viii.
[190] *Illustrated London Life*, 13 Aug 1843, 296.
[191] Tussaud and Sons' Exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, 3.

to employ prize-fighters in Westminster Hall to keep the peace'.[192] Needless to say, this added security was absent from the scene. The grandeur was preserved, and although this aspect of his personality is so despised, it is put on show as part of the collection's amusement.

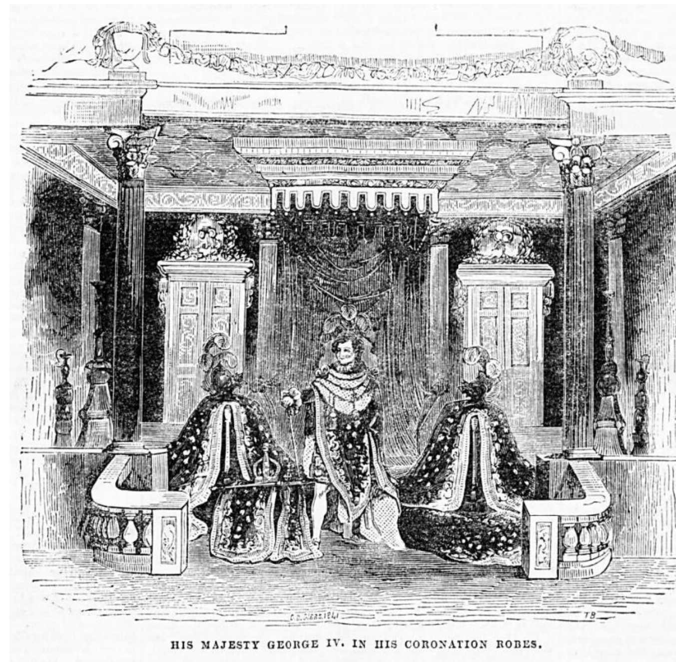

Figure 5: 'His Majesty George IV in his Coronation Robes. (1847)[193]

Queen Victoria received similar treatment. An exhibition of her coronation captured her, literally, at her crowning moment. Garbed in her robes, the exhibit portrayed Victoria at her most splendid. Moreover, the engraving of this likeness in Figure 4 depicts this coronation in the centre of the saloon, creating something akin to Westminster Hall. However, Victoria's likeness was privileged with a further addition, unlike her predecessor. At nighttime, the scene was illuminated. For 1s, patrons could visit this spectacular scene and see this momentous occasion in a new light.[194] This favourable representation gives the exhibit a quasi-religious ritual. Ironically for the head of the Church of England, it evokes something akin to a Catholic Mass like ensemble in its lighting of candles.

Further details on who was in this pantheon are found in the regular catalogues that were published. It provides a register, a who's who, of the Tussaud pantheon. A short biography accompanied each one. For instance, in the 1842 catalogue edition there appeared

[192] David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820–1977', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 117-18.
[193] *Illustrated London Life*, 13 August 1843, 296.
[194] *The Age*, 11 August 1839, 1; Madame Tussauds memoir is also advertised in this notice for 5s.

several reformers (and those sympathetic to reform). 'The Liberator' and Irish repeal leader Daniel O'Connell was grouped with men like Francis Burdett, William Shakespeare, and Lord Byron. As we have seen, O'Connell was loathed by the Chartists. Burdett, a great organiser of radical activity who supposedly helped Lovett draft the Charter, was a more favourable appearance, as was Byron. The distinction of most radical member to this pantheon, however, went to William Cobbett's . It was also one of the most popular attractions. The radical publisher's presence speaks to his enduring popularity. The *London Illustrated News*'s assessment of Tussaud's collection identified him as the best 'specimen', fondly setting out for readers his qualities and the presentation of the waxwork.[195] It is possible this favourable review came from the fact that this likeness was one of the very few in the collection that was automated, 'perpetually nodding and taking snuff'.[196] The emotional range evoked by these pantheons was not kept to a sense of pride or amusement. Visitations to Cobbett's waxwork by those who had known the radical elicited a tearful response, and offering contemporaries a 'site of memory as well as a site of mourning'.[197] Yet, the inclusion of a Paineite apostle like Cobbett (Paine was not included among the waxwork coterie) did not guarantee a favourable representation of his radical politics. Instead, these descriptions varied in their biographical sketches. Cobbett, for example, was framed in a genteel style. The catalogue recognised his humble origin, along with his 'genius and talent'. What is telling about the favourability to elite loyalties is the manner in which deployment of this genius with regards to his prominent radical career is kept entirely absent. For a man who dedicated his life to such pursuits and restored Paine in the minds of contemporaries, it was a quality left abstract. Instead, the short biographical sketch concludes with his Parliamentary career and support for the Great Reform Act of 1832. Cobbett supported this motion, believing it to be a stepping stone towards greater reform. Yet, the characterisation here carries with it the scent of Whiggism. Comparing this with how Cobbett was commemorated by Chartists again shows how Tussauds cast memories in a way that favoured elite readings of the past. For a man who fled to America to avoid prosecution from the state in 1817, it is perhaps expected that a public pantheon like Tussauds toned down the radical representation, yet it nonetheless satisfied the commercial interests of visitors to see Cobbett oncemore. Another example of this shaping of memory is George Washington. The great hero of the American Revolution and beloved by Chartists, was included in this company of Royals and British military leaders. However, his leading involvement in the American War of Independence was absent from his biography. Instead, the extract mentions his military service in the British army as a colonel in a militia unit until ill health forced him to resign in 1758. Conspicuously, the biography skips to his election as the

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[195] *Illustrated London News*,

[196] Pamela Pilbeam, *Madame Tussaud: And the History of Waxworks* (London: A&C Black, 2006), 152.

[197] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 15-6.

President of the United States in 1789. This involvement in the breakaway from the British Empire had been acknowledged in an 1823 edition but expunged by the time of Chartism. This erasure did not remove Washington's glory in establishing the republic from Chartist minds., Rather, Washington remained the embodiment of American liberty even if his reputation was reduced in the Tussaud catalogue.

A roster of political radicals and rogues and the memory of the French Revolution received a different treatment in the Tussauds pantheon. In comparison to Cobbett and Washington, the appearance of John Frost, one of three leaders of the Newport Rising in 1839, has an entry bordering on calumny:

> 'John Frost was born of humble parents, and brought up as a shoemaker. In early youth he sh[o]wed a turbulent disposition, and soon distinguished himself at various political meetings, as a decided Revolutionist. At Monmouth, he so far deluded his unfortunate dupes, as to persuade them to attack the town, which ended in their total defeat, and in the capture of their leader, who is now a convict in Van Dieman's Land'[198]

Contrary to this entry, Frost had one of the more distinguished careers of any Chartist in public life. He gained a place on the Monmouthshire local Borough Council, the Board of Guardians for the operation of the New Poor Law, was appointed as a magistrate by the Town Council, and eventually Mayor of Newport. It was Frost who even announced the ascension of Victoria in 1837 in this local constituency.[199] Furthermore, he was a dedicated Cobbettite. And yet, the presentation of Frost's memory has no connection with his companion's waxwork. Neither does the accompanying biographical sketch. The connotations of Frost's 'humble origins' suggest a more dissident path for Frost compared to those of the gentleman Cobbett.

Such a vilified portrayal fits with the malicious representation of Frost as the instigator of the Newport Rising in November 1839. This was perhaps the closest Chartism came to an uprising. On the evening of 3rd November, the mass torchlit demonstration swelled into a great gathering. Early the next day, this large crowd had moved towards the town and culminated in a clash with the besieged 45th infantry around the Westgate Hotel. By the end of the affair, twenty-two Chartists were killed and a further fifty injured.[200] Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and William Jones were prosecuted, at first for High Treason before the sentence was commuted to transportation. Chartism received its political martyrs and was to receive more in a government crackdown on Chartism following this episode. These Newport martyrs were commemorated in poetry and with toasts at dinners. At the same time, Whig newspapers like

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[198] Tussaud and Sons' Exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, 32.
[199] George Cole, *Chartist Portraits* (London: Cassell, 1989),136.

[200] Chase, *Chartism*, 111-19.

the *Bristol Mercury* and the Tory *Bristol Times* printed accounts of how conspirators like Frost roused the once benign 'braggadocio' Chartists into insurrection.[201] Yet, these narratives soon turned to suit political needs. A week after reports had been published on Newport, the *Bristol Mercury* claimed Frost was merely putting the 'seditious' speech of James Bradshaw, who was the Tory M.P. for Canterbury, into practice, as if this were some kind of cause and effect.[202] Equally, the *Bristol Times* published the report of the Dolphin Society, a local Tory group, claiming such events were the result of an ineffective government and hopes were high for a Tory majority at the next election.[203] The biographical sketch of Frost at Madame Tussauds fits somewhere into this vilified narrative. What is more surprising is the *Northern Star*'s apparent willingness to advertise visits to Madame Tussauds as a form of public amusement.[204] Perhaps it simply wanted to accept the revenue from advertising, or as with Nelson's Column, was not averse to promoting recreational places of memory. As we shall now explore , one possible mitigating factor forgiving this portrayal of Frost may have been the inclusion of the Chartist martyr in the main saloon over the 'Chamber of Horrors'.

The 'second saloon', later known as the 'Chamber of Horrors', was a compartmentalisation of the waxwork pantheon. This space, 'which represents the interior of the Bastille', offered patrons a recreation of memory, a site simulating the macabre of the French Revolution. This 'adjoining room' pandered to the tastes of the British public and commodified the ghoulish.[205] It was occupied by a selection of terrifying props, including the guillotine with body parts strewn around to recreate the full horror of the French Revolution. It is a good example of contemporaries from this period engaging with memory through a wish to re-enact a 'past reality'.[206] The biographical descriptions of these victims provided epitaphs charged with emotional passion, fear, terror, and in cases like Robespierre, justice. The memoirs of Madame Tussaud are given new life, with the victims like the Count de Lorge and the 'demagogue' Robespierre, confined to this space of terror. Whilst the fears of this anarchy had occupied the minds of elites, here it was remade to be witnessed by those brave enough. Initially, this part of the gallery had been referred to simply as the 'Second Room'. For a small surcharge, attendees could access the gruesome exhibition. Yet, whilst the past coronations

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[201] *Bristol Mercury*, 9 November 1839, 4; Owen Ashton discusses this elite response and the ensuing friction between these two political groups, see Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator*', 60-1.
[202] The quotation given was 'We will resist to the death ill government and unjustly usurped authority'. See *Bristol Mercury*, 16 November 1839, 7.
[203] *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 16 November 1839, 2.
[204] *Northern Star*, 22 May 1847, 3.
[205] Pilbeam, *Madame Tussaud*, 108.
[206] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 477-83.

of Kings and Queens and the torture of nobility and demagogues were moments mostly frozen in time (or wax, and excluding automatons like Cobbett), the space was not static. By the late 1820s, additions of the newest murders and assassins were put into this nightmarish space. Breaking this time seal on this past was the introduction of well-known murderers William Burke and (a portrait of) William Hare in 1829; 'Robespierre and Marat, were now exhibited next to the most talked-about men of their time, who also killed many people, yet for commercial gain'.[207] William Burke's likeness had been taken from a cast 'three hours after his execution'.[208] The swiftness of acquiring an impression no doubt helped with producing an artificial replica. However, this speed seems to have led some detractors to accuse the commodifying Tussauds of a macabre fetish, fuelling such appetites, and not least suggesting an ironical implication of grave robbing. In 1848, following the execution of murderer Ryan Puck, the *Northern Star* suggested Madame Tussauds had scavenged a cast of his head, 'the clothes he wore' and the murder weapon in the hopes it 'may appear so life like that Cockney grandmas will scream at the sight of 'the monster''.[209] It suggests that the trauma and novelty of waxwork were not necessarily taken seriously. Yet, this did not stop the acquisitions. Joining them were infamous men like Edward Oxford and John Francis who had attempted to assassinate Queen Victoria.[210] These criminals were "imprisoned" in the 'Chamber of Horrors', or Bastille, whilst their target was on display a short distance away on a plinth and commemorated in candlelight.

As the fame and infamy culture had grown in British society, with newspapers helping to sensationalise such criminals, commemorative additions shaped this space's meaning. With the gruesome details of the Bastille and the pageantry shown towards royal figures, it's unlikely this institution, for all its amusement and didacticism, stood as a neutral pantheon. Whilst Tussauds responded to the interests of the market with waxworks, it was not beyond the aim of satire. This place of cultural memory itself became a cultural reference point. The *Northern Star* produced poems on how elite institutions like Westminster Abbey and St Paul's decried the cheapening of their halls, 'I'm open for inspection, like Burford's Panorama, or Madame Tussaud's collection'.[211] Similarly, so many statesmen made of wax proved satirical gold. Magazines such as *Punch* delighted in these 'artificial persons', as did radicals like Henry Hetherington. At a Paine anniversary dinner in the Metropolis in 1849, Hetherington

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[207] Uta Kornmeier, 'The Famous and the Infamous: Waxworks as Retailers of Renown', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 11.3 (2008),', 284-85.
[208] Tussaud and Sons' Exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, 37.
[209] 19 February 1848, Northern Star, 6; for a report of the arrest that the *Northern Star* refers to see *Limerick Reporter* 19 October 1847, 2.
[210] Tussaud and Sons' Exhibition, *Biographical and Descriptive Sketches*, 33 and 38.
[211] *Northern Star*, 10 January 1846, 3.

commented on the ineptitude of a ‘wax work nobility’.[212] Chartism did not possess a radical equivalent to Madame Tussauds. However, that did not stop radicals like Hetherington from accessing it through a reimagining. Neither did it prevent satire from entering these halls, despite the intent by Tussauds for the collection to be one of educational ‘utility’. The Chamber of Horrors proved a fitting place to sentence rivals. In 1850, following a final confrontation with his once friend and colleague, O’Connor attacked Harney in the columns of the *Northern Star*. Their relationship had been strained, and like other former O’Connorites like Thomas Cooper and even Bronterre O’Brien, the former editor and proprietor fell out publicly in the pages of the *Northern Star*. O’Connor voiced his outrage at Harney by suggesting his work – ‘a depository of literary atrocities’ – be immediately placed into the Chamber of Horrors.[213] Harney had been editor of the newspaper since 1843, styled himself the Marat of Chartism, and signed his work as the friend of the people, or L’Ami du Peuple’. In this same medium, O’Connor imagines this Marat joining the company of the one in the Tussaud Bastille.

As these two case studies have shown, commemoration was open to being politicised. Political identity imposed itself upon the person and the pantheon. Nelson’s remembrance was regal and simultaneously common. His monument exemplified a sense of order raised on high but was also interpreted to be rooted in the crowd below. The meaning of these public spaces was similarly adapted. Trafalgar Square in 1848 provided a physical contest, in which appropriation became using the materials of the monument to fend off the authorities. Equally, the Madame Tussauds collection was customised to suit political temperaments in a similar fashion to stone memorials. Memory and craft came together to be an interactive site that favoured elite culture and compartmentalised this portrayal away from the infamous Chamber of Horrors. This waxwork pantheon was subsequently given new meaning and commented upon in the paper pantheon. Whigs, Tories and Chartists each had their own culture of commemoration, and rarely was the past left to be neutral. When required, it was adapted and customised to suit narratives. Building on these themes of political identity and contesting commemoration, attention will now explore how different types of cultural memory was deployed by these partisan groups.

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[212] *Punch, or the London Charivari* 23 Mar 1844, 6; *Northern* Star, 3 Feb 1849, 7.
[213] *Northern Star*, 2 Feb 1850, 5.

Chapter 3: Contesting Cultural Memory

Books, statues, and rituals all featured in the commemoration cultures of different political groups in the early Victorian period. Whilst these same 'islands of time' were deployed, they were used to sustain partisan pantheons each seeking to put forward a dominant reading of the past. Written histories, monuments, above all, public dinners, provided the means of customising the past to suit these competing political identities. Extracting this conflict over memory will begin with a look at elite and Chartist canons. The selection and presentation of readings sought to educate supporters through a specific formulation of history. This analysis will move from the meaning inscribed into books to looking at monuments. Their popularity was such that the 1840s formed part of the 'statuemania' in the nineteenth century. However, monuments were problematic for Chartists. Not only were they expensive, but, as an examination of the Henry Hunt monument will show, created tension amongst the Chartist leadership. This conversation will lead onto a greater focus of dinners – the preferred form of commemoration for Chartists. It seems quizzical that public dinners were the leading medium of commemoration for a group whose community was harassed by the 'politics of hunger'. Nonetheless, the ritual was appropriated from elites and applied to a 'calendar of radical anniversaries'.[214] A deconstruction of the practices employed at public dinners, such as the timing of the banquets, their locations, and the space in which they were performed, are all factors considered. However, it was through the dialogical components, the toasts eulogising heroes and speeches commemorating their actions, that is of most importance to understanding how Chartists reconstructed the past. It was through these practices that radical memory was repeated and reproduced. From these interactions with cultural memory, we see how partisan groups shaped the past.

Elite and Chartist canons

Books presented a means of combing together identity and how the past should be used in the present. As Herbert Grabes writes in his study of canon as a form of cultural memory, the creation of this repository is itself a selective function that can be exclusive. Whilst Grabes recognises this as a potential limitation of canonization, it fits with the behaviour of the world

[214] Steve Poole, 'The Politics of "Protest Heritage", 1790-1850', Carl J. Griffin and Briony McDonagh, *Remembering Protest in Britain Since 1500: Memory, Materiality and the Landscape* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), 187-214.

of partisan politics in the early nineteenth century.[215] Books, including past works republished, formed part of the fierce competition of political identity. Whig writers set out to organise the past into a narrative of progress, one that united 'tradition and change'.[216] For instance, Henry Cockburn's *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition* collated his experiences from witnessing treason trials and trials for sedition in the early-to-mid-1790s.[217] Whilst the defendants had been placed on a pedestal by later radicals, lawyers like Thomas Erskine were upheld by the Whigs as defenders protecting constitutional rights. Although Cockburn claimed not to be an 'antiquarian', this did not prevent him from dressing this history in 'Whig garments'. Through this process of building teleological histories, Whigs anaesthetised the radical memory in favour of their own values.[218] However, this output did not translate to a literary hegemony. Libraries became a space to contest figures for political purposes.

As seen with historical figures like Admiral Nelson in the previous chapter, icons like William Shakespeare were claimed by both elites and Chartists into their canons. The great bard was someone whose cultural memory had steadily grown from weak commemorations in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century there were clubs and public holidays, such as the festival in places like Stratford-upon-Avon.[219] Shakespeare formed part of a radical canon of great writers and poets whose company included John Milton, Lord Bryon, Robert Burns, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and William Godwin. One of the keenest Chartist advocates of Shakespeare was the Leicester-based Chartist leader Thomas Cooper. Cooper, an autodidact, was himself the closest to a poet laureate Chartism had, with his *The Purgatory of Suicides* (1845) the most reputable prose produced.[220] He even claimed the memory of the bard as part of his local branch – 'The Shakesperean Association of Leicester Chartists'. In 1842, he acquired a lease on a large hall, 'the Shakespearean Room'. In this new

[215] Herbert Grabes, 'Cultural Memory and the Literary Canon', in Astrid Erll, Ansgar Young, Sara Nünning, and Ansgar Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 314-32.
[216] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 181, 184.
[217] Henry Cockburn, *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition Which Have Hitherto Occurred in Scotland* (London: David Douglas, 1888).
[218] Gordon Pentland, 'State Trials, Whig Lawyers ad the Press in Early Nineteenth -Century Scotland' in Gordon Pentland, Michael T. Davis, and Emma Vincent Macleod (eds.), *Political Trials in an Age of Revolutions: Britain and the North Atlantic, 1793-1848* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 221; for a description of Whig propaganda see the Introduction of this volume, Michael T. Davis, Emma Macleod, Gordon Pentland, ' Introduction. Political trials in an age of revolutions: Britain and the North Atlantic, 1793--1848', 1-16.
[219] Roland Quinault, 'The Cult of the Centenary, c.1784–1914', *Historical Research*, 71.176 (1998), 310.
[220] Thomas Cooper, *The Purgatory of Suicides: A Prison-Rhyme* (London: Jeremiah How, 1845); for an analysis of *The Purgatory of Suicides* see Stephanie Kuduk, 'Sedition, Chartism, and Epic Poetry in Thomas Cooper's The Purgatory of Suicides', *Victorian Poetry*, 39.2 (2001), 165–86; Chase, *Chartism*, 276; Antony Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Radicalism: The Uses and Abuses of Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics', *The Historical Journal*, 45.2 (2002), 357–79.

accommodation dedicated to the great bard, Chartism carried out its politics.[221] Cooper was not the only Chartist championing Shakespeare, but perhaps the loudest voice recalling it. He was referenced in the articles of the Chartist press, at meetings, and, as perhaps expected, in Chartist poetry. At the same time, the intensely Tory *Blackwood's Magazine* had urged its readers to forget writers like Godwin, a sentiment that outraged Chartist newspapers.[222] Instead, it advocated its Tory audience to engage with Shakespeare. The great bard straddled both sides of this political divide and was contested between Tory libraries as an example reinforcing sovereignty, and the radical canon as a man of the people.[223]

Counter to elite histories and claims to literary icons, Chartist newspapers regularly printed reading lists. Notices promoting a 'radical canon' regularly appeared in the *Northern Star*.[224] Among the many titles, this collection of established radical works included Paine's *Common Sense* and the *Rights of Man*.[225] In terms of sustaining memory, such notices ensured an accessible connection to earlier authors. The lists detailed the cost of books and where they were published. For instance, *Rights of Man* 'was to be had' for 1s 6d from 'W. Strange, 21, Paternoster Row, London'.[226] Such adverts often kept the same format across issues, repeating again and again who Chartists should be reading. This impetus was part of a desire to present their ideology as sophisticated. A lecture by Mr. Bairstow in January 1843 (a week before commemorations of Paine's birthday) discouraged a group of younger Chartists from reading novels, and instead focus on reading Paine, Milton, and Byron to illuminate their minds and be 'both becoming better and wiser'.[227] While peripheral, reading lists were both proactive and reactive in raising awareness of the past. Proactive because they pushed the identity of Chartism by promoting the names of illustrious authors like Paine. And reactive in the sense that contemporaries already knew the name of Paine and therefore supplied the demand for the republication of his works. An example of the former is seen with a notice for a new series of 'The WORKS of THOMAS PAINE, Political and Theological Vol. 1' advertised on 27th July 1844. It sought to resolve the lack of a cheap collection of his complete

[221] Yet, not everyone was enamoured with this move, nor Cooper's leadership Cole, *Portraits*, 197-98.
[222] Casie Legette, 'Remaking Caleb Williams in the Nineteenth Century', *Romanticism*, 18.2 (2012), 143–54.
[223] Peter Holbrook, 'Shakespeare, "The Cause of the People", and The Chartist Circular 1839–1842', *Textual Practice*, 20.2 (2006), 203–29.
[224] Matthew *Roberts, Chartism, Commemoration and the Cult of the Radical Hero* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 10.
[225]For an example see *Northern Liberator*, 12 October 1839, 3.
[226] *Northern Star*, 4 January, 1840, 8.
[227] *Northern* Star, 21 January 1843, 3; likewise, the *Western Vindicator* proclaimed that if there was to be any reading, it should be done for self-improvement via the works of radical greats like Paine, Bentham, Cartwright, Cobbett, see *Western Vindicator*, 27 April 1839, [page number]; see also Tom Scriven, 'Humour, Satire, and Sexuality in the Culture of Early Chartism, *The Historical Journal*, 57.1 (2014), 177–78.

writings, with Richard Carlile, an early nineteenth century acolyte of Paine's, having 'placed them beyond the reach of the working classes' at 2s 2d.[228] This edition would be in 'fourpenny parts' and offer portraits of the great radical.

However, as we have seen with the *Northern Star*, such generosity continued to be costly. Robert Hall's study of reading rooms in Ashton-under-Lyne echoes this interplay between financial struggles amongst Chartists to afford such works, and a dynamic determination to connect with the past. The local community ensured engagement through the Chartist Association offering free readings of the *Northern Star*. Likewise, tavern owners were keen to offer specific newspapers that were to the taste of their regular customers.[229] Yet, booksellers also remained a key source for accessing this type of cultural memory. Their windows were transformed 'into reading spaces' for passersby, and they were a place where tickets for 'Chartist dinners and tea parties', including Paine dinners, were supplied.[230] At great risk to their own security, men like James Watson, Henry Hetherington, George Jacob Holyoake, and Abel Haywood acted as agents of remembering, affording the community to engage with these past works.[231] Moreover, their efforts extended into serving other elements of a radical cultural memory, often attending or participating in commemorative banquets. The radical canon was not remade in full for the reader in the *Northern Star,* this work was left to men like Watson. Rather, the *Northern Star* consistently reminded readers of these titles and where to acquire them. Ongoing advertisements of a radical canon in the *Northern Star* certainly polished the reputations of men like Paine as one to be read, and Chartists learned about a radical iconography. However, they did so in the backdrop of Whig and Tory histories as well.

'Statuemania' and the race to commemorate

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the elite relationship with the past in the Chartist period was its ability to memorialise using statues. Then as now, statues 'embellish the past', evoke power, and rest somewhere between the 'political statuary' and benign 'artistic

[228] *Northern Star*, 27 July 1844,2.
[229] Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1970), 119.
[230] Robert Hall, 'At the Dawn of the Information Age: Reading and the Working Classes in Ashton-under-Lyne, 1830-1850', in James J. Connolly and others, *Print Culture Histories Beyond the Metropolis* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 243-67.
[231] Confiscated publications acquired by spies included *Age of Reason* 'Bot of Abel Haywoods younge woman at his shop No 60. Oldham St', see NA HO-44/20/610.

sculpture'.[232] The 1840s provided the kinds of public memorials to conservative icons that offered succor to 'hierarchies of power' in an open setting.[233] This pantheonisation of the landscape saw the country go 'statue mad' by the ascension of Victoria.[234] It was to coincide with Chartism, with the past increasingly turned into stone with figures deemed prudent by various political factions.[235] It would only continue to accelerate into the later half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this desire to memorialise occurred at a time of ever-increasing sense of fame culture, with warriors, people's champions, martyrs, and travelling spokesmen advocating their interest to crowds.[236] Memorials offered some kind of legacy to root the heroes of these conflicting political cultures into public spaces.

The growth of statues in this period had its roots in the French Revolution. In April 1791, the Constituent Assembly decreed that the Parisian church St Geneviève be transformed from a religious space of saints to a secular one following the death of the Count of Mirabeau. With this transformation, the holy space was renamed 'Panthéon', and its design was reinvented with memorials to the main actors of the Revolution. Jean-Paul Marat, the 'ami du peuple', rejected the idea that an Assembly could decide who to enshrine and thrust upon later generations. Still, his actions in the revolution were greater than his detractions, and he was placed into this Panthéon all the same.[237] In his seminal study on 'statuemania', Maurice Agulhon explored this determination to 'statueify' the individual on ideological grounds. In it, he identifies a connection 'which he associates with the revolutionary tradition of 1789 and 1830'.[238] Ironically, a period of iconoclasm in France significantly impacted memorialization; one that links the revolutionary atmosphere of the late eighteenth century to the place of memory during Chartism. Coming up to this later period, in his 1840 essay, the Whig writer Thomas Carlyle had little good to say on the prowess of pantheonisation within Britain. His sentiments praised the 'History of the Great Men'. Still, they echoed critics who wished to see a greater application of commemoration and the arts (as witnessed with the Nelson statue).[239] His was not a lone voice, as such sentiment for pantheons was desired elsewhere in the press.

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[232] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 524; Alex von Tunzelmann, *Fallen Idols: History Is Not Erased When Statues Are Pulled Down. It Is Made* (Headline Publishing Group, 2022), 5-8.
[233] Navickas, 'The 'Spirit of Loyalty', 45.
[234] Read.
[235] Christine MacLeod, *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20.
[236] Simon James Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions: Popular Politicians in the Age of Reform, 1810–67*, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions* (Manchester University Press, 2021).
[237] Simon Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 107.
[238] Maurice Agulhon, 'La statuomanie et l'histoire', *Ethnologie Française*, 8.2/3 (1978), 145–72.
[239] The copy used in this reference is a slightly later publication, Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History: Six Lectures: Reported, with Emendations and Additions* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842); for an explanation of Carlyle's 'Hero' see Morgan, *Celebrities*, 267.

In October 1842, newspapers were reporting on the Walhalla monument which had opened in Regensburg, Bavaria, to commemorate great and glorious German icons.[240] Once more, the events of the Revolution, or more accurately, Napoleon, were to inspire King Ludwig of Bavaria to build his temple to German greatness overlooking the Danube River.[241] The conservative *Weekly True Sun* asked why a Walhalla-like memorial did not yet exist in Britain to commemorate actions abroad in the Peninsula Wars, and was frustrated that no 'Arch nor Column' stood in memory of Blenheim or Waterloo.[242] Neither St Paul's nor Westminster Abbey satisfied this statuary appetite. Though there was no 'temple', there was no shortage of statues, or a desire to establish them.

Yet, there was a price for this memorialization. It was costly both in terms of construction and its placement. Materials, like marble embodying the memory, were cumbersome to move and costly. Often public subscriptions were raised for monuments, as in the case of the Nelson Memorial in Trafalgar Square. Equally, land, whether in a public space or private garden, was also required for the symbolic totem to stand. It was a big demand for Chartists to acquire this space for monuments, as the difficulties of the Chartist Land Plan in the mid-1840s was to prove.[243] In contrast, these requirements did not constrain social elites as much. The study by Alex Tyrell and Michael T. Davies is an excellent example with their analysis of the 'toryfication' of Edinburgh's 'cultural landscape'. From the local Tory 'Pitt clubs' to the memorial of him and colleagues like Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, and George IV, the surrounding skyline became a 'pedagogical space'.[244] The recent past of the radical Scottish Martyrs and their prosecution was overshadowed by this conservative ideology in statue form. Recent interpretations of these efforts to construct such memorials by scholars like Katrina Navickas observe that commemoration evoked a 'Spirit of Loyalty', a conservative reading of the past whereby the dead were recruited 'to represent hierarchies of power'.[245] This architecture allowed iconography to be firmly planted, embedding an unequivocal message on Britain's political structure across cityscapes.

This access to resources did not always make the erection of monuments simple for elites. On this matter of producing memorials, it is worth noting that stonemasons were one of

[240] *Illustrated London News*, 12 November 1842, 12.
[241] For an excellent account into the history and meaning of the Walhalla Monument, see Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (Penguin UK, 2016), 153-73.
[242] *Weekly True Sun*, 21 January 1843, 5.
[243] This was a lottery based scheme to give Chartists plots to sustain themselves. See *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 254-60.
[244] Alex Tyrrell and Michael T. Davies, 'Bearding the Tories: The Commemoration of the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1793-94', in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004), 25-56.
[245] Navickas, 'The 'Spirit of Loyalty', 45.

many trades making up Chartism. Those carving the likenesses capturing the memory of elites and empowering their politics in the public realm were part of the political discontent. In 1841 and 1842, stonemasons in London halted work on rebuilding the Houses of Parliament and Nelson's Column.[246] Indeed, Peel had even been warned about the political temper of the London stonemasons, who had not only helped complete the Nelson Monument, but were present at the confrontation in Trafalgar Square in 1848.[247] It is an interesting example of how 'toryfication' may have been hegemonic in parts of the cultural landscape, but on occasion, crafting these likenesses depended upon workers, their pay, and working conditions. More direct evidence of this involvement in Chartism is seen with the attendance of stonemasons Christopher Dean and Henry Candy who were delegates at the 1839 General Convention.[248] In addition to these commanding roles, stonemasons appear on the balance sheets of donations collected, such as the Fleetwood stonemasons who gathered 10s.[249] Political participation in this trade might answer why several Chartist meetings felt confident enough at raising the prospect of such memorials to their heroes and champions. Statues of men like Joseph Sturge in Birmingham (1862) and John Fielden in Todmorden (1863) were to eventually appear, but only in the post-Chartist years.[250] Whilst the production of memorials was not simple, it was very much the preserve of elites.

The cultural landscape was there to be colonized and the Whigs attempted to challenge their Tory foes on the grounds of memorializing the past. Contesting this space helped to drive a 'politico-statuemania' rivalry. [251] Two examples of this behaviour saw written Whig histories of individuals turned into monuments. In 1843, Lord Nugent, the Whig M.P. for Aylesbury, campaigned for a monument to be raised to the English Civil War hero John Hampden. It was intended to coincide, first, with the bicentenary of Hampton's death, and second on the site of memory in which the skirmish at Chalgrove Field took place.[252] Earlier in 1832, the year of the Reform bill, Nugent had produced a written memorial to Hampden.[253] This printed epitaph was to become an enduring stone monument. Equally, a similar process took place a year earlier, when Peter Mackenzie produced a biography of Scottish Martyr Thomas Muir.[254] His earlier life as an educated lawyer, his background as a son of a merchant,

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[246] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 206; Goodway, *London Chartism*, 179-81.
[247] Goodway, *London Chartism*, 179-81.
[248] Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (Wildwood House, 1986), 206.
[249] *Northern Star*, 28 September 1840, 3.
[250] Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 86.
[251] Baker, *Surrealism*, 164.
[252] Roland Quinault, 'The Cult of the Centenary, c.1784–1914', *Historical Research*, 71.176 (1998), 313.
[253] George Nugent Temple Baron Grenville, *Some Memorials of John Hampden, His Party, and His Times. By Lord Nugent. Two Volumes* (London, Albemarle Street, 1832).
[254] Peter Mackenzie, *The Life of Thomas Muir, Esq. Advocate, Younger of Huntershill, Near Glasgow, Member of the Convention of Delegates for Reform in Scotland, Etc., Etc: Who Was Tried for Sedition*

and his eloquent defence of liberty suited the Whiggish image. This was despite Muir's reading of Paine and, once escaping his imprisonment from the penal colony of Botany Bay, radicalized in republican France. Nonetheless, it was this biography that spurred radical Whig M.P. Joseph Hume to campaign for what became the Martyrs' Monument sited in Carlton Hill cemetery in Edinburgh.[255] It was unveiled to the public on 21st August 1844, with mixed and bemused responses from both local Tories and Chartists.

Whilst Chartism was logistically limited in monument building, such projects were not entirely absent from Chartist minds. Several reports from local Chartist meetings reveal expressions of interest. For instance, at a Metropolitan Delegate Meeting in November 1842, one of the talking points was the need to 'rebronze' the inscription of the Major John Cartwright statue.[256] Cartwright had been a contemporary of Paine's and his pamphlet – *Take Your Choice!* – attacked 'Old Corruption' and advocated Parliamentary reform.[257] Those gathered at this meeting viewed the maintenance a worthy cause, claiming Cartwright as 'the only one in London expressive of the principles contained in the People's Charter'.[258] Although a Cartwright monument did not materialize, a statue to Henry Hunt did. It was a unique engagement with this type of cultural memory, and an exception to Chartism's struggle to memorialise.

Hunt was a towering figure within Chartism's radical pantheon and by this very definition deserving of memorialisation. His memory was frequently recalled at Chartist meetings, with his birthday (6th November) and the Peterloo Massacre (16th August) as the two most important commemorations in the Chartist calendar.[259] An excellent orator, he commanded the mass platform in a way that O'Connor did years later. He was a stalwart of political equality and a known celebrity 'lionised' with a reputation and mass appeal amongst communities.[260] The heavy-handed clash at Peterloo provoked outrage, a '*cause célèbre*' that contributed to Hunt's fame. He later entered Parliament as the radical MP for Preston in 1831

Before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, and Sentenced to Transportation for Fourteen Years : With a Full Report on His Trial (Glasgow: W.R. M'Phun, 1831); Tyrrell and Davies, 'Bearding the Tories' .

[255] Peter Mackenzie, *The Life of Thomas Muir, Esq. Advocate, Younger of Huntershill, Near Glasgow, Member of the Convention of Delegates for Reform in Scotland, Etc., Etc: Who Was Tried for Sedition Before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, and Sentenced to Transportation for Fourteen Years : With a Full Report on His Trial* (W.R. M'Phun, 1831); Tyrrell and Davies, 'Bearding the Tories' .

[256] *Northern Star*, 19 November 1842, 2.

[257] John Cartwright, *Take Your Choice! Representation and Respect; Imposition and Contempt. Annual Parliaments and Liberty, Long Parliaments and Slavery* (London: J. Almon, 1776).

[258] Josh Gibson, 'The Chartists and the Constitution: Revisiting British Popular Constitutionalism', *Journal of British Studies*, 56.1 (2017), 70–90; Chase, *Chartism*: 7-8.

[259] John Belchem, *'Orator' Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 276.

[260] Simon Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions: Popular Politicians in the Age of Reform, 1810–67*, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 89.

and, importantly to the Chartists, opposed the Reform Bill.[261] Hunt also had the esteemed badge of honour as a martyr in the fallout of Peterloo. He was arrested, put on trial, and imprisoned. This only served to boost his popularity amongst radicals. Onboard the 'Old Hulk', the exploits raised Hunt to something of royalty among radicals. 'Saint Henry' of 'Ilchester Bastille'… awarded mock knighthoods' – an ordeal that added lustre as the martyred patriot who ascended into the radical pantheon.[262] Yet, as Joseph Cozens has observed, Hunt did not absorb all the attention of Peterloo, but he did much to build a 'people's martyrology'.[263] The popularity of his legacy amongst Chartists is indicated by the large quantity of detail given to these anniversary dinners. In 1842, the *Northern Star* published several reports of commemorations in and around Oldham that included 'democratic festivals' and 'tea-parties' to celebrate Hunt's birthday.[264] The detail of one report of an anniversary dinner held in Manchester offers an interesting insight into O'Connor's disdain towards statuary:

> 'He had attended meetings pretending honour to departed heroes and martyrs, where statues of marble and busts of stone were considered fittest emblems to represent the principles of heroes; but when he moved, as an amendment, that the recognition of their principles would be the most imperishable monument of their patriotism, he was met by Whig yells and factious scorn. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] They were there tonight to perform a more noble work than that of bedaubing the marketplace with inanimate figures, cold emblems of recollection. They were building a fresh temple in the hearts of the youths which he saw about him while they were watering the recollections of veteran patriots that the name of Hunt, the immortal champion of liberty might still live green in their memory'[265]

O'Connor's message on monuments is clear. He wished not to have statues but gatherings. It is an interesting commentary that defines the kinds of cultural memory employed by its supporters. One was a cold (and apparently Whig) embodiment of memory; the other was a sociable and emotional fraternity. And yet, in a sign of memory's malleability, this tone shifted with the erection of a monument to Hunt in Manchester in 1842.

The Hunt memorial was made possible by the radical Reverend James Scholefield. This clergyman provided an exception to the difficulty of acquiring land by providing space for

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[261] Graham Phythian, *Peterloo Voices, Sabres and Silence* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2018), 13, 188.

[262] Joseph Cozens, 'The Making of the Peterloo Martyrs, 1819 to the Present' in Quentin Outram and Keith Laybourn, *Secular Martyrdom in Britain and Ireland From Peterloo to Present* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 37

[263] *Ibid*.

[264] *Northern Star*, 12 November 1842, 3.

[265] *Northern Star*, 10 November 1838, 8.

a plinth to go into the cemetery of his Chapel on Every-street.[266] The publication of the Monument Committee's report in the *Northern Star* earlier that year reveals a public subscription of £30 8s had been received. Likewise, a call was sent out to Manchester locals and Peterloo veterans to attend the demonstration and show their gratitude. As the report notes, O'Connor's visit to the Hall of Science in Manchester earlier in September the previous year had told the crowd that 'ingratitude' had killed Hunt. The report drew on this speech to claim the memorial would restore him.[267] On 25th March 1842 (Good Friday), the memorial was unveiled. The *British Statesman* provided a lukewarm reception to the laying of the foundation stone. The report talks more on the power of fame culture and interests to commodify. First, the unveiling included a 1d entrance fee or the option to watch it from a viewing platform for 6d. And second, a 'copper plate likeness' of O'Connor – Hunt's successor – was also available to purchase.[268] An impression of the monument was displayed to visitors. According to the newspaper report, the intended design was to have a vault into which O'Connor, speaking at the unveiling ceremony, 'deposited the memoirs of Henry Hunt, the history of the Peterloo massacre, and his letters from Ilchester gaol to the Reformers'. The Committee's report from January provides details of this design:

> 'the ground work has been excavated, walled, and otherwise completed, - being formed into vaults for the reception of such as continue faithful unto death, that their remains, if the people wish, may be duly honoured, and their names recorded on this monument of national and universal liberty'.[269]

This aspect of memory is intriguing. On the one hand, the site is hallowed as a tomb with materials sanctifying it with cultural tokens of Hunt's memory. The past is inscribed and deposited. In tandem with this, it was envisioned as an accessible pantheon for current and future reformers. Chartists had built a tomb of cultural heritage, a place to plant radical identity for all times.[270]

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[266] Scholefield is one of the 'Friends' studied in Owen R. Ashton and Paul A. Pickering, *Friends of the People: Uneasy Radicals in the Age of the Chartists* (London: Merlin, 2002).
[267] *Northern Star*, 22 January 1842, 8.
[268] *British Statesman*, 2 April 1842, 2.
[269] *Northern Star*, 22 January 1842, 8.
[270] This definition of cultural heritage is adapted from Rodney Harrison and Debora Rose, see Rodney Harrison and Debora Rose 'Heritage and the Recent and Contemporary Past', in Tim Benton (ed.), *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (Manchester University Press, 2010), 244-46. Another example of this kind of monument existed in Paris with the July Column. This 50-metre monument sited on the 'Place de la Bastille' was erected between 1835 and 1840 and contained the bodies of the 504 victims of the July Revolution. Eight years later with the toppling of Louis-Phillipe in February, further victims were added to the vaults of the column. One of these was George Good, a British printer whose father John Good had been a member of the Chartist General Convention in 1839. See Fabrice Bensimon, *Artisans Abroad: British Migrant Workers in Industrialising Europe, 1815-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 171-73; *Northern Star*, 18 July 1840, 6; *Northern Star*, 25 July 1840, 3.

A more favourable and detailed report of the laying of the Hunt Memorial foundations is given in the *Northern Star*.[271] Indeed, readers were treated to a two-page account; such was the momentous moment and Hunt's memory. O'Connor took a key role in the festivities, having been called upon by the committee of the memorial to lay the foundation stone. In contrast to his speech in 1838 delivered at Hunt's birthday anniversary, he performs a volte-face. This was not a 'cold emblem', but an event that deserved the full pomp of ceremony. The *Northern Star* claimed an attendance of 40,000. As was typical of newspapers of different political allegiances, there was a great disparity in counting the crowd.[272] The *British Statesman* had estimated far lower numbers at 7,000, half of which it claimed were merely curious locals. Yet, displays of banners, caps of liberty, and the performance of music were all part of the pageantry. The demonstration was somewhere between a celebration and a funeral march, with a procession of visual and material culture - the 'aural mnemonics' typically performed at radical funerals.[273] This same kind of culture, poised as it was in 1842 for the National Petition, was mobilised in Manchester for Hunt, albeit retrospectively. Musical performances went between the 'Dead March', indicating the funeral rites, and later during the dinner, more radical tunes like the Marseillaise Hymn and 'Scots wha ha'e we', or Wallace bled – a song sung to commemorate Muir, yet repurposed for Hunt.[274] This music not only impresses the meaning of radicalism onto Hunt, but also carries with it a shift in the emotion of the occasion. It moves from the solemn to the gleeful. This is also true of the speeches. The Reverend Scholefield makes a comparison between Hunt and the sacrifice of Christ, likening his shedding of blood with that of the Peterloo Massacre.[275] In contrast, O'Connor's speech takes a more secular approach, addressing the evils of political enemies – the Whig-Tory aristocracy. Yet, a running theme through several speeches is the dismissal of political rivals as 'humbugs'. This reference is to the middle-class dominated A.C.L.L., as well as the National Complete Suffrage Union (C.S.U.) organised by Joseph Sturge.[276] At the moment of memorialisation, there is a reaffirmation of Chartist identity to achieve all their aims with no compromises, no 'Complete Humbug, no Household Humbug, no Two Point Humbug', nor the aims of Sturge, or, as

[271] *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, 6-7.
[272] There are many examples, but an excellent study into this war of numbers is with reports covering the great meeting on Kennington Common in April 1848, see David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 129-43.
[273] Manon Nouvian, 'Defiant Mourning: Public Funerals as Funeral Demonstrations in the Chartist Movement', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 24.2 (2019), 219.
[274] This was sung had also been sung at earlier dinners commemorating Hunt's birthday. See, *Northern Star*, 10 November 1838, 4.
[275] *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, 6-7.
[276] The C.S.U was the formation of different political activists to form a cohesive group united in its efforts for reform. Despite the opposition from Chartists like Harney and O'Connor, they would meet in Birmingham in December of that year, only for it to collapse through factionalism. Cole, *Chartist Portraits*, 179-83.

George Julian Harney said, no Sturgeites or any other '*ites*'.[277] At this moment, the memory (and now memorial) to Hunt became entwined with the unfolding politics of Chartism and wider political cultures. This confrontational rhetoric abounded at this time, but it interesting that it came to occupy the pseudo-funeral of their sterling patriot. It's likely that had this monument been raised later, with the land plan in the mid-1840s, or the third National Petition in 1848, other key debates in Chartism would likely have shaped the performance of the rituals around memorialisation.

In August 1842, the *Northern Star* used the Hunt memorial to commemorate the Peterloo Massacre anniversary. Four days after the memorable event, the front page of the *Northern Star* contained two engravings. One was an impression of the monument from street level (presumably the vaults are below – see Figure 6), and the other showed the Peterloo Massacre (Figure 7). The former provides a thought-provoking insight into the Chartist imagination concerning memorialisation. Like Nelson a year later, Hunt is astride the monument. He is garbed not in the clothing of the working man, (fustian jackets) but senatorial robes of ancient times. It is a classical portrayal, one that possibly was intended to emphasise Hunt's statesmanship to contrast the corrupt Whig and Tory Parliament. His patriarchy is anchored with a family also depicted in the scene. They are possibly visiting the site, if not walking by the monument as Hunt looks onwards. It might even be suggested that this is the idyllic 'Chartist family', Father, Mother, son (and dog), not contained to factory walls but outdoors under the gaze of their hero.[278] Connected to this engraving is a report on the events that took place at the Every-Street Chapel earlier in June. It provides useful reprints of eulogies given to Hunt, speeches that whilst often mentioned were usually omitted or truncated when reprinted in the *Northern Star*. In contrast to the peaceful serenity in the first engraving, the other exhibits the horror of the Peterloo Massacre. It captures in detail the actions of the Yeomanry and the violence shown to the crowd. Whereas Figure 6 shows Hunt's statue watching on in peace, he is depicted as helpless in Figure 7, only able to witness the carnage unfolding before his eyes. Accompanying this image is a history of the Peterloo Massacre with a list of names of the Yeomanry involved in the attack on the crowd.

[277] *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, 6-7.

[278] Malcolm Chase describes the ideal Chartist family unit as those who would have taken part in all aspects of Chartist life, from learning to living, meeting, and naming their children after Chartist heroes like Feargus O'Connor, see Chase, *The Chartists*, 6.

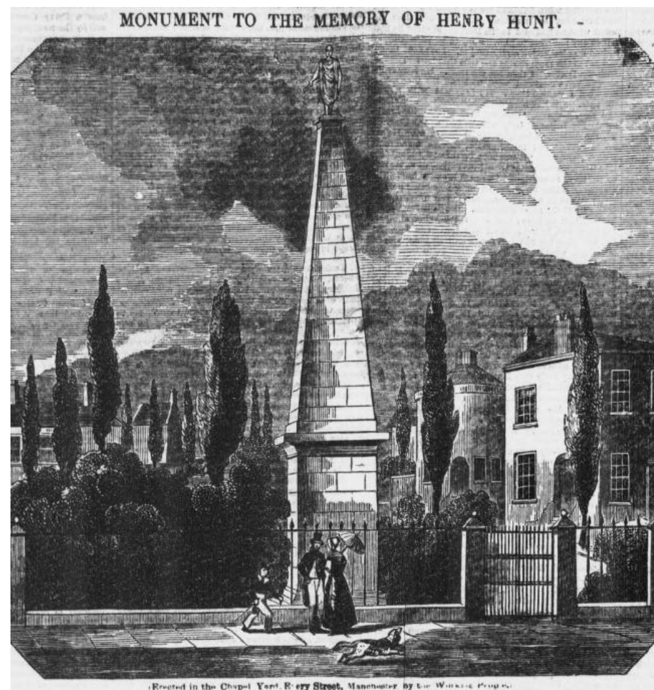

Figure 6: Monument to the Memory of Henry Hunt, Northern Star, 20 August 1842, 1.

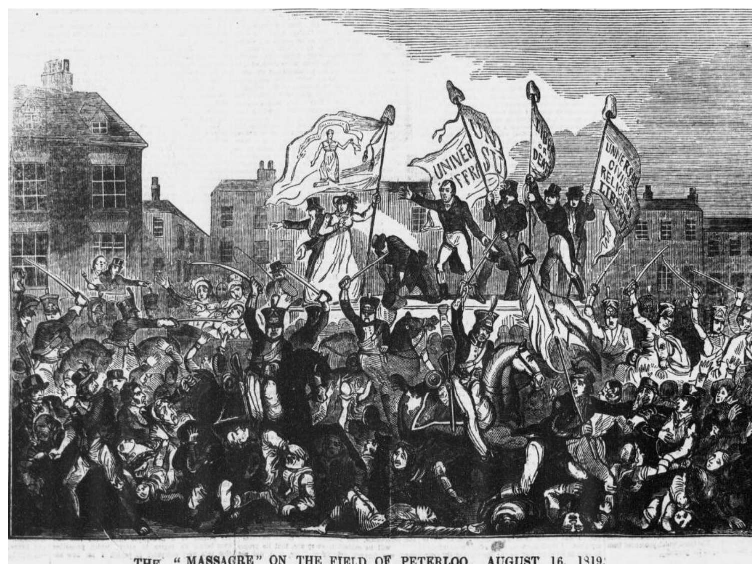

Figure 7: The "Massacre on the Field of Peterloo", Northern Star, 20 August 1842, 1.

It is possible that this memorial of Hunt inspired further discussions of monuments amongst Chartists. In November 1842, those in Ashton-under-Lyne, a popular locality for celebrating radical anniversaries, proposed their own statue with 'heart stirring appeal' to join in the commemoration and 'patriotic emotion' abounding the meeting.[279] Likewise, a year later in July 1843, another committee was held by those who had raised the Hunt Memorial, with Scholefield retaining his position as treasurer to the committee. A request is made to persons with expendable finances to help support another initiative, but nothing came of this

[279] *British Statesman*, 12 November 1842, 10.

endeavour.[280] The gathering reveals how other Chartists did not necessarily share O'Connor's coldness towards statues. Despite his stature, there appears descent from his disregard for monuments. In his study on Chartist commemoration, Roberts acknowledges the absence of a set discourse on heritage.[281] The above discussion over memorials provides further evidence of this fluidity around memory. Even with something as rigid as statues, the evidence suggests that Chartists like O'Connor adjusted their attitudes on commemoration. At one moment he lambasted monuments whilst other Chartists in separate locality could propose new ones. Despite his central role at the unveiling, O'Connor reverted to his view that statues were an unfit medium for commemoration. At a 'London Democratic Supper', held in Leicester Square on November 6th 1845 to celebrate Hunt's birthday, O'Connor challenged radical memorialisation and wished to continue intangible practices that channel the memory of their illustrious dead:

> 'let us rejoice that while tyrants are selecting usurpers as fitting statues to decorate their hall, we are erecting a more enduring monument to the departed patriot, by endeavouring to establish those principles for which he lived'[282]

Whilst this change from 1842 might be taken as O'Connor reverting to type and acting opportunistically, it would have been impossible for the self-proclaimed and widely accepted inheritor of Hunt to give up the chance (perhaps the only chance) to open a memorial to an icon of the movement. O'Connor had to shift his attitude on commemoration, even if he disdained monuments. Others remained supportive of continuing the memorialisation of the Chartist pantheon. Cooper was one such Chartist leader. He had also attended and spoken at the 1842 opening of the Hunt Monument. In the same year O'Connor had denounced statues at the London Democratic dinner, Cooper wrote from Stafford Goal encouraging the erection of more statues. In a sign that the 'politico-statuemania' within Chartism, there continued to burn in men like Cooper a call for memorials. One such monument was to the Chartist hero George Shell, who had been killed during the Newport Rising in 1839. Moreover, he related this to the memorial to Hampden that Lord Nugent had erected and asked whether there would be a statue of Shell in 2039?[283] Although further Chartist memorials were likely impossible, and O'Connor perhaps rightly looking to avoid a costly endeavour, Cooper's sentiments express a desire to contest the cultural landscape.

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[280] *Northern Star* 8 July 1843, 5.
[281] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 82.
[282] *Northern Star*, 15 November 1845, 7.
[283] Steve Poole, '"The Instinct for Hero Worship Works Blindly": English Radical Democrats and the Problem of Memorialization', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 54.5 (2020), 512.

Excluding those that would appear in the second half of the nineteenth century, Chartist statues were few and far between. Yet, their discussions to erect monuments, or label them an irrelevance compared to social commemoration, exhibits the fortitude of radical heritage. Whilst an intangible moveable heritage of commemoration was far more popular and successful within Chartism, the appearance of these dialogues around statues formed an important part of asserting Chartism's own culture of commemoration, even if its leadership was divided over the approach. There was an awareness of the monuments erected by elites. Although it is a unique example, the Hunt Memorial shows that the popular feeling could be charged and force a performance from detractors like O'Connor to exult the medium and make the most of the occasion. Ultimately, however, Chartism achieved most of its commemoration through anniversary dinners and the kinds of sociable gatherings the memories of Paine and Hunt provided. The essence of this relationship between Chartism and its radical past is well put by O'Connor at a special demonstration honouring Thomas Duncombe Slingsby in Sheffield in the summer of 1844. Speaking of Duncombe, O'Connor could have easily been addressing many of the Chartists in the crowd on the means of preserving memory when he announced:

> 'when the statue of Nelson shall fade from the coil of ropes on which it rests, you [Duncombe] will live deep in the affections of the working classes, and require no representation of cold marble or stone to commemorate your name-(loud cheers). The memory that lives the longest is not that which is preserved by monuments, but that which is indelibly fixed on the minds of the people, as will be yours, as soon as they have made you what I trust they will make you.'[284]

The praise O'Connor heaped onto Duncombe Slingsby signals O'Connors preference for the intangible social gathering over material monuments. With the cold emblems of statues considered, we shall now consider the warmth public dinners offered memory in the contest over commemoration.

Making a meal out of remembrance

In isolation, plates of boiled beef and potato appear to offer meagre sustenance to our understanding of how memory stoked political tension in early Victorian Britain. And yet, peripheral though they may first appear in comparison to 'the Chartist leviathan petition' and monster-sized demonstrations, commemorative banquets contributed to Chartism's confrontation with the state.[285] Much like how the petition bound together the names of

[284] *Northern Star*, 10 August 1844, 6.
[285] Malcolm Chase puts the 'leviathan petition' of 1842 at 3,317,752 signatures, 205.

Chartists, dinners brought together local communities to express their dedication to their political creed. In the case of Chartism, there was an odd intersection between the widespread commemoration of their past through dinners and the widespread hunger that permeated the lives of many workers. Nonetheless, Chartists challenged established commemoration culture by appropriating this official form of remembrance. They took such highly ritualised 'inherited practices' and commemorated an earlier radicalism.[286] The 'invented traditions' contributed a sense of procedure, longevity, and gravitas. Radicals used political dining from a 'well-supplied warehouses of official ritual' to establish practices of remembering heroes of the radical pantheon, like Paine.[287] As Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger explain, these traditions were 'invariable' for when they were repeated, but provided the necessary devices to 'graft' new meanings onto the past. The term 'invented' itself infers the ability to be altered and remade again and again. However, whilst Chartists may have been imitating their social elites, they were not the only ones. In 1833, radical publisher Joshua Hobson's popular newspaper the *Voice of the West Riding* (1833-5) was happy to deliver his verdict on Tory and Whig dinners. Whereas the elite press portrayed the masses as aping elites when practicing public dinners, Hobson turned this satire back onto the Whigs. They are sham Tories who imitate their political rivals by organising dinners in 'tory fashion to puff Ministers, and trumpet forth their supposed popularity'.[288] If drunkenness and ribaldry were the slur used against the lower orders to disgrace their commemorative dinners, then gluttony is the attack Hobson mobilised in his newspaper:

> The smell-feasts, the symposiasts, the gormandizers, and the wine-bibbers: these are gross feeders; that sentimentality flows amazingly over a smoking sirloin, and they gulp down claret and patriotism at the same time, "O what a genius he had that invented eating and drinking" is a fine a sentiment with such, than "Equal rights and equal laws." An excellent squad for supporting the popularity of a sinking party! Ah but they like to be *snug* and *exclusive* --- no Radicals, no Tories, save Tories be-whigged'[289].

In this case, the Chartists were not the sole group impersonating their political rivals with purloined traditions. Rather, this ritual was used by the Whigs and Tories as part of their party apparatus for elections, as well as dining to commemorate their respective pantheons.

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[286] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 21 .

[287] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-14; for a discussion on the fabricated' relationship of ritual see also A. Hessayon, "Fabricating radical traditions", in M. Caricchio, G. Tarantino, eds., Cromohs Virtual Seminars. *Recent historiographical trends of the British Studies (17th-18th Centuries)*,(2006-2007) 1-6.

[288] *Voice of the West Riding*, 2 November 1833, 1.

[289] *Ibid*.

Meanwhile, Chartists, excluded from the franchise and seeking universal suffrage, used public dinners to celebrate their 'illustrious dead' in pursuit of the People's Charter.

A look at elite dinners reveals their importance within the political cultures of early Victorian Britain. Memory was inevitably politicised through these public dinners. This factor becomes less surprising when these banquets formed part of the Whig and Tory plans to organise their local political branches. For instance, Whig Reform Associations appeared in cities and provinces across Britain, not only to celebrate Whig histories but to support electoral strategy in the hope of future political victories. They were used to rival Tory activity, with the Fox clubs a counter to the Pitt clubs, and giving new life to their great Parliamentary feud.[290] Unsurprisingly, this politicisation of the ritual inevitably led to confrontation. In Pudsey, a 'Reform and Registration Society' held its first annual dinner in January 1838 to counter the local branch of Tories:

> 'The Liberal Party at Pudsey have long felt the imperious necessity of organization, in order to protect themselves from the unscrupulous measures adopted by the Tories'[291]

The Liberals occupied 'the Victoria' building and decorated it with emblems and phrases that linked local sites, such as 'Crawshaw Mill Company', with 'The Queen and Reform', and 'Melbourne and the People's right'. Of note is the chair used by the Chairman to orchestrate the proceedings. It was 'that used by the Reformers in the celebrated contest of 1807'. The furniture provides the occasion with a local history, even a talismanic connection, from successful elections. A few weeks later, the *Leeds Mercury* reveals the tension this new association created. In a letter to the editor of the Tory *Leeds Intelligencer*, signed by 'A PUDSEY REFORMER, the article alleges that 'the Association offended them [the Tories], and the dinner provoked their ire'.[292] Such reports of these dinners (along with attacks on political opponents) were common and Whig Reform Associations continued to grow.[293] They were not only used for winning influence at elections but for celebrating electoral victories. Whig success in the West-Riding saw the return of two candidates, Viscount Morpeth and Sir George Strickland, with a dinner for 'two hundred gentlemen' arranged. The significance of this win and the resulting dinner is shown by the desire to have the transcript printed in the newspaper for publication the following day.[294]

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[290] Peter Brett, 'Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground', *History*, 81.264 (1996), 527–52.
[291] *Leeds Mercury*, 27 January 1838, 7.
[292] *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1838, 6.
[293] *Hampshire Telegraph*, 26 August 1839, 3.
[294] *Leeds Mercury*, 7 October 1837, 8.

More than being a simple component of electoral victory, dinners were also used to champion the past glories of the Whigs. The enculturation of successfully reforming of Parliament was achieved through dinners in different localities. Correspondence for a Reform dinner at Marlborough reveals the kinds of food and costings that went into such a grand affair. The correspondence gives a meticulous register of attendees, mainly men but also women and children, along with words like 'eggs' and 'potatoes' and a request for a thousands of portions of bread, meats, and puddings.[295] It was not just Victoria's Coronation that drew out such festive feasts. Anniversaries provided moments to be celebrated with pomp and pageantry. In Norfolk, a *fete*, a great '*eclat*' serving 2,000 people, was organised on the local Cricket Ground.[296] A festival in Biggleswade, Hertfordshire, commemorated the occasion at the Rose Inn. The entrance was decorated with a 'triumphal arch' and '*Union Jack*' flags. Toasts were given to '*The glorious triumph of Reform*', and the King (William IV). There was some intervention in the narrative here. William IV had begrudgingly supported Grey's reform, yet was remembered as a proponent anyway.[297] In Stratford, a Reform Dinner was arranged by a committee who organised a feast under a 150ft marquee. The grandeur of the occasion was on display, with fine wines to drink and 'turtle and other soups, an ample supply of venison … and an extensive variety of cold viands and pastry'.[298] In what reads almost like a forerunner to the Coronation itself, the Tonbridge Reform Festival in Kent was described as 'a festival superior to anything [of] the kind which has occurred in this county'. A large procession took place with materials to help with a commemoration that included wearing '"Reform commemoration" medals' as they marched, 'decorated with blue ribbands'.[299] These festivals show how memory and its rituals were made to suit partisan ideals, and were printed in newspapers favourable to the Whigs. However, such public performances were not insulated from the reactions of political rivals, and not everyone was jubilant for the Whigs.

The passage of the Reform Bill had been intensely political, and this potency carried through to Tory and Chartist detractors. The Southampton Reform Festival, for instance, was derided as failing to serve meat to any of its guests. Whereas committees arranging lavish dinners are mentioned in other transcripts, the *Albion and the Star* called such sparse plates a 'camelion diet'. Playing upon the devious reputation of Whigs, it claimed such behaviour was an expected 'dirty' trick pulled by the ungracious Whigs.[300] The London-based *Bell's Weekly Messenger* went further and lampooned the medium of a newspaper dinner report to create

[295] Wiltshire History Centre Archive 2320/11; I am grateful to Kerry Love for passing on this reference.
[296] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 07 July 1832, 2.
[297] *Huntingdon, Bedford & Peterborough Gazette*, 21 July 1832, 3.
[298] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 06 July 1832, 2.
[299] *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*, 17 July 1832, 3.
[300] *Albion and the Star*, 17 July 1832, 3.

an amusing fictional dialogue between three friends – '*Dangle, Old Buck, and Shuffleton*'. Old Buck reads *The Times* aloud to the other two (a common means of sharing the news of the day during this period). He mentions a 'magnificent' dinner commemorating the 'Nobility' and the Reform Act. All aspects are given satirical treatment, right down to the food served. Any intellectual content is reduced to base sense, as connoted by the menu, with Old Buck exclaiming:

> 'The turtle, I suppose, was the pride of human reason, - the cold punch the perfection of philosophy, - and the venison, I take for granted, food for the mind as well as the body'… had such men lived in 1688, instead of a Glorious Revolution it would all have ended in a Glorious Dinner!'[301]

It is a remarkable satirical menu that equates the Whigs with having the acumen of the food they were eating. It ends on a note of overabundance with a swipe at the bastion of Whig history – the Glorious Revolution of 1688. These replies to Whig dinners not only show how integral these banquets were to celebrating political culture, but were at the mercy of their rivals and their newspapers. Despite all parties practicing such rituals, commemoration was a popular target for satire.

Before turning to Tory uses of dinners, it is worth considering how Whig dinners were organised, for there are several valuable records that have survived that provide insights into how memory was arranged at these banquets, and in some case, how it misfired. In January 1846, one of the architects of the reform bill – Lord John Russell – was given the freedom of the city. A great feast was held on Monday 12th to commemorate this occasion. The day before, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Alexander Hastie, who acted as Chairman at the dinner, recommended to the committee that Russell should give the toast 'Peace to all Nations'. This was in line with the free trade ideology advocated by Whigs, as opposed to the more protectionist stance of the Tories, and believed to be another trick by middle classes according to the Chartists. On Wednesday 14th the *Glasgow Chronicle* printed a report in which this toast (among others) appeared. Russell delivers it but questions its necessity:

> 'I need hardly say we desire peace with all nations, and there is only one nation at present with whom any serious question of difference may occur, and that is the United States of America'[302]

The unease in the delivery suggests that Russell did not wholly wish to make such an obvious point. Furthermore, it contradicts the earlier toast to the Army and the Navy, along with Queen Victoria and the Empire. Nonetheless, the toast appeals to the free trade notions of peace and prosperity to men advocated by Russell. Russell's wider speech expands upon this, identifying

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[301] *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 15 July 1832, 229.

[302] *Glasgow Chronicle*, 14 January 1846, 1; see also *Freeman's Journal*, 17 January 1846, 4.

Glasgow as brimming with manufacturing potential and trade as a port city. The memory of Whig radical Charles James Fox is recalled and attached to toasts like 'the cause of civil and religious freedom' so central to Whig identity. This memory is combined with others, such as 'The Memory of James Watt, and the Progress of Steam Navigation'. In this Whig pantheon, political radicals combine with enlightened engineers. Yet, within this discursive space of Whig sentiment there was a Tory elephant. The 'fine old hall' in which the dinner was held contained a statue of William Pitt, erected in 1803. The *Glasgow Chronicle* explains that such a presence was 'hardly appropriate to the occasion of the meeting; but this was counterbalanced in some degree by the colossal bust of Adam Smith' placed behind assistant Chairman [Walter Buchman Esq.], a local businessman who later became a Whig then Liberal MP in 1857.[303] This dinner shows how, first, some speeches embodied values, but were not necessarily appreciated by all those who spoke. And second, whilst dialogue was customised along with the surroundings, it was not always possible to escape some aspects of the past in which these commemorations took place.

Exploring the organisation of toasts delivered at such a dinner can reveal how the discursive sentiments were already pre-arranged. It is worth noting Roberts's point that Chartist meetings appropriated commemorative dinners from elites, but how almost no trace of their preparation exists anymore.[304] Hastie's letter does not reveal everything about structuring the multitude of toasts delivered at dinners. However, it shows that committees pre-planned them rather than allowing spontaneity, arrangements that could be made at short notice. Considering Chartists appropriated these practices suggests that such pre-designed sentiments were also given at their soirees. It is almost impossible for the historian to acquire these details. What remains are the outcomes printed in the press. The desire amongst Chartists to exhibit their fiscal prudence with balance sheets helps to uncover some aspects of their logistical organisation. Defence Committees and Victim Funds were collective shows of support hosted throughout Chartism and often published in the *Northern Star*. The long lists of signatures and donations supporting political causes provide an interesting alternative to petitions. They provide a roster of names from a wide variety of Chartists, along with a contribution. These came from individual men and women, along with the wider Chartist organisations, Working Men's Associations, National Charter Associations (N.C.A.s), and Temperance groups. Some signatures are pseudonyms that allude to political views, 'An enemy of Tyranny… 10s', or 'a few friends at the General Washington, Nottingham… 5s.[305] In

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[303] *Ibid*.

[304] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 66, 73-4.

[305] *Northern Star*, 28 November 1840, 3; for an example of female contributions see *Northern Star*, 3 August 1839, 5 where the Female Radicals of Hyde agreed £3 for the defence of John Bradley for his trial at Chester. Money was also given to the wives of imprisoned Chartists and those widowed in the

January 1841, the 'St. Pancras Political Victim Protection Committee' carefully organised a banquet at the Social Hall on John Street, Tottenham Court Road (a popular location for Paine dinners). A total of £24 16s 2d was raised and carefully spent with the report ending 'Audited and found Correct' by 'S. Wade and J. Eames – Auditors'.[306] Details of the dinner are recorded. These range from expenses for hiring the hall, musicians, 'amount paid for 225 Persons taking Tea at 8d per head… £7 10s', the printing of tickets, and the cost of an advert in the *Northern Star* (1s 6d).[307] Whilst evidence of those organising the toasts may remain lost to time, the knowledge that Chartists appropriated from elites provides some evidence of the intentions of organising dinners. With this greater awareness into the arrangements and reactions to customising commemoration, we shall now explore what the Tories made of the past, and how this was responded to by Whigs and Chartists.

One of the most popular moments of conservative commemoration was the Battle of Waterloo. The anniversary (18th June) was celebrated with annual benefits and local commemorations that continued through to the era of Chartism. In 1843, the Duke of Wellington, the totem of the Napoleonic Wars, provided an annual banquet at Apsley House that included H.R.H amongst those attending. The elites were not necessary the only ones to carry out remembrance of this event. There were celebrations at a lower level. In Retford, veterans of Waterloo gathered at the Half-Moon Inn and carried out the customs of speech-making, electing a chairman, and raising toasts. These included the collective 'Heroes of Waterloo' and the monarch. Yet, this affair also connected the memory of Waterloo to the vernacular histories of the locality, with toasts like 'the Town and Trade of Retford', 'The Mayor and the Corporation of Retford', and 'the Ladies of Retford'.[308] Not all reactions to Waterloo, however, were warmly welcomed. The Scottish *Caledonian Mercury* gave extensive coverage of the Conservative dinner celebrating the anniversary in Edinburgh in 1838. It was full of praise for the sovereignty of the monarchy, the House of Lords and Commons, the army and navy, and the 'greatest warrior', the Duke of Wellington. The report indicates this ritual was a response to the 'deep gloom' of the 1832 Reform Bill, with the first of these Conservative dinners taking place in the days following this new legislation. It ends on the rousing note that the Conservatives shall return to office and with it, many more '18ths of June' to celebrate.[309] A week on from this meeting, the *Fife Herald* punctured such commemoration. Tory (and later

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pursuit of the Charter, as in the case of William Thurady 'who was shot on the 4th November 1839' at Newport, whose wife received £3, see *Northern Star*, 4 January 1840, 8.

[306] *Northern Star*, 23 January 1841, 5.

[307] *Ibid*.

[308] *Nottingham and Newark Mercury*, 22 June 1849, 3; Guy Beiner uses and defends the term 'vernacular historiographies in reference to local folklore histories, see Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 5-10.

[309] *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June 1838, 3.

Conservative) Prime Ministers William Pitt and Sir Robert Peel and other icons like Wellington were all described as lamentable. The piece is titled 'The Waterloo Theme – Tory Fudge.'. It labels the discussions as 'threadbare' if not 'balderdash' and ends by asserting such an anniversary banquet to be 'absurd'.[310] The Whigs received similar treatment for their commemoration of Reform but were more than comfortable to mock the Tory commemoration in turn.

Chartist remembrance of Waterloo was more hostile, not just for the political rivalry, but for the depiction of this event as a glorious Battle. Chartists drew on an alternative history, namely Lord Byron's work. His *The Vision of Judgement,* published in 1822, came to embody Chartist responses. Byron's poetical use of satire slashed at sentiment glorifying the bloody engagement between Wellington and Napoleon's forces:

'So many conquerors' cars were daily driven'
So many kingdoms fitted up anew;
Each day too slew its thousands six or seven,
Till at the crowning carnage, Waterloo,'[311]

Byron's antipathy towards Waterloo was recalled in the Chartist press and at meetings years later.[312] The poetics of that 'crowning carnage' came to embody the Chartist memory of Waterloo.[313] Mike Sanders has examined the role of radical imagination within Chartist poetry to highlight the cognitive and creative process and its emotional prowess.[314] This same imaginative practice applies to the application of memory to render expressions of approval or disapproval by Chartists. Indeed, in 1845 for the thirtieth anniversary of Waterloo it was this poem by Byron that was republished for the 'Feast of Poets'. The report ends with a note from the editor explaining:

> 'The address to "the Duke" at the opening of the ninth canto of *Don Juan*, which would appropriately come in here we must omit: it will keep for another Waterloo-day'[315]

Selecting this poetry to appear in the *Northern Star* joined Byron's cultural influence and earlier reaction to Waterloo with Chartism's own opposition to conflict. Yet, Chartists also appropriated this memory. At a 'Manchester Demonstration in Favour of the People's Charter'

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[310] *Fife Herald*, 28 June 1838, 72.
[311] *Northern Star*, 24 October 1846, 3.
[312] Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (New York: Springer, 2002).
[313] *Northern Star*, 22 June 1844, 4; *Northern Star*, 8 November 1845, 7; *Northern Star*, 21 August, 1847, 4.
[314] Mike Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Margaret A. Loose, *The Chartist Imaginary: Literary Form in Working-Class Political Theory and Practice* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2014).
[315] *Northern Star*, 28 June 1845, 3.

in 1838, the key moment of Wellington's signal to advance the line at the conclusion of the Battle is used in the speech of Mr Duffy of London, set forth the call 'if the Whigs and the Tories should again coalesce to prevent them getting their rights, then, in the words of the Duke of Wellington, he should say "Up, boys, and at 'em'".[316] As seen with Nelson in the previous chapter, Duffy's recalibration of Wellington's famous maxim shows how moments of memory were customised to become the means by which Chartists challenged their elites with a commemorative opposition – a culture that will now be examined.

Chartist dinners

Anniversaries were honoured with Chartist banquets. A welter of illustrious dead were celebrated, with personalities like Hunt, William Cobbett, and Paine, particularly popular. A look at this engagement shows how these calendrical events sustained memory but also provided a fixture for Chartists to meet and project their politics onto the memories of their heroes. As Paul Connerton explains, anniversaries are rites that are 'stylised, stereotyped and repetitive'.[317] Birthdays like Paine's formed part of these cyclical celebrations. These practices were inherited into Chartism, and anniversaries provided a means of intersecting the memories of icons like Paine into the working lives of Chartists.[318] On occasion, one calendar of commemoration coincided with another, with the business of Chartism taking place on holidays such as the Christan celebration of Whitsuntide, when public dinners and meetings were arranged.[319] Awareness of commemorative dinners was raised through the *Northern Star* printing notices, as well as advertising calendars and almanacs containing this register of anniversaries.[320] In early December 1843, the *Northern Star* advertised Joshua Hobson's '*The Poor Man's Companion: a Political Almanac*. [321] Although few Chartist almanacs were produced, they were popular and at 1d cheaper than other printed materials.[322] They composed a series of cultural traditions into text and shared dates important to those who identified with Chartism. The significance of Paine's birthday is seen in his inclusion among these important anniversaries. Similarly, in a sign of wishing to emulate this interest in important dates, the same *Northern Star* issue offered the 'Chartist Calendar', which charted

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[316] *Leeds Times*, 29 Sept 1838, 7.
[317] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44-6.
[318] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 21.
[319] Reports of dinners include the Bradford Odd Fellows Lodge No. 1 meeting on Whit-Monday for a dinner, and Lodge 4 meeting on Whit-Tuesday, *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, 8; see also Chase, *Chartism*, 22-23 for an example of a demonstration being organised by the anti-clerical Abram Hanson speaking on this Christian holiday.
[320] *Ibid*, 3.
[321] *Northern Star*, 3 December 1842, 3; 23 January 1843, 1.
[322] Chase examines the role of the political almanac in Chase, *The Chartists*, 116-27.

month by month all the significant occurrences Chartism had experienced thus far.[323] Not all of the contents of almanacs focused on anniversaries. Much of it was statistical and intended to be useful information. However, even these facts could be rooted in the past and energise Chartist rhetoric. For instance, the amount of expenditure of every monarch and the debt they accrued from William the Conqueror to William IV was provided in the 1843 Political Almanack.[324]

These pocketbooks containing commemoration were also circulated. Reginald J. Richardson's *Annual Black Book* was sent by James Hyslop, a Wigan moral force Chartist, to a weaver in Wigtownshire, Scotland, to be 'carefully read + extensively circulated in his Neighbourhood'.[325] Inside is a calendar with anniversaries printed on each day, with Paine's birthday (along with George III's death) listed on the 29th of January. This item is a rare memento in memory. The inscriptions reveal the desire for it to be circulated amongst a large network of Chartists. Unfortunately for Hyslop, it is possible to examine this almanac due to the authorities seizing it. What it does show is a literal example of inscribed memory with Hislop's personalised annotations around the pages of the calendar.[326] They are instructive radical maxims, such as 'If a Woman can Rule surely Women could + should vote', along with the more Paineite 'Old Corruption' attacks on the profligacy of monarchy. Anniversaries were honoured by Chartist communities and show a reciprocal relationship in which they popularised the memory of radicals whilst inscribing the hallmarks of Chartism. Not only did the collection of radical anniversaries offer structure, but their calendrical qualities secured moments in the year that guaranteed the practice and pronouncement of Chartist protest.

Marginalised histories, like the Peterloo Massacre, were shared within communities through dinners. This commemoration was popular in places like Manchester, the site of the fatal clash with authorities, but also in towns like Ashton-under-Lyne, where locals had travelled to the fateful St Peterfields in 1819. This collective remembrance was respectable but could also be proselytising, exposing people to a shared radical past. The early lives of Chartists like William Aitken owed a debt of gratitude to the formation of these earlier radical rituals and their continued practice for inducting him into the world of radical politics.[327] At the outset of Chartism, he took part in the important tradition of celebrating the Peterloo Massacre (16th August) and the birthday of its protagonist Henry Hunt (6th November) at 'Owd Nancy's'

[323] *Northern Star*, 3 December 1842, 1.
[324] National Archives HO-05/55/4
[325] *Ibid*.
[326] Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3-5.
[327] James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2014), 187-92.

house in Ashton-under-Lyne. Through these set radical traditions Chartists 'actively engaged' with the past and together created and reiterated meaning to evoke the economic and political 'emergencies of the moment'.[328] Aitken and others had not experienced Peterloo, though inclusion into the rituals of remembrance had made him part of a local radical kinship. The constant practice of such traditions, according to Mitsztal, allows 'bonds of loyalty' to form, providing a 'means of organised social action'.[329] Whilst she relates this to official commemoration, the same can be said for celebrating an oppositional culture, as the Aitken example shows. Yet, these dinners extended far beyond the radical districts of Ashton-under-Lyne and Manchester, a breadth that required anniversaries to be planned and organised.

Political dinners in the Chartist period occupied private and public spheres. Mostly, these affairs fell into the latter realm with many functions advertised in the press as 'public dinners'.[330] Local 'admirers' of Paine or Cobbett were informed of where and when these events would take place, as well as the price of tickets and instructions on how to acquire them.[331] In places like Nottingham, certain spaces were associated with certain kinds of commemoration. Pubs in this locality were divided up, with the National Charter Association enjoying its own 'indispensable centres' of activity where radical traditions were carried out.[332] Even with these known locations, however, time remained a factor for when commemoration could take place. For example, dinners held to celebrate elite culture took place during the working day.[333] Tickets stated service times anywhere between 3pm or 4pm, immediately rendering attendance impractical to labourers. In comparison, Chartist notices usually advertised mealtimes in the evening. This was true for notices of Paine dinners. It is a simple practicality but one that shows how politics and class were imprinted onto the designs of dinners to fit into the daily lives of attendees.

Like time, the cost of a ticket was an indicator of class, if not political identity. For Chartists, any extra costs to hiring a location risked excluding poorer members and spurring

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[328] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), x.

[329] Barbara A. Misztal, 'Memory and Democracy', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48.10 (2005), 1330.

[330] Peter Brett, 'Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground', *History*, 81.264 (1996), 531.

[331] For an example of a Paine dinner advert see *Leeds Times*, 27 January 1838, 1; for an annual Cobbett dinner see *London Evening Standard* 24 February 1838, 1.

[332] James Epstein, 'Organisational and Cultural Aspects of Chartist Movement in Nottingham', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartist Experience - Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-1840*, (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), 242-44.

[333] Peter Brett, '*Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground*', *History*, 81.264 (1996) 'Political Dinners', p.530.

the creation of an 'aristocratic' class in the movement.[334] Elites were less concerned. The 'Congleton Conservative Dinner' charged attendees a staggering 10s 6d. At the opposite end of the political spectrum, in Newcastle on 22nd July 1846, those celebrating the repeal of the Tory's protectionist Corn Laws dined at the assembly rooms with tickets costing the same amount.[335] To put this into perspective, in the 1830s and 1840s, over half of the weekly wages (35d to 37d) of urban and mining workers were spent on food, almost a quarter of which went on bread.[336] Immediately, this ticket price would have excluded any chance of working-class Chartists from attending. In comparison, a strong attendance by radicals in Newcastle at a dinner in a rope factory in December 1833 at the cost of 2s a ticket lends some perspective on what was possible.[337] However, such barriers likely rose when considering worker wages slumped at the end of 1830s and four times again in the 1840s as the economy shook apart industries.[338] The halls and inns in which such events were held may have been public; however, the capital required for such banqueting connoted the wider social hierarchies between a status of protected elites and an excluded labouring poor.

Accommodating for the economic means, notices in the *Northern Star* reveals radical commemoration to be within the scope of its supporters. An advert for a commemorative dinner in honour of Thomas Paine (advertised on the front page) to be held at the 'Hope and Anchor' in Bradford cost 1s 6d, whilst a later notice for yet another birthday celebrating Paine, this time taking place at 'Mr Goldsborough's' in Bradford, was priced at 18d per ticket.[339] Although the cost of dinners was an issue, they remained very popular amongst Chartists. As Benjamin Wilson records in his memoirs, one such gathering was planned following the 1847 General Election, in which the charismatic Chartist Ernest Jones had stood as a candidate for Halifax. Though he failed the candidate selection, a reception followed at the Odd Fellow's Hall. Here Jones was presented with a gold watch and chain purchased from charitable contributions. The affair was prepared by female Chartists, of whom many attended, with caps 'beautifully decorated with green ribbons, others had green handkerchiefs, and some had even green dresses'. A dinner had also been arranged, and was in such demand that 'several who had been to the tea disposed of their [ticket] for as much as 2s 6d., the original cost being

[334] Eileen Yeo, 'Some Practices and Problems of Chartist Democracy', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (New York: Springer, 1982), 352-53.
[335] *Newcastle Mercury and Tyne Guardian*, 18 July 1846, 1.
[336] Emma Griffin, 'Diets, Hunger and Living Standards During the British Industrial Revolution*', *Past & Present*, 239.1 (2018), 73-7.
[337] Brett, 'Political Dinners', 531.
[338] John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Revolution : Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*, (London: Orion Publishing,1975), 80-2.
[339] *Northern* Star, 27 January 1838, 1; *Northern Star*, 9 January 1841, 5.

1s'.[340] Though cost was a consideration, it was not entirely devoid of males or females to purchase. As Wilson's recollections show, when Chartists did attend, they took part enthusiastically.

Further problematising dinners was the issue of locating a venue to hold meetings, includingacts of commemoration . Chartists who had adopted temperance were awkwardly challenged if meeting in a public house.[341] Indeed, Henry Vincent, the popular charismatic leader and editor of the *Western Vindicator*, continually straddled temperance with a career as a 'publican politician'.[342] In addition to these internal pressures were external ones. The response by local authorities to clamp down on agitation in their districts resulted in some locations becoming inaccessible. In 1838 the inhabitants of Ashton-under-Lyne, a centre for radical commemoration, attempted to commemorate Henry Hunt's birthday anniversary, but faced 'being continually locked up' in their attempts to locate a suitable venue.[343] On this occasion, such restrictions directed attendants to eventually carry out their commemorative plans at the home of John and Nancy Clayton, two Peterloo veterans who religiously continued to remember the massacre of 16th August 1819.[344] By eliminating the public domain, authorities created a situation where the place of commemoration was directed towards a private residence and, in this case, channelled towards the locality's radical heritage. A year later, such aggravation by the local authorities goes unreported in the *Northern Star*. Instead, the radicals from this locality 'assembled at the home of Mr Walker' to enjoy their annual festive celebrations of Hunt's memory.[345] This is not to say that the disdain of local authorities disrupted all commemorations. Rather, it shows the kinds of antagonism oppositional commemoration culture experienced, and the fortitude of those conducting the celebrations to continue. With these logistical factors to commemoration considered, attention will now examine how meaning was encoded onto memory through dinners.

The first point usually documented in commemorative banquets transcripts, Chartist or otherwise, was how the space was decorated. These arrangements ranged from emblems and flags to portraits, garlands, evergreens, ribbons, and other 'devices'. Their appearance in

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[340] Benjamin Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist: What He Knows, and the Part He Has Taken in Various Movements* (London: J. Nicholson, 1887). 9-10.

[341] Brian Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism', *History*, 58.193 (1973), 193–217.

[342] Tom Scriven, *Popular Virtue: Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820–70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017). 46-47.

[343] *Northern Star*, 17 November 1838, 5.

[344] James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2014)177-9. In his study of commemorative rituals at the Clayton's home, Epstein notes the extra-ordinary role of the *Northern Star* newspaper in providing in-depth detail.

[345] *Northern Star*, 16 November 1839, 5.

reports across the political spectrum are indicative of the contest over symbols and the importance of arrangement. Michel de Certeau's analysis of '*space is a practiced place*' helps to elucidate the significance of these additions and their impact on proceedings. The coding of a space had a meaningful influence on the 'spatial experience'; or, as de Certeau writes, the 'ensemble of movements practiced within it'.[346] Newspaper reports routinely structured transcripts so that details of the room's arrangements were laid out at the start of the transcript for the reader's benefit. Usually, the decorations were described as beautifully enhancing the room, anchoring the enthusiasm of the occasion. This stylistic repetition should not be taken as rendering decorations as benign features. They formed an important part of Chartism's visual and material culture, linking their illustrious heroes with the present.[347]

Portraiture was one of the main ways of inscribing the space. Commemoration of one figure from the pantheon usually involved hanging multiple portraits of heroes and celebrities. Recent research on caricature and portraits has identified the important role played by these 'agents of collective memory'.[348] In her recent study, Ludmilla Jordanova addresses the emotional potency and authenticity that portraiture can contribute to a group's identity.[349] This is true of Chartists, who included portraits of men like Paine, Cobbett, Hunt, and the Peterloo Massacre at their gatherings. Painting the pantheon in this way evoked their oppositional culture at a time when visual technologies in the press were becoming more sophisticated. Moreover, this portraiture was readily available through the Chartist press when fame culture was also developing. Advertisements of ephemera included selling plates, large and small portraits, and medals featured in the *Northern Star*, allowing Chartists to furnish the private meeting space and the domestic residence with these radical mementos.[350] The home provided the early education of radical ideas passed from parents and carers to the youngest generation of radicals through 'kitchen politics'.[351] Within this space such mementos were placed on display, adding to environments where vernacular histories and politics were taught, lessons that had greater potency than other written forms. Robert Gammage's memoir, *History of the Chartist Movement*, the first narrative of the Chartist movement, is peppered with several

[346] Michel de Certeau, 'Spatial Stories' in Andrew Ballantyne (ed.), *What Is Architecture?* (London: Psychology Press, 2002), 74.
[347] For a study on early nineteenth century radical culture see Mark Nixon, Gordon Pentland, and Matthew Roberts, 'The Material Culture of Scottish Reform Politics, c.1820-c.1884', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32.1 (2012), 28–49; Ruth Mather, 'The Home-Making of the English Working Class: Radical Politics and Domestic Life in Late-Georgian England, c.1790-1820' (unpublished PhD, Queen Mary Unniversity of London, 2016).
[348] Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions,*157*;* Henry Miller, *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, C. 1830-80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
[349] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Portraiture, Biography and Public Histories', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2022, 6, 16.
[350] *Northern Star*, 24 December 1841, 5.
[351] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 7.

references to portraiture. They include either Chartist leaders themselves or the appearance of 'portraits of eminent patriots' in homes and at large dinners, such as celebrating the release of incarcerated Chartist leaders like Peter 'M'Douall' (McDouall) and John Collins.[352] The start of this memoir also includes an engraving of the National Convention in February 1839 (see Figure 8). At this meeting, Chartist delegates had gathered to decide the National Petition – Chartism's first great confrontation with Parliament. In this depiction, portraits can be faintly seen in the background. Their subjects are too faded to identify them clearly. Nonetheless, they signify the importance of these materials of memory and their inclusion within meetings, domestic spaces, and commemorative dinners. Their faded appearance in the engraving perfectly captures their background role as furniture, yet powerful role as symbols of the politics being delivered.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION
AS IT MET ON MONDAY, THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY, 1839.
AT THE BRITISH COFFEE HOUSE
FROM A SCARCE ENGRAVING

Figure 8: The National Convention – As it met on Monday, the 4th of February, 1839, at the British coffee house from a scarce engraving - in Robert George Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-1854 (Browne & Browne, 1894).

The splendour of the *mise-en-scène* in which commemoration was performed was a further extension of marking remembrance. This included the hanging of garlands, sashes, ribbons, and portraits, all of which added lustre to the experience. Taken at length, the *Northern Star*'s coverage of a 'Grand Chartist Tea Meeting' held in Sheffield in November 1839 gives some impression of the detail put into this decoration:

[352] Robert George Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-1854* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Browne & Browne, 1894), 187.

> The room was beautifully ornamented for the occasion, small arches of evergreens being formed on the walls, in the centre of which arches, were placed garlands of white muslin decorated with flowers, which had a most pleasing effect. In the middle of each garland was placed the name of some distinguished patriot, printed on green slips… From the centre of the ceiling was suspended a large and beautiful garland of evergreens, flowers, fruit and ribbons; the walls were also studded with the portraits of popular political characters; but the chief ornament was the seat of the President, in the shape of a temple, formed of circles, and semicircles, also ornamented with flowers &c. &c. Immediately on the left of the President was placed a small white satin banner, bearing the word "Truth," and on his right another with the word "Justice" surmounted by a large one with the word "Liberty," on white satin, in ruby letters.[353]

The level of detail is impressive, not just from the organisers but the effort to capture this scene. Aligning this with cultural memory, we see an example of what Assmann describes as the 'cultivation of emblems'. This concept is adapted from Niklas Luhmann's 'cultivated semantics'. At the 'level of semantic processing', this idea considers the values within symbols and emblems – the 'explication, exegesis, hermeneutics, and commentary' –to explain behavioural outcomes.[354] In this case, the presentation of memory is for one's own purposes. As the newspaper report shows, this kind of 'cultivation' was on show at Chartist dinners. The *Northern Star* brought the reader into the space by remediating this environment into print. It is interesting that despite the customisation of the room, there are yet no utterances to an illustrious dead yet mentioned. The arrangement set out in the transcript could be set for any political group, radical or elite. Yet, the language that followed was a series of speeches and toasts that were ideologically charged with Chartism and energised with veneration of an illustrious dead.

Not all reports captured this much detail, nor can it be said that all venues were given such treatment. Yet, the extract shows the remarkable effort put into preparing the space for political gatherings and a desire to sketch it into print. Whilst the Chartist pantheon remained primarily intangible, the furnishings here materialised something of a temporary temple-like state. Female Chartists took an active role in these duties. Not only did they help encode the space with emblems of reverence but produced them as well, extending their domesticated duties to banner making.[355] Roberts has repeated this point and elaborated that women Chartists were 'furnishing the very materials out of which the radical tradition was

[353] *Northern Star*, 16 November 1839, 5.
[354] Assmann, 'Collective Memory', 131; Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 42.
[355] Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism*, 45.

constructed'.[356] Despite providing these goods, celebrations of male heroes proved to be overwhelming; whilst female heroes such as Mary Wollstonecraft were not forgotten, celebrations remained limited. For example, at the Sheffield Female Radical Association's soiree, portraits were of male heroes, along with the furnishings of garlands and other objects.[357] Yet, the organisation of the setting was not strictly delegated to female Chartists. At a meeting in Manchester celebrating Henry Hunt's birthday, an important event in the celebrations of Chartists, more so for the region's local history with the Peterloo Massacre, thanks were given to the 'four or five working men' who organised the room for the three hundred guests.[358] Of note is the emphasis on class, 'working men', placing these connotations onto Hunt's memory, not just by the arrangements but by those arranging. If portraits and garlands were the symbols that contributed towards the experience of remembrance, customs of speech giving and toasting were the features that not only structured the meeting but were the discursive devices that assigned meaning to this radical past. As the case study of Paine will show, the recording of these sentiments in dinner transcripts provided the layers of memory. This recalibration is evident with the many toasts, tributes, and speeches remembering radical memory.

Orchestrating the ritual of commemoration was a Chairman. Newspaper reports generally listed this act immediately after descriptions of the room were given. The Chairman was elected and worked their way through the arrangement of toasts and speeches. Generally, the person chosen for this role was someone with status. The Bradford 'publican Chartist' 'Fat' Peter Bussey presided over one of the earliest Paine dinners recorded in the *Northern Star*.[359] The popular figure entertained crowds in the beer house he established, providing a space for Chartist activity in the locality and giving a home to radical remembrance.[360] Chartism's many travelling spokespeople were also bestowed with these central roles, with transcripts capturing examples in which men like O'Connor acted as Chairman at meetings around the country. Memory was also a factor. For instance, 'Mr Dixon' had known Hunt for twenty years prior to the great orator's death in 1835 and was the Chairman at Hunt's commemorations in

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[356] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 23; similarly, Michael Taylor has also explored the active role women in abolishing slavery in the British Empire, taking the lead on boycotts, or 'abstentionism', and female petition stitchers, who bound together 187,000 signatures under the supervision of Anne Knight and Maria Tothill, Michael Taylor, *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery* (Bodley Head, 2020), 123, 263 .
[357] *Charter*, 27 October 1839, 629.
[358] *Northern Star*, 10 November 1838, 8.
[359] *Northern Star*, 3 February 1838, 3; see also *Leeds Times*, 10 February 1838, 2.
[360] Tom Scriven details this use of public houses as spaces of communal activity. In addition to looking at local Chartists like Bussey, he also details the travels of leaders like Henry Vincent and his visitation to pubs. See Tom Scriven, *Popular Virtue: Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820–70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 46-7.

Manchester in November 1838.[361] Likewise, John Fielden had known and worked with William Cobbett in Parliament as representative for Oldham, and spoke at many of his commemorative banquets, becoming something of a spokesperson for his memory. In November 1839, at the annual celebration of the acquittal of the state trial victims in 1794, a rare triumph for radicals during Pitt's so-called 'Reign of Terror', the elected Chairman, Mr Heppell, had claimed to have known the exonerated gentlemen, Thomas Hardy, John Hoorn Tooke, and John Thelwall.[362] Likewise, veterans of reform were also chosen. At a dinner commemorating Hunt in Ashton-under-Lyne in 1846, this past and present mingled together, with 'James Higson, a veteran in the cause' of reform taking the seat as Chairman, with the younger William Aitken acting as 'vice-chairman'.[363] Alternating to accommodate different Chairmen speaks to the interconnectedness of Chartism – settled in its locale but not entirely locked out of the wider movement. Equally, the consideration of 'veteran reformers' recognises the significance of this radical past and the crossover between communities whose careers pre-dated Chartism and Chartists. These and many other examples of having a familiar personality to the one being remembered are good examples of an 'embodied memory' at Chartist dinners. Such occurrences are a reminder of how there was an overlap between the different forms of memory, one being a 'communicative memory', as in the case of Fielden diffusing tales on Cobbett to a crowd, and the more general Chartist remembrance as an example of practicing a cultural memory based on ritual or texts.[364] Returning to Fulbrook's communities of remembrance helps categorise these men. Fielden and James Higston can be grouped as Chairmen who formed part of 'communities of connection', or those who had personal ties to an earlier radical memory and channelled a 'post-memory'. Whereas, Aitken and other younger Chartists belonged to 'communities of identification', who recognised episodes of memory but had no direct experience and communicated a 'prosthetic memory'.[365] Dividing them in this manner helps to identify the different association with memory in Chartism and the requirement to lead an evening of remembrance.

In control over the dialogical exchanges was the Chairman. They oversaw the speeches and toasts used as these banquets.[366] Generally, the Chairman opened with a toast,

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[361] *Northern Star*, 10 November 1838, 8.
[362] *Charter*, 10 November 1839, 661; John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Clive Emsley, 'Repression, "Terror" and the Rule of Law in England during the Decade of the French Revolution', *The English Historical Review*, 100.397 (1985), 801–25..
[363] *Northern Star*, 14 December 1846, 5.
[364] J Assmann, 'Memory: Individual, Social, and Cultural', Astrid Erll and others, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 109-18.
[365] Mary Fulbrook, 'History Writing and Collective Memory', in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, *Writing the History of Memory* (A&C Black, 2014), 65-88.
[366] Frank O'Gorman, 'Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England 1780-1860', *Past & Present*, 135, 1992, 79–115.

usually calling on the sovereignty of the people. For instance, at a dinner in the Charlestown meeting house in Ashton-under-Lyne in August 1840, celebrations were given for the release of Dr. Peter "M'Douall" from the 'Whig dungeon'.[367] The Chairman, Mr. B. S. Treanor, commenced the meeting with 'The people, the only source of legitimate power'. This opening remark recognising the 'the people' and not the monarch is indicative of Chartism's grassroots identity. This toast was particularly revealing about Chartism's class identity, as it substituted the more loyalist toast made by Whigs and Tories with 'the people' as the sovereign power. At a Metropolitan festival to Paine in 1848, the Chairman and longtime commemorator of Paine, Henry Hetherington, opened with the announcement that 'if the births of such men were celebrated more generally, it would afford us many an opportunity of passing many a social and useful hour together'.[368] Others honoured sacred liberties, such as a free press, the memory of the 'illustrious dead', as well as the Chartist leadership. As they were sometimes referred to, these 'bumpers' varied in number. Although the evidence behind who determined the schedule for toasts is lost to researchers, they were prearranged into roll calls that structured proceedings.[369] Studies of toasting at dinners show them to be concentrated expressions of political identity.[370] They were inclusive to the group and expressed their adherence through such 'rites of institution'.[371] Conventionally, if the remarks were unfavourably received the custom was to refuse to drink. Few Chartist reports detail this kind of dissent. This absence suggests an adherence to using these moments of remembrance to bond over memory and foster kinship.[372] It also suggests a positive reaction to the sentiments around memory.

Transcripts of dinners reveal multiple sentiments delivered by different speakers at a single commemoration. There was a call and response element to toasts and speeches, usually with drink had in 'solemn silence', or a song sung between speeches. This gave dinners a dialogical purpose, allowing memory to be reinterpreted whilst articulating the

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[367] *Northern Star*, 29 August 1840, 6; For a biography of Peter Murray Mcdouall see Chapter 1 of Owen Ashton and Paul Pickering, *Friends of the People: Uneasy Radicals in the Age of the Chartists* (London: Merlin, 2002), 9-26.

[368] *Northern Star*, 12 February 1848, 3.

[369]Brett, 'Political Dinners', 534; Roberts raises the need for further investigation into the choreography of these customs in Roberts, *Chartism*, 72-3.

[370] Rémy Duthille, 'Toasting and the diffusion of radical ideas, 1780–1832', in Laurent Curelly and Nigel Smith, *Radical Voices, Radical Ways: Articulating and Disseminating Radicalism in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 170-89.

[371] Rémy Duthille ,'Political Toasting in the Age of Revolutions: Britain, America and France, 1765–1800', in Gordon Pentland and Michael T. Davis, *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688-1815 Essays in Honour of H. T. Dickinson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2016), 73-86.

[372] Robert Gammage speaks of public dinners celebrating the release of incarcerated Chartists like M'Douall, John Collins, and Lovett as supplying evenings of wholesome feelings. Gammage, *History*, 186-7.

political ideology of Chartism.[373] Yet, for all its value as a mnemonic device, toasting was brief. Epstein and Roberts acknowledge their importance, but also their ability to be 'nebulous' in nature. Epithets were effective at assigning meaning to radical memory, but once this had been cheered, the next toast was given.[374] However, this habit alludes to how easily accessible the past was and its ability to be reshaped to suit ideologies.[375] These studies help to show how such rituals as toasting and speech-making were expressions of political identity, albeit ones that could be fluid to match the occasion. Moreover, this behaviour speaks to a sense of the past. When considering the number of exchanges delivered at one of these rituals (whether recorded or not) the 'polyphonic' nature of responding to speech, the gaps between collective memory of radicals like Paine, begins to emerge.[376] As subsequent chapters will explore, comparing newspaper reports of such meetings reveals the variation in sentiment that were applied to radical memory. Whilst it is the task of Chapter 5 to examine this, it should be noted how the multivocality of different speakers and toasts were the means of inscribing representations of those commemorated.

As this chapter has explored, commemoration of a malleable past was conducted amongst competing political cultures. Forms of cultural memory, such as books, memorials, and dinners help to draw out how Chartists, Whigs, and Tories commemorated their own pantheons. Moreover, an analysis of these types of commemoration and how they were responded to by opponents reveals how adversarial the past was made by these partisan groups. Books and reading lists provided a canon instructive to supporters of these different factions. It reveals the selective tendencies in which titles were advocated and a willingness by Chartists to pursue the cultural texts belonging to radicals like Paine. It also hints to the role played by newspapers to facilitate this canon. Monuments, however, reveal the challenges of producing cultural memory. The statuemania of the period was largely dominated by elites. The Hunt memorial suggests a desire to take part in this phenomenon, if not challenge elite hegemony over the cultural landscape. O'Connor's speeches on this matter shows a preference for dinners in achieving cultural remembrance. Yet, it reveals how no set heritage discourse was in place, and sentiment switched to suit the occasion. Nonetheless, dinners proved to be Chartism's choice of commemoration. These rituals provided a structure to a calendar of radical anniversaries, and allowed a semi-formalised practice to inscribe meaning

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[373] For a full breakdown of these practices see James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Breviary Stuff Publications, 2014), 177-79; Robert Hall's exploration of William Aitken's serialised memoirs reveals how "a few choice spirits" continued this practice of commemorating Paine and Peterloo into the 1860s, Robert G. Hall, 'Chartism Remembered: William Aitken, Liberalism, and the Politics of Memory', *Journal of British Studies*, 38.4 (1999), 445–70.
[374] Roberts, *Chartism*, 66.
[375] Epstein, *Radical Expression*, 194; Roberts*, Chartism, Commemoration*, 66-8.
[376] Andrea L. Smith, 'Heteroglossia, "Common Sense," and Social Memory', *American Ethnologist*, 31.2 (2004), 253.

onto the illustrious dead. In the rooms and halls in which these meetings took place, Chairman presided over a discursive space in which speeches and toasts were able to add or retrieve representations of Chartism's pantheonized heroes. Through this cultural memory the past was customised. Transcripts from these meetings show it to be the case, and it is this process of newspaper remediating memory that we shall turn to next.

Chapter 4: Chartism's Paper Pantheon Deconstructed

Behold, we bring the second Ark –
The Press! The Press! The Press![377]

It is a challenge for the reader of the Chartist press, both the historian and the contemporary, to go through its pages without encountering memory. The past permeates it. Having considered the forms of cultural memory in Victorian political cultures, and how these were customised, attention will now turn to how tangible and intangible pantheons were collated into newspapers. Indeed, we have already returned consecutively to newspapers as a means to recovering cultural memory throughout this thesis. It was newspaper transcripts that set out the occurrences and recurrences of sentiments expressed at commemorative dinners, newspapers documented how statues were interpreted, and newspapers advertised collections of literature. These 'islands of time', the components of cultural memory, have been extracted, recounted, and analysed thus far because they were remediated, that is to say, changed from social occurrences into an accessible and readable format. It was done so through a medium that inscribed interpretations of the past with its own identity, through editors, printers, and publishers, all forming part of the political cultures explored in the previous chapters. These newsmen were motivated through a shared political ideology, with the aim of producing content for an audience also associated with these same values.

This section locates instances of Paine's cultural memory by deconstructing Chartism's paper pantheon. Newspapers, like the *Northern Star*, promoted 'cultural reproductions' of Paine's most famous writings and celebrations of his memory.[378] Books, biographies, poems, and anniversaries were all recorded in this press. Before 1837 when Chartist newspapers like the *Northern Star* emerged, the state heavily regulated print. To ascertain the cultural memories produced by Chartism's paper pantheon, this section will begin by briefly reflecting on the print culture of this pre-Chartist period. From this earlier time, Chartism acquired many rituals of remembrance, such as dinners and using print to commemorate radicals. However, this earlier heritage was celebrated under the cloud of heavy regulation. This was the era of 'taxes on knowledge' set by the infamous 'Six Acts', or 'Gagging' Acts. These limitations on print did not cease in 1837, but were eased, allowing the Chartist press greater freedom. Following this discussion will be an analysis of various Chartist newspapers that will help to determine the depth of engagement with radical memory. For, whilst there were various

[377] *Chartist Circular*, 14 March 1840, 104.
[378] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 203.

instances of radical memory in these newspapers, it is worth bearing in mind that their use did not automatically entail a deep relationship with the past. This examination encompasses several Chartist newspapers, including the *Northern Liberator*, *Western Vindicator*, and *Chartist Circular*. It will expose the different uses of memory in these various paper pantheons, and with it, instances of conflict and overlap. The final section will consider a vital aspect to recovering representations of radicals – the *Northern Star*'s ability to publish commemorative banquets as transcripts. This aspect of remediating the past is a key function of cultural memory. As Botler and Grusin write, a medium, in this case, a newspaper, is 'that which remediates… and attempts to rival or refashion'.[379] Explored will be how the *Northern Star* transformed cultural rituals practiced in towns and cities into print as part of its 'Chartist Intelligence'. This remediation reveals a heteroglossia to Chartist remembrance, that is to say, multiple voices calling on radical memory and creating different representations. Examining this process will set up Chapter 5's case study on Paine. Through these investigations we not only deconstruct the paper pantheon but reveal multilayered memories of an illustrious dead.

An Oppressed Press? Memory and the Six Acts.

The obstacles to a free press originated in the Six Acts that passed in December 1819 and became law in 1820. In an atmosphere of protest, the Six 'Gagging' Acts were born out of the agitation in the post-Napoleonic period. By 1820 there had been plots of assassination in the capital with the Colonel Despard affair and the 'Cato Street Conspiracy' which targeted Cabinet ministers.[380] The impetus for these severe restrictions on the press came in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre. They were hastily prepared and passed in December 1819, a mere four months after the events in Manchester. The impact on the radical press was severe. However, as a form of restricting memory, the Six Acts did not deliver a fully functional '*repressive erasure*' of Peterloo's memory, nor the subsequent commemoration of radicals in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.[381] Whatever the severity, neither the penalties for disobeying the laws nor their sheer deterrent power were sufficient to brutally remove this memory. As Kevin Gilmartin's analysis of the laws governing libel explains, there remained the will to practice a radical culture of commemoration in the 'counterpublic sphere', with the

[379] David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press), 65.
[380] For a succinct explanation of unrest in the post-Napoleonic period see F. K. Donnelly and J. L. Baxter, 'Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition, 1791–1820', *International Review of Social History*, 20.3 (1975), 398–423.
[381] For a more descriptive definition of repressive erasure see Paul Connerton, 'Seven Types of Forgetting', *Memory Studies*, 1.1 (2008), 60-61.

benefit of making a mockery out of 'the obscure instruments with which it was policed'.[382] Indeed, as we shall see with the war of the unstamped press, many were aware of the implications but defied this legislation anyway.

One of these intentions was to curb radical activity. The widespread growth of news 'tending to excite Hatred and Contempt of Government… also vilifying our holy Religion' was to be 'restrained'.[383] The kinds of Paineite radicalism dubious of 'kingcraft' and 'priestcraft' were an obvious target of this legislation. Meetings and publications that nurtured this political identity were also restricted. In addition to taking on a radical heritage, Chartism also had to contend with this lingering repressive legacy.[384] The Newspaper and Stamp Duties Act and the 'Blasphemous and Seditious Libels' Act impacted the press significantly, and saw the fight between the stamped and unstamped play out. [385] These restrictions came in three forms. A stamp duty that, until 1836, placed a 4d levy onto any publications deemed to carry news. In addition to this cost was a tax on advertising at 3s 6d, a high fee fixed to an important revenue stream for newspapers. And finally, a duty on the cost of paper (also integral to the press), steadily rising since the French Revolution in 1789.[386] Moreover, the margins between what was and was not news were thinned down, and print was more liable to being labelled newspapers, qualifying it for the duties.[387] If these were the implications placed onto newspapers, the direct result was a fiscal restraint over the press. They took newspapers beyond the wages of even some middle classes, and certainly those of the working class, and were to remain in place until their removal in 1855.[388] Anything deemed 'Blasphemous and Seditious Libels' or 'Observations upon Public Events and Occurrences' formed part of this clamp down.[389] Additionally, anything newsworthy, printed more than once in 26 days, printed

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[382] Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.
[383] This segment is taken from the Statute 60 G3 c.9, and can be found in Patricia Hollis, *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth-Century England, 1815-1850. Ed. by P. Hollis* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 144. Indeed, the language of this law echoes the opening indictments of 'wicked' and 'malicious' radicals like Paine put on trial for sedition: see Thomas Paine, *The Genuine Trial of Thomas Paine, for a Libel Contained in the Second Part of Rights of Man; at Guildhall, London, Dec. 18, 1792, before Lord ...* (London: J. S. Jordan, 1792), 1-2.
[384] For instance, the 1839 General Convention was kept within the lines to these rules, with less than fifty delegates attending this gathering. See Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 35.
[385] Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 28.
[386] Howard Cox and Simon Mowatt, 'The Economics of Press and Periodical Production', in David Finkelstein, *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2: Expansion and Evolution, 1800-1900* (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 35-37.
[387] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Longman, 2000), 70.
[388] Robert Hall, 'At the Dawn of the Information Age: Reading and the Working Classes in Ashton-under-Lyne, 1830–1850', in James J. Connolly, *et al*, *Print Culture Histories Beyond the Metropolis* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 243-67.
[389] Hollis, *Pauper Press*, 28.

on more than two sheets, and costing more than 6d before the stamp duty was applied were also liable to the charge.[390] And yet, popular politics, including its commemoration of radical heroes like Paine, endured in the war of the ‘unstamped press’.

The ‘unstamped press’ supplied radical memory despite the regulations of the government. This illicit press comprised a litany of unstamped radical publications. Many of these were short-term publications that arrived in the aftermath of Peterloo. These included The *Medusa* (1819-20) which ran for 46 issues (20th February 1819 – 7th January 1820), *The White Hat* (1819), a reference to Hunt’s wearing of this item of clothing to stand out to crowds when speaking, Thomas Jonathan Wooler’s *The Black Dwarf* (1817-24), William Sherwin’s *Sherwin’s Weekly Political Register* (1817-9) followed by the *Republican* (1819-26), with Sherwin shortly joined by Paine acolyte and printer Richard Carlile.[391] These works were resistant but short-lived. Cobbett’s *Political Register* (1802-35) represented a unique exception. It was one of the longest surviving publications at more than double the existence of the long-serving *Northern Star* (1837-1852). Yet even the veteran Cobbett came under pressure. In his long publishing career, he was imprisoned, fled to America with further threats of incarceration, and suffered under such fiscal burdens placed onto the press that he had to sell his home to avoid bankruptcy. The financial implications attached to the world of print and the threat of prosecution determined much of ‘the conditions faced by firms active in newspaper and periodical publishing’.[392] Even with the momentum for commemoration generated by Peterloo, the radical press had by the late 1820s mostly been driven out of production. However, the agitation for reform saw its return by the early 1830s.[393] This resurgence coincided with other commemorative activity, including the increasing popularity of political dinners and the growth of the plebeian public sphere, as seen with Carlile’s purchasing of the Rotunda and its wide attendance. The unstamped press faced a serious challenge from the state and would do so into Chartism.[394] However, memory found a place within the rejuvenated radical press.

Defying the government and selling unstamped newspapers was a serious risk to distributors. Accounts place prosecutions as high as 750 people.[395] In addition to this precarity

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[390] Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Springer, 2000), 9-10.
[391] Alison Morgan, *Ballads and songs of Peterloo* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 19-26.
[392] Howard Cox and Simon Mowatt, ‘The Economics of the Press and Periodical Production’, in Finkelstein, *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 2000), 36.
[393] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (London: Longman, 2000), 213.
[394] Hollis, *Pauper Press*, 108; for a map of the distribution of the unstamped press around Britain see Hollis's appendixes.
[395] John Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1995), 67.

was the fragile running of the newspaper. Patricia Hollis's study of Henry Hetherington's newspaper businesses gives insight into the workings of producing and distributing unstamped newspapers. Hetherington judged that he would break even with 2,500 issues of the popular radical publication the *Poor Man's Guardian* (1831-35). This calculation would make between £9 and £10 a week if 10,000 issues were sold. However, even with the *Guardian* and Hetherington's other publications circulating 50,000 copies weekly, workers like Thomas Mayhew were required to give their labour for free.[396] With challenges like these, it is miraculous that this press endured. It did so, and the staff of these newspapers – Joshua Hobson, Hetherington, James O'Brien, John Cleave – went on to man the Chartist press and bridge the two epochs.[397] The connection between this campaign for a free press and Chartism is made clearer when considering how the Association of Working Men to Procure a Cheap and Honest Press, founded in April 1836 by men like William Lovett and Francis Place, the authors of the People's Charter, was to emerge two months later as the L.W.M.A. following the reduction of newspaper duties in May of that year.[398] Hobson and Hetherington's publications will help uncover these and earlier links to radical memory in their fight against the 'taxes on knowledge'. Both men were arrested multiple times during their unstamped careers. Hobson's *Voice of the West Riding* was one of the most important unstamped newspapers. Born in Fixby, Huddersfield, the publisher-editor, supplied readers of this region with creative and punchy journalism that followed the 'Cobbettite' school.[399] Hetherington began his trade as a printer in early life and journeyed towards radical politics in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars.[400] Fundamental to Hetherington and his unstamped newspapers was the belief that they should provide an important education to workers who had been unfairly excluded by the 'taxes on knowledge'. This remit is seen in the *Poor Man's Guardian*'s determination to diffuse knowledge, and with it, transmit radical memory. Indeed, this publication perhaps more than any other from this period commemorated radical memory in ways that the *Northern Star* was to eventually succeed.

Turning to the analysis of newspapers for the cultural memory they contained, we see the instructions of a radical canon and the commemorative dinners to figures like Paine (statues, however, are a notable absence). The first of these is seen with a notice in March

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[396] Hollis, *Pauper Press,* 119-24.
[397] Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Wildwood House, 1986), 37-8.
[398] Aled Jones, 'Chartist journalism and print culture in Britain, 1830-1855', in Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton, *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press* (London: Merlin Press, 2005), 19.
[399] Thompson*, Chartists*, 154; for a short biography on Hobson see Simon Cordery, 'Joshua Hobson and the Business of Radicalism', *Biography*, 11.2 (1988), 108–23.
[400] For a recent biography of Hetherington and his beliefs see Tom Scriven, *Popular Virtue: Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820–70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 25-55.

1833 advertising republications of Paine's works as part of the *Poor Man's Guardian*'s wider aim of fighting tyranny:

> 'War with the * Whigs!' EVANS respectfully acquaints the Public living at the East End, that they can be supplied with the Poor Man's Guardian and all the Unstamped, Paine's Works, &c. at 123, Houndsditch. "No Surrender."'[401]

The republication of Paine's writings, *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, were advertised in Hetherington's publications under headings like 'Cheap and Useful Knowledge', again, something the *Northern Star* was to reproduce.[402] Not only were they redistributed and marketed to this generation of radicals, but Hetherington impressed their importance through reviews of works like *Common Sense*, and referred to *Rights of Man* as a 'POLITICAL BIBLE'.[403] These adverts also show how other radicals, including the Carlile family, doggedly carried on the republications and compendiums of Paine's work at great risk to their civil liberty.[404] The *Poor Man's Guardian* strove to be inclusive, avoiding the repressive stamp duties and perilously communicating these radical texts.

The *Guardian*, like the *Northern Star*, also helped to document the commemoration culture of this period, and it is here that we see what came from remembrance and what it produced. Hetherington's publication of funds raised for the 'Victims of the Odious Six Acts' reveals how remembrance formed part of this fundraising. Hetherington's running tally of the donations reveals that such financial support to victims was achieved in part through gatherings commemorating Paine. In March 1832, the '34th Class' raised 7s 'after the celebration of Paine's birthday'. On January 28th of that year, 5s were collected from a dinner. After the dinner on Paine's birth-day', followed by further 'Do's on the 4th (1s 6d), 5th (3s 6d), and 11th (2s 1 ½d).[405] A year later, in 1833, several more dinners celebrating Paine's birthday anniversary appeared on these lists.[406] As we shall see in the next section, the *Northern Star* carried on this practice and demonstrated the significance of memory as a means of supporting the campaigns in the present day. With the topic of Paine dinners in mind, tickets to anniversary banquets were advertised and marketed in the *Guardian*, as were the dinner

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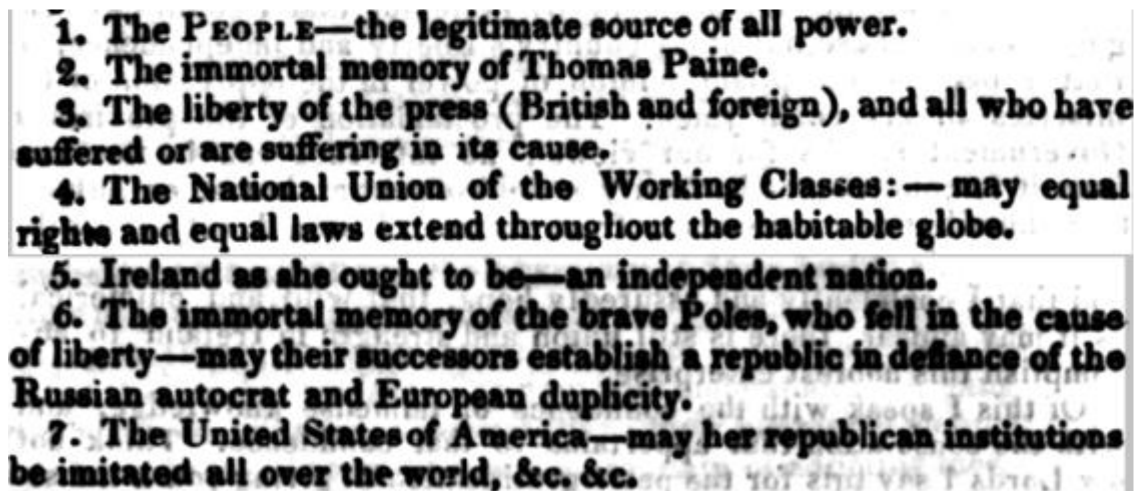
[401] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 16 March 1833, 88.
[402] *Poor Man's Guardian*; 17 March 1832, 319; 26 May 1832, 408; 17 August 1833, 268.
[403] For the review of *Common Sense* see *Poor Man's Guardian*, 8 October 1831, 108-110; for an example of a reading advert for *Common Sense*, 12 September 1835, 670; for *Rights of Man* see 20 August 1831, 8.
[404] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 8 December 1832, 8; this advert reads 'MRS. CARLILE AND SONS, 25, Bride Lane, (2 doors from Fleet Street) are now selling the following works at very Reduced Prices. Paine's Political Works 15s'.
[405] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 17 March 1832, 319.
[406] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 16 February 1833, 55.

transcripts (see Figure 9 below).[407] These appear differently from the later 'Chartist Intelligence' dinner reports which tended to be in a free-flowing manner. In contrast, the toasts in the *Guardian* appear structurally codified. They continued in this fashion across multiple issues – a literal repetition of remembrance. This list appears something like a charter of commemorative toasts to Paine. That is not to say the sentiments expressed were not important. Rather, they offer a useful comparison to the later Chartist remarks and how much



1. The People—the legitimate source of all power.
2. The immortal memory of Thomas Paine.
3. The liberty of the press (British and foreign), and all who have suffered or are suffering in its cause.
4. The National Union of the Working Classes:—may equal rights and equal laws extend throughout the habitable globe.
5. Ireland as she ought to be—an independent nation.
6. The immortal memory of the brave Poles, who fell in the cause of liberty—may their successors establish a republic in defiance of the Russian autocrat and European duplicity.
7. The United States of America—may her republican institutions be imitated all over the world, &c. &c.

Figure 9: 'Birth-day of Thomas Paine' dinner toasts, (1832).[408]

crossover there was with later sentiments.[409] However, there is evidence that this memory was malleable and rooted in its own time. By the time the first toasts to Paine were recorded in the Chartist press in 1838, the fourth point would have been reshaped from the National Union of Working Classes into the Marylebone Radical Association and then Chartism. This incarnation of organised agitation attempted to challenge the Reform Bill and was hostile to the many Political Unions formed for the same reason.[410] Here we see both the source of traditional toasts and the expiration of others. What it ultimately shows is that memory continued to inform radical identity (and vice versa) and provided part of the response to the repressive government.

[407] For an example of an advert for a Paine dinner see *Poor Man's Guardian*, 26 January 1833, 32; for tickets to a dinner for Henry Hunt see *Destructive*, 2 November 1833, 8.
[408] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 4 February 1832, 267.
[409] Mikhail Bakhtin observes 'The speaker is not the biblical Adam' in his analysis of speech, meaning, rarely can something be said to be the first instance. This applies to the representations of Paine which did not first appear in the *Northern Star*. Coincidentally, Paine also used this first 'Adam' analogy with regards to how Edmund Burke portrayed the 1688 settlement when Parliament swore fealty to William of Orange - 'Mr Burke has set up a sort of political Adam , in whom all posterity are bound for ever; he must therefore prove that his Adam possessed such a power, or such a right'. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 93; Paine, *Rights of Man*, 94.
[410] Chase, *Chartism*, 10.

The *Guardian* was also pleased to shape Paine's memory within its columns. In addition to reviewing his work, the character of Paine was sketched out to readers. This was done by recording meetings and documenting how he was portrayed. At a meeting of the Manchester and Salford Political Union of the Working Classes in 1831, both Paine and Cobbett were invoked as activists intolerant of the duties and 'would tear the odious stamp from the corner of their papers'.[411] The *Guardian* also provided biographical sketches of Paine to readers. On the matter of universal suffrage or household suffrage, the Reform Bill having opted for the latter under the Whigs, Paine was happily portrayed as 'a Universal Suffrage man'.[412] Soundly placed into this camp by his later acolytes, Paine had resisted this change to the franchise, a key radical tenet that radicals and later Chartists campaigned for in his name.

It was not until 15th September 1836 that the Newspaper Act reduced the duties on the press. There had been growing pressure for this change, and not just amongst the radicals of the unstamped. For all the frustration shown to the Whigs, the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, Thomas Springer Rice, was given credit for its removal. However, in a sign that this matter was not a settling of differences, Rice claimed there was a need for reform to end the poor man's unsavoury access to unstamped newspapers at public houses. This concern evoked fears of the poor acquiring cheap copies of Paine's *Rights of Man* years earlier. Instead, the proposed change to duties would see greater access to newsprint in the moral setting of the home.[413] Such rituals around the plebeian press were given culpability, despite the benefits its successors like the *Northern Star* were to enjoy. In any case, the *Guardian* had achieved much in making newspapers accessible, if not creating such unsavoury rituals according to Rice and other elites. The stamp duty was reduced from 4d to 1d, a cheapening but a cost that made collectively purchasing newspapers necessary for workers. Additionally, the penalties for defying these laws increased as the stamp duty decreased.[414] Yet, this reduction meant Chartism not only arrived at a time of coronation, hunger, and statuemania, but at a time when journalism was also going through significant change. This loosening of government control provided Chartism with new opportunities to use newspapers like the *Northern Star* to grow the paper pantheon. The rest of this section will examine cultural memory within the Chartist press with an eye to retrieving Paine's memory. These successors to the unstamped press expanded upon the practices of newspapers like the *Guardian* by marketing radical works and providing a wider reportage of anniversary dinners.

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[411] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 27 August 1831, 5-6.
[412] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 14 February 1835, 2-3.
[413] Barker, *Newspapers*, 22.
[414] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 40-2; Hollis, *Pauper Press*, 90-1.

The Chartist Paper Pantheon

This newspaper analysis begins not with the *Northern Star* centred in Leeds, but with the Newcastle-based *Northern Liberator*. It is one of the earliest newspapers attached to Chartism.[415] It preceded the *Northern Star* by one month, publishing its first issue on 21st October 1837. This four-page stamped weekly newspaper, at the cost of 4d half-penny per copy, quickly integrated into Newcastle's local radical culture. Initially, it was run by Augustus Beaumont, an Anglo-American businessman sympathetic to radicalism and a colleague of O'Connor's. However, this stewardship was short-lived as Beaumont died suddenly in January 1838. The *Liberator* briefly became a vehicle for remembrance, with several 'Addresses of Condolences' to Beaumont's wife, Mrs A. H. Beaumont, and brother, Dr Arthur J Beamont.[416] Shortly after it was taken over by Robert Blakey and Thomas Doubleday who continued its success amongst Newcastle's local Chartists. Earlier scholarly analysis of this region has focused on the level of violence, contributing to a reputation that Newcastle was a centre for physical force Chartism.[417] The tone of the newspaper is best summarised by Dorothy Thompson, who provided it with the fitting epitaph as the 'liveliest' Chartist newspaper.[418] There were clashes with authorities (or authorities colliding with radicals), as seen with the Coronation. However, in her study of the *Northern Liberator*, Joan Hugman challenges this accusation and focuses on Newcastle as somewhere with a strong desire for radical print dating back to the 1790s.[419] The *Northern Liberator* nourished this appetite with representations of memory and narratives on constructing a radical past forming part of its content.

Even the earliest issues of the *Northern Liberator* reveal a use of the past. Under its first owner, Beaumont, there appeared articles as early as December 1837 on 'HOW TO READ HISTORY'.[420] The focus of the text's teachings was to reject elite narratives. It gives several examples, including a rejection of George III. The counternarrative sketches him as a wasteful, tyrannical monarch who abused the law of libel during his reign. This discussion returns to the trials for sedition and later treason in the 1790s and attempts by Pitt's government to repress radicalism. Like Paine's message not to simply give in to the superstition of priestcraft, the

[415] At this time Chartism had not yet fully coalesced into a movement.
[416] *Northern Liberator*, 17 February 1838, 2.
[417] William Henry Maehl, 'The Dynamics of Violence in Chartism: A Case Study in Northeastern England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 7.2 (1975), 101–19.
[418] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 54.
[419] Joan Hugman, ''A Small Drop of Ink': Tyneside Chartism and the *Northern Liberator*' , in Robert Fyson, Owen R. Ashton, and Stephen Roberts, *The Chartist Legacy* (London: Merlin Press, 1999), 24-47.
[420] *Northern Liberator*, 9 December 1837

article advocates the reader to take an aggressive reading of elite memory rather than simply accept the narrative. The presence of this article is a good example of challenging what Yael Zerubavel calls the '*master commemorative narrative*' set by elites.[421] Instead, it encourages an alternative oppositional reading of the past. However, something is missing from its retelling – the radicals who were prosecuted. Considering martyrdom was popular with Chartists, the histories of the Scottish Martyrs and the 1794 Treason Trials in which this drama played out were not. This article tells us that the importance is not *their* memory but a disengagement with historical interpretations that favours hierarchy.

Like other Chartist newspapers, the *Northern Liberator* provided a space to advertise the works of past and current radicals. In addition to setting the standard for interpreting history, it provided selections of Paine and Cobbett's works. Notices gave the cost, publisher, and location where these texts could be acquired.[422] Equally, evidence of a revised radical history instructed by the *Northern Liberator* was also available in its pages. For example, O'Brien's *The Life and Character of Maximilian Robespierre* is a good example of this alternative history.[423] Hetherington's *London Dispatch* provided a review of this work. In it are the motives that 'actuated' O'Brien into conducting this work,

> 'to do justice to the dead… redeem the glorious cause of democracy… to create a new public opinion… to aid friends of political and social regeneration… to shake the *credit of history*'.[424]

Cole is cutting in his assessment of O'Brien for not completing the work he set out to do.[425] However, the mere presence of this work is indicative of the intentions of Chartists, especially prominent ones like O'Brien', to engage with the past. However, it was not just about celebrating memory but rewriting it and using the press to promote this interpretation. The *Northern Liberator* advertised this work and Paine's, drawing the reader's attention to O'Brien's desire to recover historical figures like Robespierre from elite narratives that 'blackened his Reputation'.[426]

Further examples of developing this shared cultural memory in the *Northern Liberator* were poems. In these writings, we again uncover instances of radical memory being

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[421] Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 6.
[422] For instance, the selections of Cobbett can be found in *Northern Liberator*, 14 April 1838, 1; for an example of the reading list see *Northern Liberator*, 12 October 1839, 3.
[423] James Bronterre O'Brien, *The Life and Character of Maximilian Robespierre. Proving ... That That Much Calumniated Person Was One of the Greatest Men, and One of the Purest ... Reformers That Ever Existed ... Also Containing Robespierre's Principal Discourses, Addresses, &c., with the Author's Reflections on the Principal Events and Leading Men of the French Revolution, Etc*, (London, 1837).
[424] *London Dispatch*, 1 April 1838, 648.
[425] George Cole, Chartist *Portraits* (London: Cassell, 1989), 266-7.
[426] *Northern Liberator*, 14 April 1838, 1.

customised. One relating to Paine comes from T. H. Bell. Juxtaposing the more stoic didacticism of the article on history writing, this poem, titled *Lines on Receiving the First Number of the Northern Liberator*, offers a more creative use of memory. It recalls Paine and other radicals as heroes who intervened against a tyrannical system of untruths and inequality:

Long was the truth of equal rights unknown
Tyrants exalted and the people prone,
Til Sydney, Locke, Price, Priestly, Paine, arraigned
At reason's bar those who the mind enhanced;
Then rose thy power Philosophy, then shone
Thy mild effulgence, o'er the nations thrown.
Chased from the plain, and driven to the brake,
The ancient enemies of freedom quake[427]

Paine is set alongside a cohort of Britain's illustrious enlightened philosophers. He is paired with Britain's esteemed seventeenth-century philosophers, Algernon Sidney and John Locke for their works on the rule and limitations of government.[428] They are traditional personalities invoked by radicals. Bookending this selection of personalities are two of Paine's contemporaries, Richard Price and Joseph Priestly – enlightened thinkers whose views were moderate and constitutionalist, an interesting pairing considering the more extreme republican views of Paine. The poem's collective use of their memory erases these political differences and instead portrays them expansively and in grand terms. He is given this standing without having to recite any specific instances of his radicalism; instead, the poem draws purely on his symbolism and in doing so, detaches Paine from any temporal boundaries to venerate him as part of a collective of heroes.[429] The pantheonization of Paine blurs his memory with the other philosophers and nullifies ideological differences. They are made pure representations of enlightened thought. Whilst this creative use of Paine's memory contrasts with the historical analysis of the article, it conveys not only the flexible use of memory but the eclectic content of the Chartist press.[430] Across both these forms of cultural memory the past is recollected in different ways. These factual and creative uses of memory provide an early insight into some methods used to deploy radical memory in the Chartist press.

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[427] *Northern Liberator*, 9 December 1837, 2.

[428] Thomas Muir, *The Trial of Thomas Muir ... The Second Edition Enlarged & Corrected. With an Elegant Portrait ... To Which Is Annexed, an Appendix, Etc* (Alexander Scott, 1793); Joseph Gerrald and Mr Ramsey, *The Trial of Joseph Gerrald, Delegate from the London Corresponding Society to the British Convention: Before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on the 3d, 10th, 13th, and 14th of March 1794, for Sedition* (James Robertson, and sold in London, 1794).

[429] Mike Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 14.

[430] Martin Conboy refers to the eclecticism of the press as 'heteroglossia', or 'the multiplicity of contesting voices'. For a definition see Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010).

Later Chartist newspapers continued to build this paper pantheon. Again, however, the depth of this engagement varied. Henry Vincent's 2d unstamped *Western Vindicator* ran from February to December 1839. In accordance with the law, the content did not contain any news. Vincent and publishers George Payne and Francis Hill filled the four pages with 'debates and digests', surveys, sketches, and Vincent's travelogue.[431] It was popular with readers in the southwest and Wales. Locally, for its short life, the *Vindicator* was a vanguard against negative representations of the Charter. It kept up a protective stance against Whig and Tory publications. In reply to the *Weekly Chronicle*'s editor, 'Mr Ward', who criticised the Chartist 1839 General Convention as 'evil-designing persons', and the rabble of the 1830 French Revolution, Vincent defended the right of the French people to have armed, and stood by the 'new political creed'.[432] When the *Gloucester Journal* presented Chartism as comprised of 'imbecility, deceit, treachery, fraud, and childish squabbling', the *Vindicator* praised the establishment of local Working Men's Associations.[433] Bristol's vibrant print culture even led Vincent to include a section entitled 'Rich Bits from the Bristol "Stamped"', correcting the lies of the Whig *Bristol Standard* and the 'whole hog of Toryism', the *Bristol Times*.[434] In addition to providing a vanguard against elites in the South West of the country, Vincent supplied snippets of cultural memory to his readers in the form of Paine's *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*. This work, originally published in (1795), was serialised for much of the start and end of the *Western Vindicator*'s short life. This series appeared in several locations of the *Vindicator*. At times it was placed on the front page next to the 'Politics for the People' segment, an editorial by Vincent. Other issues placed Paine's writings next to articles on the history of Kings, abutted letters written by John Frost, a regular contributor, and inserted alongside commentaries on the Whigs and Tories.[435] The use of Paine's *Dissertation* is perhaps Vincent's most significant use of his memory. However, it is not the only instance. Flashes of Paine are encountered briefly in Vincent's recollection. In the issue published on 25th May Vincent describes how he first engaged with radical memory at the age of 15, when he read Cobbett, Bentham, and Cartwright. Two years later, he received 'the best political work ever written, THE RIGHTS OF MAN.'[436] Primarily it is Paine's written works that are remade into the *Vindicator*. Representations of him factor little. Despite Vincent's youthful energy in recounting the first reading of Paine, the deployment of his memory was limited compared to other

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[431] Owen Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator and Early Chartism*' in Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton, *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press* (Merlin Press, 2005), 54-81; see page 58 for details on its content.
[432] *Western Vindicator*, 6 April 1839, 2.
[433] *Western Vindicator*, 11 May 1839, 1.
[434] Owen Ashton discusses this local journalistic feud, see Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator*', 60.
[435] *Western Vindicator*, 9 March 1839, 2; 23 March 1839, 1; 30 March 1839, 1; 6 April 1839, 1; 27 April 1839, 4; 9 November 1839, 4.
[436] *Western Vindicator*, 25 May 1839, 4.

newspapers. Part of this reason might be the end of this publication within the year. Where Vincent did make use of Paine, he did so by complimenting his own writing, adding Paine's philosophical heft (and not theological weight) to his arguments, and integrating him into the *Western Vindicator*'s identity. One can only speculate that had the publication continued beyond 1839, Paine's other works may have continued to be a staple.

The presence of radical memory was also in the Scottish press. However, in publications like the *Chartist Circular*, there were fewer mentions of republican radicals like Paine. A Chartist press emerged in Scotland at the end of December 1838. O'Connor made the decision to rush north to attend an assembly of Scottish delegates at Johnstone's Temperance Coffee House in Edinburgh. His sudden frantic dash, one of many that contributed to an episode of exhaustion that some thought had killed O'Connor, was to secure his reputation in the movement and ensure Scottish Chartism did not align itself with radical Whigs.[437] His urgency speaks to a fracture that is evident in two newspapers that emerged each with their own voice and recreations of the past. There was the *Scottish Patriot* launched on 6 July 1839.[438] This promoted the Whig-radical partnership. Despite O'Connor's concerns, it did not necessarily challenge Chartism like other Whig and Tory newspapers. The *Scottish Patriot* covered anniversary meetings, like the one held by the Glasgow Emancipation Society (a sign of the Whig loyalties) and mixed this with more overt support for radicals. This came in the form of reporting on Cobbett Clubs, a petition presented to the Attorney General by John Fielden; an Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Universal Suffrage Association; and petitions asking the Queen to review sentences on Chartists like William Lovett, Vincent, and John Collins. Paine, however, is distinctly absent from its pages. This absence qualifies the newspaper's identity along with Paine's own inflammatory reputation as a radical. Instead, as announced in its debut issue, its pantheon celebrated 'Liberal politicians who flourished from 1780 to 1792… 'Grace of Richmond' , 'Noble Duke'… Colonel Sharman', and, of course, Charles James Fox. In a nod to its Whig pantheon, it is the latter who is remembered most fondly as the shining star in the 'bright galaxy of British Opposition leaders'.[439] The other newspaper was, as the name suggests, the more supportive *Chartist Circular*.

Like the radical press before Chartism, the *Chartist Circular* promoted memory through its remit to educate. The origins of the *Chartist Circular* are detailed in a preface to a compendium 'Published under the Superintendence of the Universal Suffrage Central Committee for Scotland'. This committee gathered over seventy delegates representing fifty

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[437] Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 47.
[438] *Scottish Patriot*, 6 July 1839, 1.
[439] *Scottish Patriot*, 6 August, 1839, 1.

districts in the Universalist Church, Glasgow, 15th August 1839.[440] A three-day deliberation enshrined 'PUBLIC OPINNION' as the source of power to be achieved through the establishment of a free press. William Thomson helped to run this new ambitious adventure that debuted on 28th September 1839. At the cost of one-half penny, this 'educational journal', and not a newspaper, provided a circulation of up to 20,000 in its opening issues with literary and historical information.[441] Like the *Voice of the West Riding*, Thomson quoted the revolutionary figure the Marquis 'De La Fayette' to greet the reader with the subheading 'For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it' (see Figure 10).[442] These snippets preceded a caption that detailed the six points of the Charter, furnishings that boldly combined the wisdom of the past with the ambition for the present. Chartism had coalesced and '*De La Fayette*' had been placed amongst its company.

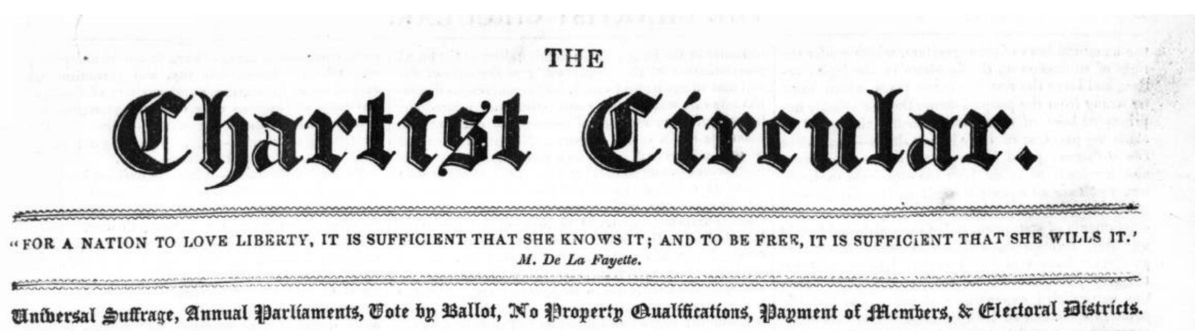

Figure 10: Chartist Circular heading and subheadings, (1839)

In this debut issue, the *Chartist Circular* proclaimed the vote as 'INHERITANT RIGHTS'. This was an 'Appeal to the People of Scotland' on how to view the present struggle for the Charter. Anchoring this message was how to understand the past. It echoes O'Connor's negative view on statues seen in Chapter 3, as only tyrants would seek memorials. In contrast, the virtuous 'vivid imagination beholds a Wallace, a Tell, a Hampden, and a Washington'. [443] An intangible heritage, with all its creative fluidity, was advocated over the kinds of stoic toryfication of the cultural landscape. The reader is challenged on why they should settle for a rigid monolithic structure when they can mentally embody a pantheon and behold all the illustrious dead. Similarly, emotion is of concern. Drawing a line from elite titles like *Weekly True Sun*, monuments such as 'the gorgeous obelisks of Blenheim or a Waterloo' were deemed inferior, and capable only of reinforcing feelings of 'painful regret' and melancholy. [444] As seen in Chapter 3, these kinds of sentiments on the 'crowning carnage' of

[440] Chase, *Chartism*, 106.
[441] W. Hamish Fraser, 'The Chartist Press in Scotland', in Allen and Ashton, *apers for the People*, 91-2.
[442] For a discussion on Chartist mastheads see Aled Jones, 'Chartist Journalism and Print Culture in Britain 1830 to 1855', in Allen and Ashton, *Papers for the People*, 4.
[443] *Chartist Circular*, 28 September 1839, 1.
[444] *Ibid*.

Waterloo was typical of Chartist memory. Likewise, the same disregard for statues and preference for imagined pantheons, as seen with O'Connor, is expressed here. The *Chartist Circular* announces the benefits of the more fluid imagined relationship with the past and the limitless freedom for hero worship that it offered Chartists.

Despite the greater inclusion of radicals by the *Chartist Circular* compared to its Scottish counterpart, Paine remained marginalised. His writings appeared as snippets, along with other prominent authorities on political thinking, such as William Blackstone. What is intriguing, however, is the presence of the Scottish Martyrs compared to other newspapers. The nationalistic affinity is obvious. This Glasgow-based newspaper sought to be a familiar presence in the daily interactions of its working-class readers and through knowledge 'leave impressions on their minds'. [445] This interaction helped to shape representations of this memory and challenge elite hegemony over the past. The Scottish Martyrs were put on trial for sedition in 1793 and 1794, found guilty, and transported to Australia.[446] In an article entitled 'The Progress of Democracy', we see Thomson glory in the failure of the prosecutors to 'obliterate' the memory of Scottish Martyrs or 'blot out one of their memorable sayings'.[447] A few months later, however, we see his later admission of the need to honour their sacrifice, less the narrative fall into the 'the hands of the… minister, or the merchant' – a reference that alludes to the reconstructed histories of Tories and Whigs.[448] This contradiction shows a vulnerability over, first, the fragility of these memories, and second, the need to make this memory accessible to its audience. In doing so, radical memory is conserved, an achievement that nods to the moral value Thomson sees in such radical memories and their contribution to Chartism.

One example of this memory being reshaped over the course of the *Chartist Circular* is with Scottish Martyr Joseph Gerrald. Despite the Scottish Martyr title, Gerrald was Creole-born. An educated lawyer who had witnessed the republicanism of the United States firsthand. He had conducted his defence in the Scottish courts for participating in the British Convention, a coming together of radicals from across Britain in 1793.[449] The wary authorities saw this as

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[445] *Chartist Circular*, 11 September 1841, 430.
[446] Lindsay Farmer, ' "Subverting the Settled Order of Things": The Crime of Sedition in Scotland, 1793-1849', in Michael T. Davis, Emma Macleod, and Gordon Pentland, *Political Trials in an Age of Revolutions: Britain and the North Atlantic, 1793—1848* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 19-46.
[447] *Chartist Circular*, 11 September 1841, 430.
[448] *Chartist Circular*, 23 October 1841, iv-v; Chase, *Chartism*, 41.
[449] John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 158-165; for information on the development of defence council in the late eighteenth century see J Beattie, 'Scales of Justice: Defense Counsel and the English Criminal Trial in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Law and History Review*, 9.2 (1991), 229-34.

an attempt to subvert Parliament and sought to deal with the leaders swiftly. Gerrald himself had been the Secretary to this alternative Parliament. Through a series of articles, the *Chartist Circular* impressed the 'memorable sayings' and martyrdom of Gerrald onto the minds of readers. This veneration was achieved by recirculating snippets of his trial transcript. It shows the selectivity of memory in practice. Trial transcripts were bulky tomes. Here, they are voluminous accounts distilled down to their most emotive parts. Readers could recount Gerrald's triumphant fortitude in his concluding remark that 'prosecutions never can efface principles'.[450] This was a timely deployment of radical legacy, narrativized to match the prosecution of Chartism's key figures following the tumultuous end of 1839 with the Newport Rising and Bullring Riots in Birmingham. The emotive language helps achieve this impact and allowed the past to be aligned to suit the moods and rhythms of Chartism. It is one example of the layering of representations of Gerrald in the *Chartist Circular*. This was a change of tone from an earlier portrayal that had sketched his tragic martyrdom. On 14 December 1839, a snippet taken from the *Magazine of the London Corresponding Society* from May 1797 and republished. It recounted the career of this 'illustrious patriot', along with his trial and imprisonment. He is described as having been 'treated with every species of ignominy that cold-blooded malice could invent', and finally, ending with his death shortly after transportation to the penal colony of Botany Bay.[451] The reappearance of this article in the *Chartist Circular* provides a sense of how these memories were 'produced and reproduced'. The length of his trial transcript is overcome. The most powerful imagery and emotive language is plucked from the tome to immediately grasp the experiences of Gerrald's martyrdom into the radical pantheon. Like republications of Paine's works, the level of interaction in retelling this past was more than simply recirculating existing published accounts. The radical imagination formed part of how this past was impressed onto the reader. A reproduction of a letter written by Gerrald onboard a hulk awaiting transportation reappeared in the *Chartist Circular* in May 1840. The letter, dated 16th May 1795, gives an insight into the bleakness of his situation. However, the preamble introducing the letter contrasts this tone with a language of grand and impassioned terms, coloured by the exclamation, 'I have sought thee, Virtue, and found but a shade'.[452] Like the *Northern Liberator*, we again see the creative and the factual at play. Whereas selected extracts of his trial relied on the weight of his words to convey a romanticised representation, here a stage-managed intervention favouring the melodramatic was crafted. In this way, the reader receives both an historical account and a poetic reading that secures his uplift into martyrdom. The *Chartist Circular* pantheonized a mixture of personalities. It was more moderate in its selection but not so much as to exclude itself from

[450] *Chartist Circular*, 8 February 1840, 80.
[451] *Chartist Circular*, 14 December 1839, 48
[452] *Chartist Circular*, 23 May 1840, 144.

the identity of Chartism, a process likely helped by the *Scottish Patriot's* veneration of more genteel reformers. Fox, not Muir. Richmond over Gerrald. The *Chartist Circular* reflects the *Poor Man's Guardian*'s purposeful intention to educate, and here we find a radical cultural memory of republished texts and transcripts, shared and then shaped through a poetical reimagining for a specific political group.

The *Circular* was joined by its English counterpart in 1841 – the *English Chartist Circular and Temperance Record for England and Wales* (*E.C.C.*) The London newspaper was published for three years by John Cleave. It shared the same remit as Thomson, to be a tool for knowledge. As with other newspapers, this is where the use of memory was invested. However, the context of Chartism had shifted by the early 1840s. The arrival of the *E.C.C.* coincided with the 'New Move'.[453] This was a splintering in the direction of Chartism with the 1839 National Petition having failed. Lovett and John Collins had been released from Warwick goal after being given a twelve-month sentence in August 1840. Their time was spent working on a new approach aimed at a system of national education. This desire was summarised in their pamphlet *Chartism: A New Organization of the People*. Yet, Knowledge Chartism, Temperance, and Christian Chartism was indicted by O'Connor as a '*prima facie* case against' a united Chartism.[454] Cleave himself penned a letter to the *Northern Star* over the New Move.[455] In it, he asserted the right for dissent within Chartism, supporting the plan and criticising the 'Manchester Plan'. This was the result of a conference of delegates that had met in Manchester in August 1840 to organise what became the centralised framework of the National Charter Association. In a sign of how passionate the debate over the direction of Chartism had become, Cleave categorically denies he is a 'traitor'. He does so by concluding his argument by invoking Paine and Cobbett; 'masterminds' who taught such freedoms, and to deny this was to render their writings redundant a 'Will-o'-the-wisp'. From the collective veneration of Paine, his memory is here used in self-defence in the public arena of the *Northern Star*. However, Cleave made no apologies for using the *E.C.C.* as a vehicle to educate readers. Despite such reactions to the New Move, it did not disrupt the production of newspapers like the *E.C.C.*. It followed Lovett and Collins's aim to protect and nurture 'an enlightened public opinion' as enshrined in the Charter.[456] In a bizarre twist, it was a paper that received high praise from O'Connor, despite the calumny thrown onto Cleave.[457]

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453 For more information on the New Move see Chase*, Chartism*, 168-77.

454 William Lovett, *Chartism: A New Organization of the People, Embracing a Plan for the Education and Improvement of the People, Politically and Socially ...* (J. Watson, 1840); Patricia Hollis, *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth-Century England, 1815-1850. Ed. by P. Hollis* (Oxford: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 261-65.

455 *Northern* Star, 8 May 1841, 3.

456 Lovett, *Chartism: A New Organization*, 24-5.

457 David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 40.

As a paper pantheon, the *E.C.C.* did much to provide information on the lives of radicals. In contrast to its Scottish counterpart, its inaugural issue was less concerned with providing a publication for the poor and more with the crowded market of newspapers. The diffusion of knowledge, it claimed, would set it apart.[458] Dorothy Thompson notes that under the editorship of James Harris it had a 'similar tone' to the *Chartist Circular*, but a 'very different personality'.[459] This educational impetus certainly helps to explain the density of radical memory contained within its pages. Infamous enemies like King George III once more have their 'pious memory' deflated, a continuity it maintained from earlier papers like the *Northern Liberator*. Whether intentional or not, this history flips from calumny to compassion with a profile on General Washington.[460] Not long after, serialised biographies appeared on Washington and others like Thomas Muir and Robert Emmet in what became 'Memoirs of Celebrated Patriots'. Outside this series were a wealth of members of the radical pantheon. Memoirs on Cobbett,[461] quotations from Mary Wollstonecraft on aristocracy and education,[462] a history of Parliamentary reform, from the Duke of Richmond in the 1780s to the 'degenerated' Whigs in 1832.[463] Long articles gave histories, such as the 'ANCIENT LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE REALM OF ENGLAND… the monument of our ancestral rights'. [464] Paine formed part of this memory. Editorials were headed with quotations from Paine, and when the newspaper completed its first cycle of volumes in January 1843, it fell on Paine's birthday, a coincidence it was only too happy to recognise.[465] His works were quoted throughout in a similar fashion to the *Western Vindicator* and more extensively than the *Chartist Circular*. This included the *American Crisis*, *Rights of Man*, and, like the *Vindicator*, *First Principles of Government*.[466] The *E.C.C.* lasted longer than other Chartist newspapers, which added to its value as a paper pantheon. However, two factors in this relationship with the past are noticeable. First, the newspaper presents Paine's political, not theological, writings. Second, though he did not receive a biography, its focus on his writings and not dinner transcripts provides an historical portrait of Paine; that is to say, his memory is not politicised. To meet the education focus of the newspaper, his works were reprinted, but there are no reports of meetings remaking Paine in the present. The dialogical fluidity has no presence here. This is repetition over ritual. This is not to say the *E.C.C.* did not encourage this kind of engagement with readers, for Paine

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[458] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 1, 1.
[459] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 43.
[460] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 2, 1.
[461] *Ibid*.
[462] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 22, 4.
[463] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 25, 1.
[464] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 18, 1.
[465] Paul Pickering, A 'Grand Ossification': William Cobbett and the Commemoration of Tom Paine', in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Routledge, 2017), 70.
[466] *English Chartist Circular*, No. 53, 1; No. 55, 4; No. 22, 1.

was very popular in the Metropolis. Rather, the relationship of the *E.C.C.* was to root Paine firmly in the past. However, like the *Vindicator*, his writings and the memories of other radicals were interspersed within the current affairs in Chartism. This included surveys on who had been arrested and segments on how the mechanics of a better political system would operate, such as electing MPs.[467] In contrast, the *Northern Star* did record the politicisation of Paine's memory, and an examination of this leading Chartist newspaper reveals the malleable recreational remembrance of Paine, as opposed to the more static reproductions of Paine in the *E.C.C.*.

The main newspaper of Chartism was the *Northern Star*. Hannah Barker has placed the count of Chartist newspapers as high as fifty periodicals in operation throughout Chartism. However, the 'single unifying element' was the *Northern Star*.[468] The close connection between Chartism's life and this newspaper shows how integral it was to the movement's survival. On identity, the *Star* unified a patchwork of localities with its national reach and appealed to an ideology that spoke to workers enduring political and economic hardship. It gives a sense of identity to these regions.[469] This was achieved through regular contributions from O'Connor, articles on inept Whigs and Tories, addressing the woes of overproduction, but also taking a more pragmatic role, organising and mobilising the movement, providing communications from the Editor and central bodies like the National Chartist Association (N.C.A.). In essence, it encapsulated what being a Chartist meant. However, it did not encapsulate everyone. Nor was this mouthpiece always wholesome. There was a tribal ugliness to it, one that was wielded against detractors and later all but excommunicated them.[470] However, focusing on this element is to detract from the spirit of the *Northern Star*, which was to be inclusive. Set up in November 1837 by Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor, this flagship newspaper began with a breathless mission to raise the £690 to acquire the press and license. At short notice it was achieved through £1 shares, much of it taken up by O'Connor. [471] It was set up in the north, not London, though it relocated there in 1844. Its presence in the Leeds allowed the newspaper to keep its finger on the pulse of agitation growing in the factory and textile districts that populated this region of the country. Initially, the headquarters were to be in Barnsley before William Hill, who would be the newspaper's first editor, suggested Hull. Eventually,

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[467] The first issue gives one such register on those prosecuted *English Chartist Circular*, 1-4; for a diagram showing how the Secret Ballot would Operate see issue 25, 100.

[468] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Longman, 2000), 214-5; other lists of Chartist publications can be found in Chase, *Chartism*, 44; Thompson, *The Chartists*, 37-57; Jones, ' Chartist Journalism', 2.

[469] Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[470] As seen in Chapter 2 when O'Connor publicly excommunicate Harney's reputation in the movement to the Chamber of Horrors.

[471] Chase, *Chartism*, 16

O'Connor was convinced to go to Leeds, which was more radically organised, had technical facilities, and sought to compete with the local *Leeds Times* (which it supplanted as the leading radical newspaper), the Whig *Leeds Mercury*, and the Tory *Leeds Intelligencer*.[472] It was no easy mission to establish this press. In fact, this paper pantheon faced similar logistical and real estate challenges as the stone memorials in finding capital and space. However, the *Northern Star* endured. Overall, it proved important to Chartism's longevity. More specifically, it was paramount to documenting the cultural memory of Paine and Chartism's wider commemorative activities.

One distinguishing factor of the *Northern Star* was the fact that it was stamped. As seen earlier in this chapter, the laws around the press had altered, but a free press was not yet in existence. Instead, with a mixture of paternal pride and condescension, O'Connor invited the reader to 'Behold that little red spot, in the corner of my newspaper. That is the Stamp; the Whig *beauty* spot; your *plague* spot… my license to teach'.[473] Unlike publications such as the *Western Vindicator*, this 'spot' entitled the *Northern Star* to free postage and license to report on news.[474] As seen with the 'taxes on knowledge', such financial regulations made distribution cumbersome to the spread of memory. The *Northern Star* cost buyers 4d ½ (until 1844 when it became 5d), and so was priced out of the region of individual workers. However, this restriction did not impede the spread of the *Northern Star*, and with it, representations of radical memory. It enjoyed a wide circulation. Although calculations have varied, scholars like Dorothy Thompson offer estimates by quantifying its sales through bureaucratic processes, such as the returns of newspaper stamps. Thompson gives some measure, with peaks as high as 60,000.[475] Epstein provides an average weekly sale of the *Northern Star* year by year, with 11,000 in 1838 and an apogee at 36,000 sales a year later when the *Star* outsold *The Times*, an strictly anti-Chartist newspaper.[476] These sales figures give an indication of how far radical memory was now being shared. However, they do not reflect the total audience. For, engagement was ritualised through the reading aloud of newspapers. Like memory, this engagement with the *Northern Star* was based on social engagement. Its content was heard in crowded rooms and not necessarily contained to a single recipient. It was typical of early

[472] Eric Glasgow, 'The Establishment of the Northern Star Newspaper', *History*, 39.135–136 (1954), 54–67.
[473] This is taken from *Northern Star*, 18 November 1837, 1 and quoted in J. A. Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star', *International Review of Social History*, 21.1 (1976), 54.
[474] Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator*, 57.
[475] Thompson, *The Chartists*, 50-2.
[476] Despite this boastful triumph of the Chartist newspaper over the champion of the established press, there followed a shifting decline, between 18,700 in 1840 to sales of 5,000 in 1850, see footnote 40 in J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist movement, 1832-1842* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2015), 59; for a breakdown of sales in relation to the *Leeds Times* and *Leeds Intelligentsia* see Jones, 'Chartist Journalism', 14-5.

nineteenth-century journalism for the physical copies to be passed through 'scores of hands' in its lifetime.[477] On the circulation of Chartist newspapers like the *Charter*, Patricia Hollis proposes a ratio of as many as twenty listeners for every copy sold, and the likelihood is that this applied to the *Northern Star* too.[478] Again, this practice of sharing knowledge preceded Chartism, coffeehouses and taverns were traditional sites for disseminating information and ideas.[479] By the time the *Northern Star* began to appear in these spaces it quickly became part of the rituals of radicals, and now Chartists.

Reading aloud publications like the *Northern Star* continued this practice. For instance, Robert Blakey (one of the *Northern Liberator*'s editors) recalled that the publication of *Cobbett's Register* was the 'greatest favourite' of all the week and drew up a festive political atmosphere upon its being read aloud.[480] Whereas records like W.E. Adams's memoir reveals how communal readings continued with Chartism and enabled the illiterate to participate. In this case, the shoemaker Laurence, or 'Larry', journeyed on crutches to attend this sacred weekly event.[481] It is difficult to determine whether the content from the *Northern Star* was read aloud cover to cover. These memoirs certainly suggest this to be the case. Furthermore, letters from readers complaining of not being included in the *Northern Star*'s coverage shows an aspiration among local communities to see their participation within this movement culture gratified through the pages of the *Northern Star*. This notice included reports of Paine anniversary dinners.[482] Likely aware of this performative aspect, newspapers like the *Northern Star* were composed with oratory in mind, with an excess of capital letters, italicization, and exclamation marks, all intended to impact the delivery.[483] Yet, whilst the 'Blessings' of topics like the New Poor Law were blasted with exclamation, these alterations to the font were not applied to transcripts of local meetings.[484] Instead, they were given a simple text with the addition of reactions from the audience (cheering, booing, applause), a sonic remediation of the experience that speaks to the communal culture of Chartism. Within its pages unfold the cultural memories of radicals like Paine that were read by, or possibly announced to, its readership. From the *Northern Star,* the reader finds swathes of Chartism's culture of commemoration. Dorothy Thompson has assigned this newspaper 'the starting point for

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[477] Richard D Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900.* (Chicago: University Press, 1957), 322.
[478] Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 119.
[479] Jürgen Habermas, Thomas Burger, and Frederick Lawrence, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991).
[480] Robert Blakey, *Memoirs of Dr. Robert Blakey Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queens's College, Belfast* (London: Trübner & Company, 1879), 19.
[481] Adams, *Memoirs*, 164-5; Epstein, *Lion of Freedom*, 61.
[482] See *Northern Star*, 13 February 1841, 5 for a reply to a letter from Chartists celebrating Paine's birthday anniversary in Merthyr Tydfil.
[483] Epstein, *The Lion of* Freedom, 60-1.
[484] See for example *Northern Star*, 6 January 1838, 6.

research into Chartism' for its value in recording agitation and documenting local happenings.[485] The analysis thus far has not chosen it as a starting point, but it does not diminish the position of the *Northern Star* as Chartism's supreme paper pantheon. It did more to remediate the cultural memory of radicals like Paine into transcripts than any other newspaper.

Before examining the cultural memory of the *Northern Star*, it is worth mentioning some areas in which Paine's memory was not selected. One of these was portraiture. O'Connor was keen to 'innovate and adapt' this imagery into the *Northern Star*.[486] Such engravings reaffirmed identity and were saved as mementos to place in the home and have at meetings. Indeed, the value of portraits was such that Roberts uses them as his choice of medium to deconstruct the paper pantheon.[487] Whilst the *Northern* Star attempted to harness such technological changes to journalism and produce its own engravings, it did not choose Paine as its subject. Rather, the *Northern Star* advertised commodities of Paine, but portraiture was reserved for the living patriots and less so the 'illustrious dead'.[488] Likewise, there was no mention of Paine nor any other radical in the masthead of the *Northern Star*. Indeed, at first glance, the *Northern Star* might deceive the reader that it possessed the position of the supreme paper pantheon. Unlike other Chartist newspapers, the masthead was not adorned with any historical quotations. The first articles to appear on the front page were usually a letter from O'Connor, or an update from the N.C.A. . The front page tended to be rooted in the present moment. Even with the artistic change to the newspaper's masthead (see Figures 11 and 12) from the 61st issue (12 January 1839) to a more decorative format, the semantics of the past were not included. Instead, the title is written in bold text on a banner (as might be seen in a Chartist demonstration). It is on a bed of greenery, the same kind found at commemorative dinners. A rose (possibly white) appears on the left under the word 'Leeds', connoting the home of the newspaper. An anchor appears opposite, on the right. However, one possible evocation of radical tradition was at the centre with an illuminated printing press. Symbolic of being the heart of the *Northern Star*, it echoed the banner of the *Poor Man's Guardian* (see Figure 13).

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[485] Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism* (London: Verso Books, 2015), 71.
[486] J A Epstein, 'Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star', *International Review of Social History*, 21, 74-5; Henry Miller, *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, C. 1830-80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).
[487] Matthew Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration, and the Cult of the Radical Hero* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 10-20.
[488] Malcolm Chase, 'Building identity, building circulation: engraved portraiture and the *Northern Star*', in Allen, Joan, and Owen, Ashton, *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press* (London: Merlin Press, 2005) 28. His list of Chartist portraits also shows an engraving was made of Hunt (June 1838) and of Cobbett (September 1838) but with no portrait of Paine forthcoming, 46; Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 17; for an explanation into the significance of portraiture in relation to memory see Chapter 3 page 85 of this thesis.

However, this hypermediated incarnation was not retained.[489] Its last appearance was on the issue of the 24th August of the same year, and a return to the spartan plain font reappeared a week later.[490] Even so, quotations from illustrious radicals were not used as seen elsewhere in the Chartist press. Instead, this memory was embedded within the content of its columns.

Figure 11: The Northern Star’s updated masthead 12 January 1839.

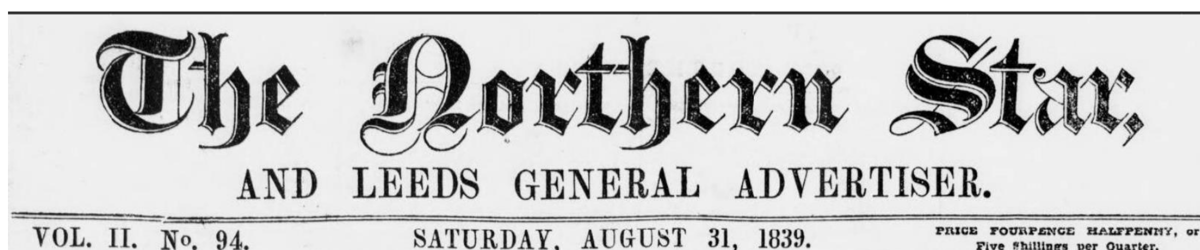

Figure 12: The Northern Star‘s original masthead and again 31 August 1839.

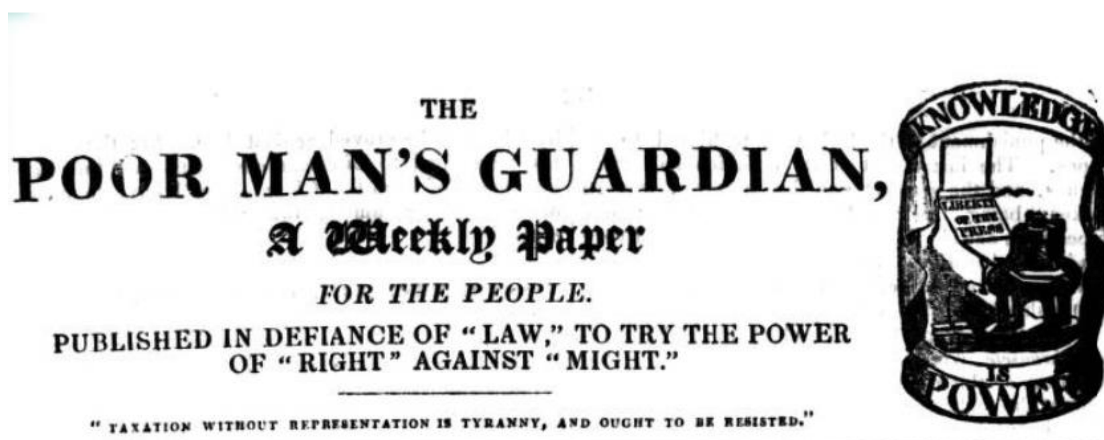

Figure 13: The Poor Man’s Guardian masthead (1831-5).

Notices of the radical canon is one such example of the *Northern* Star encouraging an engagement with cultural memory. We have explored reading lists in Chapter 3. Yet, there were deeper interactions with this radical literature. For example, in 1846, the *Northern Star* published an announcement from the N.C.A. which had responded to requests to republish

[489] Bolter and Grusin describe hypermediation as an intervention, a break from reality. Here the masthead is artistic but returned to the more stoic font; Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation,* 12.
[490] For a discussion on mastheads and meaning see Jones, ‘Chartist Journalism’, 2-3.

the works of Paine.[491] A few months later, it provided reviews of his work. This included a *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*, described as 'the clearest and ablest exposure' of "hereditary principle"; and 'the most excellent and unanswerable defence of the "representative principle"'.[492] However, this use of Paine's memory and its relevance to the Charter did not pass onto his work *Agrarian Justice*. This short 1797 pamphlet by Paine advocated a welfare system and the cultivation of the land by the people.[493] This review appeared a few weeks later. Whilst not outright dismissive of this pamphlet and encouraging its perusal, the review did not endorse Paine's plan. It was an affirmative recognition of Paine's place in the past, 'the day for its adoption has gone by'.[494] Perhaps due to the magnitude of the Land Plan, the N.C.A., an O'Connorite faction of Chartism, chose to downplay the relevance of Paine's *Agrarian Justice*.[495] The illustrious Paine who should be read over novels and whose knowledge was framed as instructive to Chartist identity was deemed no longer relevant. These 'cultural reproductions' were one aspect of the *Northern Star* sustaining his memory amongst Chartists. Reviews provided a rare look into how central bodies like the N.C.A. interpreted Paine. For the most part, reproductions of his work stayed in relatively the same format. They signal an interaction with his memory, but few representations show how it was customised. In contrast, dinner reports reveal these modifications and were recorded in the *Northern Star*.

The *Northern Star*'s 'Chartist Intelligence' provides a concentration of Chartist representations of memory. It was in this section that anniversary dinner transcripts were published. The *Northern Star*'s ability to achieve this memory recording says much about its position as a paper pantheon and newspaper. The ability to send reporters to regions and gather this 'Intelligence' was a development that other newspapers like the *Western Vindicator* and *Chartist Circular* were incapable of achieving.[496] The essence of this section evokes the 'unifying patchwork' and shared ideology characteristic of Chartism.[497] It provided readers, and now researchers, with the means of dipping into communities and gathering local news. Anniversary celebrations of the illustrious dead formed part of this content. Speaking at

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[491] *Northern Star*, 4 April 1846, 3.

[492] *Northern Star*, 2 May 1846, 3; Paine's interpretation of 'election and representation' was connected more to the self determination of succeeding generations to determine their own political destiny, rather than the 'absurd' method of handing this 'legal authority' to a pre-determined succession, see Paine, *Rights*, 377-408.

[493] Ian Shapiro and Jane Calvert, *Selected Writings of Thomas Paine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 552-567.

[494] *Northern Star*, 6 June 1846, 4. This is a theme that will be returned to at the end of the next chapter.

[495] Malcolm Chase, '"The Real Rights of Man": Thomas Spence, Paine and Chartism', *Miranda*, 13, 2016, 1-13; Thompson, *The Chartists*, 47-92.

[496] Victoria Jane Clarke, 'Reading and Writing the Nothern Star, 1837-1847' (unpublished PhD, University of Leeds, 2020), 44-5.

[497] Barker, *Newspapers,* 214-5.

dinners, lectures, or contributing to victim funds were all ways of being included. Equally, this documentation provided a recording of what Chartists gathered at anniversary dinners made of Paine. The publication of these transcripts remediated this cultural event, refashioning it from an in-person practice to a printed format. More important to discovering the layers of Paine's memory, this ability to record representations took the politically useable element of memory, its ability to customise.[498] As we have seen with the *Poor Man's Guardian*, the *Northern Star* was not the first newspaper to record memory in this way. However, the Chartist Intelligence column expanded this principle. It recorded local activity on a national scale and distributed this into different regions. Now, remembrance of Paine had the chance of being captured more widely. Gammage reveals how 'Men who had never previously been accustomed to see themselves in print were flattered by the proud distinction'.[499] The coverage given to anniversary dinners took the multidirectional evocations of Paine and put them into print. This multiplicity that existed in the minds of Chartists and put into the pages of the *Northern Star* provided a heterogeneous element to this paper pantheon.

Chartists produced a commemorative culture that was productive in its recollection of past patriots. Yet, there was little control over this active involvement. In addressing Chartism's intangible heritage, Roberts has asked the question, was there an 'authorised heritage discourse' within Chartism?[500] It is an important point to raise in deconstructing the relationship with the past. Laurajane Smith defines authorised heritage discourse in more material and topographical terms, 'pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes'. However, the same reverence for this past, educating future generations around it, and forging a common identity based on the past' applies to Chartism's intangible yet remediated portrayal of figures like Paine.[501] Roberts answers this question in the negative, and the same is true for control over multiplicity. Others, like Poole, have drawn upon this concept of 'authorization' and identified this term as 'fluid', with many dissonant meanings arising from interpretations of heritage.[502] Likewise, the *Northern Star* provides not only the interpretations of Paine in a fluid manner, but also provides a corpus from which to sift these portrayals. Multiple speakers chose different subjects to address; or addressed the same subject differently. Even with the openness to recreate Paine, there appear to be few confrontations within transcripts. A

[498] Andrew Wood, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, *1500-1800* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 14.
[499] *Ibid*.
[500] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 81-2.
[501] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006), 29-34.
[502] Steve Poole, 'The Politics of "Protest Heritage", in C. J. Griffin and B, McDonagh. (eds.), *Remembering Protest in Britain Since 1500: Memory, Materiality and the Landscape* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), 187-8.

freedom, or at least a sense of freedom, existed within this dialogue. These practices multiplied over the various locations producing an abundance of remembrance.

Controlling the output of remembrance more likely originated from the newspaper reporters and the invisible guiding hand of the editor over what to include and what to cut. This framing of commemoration was in places overt and others, more subtle. There are many instances where toasts and other comments were clipped. At times there are logistical reasons for this, such as the size of the article limiting the amount recorded. One instance of this truncation is with the Oldham dinner in which the report regretfully notifies the reader of an 'inability to give' the toasts to Cobbett's memory 'for want of room'.[503] There are many examples where this logistical problem occurred for commemorations of Hunt and Paine. What remains of these tributes are abbreviations – sentiments that were 'patriotic' and 'appropriate' in tone – yet missing 'vernacular historiographies' such regional remembrance offered.[504] As with other written records, it is necessary to acknowledge that these newspaper transcripts were not wholly accurate. There were limits to reporting due to the pace and, at times, the chaos of proceedings, with diegetic distortions being a common factor in nineteenth-century reporting.[505] Gammage expressed as much in his memoirs and explained that the articles were 'enormously exaggerated' but that this was 'the grounds of its success'.[506] It is a valid observation and a reminder that these were representations of a ritual remade and recirculated in the press. However, these portrayals of sentiment should not be discounted. To do so would ignore this 'social form of knowledge' and overlook the active effort by Chartists to document remembrance.[507] Second, even as an impression of commemoration, they remain a valuable and rare fragment of what Chartists made of Paine.

Chartist Intelligence enjoyed a heteroglossia of voices that broadened the discussion around memory. On the one hand, they reflect the kinds of history writing conducted by Chartists like O'Brien, reimagining 'blackened' reputations from the past. Few elite newspapers reported on such commemorations. If done so, they usually were framed to tarnish and not trumpet radical memory. These transcripts broadened the discussion around memory. The *Northern Star* provided a media that empowered the memory of radical heroes

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[503] *Northern Star*, 17 March 1838, 5.
[504] Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 5.
[505] Paul A. Pickering, 'Class Without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement', *Past and Present*, 112.1 (1986), 144–62; Gammage also highlights this tendency in his memoirs.
[506] Robert George Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-1854* (Newcastle-on-Tyne :Browne & Browne, 1894), 17.
[507] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), 8.

rather than one that risked any kind of 'forced forgetting'.[508] In tandem with this, these representations provide a more democratic inclusion to Chartism. Sentiments were recorded from a variety of speakers. To return to Gammage, 'Men who had never previously been accustomed to see themselves in print were flattered by the proud distinction'.[509] The transcripts were 'polyphonic' and contained multiple speakers each attributing a sense of collective memory towards Paine, his actions, works, and ideas.[510] Even when the transcripts were truncated, toasts were succinctly recorded. They offer a wider inclusion compared to other parts of the *Northern Star*, such as the letter published by O'Connor or regular columns by O'Brien – the larger personalities of Chartism. Although these multiple voices included speeches by O'Connor and other local leaders, like Cooper, they nonetheless included fewer familiar members from the rank and file of the community', as well as old Paineites and veterans of reform embodying a communicative memory. In this way, the natural flow of the ritual with its speechmaking combined with the homogenous nature of newspapers. Anniversary transcripts in Chartist Intelligence reflect this heteroglossia and the paper pantheon this multiplicity. Together, they reveal a 'dialogical conception' of Paine drawn from Chartist ideology, radical tradition, the radical canon, and a sense of identity when evoking his memory.[511] However, not all of this was contained to a single speaker, and only by studying a combination of these do these many utterances of Paine emerge. On certain occasions, the *Northern Star* did provide this mosaic of layered representations, with multiple reports of anniversary banquets placed side by side, each containing different portrayals, yet each responsive to one another. Through this pattern of behaviour, the *Northern Star* provided a radical past that was remediated, responsive, and multilayered. Together, it offers a record of Chartism's relationship with the past, a cultural production of appropriated rituals and customised speeches. A comparison of these voices reveals much overlap and intersection. However, though much of the speech, identity, and connection to a radical past was shared, it did not always converge. There was variation within this remembrance. As the next chapter will explore, a comparative study of transcripts shows that different aspects of Paine were

[508] On memory and media, Eileen Le Han has explored the concept of state enforced forgetting in China with the social media platform Weibo. See Eileen Le Han, 'Journalism and Mnemonic Practices in Chinese Social Media: Remembering Catastrophic Events on Weibo', *Memory Studies*, 13.2 (2020), 162–75.
[509] Gammage, *History*, 17.
[510] Bakhtin also refers to polyphonic as 'orchestration', and 'double-voicedness', see Mikhail M. Bakhtin and Michael Holquist, *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981),325; for another example of this kind of heteroglossia in memory studies see Andrea L. Smith, 'Heteroglossia, "Common Sense," and Social Memory', *American Ethnologist*, 31.2 (2004), 251–69.
[511] Bakhtin here refers to the presence of 'foreignness', meaning there is little unique about the forces of language used. See M. Bakhtin and others, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 93.

commemorated at different dinners. Chartism was a patchwork of radical politics, and its remembrance of Paine was likewise a mosaic of representation.

Delving into Chartism's paper pantheon reveals the cultural memory within its pages. Paine and others were remembered through a commemoration culture, which was remediated into print by the Chartist press. The unstamped press was firm in its principle to carry on sharing knowledge in what would prove to be an invaluable medium for communicating ideas and memory. The refusal to obey the Six Acts and the intentions behind their meaning sustained a robust culture of radical commemoration into Chartism. With this heritage, the Chartist press exhibited the kinds of cultural memory listed by Jan Assmann: texts, poems, and rites. Readings of Paine's works were made available, serialised, and given a market. Dinners were remediated into transcripts and published. However, not all newspapers had the same engagement with the past. Some, like the *Western Vindicator,* focused on the present, with short pieces taken from Paine, whereas the *Chartist Circular* overlooked him almost entirely. In contrast, the *Northern Star* stands as the dominant paper pantheon for Chartism, as it was supreme in many other respects as the longest surviving Chartist newspaper. This does not make these other Chartist newspapers redundant. They showcased the same kinds of selective tendencies of who to commemorate and which part of the radical pantheon to reprint. Moreover, each of these Chartist newspapers situated in the locality offered not just a Chartist identity, but a local champion of their region. Yet, with its ability to record local occurrences and capture the multivocal sentiments at Paine anniversary dinners, the *Northern Star* was the 4d paper pantheon present in the lives of Chartists everywhere. It shared a record of commemoration from a multitude of localities nationwide. A greater depth of engagement with the past was taken straight from Chartists' homes, halls, and pubs shared within a patchwork of communities. This collective remembrance was stored as 'Chartist Intelligence'. Transcripts from anniversary dinners give a sense of how Paine was remembered. If public monuments and pantheons like Madame Tussauds were subject to being customised, then so too were paper pantheons. Chartist newspapers quickly formed radical memory into their content. Speeches eulogising Paine, or toasts honouring his memory, overlapped in their sentiment or contrasted those in other areas. Exploring this aspect uncovers the ability of memory to be adapted to local politics in the present and on a national scale. Likewise, this analysis has shown how such evocations speak to the nature of newspapers as heterogeneous, enabling this multiplicity, and capturing the unauthorised discourse around Paine. This section has deconstructed the paper pantheon to expose Chartism's cultural memory in the press. The following chapter takes a deeper look into this engagement with the past by focusing on deconstructing the layers of Paine's memories.

Chapter 5: The Layers of Thomas Paine: 1820-1849.

'a man-shaped or devil-shaped shuttlecock tossed between fanatical and ''infidel'' rackets'[512]

The above quote is taken from a biographer of Paine's - Moncure Daniel Conway. In 1892, long after ex-Chartists had written up, or were in the process of writing up, their memoirs, Conway produced a biography of Paine that coincided with the centenary of Paine's *Rights of Man*. Conway was an American radical freethinker, much like his subject (albeit a minister). He chose this imagery to express his frustration over the lingering mythical and beastly portrayal Paine's critics continued to express – bouncing him between a social nuisance and a monstrous destructive. According to Conway, it was a legacy of prevailing ignorance unfit for the modern day: 'Phenomena enough to attract the historic sense of a scientific age, yet they are counterpart of an historic suppression of the most famous author of his time'.[513] Conway's reprobation of this mythology is telling of how Paine straddled different portrayals. He was conjured with powerful emotions in different minds. On the one hand, Conway's critique shows how the collective memory of an infidel afterlife endured. At the same time, the biography's rejection of this reading in favour of Paine as an enlightened genius provides yet another interpretation. There was no definitive answer to this legacy a century on from Paine's polemic on the French Revolution. What this illustrates is how Paine's memory moves between states of mind. Even modern accounts of Paine acknowledge that he continues to be 'difficult to fit into any kind of category'.[514] Rather than seeking to 'fit' Paine in place, this chapter gives attention to the categories he was put into. Rather than fixing upon any one of these categories, the analysis will instead go between the different representations of this iconic radical. The previous sections of this thesis have explored broader themes, the cultural productivity of commemoration in the early Victorian period and the means for recording it. Now, this section examines the minutia of representation in print. More specifically, conflict within memory.

The layers of Paine's memory will be drawn apart and studied by comparing different newspaper reports. This practice will also draw attention to the gaps between iterations of Paine. Like these representations, this analysis is divided into parts. In order to understand

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[512] Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine: With a History of His Literary, Political, and Religious Career in America, France, and England. To Which Is Added a Sketch of Paine by William Cobbett* (London: Putnam's, 1893), x.

[513] *Ibid*.

[514] J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 275-7; Carine Lounissi has even doubled Conway's dichotomy and defines the four lives of Paine between an English, American, European and second time American Paine. See Carine Lounissi, *Thomas Paine and the French Revolution* (Cham: Springer, 2018), 2.

his legacy, this chapter will open with a short biography on Paine and his most famous works. It was in writings like *Common Sense* that Paine's reputation was built, and others like *Age of Reason* that enflamed the infidel myth. Before leaving these works to explore his legacy, attention will briefly turn to an unpublished work of Paine's, *Age of Reason Part III* in which Paine himself ruminated on the concept of memory. This analysis will help to set up the rest of the chapter which explores the many representations of Paine's memory. The first part deals with a brief examination of a pre-Chartist memory from the early 1820s. To an extent, these could be seen as the "deeper" layers that Chartism would come to build upon or ignore altogether. This will give an understanding, first, of the commemorative rituals which were in place before Chartism, and second, provide a series of interpretations of Paine by those who knew him personally, like Thomas Clio Rickman. Allowing for this will briefly highlight the transition between a living radical memory and a cultural one that came to dominate Chartism. The following sections will focus on thematical representations that Chartists frequently applied to Paine. Generally, readers of the *Northern Star* could expect to see several sentiments captured in one transcript. An examination of these reports shows the various sentiments attached to Paine, and with it, different associations with his memory. This examination of Chartism's memory will be grouped into three sections. It will start with how they navigated one of the biggest controversies of Paine – his theological opinions. It will show the complex interplay of Chartism's relationship with Paine and his religious views which vied between being downplayed and challenged head-on. Second, is an analysis into remaking Paine in the Chartist present. The illustrious radical was recruited for political purposes and made to fit in with Chartism's identity. This integration had the effect of annunciating Paine's class status. Similarly, fractures within Chartism, such as the differences of opinion on peace, morality, and physical force, contributed to remaking versions of the radical 'staymaker'. The third theme relates to Paine's credentials as a 'world citizen'. Not all Chartists were internationalists, but some felt passionately about the political justice not just at home, but abroad. As seen in Chapter 2, reports on 'the friends of Poland' were covered in the *Northern Star*. Internationalism was a quality evoked at some dinners, widening the pantheon of illustrious heroes celebrating and, at times, imprinting the exploits of republics in the Atlantic world onto Britain. The final section will explore how multiplicity was natural to commemorating Paine. It does so by considering the inherent qualities of memory. The first of these qualities is emotion. Transcripts often inform the reader about the orator's delivery or the crowd's tone. The same is true for the feelings elicited when remembering Paine. The second of these qualities deals with attitudes towards using the past, determining what is relevant, whether to awaken old memories or leave them behind. In the case of Paine, he was remade to be relevant to Chartism. Yet, this relevance could fluctuate. Interpretations of a radical history had the *Rights of Man* exist as something relegated to the past, and simultaneously for others,

rights to be obtained in the present or for a future generation. The same is true for the *Age of Reason*, which was an era lost to time for some and concurrently, something that had ripened ready to be bestowed upon Chartists or their successors; such is the intangibility of heritage. These were some, though not all, of the layers of memory, and they are explored in this final chapter.

Before deconstructing these layers of Paine's memory, it is worth recounting his historical significance and why Chartists remembered him. There are many remarkable elements to Paine's life that biographers have charted. His fiercest critics marred his character by emphasising his flights of fancy, drinking, rudeness, and even spousal abuse. These attributes were amplified into 'the large formation of Paine mythology' by detractors and denied by supporters.[515] Yet, some true events even have the ring of flights of fancy. For instance, Paine's desire to go to sea as a young privateer aboard the ship *The Terrible* at Execution Dock, with a crew that included Captain Death, 'Lieutenant Devil, and Mr. Ghost, the ship's surgeon'. Fortunately, as Paine recounts in *Rights of Man*, he heeded (for a time) his Quaker father's 'moral remonstrance' to stay away from such privateering adventures.[516] However, he later joined the *King of Prussia*, another privateer, and one that brought in enough prizemoney for Paine to go to London and acquire the credentials for the much safer role of Excise Officer. Yet, this less glamourous occupation saw the young Paine apply his pen to petition on behalf of his colleagues for the poor pay they received. It resolved little, and Paine was soon dismissed for supposedly inattentive processing of goods. While waiting to reinstate his license, he returned to Thetford. Paine was apprenticed in his father's trade as a staymaker, a role that provided ample satirical value later when caricaturists like James Gillray bruised the rebellious staymaker's public reputation in the early 1790s (see Figure 14 below). Yet, in an example of how kinder treatments to his memory reshape meaning, the blistered-handed, shorn-chinned Chartists embraced this artisan tarnish as a sign of class pride.

[515] Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, xv.
[516] It was a lucky avoidance, as the fate-goading *Terrible* met its demise with few survivors. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Common Sense, and Other Political Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 272; Mark Philp, *Oxford Dictionary and National Biography*. 'Paine, Thomas', 24 May 2008,http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21133; accessed 10th January 2022..

Figure 14: James Gillray, 'Fashion before ease;-or,-a good constitution sacrificed, for a fantastick form' (1793).

Paine was chiefly remembered for his political and theological writings. Individual texts and whole collections of his work continued to be republished during the Chartist period. As seen in previous chapters, the intertextuality of newspapers provided a market in which these writings, and other texts from the radical canon, were sold. Three texts from Paine's catalogue of works stand out and are worth briefly describing here. The first was *Common Sense*. This short pamphlet helped to reshape Paine's reputation as a political philosopher and contributed to launching the American War of Independence (1775-1783).[517] Paine had journeyed across the Atlantic following a failed career as an Excise Officer and as a husband. He did so with a letter of introduction from one of the grandees of the Enlightenment, Benjamin Franklin. Paine arrived in America, or more accurately, was carried off the ship with typhoid fever in 1774. Before the outbreak of revolution in the colonies, Paine worked in journalism as editor of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* and, continuing an earlier theme, was dismissed for complaining about his pay. Nonetheless, his time in journalism honed his writing skills. Following the outbreak of revolution in the thirteen colonies, he produced his seminal work *Common* Sense. It was published in early January 1776, a few weeks before his thirty-ninth birthday, yet nine months after the first shots of war had been fired at Lexington and Concord. *Common Sense*

[517] Jack Fruchtman Jr, *Thomas Paine: Apostle of Freedom* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 62, 76-8.

was an instant sensation. Paine had taken his time to produce this work, yet it was a short pamphlet. Its greatest asset was its simplicity of prose, and yet it took on the complex state of civil war that split the Thirteen Colonies from its imperial Mother country.[518] The outcome was a refined assault on monarchy, not just an attack on King George III in Britain, but the very concept of royalty everywhere. Paine's celebrity status rose meteorically. Years later in his next great work, *Rights of Man*, he boasted that its sales figures soared 'beyond any thing since the invention of printing'.[519] Yet, this confidence was well founded (and gives a sense of his egotism that made employability challenging). Estimates have placed sales above 100,000 copies.[520] His clarity of writing broke down complex philosophical arguments against hereditary government and made them accessible. The recurring use of biblical language in *Common Sense* is a good indicator of this awareness Paine had of the reader. As a form of cultural memory, this deployment of a familiar culture illustrates Renate Lachman's point on literature as the perfect mnemonic, engaging with multiple memories and cultures.[521] Paine tapped into these cultural tropes and was unhesitating in his destruction of monarchy in favour of representational government:

> 'LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only. The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.'[522]

Two elements are worth identifying in this proposed reformation of government that informed Paine's posthumous connections with Chartism. The first is a contradiction between the past and present. Paine advocated representative government and not universal suffrage, which he disliked.[523] And yet, this form of government was a (if not *the*) key tenant of Chartism. This factor alone reveals much about how memory is rebuilt. Paine was celebrated for helping to found the American republic, and not limiting the constraints of the franchise. Even in

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[518] J. C. D. Clark, *Thomas Paine: Britain, America, and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 142-4. On the issue of Paine's simplicity and formation of political principles, Matthew Roberts has identified these qualities as what gave Paine his enduring appeal to later groups like the Chartists. See Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 106.
[519] Paine explains the sale of *Common Sense* in America, see Paine's footnote 2, Paine, *Rights*, 272-4. For the impact of *Common Sense* see Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (Oxon: Routledge, 2020), 51.
[520] Jack Fruchtman, 'Nature and Revolution in Paine's "Common Sense"', *History of Political Thought*, 10.3 (1989), 421–38.
[521] See Renate Lachmann, 'Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature', in Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and others, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 301-10.
[522] Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 32.
[523] As Mark Philp explains, this kind of democracy was for Paine's time 'fighting words', and his memory would need to catch up with later political movements. Mark Philp, 'Talking about Democracy: Britain in the 1790s', in Joanna Innes and Mark Philp, *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolutions: America, France, Britain, Ireland 1750-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101-13.

honouring Paine, Chartists did so selectively. The second factor is the continuity of cultural memory between past and present. Paine invoked an English heritage to support his calls for the electoral rights for an elected body via a 'CONTINENTAL CHARTER'… answering what is called the Magna Charta of England'.[524] As noted, Chartists drew upon this same historical precedent with their own People's Charter and produced their own assemblies of elected delegates. It is an interesting example of how this 'allusion', as Malcolm Chase describes the Chartist example, intersected different epochs.[525]

The second text to consider, itself split into two parts, is *Rights of Man*. The first part was completed in 1791 on Paine's birthday. Although jovial atmospheres were later created in celebration of this event, Paine himself spent the evening dashing from publisher to publisher on Fleet Street to get the work made. In a sign of one dialogue responding to another, *Rights of Man* was a polemic in response to Edmund Burke's own diatribe against the French Revolution. This erupted in the summer of 1789, and Burke, writing belatedly to a friend on the occurrences, turned this correspondence into a pamphlet. As Paine's reply to Burke shows, the once friend of the American colonists received as much outrage amongst radical circles as elites had felt about the Revolution. *Rights of Man* was a definitive declaration of natural rights over the rights of divinity, superstition, and unwritten constitutions. Indeed, Paine's deconstruction of monarchy is an exercise in locating cultural rituals. He traces invented traditions from the 'fog' of 'antiquity' to conclude that such fundamental structures as government are based on three types; they are either founded in the superstition of 'priestcraft'; conquest, to which he alludes to the Norman Conquest; and finally, Paine's preference, reasoned through the natural rights of man.[526] He searches the past to locate the origin point of government. He challenges Burke to prove his sentiments and shows him to be an empty-handed constitutionalist without a constitution.[527] Paine refuses to allow future generations to be bound by such ritual. Instead, he favours the right for posterity to remain amendable. This denouncement of rituals is an interesting assessment when considering later Chartist freedoms in customising Paine's memory through rituals such as anniversary banquets. *Rights of Man* was frequently reproduced by Chartists. However, its original publication resulted in Paine being put on trial for sedition in the winter of 1792. This was conducted *in absentia*, as Paine fled his home country for France. And yet, the sales again

[524] Paine, *Rights*, 33.
[525] Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 8.

[526] Paine, *Rights*, 120; For a discussion on Paine and the Norman Yoke see Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Mercury, 1958), 99-105.
[527] Paine challenged Burke to 'produce the English Constitution', Paine, *Rights*, 123.

were supreme. At his trial, the Attorney General announced to the court his shock at how such wicked and inflammatory writing had spread so extensively. The 'industry' of *Rights of Man*

> 'was thrust into the hands of parties of all descriptions, that even children's sweetmeats we're wrapped up with portions of it, and all the industry, such as I described, to obtrude and force it on that part of the public who cannot correct as they go along'[528]

The great danger as the authorities saw it was the risk that those deemed unfamiliar with the realm of politics would not comprehend the writings and would be misguided by such impassioned work. Despite these fears, sales remained high, with up to 32,000 copies of one edition sold in a month. [529] Like *Common Sense*, this is an astonishing number for a time when the literate population of Britain still had some way to grow and would go on to do so by the time of Chartism.

The final text analysed is not so much political in its focus but theological. Considering the impact of the previous two works on exploding monarchy in America and inspiring grassroots radicalism in Britain, this text was nevertheless the most inflammatory work written by Paine. This was due to its attack on organised religion. As Paine informs the reader at the start of both published sections of *Age of Reason* (the third unpublished part we shall shortly examine), it was intended to be 'the last offering I should make to my fellow-citizens of all nations'.[530] What hastened the publication of *Age of Reason* were the events, or decay, of the Revolution. Paine intended to supply the French nation with an appropriate replacement for the Catholic religion it had removed. In its place was a modern enlightened version steeped in rational thought. Paine took his Deist beliefs and tried to bestow them upon France. Once more, Paine used his pen to dissect meaning from ritual. His 'Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology' is cutting in analysing the portrayals of virtue found in the bible, the word of God, miracles, and revelation (the part he found most absurd) in a similar fashion to his critique of political structures in *Rights of Man*. Unsurprisingly, Paine was accused of being an infidel. Yet, from his perspective, the portrayal of God in the bible was the true demon; this

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[528] Thomas Paine, *The Genuine Trial of Thomas Paine, for a Libel Contained in the Second Part of Rights of Man; at Guildhall, London, Dec. 18, 1792, before Lord ...* (London: J. S. Jordan, 1792), 4.

[529] Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900.* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957), 70-3. In reference to literacy and Paine's *Rights of Man*, Altick describes the 1790s as the point where 'the chickens hatched in the schools [teaching literacy] had come to roost wearing liberty caps', 73.

[530] Ian Shapiro and Jane Calvert, *Selected Writings of Thomas Paine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 372, 418. However, Paine did continue to produce further tracts. This includes *Dissertation on First Principles of Government* (1795), a short guide on government popular with Chartists, and later *Agrarian Justice* (1797) which outlined the possibility of a welfare state and the repossession of land; Malcolm Chase has explored the relationship between Paine, his contemporary Thomas Spence and later radicals, including the Chartists, in Malcolm Chase, Malcolm Chase, '"The Real Rights of Man": Thomas Spence, Paine and Chartism', *Miranda*, 13, 2016, 1-13.

deity was marred by 'voluptuous debaucheries, the cruel and torturous executions, the unrelenting vindictiveness'.[531] This was not how Paine's work was interpreted. Instead, he was branded an atheist. It was a stamp that alienated many, including American allies. Ultimately, this mark of infidel was inscribed onto Paine's memory, a tarnish that, a century later, was still being corrected by biographers like Conway, who was himself a minister. However, Paine had little time to ruminate on his latest work. On the point of completing a finished draft of his 'investigation', he was apprehended by revolutionary authorities and taken off to Luxembourg prison, not on theological grounds but political ones. Paine, the great republican, had advocated for clemency for the recently executed King Louis XVI. However, the optimism and stability of the Revolution had collapsed, and where Paine had channelled the thoughts and feelings of his readers so well in *Common Sense*, he misread the political situation in France. The tumultuous Robespierre government pursued those deemed heretical to the Revolution's direction. Paine was imprisoned and was to have yet another close brush with death.[532] He was saved by future president and then American ambassador James Monroe. The delay in his American benefactors acquiring his release stung Paine, though this bitterness was nothing compared to the souring of relations *Age of Reason* had on his reputation. Influential men like John Adams had already tired of him.[533] Whether this contributed to dislike among Chartists towards Adams is unclear, but Washington and Jefferson, the first and third Presidents of the United States took preference over the second. Paine fell out with Washington, but remained on good terms with Jefferson, who, in 1802 made possible Paine's return to America. It was to be this 'world citizen's' final voyage across the Atlantic world he had helped to shape.

Before concluding Paine's career, it is worth considering the unpublished part III of *Age of Reason*. It is particularly illuminating to this study, for Paine considers memory and what role it plays in the mind. One of Paine's biographers, Jack Fruchtman Jr., has claimed in an earlier article that Paine was no 'Locke or Hume', leaving no epistemological philosophies but merely political tracts.[534] This work suggests the contrary. Crucial to a study like this thesis, it

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[531] Shapiro and Calvert, *Selected Writings*, 382.

[532] This remarkable episode is frequently recounted in biographies of Paine. Due to an inattentive guard, Paine's cell door was marked on the inside with the deadly cross signifying ready for execution. This symbol was then hidden when the door was closed, and so contributed to a 'secular Passover'. Christopher Hitchens, *Thomas Paine's Rights of Man* (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), 63.

[533] Michael T Davies, 'The Vilification of Thomas Paine: Constructing a Folk Devil in the 1790s', in Gordon Pentland and Michael Davis, *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688-1815. Essays in Honour of H. T. Dickinson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 189-90.

[534] Jack Fruchtman, 'Nature and Revolution in Paine's "Common Sense"', *History of Political Thought*, 10.3 (1989),423.

[534] Thomas Paine, *The Theological Works of Thomas Paine.* (J. Watson, 1850), 43; Though, as Harry Dickinson points out, Fruchtman incorrectly surmises that Paine derived his philosophy for *Common*

reveals what Paine made of memory. He outlines his views on memory in the context of asking whether such creative (perhaps even wild) imaginings help to explain why representations of Christianity in the New Testament were seemingly so distorted. The observations are a rare insight into memory from Paine's perspective:

> The three great faculties of the mind are IMAGINATION, JUDGMENT, and MEMORY. Every action of the mind comes under one or the other of these faculties.[535]

True to his empirical mind, Paine sketches memory as something balanced, like a constitution, or systematic, such as a timepiece with all components working in tandem. Deconstructing these further, Paine reveals how the greatest danger was 'that volatile thing imagination'. This animosity possibly comes from the ability of imagined constructs to manipulate reality and resemble superstition, which is a powerful weapon of priestcraft. In contrast, his watchword of reason is reflected in 'judgment', whilst memory 'records in silence and is active only when it is called upon'.[536] Curiously, when awakening the past, it was imagination that became integral to Chartism's relationship with Paine. He defines this artificial interaction with the past as 'counterfeiting memory':

> But though the imagination cannot supply the place of real memory, it has the wild faculty of counterfeiting memory. It dreams of persons it never knew and talks to them as if it remembered them as old acquaintance. It relates circumstances that never happened, and tells them as if they had happened. It goes to places that never existed, and knows where all the streets and houses are, as if we had been there before. The scenes it creates are often as scenes remembered. It will sometimes act a dream within a dream, and, in the delusion of dreaming, tell a dream it never dreamed, and tell it as if it was from memory.[537]

For a book designed to challenge resurrection and theology, Paine appears prophetic in addressing the kind of relationship Chartists had with his memory. By Paine's standards, one might even suggest that Chartist representations of him years later were a kind of dreamed remembrance.

Sense from Locke. H. T. Dickinson and Jack Fruchtman, 'Thomas Paine', ed. by John Keane, Edward H. Davidson, and William J. Scheick, *History*, 81.262 (1996), 228–37.

[535] Thomas Paine, *Theological Works of Thomas Paine* (London: J. Watson, 1850), 43.

[536] *Ibid*, 44.

[537] *Ibid*.

Afterlife: Paine before Chartism

In the years before Chartism, Paine dinners were a regular ritual that received both positive and negative portrayals in the press. An example of the former is seen in the *Morning Advertiser*'s article on 30th January 1823.[538] The room was well decorated, as was customary of commemorative banquets. There is, however, a performative aspect to this furnishing. Whether intentional or not, a 'statue' of Paine is moved around the room. It goes from the fireplace to the upper table as if to make Paine the guest of honour. The *Evening Mail*'s hostile coverage of this same dinner downgraded the grandiosity of the room and described the sculpture as a simple 'bust' surrounded by placards with words like 'Truth' and 'Free Discussion' stuck about the room.[539] Within this setting, several interesting discussions occurred around Paine's memory; some of these sentiments continued into Chartism, and others were exclusive to that gathering. With regard to the latter, there is an example of living memory. Paine's close friend Thomas Clio Rickman took the chair at the meeting.[540] Rickman himself had produced a biography of Paine using his memoirs to awaken his "busy and meddling MEMORY", and endured 'painful remembrances' of his departed friend.[541] The dinner report makes this relationship clear. Rickman had been a stalwart figure in this local remembrance of Paine. According to the report, he had attended the previous fourteen commemorations, which takes the practice back to 1809 when Paine passed away. This sentimental attachment to Paine is recognised, with Rickman called 'the brother' to 'the man whose death they lamented as the greatest loss a society could sustain'.[542] This alone presents a unique link of 'communicative memory'.[543] This is a personal, 'internal' link to an event or person. Rickman had such a connection to Paine, and his elevation to chairman allowed him to share his memories. In comparison, Chartism's connections to this embodied memory was weakened with the death of figures like Rickman in February 1834. Not all of Paine's contemporaries disappeared by the late 1830s. John George and Tommy Preston were two 'octogenarian' radicals whose careers spanned from the late eighteenth century to

[538] *Morning Advertiser*, 30 January 1823, 3.
[539] *Evening Mail*, 31 January 1823, 4. The report describes how it was bought from 'Carlile's sale' for 7l 10s.
[540] Thomas Clio Rickman, *The Life of Thomas Paine, Etc. (Appendix Containing Some ... Pieces ... by Mr. Paine.)* (London: Thomas Clio Rickman, 1819); in the same year, William Sherwin also produced a biography, W. T. Sherwin, *Memoirs of the Life of T. Paine, with Observations on His Writings, Critical and Explanatory. To Which Is Added an Appendix, Containing Several of Mr. Paine's Unpublished Pieces*, (London: R. Carlile, 1819).
[541] *Ibid*, xiii-xiv.
[542] *Morning Advertiser*, 30 January 1823, 3.
[543] Ann Rigney, 'Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory', *Journal of European Studies*, 35.1 (2005), 14; Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in Astrid Erll and others, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2008), 109-18.

Chartism.[544] However, as the discussions from previous chapters have explored, Chartism relied more on components of cultural memory to continue its remembrance of Paine.

The anniversary dinner has a rich focus on the power of memory. For instance, Rickman opens proceedings by celebrating the 'greater unamity' of the occasion. Perhaps not wishing to compromise this sociability, Rickman wishes to get the politics out before the meal, ‘for a convivial evening ought to receive no check nor counterpoise'. In this environment, Rickman remembers Paine for his ‘firmness of principle’ and as the destroyer of prejudice. He challenges the ‘death bed conversion’ mythology, a story that Paine renounced his principles in his last moments.[545] Rickman ends on envisioning a pantheon that will be a foundation for ‘the people’. This concept ignites two further discussions around an intangible pantheon. It displays the kinds of discursive and responsive interactions these anniversary dinners ignited. Both involve the attendees ‘Mr Bowie’ and veteran radical (and contemporary of Paine’s) John Gale Jones. Bowie, in an imagined architectural reconfiguration, projects a ‘fountain’ as the foundation from which the memory would spring. Gale Jones counters this claim, puncturing it with the remark that such a structure would only ‘sink’ into the foundations. The discussion provides a humorous, if not bizarre, insight into Paine’s remembrance. The tone and responses differ from Chartism more harmonious interactions. The second of these debates again involves Bowie and Jones. This time, the discussion is around Paine’s bones and their memorialisation. Mr Grainger proposes to appoint a committee to locate and retrieve the Paine’s bones from Cobbett (still alive at this point) in order to 'erect a monument'. Only a few years before in 1819 had Cobbett attempted to retrieve Paine’s bones from America and restore them to Britain. The intention was to provide a monument. However, in a sign of the power of memory, the accusation was that Cobbett planned to use the ‘talismanic power’ of Paine’s remains to incite revolution. Cobbett was confronted by the authorities he had originally fled from years before, subsequent attempts to establish a Paine memorial floundered, and the bones were eventually lost following the death of Cobbett in 1835.[546] Yet, to return to the meeting, Bowie’s enthusiasm for this project suggests not all optimism was lost and he enthusiastically takes up the move for a monument. He expressed how such a site would symbolise a new direction within society towards an ‘era of the human mind upon the mass of people who remained in a state of comparative darkness’.[547] For Grainger, Bowie and other supporters in favour of this memorial, it shows that the physical remains of Paine

[544] Chase, *Chartism*, 33.
[545] Rickman, *Life*, vii, 190.
[546] For a full account of this ‘bones fiasco’, see Paul Pickering, A ‘Grand Ossification’: William Cobbett and the Commemoration of Tom Paine’, in Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 57-80.
[547] *The Morning Advertiser*, 30th January 1823, 3.

embodied the Enlightenment and their political values. It was more than a monument, it represented an opportunity to establish a site of memory for Paine.[548] Yet again, Gale Jones rejected this motion. Along with other members and 'throwing the stigma of meanness upon the company', the motion was ultimately denied. Regarding memory, this meeting shows the determination to remembering Paine. However, this discussion brings on disagreement amongst the company over how best to memorialise him. It is less concerned with ideology and more focused on what memorial best evoked their sense of Paine's significance.

This pantheonizing is not the only conflict. Despite Rickman's' concern for unity, the toast 'The Rights of Man, and may they produce the Age of Reason' brings about yet another discussion – trying to assign a temporal designation to these concepts. The response tries to set Paine in the past, present or future. For some, the present was the 'Age of Reason' whilst other attendees considered it rooted in the past. Similarly, the 'Rights of Man' were 'no better than a mere dream' or had 'passed away to a more genial soil'. There are several points on memory addressed here. First, Paine's ideas are placed into a specific time, either the past, present or future. Second, there is the question of application and whether it should or could be achieved, a matter that remains unsettled. If this gathering of like-minded individuals is an example of social memory (remembering the past collectively), then the conflicting interpretations among the party reveal the multidirectional nature of memory and diverging interpretations of where to plant Paine and his radical visions.

The following year, a dinner commemorating Paine at the Whitehart, Bishopsgate-street in Leeds continued the positive output of radical remembrance. The emotional attachment resonates, as Paine was defined as an 'open-hearted and disinterested republican'. His writings are judged to have helped to enlighten mankind. These sentiments are consistent with Rickman's portrayal. Likely aware of a hostile press, they run counter to the 'vulgar sentiments' towards Paine given in 'other circles'.[549] Where they contrast is with internationalism and gender. Paine is commemorated for his role in shaping the constitution of the United States, an accolade Chartists continued to remember. This patriotism extends to include 'female republicans of every country'.[550] The sentiment around patriotism was expanded further still. This time, it encompassed events abroad in the present. In a sign of radicalism's international character, something Chartism also continued, there was a toast to

[548] *Ibid*.
[549] *Morning Herald*, 30 January 1824, 2.
[550] Female supporters of Paine continued into Chartism. At a birthday anniversary to Paine in the Metropolis in 1848, Mrs Martin announced to those gathered how reading Paine's *Age of Reason* spoke to her mind, and she had 'unlearned all that she was taught'. See *Northern Star*, 12 Feb 1848, 3; For an in-depth discussion into Paine's place within feminism see Eileen Hunt Botting, 'Thomas Paine amidst the Early Feminists', in Clark, *Selected*, 630-654; Clark, *Thomas Paine*, 91-2.

General Mina and the 'Spanish patriots'. The overuse of the term ‘patriot’ proves too much for John Gale Jones, who is once again the point of contention. Confused by what this has to do with their meeting, he laments the exhaustive use of the word, as if the over-pantheonizing detracts from the memory of those already enshrined. Nonetheless, proceedings continue to honour Mina and his band of 'Spanish patriots', a dialogue that ends with the distant past, the recent memory, and the present with the toast ‘Wallace bled, Riego suffered, and Washington fought and conquered’. Chartist dinners commemorating Paine share these interactions and dialogical exchanges recorded in these earlier nineteenth century anniversary banquets. However, like the adversarial political cultures seen at the start of this thesis, alternative portrayals of these radical dinners appeared in a series of hostile newspapers.

For the 1823 anniversary of Paine, several newspapers provided antagonistic reports of the meeting. The commemoration of radical anniversaries by ‘other circles’ were commented upon in the *Statesman*, *The Times*, *Evening Mail*, and the *British Press*, to name a few.[551] The assembly rooms of 41 Brewer-street, Golden-square where the gathering took place was presented as a ‘trap’, ‘The bait was a dinner’, a trope on commemorative banquets that was often repeated in hostile reports of dinners. It withdraws all sentimentality towards Paine and implies the real motive is to acquire a cheap meal that turns out to be inedible. Emphasis was placed on the drinks provided rather than who attended. It plays on the bawdy culture of radicalism, with Paine’s followers imbibing in inebriation, drinking beer, brandy and water, yet 'wine of course is out of the question' for such unsophisticated 'self-constituted philosophers’.[552] In comparison to the civility which Rickman had championed the previous year, the *Morning Advertiser*’s report portrayed the meeting as disorderly. Sarcasm punctuates the newspaper report. Toasts were 'given galore; but the chairman complained bitterly of bad management'. The drunkenness and revelry imply the unsuitability of elite customs amongst the mob. Aware of this treatment, prominent radicals like Thomas J. Wooler, who ran the influential radical *Black Dwarf* newspaper, commented on the vulgar behaviour towards commemorating great radicals in London, ‘In the metropolis, the memory of this great political writer has never been done justice’.[553] It is an intriguing remark since later London Chartists were more likely to encounter commemorations of radicals like Paine and Mary Wollstonecraft.[554] More likely, Wooler’s despondency comes from the power of the elite press to control the narrative and deliver unflattering portrayals of Paine and his supporters. These

[551] *Statesman*, 18 January 1823, 1; *The Times* 31 January 1823, 3; *Evening Mail* 31 January 1823, 4; *British Press*, 31 January 1823, 3.
[552] For a comparison between this earlier radical culture in the 1820s and Chartism, see Tom Scriven, ‘Humour, Satire, and Sexuality in the Culture of Early Chartism, *The Historical Journal*, 57.1 (2014), 157–78.
[553] *British Gazette*, 9 Feb 1823, 16.
[554] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 5.

accounts denouncing not only Paine but his supporters suggest that it was not just radical commemoration that provided a 'countermemory' to elite dinners. Rather, the scurrilous representation of Paineites by newspapers blackening his memory fed a counter narrative supporting the collective memory of Paine as a social menace. Yet, radicals continued to embrace commemoration of Paine, and they made many representations of him through anniversary dinners. He was supported by male and female radicals, praised for his internationalism, enjoyed a living memory with his concepts of the 'Age of Reason' and 'Rights of Man' openly discussed. These same polymorphous remembrances redefining Paine continued into Chartism. A look at religious representations of Paine, his most controversial trait, helps to illuminate this overlapping yet proliferating portrayal in the press.

A Theological or Secular Paine?

'*My own mind is my own church…*'[555]

Paine – *Age of Reason*

Age of Reason has done much to colour the memories of Paine. Its polemic on organised religion sealed Paine's reputation as a radical infidel despite his motives to provide an enlightened religion. He may have wished this to be his final work and 'hoped for happiness after life' but arguing against the hostile portrayals of God in the Bible served to adulterate his reputational legacy.[556] The controversy spawned from the *Age of Reason* contributed much to the infidel legacy. Before its publication in 1794 and 1795, biographies like those of 'Francis Oldys', whose real name was George Chalmers, did much to present Paine as a scurrilous figure.[557] Chalmers, a 'clerk of the Board of Plantation', was employed by Lord Hawkesbury to produce the text.[558] Before his conversion to radicalism, Cobbett, or 'Peter Porcupine', breathed new life into this text. In 1797 he republished Oldys's *The Life of Thomas Paine* with his own additional notes.[559] Later, in 1820, following his conversion to radicalism, a collection of these calumnious writings on Paine was published as the *Beauties of Cobbett*. These earlier diatribes resurfaced after Cobbett's unsuccessful attempt to repatriate Paine's bones and rejuvenate his reputation in Britain. Taken from his earlier writings in *Political Register*, this

[555] Clark, *Selected*, 373.
[556] *Ibid*.
[557] *George Chalmers, The Life of Thomas Paine.* (London: J. Watson, 1850).
[558] W. T. Sherwin, *Memoirs of the Life of T. Paine, with Observations on His Writings, Critical and Explanatory. To Which Is Added an Appendix, Containing Several of Mr. Paine's Unpublished Pieces*, 1819, iv-v; A year after the publication of Sherwin's biography defending Paine, Hawkesbury, now Earl of Liverpool was to become Prime Minister.
[559] Peter Porcupine, *The Life of Thomas Paine, Interspersed with Remarks and Reflections. By Peter Porcupine.* (Philadelphia: J. Wright, 1797).

pamphlet included a section, ‘The Torch of Truth’. Included was an exposure of the motives for writing *Age of Reason*. In it, Cobbett accused ‘Citizen Common Sense’ of ingratiating himself to the whims of Robespierre and Danton. In 1793, this leadership were seeking the removal of the Catholic Church from the ‘poor brutified and enslaved French’. At the same time, the ‘Festival of Reason’ that arose from this de-catholicising allowed Paine to abuse the emotions of the populace. This was the transition from religion to secularism, a status that, as we shall see, also coloured Paine’s legacy. Cobbett saw hypocrisy in secularising religious symbols, the ‘Temple of Reason’, the ‘Goddess of Reason’.[560] From this Festival, Cobbett accuses Paine of taking the title of his work from a banner present at the gathering, again implying the motive was to manipulate the passions of the masses. However, as this thesis has explored, these festivals demonstrated the kinds of appropriation and customisation of meaning that appeared later in Chartist remembrance.

The other biography reinforcing this infidel legacy was James Cheetham’s work on Paine. It appeared in the year of Paine’s death in 1809. Cheetham described the work of Peter Porcupine’s biography as an extension of Oldys’s writing, building upon the wicked infidel narrative. Cheetham had indeed known Paine late into the radical’s life, between 1802 and 1807, when their friendship was terminated.[561] Although in a flourish of whimsy, Cheetham maintained he had ‘written the life of Mr. Paine, not his panegyrick’, he duly contributed to the pyre upon which to place Paine’s reputation built up by Oldys and Cobbett.[562] Cheetham’s *Life of Thomas Paine* also gives an unflattering portrayal of the intentions behind *Rights of Man* and *Age of Reason*, ‘Whilst planning devastation and blood on earth, he was hatching rebellion against heaven’.[563] He writes how such fruition risked erasure of ‘memory – a loss of Judgement – a forgetfulness of obligations to God’.[564] Unlike Cobbett, Cheetham portrays Paine as the sole source of mischief. Both Oldys and Cheetham’s biographies contributed to the devilish imagery of Paine. They were a source on this villainous collective memory on Paine and continued to be consulted in later biographies. Sherwin and Rickman’s memoirs on Paine not only referred to these earlier sketches but sought to counter their narratives and

[560] William Cobbett, *The Beauties of Cobbett: Part the Second* (London: H. Stemman, 1797), 5-6. This copy is taken from the WCML, D18/ 12000683; For a discussion on appropriation and secularisation of the Festival of Reason in 1793 see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution: Twentieth Anniversary Edition, With a New Preface* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 63-5.
[561] Shapiro and Calvert, *Thomas Paine*, 72.
[562] James Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense, The Crisis, Rights of Man,* (New York: Southwick and Pelsue, 1809), xix-xx.
[563] Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, 178-9
[564] *Ibid*, 180-1.

restore Paine.[565] Likewise, at the end of the nineteenth century, Conway complained how 'the old effigy of Paine elaborately constructed by Oldys and Cheetham' were the only texts available at the London Library.[566] In rewriting the narrative, these authors, and later Chartists, had to contend with this irreligious legacy and attempt to make sense of, or distance themselves from, this existing history on Paine.

Engagement with *Age of Reason* continued into the early nineteenth century. Despite biographies hurtful to Paine's character, *Age of Reason* formed part of the radical canon in the early nineteenth century.[567] This and Paine's other works benefited from an enthusiasm for learning amongst labourers and artisans who pushed their literary skills. As E. P. Thompson writes, 'towns, and even the villages, hummed with the energy of the autodidact… who had been taught his letters in the Old Testament, [and] would labour through the *Age of Reason*'.[568] Groups like the Society for the Suppression of Vice deemed Paine's work and all those who recited it as an attack on Christianity.[569] This group had organised the prosecution of the Carliles for blasphemy and sedition. And yet, by 1822, Richard Carlile claimed to have sold 22,000 copies of *Age of Reason*.[570] However, it was not just detractors like Cheetham and the reactionary societies who shaped Paine's religious memory. Richard Carlile journeyed between Paine's brand of deism as set out in *Age of Reason*, but also took it further towards atheism. In the final issue of his newspaper, the *Republican*, Carlile defines the Paine tradition as it had become and puts forward the infidel question 'WHAT IS GOD?' Having no answer, Carlile concludes there is no reason to enquire further. Yet, Carlile's faith came and went. It influenced his sense of Paine, yet supporters were unperturbed by this revolving interpretation.[571]

Whilst the inflammatory memory of Paine had cooled by the time of Chartism, it did not faze out entirely. Copies of *Age of Reason* continued to be cleared from bookshops by government spies.[572] Likewise, a mentality anxious of Jacobin influence lingered from the

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[565] Sherwin called Cheetham 'an illiterate blockhead', Sherwin, *Memoir*, v.; at the start of his biography, Rickman republished letters sent to his *Universal Magazine*, one of which that demanded the name Cheetham be forever known as 'CHEAT'EM', Rickman, *The Life*, vii.
[566] Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, xiii.
[567] *National Register*, 29 October 1820; For more information on this group see M. J. D. Roberts, 'The Society for the Suppression of Vice and Its Early Critics, 1802–1812', *The Historical Journal*, 26.1 (1983), 159–76.
[568] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin UK, 2002), 61, 781-2.
[569] *National Register*, 29 October 1820; For more information on this group see M. J. D. Roberts, 'The Society for the Suppression of Vice and Its Early Critics, 1802–1812', *The Historical Journal*, 26.1 (1983), 159–76.
[570] Ian Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 107.
[571] Edward Royle, *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), 36, 41-2.
[572] National Archives HO-44/22/620.

French Revolution.[573] One extreme reaction to his work appeared in the *Westmoreland Gazette* in 1845. A report of an auction of 'Jos. Bank's library' saw a copy of Paine's *Age of Reason* purchased as a rare book for that community:

> 'The purchaser soon afterwards left the auction room, and having caused a fire of wood chips &c., to be made under St. George's Chapel, as an appropriate altar for such a holocaust, deliberately tore the book in piece[s] and threw it into the flames'[574]

Though a short account, it shows an emotional and zealous attachment to the work for the purchaser to carry out such incendiary retribution. Such was the passion to the loyalist memory of Paine that the public space of a Church doorway is used to deliver a cleansing iconoclasm to this artefact of cultural memory. From the Pitt government's dealings with the wicked Paine in his lifetime to that of Peel adjudicating over the suppression of his writings, Paine's infidel reputation endured and continued to be reshaped. However, it would be a mistake to believe that Chartists responded uniformly to the complexities of Paine's theological legacy. As discussed in the previous chapter, there was no authorised narrative. This disparity is found in an 1839 literary review for the *Northern Star* by Hobson. He reflected upon the passions that could arise from the thorny issue of theology and radicalism. Hobson even concedes that newspapers were not the most suitable medium for unpacking such weighty issues, a concession that speaks to the emotional velocity of Paine's memory:

> 'Theological controversy is of so expansive a character, that, when once introduced into the columns of a newspaper, it is extremely difficult to restrain its encroachments within such reasonable limits …Besides which, the opinions of mankind in general are so high, upon religious matters, that the most unreasonable prejudices are often formed against the political, social, and even private characters of those who are obnoxious upon religious grounds. As a proof of this, many excellent Christians who hold political opinions similar to those of Thomas Paine, are so filled with abhorrence of Paine's character on account of his theological writings, that the very name of Paine, even as a politician, is offensive to them'[575]

Hobson's concern reveals a crisis in identity and exposes a problem within Paine's memory. Those who should have been supporters felt alienated. This internal reaction to being 'filled with abhorrence' was handled cautiously elsewhere in the commemorative culture. In another public rebuke of a Paine critic, Dr '*Jock*' Campbell, the *Northern Star* described *Rights of Man* as being the first utterance of democracy and universally accepted by Chartists. However, *Age*

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[573] Thompson, *The Making*, 61. Thompson concludes this work by summarising the anti-radicalism of elites in the early nineteenth century as a 'panic-struck counter-revolutionary response' that merged into 'years of the long counter-revolution', 888.

[574] *Westmoreland Gazette*, 25 October 1845, 2.

[575] *Northern Star*, 23 February 1839, 7.

of Reason was presented as distinctly different, and it is up to 'every man to judge for himself' its meaning.[576] Whereas the former had a clearly defined interpretation, the latter was left open. A more abstract interpretation of Paine's theology over a definitive answer likely helped defuse this problematic legacy. Analysis of Paine's birthday anniversary celebrations and the wider commemoration culture throughout the year help demonstrate this point. Multiple truths were proposed. Some overlooked this past, whilst others accepted this most lasting attribute of Paine.

One of the earliest reports of a Paine dinner in the *Northern Star* briefly touched on the issue of religion, or rather, attempted to dismiss this part of Paine's memory. Published in early February 1838, the commemorative dinner took place in Bradford in the West Riding, at the house of John Flintiff, proprietor of the Hope and Anchor tavern. It was attended by forty-two 'Radicals', all congregating in this public space to celebrate Paine. [577] Even in the nascent stages of Chartism, memory helped to draw together radicals in the local community and tap political interests. This feature is most strongly seen with the Chairman for the evening's festivities, 'Fat Peter' Bussey, a popular 'publican Chartist'. A year later, he went on to the national stage of Chartism as a member of the 'General Convention of the Industrious Classes' in early February 1838.[578] The dinner transcript is short. However, one feature to note was the determined effort by Bussey to celebrate Paine's memory 'as a political writer only'.[579] From this comment, there is an intervention into how these Chartists engaged with the past, retelling it through a narrative around the great radical's literary works whilst avoiding theological ones. This decision addresses the religious controversy surrounding Paine's memory by removing it altogether or, as we shall see, *attempting* to remove it. By intentionally reframing the discussion to a political Paine in the strictest sense, these Bradford Chartists adapted Paine's memory whilst cutting out any theological controversies.[580] This intention, however, was frustrated as the proceedings continued:

> 'Mr Flintiff handed to the chairman a parcel which had been delivered to him. On being opened it was found to contain a number of religious tracts, copies of which were immediately distributed to every person in the room. A vote of thanks was passed by the company to the person who appeared so

[576] *Northern Star*, 12 February 1848, 4.
[577] *Northern Star*, 3 February 1838, 5.
[578] Tom Scriven, *Popular Virtue: Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820-70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 46-7.
[579] *Northern Star*, 3 February 1838, 5; this report was also republished in *Bradford Observer*, 3 February 1838, 3.
[580] Michael Schudson, 'Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory, in '*Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 353-61.

> solicitious for their welfare. It was only right to add that the meeting was a political, not a theological one'[581]

In this case, the interruption appears to have been handled with good humour. However, this reaction is a reminder that the plans for the meeting were not always executed neatly, nor were these performances carried out in a vacuum. This interruption is also an excellent example of how fragments of memory interacted with the wider locality.[582] We can only speculate who had sent the parcel. These dinners were often advertised in the *Bradford Observer* so that the community would have been aware of them.[583] Equally, this same locality had a large dissenter community of Methodists and Irish. As Roberts has explored, there existed a sense of insecurity amongst these groups who already felt too closely associated with Paine and too distanced from the established Church.[584] The reaction by the Bradford West Circuit of Methodists to a placard advertising a Paine anniversary dinner in 1847 addresses this concern. The Reverend Naylor took umbrage over the phrase 'Noble of Nature' being associated with Paine, an application he finds anathema:

> 'a most undutiful and cruel son, a most unfeeling husband, who contracted debts which he never intended to pay, and who was a most notorious drunkard! When he called to mind how Paine's principles supported him in the last moments, how, when a question respecting his belief was put to him, he said, "I wish to believe nothing about it," he (Mr. Naylor) thought, "If Thomas Paine was a 'noble of nature,' may I and all my friends be humble, devoted Christians!"' [585]

Naylor's cacophony of what Sherwin would have recognised as the Paine mythology echoes Oldys and Cheetham. It is possible that the circulation of religious tracts was expressive of this tension. Equally, sending these pamphlets to Flintoff before the meeting may have proceeded with Bussey's wish not to address the complexity of Paine's theological views. From tracing this local ritual, the dichotomy of Paine's religious controversy is played out between one radical group fashioning a Paine for political purposes and one puncturing Paine's memory on a religious pretext. At the same time, radical remembrance elicited alternative reactions from opponents over such commemoration, counteractions that reasserted anti-radical identity within other social groups. However, Paine's memory was not a matter to be settled in a single celebration. Paine was to be raised and buried in localities within and outside Bradford.

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[581] *Bradford Observer*, 3 February 1838, 3.
[582] Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, 102.5 (1997), 1386-1412.
[583] Other Paine dinners include the 'Ninety-Eighth Anniversary' in *Bradford Advertiser*, 29 January 1835, 1; see also 19 January 1837, 1; 25 January 1838, 1.
[584] Roberts, 'Posthumous Paine', 111.
[585] *Bradford Observer*, 8 April 1847, 6

Infidelity was not always a stigma overlooked. Much like the personality remembered, it was refashioned within the discursive space of the meeting. At a meeting in Trowbridge, two travelling Chartists from Bradford - Messrs. Bartlett and Messrs. Bolwell – were comfortable acknowledging this religious perfidy. In contrast to this memory having the potential to split the harmony, it is instead used to call for greater unity amongst Chartists and Socialist 'sects'. In his speech on the merits of Socialism, Bartlett shows a remarkable awareness of misrepresentation from the wider political culture. The reputation of reformers is all too exposed to 'calumny'. Reformers were cast as 'infidels, levellers, and I know not what besides'.[586] However, in a more nuanced manner, Bartlett rhetorically reframes infidelity. This took place when Christian Chartism, or Church Chartism, emerged in the early 1840s with messages of anti-elitism.[587] Bartlett's speech speaks on Paine but rejects his definition of infidelity, that is, 'disbelieving' over 'believing'. Instead, infidelity is cast as not practising what was preached. This reversal places the blame not on inflammatory reformers like Paine but on the established Church and its hierarchy. As Eileen Yeo's study of Chartist Christianity puts forward, this was 'counter Christianity' from below, defusing the infidel stigma and proudly putting forward a moral working-class version.[588] Again, we see the entwining of memory in yet another of these cultural parries against established doctrines. Even though Bartlett disagrees with Paine, he is comfortable using his memory to recalibrate infidelity and deliver his message that neither 'sect or party' should gain such control as to achieve 'irresponsible power'.[589] Reading his speech, one questions whether he escapes the realm of *Age of Reason*'s influence, with evocations of Paine's original 'priestcraft' argument over an uncaring, immoral, established Church found in Bartlett's words. What is clear from the transcript is that religion does not always have a divisive tarnish. Rather, Chartists recalibrated it to advocate unity. Whereas Bussey had avoided theology to maintain unity, those travelling from Bradford addressed it directly to interpret Paine's memory.

Expanding the scope of representations around Paine and religion further, there were also concentrated theological projections. Embracing Paine as a martyr of reform with a theological bent to his memory was made possible by grouping him with other illustrious radicals. This included the likes of Augustus Beaumont, Cobbett, Cartwright, Hunt, and others. At a large Chartist demonstration held in Leeds in January 1841, a few weeks before Paine's birthday anniversary, Mr Healey of Hull announced to the gathered delegates, 'the greater the crosses which individuals had to sustain in this world, the more glorious their crown'.[590] This

[586] *Northern Star*, 31 October 1840, 2.
[587] Chase, *Chartism*, 97; for extracts on anti-clericalism and faith see Hollis, *Class and Conflict*, 344-50.
[588] Eileen Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle 1838-1842', *Past & Present*, 91, 1981, 109–39.
[589] *Northern Star*, 31 October 1840, 2.
[590] *Northern Star*, 23 January 1841,

sentiment is heavy in its religious tone and presents the ‘illustrious dead’ not so much as celebrities or heroes but as martyrs and saints. Quentin Outram and Keith Laybourn’s recent martyrdom study helps define these traits. A theological understanding could include sacrifice, virtue, and ‘caritas’ (care and love), a duty expected of the Church to deliver. Whereas ‘secular saints’ might refer to those ‘suffering innocents’, substituting the theological tones and implanting their own heroes from the distant past or more recent memory.[591] Healy’s speech shows a blending of the two. Paine, unlike Emmett, did not die of his actions. Rather, his reputation was impacted because of them. He seems unlikely to receive the benediction of a theological martyrdom. Yet, placed alongside the cadre of other ‘illustrious dead’, Healey invokes the kinds of ‘counter Christianity’ seen by Bartlett to rejuvenate Paine. He preaches on commemoration as something more than a social enjoyment and frames their ‘reward’ as 'everlasting remembrance', something that Chartists were obliged to abide by. Reminiscent of the views expressed by the *Chartist Circular*, commemoration was not something packaged as an open choice to engage with or ignore, but as a duty. By expanding on the importance of past radical actions, Healy’s sentiment likens remembrance to worship. Healy’s impressions of the past help to metaphorically put Paine on the cross. It gives him, and more expansively, other radicals, a divine aspect to their memory.

Notably, this issue of the *Northern Star* was one of the few instances where caricature was applied to depict the meeting.[592] Charles Jameson Grant’s illustration of foxes, representational of Whigs like Daniel O’Connell, performing onstage to a crowd of Geese (titled ‘The Goose Show’ – see Figure 15) is treated as a milestone within the Chartist press. Captions buttress this front-page illustration, gifting readers this ‘most valuable keepsake they ever possessed’. Such prints were a rare commodity for the radical press due to cost, an admission recognised within the caption explaining the need to find the right artist due to the high price of the endeavour. Nonetheless, such productions were valuable mementoes and memorable sketches.[593] Coincidentally, wrapped within this Chartist souvenir was Healey’s peroration on projecting radical men like Paine as theological martyrs.

[591] These definitions are borrowed from Quentin Outram and Keith Laybourn, whose recent work has recognised the trend by Chartists to add or ignore this maryr image, from 'Jack Cade from the distant past but usually to the heroes of the generation the recently departed: Robert Burns (d. 1796), Tom Paine (d. 1809), William Cobbett (d. 1835) and Orator Hunt (d. 1835). See Quentin Outram and Keith Laybourn *Secular Martyrdom in Britain and Ireland: From Peterloo to the Present* (New York: Springer, 2018), 2-6,12-8.

[592] Ian Haywood, *The Rise of Victorian Caricature* (London: Springer Nature, 2020), 208.

[593] James Epstein, ‘Feargus O’Connor and the Northern Star’, *International Review of Social History*, 21.1 (1976), 73-75

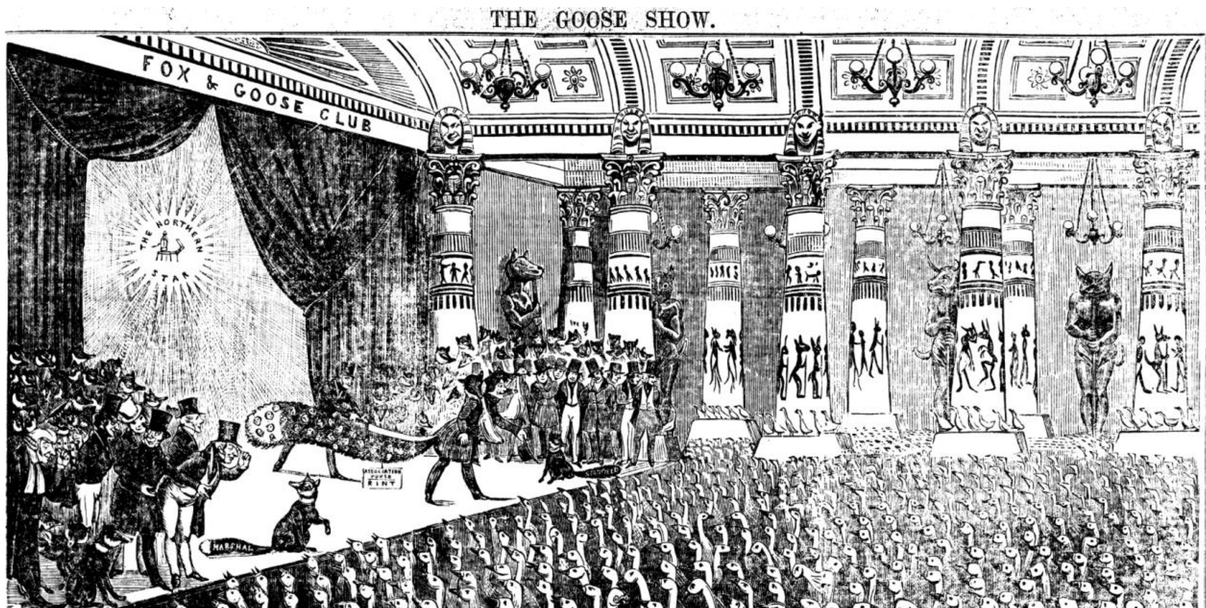

Figure 15: Charles Jameson Grant's 'The Goose Show'. (1841)[594]

Further evidence of this wider application of a theological representation of Paine can be found elsewhere. Chartists in Sunderland met on a Sunday afternoon at a lecture in April 1841, a few months after Paine's birthday celebrations. A Mr Williams delivered a speech addressing Paul (the apostle) as a reformer, owing to his unwavering nature, moral convictions, and energy.[595] This reflects the theological concept of a martyr as defined by Outram and Laybourn. Likewise, Jesus Christ was a figure traditionally claimed by political radicals. 'Radical Jack' Laing of Stockton, a Chartist incarcerated in Durham County Prison, challenged an officiating clergyman in the prison's chapel during prayers, claiming that Jesus was 'the first Chartist'. More than this, Laing implies that the saviour would have favoured ulterior measures, reciting the gospel passage Luke 22:36 that those without were to 'sell their garments and buy a sword'. Unsurprisingly in this setting, Laing's challenge to the established view of Christianity had him put into solitary confinement for three days.[596] Returning to Williams's lecture, he portrayed these theological representations to a collection of radicals, from genteel constitutionalist figures, like John Hampden, to republicans like Paine. This collective allocation restores Paine with a positive, perhaps even holy, characteristic.[597]

Yet, this divine allocation to a group of radical heroes was elsewhere diminished. The Reverend W E Caldwell gave a speech in late 1842 that attacked such theological expressions of Chartist heroes. In contrast to portraying Paul as a reformer, Caldwell used him as an

[594] *Northern Star*, 23 January, 1841, 1.
[595] *Northern Star*, 3 April 1841, 2.
[596] Yeo opens her article with this report Eileen Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle 1838-1842', *Past & Present*, 91, 1981, 109–39; for the original see *Northern Liberator*, 7 September 1839, 5.
[597] Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle', 110.

example of obeyance to uphold the morality of respecting 'magistrates'. The 'phillippic' that follows this sermon is a more direct denouncement of Chartism and its commemoration culture. First, the meek are praised, and the rioters are assigned the status of 'rebels, anarchists, deists, and infidels', reinforcing the negative connotations of this phrase. Second, the Reverend speaks on how such groups' intentions were destructive to the Church and Crown. The danger is placed at the feet of infidel philosophers like Paine, Voltaire and Hume. Tension between Chartists and the authorities had been building up to this point.[598] The second Chartist National Petition had been brought to Parliament on 4th May but failed. Into the summer of that year, strikes from Staffordshire to Manchester coalesced with 32 other counties. These industrial sites halted, with boiler plugs drawn and factory workers turned out.[599] The scale was so grand that one Halifax Chartist described the 'miasma' of the moment as reminiscent of the stirrings of the French Revolution.[600] Yet, despite 'miasma', 'History failed to turn'.[601] However, the *Northern Star* responded to this representation of its heroes and called Caldwell's sentiments 'vomit', 'bile', a 'tirade against the dead'. The anti-religion of Paine remained fixed within elite replies to Chartist commemoration. In tandem with this representation were the anti-clerical portrayals that venerated his memory whilst others applied Christian symbols for the same purposes of celebrating Paine's memory.

Evidence from the *Northern Star*'s 'Chartist Intelligence' published in early February 1841 documents a multidirectional approach to Paine's theology.[602] In Nottingham, attendees waxed lyrical over his political principles, yet others 'repudiate[d]' his 'theological opinions'. The complications in Paine's legacy are not removed from these celebrations. Whilst the illustrious radical is still eulogised, it indicates a marked contrast from the earlier attempts by the Chartists at Bradford to try and ignore his controversial legacy. In total contrast, reports of a dinner in Kensington portray Paine as a secular figure, an icon of reason who is memorable for sweeping away superstition.[603] Instead, this aspect is confronted, albeit with a diverging reception. He is venerated, but not without faults, recognition that does not seem to detract from his standing. Yet, the projection of his memory remains balanced between Paine being a religious and a secular martyr. Not all theological or secular representations appear in this

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598 *Northern Star*, 8 October 1842, 5.

599 Chase, *The Chartists*, 211-5; Frederick Clare Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).

600 *Ibid*, 216.

601 Chase uses this expression in summarising his analysis of the 1842 Strike, Chase, *The Chartists*, 225. The expression 'failed to turn' was before Chase, and was a phrase coined by A. J. P. Tayloy in relation to the German Revolutions in 1848, 'German history reached its turning-point and failed to turn', see Alan John Percivale Taylor, *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany Since 1815* (London: Methuen, 1962), 69.

602 *Northern Star*, 6 February 1841, 5.

603 *Ibid*.

year's anniversary celebrations. Underneath the Kensington report was the transcript from Congleton. The reader is informed that Mr Naseby, ‘a champion of the olden time’, officiated as Chairman. For Naseby, Paine was worthy of remembrance because ‘he had risen from obscurity, originally was a tailor, but his superior talents had raised him to the French Convention’.[604] It was not theology that Naseby was interested in when recalling. No comment relating to this topic appears in the report. What mattered most to the Chairman was the meritocracy that Paine stood for. He locates this in Paine’s memory by situating him within a social category relatable to the present company. It is another layer to Paine’s memory that was returned to by other members in the rank and file of Chartism. This episode of multidirectional interpretation offers an interesting example of intersection. The *Northern Star* presents a series of meetings in one space in which contrasting reports give a mosaic of representations, overlapping and setting out different conjurations of Paine, some gauging him historically, others removing him from the past for purely political reasons.

A Violent or Peaceful Son of the lower orders?

Class contributed to Chartism’s representation of Paine. This conception is expected since class was a central characteristic of Chartism’s identity and ideology, and memory is intrinsically grounded in identity.[605] Chartism’s sense of selfhood was expressed through its clear outrage with aristocracy. More challenging was its relationship with the middle classes. Internally, Chartism trod a diverging path between the ‘demagoguery’ of O’Connor’s leadership and the shifts towards the ‘New Move’ in the 1840s that looked to education, temperance, and the Church as a suitable path to the franchise.[606] This ‘unfixed’ class identity and combustible relationships between classes produced different representations of Paine.[607] This cultural remembrance imprinted itself on Paine’s memory as a labourer, and aligned him with the worker consciousness. According to Jonathan Clark’s analysis of Paine’s memory, poverty was one of the most alluring ‘themes’ offered by future descendants of his work.[608] Was this working-class truth discerned by the Chartists honest to Paine? Likewise, did Paine fulfil the

[604] *Ibid*.

[605] Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism* (London: Verso Books, 2015), 19; John Belchem, ‘Radical Language, Meaning and Identity in the Age of the Chartists’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10.1 (2005), 2; Barbara Misztal writes how dividing memory from identity sees ‘reflexivity… diminished’ Barbara A. Misztal, ‘Memory and Democracy’, *American Behavioural Scientist*, 48.10 (2005), 1328.

[606] Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Wildwood House, 1986).

[607] For a discussion on the unfixed nature of class identity, see Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 154-5 .

[608] J. C. D. Clark, *Thomas Paine: Britain, America, and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 83; Clark briefly mentions Paine’s memory in relation to class much later, when welfare was becoming established in early twentieth-century British politics.

expectations of national agitation pushing against an industrialised landscape and the experiences of a New Poor Law? Historically, Paine does not live up to these expectations. His political useability on the other hand was more open to interpretation. Paine's critiques of rich and poor were generally aimed at the state, hereditary monarchy and priestcraft. Yet, as Clark observes, he rarely launched a barrage against the greed of manufacturers that was later synonymous with Chartism. This was a task for other men, such as contemporary and ultra-radical Thomas Spence (a radical also remembered by the Chartists but who received tepid commemoration in comparison to Paine), or later writers who did address the experiences of this industrialising force within society like the more moderate physician turned social commentator Charles Hall.[609] Yet, memory could bridge this disparity. Paine's work formed part of the Chartist discourse, venting frustration at what seemed like an uncaring and profligate elite, a function generally applied to others occupying the radical pantheon.

Whilst Paine's writings might not have been associated with destroying the 'shopocracy' and wasteful aristocracy, biographies by Chartists like William Linton wrote this into his history. Linton's 1839 biography, *The Life of Paine*, had the radical retooled to fit with worker identity. Linton drew out several noteworthy attributes of Paine's that were aligned with the honest, autodidactic labourer:

> 'save a little grammar-school ploughing, he was self-taught. Let the serf bear this in mind; and let the Nobly-born pay homage to this "Son of the lower orders," the outlawed Stay-maker'[610]

Paine is given a 'class affiliation', a kinship with the worker that is then celebrated.[611] Succouring class pride in the productive labourer and impressing this onto Paine's memory was a fond way of remembering the popular radical artisan staymaker. At a birthday anniversary in 1842, the dedicated celebrators of Merthyr Tydfil claimed him as 'the child of the lower orders'.[612] Whether Paine reached expectations or was projected in different means, the industrialised worker bonded with his memory. Paine might not stand up as a literal critique of industrialisation and instead be revealed as a social commentator whose views on 'state and taxation' receded after 1832 with the onset of a new class exploitation discourse.[613] Nonetheless, identifying him as a relatable figure enabled conjurations of the radical to bridge this gap between 'Old Corruption' and opposition against the monopolistic ruling elite. Birthing this 'Son of the lower orders' alters Paine's cultural memory in a way that is more 'attuned' to

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[609] *Ibid*, 395-6.
[610] William James Linton, *The Life of Paine* (London: J. Watson, 1839), 43.
[611] Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 2.
[612] *Northern Star*, 5 February 1842, 3.
[613] Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 111.

‘industrialising society’ by Chartists.[614] In a social context of low living standards and overproduction, Chartists at the anniversary banquet frequently raised a toast to the titled works of Paine, such as the *Rights of Man* and joined these with ones dedicated to ‘The People’. It offers a more tentative link, but one that made Paine present. He was made to be cloaked in Chartism’s fustian jacket and buttoned up with blistered hands.

However, Chartism’s identity was also divisive. Whilst cultural rituals, such as remembering Paine’s anniversary, contributed opportunities for social bonding, the behavioural aspect could be contentious.[615] Naturally, differences were likely to occur with Chartists from different regions being more moderate or extreme in their radical views. Convention delegates like Dr John Taylor and George Julian Harney are examples of the latter. They presented themselves as the Marat and Robespierre of their time. Harney was a leading member of the more radical East London Democratic Association in January 1837. He had been a member of the L.W.M.A until he gave an unsolicited response to O’Connell’s attack on the Glasgow Cotton Spinners the previous year. This organisation was symbolically founded on Paine’s birthday anniversary.[616] This was no coincidence. It formed part of this organisation’s politics and structure:

> ‘The objects of this Association is to promote the Moral and Political condition of the Working Classes by disseminating the principles propagated by that great philosopher and redeemer of mankind, the Immortal THOMAS PAINE… the annual meeting of the Association be held on the 29th January, being the anniversary of the death [by which they mean, birth] of that great Man, whose character and principles we duly appreciate, by a social and convivial supper on that occasion.’[617]

In his early Chartist career, Harney advocated ‘ulterior measures’. At the 1839 General Convention, he pursued a revolutionary rhetoric, at one point echoing American patriot Patrick Henry when calling for 'universal suffrage or death'.[618] The delegates agreed neither on this enthusiasm for republicanism nor the methods to achieve it. Physical force was a chilling prospect to the middle and upper classes, whose imaginations had not forgotten the spectre of the violent mob from the Swing Riots years earlier. [619]

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[614] D. G. Wright, *Popular Radicalism: The Working Class Experience 1780-1880* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 98.
[615] Geertz, *Interpretation,* 17-20. Geertz makes this point on culture uniting, but behaviour creating meaning, which could be divisive.
[616] Jennifer Bennett ‘The London Democratic Association 1837 to 1841 a Study in London Radicalism’ in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982), 87-119.
[617] Thompson, *The Early Chartists*, 55.
[618] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 118; Chase *Chartism*, 69.
[619] Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 39.

The *Charter* newspaper, set up by William Carpenter in 1839 to act as a mouthpiece for the more restrained L.W.M.A. and provided readers with the ongoings of the Convention, included Paine in this coverage. Despite its moderate temper, the *Charter* was still hot on the issue of class unity, initially attacking other groups like the A.C.L.L., only to reverse this hostility before closing shortly after the Convention.[620] Similarly, the *Charter* was alert to the hostile press reports. In December 1839, a letter to the Editor called for the assemblage of 'Democratic Newspaper Clubs' to be based on one set up in Magnet coffee-house on Drury-lane so that the '*People's Press*' could be enjoyed free from the influence of Whig and Tory press.[621] In addition to providing the *Northern Star*, *Northern Liberator*, and the soon to be published London based *Southern Star*, the writings of Paine and Cobbett were also provided, a sign that the paper pantheon was to be brought into these well-meaning insulated spheres of readership. Paine's memory appears in Carpenter's *Charter*, albeit subtly. On 14th April 1839, the 'Facts, Fancies and Fictions' segment appeared on the front page using a quote from Paine. It defines the right of the people to arm and protect their rights:

> 'Arms.- It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by' an- armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms.— Paine.'[622]

Inserting Paine's views on arming into the political discourse in this way is symptomatic of the growing debate around 'ulterior measures'. A week before this was released, the hostile *Morning Chronicle* quickly highlighted the prospect of a Chartist insurrection. The *Northern Star* swiftly replied with the 'closest attention' and provided a detailed breakdown of the *Chronicle*'s history of advocating the constitutionality of arming.[623] The tit-for-tat replies show the changing attitudes toward this right and how this tension in society forged new uses of the past. A month later, the diligent William Lovett drafted and presented this debate to the people as the *Manifesto of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes* to be discussed locally. The topic of protecting oneself from despotism had already been taken back into the localities by delegates. Adherents, such as Bussey, received a grand welcome back in Bradford and presented the matter as a countermeasure to the 27,000 armed constables now set against the people (a reference to the recent Rural Constabulary Act).[624] Similarly, the Scottish Chartist, Dr John Taylor, who had represented the radical hotspot Ashton-under-Lyne,

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620 Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (London: Longman, 2000), 220.
621 *Charter*, 22 December 1839, 9.
622 *Charter*, 14 April 1839, 1.
623 *Northern Star*, 15 June 1839, 7.
624 *Northern Star*, 9 March 1839, 1.

described to his constituents in Paisley that the right to arm was constitutional. [625] His speech resulted from this question being put before 'simultaneous public meetings', another indicator of different dialogues co-occurring nationally, much like the anniversary dinners.[626] Ultimately, Taylor refused violence until the regional meetings addressing this subject elsewhere had concluded. However, he cautioned his listeners that he knew the 'blackguards well' and was prepared to quit Britain for America. Likewise, even Harney conceded that violence was not feasible to obtain the Charter by 1842.[627] Instead, his ambitions, and, as we shall see in the next section, Paine's memory, turned towards the international. Whilst Paine likely played into the imaginings of elites as a destructive republican, he was not just the exclusive property of the physical force Chartists.

Moral force Chartists were comfortably mobilising Paine's memory as part of their politics. For example, in Halifax, a locality that had a strong affinity with Paine, a public tea meeting newspaper report captures the use of his memory by moral force Chartists.[628] The date, location and practices are all of a religious sort. Meeting on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, the Chartists gathered in the Association Room, which was used as a preaching room for the Sabbath Sunday school. In this religious setting, the proceedings were interspersed between hymns sung from the popular Chartist songbook by Dr Watt and 'appropriate remarks'. During the proceedings the following toast was delivered, 'The political writings of Thomas Paine, and may they soon find a place in the heart and head of every working man'. These comments combined Christian morality with Paineite radicalism. Queen Victoria was scorned and told to feel shame for 'having a pauper for a husband', a more uncommon critique on the monarchy, and the more frequent remarks by Chartists - 'incapable' Ministers and monarchy being 'a burthen on the country'.[629] This more traditional radical criticism was adapted to the present situation, where despotism was expanded to encompass the hated despots orchestrating the New Poor Law, the 'Somerset House tyrants'. This application changed from the present to the more common warning to tyrants. It did so by using the biblical reference to the outcast conqueror, 'May the fate of Nebuchadnezzer be the fate of every despot'.

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[625] *Northern Star*, 15 June 1839, 6.

[626] Chase, *Chartism*, p.71-2.

[627] Dinwiddy, J. R., *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003), 409.

[628] Thompson, *Dignity*, 82.

[629] *Northern Star*, 23 January 1841, 2.

World Citizen

In life, as in death, Paine was cosmopolitan. His brisk dismissal of seemingly all churches, from the Jewish to the Turkish in the *Age of Reason* may have impaired this reputation for other cultures. Then again, this rejection was inclusive of all faiths and in some ways might be interpreted as an equal dismissal.[630] However, his internationalism was a feature of his memory that was occasionally remembered during commemorative banquets. During his life, Paine's exploits abroad had a significant impact on the Atlantic world. Not only had he taken an active role in supporting the American War for Independence, but he also went on to secure a place in the French Revolution with his writings and as a delegate to the National Convention in 1792.[631] These international careers solidified Paine's standing as a radical icon of the nineteenth century. However, they also presented extreme challenges to Paine and ultimately ended in hurting his reputation. As we shall see, in 1793, his clemency for Louis XVI (*Reasons for Wishing to Preserve the Life of Louis Capet*) did not endear him to a French Republic entering the stages of the Terror. Equally, in 1796 he publicly fell out with Washington over the direction the United States was taking towards an aristocratic class. Nonetheless, this context did not eclipse the feats of Paine's international achievements. He was a self-proclaimed 'citizen of the world'.[632] Certainly, in his life, he had multiple citizenships in Britain, America and then France. The former fled into exile, America received his return in 1802 with opprobrium, and the latter incarcerated him for ten months in a Luxembourg prison following the publication of *Age of Reason*. This is not to say that Paine's cosmopolitanism was inflammatory. Quite the contrary. Paine's internationalism sought to remove boundaries, dismiss the local in favour of the universal, and trust in the power of a 'universal benevolence'.[633] His 'cosmopolitan' attitude has been attributed to his own time. In typical Paine fashion, this awareness of universalism was contradicted by an overwhelming and possibly naïve worldview, with most frames of reference taken from England, the place of his birth.[634] Despite this limitation, Paine's affinity was for progress abroad as a citizen of the world. This self-proclaimed internationalism continued into the minds of how Chartists perceived

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[630] Clark, *Selected*, 373; this argument is summarised by Paine as 'My own mind is my own church', quoted above in the theology section on page 133 of this thesis. In this dismissal of religion, Paine does not distinguish between the different buildings of religious worship, but groups them all as 'churches'.
[631] *Ibid*, xv.
[632] Paine referred to himself in this manner during a speech 'Reasons for Wishing for Preserving the Life of Louis Capet. As Delivered to the National Convention.', in Clark, *Selected*, 366-71. This quote can be found on page 367.
[633] Ian Dyck, 'Local Attachments, National Identities and World Citizenship in the Thought of Thomas Paine', *History Workshop Journal*, 35.1 (1993), 117–35; Dyck has also proposed that Age of Reason was not just Paine's last great effort to advocate a deist faith, but to establish an internationalist 'moral and philosophical unity among all humanity'.
[634] Clark, *Thomas Paine*, 97-9.

Paine. Indeed, Chartism's own identity was of an internationalist flavour. Foreign philosophers and Revolutionary leaders, past and present, were celebrated, such as Constantin François Volney and Volney Tadeusz Kościuszko.[635] Cole frames the *Northern Star*'s editor as the seemingly only internationalist Chartist in his biographical portrait of George Julian Harney.[636] He certainly was perhaps the most zealously cosmopolitan. He took a lead role in establishing the Fraternal Democrats in 1845 and kept up correspondence with Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx. However, this relationship soured, and they unfairly referred to Harney as 'Citizen Hip-hip-hurrah' for his universalist attitude to all things revolutionary.[637] Yet, Chartism was far more internationalist beyond Harney's enthusiasm. Remembrance of Paine's well-travelled exploits is a testament to this outlook. While speeches and toasts did not necessarily reflect the tribulations of Paine's experiences abroad, his cosmopolitanism was not forgotten. Rather, his success in aiding republicanism and operating internationally to achieve it was celebrated.

There is an irony in Paine's disregard for the local since regional remembrance during Chartism perpetuated his memory so much. His 'cosmopolitan' attitude has been attributed to his own time. In the final example from the selection of commemorative banquets to Paine published in the *Northern Star* on 2nd February 1841, the Merthyr Tydfil Chartists were recorded for celebrating Paine not as a working-class champion nor represented on theological or secular grounds. Instead, he was lionised as an international revolutionary. Merthyr Tydfil was a central location for Chartism in Wales. Numerous reports of Paine celebrations in this area appeared in the *Northern Star*, with Merthyr Tydfil providing a centre for Chartist culture in Wales similar to England's Ashton-under-Lyne or Nottingham.[638] In keeping with Paine's memory and Chartist practices, the first toast at the meeting was to "The Sovereignty of the People." "The Rights of Man." and "The People's Charter".[639] However, the speeches quickly turned to Paine's involvement in the American Revolution. These tributes to Paine, and the reverence for the Young Republic's triumph, culminate in a yearning for Britain and Europe to 'follow so glorious an example'. The decision to commemorate this aspect raises several interesting features of Chartist memory. In some respects, their ambition to

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[635] Constantin François Volney (1757-1820) was a French philosopher of the Enlightenment whose *Ruins of Empire* considered self-interest in the fortunes of societies. Like Paine, Volney was a deist, and friend to Thomas Jefferson, who provided the English translation to Volney's *Ruins of Empire*. Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817) was a Polish military commander who participated in the American War for Independence supporting the colonists, and later took a leading role in Poland's war against Russia in 1794. Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 68.

[636] Cole, George Douglas Howard, *Chartist Portraits* (London: Cassell, 1989), 268-99.

[637] *Ibid*, 270.

[638] Newport and Swansea are two other areas Chase lists as 'Locations of Chartist Activity in Wales' with high engagement, see Chase, *Legacies*, 111-13. However, these do not appear to have celebrated Paine anniversaries with such vigour as Merthyr Tydfil.

[639] *Northern Star*, 6 February 1841,

have Britain follow an international example reflects Paine's view that reforming the archaic, rigid, and despotic structure of Britain could only be successful with an outside force. Yet, the Chartist sentiment is far more emotional, to the point that the longing for this past presents a sense of nostalgia. Chase has contested the existence of nostalgia within Chartism with regard to the Land Plan of the mid-1840s.[640] This ambition sprang from a desire to reawaken the radical cause of restoring the people back to the land.[641] It was O'Connor who pushed this ambitious project. Through nature and 'spade husbandry', O'Connor voiced a bold vision of independence restored, no more reliance on the abuses of the factory system, but a proud independent self-sufficient individual – 'A MAN STANDING ON HIS OWN RESOURCES'.[642] Where the political momentum of a monster petition had failed, O'Connor sought to build political capital by enabling the people to acquire property that would equate to political power. Whilst this analysis by Chase relates to the 'agrarian thrust', the sentiments expressed by the Merthyr Tydfil Chartists suggest forms of nostalgia could flicker into discussions around remembrance. Indeed, Chase's other work on the past – *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* – defines nostalgia as

> 'The counterpart to the imagined future is the imagined past. But there is one crucial respect in which the power of the past is different. It has generated objects, images and texts which can be seen as powerful talisman'.[643]

This material and ephemera conception fits the cultural memory framework. Rituals like these meetings and anniversaries facilitated discussion, allowing such remembrance to flicker into these reimagined and longed-for personalities. To this list could be added personalities, such as Paine, Washington and Jefferson. Even if the topic was only fleetingly raised, it reinforces the idea that memory was expressed in different ways. In this case, an emotional attachment to the events of 1776 was revered with such fondness that nostalgia cannot be entirely excluded from the analysis of Chartist memory. This memory of American Independence again arose at a meeting in Leeds on 22 June 1844. The republic's founders, with Paine counted among their number, were revered as a golden age of leaders missing from the current crisis:

> Why should not the descendants of the men of '76 sympathise with the English Chartists who are struggling for the establishment of the very

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[640] Malcolm Chase, '"The Real Rights of Man": Thomas Spence, Paine and Chartism', *Miranda*, 13, 2016.

[641] Paine had made reference to this in his *Agrarian Justice*, but in comparison to radicals like Spence, his writings on this were far more limited and focus remained on systems of welfare and social hierarchy.

[642] For descriptions of the Land Plan, its aims and legacies see C. J. Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1995), 87-90; Malcolm Chase, ''We wish only to work for ourselves: the Chartists Land Plan'', in Malcolm Chase, *The Chartists: Perspectives & Legacies* (London: Merlin Press, 2015), 51-4; *Chartism*, 250-1.

[643] Malcolm Chase and C. Shaw, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 9; other definitions of nostalgia include Alastair Bonnett, *Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2010), 4-6.

> principles which Paine, Jefferson, and Washington triumphantly established in America? [644]

This fragment of nostalgia is a rare example of it appearing within anniversary celebrations. Other international comparisons made during the birthday anniversary in Merthyr Tydfil are explored later in this chapter. For now, this engagement with America attests to the special relationship Chartists enjoyed with the gleaming example laid down by the forebearers of the republic, the emotional nostalgia located within this cultural memory, and how Paine's own memory exemplified this triumph of international republicanism.

Representations of a Paine heritage offer another layer to his memory to explore. It was not just English radicals gathered in the taverns of London or the homes of Ashtonians like the Claytons. International patriots, such as Paine, Washington and O'Connell were heralded as heroes of 'two hemispheres', uniting and liberating these worlds of Britain, America and Ireland.[645] This transatlantic memory flowed both ways in print. Radical publisher Thomas Wooler's *British Gazette* recirculated an article from the *Stamford* in which local Bostonians rejected celebrations for the newly coronated King George IV. In a humorous collision in the calendar of anniversaries, the report noted how the new King shared this date with the birthday of Britain's loudest advocate against hereditary monarchy – Paine. Instead of celebrating George IV, they choose 'the immortal memory of Paine!'

> 'the anniversary of the ascension of George the Fourth is also the anniversary of Thomas Paine's birth-day, and many Bostonians there are possessed of more esteem for a 'dead lion' than a 'living dwarf "[646]

Not only were newspapers responsible for enshrining the memories of an 'illustrious dead', but their coverage of international portrayals also made commemoration transnational. This heritage of anti-monarchy in America continued in printed form with the republication of Paine's pro-republican *Common Sense*, released at the start of the American War for Independence.[647] Printer John Brooks's republication in 1831 formed part of a twelve-part series that provided 'The Useful Family Library'. The name implies it was not necessarily focused on any masculine political aid but part of a domestic protest, 'everyday forms of remembrance' in the home setting.[648] Its appearance was timely, if not deliberate. The Reform

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[644] *Northern Star*, 22 June 1844.

[645] This phrase was used to celebrate the birthday of O'Connell in Washington on 6th August, see *Freeman*'s *Journal*, 15 October 1832, 4.

[646] *British Gazette*, 23 February 1823, 15.

[647] Jack Fruchtman contests *Common Sense* was the most 'powerful' of Paine's writings. See Fruchtman.

[648] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*; Ruth Mather refers to this kind of radical article in the home as belonging to a domestic protest, in Ruth Mather, 'Remembering Protest in the Late-Georgian Working-

Bill was traversing its rocky passage through Parliament. The hope expressed by Brooks was for writings by radicals like Paine to coincide with the reform and distinguish 'the present age'.[649] Ultimately, this would prove forlorn, and the failure of the bill to expand the franchise more generally enraged later Chartists. Men like James Watson continued the work of Brooks to republish texts like *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* for Chartist readers.[650] This repetition of memory helped make the 'self-reliant' founders Washington, Jefferson and Franklin popular amongst Chartists.[651] Intermittently, Paine would join this company and, as the Merthyr Tydfil meeting shows, be hailed as an esteemed 'forerunner'. It is worth noting that other founders like John Adams – the successor to the Presidency after Washington – was not commemorated. Coincidentally, Adams was not fond of Paine. Unsurprisingly, the *Age of Reason* infuriated the one-term President, who confided to a friend that the mischievous Paine was a nuisance, 'a mongrel between pig and puppy' (as opposed to a man-shaped or devil-shaped shuttlecock). However, he did concede that the eighteenth century had closed as the 'Age of Paine'.[652] Those of 1776 were distinguished in their age and true to Paine's views on preserving rights for the next generation, provided an example to be handed down. It was through texts that these were communicated, and, as these meetings show, newspapers that provided proof of this engagement with the past.

Decontextualising this past and looking at how it aligned with Chartist identity reveals an overlap between the layers of Paine's class and internationalism. On 15 August 1840, the *Chartist Circular* published an article that highlighted the humble roots of those who settled America's republic – 'WORKING MEN THE FOUNDERS OF THE WISEST AND BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT THE WORLD EVER SAW'.[653] The title itself is an indictment of the ability of ruling elites to conduct good government. The article gives a reversal of earlier critiques of the United States by the 'Lords Temporal' and Lords Spiritual who looked upon the republic as a set of 'Low-born knaves, base scoundrels', and the familiar 'heretics, atheists, and infidels'. Yet, this slight by an elite opposition is reclaimed through the same class pride fuelling a 'countermemory' already encountered in this chapter:

Class Home', in Carl J. Griffin and Briony McDonagh (eds.), *Remembering Protest in Britain Since 1500: Memory, Materiality and the Landscape* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2018), .

[649] John Brooks, *Common Sense, The Crisis by Thomas Paine, Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congress in the American War* (London: Oxford Street, 1831).

[650] *Northern* Star, 23 September 1848, 4.

[651] For a discussion on the formation of the Founding Fathers and their memory in the nineteenth-century, see David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 197-205.

[652] Michael Davis, The Vilification of Thomas Paine: Constructing a Folk Devil in the 1790s', in Gordon Pentland and Michael Davis, *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688-1815. Essays in Honour of H. T. Dickinson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 190.

[653] *Chartist Circular*, 15 August 1840, 1.

> What then ? The founders of this republic must, at least, have been "profoundly learned," and deeply read in the lore of " venerable antiquity," all of them principals or professors in the most famous universities, fully versed in logic, metaphysics, and divinity, and all of them " great lawyers, great statesmen, or great divines." Not one or other of all these characters or designations belonged to them. We shall, however, describe them, by a quotation from the writings of their cotemporaries. " The ringleaders in this unnatural rebellion are George Washington, a Yankee Farmer! Benjamin Franklin, a Printer!! Thomas Paine, a Staymaker!!! with one Jefferson, one Adams, and such-like crew." So did we read many years ago, from a file of old newspapers, and, if memory be not fallacious, the italics and exclamations (!!!) are literally and typographically correct. Fine men to make a government" was the concluding exclamation of the scribbler from whose article the above quotation is taken; Fine men to make a government "[654]

Reclaiming an earlier representation denouncing these founders through Chartism's proud worker identity changes any emotional shame heaped on the 'Yankee Farmer!' and 'Printer!!' into pride. Again, locating this lineage within a class affinity makes these deceased American patriots familiar, just like Paine the 'Staymaker', a trope repeated here. Following this portrayal, the discussion around memory changes from the past to the present, a switch that forms part of the article's rhetorical recruitment from the Chartist ranks to replicate the achievements of these heroes:

> 'the task they performed [was] difficult, yet it is still imitable. Let them not think too meanly of themselves [as] a class —let them not underrate their own individual powers;—mighty minds have often appeared among the ranks of working men; Franklins, Washingtons, and Paines may still be found among the printers, farmers, and tailors of the present day—men willing to exert their energies in working out the salvation of our country from the fangs of the oppressor.'[655]

This is a democratic use of memory. Not only were Paine and the other founders of republicanism easily accessible in the minds of Chartists, but their characteristics were encouragingly obtainable and made aspirational to readers.

Yet locating 'Paines' and 'Washingtons' could be more direct. One example of this association appears in a letter to the Editor of the *Northern Star* on the power of the press. It was sent by a 'Mr. J____' of Bristol. He writes on the division aggravating Chartism, naming the National Association and how it seeks 'some other suffrage' to the National Charter Association – a 'backwards move'.[656] Once again it is an attack on Lovett and the New Move.

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[654] *Ibid*.
[655] *Ibid*.
[656] *Northern Star*, 2 July 1842, 4.

Unsurprisingly, this use of the past places O'Connor as Chartism's "Washington". It is a flattering portrayal that represents the Chartist chieftain as a symbol of unity at a time of division within Chartism. At earlier commemorative banquets, O'Connor had been described as the successor, even possessor, of the father of reform - Henry Hunt. Yet here, the moment demands a Washington figure, and thus O'Connor is imagined as one. This is a good example of what Simon James Morgan describes as finding a champion to transform 'feelings of personal powerlessness to collective potency'.[657] In this case, the collective memory of Washington, the hero of American Independence, is shaped around O'Connor to assert his image as a leader. This 'distanciation' of Washington's memory, to use Michael Schudson's term, moves away from the past to give emotional intensity that galvanises O'Connor's reputation. [658] It achieves this using the paper pantheon whilst discussing the purity of the press. Despite O'Connor's seeming reluctance to memorialise the past, the author insists on giving him this portrayal:

> '"let me not profane the tombs of the illustrious dead, to raise altars to the living," but if O'Connor continues in his present straight-forward course, for the cause of universal rights unto the end of his days, the honest historian will not fail to give him his place, and some modern Plutarch his comparison.'[659]

The appearance of this in the 'people's paper' automatically makes Mr J. that 'modern Plutarch', and the *Northern Star* his canvas on which to sketch the epithet of O'Connor as a Washington.

Yet, as useable as these memories of Paine and Washington were, several problems with these personalities rarely featured in remembrances. Whilst icons like Paine may have been used to support Chartism's worker identity, men like Washington were unlikely to be classified to fit this on the grounds of class. Founders of the republic such as Washington and Jefferson were more likely aristocratic, with both men Virginian plantation owners. Further scrutinising the context between Paine's relationship with Washington helps this process of deconstructing Chartist remembrance of the United States and its founders. Two problems emerge. First, there was the issue of slavery. Paine was against this institution, making references in his work, but not to any extent that he challenged hereditary succession. Washington kept slaves on his plantation. Both avoided the inflammatory issue, fearing it could

[657] Simon James Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions: Popular Politicians in the Age of Reform, 1810–67*, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 268.
[658] Michael Schudson, 'Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory', in Daniel L. Schacter, Joseph T. Coyle (eds.), *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995)348-51.
[659] *Ibid*.

destabilise the republican experiment.[660] More spectacularly, Paine agonised over the direction of the republic. From its embryonic state, he championed its regenerative republican virtue compared to the stale form of aristocratic-centred societies of the 'Old World'. However, in his *Letter to George Washington,* Paine outlined his grievances to the patriarch and President as a response to the treaty John Jay signed with Britain in 1797.[661] Paine questioned the honourable reputation of Washington, suggesting a flaw in his character that is dominated by 'a sort of non-describable cameleon-coloured thing, called Prudence'.[662] By this, Paine's critique refers to what he perceives as a compromise on the republic's legacy in dealing with Britain. Rather than acknowledging this trait as perhaps a requisite of politics, something the unyielding, reason-driven Paine was commemorated for and even obsessed over, it was instead presented by Paine as a compromise on Washington's character. He advises the President:

> 'that a man will pass better through the world with a thousand open errors upon his back, than in being detected in *one* sly falsehood. When one is detected, a thousand are suspected'[663]

The twin assaults of Paine's *Letter to George Washington* and *Age of Reason* hurt his relationship with America in general. As Clark points out in recontextualising Paine, future president John Quincy Adams's rebuke of Paine had a transnational audience, a response that Clark uses to temper the myth that America remained the new Eden into the nineteenth century.[664] It also suggests a transference of anti-Paine feelings in the Adams dynasty. However, whilst this recontextualization is useful, analysing the ongoing reconstruction of Paine in the Chartist press suggests any animosity between these two men was deflated, if not burst. There were few 'open errors' in Washington's legacy, and the 'sly falsehoods' were reserved for the memories of events such as Waterloo and elites like Pitt. For the Chartist paper pantheon, the memory of the republic, whether historical or mythological, nourished the aims of Chartism.

The resolve of this remembrance is even more startling when one considers how Chartism's relationship with the United States followed a similar trajectory to Paine's. Paine voiced concerns about slavery and a growing anxiety around aristocratic power in the United States. Both relate to abuses around labour. One was the ongoing use of black slavery and the growing tension with workers, or 'White slavery' as was the given term applied in Britain.

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[660] Clark, *Thomas Paine*, 94-5.
[661] *Ibid*, 370.
[662] Thomas Paine, *A Letter to George Washington, on the Subject of the Late Treaty Concluded between Great-Britain and the United States of America, ...* (London: Philadelphia printed. London: reprinted for T. Williams, 1797), 27.
[663] *Ibid*, 28.
[664] Clark, *Thomas Paine*, 376-7.

Anti-capitalist rhetoric often deployed this trope to refer to the terrible treatment of workers in Britain. And yet, one of Chartism's most popular publishers John Cleave 'regularly supplied Jeffersonian–Paineite apologias for American slavery'.[665] An engagement through emigration and travel to the United States stripped the lustre of this shining republic from the Chartist imagination.[666] Opponents to slavery included William Aitken, the Ashton-under-Lyne Chartist and stalwart anniversary dinner attendee. In his travels to the United States between 1843 and 1844, Aitken interviewed slaves and found the institution abhorrent. In contrast, Newcastle Chartist Thomas Devyr emigrated to America and supported the view that slaves were inferior and a problem in America, throwing his support behind the Democratic party. [667] And yet, these serious fragmenting discussions seem to have left little imprint upon the memories of Paine and Washington. Upon his return home from the United States, Mr William Butterworth claimed 'the people of America had the Charter'.[668] Similarly, at a birthday celebration of Paine in Merthyr Tydfil held by the 'No. 1 branch of the National Land Company' in 1848, Mr J. Davis took the chair of the meeting and declared he had been a resident in America for the last 6 years, contributing a loud celebration of this republican home and some of the 'most spirited' celebrations in the town. In terms of memory, slavery does not appear. The purity of 1776 remains intact. It is an interesting example of a large issue that Chartism recognised, but one that did not penetrate the remembrance of Paine. Likewise, the kinship between Paine and Washington also remained intact. Chartists remembered the Washington that Paine expressed in his fond dedication to the President at the start of *Rights of Man*, rather than the dressing down he gave him in *Letter to George Washington*.

Returning to Chartist heritage and America, whilst no memorial existed to Paine in Britain, there was some heritage in America. Huddersfield draper and emigrant to America Laurence Pitkethly's travelogue provided the *Northern Star* with details of such encounters. In 1843, his reports of the east coast offered a 'Where to, and How to Proceed' to any would-be

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[665] Tom Scriven, 'Slavery and Abolition in Chartist Thought and Culture, 1838–1850', *The Historical Journal*, 65.5 (2022), 1262–84.

[666] James Bronstein, 'From the Land of Liberty to Land Monopoly: The United States in a Chartist Context', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (eds.), *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (New York: Springer, 1982), 151.

[667] From these travels Aitken produced a travel log *A Journey Up the Mississippi River, from Its Mouth to Nauvoo, the City of the Latter-Day Saints* (Ashton-under-Lyne: John Williamson, 1845), 18; A memoir of Aitken's life in *The Quarterly Magazine of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows* follows this trip, or 'literary pursuit', to America. It is recorded as taking place in 1842 and discusses his interactions with Mormons without mentioning slavery. See *The Quarterly Magazine of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, Manchester Unity* (G.M. and Board of Directors, 1858), 132; John Campbell bookseller (Philadelphia.), *A Theory of Equality: Or, The Way to Make Every Man Act Honestly* (J. B. Perry, 1848). Devyr emigrated on dubious grounds. He was charged with sedition, and, having worked at the Northern Liberator in a position of power as 'Corresponding Secretary to the Northern Political Union', was suspected of taking the Frost Defence Fund, see *Northern Liberator*, 5 January 1839, 2; *Globe*, 3 March 1840, 4..

[668] *Northern Star*, 21 October 1843, 5.

emigrant. In the process, Pitkethly traces Paine's heritage back to readers in Britain. In New York, Pitkethly mentions New Rochelle, the site where Paine spent his final years and where his bones were originally buried. Pitkethly notes seeing a 'handsome monument… erected to the memory of that great stateman and patriot'.[669] Through Pitkethly, Chartists without a monument to Paine were at least able to read about the existing one outside of Britain. There are no records in the *Northern Star* detailing any kind of planned pilgrimage out to these sites. However, they offer rare examples of memorials of one kind or another to Paine invested in the local heritage of the young nation. It further denotes the reliance on the paper pantheon in Paine's home country to commemorate him, relying instead upon speculation of a monument and reports from abroad. At the same time, such thoughts allowed Paine to be cast alongside other founders of the republic without the stigma of slavery jeopardising relationships, or critics like Adams to impinge upon Paine's position, and maintaining the affinity between its leading hero – Washington – and the illustrious Paine.

An emotional Paine

The analysis so far has considered how Chartists crafted and reproduced representations of Paine through discursive engagements recorded in print. This has revealed that themes such as class and religion are the results of engaging with his memory through anniversary rituals. Taking a slightly different approach now, the rest of this section will consider how memory encourages multiplicity and how these layers naturally emerge through different emotional expressions. Similarly, retrieving memory from the past naturally makes those in the present decide whether it belongs or whether it has already faded, never to return.

Emotions were strong within Chartism. The strength of feeling alone in the *Northern Star*'s discussions on worker fraternity and capitalist exploitation is a telling sign of the potency with which emotions were channelled. Roberts's recent study into the 'Democratic passions' of radicalism shows again how an earlier lineage of emotion formed part of Chartism. This history of feeling, he explains, has often been overlooked due to an 'over-rationalisation of popular radicalism'. [670] Not only was it in the writings of Cobbett, but that of Lovett. Likewise, Paine also turned to emotion. It formed part of his contest against Burke in *Rights of Man*. In it, Paine described his opponent as emotionally blind to suffering, and instead reminiscing over

[669] *Northern Star*, 29 April 1843, 7.
[670] Matthew Roberts, *Democratic Passions: The Politics of Feeling in British Popular Radicalism, 1809-48* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), 3-4.

Marie Antoinette's memory, 'He [Burke] pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird'.[671] In July 1844, this line reappeared in the Chartist poem 'Dreams of the Past' signed 'S.R.G.' – again, the word 'Dream' here evoking Paine's use of the term with regard to memory. The poem applies Paine's memorable prose to reminisce over a lost reading room:

'A simple glance bring back old times, and memory recalls
The Many calm and happy hours I spent within those walls.
The lectures, classes, reading room, newspapers, magazines'

It continues to reproduce a radical reading of the past. Whilst he does not mention Paine (it names Washington and Byron), the line is used to a similar devasting effect upon Burke's reputation:

'A famish'd people gained from him [Burke] no kindly thought or word:
He pity'd the spoil'd plumage, but forgot the dying bird'[672]

Elsewhere, the *Northern Star* was content with redeploying this 'plumage' analogy to suit its class politics. In the summer of 1848, a letter from a '*Dublin Tory Paper*' signed by Edward Fitzgerald lamented the British press, which concluded 'the aristocratic plumage is held up to admiration, while the dying bird is forgotten'. It concluded that the only honest newspaper was the *Northern Star* – 'the doomsday book of the people's oppression and oppressors'.[673] Needless to say, this letter appeared on the front page.

Newspapers like the *Northern Star* were happy to orchestrate the flow of feeling in their articles. The Chartist press used (and overused) typography, a stream of capital letters and exclamation marks to aid the performance. However, this emotion also translated over to rituals of memory. Chartists staged plays, like those on the life of William Tell – performances that were a concentration of melodrama.[674] The most known example of this theatre, however, was the re-enactment of Irish radical hero Robert Emmet's 1803 trial. Trials themselves were emotionally highly charged affairs. The 'heartfelt' sentiment, especially in political trials like Emmet's, all contributed towards the 'eulogising and mythologising' of the defendant(s).[675] This mythologising survived in transcripts that continued to be republished by the radical press

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[671] Paine, *Rights*, 102; see Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71-5 for this description of Marie Antoinette.

[672] *Northern Star*, 6 July 1844, 3; the *North Star* also used this 'plumage' analogy to suit its class politics, 'the aristocratic plumage is held up to admiration, while the dying bird is forgotten.

[673] *Northern Star*, 1 July 1848, 1.

[674] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 12.

[675] Michael T. Davies, 'The Noise and Emotions of Political Trials in Britain' in Michael T. Davis, Emma Macleod, and Gordon Pentland, *Political Trials in an Age of Revolutions: Britain and the North Atlantic, 1793—1848* (New York: Springer, 2018), 137-62.

to the Chartist era.[676] The impact of recitals on Chartist audiences and the notation of feelings within transcripts at commemorations provide indicators of memory's performative nature. As Suzannah Lipscomb and Helen Carr write, emotion is a 'powerful and illuminating expression' of memory, and this was part of Chartist culture.[677] Additionally, reactions to memory were emotionally charged. As seen in Chapter 3, Chartists recalled the line 'crowning carnage' from Lord Byron's *Don Juan* in response to the battle of Waterloo. Chartists were encouraged to drop tasteless John Bull cultural tropes towards nations like America and the 'frog eating… wooden shoe wearing' French and restore a spirit of 'kindred' feeling with international workers.[678]

This strength of feeling in expressing the past should not be underestimated. Emotions can be fundamental in tone. Defining the place of emotions historically and culturally, Rachel Hewitt observes the relevance of emotion in political identity. Her example is women's rights, but the same can be said of Chartists obtaining suffrage.[679] Once again, the dissonance between the two opposing cultures of elites and Chartists is realised. In some rare instances, sensitivity around the attachment to memory caused friction within Chartist commemoration. In W. E. Adams's recollections of a meeting where the Chairman, Cheltenham Spa Chartist J P Glenister, halted proceedings when the name 'Tom Paine' would not suffice and with great wrath demanded 'Mister Thomas Paine, if you please':

> 'Up jumped the chairman. "I will not sit in the chair", he cried in great wrath, "and hear that great man reviled". There is no such person as Tom Paine. Mister Thomas Paine, if you please'.[680]

Other examples of this behaviour appears in a report of a lecture held at the Marylebone Mechanics Institute in November 1840. Here Mr Maitland, an old Paineite, expressed his approval over the way in which Paine's career was represented, but, possibly sensitive to scurrilous Paine mythologies, added:

> 'any man who should venture to speak in terms of approbation of that great and good man, would have been thrown out of the window of almost any public meeting in England'.[681]

[676] The *Poor Man's Guardian* for instance contained republications of Emmet's famous speech from the dock. See *Poor Man's Guardian*, 4 February 1832, 267-68; a republication that followed on from a dinner celebrating Paine's birthday.
[677] Helen Carr, 'Can our emotions have a history?', in Suzannah Lipscomb and Helen Carr, *What Is History, Now?* (Orion, 2021), 140.
[678] *Northern Star*, 22 June 1844, 4.
[679] Rachel Hewitt, *A Revolution of Feeling: The Decade That Forged the Modern Mind* (London: Granta Books, 2017), 3-4.
[680] William Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom (London: Hutchinson & co., 1903)*, 169.; Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 109.
[681] *Northern Star*, 14 November 1840, 5.

Such sentiments suggest an etiquette towards the collective memory of Paine the radical hero. Writing in his 1892 biography many years later, George Jacob Holyoake repeated this view, albeit in a more moderate tone. Decorum necessitated *Thomas* Paine and not *Tom* Paine. After all that time his recollections still held that such familiarity was 'rightly counted vulgar offensiveness – to speak of Thomas Paine as "Tom Paine" was not less so'.[682] This shows a protective attachment to Paine's memory. Yet, incredulity switched to humour or adoration. The various feelings develop the understanding that there was more than a common language uniting Chartists around a shared past. There were intonations to his memory. The way in which his memory was expressed had an impact on how it was retold and how an audience could respond. For the most part, there is little or no evidence to suggest that disputes were common at Chartist commemorations, unlike the earlier interactions in the nineteenth century, as seen with John Gale Jones at the start of this chapter. Scholars like Roberts and Poole concur there were 'moments of harmony, if not quite unity' binding together remembrance rather than a consensus, as the above examples show.[683] This behaviour was seen in the earlier example with Bussey avoiding the big theological question at the 1838 dinner. Despite the fundamentalist nature of emotions and a clear attempt to defend Paine from elites, the feelings surrounding Paine's memory helped to maintain unity at commemorative dinners.

The adherence to Paine's memory and the kinship it provided continued late into the 1840s. 'Natal Day' celebrations of Paine proved popular, with festivals producing multiple columns of coverage. Before turning to these, it is worth noting the resurgence of this ritual in what would prove to be another difficult failure for Chartism. The return of Paine festivals speaks to the power of cultural projects and the resilience of commemoration, especially when Chartism had been going on for a decade. The prospect of another Chartist petition in 1848 would ultimately be a false dawn, but the prospect galvanised Chartists following the 'doldrum years' of the mid-1840s.[684] This hope of the Petition's triumph is seen in the speeches of those celebrating Paine's birthday at a public supper in Ashton-under-Lyne in 1848. Three months before the Petition's presentation to Parliament, Mr William Bedford delivered the following toast:

> 'The Barons of Runnymede who forced the tyrant John to sign Magna Charta; and may the Barons of the present age emulate their deeds'[685]

This use of the past rings with optimism. At the same time, it locates a precedent that projects Chartism's hatred of an elite whilst constructing a modern-day 'Charta' is accepted. The failure

[682] George Jacob Holyoake, *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1892), 241-42.
[683] Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration*, 21; Poole, 'Protest Heritage', 195.
[684] Chase, *Chartism*, 300-3.
[685] *Northern Star*, 5 February 1848, 7.

of 1848 could be seen as an anti-climax; emotionally, the tension in the capital was palpable. Unlike the 1839 and 1842 National Petitions, this third attempt made the humble request to simply 'make its case at the bar of the House [of Commons]'.[686] Momentum grew, and a Convention of delegates was arranged along with a procession for the presentation. This optimism was not shared with authorities in the capital. In an atmosphere in which the 1848 Revolutions had spread liberal constitutionalism across the continent, the British authorities, under Wellington's watch, filled the Metropolis with armed special volunteer constables. Likewise, buildings were prepared with defences, including the British Museum.[687] Not only was the Petition rejected by Parliament, but laughed out of the House. Whilst O'Connor's successful election as M.P. for Nottingham in the 1847 General Election may have added to the optimism before this presentation, it ultimately ended in a quickly orchestrated climbdown. O'Connor, mentally and physically exhausted by the burdens of Chartist leadership, agreed with the Metropolitan Police Commissioner for the crowd to be withheld from the presentation. Instead, he instructed the 150,000 gathered on Kennington Common to disperse peacefully.[688] John Belchem gives a sympathetic account of 1848, stating that it was the 'last great mass platform agitation'.[689] However, it was not the final act of Chartism, which persisted into the 1850s. Celebrations of Paine's life and works continued to appear in the *Northern Star* in these later years.[690] Chartists persisted in their remembrance and politics. In the case of a three-week delay in the closure of 'Lunt's Coffee House' in Clerkenwell-green, a popular 'debating room for reformers for nearly half a century', it reopened as 'Deadman's' with an address on the 'Life and Writings of Thomas Paine', a very apt start for the newly named Coffee House.[691] Even with the collapse of optimism for the third National Petition, the commemorations of Paine provided a space for hope, reassurance in Chartism's convictions, gratitude for the radical career that had proceeded Chartism, and disdain for the government. Whatever the political fortunes, Chartism still had its cultural rituals to fall back on.

Exploring the different sentiments in which Paine's memory was expressed helps elucidate the multiplicity around his memory. An analysis of Paine's anniversary celebration in 1849 provides useful evidence of how this ritual was practiced in different locations, was assigned various representations, and conveyed different feelings. Some reports covered the

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[686] Chase, 'What did Chartism Petition for?', 545.
[687] David Goodway gives an in-depth study into this presentation, and blames the failure on Chartists under appreciating the military occupation of the capital. See Goodway, *London Chartism,* 129-42; Chase, *Chartism*, 301.
[688] Chase, *Chartism*, 302-3.
[689] John Belchem, '1848: Feargus O'Connor and the Collapse of the Mass Platform', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartist Experience* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), 269-310.
[690] *Northern Star*, 3 February 1849, 7; 9 February 1850, 8; 15 February 1851, 5.
[691] *Northern Star*, 28 April 1849, 1.

Metropolis, Ipswich, Nottingham, Oldbury, and Merthyr-Tydfil.[692] The Metropolis transcript provides the most detail of the many speeches given that evening. It lists the representations, along with the delivery of such sentiments, and with it, the different emotional attachments. Chairing this meeting and opening its proceedings was Hetherington. The longtime admirer and veteran of the 'unstamped press wars' praised Paine for his writings – *First Principles of Government* and *Agrarian Justice*. He jovially challenges elites, casting them as the 'wax-work nobility' – a sentiment Hetherington had expressed the previous year at another soiree to Paine's memory. Sadly, however, this was to be Hetherington's last commemoration of Paine's birthday anniversary. Tragically for Chartism, Hetherington was one of the 'many victims' of a cholera epidemic that blighted the Metropolis later that year.[693] Returning to the soiree, we do not need to immediately stray from this meeting to find an alternative representation of Paine. The next speaker was Miss Dyer. She used the occasion of Paine's anniversary to address the lack of representation for women. The previous year's 'Great Metropolitan Meeting in Honour of Thomas Paine' struck a similar theme. It included a toast 'forwarded' from Madame D'Arusmoat (formerly Frances Wright) and a speech by Mrs Martin. It was noted that the former shared Paine's quality of dual citizenship (though Wright settled in America in 1825 and completed the hattrick like Paine). Her sentiment was internationally focused, 'The Universal People of the Civilised World'. Conversely, Martin praised the writings of Paine, including *Age of Reason*, but followed this with a call for the education of women and a better sense of 'Fraternity' beyond 'the plaything of men' in society and complicit in the state's use of war.[694] Scholars have perceived Paine as more patriarchal in his writings, especially *Common Sense*, which reduced women to a metaphorical device for America and the family unit.[695] Nonetheless, female Chartist supporters like Dyer and Martin appear enthused by Paine's work to speak upon Fraternity. However, Dyer also felt comfortable speaking about masculine heroes. She continued her speech by reminding the audience to remember earlier Paineite apostles like Richard Carlile for his fortitude in carrying on Paine's memory.

Notions of feminism soon changed with the next speaker Robert Buchman, who turned the conversation to Marxism. There are no musings on Paine reported in this speech. Rather, Buchman's dialogue is rich with the talk of 'Proletarians' uniting together and acquiring a newspaper since Chartism and Socialism had torn themselves apart 'like the Kilkenny cats'. This speech allows the anniversary dinner to formally contemplate this modern philosophy

[692] *Northern Star*, 3 February 1849, 7.
[693] *Northern Star*, 25 August 1849, 8.
[694] *Northern Star*, 12 February 1848, 3. Botting, 'Thomas Paine', 635 in Clark, *Selected*, 630-54.
[695] Eileen Botting makes the point of how 'woman first enters the argument of *Common Sense* as a symbolic 'prostitute,' in Paine's pointed analogy between men who associate with whores and men who are "in favour of a rotten constitution of government"'. See Eileen Botting 'Thomas Paine', in Clark, *Selected*, 630-54, quote taken from 635.

whilst commemorating the past. Already distinctions had been made between Chartism, Owenism, and Socialism.[696] In the year following this anniversary celebration, Harney's 1850 newspaper the *Red Republican* was to have the accolade of providing the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* in late 1850.[697] It is interesting to see Marx's writings appear since the report is titled a celebration of Paine's 'Natal Day', an event that usually celebrated his writings, as Hetherington had done in his speech. Later criticisms of Paine were to regard him as somewhere between sentimental respect for his career and indifference in the wake of the more scientific philosophies laid down by writers like Karl Marx.[698] Yet, neither these criticisms, nor an English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* had arrived. Rather, Buchman celebrates Paine while contemplating Chartism and the oncoming Communist philosophy. However, other speeches were detached from speculating on the present and future and instead focused on the past and present. Buchman's impressions of an emerging ideology contrast Mr Holyoake's impatient desire for the people to push for a better praxis of Paine's teachings within the present. This wish for a speedier implementation goes against what other Chartists like O'Brien had considered as admirable but impossible. The urgency of Holyoake to build from the past and the modern-day vision of Buchman is typical of finding relevancy in memory and create different visages of Paine within a single event.[699] This sentiment is then changed again by Walter Cooper's humorous speech recollecting from his childhood the burning of Paine in effigy, only now to be a proponent of the man. This presents yet another form of using the past, extinguishing the tradition of burning the 'folk-devil' of Paine and instead connecting with his memory.[700] Time has changed the emotional attachment. Now, Cooper champions Paine in the present with the rousing epitaph that borrows from Paine's *American Crisis* – 'These are the times to try men's souls'.[701] The transcript is a good example of how multiple speakers produced different representations of Paine in their speeches. Analysed individually, they pulled out a quality to focus on, whether this directly applied to him, such as Hetherington focusing on his written works, or Buchman choosing to attach modern

[696] Hetherington and Hobson supported these earlier philosophies that predated Chartism, 26 September 1840, 1; see Scriven chapter 1 'A Radical Underworld'?' in Scriven, *Popular Virtue*, 13-43.
[697] Joan Allen, '"The Teacher of Strange Doctrines": George Julian Harney and the Democratic Review, 1849-1850', *Labour History Review*, 78.1 (2013), 67–86; *The Red Republican & the Friend of the People. (Edited by G. Julian Harney) Introduction by John Saville*, 1966.
[698] Marcus Morris has begun an investigation into Thomas Paine during the socialist movement in late nineteenth-century Britain. See Marcus Morris, 'The Neglect of Thomas Paine' in Sam Edwards and Marcus Morris, *The Legacy of Thomas Paine in the Transatlantic World* (Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 133-150; For a discussion on the influence of radical and legal tradition on Karl Marx see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: The Communist Manifesto* (London: Penguin Group, 2002), 171-2.
[699] Mary Fulbrook, 'History Writing and Collective Memory' in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (eds.), *Writing the History of Memory* (A&C Black, 2014), 74.
[700] Davis, 'Vilification', 187-9.
[701] Clark, *Selected*, 53.

philosophies to Chartism's current state. They pull apart Paine's layers of memory. Taken together, this newspaper report gives an impression of what several Chartists made of Paine and all they perceived him to represent.

Exploring the connection between emotions and memory helps to elucidate this heterogeneous experience. The speakers were called upon to support their understanding of truth and politics, whether this fitted with the previous speaker or shifted the tone entirely. Hetherington and Dyer 'rejoice' at the gathering's 'combined instruction and amusement'. Holyoake, meanwhile, felt frustration at the lack of progress in implementing Paine's vision. In contrast, Buchman injects sorrow at the demise of Chartist unity, only for the tone of the meeting to shift back to humour and hope with the stirring tribute Cooper pays to Paine's fortitude. Not only are the fragments of memory revealed in what was said, but in the manner it was expressed. Interpreting these varied performances offers 'vignettes' of how Paine was re-imagined'. Haywood has written on emotions emanating from the 'spectacular violence' of the febrile political atmosphere of the late eighteenth century.[702] Yet, as Cooper explained, far from the furious mob burning Paine, his memory instead draws out different feelings from those gathered. Most Chartists had an imagined relationship with Paine, associating with him through cultural texts and responding to the sentiments of others. This commemoration dinner provides an insight into the various emotions one evening of remembrance could inspire and the multiple imagined evocations of Paine.

Locating Paine

On 8th October 1831, the *Poor Man's Guardian* printed a review of Paine's *Common Sense*. It describes its timely arrival and 'astonishing effects'. On its historical significance, the review deems the 'principles' of *Common Sense* as universal, but also timeless, 'applicable to all times, and to all mankind'.[703] Fourteen years later, another review appeared in the *Northern Star*. It described *Common Sense* as 'a little tract… now somewhat out of date', whereas the *Rights of Man* was something of a slow burning truth, 'yet performing its mission; and the mighty results which it has helped to sow the seeds of, have yet in their fulness to be produced'.[704] This did not mean that *Common Sense* was to be forgotten in the fourteen years between the publication of these reviews. The 'little tract' continued to appear on reading lists in the *Northern Star*. Yet, it shows that, in this instance, Paine's breakthrough work had lost

[702] I. Haywood, *Bloody Romanticism: Spectacular Violence and the Politics of Representation, 1776-1832* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006), 4-5.
[703] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 8 October 1831, 110.
[704] *Northern Star*, 23 August 1845, 3.

contact with the present and became an historical text whilst its companion work continued to energise Chartist politics. Previous sections have considered the different evocations of Paine's memory by looking at the various representations and comparing these projections of Paine. This final section will examine specific instances of how Chartists placed Paine's memory, how it at one time roamed from being cast as something firmly rooted in the past, to drawing upon it as part of Chartism's struggle in the present, and at other times, set as a future ambition to be achieved. Locating the place of his memory inevitably asks was Paine obsolete? The volume of work covered in this thesis thus far indicates, no. However, it does need to acknowledge how different interactions with Paine generated different responses. Chartists included and excluded Paine from their politics. This is not a typical study on the place of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*, to borrow Pirre Nora's famous term.[705] Rather, it will alternate between focusing on the behaviour of how the past was recalled into the present, narrativized, politicised, but also contained to its own time, and remained purely ornamental. To return once more to Conway's quote that opened this case study (Paine bouncing between two rackets of infidel and monster), we see Paine's memory bounce between relevant and obsolete. It is not the intention to suggest such binary use of Paine's memory; as we shall see, it was far more nuanced when Paine was rallied or eulogised. Yet, the freedom of memory did empower Chartists to incorporate him when convenient, and in other instances relegate him to the past, buried but not forgotten.

Like the emotional range, the act of deciding whether Paine remains in the past, present or future was fluid. Chartist sentiment towards the French Revolution highlights this shifting between incorporating the past and leaving it untouched. One instance where this period of revolutionary activity was praised was at a Sunderland 'patriotic soiree' held on 2nd February 1839. At an assembly hall the attendant 'radical reformers' had gathered to celebrate the successful nomination of 'Mr [Robert] Knox'. Knox was a twenty-four-year-old slater and member of a Mechanic's Institute in Sunderland. As the 'delegate for Durham to the National Convention', he and forty-eight other Chartists (a number keeping in line with the Seditious Meetings Act), were to gather two days after the publication of this report on 4th February.[706] During the celebrations of Knox, the nominated Chairman, Thomas Thompson, spoke to the memory of an 'illustrious dead'.[707] Thompson's speech casts these personalities in different ways:

> The name of Paine was associated with all that was great in the French Revolution, and it would go down with honour to other and better times. Major

[705] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 1989, 7–24.
[706] *The Northern Liberator,* 2 February 1839, 4; Thompson, *The Chartists*, 207.
[707] *Ibid*.

> Cartwright was willing to forego promotion, to forego everything for the regeneration of his country. Cobbett was one of themselves, whose application and genius surmounted every difficulty [708]

In this occurrence, Thompson's tributes deploy radical memory in different ways. Paine is the totem of radicalism, Cartwright the champion focused on reform, and lastly, Cobbett, a proto-Chartist figure taken to be 'one of themselves'. Thompson's treatment of Paine and the 'better times' he represented evokes a 'golden age' of radicalism. Whereas Cobbett is brought into the present. At this moment in time when the political culture of radicalism was being mobilised behind the arrangements of the first National Petition – the General Convention, then the presentation to Parliament, and finally the passage through Parliament of the People's Charter – the past was being searched, but in different ways. The 'realism' Thompson's representation of Paine offers the audience is of an 'Edenic landscape' rich in radical thought, to borrow David Lowenthal's expression; a representation that is itself distinguished from the kinds of 'Luddite anguish' or attempts to escape into a past to flee the horrors of industrialisation in the present.[709] A greater assertion of maintaining this past comes later in Thompson's speech on remembering fellow patriots:

> 'should such names be forgotten? Patriotism, gratitude, honour, forbade it. Although they could not emulate they would endeavour to imitate their example, and never desist till man was raised to freedom'[710]

Paine's glory at the time of the French Revolution is sentimentally identified as something for the audience to copy. The Fraternal Democrats led by Harney and also attended by Thomas Cooper ensured this period of French republicanism was celebrated. Commemorations were held on the 22 September 1845 to remember the 1792 French Republic.[711] A few years later, another of these dinners was held in 1848. Unfortunately, acquiring accommodation proved difficult, and the festivities took place '*sanclum sanctorum* of 'L' Ami du Peuple,' where the heroes and martyrs of the last sixty years were commemorated.[712] Elsewhere, however, other reconstructions of this period were not so idyllic.

Whilst the late eighteenth century was the time of *Rights of Man*, and radical activity, it was equally a period for powerful loyalist sentiment. This formed part of the memory transferred from the 1790s to Chartism. It was the time of 'Church and King' mobs. In localities, tension and polarisation between loyalists and reformers, or those suspected of being

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[708] *Ibid*.
[709] Elizabeth Tonkin, 'History and the Myth of Realism', in Raphael Samuel and Paul Richard Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (Oxford: Routledge, 1990), 25-35; David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 66-68 .
[710] *Ibid*.
[711] *Northern Star*, 27 September 1845, 2.
[712] *Northern Star*, 30 September 1848, 7.

sympathetic to reform, flourished only to spill over into confrontation.[713] Joseph Priestley is frequently recognised as a prominent victim of these attacks. Priestley, a theologian, chemist and Dissenter who favoured the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts (religious restrictions placed onto civil occupations in government) saw the destruction of his property at the hands of this extra-parliamentary group. Commemoration had a role to play in this violent episode. Taking place at a dinner in Birmingham on the evening of 14th July 1791 to mark the storming of the Bastille in France two years prior (Priestley took the salient advice not to attend the meal), the mob descended upon the town and brutally demolished the Doctor's home and New Meeting Chapel, continuing their revelry whilst the magistrates turned a blind eye.[714] As discussed elsewhere, this was a time for burning Paine in effigy.

The brutality of this culture was remembered years later. In his 'Remarkable' reminiscences of Nottingham, John Frost Sutton recalled the local reaction to Paine's writings in the year 1793 and the destruction of a 'rag a muffin' Paine effigy:

> 'On Tuesday last (Feb. 12), the infamous THOMAS PAINE'… was apprehended and lodged in the Peverel Goal at *Lenton*, near this town [Nottingham]; he was brought to Trial the same day, and after a fair and impartial examination… he was found guilty of Treason against that KING [George III…] He was sentenced to be Hanged on the arm of a large tree, near the above Village, which was accordingly done, amidst a great concourse of people; he was left hanging on the tree a considerable time, after which the company retired to the Coffee-House for refreshment; soon after, they were informed that a party of Paineites had laid a plan to convey the remains of their Champion away from the Tree, which the LOYALISTS being aware of, fell on, routed, and put to flight[…] In the evening his body was cut down and burnt to ashes in a bon-fire; after which, the major part of them retired to the Coffee-House, where the company gave repeated toasts to the Health and Long Life of GEORGE the Third.[715]

This remarkable episode reveals how in his own lifetime there was a performance to responding to Paine's reputation as a radical. So potent were these rituals in their emotional passion they were later narrativized as part of the radical heritage Chartism acquired. For instance, the *English Chartist Circular* provided a recreation of this loyalism for the reader to (re)experience. The newspaper sets the scene in which the reader encounters a dishevelled old man in a remote workshop singing 'Rule Britannia'. This character provides a performative device personifying the wretched ignorance of those who would accuse anyone who defended

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[713] Michael J. Turner, *The Age of Unease: Government and Reform in Britain, 1782-1832* (Cheltenham: Sutton, 2000), 58.
[714] Rachel Hewitt, *A Revolution of Feeling: The Decade That Forged the Modern Mind* (London: Granta Books, 2017), 89-91.
[715] John Frost Sutton, *The Date Book of Remarkable and Memorable Events Connected with Nottingham and Its Neighbourhood. 1750-1850* (Simpkin & Marshall, 1852), 197-8.

the Revolution as 'being Atheist or Tom Paine-ite'.[716] It was not just the political texts that endured from his lifetime, but the cultural imagery of those who acted in brutal fashion towards Paine and his ideas.

More broadly, the time of 'Church and King' mobs were remembered for their violence and the gloom cast over radical ideas. However, this sentiment was not shared by everyone. A report of a '*soiree*' in May 1845 provides evidence of this dissent. Held to appreciate the work of Birmingham born freethinker George Jacob Holyoake who was heading to Glasgow from the capital to recuperate his health, the toasts signalled a split in radical memory over the reactionary state of Britain at the close of the eighteenth century. Harney, presiding as the Chairman, asked attendees not to forget the defenders of 'free thought' – namely, Paine. Harney typically characterised Paine as 'The first Englishman to proclaim "Common Sense", the "Rights of Man" and 'heralded the "Age of Reason"''.[717] On this, Harney brings to bare his creative verbosity to depict this time in gothic-like detail, one of 'dungeons, chains, and gibbets …the safeguards of despotism'. The only remedy for enlightening the masses, so prescribed by Harney, was the continuation of such communal meetings. Further speeches support this view. Hetherington, for instance, projects the capital as stunted in its progress. It is only until Watson speaks that this image of the past is challenged. For he dissents from this 'gloomy view'. His reminiscences recall the metropolis as a vibrant and free space, and explains that even when the radical publisher Daniel Isaac Eaton was pilloried for the sale of Paine's *Age of Reason*:

> 'he (Mr. Watson) daily sold in the very centre of godliness, under the walls of St. Paul's cathedral, and no man made him afraid'[718]

Watson checks the prevailing sentiments, and in voicing his recollections, gives a counter to the oppositional commemoration taking place. In his study of memory, Geoff Cubitt uses the example of the French Revolution to show how nationhood is understood, 'not so much the reality of past experiences as the ways in which the past has been imagined, evoked and represented by previous generations'.[719] From the golden age of the French Revolution's enlightenment as imagined at the Sunderland dinner, to a dark age representation of 'Church and King', this epoch that Paine occupied produced conflicting portrayals by his later supporters. It was one of reason, a state often credited to Paine, and therefore to be emulated, as was the American Revolution's success. In tandem with this, remembrance saw it as a disaster of ignorance and conflict, something Chartism should distance itself from or correct.

[716] *English Chartist Circular*, issue51, 204.
[717] *Northern Star*, 17 May 1845, 8.
[718] *Ibid*.
[719] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 202.

At the start of this case study, the 1823 anniversary dinner report printed in *The Morning Advertiser* questioned whether Paine's visions of an 'Age of Reason' had passed. The wider comparative analysis conducted in this chapter has explored how Paine's memory did 'produce the Age of Reason', and at the same time, was merely ornamental. It was both. For it was made to be both by various companies engaging with his memory. This same engagement continued into Chartist politics, where Paine's reasonings were read, acknowledged, but also ignored or adapted. It remains the case that Paine is difficult to categorise. Yet, Chartists categorised him in different ways. He was theologically difficult, absolved of the sins from *Age of Reason* and embraced for such stalwart reason. Exploring this fluidity unlocks its potential of his memory to be selectively relevant, as well as part of a bygone period. The layers of Paine's memory contain a multitude of interactions. For a political thinker who was physically absent from any of the meetings or petitions of Chartism he was kept remarkedly present. This relationship was imagined. And yet, there was a force to his memory. Chartists were a community belonging to a political creed set against elites, and Paine gave expression to that dissent. Earlier radicals, like Thomas Clio Rickman, enjoyed a personal 'communicative memory' with his departed friend until Rickman himself passed in 1834. Can it then be said that memory simply flowed from one moment to the next? Here it has been shown that there was a more active involvement by those conducting the remembrance. Chartism itself inherited the cultural memory of Paine, its rites and texts. There was no definitive Paine other than a consensus that he deserved to be venerated. He was made associable through Chartism's class identity – a noble born 'Son of the lower orders'. When splits arose in Chartism these produced representations of their own around what Paine made of peace and violence; attributes that led Paine to be protected as a thinker, but at other times, as a rallying cry to action. His credentials as an internationalist reformer resonated with Chartism's own selfhood, but they also show the complex interplay of memory. It conjured a collective memory of fraternity amongst Paine, Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, one that gave rise to a fondness for 1776, and a desire to have a repeat of this triumph of republicanism in the present. This remembrance again shaped identity and inspired the mould for the kinds of Chartist to aspire to, recruiting any Washingtons and Paines in the Chartist ranks. Incidentally, this memory was inverted and shaped onto figures like O'Connor when needed. Other elements are missing. Interactions with America again show splits in Chartist views, and domestic problems in America, namely slavery, were responded to differently. The relationship between Paine and Washington remained cordial in the pantheon of heroes, with few, if any, mentions of their later division. These layers become even more pronounced when considering the different emotions on show at anniversary dinners. It was not just the utterances that were responsive and layered. The past was intoned with feelings from joy to solemnity, hope, despair and impatience. Separate iterations were at times fundamental and

gave rise to outbursts in how the past had to be remembered. For the most part, however, there seemed to be a harmonious acceptance amongst Chartists in how others commemorated Paine. Having extracted these various representations of Paine, it is worthwhile remembering the inherent fluidity of memory when making it useful. It was not just multivocal and set on an emotional range, but multidirectional. Paine's time was remembered as an enlightened period with golden opportunity in radical thinking, but also a time darkened by ignorance. Chartism came to be more reliant on the memory of Paine in the later years of the 1840s and early 1850s as the movement accepted yet another defeat of its National Petition. He had always remained a constant presence, though how this evocation was interpreted was entirely down to the Chartist practitioners of his memory.

Conclusion

> Memory, like a beauty that is always present to hear herself flattered, is flattered by everyone. But the absent and silent goddess, forgetfulness, has no votaries, and is never thought of: yet we owe her much. She is the goddess of ease, tho not of pleasure'[720]
>
> Thomas Paine, *Forgetfulness* (1794).

> 'We must not only unhang the dog, but give him sepulchre among the sceptred sovereigns who rule us from their urns'[721]
>
> Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, M.P. on Thomas Paine (1909) *Bristol North, Downham Market Gazette*, 3, July, 1909, 5.

The quotation from Augustine Birrell was delivered on the centenary of Paine's death in 1909. It is proof that the beauty (but also the blemishes) of Paine's memory endured after Chartism. The year 1852 lands between these two dates, and likewise, Chartism did not cease following the failure of the third petition in 1848. However, its trajectory did not return from a waning direction, and in 1852 the *Northern Star* concluded the Chartist label. Not, however, before publishing a report of a 'Birthday Festival to Thomas Paine'. In this report, 'social and political rights' (not Chartism) were celebrated. The Chairman, James Watson, claimed that had Paine been in the room he would have recognised their achievements as those in his 'social, religious, and political' writings. There is continuity with earlier Chartist representations. Paine is upheld up as a figure of reason – 'the first man that took superstition by the beard and give it a sound shaking'. In contrast, and perhaps most tellingly of Chartism's situation, Paine's perseverance is venerated in a speech by Harney.[722] Since 1848, Paine festivals continued to be popular in the Metropolis, and, like before, Chartism enjoyed his cultural memory. However, the great paper pantheon the *Northern Star* ended, and in 1855 O'Connor was to join the ranks of the illustrious dead. Chartism continued, but not in the form it once had. If this is the bookend of the Chartist memory of Paine, then the rest of this thesis has examined the vibrancy of Chartism's culture of commemoration. By grouping their remembrance of Paine as 'islands of time', it has been possible to analyse the relationship with the past in greater detail by looking

[720] This essay by Paine on 'Forgetfulness' is taken from the reprint in Rickman, *The Life of Thomas Paine, Etc.*, 227-238.
[721] This quote is taken by the Liberal M.P. Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell on the centenary of Paine's death, *Bristol North, Downham Market Gazette*, 3, July, 1909, 5
[722] *Northern Star*, 7 February 1852, 6; Harney was to buy the *Northern Star* for £40 in February of that year, Cole, *Portraits*, 295.

at what Chartists made of this past. This thesis has applied a comparative approach to explore the conflict between Chartism's political opponents and different newspapers, as well as taking an inward look at its own different portrayals of Paine. Examining the dialogical component of memory during commemorations of Paine, this thesis has exposed the productivity of Chartism's engagement with memory and its multilayered composition.

It is customary of Paine biographers to put forward their analysis of his legacy at the conclusion of their work. Taking stock of these assessments, Chartism has made little to no impact. To borrow from Paine's essay on 'Forgetfulness' (quoted above), Chartism has been eased out of his legacy. At its worst, it is erased from the conversation. Yet, an exploration of Chartist newspapers has shown how this removal is undeserved. As this thesis has examined, to ignore Chartism is to discount the shards of cultural memory so consistently exhibited in its press. This conduit successfully kept Paine accessible to an audience in Britain for over a decade from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, remediating this behaviour has provided a catalogue of remembrance – a memory of Chartist memory. However, biographers have had the selective tendency to enunciate Paine's historical significance by highlighting other great personalities who have quoted Paine. Usually, this comes in the form of Presidents of the United States of America – Abraham Lincoln, (infamously Theodore Roosevelt), Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ronald Reagan, and Barack Obama, to name a few.[723] Paine is caught in the orbit of these giants. The same is true for the growing secularisation in the Atlantic world during the mid-nineteenth century. For some biographers, Paine's philosophy set out in the *Age of Reason* was vindicated with the likes of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*.[724] Such exercises are gratifying to see Paine's historical impact. At the same time, this individualistic approach is an exercise in building something akin to a Paineite pantheon.

Part of Chartism's absence is likely due to this entrenchment of Paine's memory in American history. Jerome D. Wilson and William F. Ricketson's biography chronicles the changes in attitudes towards Paine from the early muddying of his character by Francis Oldys, secularisation in the mid-nineteenth century, to the rehabilitation of him as a potential founding father in the late 1980s.[725] Likewise, Fruchtman Jr.'s 'Assessment' of Paine touches upon these moments but with a focus on his inspirational agency. He briefly mentions 'dinners and… toasts', memorials in Thetford and New Rochelle, and working class supporters.[726] However, these are mostly in passing. Yet, as this thesis has shown, groups like the Chartists operating

[723] Shapiro does a better job exploring the breadth of persons influenced by Paine, referring to cultural personalities like writer Walt Whitman. Again, however, this remains on an individual basis. Ian Shapiro, 'Thomas Paine, America's First Public Intellectual', Shapiro, *Selected*, xx-xxiii.
[724] Christopher Hitchens, *Thomas Paine's Rights of Man* (Open Road + Grove/Atlantic, 2008), 142.
[725] Jerome D. Wilson and William F. Ricketson, *Thomas Paine* (Twayne Publishers, 1989), 106-27.
[726] Jack Fruchtman Jr and Jack Fruchtman Jr, *Thomas Paine: Apostle of Freedom* (Basic Books, 1994), 442.

in Britain also evoked his memory and did so on a much greater level. The collective masses used his memory as part of their attempts to achieve representational government in Britain. In comparison to Presidential speeches, it is unlikely that Miss Dyer or Peter Bussey will be remembered for quoting Paine in comparison to Presidential speeches. However, the *Northern Star*'s wide inclusion of Paine supporters is a worthwhile and democratic feature of Chartist memory. Chartists were more than mere petitioners. They were the practitioners of Paine's memory. And, as has also been stated in this work, it is the collective memory that endures over the individual one.

Clark's recent book on Paine pays some attention to Chartism in its closing summary. However, this is done to highlight the incompatibility between their political aims and the visions set out by Paine. Clark refers to O'Brien's distaste for a Paineite praxis. Yet, he does not mention Hetherington, O'Brien's boss during the unstamped press, one who republished Paine's work, and diligently commemorated his anniversary from this earlier period to his death in 1849. Clark even mentions a 'recent historian' of Chartism (Chase), and his article points to Thomas Spence as the more appropriate figure for Chartists.[727] Yet, as the case study to this thesis has demonstrated, the selectivity of memory, its unbound dialogical functions, and an open discourse on the past allowed a relationship that was essentially free from coherence. Utterances, speeches, and toasts formed part of commemorative ceremonies and customised Paine's memory, a point that renders the argument of Paine's relevance within Chartism itself irrelevant. Clark's book is a worthy and necessary recontextualization of Paine. However, Chartist representations were not stable. Debates on Paine, the *Rights of Man*, and *Age of Reason* were questioned by his supporters even before Chartism. Still, there emerged consistent republications of his work, writings stitched into the paper pantheon through serialisation, and a multitude of speeches and toasts around his memory. It was not only Paine the political writer who was commemorated, but Paine the international revolutionary, staymaker, and martyr. Historians, like Clark, might be correct in denying the presence of Paine within Chartist ideology. However, this should not discount the feeling that Paine had a place among Chartists, for men like Watson confidently believed that the great radical would have recognised his politics within Chartism.

Thesis Summary

This thesis has explored cultural memory within Chartism. It began this process by establishing the context of Chartism's culture of commemoration in this period. First, with a look at Victoria's coronation, and second with an exploration of the Chartist, Whig, and Tory

[727] Clark, *Thomas Paine*, 408; Chase, '"The Real Rights of Man".

political cultures. It began by looking at the interactions between these groups in the present before turning to their relationships with the past. This looked at how these partisan pantheons reacted to commemoration and then attempted to inscribe meaning onto public pantheons and personalities. It questioned whether sites of memory like the Nelson Monument and Madame Tussauds could be insulated from the impressions of these political groups, and concluded that such public memorials remained open to customisation. It achieved this through newspapers, which were deployed as powerful instruments for recording reactions to memory and bending this around political identity. True to multiplicity, however, these reactions were themselves reversable, adaptable, and open to reinterpretation when necessary.

Following these two sections on political identity and customising public memorials was a look at the practices of cultural memory in the political cultures of Chartists, Whigs, and Tories. Books, statues, and dinners, all instances of cultural memory, were all used by these groups. It revealed a means to accessing memory, such as through the republication of texts and the development of a canon advertised in newspapers. Statues showed how this relationship with the past also had its complications. Monuments projecting the values of one political faction could occupy a space inhabited by an opposing group. They were also required capital and land. Yet, even with these restrictions there was great demand for statuary. Dinners presented fewer problems and were popular amongst these factions. They were components of the electioneering apparatus for Whigs and Tories, as well as a means for celebrating their own separate pantheons. Chartists appropriated this ritual to celebrate their own calendar of anniversaries. In doing so, this ritual provided a sustainable, social, and cheap form of commemoration for a working-class movement like Chartism, even if these sumptuous repasts somewhat contradicted the wider hunger driving their politics. This analysis examined how anniversary dinners were a way of creating meaning, either to the space in which the event was held or, more importantly to customising his memory, through the dialogical interactions of toasts and speeches. Rather than focus solely on the existence of ‘invented traditions’, such as the calendar of radical anniversaries, it examined the ability to shape memory and create representations which were then placed into the Chartist press and added to the layers of radical memory.

Exploring these cultures of commemoration proved an effective ethnographical tool. It enabled discussion around relationships between the past and present, between points of connection, and conflict, a large theme of this project. Indeed, on this latter point, this project has been a study into many different counters within British society, ‘countermmemory’ (Zebreavel), ‘counter public spheres’ (Gilmartin), ‘counter Christianity’ (Yeo), a ‘counter-hegemony’ over representations of the past (Epstein), all encompassed in Chartism’s wider ‘oppositional commemoration’ culture (Poole). Indeed, the findings to this investigation have

shown a remarkable ability to analyse social and cultural behaviours in early Victorian Britain simply by tracing strands of memory, such as the 'illustrious dead' forming Chartism's pantheon. It demonstrates Clifford Geertz's point on unravelling a culture when acquainted with 'a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society', a list that reflects Assmann's own criteria for cultural memory.[728]

In the second part of this thesis, greater attention turned to the press. It has been a refreshing experience to engage with these remediated forms of memory within newspapers. First, it is worth reiterating how frequently the past appears within this press. It remains a challenge to avoid remarks on the illustrious dead or earlier precedents that were called forth to protest the present. Whereas earlier scholarship has been concerned with the political ideology and language of Chartism, this work has shown how connected Chartists remained to a cultural remembrance of the past. Second, analysing this relationship with the past has had the gratifying result of locating cultural memory within multiple aspects of the Chartist press. On the different types of memory, Lowenthal writes how 'the written word is uniquely durable, portable, and replicable'.[729] This certainly was the case for the remediated forms of cultural memory celebrating radicals like Paine. These discussions have helped to expand the concept of the paper pantheon. It did so by first applying cultural memory to the unstamped press. Newspapers like the *Poor Man's Guardian* provided a cultural memory of a radical heritage that Chartism came to inherent and expanded upon. It then widened this discussion by looking at different Chartist newspapers and the depth of their engagement to the past. Each offered some form of link to Paine's memory, and facilitated engagement with this illustrious radical. In newspapers like Vincent's *Western Vindicator*, republications of Paine played an auxiliary role to articles written by those in the present (such as Vincent and Frost). In comparison, the *Northern Star* republished reading lists, printed poems on Paine, republished and reviewed his writings, debated statues, and, as this thesis has explored in the greatest detail, published anniversary dinners celebrating the memory of Paine and others. The findings of this chapter have shown that these paper pantheons provided different relationships with the past. Like the dialogue around Paine's memory, there was not one set example. Rather, there was a heteroglossia to these remediated celebrations of radical heritage.[730] This work clearly shows that Chartism's use of this past was more than a mere tacit recognition. There was an activity motivating its layered engagement.

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[728] Geertz, *Interpretations*, 18.

[729] Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, 359.

[730] Heteroglossia here being the 'polyphonic' multiplication of speech, and, as Andrea Smith has observed in relation to collection memory, the creation of a 'multivocality' around interpreting the past. See Andrea L. Smith, 'Heteroglossia, "Common Sense," and Social Memory', *American Ethnologist*, 31.2 (2004), 253.

This project has concluded with a look into this multidirectional nature of memory with a case study on Chartist representations of Paine. It has revealed the value of memory studies to radical history and vice versa. It highlighted the fluidity of remaking the past by comparing the multiple iterations of Paine delivered at meetings. Through the remediation of this remembrance, we see Paine at one time religious as well as secular, cosmopolitan and a son of the lower orders. Exploring this multiplicity has given space to considering the dialogical and customisable qualities of memory. Furthermore, the final two sections of this chapter integrated discussions around the qualities of memory into the analysis of Chartist commemoration. First, by acknowledging aspects fundamental to memory, such as the emotional expression that naturally attaches itself to remembering, and second, the manner in which the past is instrumentalised and made relevant, or allowed to remain dormant. Chartists had different recollections of Paine's time, and the violence of loyalist mobs. Likewise, more intangible aspects of Paine's memory, such as obtaining the 'Age of Reason' and 'Rights of Man' continued to be grappled by Chartists as they had been by radicals earlier in the period. This case study has helped to move beyond recognising the practice of radical traditions to discover the mosaic of representations that came from Chartism's multiple commemorations of Paine's memory recorded in their paper pantheon.

More broadly, this thesis has provided an interdisciplinary contribution by combining memory studies with Chartism. It has achieved this research by retrieving Chartism's cultural memories from online newspaper databases. Sampling this data through keyword searches of these repositories has allowed Paine dinners that took place up to two hundred years ago to be retrieved and analysed. Furthermore, this technology has made a study in multiplicity and a comparative methodology between Chartist representations manageable. The findings of this study have shown that now more than ever it is possible to consider the representations of Paine from one lot of Chartists in one location to another. Likely, these communities never encountered their fellow Chartists conducting the same practice elsewhere. The methods carried out in this project have helped to erode these barriers. The results of searching 'Chartist Intelligence' and cross-examining this content has reweaved this earlier patchwork produced by the *Northern Star*. In the same spirit, Chartist engagement with the past has been placed side by side in a single space. Names of those recognisable to Chartist studies, such as Harney and O'Connor, are joined by less familiar ones. With the digital databases at our disposal, the retrieval of the sentiments of Paine supporters from the rank and file is easier to restore than ever before. This thesis has made use of this technology to retrieve their machinations of Paine, and there is no reason for them to remain dormant.

Future directions

The project offers several avenues to pursue in terms of building upon what has been set out in this thesis. The application of memory theory to Chartism has proven fruitful. One of the most obvious starting points for further research would be to apply the methodologies explored here to other members of the radical pantheon. William Cobbett. Henry Hunt. Even the Chartist leadership present possible case studies, with works on O'Connor, Harney, Lovett all being good examples. Indeed, the copies of the *Northern Star* are themselves a remnant of cultural memory that remains the most essential resource to the Chartist historian. The focus on memory in this project has successfully shown how its peripheral role should not diminish its value. Instead, memory has proven to be a useful guide through much of Chartism and indeed early Victorian Britain. Chase's study on the petitions of Chartism explains how the wording contained the rhetoric of an earlier radical generation.[731] Yet, there is more to this utilisation. Memory appeared in how Chartists responded to the selection of delegates to the National Convention of 1839, the arrests of their leaders in the early 1840s, the National Charter Association, the Land Plan, electoral strategy, the Fraternal Democrats, and the National Petitions. All the while, signs of a cultural memory continued between these episodes in the Chartist press.

Another future direction on memory might not ask what happened during Chartism, but after. As this study has explored, the past was selectively pieced together incrementally at meetings and subsequently in the press. Yet, what happened to these rituals once the demands for the Charter subsided? Studies into the post-Chartist period claimed the political ideology was 'written into the genealogy of progressive politics' later in the century.[732] If historians now agree that the tendency to construct the past selectively is a more accurate explanation over a 'republican tradition' or the 'currents of radicalism', then surely the next steps in this discussion will be to apply a similar treatment to commemoration in the post-Chartist period. In doing so, we might recover what happened to Chartism's vibrant culture of commemoration. What were the next layers added to Paine's memory by Liberals, Socialists and Marxists? If this chronicling fades into silence, then what we are left with is a unique Chartist memory that should not be packaged with earlier interactions, but appreciated for how as custodians of this past they remade figures like Paine.

At the outset of this project, it was noted that Dorothy Thompson and Malcolm Chase had produced works that celebrated the dignity of Chartism's culture and its legacies. It is

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[731] Chase, 'What Did Chartism Petition For', 542.

[732] Chase, *Chartism*, 359; Mark Bevir, 'Republicanism, Socialism, and Democracy in Britain: The Origins of the Radical Left', *Journal of Social History*, 34.2 (2000), 351–68; Jon Lawrence, 'Popular Radicalism and the Socialist Revival in Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 31.2 (1992), 163–86.

hoped that this thesis has contributed to a similar vein. There is much agency the modern reader of today can draw from their Chartist forerunners, and how they can locate meaning in this past. The modern era offers no shortage of protest - environmental issues, Brexit, geopolitics. During the writing of this thesis, there have been upheavals to our heritage, as illustrated by the acts of iconoclasm to figures of slavery, most notably the felling of Edward Colston's statue in Bristol in response to the Black Lives Matter protest, perhaps the most important reaction to memory in Britain in our lifetime.[733] Chartism showed an activist approach to memory against elite narratives on the past. Moreover, commemoration helped to sustain its political momentum when its other grand gestures failed. The past may again offer resolve as we endure a polarised nation dealing with the tension of difficult histories and 'culture wars'. At the very least, we should not forget that as much as memory can be politicised to suit opposing causes, it is ultimately social and has a proven value in offering kinship.

Like the Chartists we continue to share in a cultural memory of Paine. There are now statues to Paine in places like his hometown of Thetford. Similarly, his works continue to be reprinted. However, anniversary celebrations have diminished. This might change in the coming years. In 2026, Paine's *Common Sense* will celebrate its 250th anniversary. What will be the reception to this memory? Will the masses rediscover Paine once more, or will he be forgotten, commemorated by only a select few? It would be entirely in keeping with Chartism's memory if multiple towns and cities once again commemorated the illustrious radical in different locations. One of the main sites of Chartist remembrance was in the various reading rooms of Tottenham Court Road. Today, this location resides within the constituency boundary of Labour M.P. Sir Keir Starmer, quite possibly the United Kingdom's next Prime Minister. If there are to be discussions around Paine, for any of these events, it will contribute to his layers of memory, layers which we can trace back to Chartism.

[733] Steve Poole produced one such piece of research in reaction to these events. Steve Poole, '"The Instinct for Hero Worship Works Blindly": English Radical Democrats and the Problem of Memorialization', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 54.5 (2020), 503–12; there is also the tension between supporters of a National Trust responding to decolonisation and groups like 'Restore Trust' who seek a more reactionary one.

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