Introduction

1. Brougham delivered the speech on 29 Jan. 1828 (quoted in Stewart 183). The term “schoolmaster abroad” was taken up by the working class; it appears frequently in the writings and titles of working-class periodicals.

2. This self-creation of political values by the working class is the central thesis of E. P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class*.

3. The best of these are Vicinus’s *The Industrial Muse*, and James’s *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830–1850*.


5. No one study looks with complete comprehension at working-class journalism between 1816 and 1858. At the beginning of each section of chapter 3, however, I provide information on a number of works that deal with different aspects of the working-class journalism of this period.

Chapter 1


2. England did not begin to establish a national system of education until 1870. For literacy and education in Scotland, see Stone 80, and Webb, “Literacy among the Working Classes” 100–14. A recent study of literacy in Scotland, however, suggests that “we should be rash to claim that Scotland’s experience [of literacy] was ‘dramatically different’ from that of her southern neighbour” (Houston 57).
3. See also Webb’s “Working Class Readers” 349.
4. For a study of these working-class educational options, see Laqueur, “Working-Class Demand” 192–205.
5. Rights of Man continued to be a best-seller throughout the first half of the nineteenth century; it appeared regularly on the lists of radical publishers.
6. In his “Literacy and Social Mobility,” Sanderson notes that, at least in parts of the industrial north of England, literacy declined between 1780 and 1820—but there, and elsewhere, the literacy rate gradually rose thereafter (75–81).
7. This claim, originally spoken to George Bernard Shaw, is quoted in Shaaban 41.
9. See Vincent’s Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom 116–20, for more on the many sources of working-class reading.
11. See also James 23–24.
12. Although individual numbers of this periodical were not dated, Wiener, in his Finding List, notes that the first issue of Half-Penny Magazine came out sometime in 1832 (20).
13. The two Halfpenny magazines mentioned above are exceptional for their kind in that they both lasted more than a few weeks. The London Halfpenny Magazine lasted for at least nineteen issues; the Edinburgh Half-Penny Magazine for a full fifty weeks.
14. It is worth pointing out that the first issue of Chambers’ predated the Penny Magazine and was not modeled upon it. Indeed, there are several differences between the two periodicals, an important one being that Chambers’ published fiction and Penny Magazine did not. It would be more accurate to say that many periodicals from this time and after modeled themselves on both Penny Magazine and Chambers’.
15. The London Democrat (13 Apr.–8 June 1839) was the short-lived organ of the militant Chartist London Democratic Association (LDA). Harney was intimately connected with this periodical, but the introduction was written and signed by J. C. C. and C. R.—certainly J. C. Coombe, and perhaps the “Chartist” Ryder who was a member of the LDA at this time (Hovell 126).
16. Except for a fragment from the first issue that now exists in the Place newspaper collection at the British Library, the first seven issues of Northern Star no longer exist (Harrison and Thompson 107–8).
17. See chapter 5.
18. MacFarlane also wrote for the Democratic Review of British and Foreign
Politics, History, and Literature, also edited by Harney. Schwarzkopf 90 n, 104 n, 192 n, 193 n, 197 and n, 198 and n.

19. See chapter 4, "Shelley, Byron, and Burns."

Chapter 2

1. Wiener notes in his sketch of Sherwin’s life (Baylen and Gossman 1: 445–46) that Sherwin’s Memoirs of the Late Thomas Paine was “the first sympathetic treatment of Paine to appear since his death.” This is not exactly true, as the Medusa’s praising memoir precedes Sherwin’s by two or three months. It is the first sympathetic memoir in book form, however.

2. See, for example, Northern Star 13 Jan. 1844: 1, for an announcement of one such dinner.

3. Williams, in his Cobbett, notes a lively assault by Cobbett upon Paine in 1796: “How Tom gets a living now, or what brothel he inhabits, I know not, nor does it much signify to any body here or anywhere else. He has done all the mischief he can in the world, and whether his carcass is at last to be suffered to rot on the earth, or to be dried in the air, is of very little consequence. Whenever or wherever he breathes his last, he will excite neither sorrow nor compassion; no friendly hand will close his eyes, not a groan will be uttered, not a tear will be shed. Like Judas he will be remembered by posterity; men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable, Paine” (20). This attack takes on a stronger contrast, of course, when one considers Cobbett’s curious relationship with Paine’s “carcass,” described below. For more attacks on Paine by the young Cobbett, see Williams 8–9.

4. The first of these attacks is addressed “To Mr. William Cobbett . . . Romancing Historian”—a particularly dirty insult, considering the views of both men toward romance, views I discuss in the following chapters.

5. See Williams 21 and Spater 2: 388 for examples of verses, including Byron’s, ridiculing this act; Byron’s poem, beginning “In digging up your bones, Tom Paine,” can be found in Byron 235. See Spater 2: 386 for an illustration of Cobbett leaving Liverpool with Paine’s coffin strapped to his back, and 2: 389 for an illustration of Cobbett as a “Hampshire Hog” dragging the skeleton of Paine behind him. Cobbett intended to collect funds and build a fitting memorial to Paine. He never collected enough, the memorial was never built, and the present whereabouts of Paine’s bones is a mystery.

6. For a thorough discussion of Paine’s style, see Olivia Smith 35–64.
7. Cobbett’s *Rural Rides* first appeared in book form in 1830, but originally it appeared in essay form in his *Political Register* between 1822 and 1826.

8. This section and the two that follow are intended to give short sketches of the journalists and periodicals of this time, and some sense of their literary backgrounds and literary values. I cannot hope to provide a comprehensive history of working-class journalism for this period. Fortunately, such studies do already exist; here, and at the start of the following two sections, I will provide information on some texts that allow a reader a fuller sense of the nonliterary history of working-class journalism and the nonliterary values of working-class journalists.

For the period 1816–29 there is, unfortunately, no comprehensive study that takes into account recent scholarship. One older study, however, is helpful: Wickwar’s *Freedom of the Press*. E. P. Thompson’s *Making of the English Working Class* is helpful too, especially 739–44, 780–887.

9. For more on Cobbett’s stylistic debt to Pope, Swift, and Dryden, see Birell 214–17; for his particular debt to Swift, see Bromwich 88–89. Incidentally, Cobbett quotes all three writers in his *Register*.


11. *Gorgon* was “an explicit attempt to effect a junction between Benthamism and working-class experience” (E. P. Thompson, *Making* 845). I should say that *Gorgon* was edited by Place and Gast, as well as by Wade. But, as Thompson notes, “John Wade set the tone and emphases of the periodical” (846). Indeed, I would guess that it is Wade himself who buries Latin and Greek here as truly dead languages.

12. There are exceptions, of course, none more exceptional, perhaps, than the flamboyant Rev. Taylor, whose free-thought lectures and essays in Carlile’s *Lion* show the marks of his preparation for and attendance at Cambridge University. He punctuated his articles (and his speeches) with quotes from Demosthenes, Cicero, Juvenal, Seneca, Horace, Virgil, and others, and often ended by quoting, untranslated, Cato’s rousing “Delenda est Carthago” (as, for example, in two articles in the *Lion* 13 Mar. 1829). Many of Taylor’s working-class listeners and readers must have been as confused by these quotes as they were by the “baroque clerical attire” that he wore when he lectured (Wiener, *Radicalism* 131). Nonetheless, he clearly appealed to many; see chapter 5.


biography of Wooler exists. It is worth noting that, while publishing the Dwarf for a wide audience, Wooler also catered to a more exclusive audience with the 8½d. Wooler's British Gazette (1819–23).

15. For a discussion of Wooler's use of satirical humor and the influence of Pope see Hendrix, "Popular Humor and 'The Black Dwarf.'"


17. "BLACKNEB is a term of ridicule and scorn, applied, in the bravery of their wit, by old supporters of passive obedience, to the bolder writers in the maintenance of the good old cause" (Black Dwarf 26 Jan. 1823: 89).

18. The poem, not yet the national anthem of the United States, was taken from Leigh Hunt's Examiner and described as a work unfamiliar to the Dwarf's (or the Examiner's) audience.

Several notes appended to later "Blackneb" selections are signed N, which suggests that Wooler might not have been the editor of that section, as Wooler didn't use that signature anywhere else in Black Dwarf. As publisher and general editor of the Dwarf, however, Wooler deserves much of the credit for bringing these writers to a working-class audience.

19. Davison, poor and with little formal education (Baylen and Gossman 1: 114), emerged from obscurity in 1819 to publish Medusa, or Penny Politician, the London Alfred, and the Deist's Magazine, or Theological Enquirer. The Medusa was by far the most popular of these. Cap of Liberty was "edited by an obscure Deist," John Griffin, according to Wickwar (65), or James Griffin, according to Hollis (96). Wickwar states that the periodical was published by Davison (65).

20. Hone's Reformists' Register 9 Aug. 1817: 78–82; Medusa 21 Aug. 1819: 215; Spirit of the Union 8 Jan. 1820: 83. Hone, more famous as the author of radical pamphlets, tried his hand at popular journalism with Hone's Reformists' Register, a periodical that ran from January to October of 1817, which Prothero states was an attempt for the Westminster "Rump" to regain a working-class audience after Cobbett's flight to the United States in 1817 (94).

21. See chapter 4, "Views of Poetry in the Early Working-Class Periodicals," for more on Hone's assessment and for Wooler's, which appeared soon after Hone's.

22. For a fuller discussion of these periodicals, see Webb, British Working Class Reader 53–59.

23. For Cobbett's and Wooler's 1817 reaction to Owen, see E.P. Thompson, Making 861; for Owen and his influence on the working class in general, including the working-class politicization of Owen, see 857–77.

24. Two excellent recent studies of this period exist: Hollis's The Pauper Press,
and Wiener’s *War of the Unstamped*. Himmelfarb’s chapter on the *Poor Man’s Guardian* in *The Idea of Poverty* is helpful as well (230–52). Also important for making sense of the hundreds of unstamped periodicals published during this time is Wiener’s *Descriptive Finding List*. I am extremely indebted to this book for many of the bibliographical notes to this section.

25. The *Trades Newspaper* later became an Owenite periodical, the *Weekly Free Press* (1828–31).

26. Doherty’s other trade union periodicals are the *Conciliator*, the *United Trades’ Co-operative Journal*, and the *Herald of the Rights of Industry*.

27. See also Wiener, *War* 147, and *William Lovett 31*, which imply that Lovett also collaborated with this group. The *Guardian*’s editor, O’Brien, was a formidable working-class thinker who later became one of the primary theorists of the Chartist movement.

28. Wiener’s *Finding List* supplies all the first names here but Hancock’s, which comes from Hollis 46. Wiener also notes one more contributor; Somerville was the periodical’s last editor (*Finding List* 12). Both Wiener and Hollis estimate the circulation of the paper at its highest at 5,000 (Wiener, *Finding List* 12; Hollis 118).

29. See, for example, the poem “The Dorchester Job,” *Pioneer* 10 May 1834: 295.

30. *Berthold’s Political Handkerchief* is just that: a periodical printed on linen in a clever, albeit unsuccessful, attempt to avoid prosecution by the Stamp Office.

31. *The Truth!* lasted for only two issues, just long enough to give a hint as to what gave a work of literature value in its producers’ eyes: “The softer arts in life, namely, Poetry and Painting, which, when properly, that is usefully cultivated, civilize and adorn the rugged nature of man, will not be forgotten.” The tone of *The Truth!*’s two issues shows that its utilitarian view of literature and art is strongly class based.

32. For a review of Cole, see *New Political Register* 14 Nov. 1834: 53.

33. More commonly referred to today as Edward Bulwer-Lytton, I use the name Edward Bulwer because this is the name by which he was known in the periodicals of the time. He did not add Lytton to his name until 1844.

34. For more on the review in *Literary Test*, see chapter 3, “Later Views.” *Cobbett’s Magazine* was conducted by Cobbett’s son, John.

35. Dorothy Thompson takes this quote from an unspecified number of *Northern Star* (40). See also Wiener, *War* 267–72.

36. No full-length history of the Chartist press yet exists. Dorothy Thompson does devote a chapter to the subject in *The Chartists*. Some of the best discussions of Chartist periodicals and Chartist journalists can be found in individual biographies of Chartist leaders; works, for example, such as Cooper’s
autobiography, *The Life of Thomas Cooper*, Schoyen’s *The Chartist Challenge*, Saville’s introduction to Ernest Jones, *Chartist*, F. B. Smith’s *Radical Artisan*, Plummer’s *Brouerre: A Political Biography* and two biographies of O’Connor, *Feargus O’Connor*, by Read and Glasgow, and Epstein’s *The Lion of Freedom*. For discussions of some non-Chartist—or, at best, peripherally Chartist—periodicals of importance during this period, see Driver’s *Tory Radical*, and Grugel’s *George Jacob Holyoake*.

37. Hovell’s hatred of O’Connor, and of everything connected with O’Connor—including the *Northern Star*—is apparent throughout his *Chartist Movement* (1918). He calls the *Star* “truly the worst . . . of the Radical papers, a melancholy tribute to the low level of intelligence of its readers” (96). A glance at one copy of *Northern Star* belies the gross absurdity of this remark.

38. See chapter 4, “Chartist Views of Poetry.”

39. All of them published their imaginative work, except perhaps O’Connor, who wrote a novel, *The White Boy*, and several plays in the 1820s, and who apparently wrote another novel while in prison in 1840 (Cole, *Chartist Portraits* 309, 319).

Chapter 3

1. Indeed, in all the working-class periodicals I have looked at, I have not found one reference, good or bad, to Austen or her works.

2. For discussions of the view that fiction is a time waster, see Taylor 108–10; Watt 39; and Stang 5.


4. Olivia Smith, in the sixth chapter of *Politics of Language* (202–51), discusses Cobbett’s ideas about grammar, power, and class.

5. Green sickness: “An anaemic disease which mostly affects young women about the age of puberty and gives a pale or greenish tinge to the complexion; chlorosis” (OED 1933).

6. For an 1832 view of a “silver-fork” novel, see chapter 3, “Later Views.”

7. Bentham described the literary department of the periodical as dealing with “literary insignificances” (Nesbitt 96).

8. The quotation is by A. A. in the *Christian Observer*.

9. Carlyle’s formal schooling consisted of lessons at Sunday school and attendance “at two local free schools up to the age of twelve” (Wiener, *Radicalism* 4–5).

10. This is a mistake on Webb’s part, as Godwin never wrote a novel by this
name. Webb is probably thinking of a work by Godwin’s friend, Thomas Holcroft, called Anna St. Ives (1792).

11. Tremaine, or the Man of Refinement was written by Robert Plumer Ward (1825); The Mummy, A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century, by Jane Webb, afterward Loudon (1827). Whether or not Jane and R. T. Webb were somehow related is impossible to tell.

12. James notes that the useful-knowledge Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal, originally directed toward the working class, concurred with Carlile’s opponents’ views of fiction: “Fiction was only admitted [to Chambers] to attract those who would not take the solid food without sugar” (17).

13. Macconnell’s lectures, if they ever existed as a published work, no longer do; their absence in the British Library Catalogue (which implies an absence of British copyright) and the National Union Catalogue suggest that this excerpt might be from an unpublished record of a series of lectures given by Macconnell. Incidentally, A. B. C.’s remarks, though they differ in places, are so close to Macconnell’s that one is forced to assume that the same writer is reworking his own essay, or that one of these writers is a plagiarist, at least in the modern sense of the term. The differences between the two, however, allow both a place in this study.

14. To be fair, this writer has nothing but praise for Scott and applies his criticisms to Scott’s many imitators, “as plenty as mantua makers,” and their “nauseous undigested stuff” (Artizan’s Miscellany 25 June 1831: 39). The writer, however, only offers vague hints as to what separates Scott from his successors; there is no clear idea here what makes for good fiction.

15. Of the many working-class periodicals from the 1830s and before I have looked at, only four praise Scott. All are from Scotland. Besides the Schoolmaster, the Edinburgh Artizan’s Miscellany, as we have seen, is ambiguous in its praise; the Glasgow Herald to the Trades Advocate copies a speech given “from the Heteroclitical Club—communicated by S. Clyde, as delivered on the Anniversary of Burns,” which is abundant in its praise of Scott (29 Jan. 1831: 317–18); and the Radical Reformers’ Gazette, also from Glasgow, praises Scott’s fiction while noting that he “contributed to retard the cause of Reform, and perpetuate the slavery of the people” (7 Nov. 1832: 14–15). English working-class appraisals of Scott are consistently negative. There is clearly a strong regional bias at work here.

16. This questioning about the class standing of Scott’s heroes and the class basis of his novels, first raised, so far as I can tell, in the working-class press, is one that is still important today. Lukács’s viewpoint about Scott’s heroes contrasts strongly with both these critics. To him, Scott’s heroes are intentionally mediocre, “unsurpassed in their portrayal of the decent and attractive as well as
narrow-minded features of the English 'middle-class'" (35). Eagleton and Pierce largely concur with this view (20–22). Cazamian, on the other hand, sides more closely with the Chartist critic: he believes that Scott "pointed out the charm and merit of the ancient hierarchical society which had been destroyed by the bourgeoisie's individualist energy" (40).

17. O'Brien was already beginning to disseminate in the Poor Man's Guardian the political philosophy that later earned him the title the "Schoolmaster of Chartism," and while it is interesting to see that this early in his career he showed no fear of even the worst fiction, it should be noted that his later work in Chartist periodicals reveals that he, unlike many of his contemporaries, had very little use for the genre; as an editor, he avoided publishing reviews or fiction.

18. See also Wiener's War of the Unstamped 171–73, for general comments on this type of periodical.

19. A good contrast to this review is to be found in Carpenter's London Journal, which offers a glowing review of Bulwer's Paul Clifford. To that reviewer, Bulwer has rendered the novel "the vehicle for inculcating sound principle and high moral truths," and he is a hero for the working class, "working out for many a deliverance from their thralldom" (13 Feb. 1836: 4–5). See also the Destructive 13 Mar. 1833, which excludes by name only Bulwer from a general condemnation of "men of letters."

20. The critic is probably Jones; the periodical from which the quote is taken was a Chartist miscellany edited by Jones and O'Connor in 1847 and 1848.

21. Schoyen, in his biography of Harney, identifies him as the author of these articles (126).

22. Webb, in Harriet Martineau, identifies Martineau's critic here as Doherty himself. Webb also notes that both the Manchester and Salford Association for the Spread of Co-operative Knowledge and the Poor Man's Guardian approved of Martineau's Illustrations of Political Economy, of which A Manchester Strike formed a part.

23. One example of this month-to-month testing appeared in early numbers of the Northern Star, which charted the progress of Nicholas Nickleby. A critic there holds the first number "ample to sustain the credit of the author"; thereafter, the critic notes the monthly deterioration of the work, with a few recoveries and relapses: of number 7 the critic writes "Nicholas mends"; of number 9, "Nicholas lags again" (13 Oct. 1838: 7; 15 Dec. 1838: 7).

24. Dickens made this assertion in a letter to John Forster, 8 Oct. 1844; rpt. in Forster 1: 334.

25. "Doctrines" in this review refer largely to those of "the disciples of
Malthus who would quell every feeling of humanity to carry out his heartless theory" (Northern Star 4 Jan. 1845: 3). Malthus and his followers were hated by almost every working-class writer from Cobbett on.

Much of this review of these two Christmas books is reprinted in Collins, Dickens 157–58. Also, Peyrouton discusses Chartist attitudes toward Dickens and The Chimes in "Dickens and the Chartists." That article is limited by its almost complete focus on only two Chartist critics, Harney and Reynolds, and by its strong implication that Chartist attacks on Dickens's fiction had much to do with Dickens's political and personal actions and little to do with the works of fiction themselves. Such may indeed have been the case with Reynolds, but certainly was not the case with Harney or other critics. Peyrouton, like others, has difficulty seeing these working-class figures as literary as well as political animals.


27. Other periodicals of the early thirties that contain fables are The Voice of the Country, and General Provincial Politician (July 1832: 17) and The Pioneer; or, Trades Union Magazine (throughout).

28. Among poets, Cooper and Elliott also earn places. Incidentally (and surprisingly), I have found very few references to Reynolds's fiction in the late Chartist working-class press. This paucity could be due, at least partially, to the fragmentation of Chartism and to rivalry between the remaining Chartists after 1848. As Dorothy Thompson notes in The Chartists, "By the early fifties the old Chartist journalists . . . had divided into small groups, publishing journals based on their own particular viewpoints, which had little sense of speaking for or to a movement" (45).

29. The "Manifesto of the German Communist Party" was published 9 Nov. 1850 in Harney's Red Republican, which is the same periodical in all but name as Friend of the People. Harney changed the name because he feared it unnecessarily intimidated much of his audience.

30. My intent here in discussing fiction written by the working class is not to enter into a detailed analysis of Chartist fiction itself; I defer to Vicinus's excellent study in Industrial Muse 113–35 for this. Rather my intent is to fit the late appearance of working-class fiction in the journals into the evolving view of fiction taken by these journalists—that their publishing such fiction both affirms the genre and offers an alternative to fiction by middle-class writers.

32. The article reviews Bulwer's *The Caxtons*, Dinah Mary Mulock's *The Olgivies*, A. Ballie Cochrane's *Ernest Vane*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, all published in 1849.

Chapter 4

1. Carlile was not the first working-class journalist to publish a discussion of *Queen Mab*. On 11 March 1821 Benbow, in *John Bull's British Journal*, pirated a letter by F praising the poem (22). That letter had appeared in the Spencean *Theological Inquirer, or Polemical Magazine* six years before, in March 1815 (34–39). Although this may be the first review of Shelley in a working-class journal, the article, probably written, according to White in *Unextinguished Hearth*, by the liberal General Sir Ronald Crawford Ferguson, M.P., was certainly not written by a member of the working class. Both the original review and the piracy (where it differs from the original) appear in White 46–48, 52 and in Barcus's *Shelley* 63–66, 70–71.

2. The article from which this quote is taken has been republished both in White 95–97 and Barcus 84–87.


5. Not all Utilitarians were as adverse to poetry as Bentham; see, for example, Webb's comments on John Bowring's love of poetry in his "John Bowring and Unitarianism" 49–51.

6. Rufus Lyon, the dissenting Minister in George Eliot's *Felix Holt*, also holds that reading Shakespeare is antithetical to his religion.

7. This article was published a year before Cobbett lowered the price of *Political Register* and therefore was prohibitively expensive for many working-class readers. The article raises a number of points Cobbett refers to in later, less-expensive issues, and when he does discuss the subject later he assumes his readers are familiar with his thoughts on the subject.

Cobbett's curious views about potatoes were well known. In *Felix Holt* (1866), Eliot characterizes the general lack of political knowledge on the part of the citizens of Treby Magna by maintaining that they "saw little in Mr. Cobbett's *Weekly Register* except that he held eccentric views about potatoes" (128).


9. See chapter 1, "1816–29."

1817: 78–82) is taken from his Characters of Shakespeare's Plays and is given, curiously for this periodical, without a word of introduction or commentary. The essay was memorable enough to earn careful appraisal in the pre-Chartist Political Mirror; see this chapter, "Views of Poetry, 1830–36."

11. Hone's comments on the poem are reprinted in Madden's Robert Southey 232. This was not Hone's only personal attack on Southey; on 17 June 1817 he published a poem by Edward Rushton that also condemned Southey's apostacy (638–40).

12. Madden publishes a part of Wooler's review that includes this quote in Robert Southey 239–40. Madden maintains that the review is anonymous, though there seems little question that Wooler, who wrote most of Black Dwarf, wrote this as well.

13. See chapter 2, "1816–29," for a fuller discussion of the "Blackneb" series, which contained both poetry and prose. For a discussion of Wooler's use of humor and the influence of Pope, see Hendrix, "Popular Humor and "The Black Dwarf."

14. Barry Cornwall was the pen name of Brian Waller Proctor, a poet active since 1815. His English Songs, in which this poem originally appeared, was published in 1832 (Drabble 250–31).

15. The Honorable Mrs. Norton, a.k.a. Lady Stirling-Maxwell, is now best remembered as the original for Meredith's Diana in Diana of the Crossways. According to Saintsbury in The Cambridge History of English Literature, she "wrote much that has not worn well" (730).

16. For more on Macerone's work, see chapter 2, "1830–36."

17. The poem to which this is a preface is called "Small Service," intended to be sung to the now-forgotten air "Had I a Heart for Falsehood Framed." It was written by Linton, who wrote all six of the "Poems for the People" in the Tribune and could very likely have written this preface as well.

18. It should be noted that the poetry section of Kovalev's collection is heavily weighted toward poems originally in Northern Star. What is typical of the Star in this case, however, is typical of other Chartist periodicals as well.

19. The Chartists weren't the first to discover the song, of course. The song appeared in Carlile's Republican in two versions: one undoctored translated, according to Carlile, either by Sheridan or Holcroft, and one parody, beginning "Peruvians wake to glory!" (23 Aug. 1822: 387–88; 15 Dec. 1820: 576). Certainly many members of the working class were familiar with the republican French national anthem well before 1820.

20. As the Labourer was written and edited by both Jones and O'Connor and the articles are unsigned, there is some question as to who wrote these studies.
Considering Jones's passionate interest in foreign political movements and poetry, and that O'Connor had little interest in either, an attribution to Jones seems a safe one. See Weisser 150–54, on O'Connor's relative lack of interest in foreign movements.

21. The periodical in which this Longfellow poem appeared, however—the Odd Fellow—was not Chartist but was, F.B. Smith notes, a penny weekly newsletter "with a tiny circulation among independent friendly society lodges in London" (39).

22. I think it worthwhile to note again that calling Elliot, better known as "The Corn-Law Rhymer," a "working-class poet" is really a mistake. He was, after all, a factory owner. Reynolds, however, in this study clearly presents Elliott as a working-class hero.

23. Contrary to this critic's assertion, the Pictorial Penny Shakespeare was not the first "penny Shakespeare." An apparently short-lived Penny Shakespeare appeared on 8 Sept. 1832.

24. Bandiera is not identified as Massey in this article, but evidence elsewhere makes this attribution all but certain. Bandiera composed several poems for Red Republican, including one called "Song of the Red Republican," which is also signed G. M. A reviewer of Massey's verse in a later issue of this periodical notes that Massey is indeed the writer of that song.

25. Bamford also quotes Milton's "L'Allegro" twice in volume 2 of Passages (120, 324).

26. Carpenter's Life and Times of John Milton was also reviewed in Northern Star (2 June 1838: 7). Both Harney and Linton had a suspicion that the ruling class had an interest in suppressing Milton's prose. As Linton writes: Milton's "prose writings have been most carefully kept out of sight, by his orthodox admirers" (National 23 Feb. 1839: 113).

27. Cobbett ignored Burns here, apparently to make his argument that much stronger: he hated Scott, of course, while elsewhere in the Political Register he praised Burns highly.

28. Doherty's claim is mistaken. Most versions of "The Irish Avatar" were indeed expurgated, including two versions in Leigh Hunt's Examiner (21 Apr. 1822: 252–53; 28 July: 473–74), but when Doherty published the poem two complete versions had already been published. The first appearance was in a twenty-copy private printing in 1821, by Moore on behalf of Byron; the second was published in John Murray's 1831 edition of Byron's collected works (Wise 2: 27–28; Beatty 166 n).

29. The only work by Shelley that is not overtly political that I have found in any working-class periodical is a landscape, "A Night Scene," in Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine (Feb. 1832: 233).

31. See, for example, an “Ode to the Memory of Lord Byron,” by Imray, and “An Ode to the Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley,” by D.M., both in Carlyle’s *Lion* (10 Oct. 1828: 463–64; 13 Mar. 1829: 346–49), as well as “Byron Defended,” by W. L. Warren and a “Sonnet to Byron,” by George Tweddell, both in *Northern Star* (24 Jan. 1846: 3; 6 Oct. 1849: 3).

32. See, for example, J. H. M.’s “A Poem for the People” (*National Reformer* 6 Mar. 1847: 11) and “The Age We Live In” (27 Mar. 1847: 10–11).

33. Note, for example, the review, probably by Harney, in *Northern Star* 6 Sept. 1846: 3. Collins also notes this influence (13).

34. See also the lashings at imitators of Byron in the *Literary Beacon* (25 June 1832: 26; 2 July: 39, 43–45) and *Northern Star* (21 Oct. 1843: 3).


37. That working-class journalists did not see Crabbe as a champion of their class does not mean that they did not publish and discuss his works. In fact there are discussions of him throughout this time, most of them positive. One critic in the *Schoolmaster* praises Crabbe’s ability to depict the poor (13 Oct. 1832: 163–65). Jones especially liked Crabbe and quoted him often in *Notes to the People* as well as making him the first poet in the “Poets of England” series in that periodical. In publishing Crabbe, however, Jones noted that Crabbe had long been “much unknown” to most in his audience (19 Sept. 1851: 411).


Chapter 5

1. 6 July 1850: 3; 2 Nov.: 3; 8 Mar. 1851: 3; 28 Feb. 1852: 7.

2. By “Bastile victim,” Jones means an inhabitant of the poorhouse.

3. Again, Hobsbawm is describing a later ritual—international May Day, which dates to 1889—but his words apply equally to this procession.

4. For a few examples (among thousands) of reports of legal proceedings directed against members of the working class, see *Black Dwarf* 11 June 1817 (on Wooler’s two trials); *Gauntlet* 26 May 1833; and *Poor Man’s Guardian* 25 May 1833 (*Gauntlet* and *Guardian* providing partial transcripts of the inquest on a
policeman who had been stabbed while breaking up a working-class meeting at Cold Bath Fields); Poor Man’s Guardian 29 March 1834, on “The Horrible Sentence!” imposed upon the Tolpuddle Martyrs; and Northern Star throughout late 1839 and early 1840 on the trials of many Chartist leaders, including Frost. Transcripts published as books include A Verbatim Report of the Two Trials of T. J. W[ooler], Editor of the Black Dwarf, for Alleged Libels . . . (1817); The Three Trials of William Hone, for Publishing Three Parodies . . . (1818)—a work which went through at least twenty editions; and The Trial of Fergus O’Connor and Fifty Eight Others at Lancaster on a Charge of Sedition . . . (1843).

5. The last quote appeared originally in the London Alfred, both the 29 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1819 issues. Curiously enough, “Orator” Hunt’s nickname may have been coined by Southey; the first reference to the term may be in Southey’s “Parliamentary Reform,” in Quarterly Review 16 (1816), 248 (Belchem 59 n).

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