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PAINE'S FRIEND J. W. JARVIS

BULLETIN

of the

T H O M A S P A I N E S O C I E T Y

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T H O M A S P A I N E S O C I E T Y

23, Pinders House Road, Nottingham, NG2 3EG,
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T H O M A S P A I N E

by

Howard Temperley.

An address given at the opening of "The Age of Reason" Exhibition at the Central Library, Norwich on June 7th., 1969.

THIS YEAR we are celebrating a double anniversary. It is, as Mr. Brunel told you, 175 years since the publication of The Age of Reason. It is also 160 years ago tomorrow that the author of that work died in the little town of New Rochelle on the outskirts of New York City.

So it is doubly fitting that we should today be opening here in this city an exhibition to commemorate the work of this most notorious, probably most talented, certainly most controversial East Anglian of modern times. I am most touched and flattered to have been asked to say a few words to you about this remarkable man.

There are, of course, many Thomas Paine's. As you will see on your walk around the exhibition his life was one of extraordinary diversity. There are pictures, books, articles - some splendid cartoons - which reflect the many different facets of his career - political thinker, social revolutionary, scientist, engineer, friend - and enemy - of so many of the leading figures of his day.

But in addition to what Paine was there are all the subsequent accretions - the books written in many different languages attacking him and supporting him have gone on appearing right up to the present day. These you will see represented in the exhibition. And very rightly. For in a sense Paine's work did not end 160 years ago. Since his death he has been praised and damned, criticised and upheld with quite as much vehemence as in his own lifetime - often by people with precious little idea of what he really represented. We have Paine the drunkard, Paine the hired propagandist, Paine the confidant of the great, Paine the poor man's friend, Paine the international revolutionary, Paine the traitor, Paine the man of Reason, Paine the herald of social reform, and many others.

You may wonder which of these comes closest to the truth? It is hard to say - although a more plausible case may be made out for some than for others. The fact is that he was all of them - and much else besides. Whatever historians may say - and their accounts do not always bear close scrutiny - men will look to the past for their legends and will find in it the heroes and villains they seek. Paine lends himself to such mythologisation because he was a man of forthright views caught up in great events. But we must beware of such simplifications because

they fail to do justice, not simply to Paine himself, but to the complexity of the history.

About Paine's early life we know little and what we do know gives no indication of the remarkable talents which he later displayed. He was born in Thetford, the son of a stay-maker, in 1737. His father was a Quaker, his mother an Anglican. He left school at the age of 13, worked in his father's shop until he was 16, after which he may or may not have had a spell at sea. At all events he had left Thetford by the time he was 20 and for the next 17 years was employed as an excise officer, first in Lincolnshire, later in Sussex. He married twice but had no children. His first wife died within a few months. His second marriage, to a tobacconist's daughter, in Lewes, Sussex, was a failure and he and his wife separated after three years. This coincided with his being dismissed the excise service for a minor breach of the rules. His tobacconist business also went bankrupt. His one published work up to that time - you will see a facsimile of it on display - was a shrewd but otherwise unremarkable plea for the increasing of the salaries of excise officers - a matter in which he had a strong personal interest.

So there was nothing - at least nothing of which we have any record - to suggest that the Thomas Paine who set sail for America in 1774 at the age of 37, would ever accomplish anything of note. And quite likely he would have done but for a purely fortuitous train of events.

His career really began with his arrival in America. His first great work, Common Sense, appeared in January 1776. He had then been in the Colonies little more than a year. The revolution had broken out five months after his arrival. The Colonists were fighting the British and arguing with each other. And then came Common Sense. It is an astounding document. More clearly than anyone else, Paine described what the conflict was about, where the Colonists stood and what they needed to do.

It is easy to forget how strong the ties which bound the Colonists to Britain were, how far they regarded themselves as British. It took Paine, an outsider (British it is true but who on leaving Britain had rejected the system) to point out what in retrospect is obvious: that potentially America belonged to quite separate political a political order; that by severing its political connections with Britain it could break free of Europe and all the conflicts, political manoeuvrings and repressive laws that Europe represented.

The boldness of this perception was matched by the force and clarity of his style. Suddenly, from the least experienced quarter - by an almost penniless Englishman with only a rudimentary education who had only recently set foot in America for the first time - they were

presented with a rationale and set of goals to justify their pursuing the course upon which, in a confused and unplanned way, they found themselves embarked. No doubt without Paine they would have got around sooner as later to opting for independence but it was Paine's pamphlet - copies of which were distributed by the hundreds of thousands - which gave them the ideological ammunition they needed.

This was Paine's principal but not only contribution to the success of the American cause. He followed it up with what are now known as his Crisis Papers - a series of broadsides - the first of which begins with the famous words "These are times that try mens souls..." They became to the Americans of that generation what Churchill's broadcast speeches were to Englishmen in the Second World War.

Paine remained in America some years after the Revolution. When this was ended he declined the opportunity of going into politics and instead tried his hand at various scientific projects. It was largely to forward these that in 1787, thirteen years after his original departure, he returned to Europe.

Undoubtedly he had some scientific talents, although he never developed them to the extent that say Franklin or Jefferson did. His major project was his bridge. You will see pictures of it in the exhibition. But that did not make him money and actually led to his losing much of that which had been voted him for services in America. While he was in England he took the opportunity to visit his recently widowed mother in Thetford and settled a small pension on her.

It was not long, however, before he was caught up in politics. The French Revolution broke out in 1789. To Paine, as to many others, it seemed as though this was a continuation of the revolutionary movement that had begun in America fourteen years earlier. It was at this time that he wrote his second great work, Rights of Man. At one level it was an attack on the existing system of British government, but it went far beyond that by seeking to set further the principles of natural law upon which, so he believed, all true government should be built. From the political scientist's point of view his approach is particularly interesting for the way in which he bypassed the traditional views, expressed by Locke and Rousseau, that governments are to be justified in terms of their origins - the social contract notion - and emphasises instead their functions. He is veering, in other words, towards a Benthamite approach. There is something very modern-looking about his notion of a progressive income tax (rather less steep in its early stages than our present one but reaching 100 percent at £23,000) and his programme of social benefits: child allowances for mothers, old age pensions, even a gift of 20/- for every couple on marriage.

His vehement denunciation of the exploitive system of British government got him into trouble with the authorities. A prosecution was pending when, in 1792, he left England for what proved to be the last time. However, this legal action was not the immediate cause of his leaving. The reason was an offer he had received from the citizens of Calais (one of several such offers) to represent them in the new French Convention. They had chosen him because of his reputation as an outstanding radical and revolutionary - and despite the fact that he did not speak French!

Paine was still under the impression that the issues involved in the French Revolution were much the same as in the American. He soon discovered that there were those in France who believed that a much more radical course was needed. The most notable among them was Robespierre. It was Robespierre's view that although Paine's remedies might be perfectly appropriate in the context of America, where loyalty to the old regime was weaker and could be treated more leniently, in France much more drastic methods were required. The old order needed to be destroyed root and branch. This entailed killing people in large numbers. It was to Paine that Danton made his famous remark: "Revolutions cannot be made with rosewater." So Paine's efforts to save the king from execution (his alternative was a one way ticket to America) and his attack on Marat branded him as suspect. When the Girondins were purged from the Convention Paine was purged with them. He was held a prisoner in the Luxemburg Palace and for a time his fate seemed to hang in the question of his nationality. This was a knotty problem - was he English, having been born in England, or was he American, having been made so by the Revolution, or French by virtue of the vote of the Convention? Actually, his survival, when so many others went to the guillotine, was probably a matter of chance. But it was the American minister, James Monroe, who, after the fall of Robespierre, finally negotiated his release.

It was just prior to this unhappy period that he wrote the first part of his third great work, the 175th. anniversary of which this exhibition commemorates, The Age of Reason. Most contemporaries regarded it as atheistical. It is easy to see why they did, for it was a scourging attack on Christianity. Strictly speaking, of course, it was anything but atheistical - it was deistic. Infidelity he claimed, consisted in professing to believe what one does not believe. Who could believe the rag-bag of fables given in the scriptures? Nevertheless God existed and his work was to be found in the creation we behold. All true theology must be landed on the study of mathematics and astronomy, in short on the study of the works and wisdom of God. This argument has, of course,

been repeatedly attacked and many have regarded Paine as Old Nick himself. Yet it is notable how many of the replies to Paine (the most famous being that by Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, which you will see in the exhibition here) accepted most of Paine's points, at least with respect to the accuracy of the scriptures.

After his release from prison Paine remained in France for a number of years. For much of the time he was actively engaged in trying to interest the French Government in plans for the invasion of England. He told Napoleon, who was not entirely convinced, that the downtrodden people of Britain would flock to the French standard.

Paine returned to the United States in 1802. His final years in America (he was now 70) were not entirely happy. He did not receive the recognition which he believed was rightly his. In particular, he resented the fact that the Americans had permitted him to be held in prison so long. And of course, The Age of Reason had earned him enemies. One should not make too much of this. He was old, he had been away from America for almost twenty years, and in that time he had lost his political touch. After his great battles the routine squabbles of American party politics were small change. He should have recognised this and steered clear. He did not, perhaps because the vocabulary was the same even though the issues were not.

What are we to make of Thomas Paine? Certainly his was an amazing career, it spanned two continents and involved him in the affairs of three great nations, in each case at crucial points in their destinies. It is always important to remember however that Paine was primarily a writer, not a man of action - at least not one of any significance. So if we are to judge him it should not be on account of his personal eccentricities - which were many - or on account of his political manoeuvrings - which were often absurd - but in terms of his writings. And these are extraordinary. There is nothing dull, nothing long winded. His contemporaries found them breathtaking and it is easy for us reading them today to see why. Some say that his style alone explains his great influence. But this I doubt. What is basic in Paine's writings are his principles, which seemed revolutionary to his countrymen but which we now - whether we know it or not - take as axiomatic. To the extent that these principles have endured, and are now cherished, his life stands vindicated.

May I, on behalf of all those present, thank the Thomas Paine Society, and in particular its Secretary and Mr. Brunel, its Chairman, for collecting together and arranging the material in this exhibition. May I also thank, on behalf of all of us, Mr. Philip Hepworth, the Librarian, for allowing this exhibition to be held here. I declare it open.

P A I N E ' S _ F R I E N D ,J . W . _ J A R V I S

By William M. Van Der Weyde

ONE OF AMERICA'S greatest artists, famous in his day and now forgotten, is John Wesley Jarvis. One hundred years ago Jarvis stood at the forefront of American portrait painters. None of his contemporaries excelled him in his clever handling of the brush, and a great many celebrated men sat before his easel for their portraits. Today it is only the visitor to art collections, or the student pondering the records of a century ago, that encounters Jarvis's name.

Some fine examples of Jarvis's work are displayed on the walls of the Governors' Room and in the Aldermanic Chamber of the New York City Hall. The collection includes portraits of Commodore Perry, Commodore Hull, General Brown, Commodore Brainbridge, Commodore Swift, and Commodore McDonough. They all evidence genius of a very superior order. The New York Historical Society also has a number of works of Jarvis, among them portraits of DeWitt Clinton, Robert Morris, John Randolph and John Standford.

Jarvis painted two very fine portraits of Thomas Paine. One of these is owned by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association and is now on exhibition at the Thomas Paine National Museum. The other portrait seems to have been lost. Diligent search for it has not revealed its hiding place. The lost portrait shows Paine at the age of 68, when he was again living in America after his return from France, where he had taken an active part in the revolution. It is a very striking likeness of the old patriot, the face beaming with characteristic benevolence and the eyes exhibiting their wonderful old time fire. A wood cut copy of this painting was printed in the Bible of Nature, published in Albany in 1842. This is the only copy of this Paine portrait known.

Jarvis, like Paine, was born in England. He came to America in 1785 when but five years old. He was named after his uncle, the famous John Wesley, founder of Methodism, with whom he lived in his infancy. At five he was sent to Philadelphia to join his father who had settled in that city.

When still very young Jarvis showed talent with the pencil and an inclination toward the artistic. He developed a liking for engraving and when still in his teens did some creditable work on box-wood.

Then he came to New York, where he developed his talent for painting. At twenty years of age he was already known as a clever sketcher and had the reputation of invariably "catching the likeness."

In New York Jarvis made the acquaintance of Joseph Wood, also a painter and also young. Both were extremely Bohemian in tastes and found themselves to be of very congenial temperaments. Wood was an accomplished musician, playing a number of instruments, his favorites being the violin and flute. Jarvis had already achieved reputation as a raconteur. The two formed a partnership and went into the business of making silhouettes, then very popular. They rented a ground floor on Park Row, not far from the present Brooklyn Bridge entrance and displayed before the door a large frame filled with silhouettes cut out of black paper and gold leaf. Over the frame was a sign with the words "Jarvis & Wood, Silhouettists."

In those days silhouettes as portraits were as popular as today photographs are, and the really clever portraitist in scissored black paper had all the business he cared to handle. In consequence Jarvis and Wood prospered. They charged one dollar each for the silhouettes cut out of paper and five dollars apiece for those made of gold leaf. The profits averaged \$100 daily, and this the partners divided at the end of each day. Jarvis devised a "profile machine" - as he called it - which greatly aided in the making of silhouettes and also saved much time.

Having earned considerable money in the making of silhouettes, Jarvis and Wood, both ambitious, determined to do more serious work. They wanted to paint portraits instead of cutting them out of paper. In 1804 the two young men hung up their shingle as "portrait painters" at 28 Wall Street. Jarvis at the same time conducted an engraving establishment at 28 Frankfort Street.

Both Jarvis and Wood were very popular. Jarvis kept "bachelor's hall" in an old-fashioned building on a side street, and with Wood's assistance kept open house to all friends in their interesting circle. Wood furnished the music - always of the liveliest sort - at these Bohemian gatherings, and Jarvis amused the company by his droll and witty stories. Jarvis was never so fortunate as to be able to keep in his apartment such a thing as a drinking glass, and when the visitors arrived he immediately produced a shaving mug from which all drank in turn to the merriest of toasts.

It is recorded of Jarvis that "he was social by instinct, convivial by temperament and capable of vigorous artistic efforts. He had a host of acquaintances and was very imprudent and reckless. He possessed great

humour, keen observation and violent prejudice and was noted for his genial fellowship."

Jarvis dressed fantastically and attracted much attention on the streets. In the winter he generally wore a long coat trimmed with fur. Two huge dogs always accompanied him on his walks. At times he affected the extremes of fashion and for that reason was noted by the passing pedestrians. At other times he called attention to himself by the shabbiness of his ~~dress~~.

A description of Jarvis's room is interesting: "his rooms were in a chaotic condition. There was a juxtaposition of artistic implements and domestic utensils, palettes in all conditions being strewn about the place, as well as decanters, dresses, a cradle, an easel, musical glasses, books, lay figures, all sorts of things - picturesque but rarely comfortable. Yet amid this paraphernalia of art and economy the richest 'feast of reason and flow of soul' would often be realised. At Jarvis's midnight parties canvas-back ducks would be eaten with a one-pronged fork and rare wines drunk without the aid of a corkscrew."

In 1805 Jarvis and his friend Wood added miniature painting to their work and moved from Wall Street to 37 Chatham Street. Jarvis still maintained his engraving establishment on Franfort Street, and there also taught drawing. Among his pupils was Henry Inman, destined to become later a famous American painter.

Jarvis was very popular in his circle of friends, which included Washington Irving, Robert Fulton, Bass Otis, the painter, Col. John Fellows, Elihu Palmer, Thomas Addis Emmett, Thomas Paine, and other noted persons of that time.

Jarvis was very fond of Paine and the two often had long talks together on all manner of subjects, from the rights of women and arbitration among the nations of the world to old age pensions and the abolition of negro slavery, subjects dear to Paine, since he was the pioneer in advocacy of each.

In 1806 Jarvis and Wood removed to 40 Wall Street and Jarvis took up living quarters at 85 Church Street. Toward the end of the year he invited Paine to move his effects to the Church Street house and come to live with him. Paine had been in bad health and was uncomfortably and unhappily situated in his lodgings, and was glad to avail himself of Jarvis's invitation to take rooms at his house. Jarvis was still a young man, while Paine was nearly seventy years of age, but the difference in their ages did not affect their camaraderie in the least.

Gilbert Vale, who personally knew Jarvis, published in 1840 a Life of Thomas Paine. In his biography he says that at Jarvis' home Paine soon recovered his health and the two "became good companions; the one the greatest wit of the age and the other, though now an old man, not deficient in sprightly thoughts or conversation, and abounding in information."

At Jarvis's Church Street home was painted the portrait of Paine which I have previously spoken of as lost. Here, too, was doubtless made by the versatile Jarvis, the plaster bust of Paine which is now at the New York Historical Society, a plastic representation of the great author in his old age, so like the lost portrait made about the same time which also shows Paine in old age. Each is convincing evidence of the truthful representation in the other. Both are doubtless excellent portraits of Paine at sixty-nine years of age. The bust of Paine never received its final touches from the sculptor, and is still in an unfinished state.

Jarvis had entirely given up his work in silhouettes and was devoting himself to painting. Occasionally he modeled something in clay, but this he did only as a diversion and very seldom. So, too, he occasionally cut from paper the silhouette of some friend. While Paine lived with him at the Church Street house Jarvis made his silhouette. It is a very clever piece of work. Paine appreciated the genius of Jarvis in this as in other directions and presented the silhouette to Elihu Palmer, the well-known Deistical preacher and "teacher of natural religion," who was a great admirer of Paine. Mrs. Palmer, after her husband's death, sent the silhouette to a relative in England, and she in turn sent it to Dr. Moncure Conway, the editor of Paine's works and author of the Life of Thomas Paine. Thus the quaint silhouette of Paine fashioned by his friend Jarvis has been preserved for future ages.

Bas Otis, a painter of some reputation early in the last century, was a friend of Jarvis, and the two had at one time some sort of partnership. Jarvis painted a portrait of Otis and Otis in turn painted Jarvis. Otis also painted a portrait of Paine, which is now on exhibition in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. It is not, however, a portrait from life.

Tuckerman, in his Book of Artists, refers to the eccentricities of Jarvis and tells of "his love of notoriety, his fantasy in costume, his imitative skill, remarkable conversational talents, independent habits, his fund of amusing stories, costly dinners and improvised suppers." He says that Jarvis displayed "dogmatical pride and relished an opinion antagonistic to the multitude."

To Thomas Paine he was devotedly attached. Paine had advanced opinions

both political and religious, that were "antagonistic to the multitude," In these opinions Jarvis heartily concurred. Paine's Rights of Man and The Age of Reason, Jarvis pronounced the greatest works ever written in humanity's behalf - an opinion in which very many people concur to-day.

When living at Jarvis' home Paine shrewdly foresaw the effort that would be made by some fanatics to circulate a story of death-bed repentance and recantation. He told Jarvis he felt confident that attempts would be made to convert him to Christianity, and that after his death a tale would be spread about his ultimate conversion. "Now I am in health, Jarvis," he said, "and in perfect soundness of mind, now is the time to express my opinion." Then he called Jarvis to witness that his opinions had not changed and he solemnly repeated his belief in ~~that~~ what he had written in The Age of Reason.

Jarvis a couple of years later saw Paine's prophecy come true. When Paine lay on his death-bed, weak and suffering, clergymen and others forced their way to his side and tried to extort from him some sort of recantation. Even his own physician was guilty of so annoying the dying man. But not a word of retraction were any of his visitors able to force to force from his lips. To the repeated urging of his physician to announce at last a belief in the matters against which he had written, the staunch old Deist replied, "I have no wish to believe." These were his last words on the subject of religion. But, as Paine foresaw, a tale was circulated, as soon as his death was announced, 1. that he had recanted. The fable was proved such by living witnesses, and eventually the author of the story, one Mary Hinsdale, confessed to her having concocted the yarn out of nothing. She had never even seen Thomas Paine.

Jarvis and other friends knew the story was false and did what they could to stop its circulation, but "lies travel fast," and for a long the yarn received credence.

When Paine died - June 8, 1809 - Jarvis made a death mask of his old friend's face. The mask is now in the Thomas Paine National Museum. 2.

Jarvis survived Paine thirty years, during which time he accomplished much good work. In 1815 he had his studio on Lower Broadway at Bowling Green, in the house that was built as a residence for the President of the United States, later becoming the Governor's house and subsequently the U.S. Customs House.

Jarvis, despite the fact that he was an extremely successful portrait painter and earned a great deal of money at the zenith of his career,

Continued at the bottom of the next page.

Book Review

America and Its People by Herbert Claiborne Pell. Illustrated by Olive Bigelow Pell. Vantage Press, New York, 1969. \$2.50. 80pp.

Some people like history, others loathe it. The reason for this can often be discovered in how they were originally introduced to the subject. It has often struck me that one of the best introductions to history is to read it in verse, however, few authors have the ability to put it in this form. The late Herbert Claiborne Pell is one of the few who had the ability and the verses which go to make up this work illustrates his mastery of the method clearly. Composed originally amid st the little spare time high diplomatic office leaves (he was US Ambassador to Hungary and earlier Portugal; after Pearl Harbour he became US Representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London) it has been brought to publication through the untiring efforts of his widow, Olive Bigelow Pell (a member of the TPS).

Mrs. Pell has added lustre to the book with her fine illustrations, these indicate that she has a marked talent for this type of work and one suspects that other authors would like her to help in the illustration of their works.

America and Its People is the type of book one finds easy to read, in fact it is of a type not easy to lay down once started. The only real criticism I level at it is that it is too short - for my liking. Paine features large in it and Mrs. Pell contributes a telling illustration which features the Thetford statue - an apt point which stresses the association between Britain and the United States. This work which can be read by child and adult is well printed on good paper with ample page margins, all of which allows for attractive presentation. Mrs. Pell deserves our thanks for seeing this fine work to completion and publication. Its modest price, a little over £1 in English money, places it in the reach of most people.

R.W.M.

Paine's Friend J.W. Jarvis continued.

died in extreme poverty at the home of his sister, Mrs. Childs.

He was a man of rare talents and one of the most gifted portraitists America has ever known. American art owes much to this clever painter of a century ago, but she has forgotten her debt². Recognition came to John Wesley Jarvis only in his lifetime.

Reprinted from The Truth Seeker, April 18th., 1916.

1. For fuller treatment of this see TPS Bulletin, Vol. 3. No. 2. Autumn 1968. pp. 8-9 & 15.
2. Jarvis's talents have now gained recognition.

C O B B E T T

and

P A I N E

Extracts from Cobbett's works and The Satirist.
Compiled with comments by Robert W. Morrell.

BEFOR HIS "CONVERSION" to a pro-Paineite position, William Cobbett made several bitter attacks on Paine and his ideas. Following his "change of heart" Cobbett found his anti-Paine material being used against him. Leading the attack was the anti-reform, pro-government journal The Satirist.

The following extracts are taken from issues of The Satirist dated July-December, 1810, and illustrate the bitterness with which Paine was attacked. When The Satirist published this anti-Paine material it was done in order to attack Cobbett, who was then in prison.

When the wight who here lies beneath the cold earth
 First quitted the land that had given him birth,
 He commenced the apostle of bloodshed and strife
 And practised the trade to the end of his life;
 Sedition and nonsense and lies to dispense,
 He took up the title of "old common sense,"
 Taught poor honest men how rich rogues to keep under
 Exited to pillage, and shared in the plunder;
 But when there was no longer plunder to share,
 His "common sense" led him to seek it elsewhere.
 To his countrymen now he returned back again
 The wronger of rights and the righter of men;
 He told them they still were a nation of slaves
 That their king was a fool and his ministers knaves;
 And the only sure way for the people to thrive
 Was to leave neither one nor the other alive.
 But Thomas who never knew when he should stop
 Went a little too far and was catch'd on the hop;
 In short 'twas determined that poor Tom should lose
 His ears at a post, or his life in a noose;
 "Old common sense" boggles, then skulks out of sight
 Then packs up his rags and decamps in the night,
 His arrival in Paris occasions a fete
 And he finds in a den of assassins a seat;
 Here he murders and thieves, and makes laws for a season,
 Is cramm'd in a dungeon and preaches up "Reason;"

Blasphemes the Almighty-lives in filth like a hog,
Is abandoned in death and interred like a dog.
Tom Paine for the devil is surely a match
In hanging old England he cheated Jack Catch,
In France (the first time such a thing had been seen)
He cheated the watchful and sharp guillotine;
And at last to the sorrow of all the beholders
He marched out of life with his head on his shoulders.

The above was written by Cobbett at a time when he thought Paine had died and was entitled Epitaph on Tom Paine. Earlier, the anonymous Satirist writer had referred to a poem by Rickman about Paine, or as he called Paine, "the scoundrel Paine." Rickman is termed "this poor drivelling straw-decked maniac..." The "straw-decked" part refers to Rickman's straw hat. Paine, the writer continues, was "one of the most mischievous traitors that ever disgraced our country."

Cobbett's description of Paine as "the hoary blasphemer at the bottom of his dungeon...manacled, besmeared with filth, crawling with vermin, loaded with years and infamy...." pleases The Satirist and is frequently brought up when Cobbett is aimed at. "Tom," the insulting shortened version of Thomas is used, "frequents a brothel" and "men will learn to express all that is base, malignant, treacherous, unnatural, and blasphemous, by the single monosyllable PAINE!!!" Cobbett had attacked the ideas in Paine's The Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance and stated the theories to be unfulfilled - and would remain so. The Satirist following Cobbett's "conversion" took a delight in pointing out that Cobbett had changed his mind and stated that the said theories had been "completely FULFILLED". The Satirist writer refers to Cobbett's earlier view that Paine's ideas in The Decline and Fall.... were "as stupid and despicable as their author," and contrasts them with his later claim that Paine "was among the most celebrated statesmen and writers of the last and present century, second to none but Hume, BEFORE Burke....." "No good man ever respected Paine," stated Cobbett, he was "a fool...blackhearted traitor...base...stupid...treacherous and blasphemous wretch", some of Paine's work was "a task that the dregs of his old brain were quite unequal to."

Such, then, were the considered opinions for many years of Cobbett. How he must have squirmed when The Satirist reprinted them, however, Cobbett did have the courage to admit he was wrong; that can take some doing and is itself a courageous act.

BOOK REVIEW

By Ian Cameron.

The Pauper Press: A Study in Working Class Radicalism in the 1830's
by Patricia Hollis. OUP., 1970.

James Mill and the Art of Revolution by Joseph Hamburger. Yale UP., 1963.

The Pauper Press despite its appealing title and concisely rhetorical publicity on the inside flap of the dust cover about abusively class conscious papers..... displayed respectable reformers and outraged guardians of the peace....the turbulent underground radicalism of the Reform years is not an attempt to popularise its subject. It is a study that is both highly analytical and academic. It has an enormous amount of information but because it is presented in a manner described it will appeal, or rather be of significance to readers with a considerable knowledge of the subject already. This does not mean for one moment that there is not an enormous amount of immediately obvious and interesting reading.

Bertrand Russell might just as easily, and accurately have been writing of The Pauper Press, when he wrote that Thomas Paine's importance in history consists in the fact that he made the preaching of democracy democratic. It may only be a marginal difference to note that Paine's Rights of Man was written within the law, causing the government to outlaw him; while the unstamped press, from the very outset was outside the law. But it is very significant that popular working-class radicals connected with the pauper press, were, Miss Hollis writes, "out to smash the law (and) make it unworkable" while at the same time aggressively demanding working-class rights in the columns of their unstamped newspapers. As so many of the publishers of the unstamped press were also publishers of Paine's writings it was no surprise to find Miss Hollis writing, re. the politics and "rhetoric" of the unstamped: "Paine phrased the language of abstract rights, in which, for example, the National Union of the Working Classes Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Radical Association's preamble were written, and which exuded through the speeches of Hetherington and the writings of Benbow: "We bow to the Sovereign Majesty of the PEOPLE; we acknowledge no other power....."

Working class rights were asserted up in a variety of ways. One vendor "Noah Flood", brought before (the magistrate) said, 'So long as he saw starvation among manking he would not flinch from selling the Unstamped publications. On his release he would return to the same spot and sell them. Miss Hollis adds, "these were brave words when they meant that the magistrates would impose the full three months. Another vendor arrested for the eighth time gave his name as John Quelph, King of the Unstamped. Another vendor arrested for the third time, told the magistrate 'There is no charge against me that I know of. I am, however, proud of the honour of going to prison for selling the Poor Mans Guardian. The same magistrate during another case, happened to look at the Poor Mans Guardian when the vendor quickly said to him "I am glad to see it in your hands, for the first time, a newspaper of the true sort". A young boy vendor when being arrested cried out that he was being "murdered" and a crowd of 700 to 1000 rescued him... the police officer had to drive away for his own safety and on another occasion, after an attempted arrest a policeman found it necessary to flee over the top of the house. "One person was supposed to have hired two men.... to tear down the placards of the Unstamped; one of them was caught at Lambeth and ducked in a horsepond". The publisher of a "calico

fourpenny POLITICAL HANDKERCHIEF" told readers: "Your wives and daughters may become moving monuments of political knowledge. One shall be dressed in a description of kingcraft, another in a description of priestcraft, a third in a description of Lordcraft, or general aristocracy....The nakedness of mankind shall be covered both as to body and mind..." Two leading vendors put out the POLITICAL TOUCHWOOD, a sheet of shaving thin plywood, as "a profession of faith calculated to ignite human understanding..." which was described by a third party as "a Seditious and Inflammatory Publication."

In two chapters, one on the "Old Ideology" and another on the "New Ideology", Miss Hollis interprets the content of the Unstamped Press. The structuring of the content in this way, I think, buttresses Miss Hollis's thesis that the rhetoric of the "Old Ideology" (which looked back to Paine, Spence, Peterloo, The Black Dwarf, etc., and denounced "Old Corruption, Priestcraft, and Taxation...the language of natural rights not the language of economic analysis") retarded to a significant extent, though not wholly of course, the development of a valid (and therefore presumably politically effective) economic analysis. To reduce the content of the Unstamped to such a formal abstraction as an "Ideology" will, inevitably, elevate the attitudes of the publishers of the Unstamped themselves while at the same time relegate the responses of the working people at large as insignificant, impracticable and unpolitic, especially if they should appear to be impulsive or instinctive.

Miss Hollis does not accept that there existed during the period of the Unstamped (c.1830-36) a "working class", nor that the experience of the Unstamped helped to establish one. "What was 'made' during the 1830's was not a class, but class consciousness." While at the same time she shows that from the proprietors of the Unstamped Press's point of view "what mattered was not the degree of homogeneity within the respective parties" (i.e. the middle and working class) "but the size of the gap between them." She also shows that the middle and working class were considered, by the proprietors of the Unstamped Press, to be ranged either side of "the Vote." A less laborious and less obscure way to have acknowledged the problem of defining the "working class" would have been to acknowledge the observations of psychologists and philosophers, i.e. that people can only identify themselves in crude and uncertain terms and that any 'group' or 'class' identity must therefore necessarily be accepted as at best very crude.

Throughout The Pauper Press reaction to the fourpenny tax on every newspaper is divided into middle class and working class. Chapters too, are designated for interpretation in this form. In her final chapter Miss Hollis writes that "Reckoned by middle class criteria" the working class (extra legal/parliamentary) campaign "was perhaps the most successful of the decade." She contends that her study/interpretation of the Unstamped Press will show where previous historians have failed, that by 1836 the working class radicals and the middleclass were in closer "alliance" than in 1830. After 1836

government left a penny tax remaining on newspapers and "opposition to the penny stamp still remained a bond of sympathy between middle and working class radicals during the years of Chartism and its aftermath.

With an "alliance" on one hand and the "bond of sympathy" on the other Miss Hollis concludes, ambiguously, unenthusiastically, her chapter "THE MIDDLE CLASS CAMPAIGN" (for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge) "Although few of the middle class radicals would have agreed, perhaps, their greatest success was to create a more sympathetic and tolerant attitude towards the Unstamped". Later in the study (Conclusion) where the alliance is being emphasised, one reads with regard to the middle class campaign: "Unless middle class men were expected to join the ranks of the victims" (i.e. the imprisoned vendors and publishers of the Unstamped) "It is hard to see what more they could have done". Apart from wondering whether this opinion was more biographical than historical it does seem that in pursuing contextual themes supporting rationalisations have crept in.

As the foregoing shows, Miss Hollis raises some important questions. The alliance at the end of the campaign she points out, as being of considerable significance e.g. it enabled Franchis Place to help William Lovett to draw up "The Charter". The representative nature of the alliance (i.e. The London Working Mens Association) and of "The Charter" origins are contentious points. Graham Wallas in his life of Place wrote "The Working Mens Association gave Chartism its name and programme, but never had any considerable voice in its direction". Wallace also noted that "before Place consented" to help Lovett with drawing up The Charter he made the leaders of the W.M.A. promise that they would prevent speeches against the New Poor Law or for Socialism being delivered from their platforms". Place was aged sixty five at this time and Lovett described him as a "clear headed and warm hearted old gentleman" and there is strong evidence that would suggest that this group of working class radicals and place, meeting from half past ten till one o'clock at Lovett's coffee house in Grays Inn Road every Sunday Morning were more susceptible to Place's persuasiveness than his politics. Additionally, Place was at this time disillusioned with the Whigs. Even the Metropolitan Anti Corn Law Association did not get off the grounds. Instead, "Corn Law Repeal" like "Chartism" flirtation rooted itself in the Northern manufacturing districts. One could interpret the flirtation of the middle class Complete Suffrage Union (in collusion with the Anti Corn Law League) with the Chartists (c.1841/2) as an alliance. One could also see it as an index of the worsening fortunes of the A.C.L.L.

Miss Hollis confines her study to "The London Unstamped Press" the provincial Unstamped being referred to only occasionally on points of comparison... further coverage of the provincial Unstamped would not substantially affect the analysis". The campaign against the stamp tax (both middle and working class) was "A London Campaign". The London Unstamped it seems grew out of the enthusiasm generated by the July Revolution in France (1830) and fed on the general atmosphere leading up to the Reform Bill Agitation. On the other hand the provincial Unstamped e.g. Joshua Hobson's "Voice of the West Riding" (Leeds) and John Doherty's "Poor Mans Advocate" (Manchester) emerged as a result of the Factory Reform Bill. Clearly there is a difference of emphasis... Was the pamphleteering tradition stronger in the North? Miss Hollis, in her chapter on the "New Ideology" shows that the London Unstamped did theorise about the ethics of "laissez faire" economics and attempted to develop a counter theory. But perhaps one had to live in the "manufacturing districts" to retain an indelible impression of "laissez faire" economics and the "gulf" between masters and operatives.

J.T. Ward in his study "The Factory Movement" points out that it was not till December 1833 that Hetherington was "converted by the operatives" of the North "to Factory Reform" when only a few months earlier he had described Oastler and Sadler, in the Poor Mans Guardian, as "very selfish fellows". The point is, were the publishers of the London Unstamped really knowledgeable about life, and politics, in the northern industrial centres where working class and middle class radicals were to confront each other throughout the Chartist period? Was it significant that it took a "face to face" meeting between Hetherington and the Northern operatives, in their own environment, before they were "converted"? Was Place really knowledgeable about conditions and politics in the North? Norman McCord in his study "The Anti Corp Law League" notes that Place, "as late as March 1839 had no knowledge of Archibald Prentice. Unyet Prentice had been editor of the Manchester Times since 1828; had played a leading role in Manchester's first Parliamentary election (September 1832); had been very influential in the Manchester Political Union, founded overtly in November 1830 but apparently existing underground till 500 members had been enrolled (this union, - like Place's London based National Political Union - was used to counter the influence of the working class "Huntities" who were associates of the London "Rotundists", during the Reform Bill agitation). In an article "Francis Place and Working Class History", by W.E.S. Thomas (see: The Historical Journal 1962) Place it seems "attributed the misery of the handloom weavers in Lancashire to the profligacy of their fathers".... and once said he would be hanged rather than visit (the) Industrial areas of the North.

A symptom of the difficulty in assessing the significance/representativeness of the working class radical leaders, their Unstamped Press, and their "alliance" with the middle class radicals is illustrated by Miss Hollis's handling of a chapter devoted to the IMPACT made by the Unstamped Press. This chapter I thought well written because the reader was directly involved in considering the difficulties of making such an assessment. Miss Hollis asks a series of questions which pose the problems. For example, she writes "it is hard to assess other sources of influence such as the local stamped paper read in the public house, or the battered copy of Paine on the shelf of an old radical; and it is equally hard to know what would count as success. How much of the rhetoric? How much money? How large a reception? and again; "No content analysis of the Northern Star, for example, could isolate the lingering influence of the Poor Mans Guardian as distinct from that of Owenism or Paine or the missionary work of the National Union of the Working Classes and the London Working Mens Association delegates". In spite of the above, rhetoric is dated, isolated and judged. For example following on from the above one reads "O'Brien, innovate on the older order of rhetoric of 1819" and the quote again continues "It was not just this language of 1819 was out of place; by 1850 it was without meaning and emotion".

Of course the working people the Unstamped and the Chartist leaders tried to speak to, and on behalf of, must have, to a large degree, lacked many of the characteristics of the audiences who were appealed to by the middle class radicals who agitated for the Reform Bill and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Among these "characteristics" could be respectability which in turn opened the doors of Institutions, drawing rooms, and of course commercial establishments. Then again education, which allowed them to exploit the use of rhetoric to an extent which must have been impossible for the working class radical leaders. This articulation enabled the middle class radicals, in a sense, to juggle with the laws and therefore the security of established institutions. Hamburger writes, in his study "James Mill and the Art of Revolution" of the middle class radicals using "rhetoric, skillfully combining a allusions to potential physical force while at the same time calling for the

maintenance of law and order... even the proposals for arming the middle class unions were justified on the grounds that this would protect order and property in the face of popular unrest during the Reform Bill agitation.

Interestingly, Hamburger notes Lord Melbourne's calmness (as Home Secretary) in the face of the middle class threat. Whereas Miss Hollis notes with regard to The Pauper Press "Melbourne was far from being the idle dilettante of his portraits. His energy in chasing sedition was tempered only by the cause of cautious and perhaps more liberal attitudes of his law officers". Could it have been that rhetoric, politics and Ideology aside (in a marginal sense) in the final analysis the ruling classes knew instinctively that they had more in common with the middle classes than the "great unwashed". (One recalls that when the middle class Complete Suffrage Union attempted to link up with the Chartists in 1841, Cobden decided the Chartists would "be useful in our rear to frighten the aristocracy"). Clearly other criteria besides "economic analysis" and "rhetoric" were determining events, especially where working class fortunes were concerned.

It was the traditional acceptance of assumptions like the "inevitability of machinery" and the "futility" of the "Luddites" actions which E.J. Hobsbawm pointed out had "obscured a good deal of history" because nobody researched further than these assumptions. The alternatives open to a popular spokesman (or spokesmen) of working class politics during the first half of the 19th Century have almost always been structured to suit the "moral force" case. Even the "physical force" agitation which the middle class radicals aged to obtain the Reform Bill was quietly passed over. Had the Pauper Press been less rhetorical and developed an "economic analysis" what would it have achieved, on wonders? D. Read and E. Glasgow in their biography of Feargus O'Connor tried to question some of the traditional assumptions, in something like fair terms, in the "Conclusion" to their study. They wrote that "The Chartist Movement could not have been conducted on the terms of L.W.M.A. Later, as soon as the Charter was launched as a popular document a demagogue was needed Lovett, Place and others at the time, followed by many historians since, have said that O'Connor's noisy demagoguery, far from making the Chartist movement, deprived it of its success. The assumption is that Parliament and government might have conceded the Charter to a quiet rational movement. In fact, this would not have happened. O'Connor's noisy methods may have provided parliament and government with an excuse for refusing the Charter; but in any case parliament regarded Chartist principles as quite impracticable, not worth serious consideration... Secondly, in considering O'Connor's threatening language, we must not forget the terrible conditions of the time. Historians can talk easily about the "Industrial Revolution", "distress",... and other abstractions (this biography has done the same) but to contemporaries these were not abstractions, but dark realities". This concluding chapter was, funnily (and ironically) enough singled out by reviewers in the academic historical journals as being "unconvincing", one noted authority on the period seeing it as "a serious weakness", adding, he saw "no good reason for revising" the traditionally unfavourable verdict upon its subject". This reaction was "ironical" because Reak and Blasgow had also noted that "O'Connor's lack of intellectual originality", demagoguery, etc., "had irritated some academic historians".

The criteria by which the effectiveness of a political activists ideas and the presentation of them can be measured is an imponderable, regardless of whether its O'Connor "haranguing" the inarticulate "great unwashed" or, for example, and articulate

This mysterious "variable" plays its part. Hobsbawn in his short essay on Paine, was highly critical of Paine's "political proposals" describing them as "ridiculously moderate. His goal, 'Universal peace, civilisation and commerce', was that of most Victorian Free Traders" (the validity of which need not, in the present context be examined) unyeet simply because of this fact and the "extraordinary, and indeed probably unparalleled, success as a spokesman of revolt" Paine was "an historical problem". Finally and unequivocally Hobsbawn writes of "this profoundly and instinctively revolutionary man" (re: Rights of Man) "Even now, as we read those clear, simple sentences in which commonsense rises to heroism and a cast-iron bridge spans the distance between Thetford and the new Jerusalem, we are exhilarated and moved, and if we believe in Man, how can we fail, even now, to cheer him".

Joseph Hamburger's study "deals with James Mill (who thought of the Press as the main instrument of intimidation) solely as a theoretician of Radical strategy, and examines the efforts made by him and other Radicals to shape the governing classes image of public feeling and especially their image of the popular disposition to violence". Hamburger concerns hi self specifically with that period when, Miss Hollis points out, "pressure" on the Home Secretary to suppress the Unstamped Press "was at its height", namely, the period of the Reform Bill agitation (with which Hamburger is concerned) of 1831/2.

The first part of Miss Hollis's study looks at Edwin Chadwick's middle class "Society for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge" which had been founded as early as February 1831. This campaign never really gathered momentum untill the closing years of Miss Hollis's period. The Whig politician Lord Althorpe had favoured "Repeal" while out of office, but by November 1830 "holding office changed minds". By June 1831 Place was advising other Millite Radicals to drop "Repeal" until the "Reform Bill was through". The same Millite Radicals to drop "REPEAL" were prominent in the "Repeal Campaign" (Grote, Chadwick, Roebuck, Place, etc). also agitated for the Reform Bill and their activities re. this latter agitation and its effects upon the fortunes of the Unstamped Press, and working class radicalism, are not covered in The Pauper Press. Miss Hollis writes that it was during the campaign for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge that the middle class radicals developed the various techniques of "lobbying,..debating,..and organising public opinion" (p.298), but after reading Hamburger's study I feel inclined to think that these techniques were perfected during the Reform Bill agitation (along with others more of a more dubious nature, which were never resorted to in support of the UNstamped.)

While Hetherington's Poor Mans Guardian advertised: "WANTED. Some hundreds of POOR MEN, out of employ, who have NOTHING TO RISK", (i.e. preferably "young..... unskilled and unmarried") "some of those unfortunate wretches to whom DISTRESS has made a PRISON a desirable home...": Lord Brougham thought the Unstamped in the hands "of such desperate circumstances and character that neither the Universal and legal nor the moral sanction has sufficient hold upon them" dangerous. Brougham thought their "doctrines" alarming and James Mill thought the Rotundists "fools... rascals" and their idead "ugly". The proprietor of the "Examiner", a Millite journal, refused to publish his sub-editors views on the Rotundists (who were indivisible from the Unstamped) because they were so embittered: the sub-editor was Edwin Chadwick (see: S.E.Finer's "Life...of Edwin Chadwick"). Of especial importance were the activities of the Millite radicals during the nine months leading up to the passage of the Reform Bill in June 1832. Place (who considered the Unstamped

newspapers "obnoxious") led a campaign during this period against the N.U.W.C. and Unstamped "Poor Mans Guardian" which Hamburger describes as "ruthless" and "unscrupulous"

It is difficult in the light of Hamburger's study, to make much of Miss Hollie's observation that "Until the summer of 1832 both the N.U.W.C. and the P.M.G. drew heavily on current events - the king's speech, the formation of the National Political Union, the Bristol Riots - for their raw material. The P.M.G. also carried editorials on the futility of the Reform Bills while the N.U.W.C. ignored the subject (on the preceding page Miss Hollis had remarked that the N.U.W.C. "reluctantly supported the Reform Bill"). When the N.U.W.C. did debate more abstract concerns, such as working class rights, property, capital and labour, then Cleave, Hibbert, or Watson were invariably either in the chair or the leading speakers. Left to itself the N.U.W.C. debated current wrongs in the language of Old Corruption", p.246). If Hetherington too often lapsed into the language Miss Hollis cites from the P.M.G. (d.3/12/1831. Hetherington is envisaging the demand for Universal Suffrage being met, and "the term Classe merging into some comprehensive appellation...") it's little wonder that they use language of Old Corruption. Clearly what both these studies illustrate, more urgently, is the need for a thorough study of the London based N.U.W.C. and their provincial associates.

Like Miss Hollis, Hamburger has quite a bit to say about the relationship between "rhetoric" and "political strategy/Ideology". Hamburger's whole study centres around this relationship. Hamburger concludes that the oft referred to "revolutionary" situation that was supposed to have been imminent at the time the Reform Bill was passe was less real than rhetorical. The Millite Radicals enjoyed access to a number of influential (and respectable) journals and newspapers: some of the letters editorials and reports they were able to grossly manipulate, even on occasions it seems suppressing reports. They had the ear of various M.P.'s and had access to Government Ministers. In as much as their Reform "agitation" can be said to have been extra-parliamentary, Hamburger contends it was geared primarily to the never-ending drawing up of "Resolutions" and "Petitions" and "rhetorical" propaganda through the various communications media. Hamburger notes, for example, that the National Political Union which Place hurriedly organised to counter the influence of the "Rotundists" N.U.W.C. "sponsored no open air public meeting throughout the Reform Bill agitation": this excludes of course the founding meeting.

What rioting that did take place, like the Bristol Riots and the rural incendiarism of Captain Swing, for example, was propagandised by the Millite's in order to terrorise the apathetic and non-reformist middle and upper classes into conceding Reform. This rhetorical propaganda, together with the correspondence passing between the Millite's, Hamburger surveys in a chapter entitled "The Language of Menace", running into some fifty pages. One might add that the Millite radicals paid no regard to either the short or long term effect such discreditable images of the poor and the unenfranchised would have upon their (the poor's) future social and political aspirations. Miss Hollis points out re. the period when the Millite radicals decided to create a public opinion favourable to the "Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge"....." the problem was, that the public opinion the (Millite) radicals found was a working class opinion created by the Unstamped. It was unrespectable, extravagant, and beyond the law. The public opinion the middle class Radicals tried to create from 1835 was more middle class, respectable and constitutional". The public opinion the Millite Radicals

found was not, I think, solely that created by the Unstamped Press. S.E. Finer has noted in his biography of the Millite Radical Edwin Chadwick that he too used extravagant, rhetorical, language/images in his Reports/writings re. Poor Law and Police Reform (p.167). In doing so Chadwick consciously and calculatedly discredited sections of the community most likely to be affected by those same reforms when presented, accepted, and administered in such a spirit. Miss Hollis's study provides abundant evidence that the Unstamped Press aspired to speak for these oppressed groups.

Miss Hollis in a section on "The Government and the Unstamped" mentions only in passing, a pamphlet which she suggests enthused the Home Office in its campaign against the Unstamped and the N.U.W.C. No indication is given of the content or circumstances surrounding the appearance of this pamphlet. The pamphlet in question appeared shortly after the Bristol Riots of October 1831 at precisely the time when the Millite radicals under Place's leadership were frantically trying to crush the N.U.W.C. Undoubtedly the pamphlet appeared with Place's connivance and blessing for the author was a long standing acquaintance of his, and James Mill, and subscribed to the Benthamite creed. The author, E.W. Gibbon, a middle class radical with Quaker connections had emerged "miraculously", unscathed from Newgate Prison in May 1830, after having served three years for having abducted a young girl whose only attraction, for him, had been her father's wealth. I say this acquaintance of Place's had "miraculously" emerged because unlike Henry Mayhew's writings of the itinerant London population of a later date Gibbon's 16 page pamphlet "HOUSEHOLDERS IN DANGER FROM THE POPULACE" was a scurrilous libel on that section of the community and the N.U.W.C.

Very briefly Gibbon's Newgate friends had intimated to him of an imminent plan to sack the town (London) in a style similar to the then contemporary riots at Bristol. The Rotundists or as Gibbon designates them "THE DESPERADOES" who read "cheap trash" (the Unstamped) comprising some "1,000 .. slovenly .. Huntities .. of weak intellect .. deficient foreheads .. and sinister expression" and the "fanatical Owenites" are to lead "30,000 .. COMMON THIEVES ... 50,000 .. of the 'RABBLE' who live in extreme poverty "within five miles of St. Pauls" and their close associates "1,000 of the lowest class of prostitutes" (these are the "mistresses of the soldiery). Every outrage imaginable is to be committed by this "populace" without regard to life or property. Circulating concurrently was another of Gibbon's pamphlets "SWING UNMASKED: or the causes of rural incendiarism". In this pamphlet the pauperised rural labourers are divided into two groups. Firstly there are the "physically deformed" who are cowardly" and whose "supineness" prevents them from taking any part in the rural disturbances. The second group, however, have a life style with which Gibbon sympathises: they are the "poachers ...and.... smugglers... and "incendiarists" whose..."judgement must be admired "for they outwit the rural Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy. Indeed, a detail by detail plan of operations for any would be incendiarist is included in the text. This group of peasants are non other than the "able bodied" paupers who courageous life style was so shortly afterwards to be severely restricted under the provisions of the Benthamite New Poor Law. The admirable antics of these "able bodied" incendiarists should be compared with the London Rotundists, of whom Gibbon specifically wrote in the "Householders..1" pamphlet of being "loose single men, who might set fire to London without anxiety for helpless beings at home ". The "Swing" pamphlet has a

direct reference to "Mr Place" recommending a tract of his. The safety mechanism in both these pamphlets was the passage of the Reform Bill.

Both the Tories and working class Radicals considered that there was Collusion between the Whig Ministry, the Millite Radicals and sections of the stamped press. Both Hamburger and Hollis allude to these charges, although perhaps somewhat ingeniously. Miss Hollis quotes a Home Office source on Hetherington speaking at the Rotunda (at the height of the Millite Radical/Whig Ministry's campaign against the N.U.W.C./Unstamped. Hetherington described the Times as a "prostitute of the government". Lord Chancellor Brougham was at this time "feeding the Times news of the Cabinet". Hamburger shows convincingly that Joseph Parkes (Francis Place's closest collaborator and backroom manipulator of the Birmingham Political Union's affairs) was able to use the columns of the Times pretty freely, as circumstances dictated.

Similarly Parkes was at this time receiving "secret correspondence" from the Attorney General Lord Althorpe (with the Prime Ministers connivance) suggesting that Parkes privately moderate the activities/propaganda of the JB.P.U. whose middle class radical supporters were at this time organising along "quasi-military lines". Otherwise Althorpe said the Ministry would feel "obliged" to take steps of their own: he also expressed some concern that this might alienate the middle class political unions throughout the country. He clearly didn't want this to happen. Miss Hollis makes the point that Colonel Macerone's pamphlet "DEFENSIVE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE"... "on street warfare, which showed how to make lances and how to construct barricades was common enough in middle class radical circles but very much more alarming in working class hands". Nothing was done by Althorpe about Gibbon's inflammatory pamphlets although Miss Hollis quotes Althorpe's opinion/directive re. the Prosecution of Richard Carlile for advising the "insurgent agricultural labourers" in the Unstamped "Prompter" Althorpe wrote: "If we could proceed in the prosecution I am sure it would be right to do it". At this time the N.U.W.C. leader's letters were being intercepted (Hollis. p. 44) as were those of their associates in the provinces e.g. Manchester (Hamburger. p. 243). There doesn't seem to have been any similar "interception" of middle class mail, in spite of their "quasi-military organisation" at this time.

"It has sometimes been suggested that the relationship between the (Millite) Radicals and the Whig Gov't was one not so much of collusion, where the leaders of the Whig Gov't were WILLING AND COOPERATIVE ALLIES" (my emphasis). Hamburger continues: "If collusion is understood to mean that the Ministers deliberately conspired with AGITATORS (my emphasis) in order to create situations that would provide evidence either of riotous conduct or pro-reform sentiments, it is difficult to substantiate such charges". Considering the parties involved it would seem idealistic to expect evidence to fit the above terms of reference. People who act in collusion may not admit the fact publically, nor even to themselves. Hamburger says further on: "The Millite Radicals looked upon most of the Ministers, not as men with whom they were in collusion but as the objects of their manipulations. It was a situation in which each group thought it was using the other for its own purposes; this did not even involve a tacit agreement, for each felt the other was at best difficult to control, and that it was a continuous and uncertain struggle for to do so".

Would the Whig Ministers have seen the middle class radicals (or the radicals have seen themselves) as "Agitators"? I would suspect the middle class radicals would

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have disliked being described thus. There was a fair bit of stigma attached to the term. (One recalls Disraeli's reference to the term in a passage discrediting the Reform Ministry in his political novel "Coningsby" (Book 2. Chapter 1). Daniel O'Connell speaking in the House of Commons re. the militant Sturgeite "Abolitionists" said: "Are they idle and violent agitators, who delight in the convulsions of the State and disregard social order, men who look to the chances of revolution as holding out hope of their being possibly useful to their interests? No. They are the steadiest, soberest, most industrious and most respectable men.."). Absolm Watkin a leader of the Manchester "Reformers" (who agitated for the Reform Bill) was very careful to designate the working class "Huntites" as "Radicals" in the numerous entries he made in his "Journal" during the Reform Bill Agitation. He was equally careful to describe his associates as "Reformers", Middle class "Radicals" in London, or "Reformers in Manchester", may well have accepted that they collectively "agitated" for the Refrom Bill, but that they were personally "agitators" (which begged the question of their personal respectability etc., without the benefit of the anonymity which the group confers) is doubtful. Certainly a study which would be of value would be one along the lines of "The Language of Middle Class Radicalism/Politics 1800-1850". The different interpretations put upon middle class reformist movements, with and without a background of working class radicalism, might provide some interesting insights on "respectability", "public order", and the "language of "Free Trade".

Both of the studies reviewed here I found very interesting and they are no doubt of considerable value. Hamburger's study lends itself to consistant arguementation far more easily than does that of Miss Hollis's and therefore I suppose one is inclined to consider it the more readable. But there is an immense amount of "detail" in The Pauper Press which has had to be, of course, left untouched, and which in some respects may not be immediately appreciated for the reasons mentioned at the start of this review.