

Notes

Notes to the introduction

- 1 *Tribune*, 3: 200.
- 2 The idea of magical thinking is linked to an anthropological tradition that distinguishes 'primitive' from 'rational' thought, for instance, in Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's *How Natives Think* (1966). Interestingly in relation to print Bronisław Malinowski's *Magic, Science and Religion* (1954) identified it directly with the idea that words could directly alter the world. My usage acknowledges the persistence of this kind of magical faith at the heart of Enlightenment narratives of progress rather than regarding it as anything to do with 'primitive' societies.
- 3 See the discussion in IKD, especially 551–603, on the Treasonable Practices Bill, and for a summary of the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Bill, see Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty*, 887–8.
- 4 To John Ashley, 19 October 1795, BL, Add MS Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, 27815, ff. 5–6. On connections between the London societies and Scotland, see Harris, 'Scottish-English Connections in British Radicalism'. The letter from Sands is discussed at 203–6.
- 5 Among canonical literary figures, William Godwin's influence is more to the fore than might be expected, partly because his ideas circulated through Thelwall and his popular lectures.
- 6 See Chapter 6 for a discussion of these issues in relation to Thelwall.
- 7 On the 'everyday', see Steedman's *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class*, where the term is used in relation to the stocking-maker Joseph Woolley. Woolley's autobiographical writing pushes against the construction of working-class consciousness in the Thompsonian tradition. In Steedman's eyes, Woolley represents one of those '*who were not as the workers ought to have been*', (7, italics in the original), a reference to Jacques Rancière's *La Nuit des prolétaires* (1981, translated as *Nights of Labour* in 1989). Rancière's workers did not write about their work or class consciousness. They wrote to join the republic of letters via poetry and romantic reveries. My study returns to the familiar Thompsonian ground of London radicalism, but with regard to the way it came to know itself through the everyday practices of print culture.

- 8 On Robert Thomson's application to the Literary Fund in November 1816, after his return from exile in France, someone has scribbled: 'Son of Robert Thomson, schoolmaster of Banff & Brother of George Thomson Editor of the "Collection of Scotch Songs", the friend & correspondent of Burns.' See BL, Royal Literary Fund, Loan 96 RLF 1/351/1
- 9 See Newman's 'Moderation in the *Lyrical Ballads*: Wordsworth and the Ballad Debates of the 1790s' forthcoming in *Studies in Romanticism*.
- 10 See Steedman, *Everyday Life*, especially 7–10.
- 11 See Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, especially Part I, and also Penelope Corfield, 'Class by name and number'.
- 12 See my discussion on page 74.
- 13 Parr was particularly close to Gerrald. See the detailed account of their relationship in Field, *Memoirs of Parr*, 1: 338–49. In the course of researching his *Parriana*, E. H. Barker wrote to Thelwall, 16 November 1825, asking for details of Gerrald and whether it was true he had written the song 'Remember the Patriots' while awaiting trial. Barker returned the song Thelwall had lent him in a letter to Francis Place, 16 November 1825. See BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27816, ff. 234 and 236. Neither Barker nor Field has anything to say about the relationship with Merry. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *English Della Crusicans*, 65, notes that Merry 'always spoke of Parr with affection'.
- 14 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 69 (1799), 54.
- 15 See the discussion of this phrase page 117.
- 16 For a very useful recent account of the Scottish context of these traditions, see Honeyman, 'That ye may judge for yourselves'.
- 17 The description of Reid's origins comes from the obituary in the *Annual Register*, 68 (1826), 253–4. No mention is made of his radicalism there, although his religious leanings – 'he was long bewildered in the labyrinths of mystical divinity' – are raised. His parents were in the employ of the Duke of Hamilton, rumoured to be Reid's father, who had him educated at St James's parochial school. See the letter from 'Crito Sceptic' and James Perry's reply in the *Gazetteer*, 8 January 1787. Haig, *The Gazetteer 1735–1797*, notes that Reid's poetry appeared in the paper regularly for the next six years. Reid had been involved in the Foxite *Rolliad* project before he joined Perry at the *Gazetteer*. After Perry left the paper, Reid provided copy for the new editors William Radcliffe and then D. E. MacDonnell. Various receipts for Reid's work at the *Gazetteer* up to the end of 1794 are at C 104/67 and 104/68 at the National Archive, Kew. On 30 May 1793, the LCS ordered that a thousand copies of a patriotic song composed by Reid should be printed for distribution to the members. See *Selections*, 67. This was probably 'Hum! Hum!' (see figure 1). For further details of his career, see McCalman, 'The Infidel as Prophet' and Haig, *The Gazetteer 1735–1797*, 205–7 and 224–5. 'Anecdotes of W. H. Reid; and his Progress in Poetry', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 58 (1788), 593–4, offers an account of Reid's early life.
- 18 Reid applied to the Literary Fund for relief in 1802. He confessed in his application that early praise for his poetry misled his 'warm imagination' to

- believe he was ‘pursuing the track to fame and glory’. In 1806, his name appears in a list of dubious claimants, who ‘ought, on any future application, to be referred to a Committee of Enquiry’. Nevertheless he continued to apply to the Fund with success until his death, when his widow also applied. See the full case file at BL, Royal Literary Fund, Loan 96 RLF 1/117.
- 19 See Mark Philp’s chapter, ‘The Fragmented Ideology of Reform’ in his *Reforming Ideas in Britain*.
 - 20 See Mercier, *Fragments of Politics and History*, 1: 78. Mercier believed: ‘The world is governed by books. Why? Because the human race requires knowledge, and because every successful revolution may be ascribed to either letters or philosophy.’ See *ibid.*, 1: 126.
 - 21 In this regard, popular radical culture might be regarded as an episode within Siskin and Warner’s idea of the Enlightenment as ‘an event in mediation’. See Siskin and Warner’s ‘This is Enlightenment: An Invitation’, especially 12–15.
 - 22 See Suarez, ‘Towards a Bibliometric Analysis’.
 - 23 ‘A Short View of the State of Knowledge, Literature, and Taste, in this Country’, *New Annual Register for 1781* (1782), xx. Michael Warner quotes from this essay, *Letters of the Republic*, 33, but references it to the American Presbyterian theologian Samuel Miller’s *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803).
 - 24 See Allan, *A Nation of Readers*, and St Clair, *The Reading Nation*, Chapters 2 and 13 respectively.
 - 25 See the discussion in Chapter 1.
 - 26 On eighteenth-century theories of virtual representation, see Pole, *Political Representation in England* and Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform*.
 - 27 See Warner, ‘Transmitting Liberty’, 103–4.
 - 28 Theorists who have influenced my thinking on these issues include Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*; and Sennet, *The Fall of Public Man*. Epstein, discussed on page 45, has done most to establish the importance of the ‘spatial turn’ for thinking about popular radicalism. See also Featherstone, ‘The Spaces of Politics of the London Corresponding Society’, Parolin, *Radical Spaces*, and Newman’s excellent articles ‘Edmund Burke in the Tavern’ and ‘Civilizing Taste’.
 - 29 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 182.
 - 30 See Chapter 2.
 - 31 Reeves, ‘Report on Sedition, 29 April 1794’, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/965, f. 29.
 - 32 Rousseau, *A Treatise of the Social Compact*, 118. See also, *ibid.*, 123: ‘The sovereignty, however, cannot be represented, and that for the same reason that it cannot be alienated. It consists essentially of the general will, and the will cannot be represented: it is either identically the same, or some other; there can be no mean term in the case.’ I quote from the 1795 translation Eaton published in his Political Classics series.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, 49. The phrase ‘general will’ was often used by those involved in the radical societies, but rarely with any specific reference to Rousseau’s technical sense of the term.

- 34 See Chapter 6.
- 35 On the context for Eaton's series, see Chapter 1.
- 36 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 272. Paine's faith in discussion as the expression of the general will was mocked by loyalists like George Chalmers in his *Life of Thomas Paine*, 91: 'Were the *question* sent to the schoolboys of England, as the *arbitrators*, the *general will* would determine, with much *discussion*, that the foregoing quotations exhibit the most egregious instances of bad grammar and despicable ignorance.' Avoiding any direct address to the question of the sources of the general will, behind this passage is an assumption that only those who had access to good grammar and education could presume to represent it.
- 37 Cotlar, *Tom Paine's America*, 161. Unusually, using Laclau's ideas, Kevin Inston understands Rousseau's doctrine of unrepresentability as tending towards an open-ended quest for democracy by affirming the impossibility of closure. See Inston, 'Representing the Unrepresentable'.
- 38 Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 6–7, and Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 378.
- 39 For a valuable account of the influence of Rousseau in the lettered culture of the period, including the issues of transparency and unrepresentability, see Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre, and English Romanticism*.
- 40 See Siskin and Warner's discussion of the relationship of their work to Habermas's in this regard, 'This is Enlightenment : An Invitation', 22–3.
- 41 Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 3.
- 42 Coleridge, *The Friend*, no. 10, 19 October 1809; 2: 138.
- 43 See Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 42.
- 44 Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 35.
- 45 See Goodrich, 'Radical "Citizens of the World"', 613, on radicalism 'from "above" rather than below'.
- 46 For important contributions to the relations between abolitionism and radicalism, see Walvin's 'The Impact of Slavery on British Radical Politics' and *Making the Black Atlantic*. See also Huzzey, 'Moral Geography', especially, 112–13.
- 47 Goodrich, 'Radical "Citizens of the World"', 622.
- 48 P. Linebaugh and M. Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 340. Thelwall never let the question of abolition drop in his lectures. Yorke called for the 'total and unqualified emancipation of the Negro slaves'. See Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information, *Meeting, held at Sheffield*, 22.
- 49 Yorke, *Trial*, 14.
- 50 Eley, *A Crooked Line*, 10.

Notes to Chapter 1

- 1 The unenfranchised sections of the population already played a lively and important part in the theatre of politics, but primarily in relation to local issues. Philp notes that claims to innovation in the 1790s rest on the introduction of more abstract and principled forms of political literature to a plebeian audience, but also the development of ways of demythologising aspects of elite

- political discourse and the rituals and symbols of inherited authority more generally, *Reforming Ideas*, 31. The LCS offered its members direct involvement as a constituent authority in these processes rather than simply reform in their name.
- 2 Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 271.
 - 3 See Loughlin, 'Constituent Power Subverted', especially, his discussion of 'the invocation of popular sovereignty . . . located only in a parliamentary form', 42. Loughlin understands this as a deliberate strategy to 'conflate the constituent power of the people with that of the constituted authority of the commons'. For a thoughtful exploration of Loughlin's terms in relation to the 1790s, see Green, *The Majesty of the People*.
 - 4 See Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 12 and 134. Thompson excuses Thomas Hardy from this judgement, 173. See my discussion of Hardy in Chapter 2.
 - 5 See Philp's various comments on assumptions of coherence in *Reforming Ideas*, including, 288, his critique of 'a growing tendency to treat the march of ideas in ways that ascribe an order and coherence to people's thinking and acting that, in my view, does not match what people were saying and doing or how they experienced the world'.
 - 6 Alexander Stephens described meeting David Williams, Major Cartwright, and others at Ridgway's shop after Debrett's closed: 'Such shops in my time have been what certain coffee houses were in the days of the Spectator.' See 'Ridgways' in 'Stephensiana. No. vi', 138. For more on Ridgway, see Manogue, 'The Plight of James Ridgway'. Ridgway's career and its fluctuations, like many other radical booksellers mentioned in this book, would repay a full-length study.
 - 7 Hampsher-Monk, 'On Not Inventing the English Revolution', 148. Hampsher-Monk develops the useful point that radicals often sought 'to operate *on* language' (my emphasis): 'to change that language, either syntactically or in terms of the way it was socially embedded', 149, including the mining of Whig and classical sources by Eaton and others.
 - 8 Among the various commemorations of the Scottish martyrs in the nineteenth century, see *The political martyrs, Thomas Muir, Thomas Fyshe etc* [1837]. Joseph Hume initiated a campaign in 1837 that eventually saw the erection of the monument to the Scottish martyrs that now stands on Carlton Hill. He also campaigned for the second monument in London that stands at Nunhead Cemetery.
 - 9 See Eley, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures', 329. I use 'the town' in line with Habermas's formulation of the 'market of culture products' of the town as one of the constituent elements of the eighteenth-century public sphere. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 30. Many of those associated with the LCS had access at least to some aspects of the town via the newspaper, theatres, and print shops (as opposed to the 'ton'). Ian Newman's phrase 'the urban contact zone' usefully describes this sphere. See note 47 below.

- 10 Brewer, 'Commercialization and Politics', 261, and Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, 212–13.
- 11 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 272.
- 12 See Eley, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures', 326. For recent accounts of the pressures exerted on literary culture more generally by Pitt's measures, see Bugg, *Five Long Winters* and Johnston, *Unusual Suspects*.
- 13 See Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 390.
- 14 On the state of exception in relation to the situation in the 1790s, see Green, *The Majesty of the People*, especially 175.
- 15 See Jebb, *An Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex*, 9. A Unitarian minister very active in the reform movement of the 1780s, Jebb seems to have been a particularly important influence on Hardy's thinking. Hardy names Jebb among the authors he had been reading prior to setting up the LCS. See *Selections*, 5. On one of the manuscript versions of Hardy's *Memoir*, given to Sir Francis Burdett, the following epigraph from Jebb appears: 'May ye employ the most active exertions in the service of Man! Human efforts will at best appear feeble; but No Effort is Lost'. See BL, Thomas Hardy, *Memoir*, Add MS 65153B, f. 3. Thomson's *Tribute to Liberty*, 93, includes a toast to 'the memory of Dr. Jebb and may his maxim *that no effort will be lost*, be the motto of all reformers'.
- 16 See Barrell and Mee, 8: 105.
- 17 See the account of these shifts given in Philp in *Reforming Ideas*, 198–206. Paine was also collaborating on the *Argus* at this period. See page 119.
- 18 On Eaton's career, see Daniel McCue, 'Daniel Isaac Eaton and Politics for the People' and Davis's, 'Behold the Man'.
- 19 On Spence and Harrington, see Hammersley, 'Spence's *Property in Land*'.
- 20 *The Politician*, no. 1, 13 December 1794, 1 and 4.
- 21 Margarot to Thomas Hardy, 1 March 1798, BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27816, f. 112. See also, Roe, 'Maurice Margarot: Radical in Two Hemispheres'.
- 22 Hardy, 'Introductory letter to a Friend' (1799), BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817, f. 62.
- 23 Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism*, 57.
- 24 Place, *Autobiography*, 131.
- 25 The attempts of Whig newspapers like the *Morning Chronicle* to excuse Norfolk's toast were rubbished by *The True Briton* on 1 February: 'In the forty years that this toast is said to have been given, we believe it is the first time it has been given in a studied manner, the object of which evidently was to ridicule our Sovereign.' See also the discussion of the incident in Green, *Majesty of the People*, 17–23. On the SCI dinner of 2 May 1794, see pages 51–2.
- 26 Lottes, 'Radicalism, Revolution, and Political Culture', 95.
- 27 Place, *Autobiography*, 131.
- 28 *Selections*, 114. The incident is discussed in context in Chapter 2. Thelwall and Hodgson seem to have remained on good terms later. At least, Thelwall wrote to ask Hardy to secure a hat from Hodgson in May 1797.

- See Thelwall to Hardy, 19 May 1797, University of Notre Dame, Special Collections, MSE/MD 3811/3/ f. 1.
- 29 Lottes, ‘Radicalism, Revolution, and Political Culture’, 95.
- 30 See Davis, ‘The Mob Club?’ and ‘“An Evening of Pleasure Rather than Business”’; Epstein, *Radical Expression*; Epstein and Karr, ‘Playing at Revolution’; McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, especially, 1–25; Worrall, *Radical Culture*, especially, 9–35.
- 31 *Report of the Committee to the London Reforming Society*, 16–17.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 33 See *Selections*, 251, and *Correspondence of the London Corresponding Society*, 24–6.
- 34 See Chapter 4 on Pigott’s planned translation of d’Holbach and other editions in circulation.
- 35 *Report of the Committee to the London Reforming Society* [3].
- 36 *Address to the Nation from the London Corresponding Society* (1793). The discussion of the address took place over late June and early July. See *Selections*, 74–5. Thale only provides a brief excerpt from the meeting of 11 July. The minutes are at BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27812, ff. 48–55 (with a later version at 27814, ff. 121–3).
- 37 A note on the later copy of the minutes identifies Dinmore Junior as the author. See also Hardy’s letter to Paine, 15 October 1807, BL, Place Papers Dratt of Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, ff. 72–3. Dinmore was a member of the flourishing radical societies in Norwich, who migrated to the United States later in the 1790s. See Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 212–13. Citizen Lee may have intended to use Dinmore’s book for *The Crimes of the Kings and Queens of England* advertised at the end of his American edition of William Winterbotham’s *An historical . . . view of the Chinese Empire* (1796). Ridgway and Symonds originally published both Dinmore’s and Winterbotham’s books in London.
- 38 Martin was a lawyer and LCS member arraigned for treason in 1794.
- 39 Both letters are in the National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953.
- 40 See the Privy Council minutes at the National Archive, Privy Council Papers PC 2/140, f. 58. Hardy’s response is discussed in McCue, ‘Daniel Isaac Eaton and Politics for the People’, 73, and Davis, ‘Behold the Man’, 173.
- 41 Philp, *Reforming Ideas*, 294, notes that accounts of Hardy’s attachment to the Duke of Richmond’s plan tend to underestimate the way ‘constitutionalist language was repeatedly accompanied by more universalist claims’. Influenced by his religious beliefs, Hardy assumed, for instance, that anyone interested in abolition must also be concerned in the extension of the franchise. On abolition and the press, see Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery*, 58–9, 103–4, 131–2, and 137.
- 42 On abolition and petitioning, see Walvin, ‘The Impact of Slavery’, 344–5, and Oldfield, *Popular Politics*, 112. Issues about respectability that dogged petitions for reform also caused problems for the abolition petitions of 1788 and 1792.

- 43 See Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, for the classical statement of these ideas.
- 44 Eley, 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures', 306.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 304 and 305. See his comment on religious traditions, 306.
- 46 *The Function of Criticism*, 24. The phrase 'counter-public sphere' goes back to Negt and Kluge's *Public Sphere and Experience*, where it is identified with that 'unity of the proletarian context of living', 6, which corresponds in certain regards with my attempt to ground this book in the everyday life of print relations, despite my scepticism about the 'unity' of those relations.
- 47 I take the phrase 'urban contact zone' from Ian Newman's 'Civilizing Taste', 450. The LCS and its associates can be understood within Michael Warner's broad definition of a counterpublic as 'formed by their conflict with the norms and contexts of their cultural environment, and this context of domination inevitably entails distortion'. See Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 63. My reservations come in relation to definitions that seem to overstate the degree of autonomy of the publics involved. See Nancy Fraser's idea of 'parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs' in 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', 123. I am indebted to Fraser's thinking about Habermas, but 'parallel discursive arenas' may not be a helpful formulation if strictly taken to imply two lines that do not cross.
- 48 Parkinson is a fascinating figure who awaits a full discussion in terms of his role in the radical politics of the 1790s. He was close to Eaton and a member of the Physical Society with Thelwall (see Chapter 6). On his medical work, see Critchley, ed., *James Parkinson*.
- 49 See McCue, 'Daniel Isaac Eaton', 72.
- 50 See Aldgate Society of the Friends of the People, *A Thing of Shreds and Patches*. This pamphlet, dated March 1793, brings together extracts from various sources, including Burke, Pitt, and others, as resolutions of the society. The notes indicate the ironies in the main text, including the word 'leveller', identified as a principle of despotism. The pamphlet was sold by Parsons and signed S. Godfrey, Lord George Gordon's attorney. The Aldgate Society merged with the LCS soon afterwards, forming division 12, before splitting again to become the British Citizens when the LCS refused to accept Godfrey as their delegate. See Chapter 2, note xx.
- 51 Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 3 and 32. Adams originally published his essay in four instalments in the *Boston Gazette*.
- 52 Quoted, *ibid.*, 1.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 54 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 159.
- 55 Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, 16.
- 56 Raven, *The Business of Books*, 132.
- 57 Place, *Autobiography*, 198.
- 58 Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 25–6.
- 59 Raven, *The Business of Books*, 132.

- 60 Preston, *Life and Opinions*, 35.
- 61 Buchan, *Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher ... and ... Thomson*, 214–15.
- 62 *Substance of Earl Stanhope's Speech*, 8.
- 63 On Stanhope's innovation, which he refused to patent, see Moran, *Printing Presses*, 49–58, and Mosley, 'Technologies of Print', 190. Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, 201, notes that the low cost of the press meant that it 'extended rather than inhibited the possibilities of small-scale decentralized manufacture', 201. Anyone with around £30 and access to a room could set up a press. Many members of the LCS were printers.
- 64 Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 3.
- 65 Thelwall, *The Tribune*, 3: 265. See the discussion in Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, 116.
- 66 See the discussion of Burke's trope in *ibid.*, 73–4. On 'transmission' as opposed to 'communication', see my introduction.
- 67 See Chapter 6 for a detailed account.
- 68 Thelwall, *Political Lectures*, (no. II.) *Sketches of the history of prosecutions for political opinion*, 10–11 and 29.
- 69 BL, Thomas Handy, Memoir, Add MS 65153B, f. 28v.
- 70 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27815, f. 142.
- 71 Antitype, *Pernicious Effects of the Art of Printing*, 1.
- 72 Compare Kevin Gilmartin's account of radicals after 1815: 'confidence in a free press became a frankly polemical position directed against the government's confidence in press restrictions, and its use of print as an instrument for resisting social change', *Print Politics*, 25.
- 73 Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 26
- 74 See, for instance, examples discussed in Kropf, 'Libel and Satire' and Harling, 'The Law of Libel and the Limits of Repression', on the cumbersome and inefficient nature of the libel laws as a means of repression.
- 75 Eaton published 'King Chaunticlere; or, The Fate of Tyranny' in *Politics for the People*, no. 8, on 16 November 1793, 1: 102–7. The published article traced the allegory to a debate on the question of 'the comparative Influence of the Love of Life, of Liberty, and of the fair Sex'. Compare the later account at LT, 110, where Eaton is said to have 'dress[ed] it up in certainly very strong terms which Thelwall would never have used'.
- 76 Barrell and Mee, 1: 291–2.
- 77 The poem was published on the title page of *Politics for the People*, no. 5, 26 October 1793.
- 78 *Pig's Meat*, 2: 14.
- 79 Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, 191. See also Whyman, *Pen and the People*, 58–61, on the difference made by John Palmer's reforms of the 1780s, not least in creating the idea of a uniform, time-governed system that linked the nation.
- 80 Powell's letter is at the National Archive, Privy Council Papers, PC 1 23/38a. *Selections*, 256, notes that Powell lived near Godwin in Somers Town. The two

- seem to have socialised, perhaps prior to Powell's involvement in radical politics. Powell published *The Narcotic and Private Theatricals* (1793), with H. D. Symonds, a publisher closely associated with the radical movement. For a fuller discussion of Powell's later career in the theatre, see Worrall, *Theatrical Revolution*, 280–99. Powell wrote the story 'Such Things Are' for the LCS's MPM.
- 81 Godwin, *Enquiry concerning political justice*, 1: 21.
- 82 BL, Place Papers, Collections relating to Political Societies, Add MS 27808, f. 93. Place described Powell as 'a man whose relatives were gentlefolks, well informed respectable people, but he was an only son, had been indulged and spoiled', *Autobiography*, 179. Place seems not to have realised Powell was a spy. Nor did Thelwall. He put down the information Powell passed to the Privy Council in 1794 to 'either . . . flurry and agitation, on his own account, or from unguarded simplicity', LT, 248. Thelwall had known Powell from at least 1792.
- 83 Edward Henry Iliff, also present at the January meeting, was an actor, who in 1796 published *Angelo*, a novel, dedicated to Godwin's sometime sponsor, the notorious financier John 'Jew' King. Godwin and Iliff seem first to have met in September 1794 at a meeting of the Philomath Debating Society. Thelwall and others associated with the LCS were members of the same society. See O'Shaughnessy, 'Caleb Williams and the Philomaths' on the membership. On Godwin and Iliff, see the online Godwin diary for 30 September. They also met on 3 October. Correspondence between Godwin and Iliff survives from early 1796, when the latter was asking for help with his writing. See *The Letters of William Godwin*, 1: 161–3. At the foot of one of his letters to Godwin, 163, Iliff included 'Powel' and 'King' in a string of names whose import the philosopher could not make out. For Godwin and King, see Scrivener, 'The Philosopher and the Moneylender.' King helped finance the *Argus*. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of Iliff.
- 84 Place, *Autobiography*, 179.
- 85 Epstein, 'Spatial Practices/Democratic Vistas', 294 and 297.
- 86 Jones, *Sketch of a political tour*, 5, 26–7, 56–7.
- 87 Epstein, "'Equality and No King": Sociability and Sedition', 43.
- 88 See Munro's report, 14 November 1792, in *Selections*, 27.
- 89 Groves report, 12 June 1794, *Selections*, 184. Groves was a solicitor.
- 90 Barrell, *Spirit of Despotism*, 16–74.
- 91 Davis, 'The Mob Club?' For Hardy's account of the Bell, see *Memoir*, 44.
- 92 See Newman's 'Edmund Burke in the Tavern'.
- 93 Davis, 'The Mob Club?', 26–7.
- 94 See McCalman's 'Newgate in Revolution' for a full account of the prison as a radical hub. Godwin's diary contains numerous references to dinners and meetings in Newgate, especially in 1794. On the longer history of Newgate prison as a radical space, see Parolin, *Radical Spaces*, 17–48.
- 95 The phrase appears in a message of thanks from division 18 to the central committee, 9 July 1795, *Selections*, 261.
- 96 [David Turner], *A Short History of the Westminster Forum*. 1: 20.

- 97 *Ibid.*, 2: 90.
- 98 See Epstein, “‘Equality and No King’”, and Barrell, *Spirit of Despotism*, 75–9 and 83–6.
- 99 See National Archive, TSP, TS 11/959 for Munro’s report. The day before Frost’s trial, the government decided not to use his testimony in court to protect the identity of their spy. See the National Archive, Home Office Papers, HO 48/3.
- 100 Barrell and Mee, 1: 236–7, 239, and 246.
- 101 Barrell, *Spirit of Despotism*, 85.
- 102 *A Speech at the Whig Club*, 7–8. Ridgway published it as *The speech of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox* (1792). Fox’s allies denied that he had given the sentiments ascribed to him in the Ridgway version. *A Speech at the Whig Club* reproduces the correspondence and another poem – ‘An Answer to the Above Letters’ – mocking Fox’s defenders Andrew St John and Robert Adair. Ridgway’s third edition of the speech contained an address insisting on the veracity of the text. The back page advertised *The Last Declaration of the London Corresponding Society of the Friends of the People in Answer to the Place and Pension Society* (1792). This would seem to be the *Address of the London Corresponding Society to the other societies of Great Britain, united for obtaining a reform in Parliament* (1792).
- 103 In its hostile report, *The Times*, 15 July, complained that the chairman did not give ‘the King’, but ‘The Nation, the Law, and the King’. The same report describes Merry ‘obliged to sit patiently to hear his MUSE of FIRE so miserably murdered’. The next day, *The Times* revised its account to claim he dined quietly with Horne Tooke and Seward, afterwards joined by Paine. *Letters on the Present State of England and America*, 87, mentions a burst of applause at the rumour Paine had entered the dinner room. Godwin’s diary entry for the dinner begins: ‘Crown & Anchor: Rous & Merry: B. Hollis, Shore, Barbauld, Disney, Jennings, Rees, Morgan, Lindsey, Lewis. Fawcet sups’. Possibly both Merry and Paine appeared at the meeting, but did not stay to dine. Violence from a loyalist mob was widely feared. The presence of a crowd assembled outside Newgate planning to break out Lord Gordon was also generally reported. See, for instance, *Letters on the Present State of England and America*, 90–1, which reports both.
- 104 Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 45.
- 105 Merry, *Ode for the fourteenth of July*, 6–7. See Chapter 3 on the circulation of the ode in anthologies and elsewhere.
- 106 Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 46.
- 107 [William Fitzgerald], *The Sturdy Reformer*, 7. Fitzgerald seems to have been concerned that his poem was not being properly understood and reissued a second edition making his warnings against ‘Wolves in Sheep’s clothing’ like Paine and Horne Tooke much more explicit. See Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 48.
- 108 Merry first attends a committee meeting of the Literary Fund on 18 May 1790. Fitzgerald first attends on 4 March 1791. Merry was not at Fitzgerald’s

- first meeting, but they are both in attendance at the next one (1 April 1791), when both were appointed to a committee to look at the staging of a benefit play at Covent Garden. Fitzgerald and Merry were both re-elected to the general committee (4 May 1792), but neither is listed as present at that meeting. For details, see BL, Royal Literary Fund, Loan 96 RLF 2/1/1. Fitzgerald later made a reputation – parodied by Byron – as a songwriter for Literary Fund events.
- 109 See the account of the dinner in Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 329–31, and the brief excerpt from Groves, *Selections*, 153.
- 110 National Archive, TSP, TS 11/963, ff. 256–7. Wharton agree with the Privy Counsellors that it was ‘dangerous’ to ‘give such toasts to such persons’, implying that the latitude allowed to convivial political dinners among gentlemen could not be extended to other classes. Barrell notes, IKD, 207n, that Wharton’s speech in Parliament in May 1793 on the erosion of the constitutional safeguards had become a canonical text of the reform movement, published by the LCS as *The Speech of John Wharton* (1793). The spy John Taylor claimed that Wharton gave the toasts: ‘The Rights of Man’ and ‘May the Abettors of the present war be its victims’. *Ibid.*, 141–3.
- 111 National Archive, TSP, TS 11/963, f. 586.
- 112 See *The Toast Master* (1792), ‘Advertisement’ and viii; *Pocock’s Everlasting Songster* (1800), ii. *The Toast Master* had been through at least two editions before 1792.
- 113 LT, 76 and 351, and 353–4.
- 114 See Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, especially Chapter 8, and Elaine Chalus’s discussion of the more sharply drawn dividing lines towards the end of the century in *Elite Women in English Political Life*, 228–30.
- 115 Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 145.
- 116 Barbauld, *Civic sermons*, 22.
- 117 Thelwall, *Natural and Constitutional right*, 79.
- 118 Wagner, ‘Domestic Invasions’, 101.
- 119 Tribune, 2: xv.
- 120 Susan Thelwall’s letter is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953. See TS 11/956 for Walsh’s report. Thale describes it as ‘the only first hand account of a debate between 1790 and 1795’, ‘London Debating Societies’, 64–5. Susan Thelwall’s letter provides a further source confirming most of the details provided by Walsh.
- 121 See ‘London Debating Societies’, 131 and 135.
- 122 See Thale, ‘Women in London Debating Societies’, n. 71, and Andrew, ‘Popular Culture and Public Debate’, for further information on women at the debating societies.
- 123 Susan Thelwall also complained that a successful play at Covent Garden had stolen from her husband’s writing ‘almost all the Characters, & many of the sentiments’. The play was Thomas Morton’s *Columbus: or, a world discovered* (1792). Susan Thelwall noted that her husband had been served in this same way with *Incle and Yarico*. For a discussion of Thelwall’s plays and doubts about the plagiarism claim, see ‘*Incle and Yarico*’ and ‘*The Incas*’, ed. Felsenstein and Scrivener, 14.

- 124 The second Susan Thelwall letter is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956. The letter must have been written soon after 6 March as it mentions the death of the Earl of Barrymore who died in a gun accident that day. The dinner of the Friends of the Press was held on 9 March. See Werkmeister, *Newspaper History of England, 1792–1793*, 237.
- 125 See Lee, *On the death of Mrs. Hardy (1794)*, 3. When this poem came out, Lee was not yet a bookseller. The poem was sold by the radical partnership of Burks and Smith, both LCS members.
- 126 See Clark, *Battle for the Breeches*, 150, on ‘plebeian men’ defining themselves ‘as husbands and citizens by depicting women as passive and helpless’.
- 127 *An account of the seizure of Thomas Hardy*, 1.
- 128 Jones, *Sketch of a political tour*, 28.
- 129 *An account of the seizure of Thomas Hardy*, 8
- 130 National Archive, TSP, TS 11/963, f. 288. Hillier was released from custody after Thelwall was acquitted. A former tallow-chandler, he had taken over Eaton’s shop in Bishopsgate when he moved to Newgate Street in 1793. See Gosling’s spy report, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/954.
- 131 Amelia Alderson to Mrs Taylor [1794], New York Public Library (NYPL). I owe my knowledge of this incident to Roxanne Eberle and Harriet Guest. Alderson’s letter is partly reproduced in Brightwell, *Memorials*, 41–5. I am extremely grateful to Roxanne Eberle for generously sharing her transcription with me and to the NYPL for providing me with scans of the original.
- 132 According to Alderson’s letter, Sinclair had ‘rejoiced to learn from Merry, that Mrs. Merry, was so firm & a great deal more, that raised my curiosity to a most painful height’. Sinclair was suspected of informing after his trial was abandoned. See IKD, 157, for details.
- 133 That is not to imply that women did not run their own bookshops in the period. Martha Gurney, who published many of the editions of state trials, ran a bookshop at Holborn Hill. Gurney was a Baptist and an abolitionist. Her brother was Joseph Gurney, the leading court stenographer of the day. John Gurney, defence attorney for Eaton, who also advised Thelwall on his lectures, was her nephew. See Whelan, ‘William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse’.
- 134 Alderson to William Godwin, 5 February [1796], MS Abinger c. 3, ff. 16–17, Bodleian Library. See the excellent discussion of this letter in Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 125–6. Confusion of the name MacDonnell and MacDonald is discussed in Haig, *The Gazetteer*, 232.
- 135 See Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, especially, 126.
- 136 Chernock, *Men and the Making of Modern British Feminism*, 22, and Jones, *Sketch of a political tour*, 91. Chernock identifies William Hodgson, William Frend, and Spence as other LCS members who supported female suffrage.
- 137 See *Selections*, 80.
- 138 *Account of the proceedings of a meeting of the London Corresponding Society*, 4, 5 and 8.

139 *Ibid.*, 16

140 *Proposals for Publishing by Subscription . . . the Female Citizen*. There is no sign that Hodgson's pamphlet was ever published.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 'An Essay on Man', AUM 2 (1797), 101–3. The essay is taken from the English translation of Mercier's *Fragments of Politics and History*, 1: 8–12.
- 2 Cotlar, *Tom Paine's America*, 8.
- 3 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 161.
- 4 See, especially, Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, Thompson, *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle*, Solomonescu, *John Thelwall and the Materialist Imagination*, and the essays in Poole, ed., *John Thelwall*.
- 5 First published in *Past and Present* in 1994, Thompson's essay is now a chapter in his *The Romantics*, 156–203. Scrivener described Thelwall as 'an organic intellectual for the educated artisans and "middling classes"' in 'Rhetoric and Context', 115–16. See also Green, *Majesty of the People*, 56–7.
- 6 Place annotated Hardy's 'A History of the Origin and Progress of the London Corresponding Society', BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814 with the description, f. 8.
- 7 Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 173. Thompson quotes Binns, 134.
- 8 Several 'Crispin' letters to the *Monthly Magazine* and other details mentioned in this sentence are to be found in Hardy's correspondence in BL, Place Papers, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818. See also the discussion of Robert Thomson's return from France, on page 79. When Margarot returned from Botany Bay in 1810, he also turned to Hardy for help. Hardy had defended Margarot's reputation against those who thought he had acted as an informer against Muir and others on the voyage to Botany Bay. He attended Margarot's funeral on 19 November 1815 with Walne, Baxter and a few other old LCS associates. See BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27816 for details and Roe, 'Maurice Margarot', 75–7. Hardy played an important role in disseminating Thelwall's literary works after they had both left the LCS. See, for instance, the communications with Hardy in BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817 ff. 87–8 and Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818 f. 15. See also Thelwall to Hardy, 28 February 1801, in the manuscript collection of the Wordsworth Trust asking for help with subscriptions for *Poems Written Chiefly in Retirement*.
- 9 Gagnier's *Subjectivities*, 160–1, discusses Hardy's *Memoir* as a template for nineteenth-century working-class autobiographies.
- 10 See the correspondence between Hardy and Collier, 8 September 1802, BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817 ff. 91–2, and 8 June 1807, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818 f. 70. The first suggests Hardy had originally sent the manuscript to Collier as early as 1799. Thelwall asks Hardy to remember him to Collier in their correspondence. See Thelwall to Hardy,

- 25 October 1797, University of Notre Dame, MSE/MD 3811/4, f. 3. The idea of a history of the LCS itself passed as a project to Francis Place, whom it also defeated. There is still no history of the LCS.
- 11 Hardy to the Secretary, 27 August 1806, BL, Place Papers, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, f. 60.
- 12 The phrase ‘public conversation’ recurs in Turner’s *Short History of the Westminster Forum*. See, for instance, 2: 131 and 216.
- 13 Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 119.
- 14 LT, 39–50. In February 1784 the Society debated the fate of the coalition and the Pitt ministry that succeeded it, including (19 February 1784): ‘Does not a Minister, who keeps his place without the confidence of the House of Commons, deserve the public censure of the people?’ See *London Debating Societies*, 158. Pitt had been defeated in the House, but refused to resign. When the election came on in March, he won by a massive majority.
- 15 ‘Harum Skarum’, *Account of a Debate*, 2. For details of the petition, see Knights, ‘The 1780 Protestant Petitions’. On Gordon’s influence, see McCalman, ‘Prophesying Revolution’ and notes 17 and 72 below.
- 16 Hardy, *Memoir*, 8.
- 17 The central committee refused to accept Samuel Godfrey, Gordon’s attorney, and his secretary, Robert Watson, as delegates. See *Selections*, 22–3 and 50–11. Watson remained a member of the LCS. He was arrested for his involvement in the Crimp riots in the summer of 1794. See *Selections*, 211–12. Watson wrote a life of Gordon, published by Eaton and Symonds in 1795, which describes his employer’s ‘correspondence with societies and individuals, entertaining the same views, in the surrounding nations; and by mutual interchanges of publications, free thoughts, and essays upon the civil and religious settlements of various governments, and the general candour and inquiry after truth, which prevails among the people, he had been made acquainted with the sentiments of many virtuous Revolutionists of every denomination’. See Watson, *The Life of . . . Gordon*, 88. Charles Pigott also seems to have known Gordon, but joined the LCS only after the nobleman’s death. See Chapter 4.
- 18 Hardy, *Memoir*, 8.
- 19 BL, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814, f. 24.
- 20 *Ibid.*, Add MS 27811, f. 3. For the published version of the paragraph, see *The London Corresponding Society. Addresses and Resolutions (reprinted)* (1792), 8.
- 21 Letter to T. Newell, 15 February 1792, BL, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811, f. 4.
- 22 Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America*, 8.
- 23 See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, especially 35–6.
- 24 Barrell and Mee, 5: 222. The idea of radicalism as ‘enthusiasm dangerous in the highest degree’ was introduced by the Solicitor-General John Mitford, 221, and then mentioned again by Chief Justice James Eyre in his summing up, 441. Eyre was the son of a Church of England clergyman.
- 25 See Barrell and Mee 4: 43. Lynam mentions the attempt to exclude Watson because of the association with Gordon.

- 26 For the examination of Steven, see Barrell and Mee, 4: 349–51. Of the other character witnesses, Rev. Thomas Oliver was a dissenting minister, 336. The majority of the other witnesses were Scots: John Carr, 347, was sworn using the forms of the Church of Scotland, so too were William Henderson, a dealer in eggs, 349; the shoemaker Peter Macbean, 350, a former LCS member; and the carpenter John Bogue, 355. Matthew Dickey, 356, described himself as ‘a Scotch factor’. Judging by their names, Alexander Gordon, a shoemaker, 354, James Hardy, no relation, and Alexander Gregg, 348, may also all have been part of the London Scots community and members of Steven’s congregation.
- 27 See Hardy, *Memoir*, 4–5. For a brief account of Crown Court, see Wilson, *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, 4: 3–10.
- 28 Cruden, *Sermons on evangelical and practical subjects*, 85–6.
- 29 See Jones, “‘In Favour of Popery’” and also Seed, “‘The Fall of Romish Babylon anticipated’”.
- 30 See Durey, ‘William Winterbotham’s Trumpet of Sedition’, 147. Durey suggests that Winterbotham had adopted a more tolerant position on religious difference by 1793–4 than he had in 1780. He seems to have turned to a literary career in Newgate, publishing a history of the Chinese empire with his fellow inmates Ridgway and Symonds. See Chapter 1, n. 37.
- 31 Often the petition was signed by congregation, see Seed, “‘The Fall of Romish Babylon’”, 77. The original petition is lost, but the name ‘Thomas Hardy’ appears on the copy at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/389, f. 175, next to ‘William McMaster’. National Archive, Privy Council Papers, RG 4/4232 records the birth of a Janet McMaster to William and Janet McMaster of Bewick Street, Soho, baptised by Rev. James Steven, 11 June 1796. On the same page of the petition as Hardy and McMaster, there is also ‘Alexander Gordon’, who may be the character witness of that name who appeared at Hardy’s trial.
- 32 BL, Thomas Hardy, *Memoir Add MS 65153A*, f. 7. Annotated ‘leave this out’ after the word ‘kindle’.
- 33 See *Memoir*, 7. The incident presumably happened in the tense interlude between Cruden’s death and the Steven’s appointment.
- 34 *Divine Warrants, Ends, Advantages, and Rules*, 10. Among the other names given at the end of the pamphlet is John Stevenson of Little New-Street Shoe Lane, possibly the coal merchant who appeared as a character witness for Hardy at his trial.
- 35 For Daniel Turner’s letter to Thompson see Essex County Records Office D/DQS 26. Thompson’s response can be found in, ‘A state of the Dissenting Interest in the several Counties of England & Wales’, Dr, Williams Library, London, MS38.6. I am grateful to John Seed for these references.
- 36 See the accounts of these campaigns in Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*.
- 37 To John Evans, 14 March 1803, BL, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, ff. 47–8. Two Bogue pamphlets published by Dilly were *The Great Importance of having Right Sentiments in Religion* (1788) and *Reasons for Seeking a Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1790).

- 38 See ODNB and the records in the very helpful Dissenting Academy database: http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/new_dissacad/phpfiles/sample1.php?parameter=personretrieve&alpha=1749#tabs-6, accessed March 2014, although none of these sources mentions the association with Hardy.
- 39 Steven's portrait follows on closely after Bogue's in the second volume of the *Evangelical Magazine*, 2 (1794), 31–3. Steven held one of the Missionary Society's prayer meetings in Crown Court in early January 1799. See *Evangelical Magazine*, 7 (1799), 557. Steven's surname is sometimes spelt Stevens or Stephens in the magazine.
- 40 Hardy to Walter Wilson, 5 December 1809, BL, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, f. 106. Bogue ministered in London as assistant to William Smith at the Independent Chapel in Silver Street from 1774 to 1777. See Wilson, *History*, 3: 114–15.
- 41 *The French Revolution foreseen, in 1639* (1796?) comprised extracts from the seventeenth-century divine Thomas Goodwin. See also *Thoughts on the Necessity and Means of a Reform in the Church of England* published by Johnson and Dilly in 1792.
- 42 On 5 November 1794, National Archive, TSP TS 11/966, Mr Arnaud wrote to the Treasury Solicitor alarmed to read in an account of Hardy's trial that there was a society called 'The Friends of the People' in Portsmouth. He called a meeting of his local loyalist association to consult on the best way to track it down. His postscript claims that Hardy had stayed at Bogue's house when they visited the ship.
- 43 Hardy, *Memoir*, 54.
- 44 Barrell and Mee, 4: 340. Oliver said that Hardy had mentioned Bogue's name but could not confirm anything about their visiting a 'convict ship'.
- 45 Hardy to Bogue, 2 June 1792, BL, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811, f. 13.
- 46 Hardy to Rev. Mr Mills, 24 July 1792. *Ibid.*, f. 15. Mills seems to have been associated with the Portsmouth Society for Reform, possibly the group mentioned in Arnaud's letter.
- 47 National Archive TSP, TS 24/12/1. Equiano lived in Hardy's house while he prepared the fifth edition of his interesting narrative. See Hardy's *Memoir*, 15; also Walvin, *An African's Life*, 162–3.
- 48 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811, f. 4. Hardy's *Memoir*, 14–16, reproduces the letter to Bryant, describing it as 'the first correspondence of the society'.
- 49 Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery* discusses Equiano in this context, 125–6, briefly mentioning Hardy's role.
- 50 See Linebaugh and Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 339–40, and Bugg, 'The Other Interesting Narrative', 1433–4.
- 51 'Equiano to Thomas Hardy', 28 May 1792, National Archive, TSP, TS 24/12.
- 52 See, Weinstein's claim, 'Popular Constitutionalism', 46, that Hardy's attachment to the Duke of Richmond's plan 'did much to confine the LCS to a conservative and oddly aristocratic vision of reform', and Philp's reply, 294,

- that this underestimates the ways ‘in which constitutionalist language was repeatedly accompanied by more universalist claims’.
- 53 Lee, *Songs from the rock*, 107–12. See Chapter 5 for a fuller account of the collection.
- 54 Hardy to Bogue, 23 March 1793, BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811.
- 55 Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 2–3.
- 56 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814, f. 30v.
- 57 *Ibid.*, f. 31. James Bennett was David Bogue’s student at Gosport from 1793. *Sacred Politics* was almost certainly written there. The two men later collaborated on the four-volume *History of the Dissenters* (1808–12). Bennett gave Bogue’s funeral oration, published as *The Translation of Elijah* (1825)
- 58 See *Sacred Politics*, 2nd edn, 33.
- 59 Horne, *Three letters*, iii.
- 60 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811, f. 9.
- 61 Hardy to Lord Daer, BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27811, f. 15. Daer was educated at the Barbauld’s school in Suffolk, and later at Edinburgh University under Dugald Stewart. He travelled to Paris in 1789, and returned an enthusiast for the French Revolution. Though a strong critic of the union, Daer called for English and Scottish radical societies to work together: ‘relieving you of that vermin from this country who infect your court, parliament and every establishment’ (Daer to Charles Grey, 18 January 1793, quoted in Bewley, *Muir of Huntershill*, 55). Daer died of tuberculosis on 5 November 1794. See also Harris, ‘Scottish-English Connections’, 196–7.
- 62 Originally described as a meeting of Friends to a Parliamentary Reform, minutes and other details of the society are transcribed in BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817 ff. 22–6v. Several LCS and SCI members participated, including Cartwright, Daer, Hawes, and Thelwall.
- 63 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS, 27814, f. 36.
- 64 *Ibid.*, ff. 29–30. See also Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 34, on the ‘set of redefinitions of independence that severed its classical republican links with property, especially landed property, while preserving its empowering consequences for (male) political participation and public personality’.
- 65 See Hardy, *Memoir*, 17. A copy of the handbill is at 648 c. 26 (4) in the British Library, London; *London Corresponding Society, held at the Bell, Exeter Street* [Resolutions on the representation of the people in Parliament etc. Dated 2 April 1792.]
- 66 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814 f. 30.
- 67 See Gagnier, *Subjectivities*, 161–2.
- 68 On the SCI and the dissemination of *Rights of Man*, and the rifts it caused within the SCI, see Keane, *Tom Paine*, 329–30.
- 69 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814, f. 34.
- 70 *Ibid.*, f. 36.
- 71 See, for instance, the accounts given of both societies in Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*.

- 72 In his evidence at Hardy's trial, Lynam discusses the central committee's rejection of Samuel Godfrey as delegate because of his association with Lord Gordon, who it was felt was using the attorney to exercise influence in the society. Godfrey signs *A Thing of Shreds and Patches*, dated March 1793, as Secretary of the Aldgate Society. Soon after his discussion of Godfrey, Lynam notes 'The Aldgate Society is now called the Bother'em Society – that Society is since broke up': Barrell and Mee, 4: 43–4. Later he notes it had been reported to the LCS that the society had thanked Mr Fox for his speech, 'saying that the People may alter the Constitution without giving their reasons for it – that is the Society that were got together, and called the Bother'em Society'. The thanks to Fox is recorded in *A Thing of Shreds and Patches*, 15–16. The same group protested at Godfrey's treatment in a letter to the general committee from the British Citizens, dated 13 March. Lynam's reported numbers increased to fifty attending the next day's general committee meeting at Godfrey's; see *Selections*, 56–7. Lynam noted on 14 February: 'the Friends of the People in the Borough yet exist; and it was determined to communicate to them and all other Societies, and enquire their intentions'. It appears the Borough Society refused to go as far politically as the LCS (*Selections*, 50). Lynam claimed that the Holborn Society were 'for republicanism', and later merged with the LCS. See Barrell and Mee, *Trials*, 4: 44.
- 73 See Dybikowski, *On Burning Ground*, 239. On Jardine, see Rendall, "Political Reveries". See the first minute book of the society at BL, Royal Literary Fund, Loan 96 RLF 2/1/1. Merry and David Williams were given the task of preparing the constitution of the Fund on 1 June 1790, f. 4.
- 74 [John Gifford], 'The Literary Fund', *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, 3 (1799), 100–1. The society resolved to ask Merry to invite the Duke of Leeds at its meeting of 4 February 1791, BL, Royal Literary Fund, RLF 2/1/1, f. 9. At the same meeting, Merry and Captain Edward Topham were asked to approach the managements of Covent Garden and Drury Lane about staging a benefit. BL, Royal Literary Fund RLF 5/4/2 is a letter from Merry saying he had not been able to obtain an answer from Leeds about the presidency. Merry had excused the Duke, patron of the Philanthropic Society, from his general critique of the 'unmeaning Insects' of aristocratic privilege in *The Laurel of Liberty* (1790), 12.
- 75 See the SCI minutes at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/962. At this meeting, Horne Tooke proposed Joseph Gerrald as a member.
- 76 See Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières*, 242, and Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution', 168–74.
- 77 Roland, 'Private Memoirs' in *An appeal to impartial posterity*, 42.
- 78 See Dybikowski, *On Burning Ground*, 161 and 208–9. On his visit to the National Assembly, Roland described Williams as 'uneasy at the disorder of the debates, afflicted at the influence exercised by the galleries'. See Roland, 'Private Memoirs', 42.
- 79 *Literary Fund* (1795), 29.
- 80 See the comparative discussion of their proposals in Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution'.

- 81 *Literary Fund* (1795), 29. Williams was no mean satirist himself. See, for instance, his very popular *Royal Recollections on a Tour to Cheltenham* (1788). For a discussion of this aspect of Williams's writing, see Jones, *David Williams*, 67–9, 96–100, 111, and 191.
- 82 Williams to Brissot, 24 May 1792, quoted in Dybikowski, *On Burning Ground*, 210.
- 83 See the discussion, for instance, in *Letters on political liberty*, 3rd edn, 77–8. Gerrald acknowledges the influence of this volume in *A Convention the Only Means of Saving us*, 90. On Williams as a theorist of conventions, see Dybikowski, *On Burning Ground*, 175–9, largely drawing on his proposals for the French constitution, discussed more fully in context by Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution', 278–93.
- 84 Williams, *Lessons to a young prince*, 82.
- 85 Dybikowski's appendix B provides a useful summary of the different circles in which Williams participated, including 'The Club of Thirteen'.
- 86 Lord Rawdon was invited to take the chair for the first dinner at the Crown and Anchor, but in the event Sir Joseph Andrews presided. See BL, Royal Literary Fund, RLF 4/1/1. The toast list for the 1795 dinner is at RLF 4/1/3. The list for 1800 is at 4/1/8.
- 87 *Selections*, 9, 19, and 20. A marginal note to the later copy of the minutes at BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814 f. 96 identifies 'God Save the Rights of Man' as the song and Thomson as its author. Thomson appeared in the place of Andrew Murray, who had deserted.
- 88 'History of the Society', MPM (1796)1: 221.
- 89 Hardy was still recommending Thomson's radical songs as late as 1826. He wrote to John Elstee of Chigwell: 'I hope you will have the goodness to excuse me for detaining for so long from you *The Tribute of Liberty*, that excellent collection of patriotic songs by the late *Robert Thomson*. It was not neglect, but for want of an opportunity to convey them to you. I often thought of it . . . You then told me that you intended to publish a new edition of the songs. If you put your intention into execution, I hope you will not omit his excellent preface to the songs, and favour me with a copy, which by doing so you will much oblige.' See BL, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, f. 604.
- 90 See Thomson, *The Divine Authority of the Bible* (1801). Note that the book distinguishes Christianity from 'priestcraft', 11, and avoids repudiating Paine's political principles, 28. The pamphlet takes the view that 'the English government, I think, ought not to prosecute a work against religion, however forcible its arguments may appear – nay, the stronger the better for christianity will ever gain by discussion', 134. The tone and manner of Thomson's reply was regarded as just as rough as Paine's by the *Critical Review*, 33 (1802) 97–8. *Monthly Review*, 38 (1802), 435–6, noted that 'in their hatred of priests they are perfectly agreed', 436. Thomson noted that *Divine Authority* was positively reviewed in the *Church Orthodox Magazine* in his first application to the Literary Fund. Thomson's former LCS colleague, W. H. Reid, was editor of

- the magazine at the time of the review, as Reid's own 1802 application to the Fund reveals. For Thomson's application see BL, Royal Literary Fund, RLF 1/35/1. Reid's first application to the Fund mentions the editorship at RLF 1/117/1.
- 91 Later applications garnered support from William Friend, Thomas Hardy and Robert Watson, who claimed to have suggested the idea of the epic poem on William Wallace that Thomson was working on at his death. See BL, Royal Literary Fund, RLF 1/351/3, 5 and 6.
- 92 *Selections*, 27–8.
- 93 Thomson, *Tribute to Liberty*, 52.
- 94 *Ibid.*
- 95 See the broadside copies in the British Library at 648.c.26.(58.) and 806.k.16 (119), respectively. The latter is ascribed to Spence, but it is the song printed by Thomson rather than the one of the same title printed in *Pig's Meat*.
- 96 See BL 648.c.26 (6 and 7). Hawes may later have become associated with the Moral and Political Society judging by the pamphlet *The Curses and Causes of War* (1795), which he printed for them.
- 97 See *Pig's Meat*, 3rd edn, 2: 91–3. The popularity of 'Burke's Address to the Swinish Multitude' is evinced by the variety of different places it appeared. Apart from the slip versions mentioned above, see *Pig's Meat* 1: 250 (there is a different song with the same title at 2: 39–41); *Five Excellent New Songs* (1792); and *An appeal to the inhabitants of Birmingham* (1792), 41–3. John Harrison wrote to Hardy from Coventry in October 1793 to acquire 'a few of the songs which begin with "God Save the Rights of Man &c"', 7 October 1793, National Archive, TSP, TS 1/953.
- 98 See *An abstract of the history and proceedings of the Revolution Society* (1789), 2. *The World*, 5 November 1790, disapprovingly commented of the toasts at the 1790 dinner: 'We have Heard before of the MAJESTY, but on this occasion, the toast was of the SOVEREIGNTY of the PEOPLE'.
- 99 Thomson, *Tribute to Liberty*, 87. He describes his toasts as 'Adapted to the Times'.
- 100 *The second report from the Committee of Secrecy*, 26.
- 101 Epstein and Karr, 'Playing at Revolution', 515.
- 102 Godwin, *Enquiry concerning political justice*, 1: 208. See also Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, 201: 'At every level, the sound of the human voice was magnified rather than quelled by the mass production and distribution of prose and verse', 201.
- 103 See the copies of 'News from Toulon', 'The Sheepsheering Song', 'Britons Glory' printed three to a sheet at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953. For the interrogation of Goddard on these songs, see Barrell and Mee, 4: 312.
- 104 Place, *Autobiography*, 57. See Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 583, for an account of Place as one of 'old laughter's enemies'. My discussion of Place and song is indebted to Newman's 'Civilizing Taste', which points out, 444, that Place's awareness of these songs comes from the 1780s when his father was landlord at the King's Arms, Arundel Street, off the Strand.
- 105 Place, *Autobiography*, 57–8.

- 106 See Place, 'Notes on grossness in publications and street songs', BL, Place Papers, Collections Relating to Manners and Morals, Add. MS 27825, f. 144r.
- 107 On the Association's relation to government, see Philp, *Reforming Ideas*, 45, n. 18.
- 108 See the account of these events in Keane, *Thomas Paine*, 324–48.
- 109 Paine, *Rights of Man*, 189 and 207.
- 110 Cotlar, *Tom Paine's America*, 166.
- 111 See the discussion of Erskine's attitude in Crosby, "The Voice of Flattery vs Sober Truth".
- 112 Barrell and Mee, 1: 99, 51, 55, and 56.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 125, 126, 143, 149, 153, 162, and 179.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 183, 195, 197.
- 115 *Proceedings at the Meeting of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press* [1793?], 6–8.
- 116 *The Argus*, 16 November 1792. The SCI had ordered the secretary to transmit a copy to every member. See SCI minutes, 12 October 1792, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/962.
- 117 Both Perry and Thomson seem to have fled at the very end of 1792. The SCI minute book shows Perry attended its meetings in November. He was tried in absentia for a libel on the House of Commons from 6–8 December. See 'R. v. *Sampson Perry*', National Archive, TSP, TS 11/41 and the coverage in the newspapers, for instance, *London Chronicle*, 8–11 December.
- 118 See accounts of the various prosecutions in Werkmeister, *Newspaper History of England 1792–1793* and the discussion of Pigott's *Jockey Club* in Chapter 4.
- 119 Thelwall, *The Natural and Constitutional right*, 39–40.
- 120 *An Explanation of the Word Equality*, 1 and 2–3.
- 121 *Selections*, 42. A later version at BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814, f. 101, puts the matter slightly differently: 'cautious of not running the Society into debt – it was negatived – but each of the delegates agreed to subscribe and have it printed and distributed at their own expense'.
- 122 For this older tradition, see Parssinen, 'Association, convention, and anti-parliament'.
- 123 See the account in IKD, 146–7 and 198–9, and *The second report*, Appendix D. Margarot's reply, 26 November, National Archive TSP, TS 11/958, was produced at Hardy's trial. See Barrell and Mee, 2: 234–5 and the prosecution's opinion at 5: 232. Shortly after receiving the second letter, Margarot wrote privately to John Cozens at Norwich to ask about the signatures on it. See *Selections*, 31.
- 124 United Societies at Norwich to LCS, in *Second report*, Appendix D.
- 125 See Knights, 'The 1780 Protestant Petitions' and the discussion at IKD, 138–9. Hardy and others also probably had experience of petitioning via the abolition movement, see page 31.
- 126 See Mark Knights, 'Participation and Representation'.
- 127 See Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 280. Grey presented his petition on the same day he moved a motion for parliamentary reform.

- 128 See Barrell and Mee, 5: 229–30 and *Report of the Committee ... of the Constitution* (1794), 6.
- 129 *Report of the Committee ... of the Constitution*, 6.
- 130 Philp, *Reforming Ideas*, 299.
- 131 For Place's comment, see BL, Place Papers, Collections relating to Political Societies, Add MS 27808, f. 26.
- 132 Lottes, 'Radicalism, Revolution, and Political Culture', 88.
- 133 Powell's report on the executive committee meeting of 7 August 1795, for instance, mentions a letter from Herefordshire requesting advice on how to proceed in forming a society. See *Selections*, 284. John Ashley replied with a set of the LCS regulations. See *Correspondence of the LCS*, 48–9.
- 134 *Selections*, 78 and 82.
- 135 The society at Tewkesbury shared features with the many book societies of the time. See its letter to the LCS in July in response to a request for more information: 'As you wish'd to be inform'd respecting our society, shall give you a concise view of it. We call it the Society for Political & Moral Information – we have a sett of articles for the conducting of it – Monthly & Quarterly meetings for the proposing of Books & settling the Secretarys accounts – We take in a periodical work call'd the Patriot & a Town & country newspaper'. See their reply to the LCS in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956.
- 136 Gerrald, *A Convention*, 80 and 85.
- 137 See Green, *Majesty of the People*, especially, 38–9.
- 138 Gerrald, *A Convention*, 87–8.
- 139 IKD, 144.
- 140 Gerrald, *A Convention*, 91 and 98.
- 141 John Barrell notes divisions within the association movement of the 1780s as to what they should do if their petitions to Parliament were rejected. Some believed that if their efforts were rejected then 'the association would be justified in establishing a convention which would act as an anti-parliament, disputing the right to govern with parliament itself. IKD, 142. See the comparisons of Gerrald, Merry, and Williams's constitutional writings in Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution'. On Paine's influence, see IKD, 143–4.
- 142 IKD, 147–8.
- 143 See *Selections*, 84–9 for the details of the general meeting. Breillat was arrested immediately after the meeting for seditious words spoken over a year earlier.
- 144 BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27814, f. 59. On Thelwall's disqualification from standing, see Chapter 6.
- 145 IKD, 151.
- 146 Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 308–11. There were various published versions of the meeting at the Globe Tavern. The toasts began with 'THE RIGHTS OF MAN; and may Britons never want spirit to assert them.' See *At a general meeting ... 20th day of January*, 8.
- 147 Godwin to Gerrald, 23 January 1794, in *Letters*, 90. Brackets inserted in this edition.

- 148 See Epstein, ‘Trial Defence and Radical Memory’, 37, and *Selections*, 112, n. 37.
- 149 Epstein, ‘Our Real Constitution’, 38, quoting Gerrald.
- 150 *At a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society, ... on Monday the 14th of April, 1794* (1794), 6–8.
- 151 Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, 10.
- 152 See title-page of *The Defence of Joseph Gerrald* (1794).
- 153 See, for instance, his lecture ‘On Prosecutions for Pretended Treason’ delivered on 13 May 1795, *Tribune*, 1: 279–81. The editors of Thelwall’s *The Daughter of Adoption* have suggested that its hero, Henry Montfort, is modelled after Gerrald.
- 154 See *Politics for the People*, 2: 158–9, signed ‘M. B.’
- 155 See *Lectures 1795*, and Coleridge to Thelwall, 13 May 1796, *Collected Letters*, 1: 214, and Thelwall, *Tribune*, 1: 274.
- 156 IKD, 293–5.
- 157 The LCS was revising its constitution anticipating that the law officers intended to move against them. Taylor reported that a proposal for entering the names of all those living in the same district in one book was being proposed so that that could be collected together in case of any emergency. He explained, ‘the emergency I understand to mean in case the Society met with any opposition from legal authority’. He then reported that a member of another division had claimed that ‘the Habeas Corpus Act would be suspended in the course of this or the ensuing week’. National Archive, TSP, TS 11/955.
- 158 See Taylor’s notes on the lecture in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956.
- 159 *Enquiry concerning political justice*, 2: 780.
- 160 *Selections*, 115–16. Appointed to serve on the new committee were Baxter, Pearce, and Thelwall.
- 161 *Selections*, 121.
- 162 See Loughlin, ‘Constituent Power’, 43, on the influence of Blackstone.
- 163 See *Selections*, 147 and 154. Moore, a member of division 2, had defended the rights of divisions when the question of the new constitution was raised in March. In the chair on 3 March, he observed that ‘if the Committee wanted to *Cram a Constitution down their throats*, they were greatly mistaken’, *ibid.*, 120. There was not the same dissension in every division. Division 2 passed ‘every Clause . . . without a debate’, *ibid.*, 155.
- 164 For the minutes of the first two conferences, see *ibid.*, 128 and 132. Sharp’s account is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/963. He claimed that at the weekly SCI meeting the day after the first conference Holcroft started a conversation ‘on the Powers of the Human Mind which lasted an Hour and a half and the Meeting broke up without any business being done’.
- 165 *At a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society . . . on Monday the 14th April, 1794*, 4–5. For the debate on titles, see *Selections*, 138.
- 166 See IKD, 142–3
- 167 *Selections*, 189, 194, and 210. Although indicted in October with most of the other defendants at the trials, Hodgson never was arrested. He appeared openly at LCS meetings in September.

- 168 *An Account of the seizure of Citizen Thomas Hardy* (1794) acknowledged that the society had intended to call a convention, but only as a means of discovering the best means to attain reform. The pamphlet was published before 3 July, the date Smith was paid for printing costs. See *Selections*, 193.
- 169 *Ibid.*, 187. There is a copy of one, 'A Parody of Poor Jack', at National Archive TSP, TS 11/956.
- 170 *Selections*, 194
- 171 Parkinson admitted writing *Revolutions without Bloodshed* and *Vindication* when interviewed by the Privy Council in October. See *Assassination of the King!* (1795), 59–60. Parkinson also remembered the *Vindication* was printed by Hawes. He admitted having a hand in *Reformers no Rioters* at Thelwall's trial, Barrell and Mee, 8: 71, confirmed by the spy report on the meeting of 27 August, *Selections*, 215. *Reformers no Rioters* seems to have been published early in September, proofs being delivered to Burks for correction on 5 September. Parkinson's *Vindication* was in print by 7 October, but the original run was stopped because the pamphlet was deemed inappropriate with the trials so close.
- 172 *Selections*, 204, 207, 209, 212, and 214–15. Davis identifies Beaumont as John Thomas Baker Beaumont in his facsimile of *the publications of the LCS*. See his *London Corresponding Society*, 3: 1. See also Chapter 3.
- 173 Two days later, Parkinson reported that he had been unable to get the prospectus back from Bayley: *Selections*, 216. There are various candidates for this person. Given that he is given the title 'Mr.' in the minutes, this may be the 'Bailey' who attended the SCI, for instance, on 15 March 1793. See Barrell and Mee, 6: 261. A Bailey attended the meetings between LCS members and Godwin discussed on pages 43–5. The LCS sometimes used a printer called Bailey, who was investigated as part of the 'Pop-gun plot'. A Citizen Bailey was a member of the Friends of Liberty in 1795. See his *The White Devils Un-Cased* and *Prince Brothers's Scarlet Devils Displayed* (1795).
- 174 See the account of the plot in IKD, 445–503.
- 175 *The Politician*, no. 2, 11–14, and no. 4, 26–7.
- 176 See Chapter 6, 182, for a further discussion of Thelwall's contributions.
- 177 *Selections*, 199.
- 178 *Death of Mrs Hardy*, 4. The poem is signed 'A FRIEND TO THE DISTRESSED PATRIOTS'. The profits were to go to the wives and families of those imprisoned by the suspension of Habeas Corpus. At this stage, Lee had not set up as a bookseller himself.
- 179 Barrell reproduces the series in *Exhibition Extraordinary!!*
- 180 *Pig's Meat*, 2: 57–8.
- 181 *John Horne Tooke Stripped Naked and Dissected*, 13. Tooke had compared Paine to Stephen Duck and equivocated in his testimony on Thelwall's character. The pamphlet reads as if written by someone from within the political elite, but its tendency is towards maximum self-determination for the members.
- 182 *Selections*, 249–50.

- 183 Cooper's letter is reproduced in *Selections*, 243–8. A print version is at Nuffield College Library, Oxford.
- 184 *Selections*, 312. The LCS committee discussed the letter 15 October. The United Friends of Religious and Civil Liberty issued an address to their Fellow Countrymen on 26 October, signed John Taylor as secretary. See the spy report on their debate on religion, 10 January 1796, National Archive Privy Council Papers, PC/1/23/A38.
- 185 See *United Friends of Religious and Civil Liberty* (1795), 4.
- 186 *Narrative of the Proceedings*, 2nd edn, 1, 3, and 5.
- 187 Iliff, *Duties of Citizenship*, 13–14.
- 188 He recommended not only forming new societies, but also using 'Parish, Town, and County Meetings'. See Baxter, *Resistance to Oppression*, 5.
- 189 See Bentham, *Fragment on Government*, 150–1, and the excellent discussion in Green, *Majesty of the People*, 26.
- 190 Gilmartin, *Print Politics*, 30.

Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 Boaden, *Memoirs of Kemble*, 2: 47.
- 2 See the *European Magazine*, 18 (1790), 388.
- 3 For a useful account of the Della Cruscan phenomenon, see Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *English Della Cruscans*.
- 4 *Thraliana*, 2: 714.
- 5 During this period, Merry kept up the flirtatious correspondence with Piozzi preserved in the John Rylands Library, ENG MS 614. On 21 April 1788, he told her of a quarto of poems that were to be dedicated to Sheridan. On 12 November, Merry looked to the death of the king and the 'glorious times we may now expect'. He was forced to admit later (23 April 1789) that the ode on the recovery of king 'was in part my composition ... I was applied to on the occasion from a quarter [Sheridan] I could not refuse.' See Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *English Della Cruscans*, 195–7. Piozzi noted: 'The Ode Sheridan and he wrote together, is not liked' (*Thraliana*, 2: 743). The quarto Merry mentions is *The Poetry of the World*, dedicated to Sheridan and published by John Bell.
- 6 *The Laurel of Liberty* (1790), [title page] and [dedication].
- 7 See Topham to Wells, 4 October 1790, [Wells], *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Sumbel*, 2: 76.
- 8 Horace Walpole to Edward Jerningham, 10 November 1790, *Edward Jerningham and his Friends*, 50, and *Political Correspondence* (1793), 90. Others in the latter's list of able pens besides Merry and Priestley include James Mackintosh, Holcroft, Pigott, David Williams, Helen Maria Williams, and Wollstonecraft.
- 9 Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2: 274. Merry attacked Taylor as 'the reptile oculist' in the *Telegraph* (4 November 1795) after a review in the *True Briton* condemned the democratic principles of Sheridan's revival of *Venice Preserved*. Merry wrongly supposed Taylor had written the review. Until then, Merry

and Taylor seem to have remained on friendly terms despite Taylor becoming a Treasury writer. They 'used to scribble verses in conjunction' for the *Morning Post*. See Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2: 152 and 270–5. Merry was mocked in the *Tomahawk*, no. 51, 25 December 1795, 206, for trying to blame the epigram on drink.

- 10 *The Times*, 20 December 1790.
- 11 George Taylor, *The French Revolution and the London Stage*, 61–4.
- 12 Worrall, *Politics of Romantic Theatricality*, 52–3.
- 13 *Laurel of Liberty*, vi.
- 14 'Journal in 1792 of conversations with various persons', Rogers Notebook, Sharpe Papers MS 41, University College London, Special Collections.
- 15 'Written in 1794 – notes of conversation with Merry', MS Abinger c. 31, f. 101, Bodleian Library. Earlier in this document, Godwin lists people he has met by year. Merry appears in 1793 along with Frost, Gerrald, Pigott, and Thelwall.
- 16 'The *Separation* made between the Philosophical & satirical writers; the latter of which would have submitted to the former *under proper direction*', Williams traced to Fox's manipulation of the newspapers in the 1780s. Looking to the future, he believed once the peace was resolved 'then it is known, there are Phalanxes to attack Ministers instantly on the determination; not only by the fleeting arrows of Paragraphs, but by publications of another kind, & by solicitations to the country to petition & remonstrate'. See manuscript letter, signed 'D W' and entitled 'Observations on the Press' [1803?], BL, Pelham Papers, Add MS 33124, ff. 78–81. Without identifying Williams as the author, Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion*, 43, notes its identification of 'paragraphs' with 'fleeting arrows'.
- 17 Clayden, *Early Life of Rogers*, 174. In terms of London's clubs, Bernard recalled that 'the members were all men of the world, and (London being a large cauldron, in which society is kept continually in a ferment, and something new is hourly rising to the surface,) they had well-stored heads to unburthen on coming together'. See his *Retrospections of the Stage*, 2: 116. He always found Sheridan cold compared to Merry. For further discussion of this group, see Mee, *Conversable Worlds*, 87–90.
- 18 *The World*, 14 July 1791.
- 19 Merry, *Ode for the fourteenth of July*, 5.
- 20 Nostalgic for a time when 'it was deemed not disloyal to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the *Bastille*', Perry reprinted the entire poem in *The Argus, or General Observer* (1796), 1: 13. Winterbotham published it in his *Selection of Poems Sacred and Moral*, 2: 135–8. The verses sung by Sedgwick are reproduced in the *Songster's Companion*, 77–8, *The whim of the day*, 89–90, and Paddock, *For 1794. The Apollo*. 86.
- 21 'Biographical Notice of Mr. Merry', *Monthly Magazine*, 7 (1799), 256.
- 22 See Guest, *Unbounded Attachment*, 70–1.
- 23 *The Baviad, and Mæviad*, 25.
- 24 Quoted in Ginter, 'The Financing of the Whig Party', 437, n. 51.

- 25 On 18 January 1792, Merry invited Rogers for ‘a family mutton chop’. He also told him: ‘My Opera will come out on Saturday . . . Jan. [y] 28th when I shall be much obliged to you to *lend me a hand*.’ See Sharpe Papers 15/203–4.
- 26 Joseph Mazzinghi [and Robert Merry], *The Magician No Conjuror* (1792). The *Bon Ton Magazine* (February 17) believed the ‘object of the satire was misapplied; and, besides, it was deficient in stage effect’, 482, but reprinted some of the ‘delightful’ songs (489–90) and others in its March (33) and July issues (193). By July, the magazine was openly hostile to Merry’s politics. Songs from the play were also reprinted in the *British Apollo*, 54 and 117. A manuscript of the play is at Larpent MSS, LA933, Huntington Library.
- 27 *The Gazetteer*, 3 February 1792. See the *Diary*, 3 February 1792, and the *London Chronicle*, 2–4 February 1792.
- 28 Werkmeister, *Newspaper History 1792–1793*, 92–3. Note the comment about the misapplication of the satire in the *Bon Ton Magazine* note 26 above. No further explanation is given. David Worrall reads the play in terms of the Birmingham Riots, with Priestley providing the obvious analogue to Talisman. I am not convinced by this specific identification, but agree with his comments about the oblique nature of the engagement with topical issues. See the *Politics of Romantic Theatricality*, 56–7.
- 29 *Political Miscellanies*, 91. The collection was ascribed to the authors of the *Rolliad*. Ridgeway kept the pamphlet in print in the 1790s. See my discussion on page 125 for its possible influence on Merry’s *Pittachio* squib.
- 30 ‘Memorandum. Information obtained Last night and this day’, 29 October, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/959 on a meeting in Compton Street. Alexander Stephens, who was present at the foundation of the *Argus*, thought it ‘perhaps the boldest in its opposition of any publication in any age’. See ‘Stephensiana, No. XIV’, 427. Smith, ‘English Radical Newspapers’, 8, agrees it was the most radical London paper of the 1790s, but doubts that the LCS could have afforded any direct subsidy. John King was probably Perry’s prime source of funds. Sheridan and Mackintosh finally suppressed the paper in Perry’s absence, as deserving ‘no more countenance from opposition than from ministry because it abused the leaders of the former, as much as it did the heads of the latter’. See ‘Particulars of S. Perry’s Case’ in his *Historical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 2: np. Smith, 149, supplies the identities of Mackintosh and Sheridan.
- 31 ‘Stephensiana’, No. XIV 427.
- 32 *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 134 (1823) 280.
- 33 Titus, ‘To the British Nation’, *The Argus*, 11 July 1792. The paragraph was cut out and marked for attention by the law officers. See *Rex v. Perry* in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/41, which contains a copy of the indictment and various other cuttings from the *Argus*.
- 34 Minute book of the SCI at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/962, Friday 27 April.
- 35 ‘Biographical Notice of Merry’, 256. The poems quoted here are all published in the obituary. Squibs from the *Argus* were also reproduced in ‘Stephensiana’,

- 427, which notes that Merry and Paine wrote two of them. They include another attack on Rose, unattributed.
- 36 *Ibid.* Merry's odes did also appear in the pages of the *Argus* too, at least in excerpt (3 and 5 March), when lines from his 'Ode to Freedom' (*Ode for the fourteenth of July*) served as epigraphs to articles 'On African Slavery' and 'Illustrious Depravity'.
- 37 *The World*, 10 December 1792. Perry had been back and forward to Paris in 1792, the paper being conducted in his absence by the lawyer Thomas Oldfield, who worked with the Friends of the People on their reports on the state of representation. Smith, 'English Radical Newspapers', 118.
- 38 Munro to Grenville, 17 December 1792, National Archive, Foreign Office Papers, FO 27/40, describes Merry as the president of those who gathered at White's.
- 39 Merry's name is listed in *Proceedings of the Society of Friends of the People*, 5.
- 40 Merry's name appears regularly in the SCI minute book at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/962 between March and early June 1792. He was an enthusiastic proposer of other members.
- 41 *The Oracle*, 15 June 1792.
- 42 See, for instance, the advertisement in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 11 September. It gives the publishers as Ridgway and Symonds. I have found no advertisement in the newspapers using the title published by Littlejohn, Symonds, and Thomson dated 22 August. Littlejohn was present at the 12 October meeting of the SCI where Merry was elected to the committee to consult with the LCS over the addresses to the National Convention.
- 43 National Archive TSP, TS 11/951. The contract for the shoes was given to Thomas Hardy.
- 44 See 'Biographical Notice of Mr. Merry', 257. For a fuller discussion of the pamphlet, see Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution', 245–62. Rogers notes that the pamphlet was discussed in J. G. Alger's *Englishmen in the French Revolution*. The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France has the printed date 1792 crossed out and replaced with 1793. I am grateful to Rachel Rogers for this information.
- 45 'Some Account of Robert Merry, Esq.', *The European Magazine*, 24 (1793), 411.
- 46 See Rogers, 'Vectors of Revolution', 195–6.
- 47 Somewhat optimistically, Gerrald told Margarot that Merry would definitely honour the debt. Later Margarot wrote to John Williams from Port Jackson to ask him to enquire of Merry when he would pay the debt. See Margarot to Williams, [1795?], BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27815, f. 107. Margarot had attended SCI meetings in 1792 with Merry present. The promissory note had been left with Hardy and was seized with other papers when the government arrested him in May 1794. Margarot came back from Australia in 1810 and sought the return of his bills from the government. See Roe, 'Radical in Two Hemispheres', 75, and the notes on the matter in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/959.
- 48 On 12 October, the *Oracle* reported, 'MERRY, the Poet, is in town'.

- 49 Sharpe Papers MS 15, ff. 211–14.
- 50 Thomas Amyot to William Pattison, 13 May 1794, in *Youth and Revolution*, ed. Corfield and Evans, 56–7. For a discussion of Godwin’s relationship with Norwich, including the summer 1794 trip, see Grande, ‘Roots of Godwinian Radicalism’. Godwin had been in the audience for the opening night of *The Magician No Conjuror* in 1792, despite ‘Severe cold & fever’. The diary also records discussing Merry with Holcroft in June 1793, soon after the poet had returned from France.
- 51 Alderson to Mrs Taylor, NYPL, [1794], f. 4; Alderson to Godwin, 1 Nov. 1796, MS Abinger c. 3, f. 4; Godwin to Wollstonecraft [10 September 1796], *Letters of Godwin*, 1: 179.
- 52 Piozzi to Leonard Chappelow, 19 January 1796, *Piozzi Letters*, 2: 302: ‘Poor Della Crusca begs Subscriptions – I’m sorry! But he should let his Wife act: what Nonsense it is to hinder her.’ The *True Briton* commented that ‘the stale trick of Subscriptions is now attempting by a sad poet but, from a variety of concurring circumstances, with very little prospect of success’. The *Oracle* (13 January 1796) added, ‘Mr. Merry has a novel ready for the press; or has already been the subject of *premature sarcasm*’. Merry had asked Rogers about Cadell publishing a novel in December 1793.
- 53 Holcroft to Godwin, 7 July 1794, MS Abinger c. 2, f. 45v, Bodleian Library.
- 54 His name appeared on the record at Hardy and Horne Tooke’s trials. See Barrell and Mee, 3: 7, 32, 52 and 6: 176, 185, and 193–205.
- 55 Merry to Rogers, 11 October 1794, Sharpe Papers MS 15, f. 216.
- 56 See Barrell, “An Entire Change”, 21–2, on newspaper advertisements for conjurers in the period. Apart from those mentioned by Barrell, Monsieur Comus performed at the Great Exhibition Room, no. 28 Haymarket. Among his many ‘operations’ were ‘magical looking glasses’ and he concluded with ‘The Grand Magical House’ (both of which seem to have been picked up and developed by Merry and others who developed these pasquinades). See the advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle*, 18 December 1794.
- 57 ‘Robinson’ is probably George Robinson the bookseller who published Godwin and Merry. On Godwin’s relationship with Robinson, who was known for his convivial, often boozy dinners, see Fallon, ‘Booksellers in the Godwin Diaries’. Charles Este had worked with Merry at the *World*. King is presumably John King. See Smith, ‘English Radical Newspapers’, 11. Beaumont is probably the person the LCS approached to write for *The Politician* towards the end of 1794.
- 58 ‘Biographical Notice’, 257. This may include a return to his more sentimental strain, and perhaps even the Della Crusca pseudonym, if the anti-war ‘Ode for the New Year’ published in the *Telegraph* on 30 December 1794 is his.
- 59 D. E. MacDonnell was editor of the *Morning Post* (probably), the *Gazetteer*, and the *Telegraph*. He was among the founding members of the Society of the Friends of the People, April 1792, but seems to have followed something of Merry’s trajectory thereafter, including involvement in the British Club in Paris in late 1792, if he is the MacDonald mentioned in Munro’s reports. The minute books of the *Gazetteer* suggest he took a tour of the continent to gather information on the war in the summer of 1794. John Taylor gives an account

- of his role as go-between with Merry after ‘the reptile oculist’ spat. See Haig, the *Gazetteer*, 232–9 and 250–3; Werkmeister, *The London Daily Press, 1772–1792*, 343 and 355, and *A Newspaper History of England, 1792–1793*, 37, 76, 168, 169, and Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2: 272–8.
- 60 *Monthly Review*, 19 (1796), 274. The publisher of Merry’s play was Parsons of Paternoster Row, purveyor of an eclectic mix of print from cheap editions of Paine in 1792 to sacred poetry, including Lee’s *Songs from the rock* volume in 1794. Parsons also published anthologies of essays and a series of plays from the ‘minor theatre’.
- 61 Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *English Della Crusicans*, 275, and Merry to Rogers, 3 December 1793, Sharpe Papers, MS 15/214.
- 62 Eaton, Spence, and Thelwall are among those advertised on the title-page of *The Wounded Soldier*. In addition to Ballard’s edition, there is a penny edition published together with ‘the Holy War. – A New Song’, with no date or place of publication, in the collection of the National Library of Scotland at RB s. 445. Merry’s poem was also included in the *Hive of Modern Literature*, 283–6, and in the *Cabinet of Curiosities*, no. 1, 150–3. Several of the Pittachio satires and other material associated with Lee and other radical booksellers were reprinted in the latter, which opens with the ‘Ode for the New Year’ from the *Telegraph*. For Ballard’s associations, see Worrall, *Politics of Romantic Theatricality*, 59–61. Worrall suggests Ballard was involved with the Friends of Liberty after their split from the LCS. In Ballard’s *Pitt’s Ghost*, an extension of the *Death, Dissection of Pitt* satire that first appeared in the *Telegraph* in August, Merry’s poem is advertised as selling for a penny under the title the *Horrors of War, or The Wounded Soldier*. ‘The Horrors of War’ was the title Merry used in his letter to Rogers in 1793.
- 63 See the title-page of *Pitti-Clout & Dun-Cuddy*. For the retraction, see the list ‘SOLD BY CITIZEN LEE’ inside the cover of *Mr. St. George, A True Story*. The same list has *The Wounded Soldier* for sale.
- 64 Merry may have socialised with the LCS member John Barnes during this period. When explaining his attack on Taylor, Merry claimed he had been drinking with the comedian Jack Bannister and someone called Barnes, who Taylor identified as involved in the pop-gun plot, *Records of My Life*, 2: 276–7. The *Telegraph* had been deeply involved in the dispute over whether the plot was an alarmist ruse to justify the repressive legislation. Under interrogation about his role in the plot, Le Maitre told Pitt he had come across a paper in Barnes’s coffee room. See P. T. Lemaitre, *High treason!!*, 2nd edn (1795) 11.
- 65 Grande, ‘Roots of Godwinian Dissent’, 40.
- 66 See Godwin to Merry, 20 Sept. 1796, *Letters of Godwin*, 1: 181 and Alderson to Godwin, 14 Oct. 1796, MS Abinger c. 3, f. 38. For fuller accounts of Merry’s America sojourn, see Adams, ‘Della Cruscanism in America’, Garnai, ‘An Exile on the Coast’, and Mee, ‘Morals, Manners, and Liberty’.
- 67 Cooper, *Some Information respecting America*, 64.
- 68 See James Fennell, *An Apology*, 325. The success of the revolutionary armies under Dumouriez may have decided Merry to stay in France on the first

- occasion. The acquittals at the treason trials may have caused a rethink the second time.
- 69 See Holcroft's letter of 1796 to William Dunlap in the latter's *A History of the American Theatre*, 1: 310.
- 70 AUM, 2 (1797), 189. The ode had originally been published in the *Baltimore Telegraph*, 16 November 1796.
- 71 Cobbett, *Works*, 9: 258.
- 72 Bernard, *Retrospections of America*, 124.
- 73 Robert Merry, *Pains of Memory. A New Edition*, 26. The poem is preceded by an address 'To the Public' (13 December 1796), announcing an edition of Merry's complete works. The works were also advertised in the AUM, but do not seem to have appeared. On Mathew Carey, publisher of the Philadelphia edition, see Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, especially 242 and 246–7.
- 74 See the advertisement in *Monthly Magazine*, 6 (1798), 129. Presumably it was the 'treatise on the justice of the *Agrarian system*' mentioned by Cobbett.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 Bernard, *Retrospections of the Stage*, 2: 146.
- 2 *An Answer to Three Scurrilous Pamphlets*, II.
- 3 For biographical details, Charles Pigott, see *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. XI (1922), 347–8; (1922), 15–16 and (1922), 545, Robert Black, *The Jockey Club*, 226, 229–30, and [Harriet Pigott], *Private Correspondence*, 1: 55–6, 59, and 60. The exception to the general historiographical neglect is Rogers, 'Pigott's Private Eye'.
- 4 The letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, 8 and 18 March respectively. The first is dated 6 February 1785, but the second is undated.
- 5 On Fox and the newspapers, see Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion*, 44–5.
- 6 *Morning Herald*, 16 March 1785. Ridgway later published the epigrams in *Political Miscellanies*, 105–6, but also published *The Jockey Club* in 1792.
- 7 See Robert Pigott, *Liberty of the Press* (1790). There is an ODNB entry on Robert Pigott, but see also Alger, *Englishmen in the French Revolution*, 39–45, Black, *The Jockey Club*, 126–7, 229–30, and Harriet Pigott, *Private Correspondence*, 1: 5–12. I have not seen the pamphlet on the commercial treaty, but the review is in the *Critical Review*, 63 (1787), 312.
- 8 Pigott, *Strictures on . . . Burke*, vi and vii.
- 9 *Ibid.*, v, 21, 65–6.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 32, 86 and 92.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 23 and 67.
- 12 *Treachery no Crime*, 141 and 128. See the advertisement by Ridgway in the *Morning Post*, 12 September 1793, days before Pigott set out to Harwich with Merry. The pamphlet itself is dated 31 July.
- 13 *Treachery no Crime*, 141 and 2. See also the references to Godwin, 39–40 and 149–50.

- 14 *Strictures*, vi–vii.
- 15 *The Jockey Club*. Part the First, 176
- 16 John Wilde, *An Address to the Lately Formed Society*, 68 note. Wilde describes Pigott as ‘one of the brethren of Mr. Paine. This fellow (whoever he is) has not at the same time the full merit of the other, for he only copies (in general) and does not make the falsehoods. Being pretty much versant in that species of reading, I have found scarce any thing in the Jockey Club, unless where the characters are absolutely recent, which was new to me’, 67n. Wilde described himself as ‘a Rockingham Whig’, vii, persuaded by Burke’s arguments to support Pitt’s government. He describes the principles of the Society of the Friends of the People as ‘dangerous in the undertaking and pernicious in the effect; as of perilous example and unfounded theory; equally repugnant to the constitution of this country, and to the principles of the great Whig party, to which the associators (or most of them) had belonged’, xvii.
- 17 Pigott, *The Jockey Club*, Part the First, [Preface].
- 18 *An Answer to Three Scurrilous Pamphlets*, 13.
- 19 *Analytical Review*, 12 (1792), 529, reviewing the fourth edition of Part I.
- 20 *British Constitution Invulnerable*, 16.
- 21 See the many stories gathered from Hanger’s papers and elsewhere by William Combe writing as George Hanger in *Life, Adventures, and Opinions* (1801).
- 22 *The Jockey Club*, Part the First, 50.
- 23 *The Jockey Club*, Part the Second, 171.
- 24 Wilde, *An Address*, 67 note.
- 25 Selections from Ridgway’s extortionary *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington* (1792) appeared over the January and February issues of the magazine. *The British Constitution Invulnerable*, viii, mentions the role of magazines in spreading scandal.
- 26 From September 1792, the magazine started to feature a section called ‘Epitome of the Times’ devoted to stories of mob violence in France.
- 27 *The Jockey Club*, Part the First, 1–2, 65, and 63.
- 28 *The Jockey Club*, Part the Second, np [Dedication] and 183. The *Morning Chronicle* announced the publication of Part II (and the fifth edition of Part I) on 11 May and of Part III on 12 September. For its shocked response to the opening section of Part III, see the *Analytical Review*, 14 (1792), 345.
- 29 *The Jockey Club*, Part the Third, 194, 195, and 197.
- 30 *Report of a Debate on Universal Suffrage* (1794), quoted in Hampsher-Monk, ‘Civic Humanism and Parliamentary Reform’, 79. The words are Sir Philip Francis’s, a some time favourite of the LCS, castigating his fellow members of the Society for not making their own moderately reformist position clearer.
- 31 *The Jockey Club*, Part the First, 13.
- 32 *The Jockey Club*, Part the Third, 106–7 note. The indictment prepared for the Warwick assizes (see note 36 below) includes the whole quotation from Junius and the final paragraph where Pigott dissents from the praise of the constitution.
- 33 *The Jockey Club*, Part the Third, 44, 222–3, and 230 note.

- 34 Wilde, *An Address*, 67–8n. Rogers, ‘Pigott’s Private Eye’ suggests that at 4s *The Jockey Club* must have been ‘principally pitched at a genteel or middle-class rather than plebeian audience . . . [It is] only with the posthumous publication of his *Political Dictionary* in 1795 that Pigott’s work really penetrated the world of the radical artisan’, 248–9. Given his social background, it is no surprise that Pigott took time to recognise the possibility of a popular radical audience. When the first part of the *Jockey Club* was first issued, the LCS did not exist and Paine had not published the cheap editions of *Rights of Man*. Versions of the *Jockey Club* were made available for less than the 4s advertised in some newspapers. Symonds’s fifth edition of the second part was available for 8d. J. S. Jordan was selling copies for 2s 6d in 1793, along with *An Answer to Three Scurrilous Pamphlets* at the same price. *The Female Jockey Club* (1794) was lent out by libraries. A letter from ‘A Friend to Government’ in Bath complained: ‘I am sorry to say that the libraries in general do mischief. It is a practice here to lett out not sell the infamous Female Jockey Club.’ See National Archive, Home Office Papers, HO 42/30/21, ff. 54–5.
- 35 George, Prince of Wales to Queen Charlotte, 24 September 1792, *Correspondence of George Prince of Wales*, 287 and 285. The date of the prince’s response suggests that he had been reading Part III. The passages that the prince marked for his mother were almost certainly those comparing Louis XVI and George III that shocked the *Analytical Review*. Queen Charlotte described them as ‘too strong & too personal as to be put into the hands of the Kg who so little deserves them’: Queen Charlotte to George, Prince of Wales, 2 September 1792, *Correspondence of George Prince of Wales*, 291.
- 36 In early December, the Treasury Solicitor sent letters to provincial solicitors seeking their help in prosecuting seditious works. The named texts were the *Jockey Club*, and Paine’s *Rights of Man* and *Letters Addressed to the Addressers* (1792). Advice was provided on how to obtain proof of publication, subject to clearance by the Treasury Solicitor. A series of prosecutions followed. On 13 December, the Attorney General claimed in Parliament to have had two hundred pieces of informations concerning seditious publications. See Smith, ‘English Radical Newspapers’ 227–8. Among them is *Rex v. James Belcher* at Warwick Assizes, July 1793. See the brief at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/578. I am grateful to Danielle MacDonnell for pointing this file out to me.
- 37 Henry Dundas to the Prince of Wales, 5 October 1792, *Correspondence of George Prince of Wales*, 298. Ridgway was taken up for the third part on 30 November. Details of the proceedings against Ridgway and Symonds are to be found in the *Morning Chronicle*, 9 May 1793. See *Rex v. H. D. Symonds*, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/944, and *Rex v. James Ridgway*, TS 11/141. Bills of indictment had been prepared on 28 November 1792. See also Manogue, ‘The Plight of James Ridgway’, 158. According to Richard Phillips, ‘three Indictments were prepared in London, and presented, and found by the Grand Jury at the Borough Sessions on the 18th of January ensuing’. Phillips complained

- at being charged with selling the *Jockey Club* when it had not yet been found to be a libel. See Phillips, *Original papers published at different times in the Leicester Herald*, 12–13.
- 38 Godwin's diary records that he read Pigott's Dumouriez pamphlet on 30 August.
- 39 See Alexander, *Richard Newton*, 37 and 121, and McCalman, 'Newgate in Revolution', 96. Pigott does not appear in *A Peep into the State Side of Newgate*, 12 July 1793, the earliest of the Newgate prints.
- 40 James Ridgway's affidavit, 1 May 1793, National Archive, King's Bench KB 1/27. See the report in the *London Chronicle*, 30 April – 2 May 1793. Judging by Newton's prints of August and October, Pigott kept Ridgway's company anyway.
- 41 See also *The whole proceedings on the King's commission*, 138–45. Hodgson, *The Case of William Hodgson* claimed they had earlier been drinking with William, Pigott's brother, who held the living at Chetwynd. See Black, *The Jockey Club*, 228–9. Epstein, "Equality and no King", 45–7 and Barrell, *Spirit of Despotism*, 86–92, provide further analysis.
- 42 The author of *Ethic epistles*, 23–4, suggests Pigott had previously been helped by the magistrate, perhaps when facing prison for debt, and charges him with ingratitude:

P–, to thee and malice such as thine
 The *lev'ling Muse* I readily resign –
 And yet no lev'ling still, but partial Muse,
 That 'gainst the great and good you chiefly use.
 The bad still cautious never to offend,
 Of ev'ry Jacobin the constant friend.
 What joy to batten some benefactor to select!
 And where no crime of heart in A – t – n find,
 To mark or make some foible of his mind.
 Serpent to sting the hand that set thee free,
 To wound the breast that once had foster'd thee!

- A note explains: 'This supposed author of the "Jockey Club" was with that good nature which he now abuses, relieved and protected from gaol in the house of Sir W. A.'
- 43 For details of the imprisonment and subsequent fates of Pigott and Hodgson, see the *Morning Chronicle*, 9 October and 2 November; *Public Advertizer*, 25 October; Pigott's, *Persecution* and Hodgson's the *Case of William Hodgson*. Hodgson could not pay his fine when his sentence was up in 1795 and was kept in prison. Over the course of 1794, Hodgson wrote several times to the LCS to complain about their lack of financial support for his family. His applications occasioned some dispute in the society because of his conduct. See *Selections*, 112, 128, 147, 154, 156 and *passim*.
- 44 *Persecution*, 6–7. The Frost case is mentioned, 49.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 37–8, 26., and [iii].

- 46 *Persecution!!!* is advertised in *The Times*, 6 December. For Thelwall's lectures in this period, see Chapter 6. His 26 March lecture was 'Historical Strictures on the Trials of Hampden, Russell, and Sidney.' See *Morning Post*, 10 February, and *Morning Chronicle*, 26 March 1794.
- 47 *Persecution!!!*, 15, 19, and 36–7.
- 48 See O'Shaughnessy, 'Caleb Williams and the Philomaths', 444.
- 49 I have not found copies of the earlier Pigott pamphlets with Eaton's imprint. Possibly he was simply selling on Ridgway's stock. The December puffs for *Persecution* also mention Ridgway and Symonds. They were still in Newgate.
- 50 See the lists at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/966 and Privy Council Papers, PC 1/23/38 dated 26 February 1794.
- 51 Pigott to Rogers, 9 November 1793, University College London Special Collections, Sharpe Papers, MS 15/314. Pigott seems not to have had any direct contact with Rogers prior to this correspondence. Presumably he had relied on Merry.
- 52 See Priestman, *Romantic Atheism*, 14.
- 53 Reid, *The rise and dissolution*, 6.
- 54 Initially published by Crosby and Holt, the earliest of Richter's designs for Hodgson's translation is dated 20 March 1795. Symonds took over from Crosby for the later volumes. There are various advertisements for the translation in works published by congers of radical booksellers. *A Picture of the Times* (1795), 2nd edn, advertises the first volume of an eventual four-volume set at 5s in boards with weekly numbers available at 6d each. There were also a few numbers on 'super-fine paper' at a shilling each. I have found no edition or advertisement giving Pigott's name as translator of *The System of Nature*, but see note 57 below. Daniel Holt appears with Pigott in the two Newgate prints.
- 55 The 1795 edition says 'from the Manuscript of the late CHARLES PIGOTT' on the title page.
- 56 See the accounts in Young, *Revolutionary Ladies*, 142–71, and Knott, 'Female Liberty?', 435–7.
- 57 See *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan*, 2: 37. Advertisements for the book appeared in the *Whitehall Evening Post* (25 January) and in the *Morning Post* (29 January). Both described the *Memoirs* as 'written by HERSELF', but then seem to acknowledge another hand. Most of the 'well-known characters' mentioned on the title page are familiar from the *Jockey Club*. For the ascription to Pigott, see Young, *Revolutionary Ladies*, 168–70. Kearsley also published Godwin's *Cursory Strictures* (1794); John Fenwick's translation of *Memoirs of Dumouriez*; George Dyer's *Dissertation on the Theory and Practice of Benevolence*; and various works by Gilbert Wakefield. In 1797, he also brought out a four-volume translation of the *System of Nature* from a manuscript found in 'the library of a man celebrated for his learning'. Conceivably, this is the translation Pigott left behind at his death. Another single volume edition of Coghlan's *Memoirs* from 1794 exists under the imprint of Lane, but this seems a pirated version of Kearsley's.
- 58 *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan*, 71 and 78.

- 59 *British Critic*, 3 (1794), 346.
- 60 See *The Jockey Club*, Part the Second, 170, and *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan*, 1: 147–8.
- 61 *Persecution!!!*, 29–30 and 35. Pigott claimed that he told Hodgson he respected the Duke as son of the King, whatever his private character, a claim hardly borne out in his writing.
- 62 *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan*, 1: 143.
- 63 *Morning Chronicle*, 8 March.
- 64 *Female Jockey Club*, 144.
- 65 See the report of Erskine's speech at the trial of Eaton for publishing the book, *The Times*, 31 July.
- 66 *Female Jockey Club*, 98. In contrast, Pigott praised the Duchess of Devonshire for nursing her children herself: 'a maternal duty wholly neglected in the fashionable world'. He also tells the reader that 'the divine eloquence of Rousseau awakened her sensibility, and that no sooner was she inspired with a sense of her duty, than she had virtue and resolution to fulfil it', 16 note.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 68 *Female Jockey Club*, 6, 2 and 7.
- 69 *Morning Chronicle*, 3 April, announced that 'uncommon sales' had induced Eaton to print five thousand more copies as a fourth edition.
- 70 *Female Jockey Club*, 176.
- 71 See the discussion in Davis, 'Behold the Man', 196–7.
- 72 *Morning Post*, 30 July.
- 73 *Politics for the People* becomes aware of Pigott only from the end of 1793, that is, after the incident with Hodgson. 'Verses on a Late Occasion' appeared on the front page of no. iv, 19 October (1: 37):

When falling Britain wish'd to save her State,
 Mouchards came forth, t' avert th' impending Fate;
Leach, Vaughan, and Newman, severally conjoin'd,
 To praise the King, and to enslave Mankind.
Pigott and Hodgson, were to Dungeons sent,
 Because they dar'd to speak of discontent:
 Say then ye Britons, here's your boasted charter?
 Freedom you've resigned, and *Slavery* ta'en in barter.

- A satirical 'Catalogue Raisonnee' appeared on 14 December 1793 (1: 134), naming Pigott as author of 'Sketches from Nature in High Preservation'.
- 74 IKD, 1.
- 75 Pigott, *Political Dictionary* (1795), 170–1 and 40.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 69.
- 77 Burke, *Reflections*, 128.
- 78 *Political Dictionary* [i].
- 79 McCalman, 'Newgate in Revolution', 102.
- 80 See Watson, *The life of Gordon*, 83, 97, and 2 and Colson, *Strange History*, 237. Watson refers to Pigott's *Treachery no Crime* for a description of Newgate,

- The life of Gordon*, 83. On Watson's treatment of Marie Antoinette, see McCalman, 'Newgate Revolution', 102. There is a note on Gordon's death in *Persecution!!!*, 41. Robert Pigott's *Liberty of the Press* has a 'Supplement' discussing Gordon's case.
- 81 Dyer, *Complaints*, 17, compared Junius and Pigott as writers who 'aimed to show the errors of the English government, by exposing the vices of its ministers', 17. He thought Pigott had not made 'sufficient concessions in favour of those who have returned from the paths of folly: but the characters which the author draws are well known, in general to be accurately taken'. In his *Principles of the British Constitution Explained*, Flower answered the substantive points made in *Animadversions on the Jockey Club*, but dissociated himself from Pigott's method. Pigott was remembered more jovially in *The Festival of humour* (1800), 8, for repartee about the Crown always being 'surrounded by vermin'.
- 82 See his attack on 'Modern Patriotism' in *The Watchman*, 98–100. For Coleridge's attitude to Gerrald, see Chapter 2.

Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 See 69–70, Chapter 2.
- 2 *History of Two Acts*, 280, in a speech where Charles Sturt denies the claim.
- 3 See *Rex v. Richard Lee*, National Archive, TSP, TS 11/837.
- 4 Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 155.
- 5 I am grateful to Tim Whelan for pointing out the presence of Lee's poems in the American editions of Maria de Fleury's *Divine Poems*.
- 6 On 10 September 1795, Reid was admitted to a general committee meeting in 'a deputation from the Moral and Political Society who bro't 70 Copies of their first production'. See *Selections*, 302, and McCalman, 'The Infidel as Prophet', 32–3. *The Curses and Causes of War* (1795), printed for the society by Hawes, has a distinctively millenarian flavour: 'these are the times of refreshment that have been spoken of by the mouths of all Prophets', 4. This may be the same group that was calling itself the United Friends of Religious and Civic Liberty a month later. See below, note 46. Reid later claimed to have been 'transported as a young man by the preaching of Calvinist Methodists Martin Madan and William Romaine'. See McCalman, 'Infidel as Prophet', 29.
- 7 'Preface', *Evangelical Magazine*, 1 (1793) 2.
- 8 *Flowers from Sharon*, 'Advertisement' [iii].
- 9 Wheeler, *The Rose of Sharon*, np.
- 10 *Evangelical Magazine*, 2 (1794) 82–3. The following poems from *Flowers from Sharon* had appeared in the magazine under the pseudonym 'Ebenezer': 'On the Heavenly Jerusalem', 1 (1793) 88, 'On the Ascension of Christ', 1 (1793) 132, 'The Afflicted Soul's Refuge', 1 (1793) 220, and 'The Christian's Attachment to the House of God', 2 (1794) 44. No poems appear under the names 'Ebenezer' or 'Richard Lee' after January 1794.
- 11 *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (1803), 197 and 200.

- 12 'Eternal Love', *Flowers from Sharon*, I and 14, Bennett and Bogue, *History of Dissenters*, 4: 392.
- 13 Reid, *Rise and dissolution*, 48. Interestingly, the second edition dropped this jibe, perhaps to save the blushes of some of Reid's evangelical sponsors.
- 14 See 'On the *Commencement of a FRIDAY EVENING LECTURE*, at the ADELPHI CHAPEL. . .', *Flowers from Sharon*, 85–7, and Feltham, *The Picture of London for 1802*, 33. Grove stressed the importance of preaching 'a free and full salvation'. See Grove, *Substance of a sermon*, II. His engraved portrait accompanies *Evangelical Magazine*, 3 (August 1795).
- 15 Terry had also collaborated with the hyper-Calvinist preacher William Huntington to reprint John Saltmarsh's tract *Free Grace* in 1792 (originally published in 1645). Huntington was to split with Terry, who had published his sermons, when he discovered him distributing Painite propaganda to the congregation. See Mee, 'Is there an Antinomian in the House?' For Reid's claim, see *Rise and dissolution*, 69. If nothing else, it shows that Reid himself was well versed in such literature and probably knew Jordan's edition. *Flowers from Sharon* was printed by E. Hodson, sometimes Hodgson, of 21 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, an LCS member who was interrogated by the Privy Council that summer and appeared as a witness at Hardy's trial. He claimed at the trial to have joined the society in February 1794. Barrell and Mee, 3: 120–4.
- 16 How, *Sufficiency*, 42.
- 17 See the advertisements for Terry's *Prophetic Vision, or Daniel's Great Image* in the *Morning Chronicle*, 15 February 1794, and for several days thereafter.
- 18 Barrell thinks Lee had joined the LCS by at least January 1794. See IKD, 609. Thelwall mentions being brought a letter by 'Citizen Lee' [possibly written 'Lea'] in the letter to Citizen Allum of 13 February 1794. See the detailed discussion of the letter in the next chapter. Interrogated by the Privy Council, Hodson claimed to have joined after Lee – transcribed as 'Legh' – in his interview before the Privy Council, National Archive, Privy Council Papers, PC 1/22/36A. Lee's poetry begins appearing in *Pig's Meat* before the arrest of Hardy in May as follows: 'The Triumph of Liberty' (2: 176–7); 'The Rights of God' (2: 204); and 'Sonnet to Freedom' (2: 284). The first is attributed to 'Richard Lee', author of 'a Volume of Poems lately Published'. 'The Rights of God' is described as 'an early production of RICHARD LEE'. The poem comes with an anti-monarchical epigraph combining a verse from Isaiah with three lines from Milton:

*The Lord alone shall be exalted.
Man over men, he made not LORD;
Such title to himself reserving,
Human left from human free.*

'Sonnet to Freedom' was issued after the treason trials, which may explain the topic.

- 19 For Powell's letters, see Chapter 1. Perchard and Brock are listed as merchants with premises in 13 Chatham Place, Blackfriars, in Boyle, *The general*

- London guide* (1793), 3. The *Evangelical Magazine's* description of Lee as a 'laborious mechanic' suggests the haziness of class taxonomy in the period, especially to those, as it were, looking down.
- 20 The other poem in the *Death of Despotism* is 'The Crown a Bauble' that appears in *Songs from the rock* as 'The Baubles of Courts'.
- 21 Other versions of the title include *Songs for the Year 1795*, and *Songs and Odes Sacred to Truth, Liberty, and Peace*. *The Oracle*, 20 January 1795, carries an advertisement for William Belcher's *Account of a Late Circumstance* that lists Eaton and Lee as booksellers. Lee is described as 'a young man of genius, much, in Mr. Belcher's opinion, resembling Dr. Watts'. By this stage, Lee was selling books from St Ann's Court. His mother seems to have run a shop there. According to the advertisement, Lee was also selling 'his own Works, viz, Flowers from Sharon, price 3s. And Songs for the New Year, price 1s. 6d.' The copy of *Songs for the Year 1795* in the British Library at RB 23.a.10133 is a reissue of *Songs from the rock* with a new half title.
- 22 See, for instance, 'FREEDOM REIGNS', *Songs from the rock*, 52–3, which begins with what seems an ironic commentary on verdict at the treason trials:
- ***** thy Sentence just,
Dooms thee to embrace the Dust.
- 23 See the note to the 'Tribute of Civic Gratitude', *Songs from the rock*, III.
- 24 See *Songs from the rock*, II–12, 3–35, 13–15, and 69–75.
- 25 Philp, *Reforming Ideas*, 35.
- 26 Barrell, 'Rus in Urbe'.
- 27 See *A Complete Library. Proposals for publishing by subscription, sacred to truth, liberty, and peace*.
- 28 Barrell's 'Rus in Urbe' mentions some of these poets in its account of the pastoral and elegiac verse sent to *Politics for the People* and elsewhere. For the specific place of James Thomson's memory in the radical societies of the 1790s, see Barrell and Guest, 'Thomson in the 1790s'.
- 29 See 'Justice and Equality', *Songs from the rock*, 31. I have not been able to trace the lines to any published Merry poem, nor the poem addressing 'Aminta', to any magazine from the period.
- 30 See the additional title-page in the British Library copy RB 23.a.10133 on the verso of which this dedication appears.
- 31 See *The Gospel of Reason*, 1–2. Once in Philadelphia, Lee reissued the translation with other of his pamphlets as *Political Curiosities*. The extract also appeared as an 'IMPORTANT AND CURIOUS EXTRACT FROM ROUSSEAU' in the AUM 2.14 (1797) 348–50. On the reception of Rousseau, see *Critical Review*, 15 (1763) 31 and Duffy, *Rousseau in England*.
- 32 See 'The Rights of God' in *Songs from the rock*, 17–18. For the phrase 'divine rights of republics', see *Monthly Review*, 16 (1795) 208, a review of John Cook's Civil War pamphlet *Monarchy no creature of God's making* (1651), reissued by Eaton in 1794. The *Monthly* comments: 'we see no end likely to be answered by this re-publication; except it be to show that fanaticism is a useful

- instrument, which may be employed, at pleasure, in the service of either monarchy or democracy’.
- 33 See *Pig’s Meat*, 2: 204. McCalman and Chase argue that Spence’s use of biblical language and visions are fundamental to his outlook. Spence came from a Calvinist background. Chase suggests that his radicalism became overtly millenarian and visionary only when he submerged himself in London’s metropolitan culture of enthusiasm. See McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, 66, and Chase, *People’s Farm*, 48.
- 34 See note 13 above for the poems that appeared in *Pig’s Meat*. Lee’s poetry also appeared in various other places: *The Blessings of War*, 8, ends with the final stanza of ‘The Horrors of War’ (*Songs from the rock*, 40); *The Wrongs of Man*, 4, reprints ‘Let us Hope to see Better Days’ from *Songs from the rock*, 9–10; and *Warning to Tyrants* has on its title page an entry under ‘Age, Golden’ that is a poem ‘By the author of “Songs, sacred to Truth, Liberty, and Peace”’. Lee does not name himself as *author* of any of these lines. *The Happy Reign of George the Last* ends with stanzas taken from James Kennedy’s *Treason! Or Not Treason!*, 4, published by Eaton.
- 35 IKD, 546. Barrell, ed., *Exhibition Extraordinary!!*, 7, also notes that the playbill seems to have been found first in Yorkshire, from where it was sent to the Attorney General on 19 February 1794. Rev. Foley of Stourbridge also sent the law officers a copy, 24 February, National Archive, TSP, T511/953. Barrell notes that it seems to have first appeared in London a few days later, reported by the spy John Taylor as read during an LCS meeting on 28 February. Thelwall also reportedly read it aloud at one of his lectures on the fast day itself. Apparently, it appeared in print throughout the year, appearing on Lee’s advertisement pages as ‘Nebuchadnezzar’s decree for a Fast’. See IKD, 546.
- 36 Lee’s compilations from Pigott and others can be dated fairly accurately because the date of the next is generally announced on the last page of the previous one. The sequence goes: *The Rights of Kings, No. 1 of a Political Dictionary*; *The Rights of Princes*; *The Rights of Nobles*; *The Rights of Priests*; *The Blessings of War*; *The Wrongs of Man*; *The Rights of Man*; *Warning to Tyrants*; *The Voice of the People*; *The Excellence of the British Constitution*. The final page of *The Rights of Kings* promises *The Rights of Princes* would be out on 20 July. They are all published from the Berwick Street address bar *The Excellence of the British Constitution*, which informs readers that the Tree of Liberty has been transplanted to the Strand. Its final page also advertises *Remedies for State Diseases*. I have not been able to trace a pamphlet with that title, but Barrell suggests it may be *King Killing*.
- 37 *Rights of Kings*, 4. The entry on ‘Monarch’ appears in *Political Dictionary*, 79.
- 38 *Admirable Satire on the Death, Dissection, and Funeral Procession, & Epitaph of Mr. Pitt!!!*, [3], 12, and 13.
- 39 The original satire was published in the *Telegraph*, 20, 21, and 24 August. Ballard published an edition as *Pitt’s Ghost* for 2d. Lee’s fifth edition was published as *A faithful narrative of the last illness, death, and interment* with the episodes on the dreadful apparition. It is advertised in *The*

- Voice of the People*. The sixth edition added extracts from the Prime Minister's will.
- 40 See *A faithful narrative of the last illness, death, and interment of the Rt. Hon. W. Pitt*, 6th edn, 21 and 24. A loyalist riposte to this series of satires appeared as *The decline and fall, death, dissection, and funeral procession of his most contemptible lowness the London Corresponding Society* (1796), where Lee appears 'with the Tree of Liberty tied to his back, wheeling a barrow full of seditious pamphlets', 20–1.
- 41 See IKD, especially 593.
- 42 *Account of the . . . meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster*, 12. See IKD, 593 on the exchange between Fox and Sheridan.
- 43 *Happy Reign of George the Last*, title-page.
- 44 On Jekyll and Pittachio, see *Exhibition Extraordinary!!*, 13–15. Jekyll is routinely attacked as 'Jackal' in the *Tomahawk* later in 1795.
- 45 See 'On Tyrannicide' in *The Cabinet* (1795), 2: 67–80. See Corfield and Evans, *Youth and Revolution*, 188–90, on Pitchford.
- 46 *Rights of the Devil*, 7 and 14. The address of the United Friends of Religious and Civil Liberty uses similar language to argue against 'Arbitrary and Papal Power', 3. Lee sold their tracts and may well have joined them after he left the LCS.
- 47 The information about the title was passed on to Parliament by Charles Sturt. See *History of Two Acts*, 369.
- 48 See the account in IKD, 613–22, on the discussions of Lee in Parliament.
- 49 See *History of Two Acts*, 275.
- 50 Barrell suggests that the Opposition had decided that Lee had to be sacrificed to the law officers if the campaign against the two bills was to succeed. Sheridan and Fox demanded to know why no prosecution of Lee had been brought on, IKD, 617.
- 51 *History of Two Acts*, 369.
- 52 Reid, *Rise and dissolution*, 6. The title-page of the British Library's copy of the *Rights of Princes* (1389 d. 27) has the following written on it: 'Sturt told the house that Lee had been twice turned out of the London Corresponding Society: Ballard (another bookseller involved in the radical movement) alledges [sic] that it was for disagree[ing] with some of the members in religious sentiments. Lee is a Methodist.' For the LCS's disclaimer of any association with Lee, see *History of Two Acts*, 330. Sturt's visit to Lee's mother caused much hilarity in the *Tomahawk*. See, for instance, nos. xxxviii, 10 December 1795, 153, and XLIV, 17 December 1795, 177.
- 53 See Barrell's account of the ambivalent attitude of the LCS towards Lee during this period, IKD, 617–18.
- 54 *The True Briton*, 1 December 1795, announces: 'At the Westminster Quarter Sessions, held at Guildhall on Saturday, the Grand Jury found three Bills of Indictment against Citizen R. Lee for publishing Seditious Pamphlets.'
- 55 *The Times*, 19 December. 1795. The indictment against Lee, naming the three pamphlets, is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/854.

- 56 See Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 187.
- 57 Quoted *ibid.*, 682.
- 58 *Political Curiosities* comes with an ironic dedication to ‘Peter Porcupine’. *Political Curiosities* may be the ‘book’ mentioned in Cobbett’s account of Lee’s fate, but more substantial was *Crimes of the Kings and Queens of England*, full of animus against the whole institution of the monarchy. Lee advertised this volume along with a new magazine to be called ‘The American Library’ by ‘A SOCIETY OF LITERARY GENTLEMEN’. Subscriptions were accepted by Lee and another radical exile, William Y. Birch, an apprentice printer who fled Britain in 1794 after the *Manchester Herald* was suppressed. See Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 32, on Birch.
- 59 Cobbett, *A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats*, xxvi, and *Works*, 5: 75.
- 60 Cobbett, *Works*, 7: 59 and 9: 270 and 258.
- 61 Douglas, ‘Citizen Lee and the Tree of Liberty’, 11.
- 62 AUM, 1 (1797), 10. The magazine was launched as a weekly, but became bi-weekly after the first four numbers. It ceased publication in March 1798.
- 63 The *American senator* is announced as ‘Publishing in Numbers’ in the first number of the AUM, 1 (1797), 31, dated 2 January, and available at Lee’s Chestnut Street shop. *Poems* by Della Crusca, Volney’s *Ruins of Empire*, and Godwin’s *Political justice* are advertised below this notice. ‘Richard Lee, Philadelphia’ appears on the unpaginated list ‘Subscriber’s Names’ at the end of the third volume of the *American senator*.
- 64 AUM 1 (1797), 370.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 358–9.
- 66 Quoted from Rushton’s letter to Washington, AUM, 2 (1797), 354. Lee is named as a committee member of the Pennsylvania Society Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, AUM, 2 (1797) 119. Rhees or Rhys was a Baptist minister who fled Wales to avoid arrest in 1794. See Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 221–3, and Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 102–3 on his disillusionment with American slavery and his letters to the AUM.
- 67 See Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America*, 65–6, and also Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 104–5, on Lee and Rhees as exceptional in their opinions on slavery. Lee’s name no longer appears in advertisements for the AUM after August 1797. Cobbett’s claim that he tried travelling and ended up in gaol in New York is given some credence by a subscription bill for an edition of Vicesimus Knox’s *Elegant Extracts* from New York (mentioning a reduced price for subscriptions received before 1 November 1798). See *A Complete Library* (1798). If Cobbett’s ‘travelling’ implies some sort of salesmanship, then he may be the Richard Lee who turns up selling medicine in Baltimore and then New York in various newspaper advertisements in the American press from 1803. Some maintain a connection with William Y. Birch in Philadelphia and others refer to the street in New York from which the 1798 subscription was issued. Some also claim Lee had been involved in selling medicine for ‘upwards of six years’. Lee had founded the AUM six years previously and may have been selling medicines – as many booksellers did – from his shop.

Twomey briefly mentions Birch and Lee going into partnership as apothecaries in *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 67. What really matters about this uncertain final narrative, as Lee vanishes almost to nothing, is that he seems to have been squeezed out of the public sphere by a new generation of American editors who identified themselves as Democrats in terms of a political party rather than the utopian aspirations of the earlier 1790s.

Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 The phrase ‘erect and independent’ appears in Godwin, *Caleb Williams*, 230.
- 2 See Green’s excellent discussion of this idea in *Majesty of the People*, 41–61.
- 3 See Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, especially 69–70.
- 4 The phrase appears in Thelwall’s notes for the lecture on ‘abuses in the profession and practices of the law’, f. 4 in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956. Seized at his arrest, the Privy Council showed the notes to Henry Eaton, supposedly for him to confirm Thelwall’s handwriting. Taylor’s notes on the 21 February lecture are also at TS 11/956. Henry Eaton took tickets at the door and also sold copies of Gilbert Wakefield’s *The Spirit of Christianity compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain* (1794). Two songs, ‘The Rights of Britons’ and ‘Johnny Frost’, were also sold. Copies of both are in the same file.
- 5 LT, 18 and 22.
- 6 Thelwall to Coleridge, 10 May 1796, in Gibbs ‘An Unpublished Letter’, 88.
- 7 LT, 33
- 8 *Ibid.*, 33–4. He also produced a long poem *Orlando and Almeyda* (1787). *Ibid.*, 27.
- 9 Thelwall submitted the first play to George Colman the Elder at the Haymarket, who brought his own *Incle and Yorico* (1787) on to the stage instead. As Susan Thelwall’s letter shows, see page 56. Thelwall suspected Thomas Harris had passed the manuscript of the *Incas* on to Thomas Morton to use for his *Columbus* (1792).
- 10 LT describes Coachmakers’ Hall as a ‘mock senate and synod’, 45, but also gives a sense of how important it was to Thelwall’s intellectual development, not least in relation to the efforts he took to keeping it open, corroborated by Susan Thelwall’s letters of December. LT sometimes affects a literary condescension to the popular print sociability of the 1780s and 1790s.
- 11 See Thompson, ‘From Forum to Repository’.
- 12 LT, 49.
- 13 On the archaeology of this idea, see Mee, *Conversable Worlds*, 24–5, 68–74, and 147–8.
- 14 LT, 51.
- 15 Godwin and Thelwall met often in the period 1793–5, as Godwin’s diary shows, but there is no evidence of contact before 1793. Thelwall was a member of the Philomaths before Godwin began to attend in 1793. See his *Ode to science* (1791).
- 16 Thale, *London Debating Societies*, 321.
- 17 *Rights of Nature*, 21.

- 18 Solomonescu, *Materialist Imagination*, 3. See also Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, especially 107–21.
- 19 Solomonescu, *Materialist Imagination*, 16.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 15. When called as a witness at his trial, Parkinson said he had been ‘pretty intimate with Thelwall over the last seven years’. See Barrell and Mee, 8: 72.
- 21 LT, 145.
- 22 *The Peripatetic* (1793), 1: 83 and viii.
- 23 See the discussion of this context for the allegory in Solomonescu, *Materialist Imagination*, 29–30. On Eaton’s trial for using the allegory, see Chapter 1.
- 24 *Tribune*, 3: 200.
- 25 On Thelwall’s use of the electricity trope, see Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, especially, 116.
- 26 Thelwall, *Natural and Constitutional Right*, 68. See the discussion in Green, *Majesty of the People*, 49–56. The same passage is discussed from the perspective of Thelwall’s materialism, in Solomonescu, *Materialist Imagination*, 23–4.
- 27 LT, 69–70.
- 28 See BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817 f. 23. The Society agreed that the ‘number of Members shall be unlimited, and each subscribe not less than 1s 6d per quarter’ (f. 24). At their next meeting, a week later, they confirmed their name as the ‘London Society of the Friends of the People’. They also resolved to appoint a committee to confer with the Southwark society and adopt its rules. See Chapter 2, note 62.
- 29 *Whole of the Proceedings at the Meeting of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press*, 6–7.
- 30 Susan Thelwall to Jack Vellum, [9 March 1793], National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956. Her letter takes the problems with *The Peripatetic* as a sign that the liberty of the press ‘is already gone’: ‘Mr. Thelwall after some trouble pr[ocur]’d a printer to print the publication I before spoke to you of, but this printer after getting the first volume almost ready to come out declin’d printing any more [unless] T. would strike out all the political matter or turn it on the Aristocratical side this [T.] certainly refus’d to do.’ Thelwall made a short speech at the dinner. See *Morning Chronicle*, 11 March 1793, which notes the Edwards letter explaining his absence and Sheridan’s drollery on it.
- 31 LT, 115. Thelwall joined around 17 October and was elected delegate for division 25 four days later. See *Selections*, 88n. For the high opinion of Gerrald that Thelwall shared with many others see Chapter 2.
- 32 Thelwall made his offer to the general committee on 14 November. See *Selections*, 93 and note. Thelwall was proposed and disqualified as a delegate to the Edinburgh Convention at the general meeting of 24 October, *ibid.*, 88. The article of disqualification had caused some debate before being passed, *ibid.*, 87.
- 33 Divisions of the LCS seems to have begun to use the Compton Street address from May 1793. The central committee met there from January 1794. See *Selections*, 66, 103n, and 109.

- 34 He gave only a single performance in the Minorities; ‘to a thronged audience who received it with enthusiasm’, LT, 130.
- 35 The early ‘Memoir of Mr. John Thelwall, the Celebrated Political Lecturer’, describes Allum and Thelwall as closely involved in rallying the Southwark ‘Friends of the People’ after the November 1792 proclamation. See the *New, General, and Complete Weekly Magazine* 1 (1796), 29. Allum’s letter is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953. The Allum letter is reproduced in one of the versions of Hardy’s trial, *The proceedings in cases of high treason, under a special commission of oyer and terminer*, 682–4, published by Ridgway and Symonds from Ramsey’s shorthand notes. Ramsey was the shorthand writer that Thelwall used for his lectures. See page 181 for Gurney’s advice on this precaution.
- 36 Barrell and Mee, 8: 22 and 24.
- 37 Gurney described him as ‘a man liable in the warmth of speaking to be hurried away by his passion’ (Barrell and Mee, 8: 34). See Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation*, 115–27.
- 38 *Political Lectures* (1795), 4.
- 39 See Hazlitt, ‘On the Difference between Writing and Speaking’, 264–5.
- 40 *Political Lectures* (1795), 17.
- 41 The various reports from Taylor are in the file at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953. See IKD, 567. Eaton drew on Otway’s play for the epigraph to Pigott’s *Persecution* a few weeks before. Eaton, Pigott, and Thelwall were all members of division 25 in February 1794. *Political Lectures* (1795) mentions the arrest of Hodgson and Pigott briefly (13).
- 42 See IKD, 395. Printed slips with the title *The Speeches of Pierre and Jaffeir* are in the BL, Place Papers, Draft of Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818 f. 4. Both are inscribed ‘in 1793’, but they may date from the time of Thelwall’s lecture early in 1794. In a later incident, the ministerial press blamed the Kemble and Sheridan revival of the play in October 1795 for inciting the attack on the king’s coach. See IKD, 567–8. Note also Piozzi’s comparison of Merry and Pierre above 114.
- 43 Apart from the British Library copy (Figure 11), copies of the handbill are in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953 (with the covering note from Reeves).
- 44 See the discussion of Lee’s reissue of the bill in 1795 in the previous chapter.
- 45 These letters and reports are in National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953 with other material gathered for Thelwall’s prosecution. The anonymous letter to Banks is dated ‘19 April’. The letter from Banks to the law officers is dated 22 April. See Taylor’s evidence at Thelwall’s trial (Barrell and Mee, 8: 37–43). The prosecution’s claim that it possessed new material that would succeed against Thelwall, where they had failed with Hardy and Tooke, largely depended upon Taylor’s evidence, but this strategy collapsed when Erskine revealed him to be a bigamist and perjurer. See IKD, 395–6.
- 46 See Thelwall’s account in the dedication to the two juries affixed to *Political lectures, (no. II.) Sketches of the history of prosecutions for political opinion*, iii–iv, published immediately after the events.

- 47 The note is at National Archive, TSP, TS 11/953. It was produced in court, where Gurney's behaviour was animadverted upon. See Barrell and Mee, 8: 22, 30, and 33–5.
- 48 Ritson's role is acknowledged in LT, 141. He and Thelwall appear together several times in Godwin's diary. In the middle of Reeves's attempts to prosecute Thelwall, Ritson joined Godwin and Thelwall on 4 May, when they dined at Holcroft's. On 12 June 1795, Godwin supped at Thelwall's with the Richters and Ritson after attending his last lecture before the summer break.
- 49 LT, 164.
- 50 In his lecture on the abuses of the law, f. 2, Thelwall suggested that 'A National Convention may some time or other, perhaps, take this subject into consideration in its fullest extent', National Archive, TSP, TS 11/956.
- 51 *Natural and Constitutional Right*, 37.
- 52 The poems published in the *Politician* were 'Stanzas written by J. Thelwall in the Tower upon Hearing that the Commission was Sealed, for Trying the State Prisoners for High Treason', dated 28 September, and 'The Cell' dated October 24. He had also promised 'The Crisis' and 'The Farewell'. See the *Politician*, no. 3, 20–1, and no. 4, 28. 'The Cell' was originally published in the *Morning Post* the day after it was written. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the *Politician's* genesis.
- 53 *The Politician*, no. 3, 26.
- 54 Coleridge to Thelwall, 13 May 1796, Coleridge's *Collected Letters*, 1: 213, where he told him 'on your *heart* I should rest for my safety'. The exchange was part of their ongoing discussion of whether morality had to be underpinned by religion.
- 55 *Tribune*, 2: xv.
- 56 McCann, *Cultural Politics*, 86.
- 57 The third volume of the *Tribune* did print 'Lines written by a Female Citizen', 3: 105–6.
- 58 See the account in LT, 76, and 53.
- 59 *Political Lectures* (1795), 3–4.
- 60 McCann, *Cultural Politics*, 90.
- 61 *Political Lectures* (1795), 58.
- 62 'Advertisement', *Poems written in Close Confinement* [i]. The lectures recommenced in February. Thelwall used the proceeds to try and repair his domestic finances. While he had been in prison, Susan Thelwall had relied on support from the LCS.
- 63 *Tribune*, 2: 363, using the authority of Blackstone.
- 64 Godwin, *Considerations*, 14, 16, and 20.
- 65 The diary also records Godwin's appearance at the lecture on 4 February 1794. Apart from these two visits, Godwin and Thelwall regularly met and dined from late 1793.
- 66 Alderson to Godwin, 5 February [1796], MS Abinger c. 3, Bodleian Library. Alderson playfully imagines Godwin being accused of accepting a government pension, a joke one doubts he enjoyed.

- 67 See Thelwall, *Sober Reflections*, 105.
- 68 See the discussion in Fairclough, *Romantic Crowd*, 118–21.
- 69 Thelwall, *Sober Reflections*, 16–17.
- 70 Thelwall, *Tribune*, 3: 188. See also Michael Scrivener, ‘John Thelwall and the Revolution of 1649’.
- 71 *Natural and Constitutional Right*, 39–40.
- 72 See Thompson, *The Romantics*, 156–203.
- 73 See above 38–9.
- 74 See Thelwall to Hardy, 28 Feb. 1801, Wordsworth Trust and *Poems Written Chiefly in Retirement*; BL, Place Papers, Papers of the LCS, Add MS 27817, ff. 87–8 has a subscription sheet for the volume, with a note dated 19 April 1801 for Hardy to pass on. The name of the addressee is scribbled out, 88v, but seems to be Geddes, possibly Alexander Geddes, Thelwall’s former ally in the Friends of the Liberty of the Press. Hardy was also involved in circulating *The Daughters of Adoption* to a circle of Thelwall’s friends in Nottingham. See Hardy to Thomas Oldham, 14 November 1800, BL, Place Papers, Draft Letters of Thomas Hardy, Add MS 27818, f. 15.
- 75 A rich scholarly literature on Thelwall’s elocutionary practices has emerged lately. See, for instance, Duchan, ‘Conceptual Underpinnings’, Fleming, ‘Tracing the Textual Reverberation’, and Solomonescu, *Materialist Imagination*, 93–109 and 117–19. On the dispute between Jeffrey and Thelwall, see *Mr Thelwall’s Letter to Francis Jeffray* (1804) and *Mr. Thelwall’s reply to the calumnies* (1804) and the discussion in Mee, ‘Policing Enthusiasm in the Romantic Period’, especially 188–90.
- 76 See McCann, *Cultural Politics*, 104–5.
- 77 The fullest account is Judith Thompson, *John Thelwall in the Wordsworth Circle*, but see also Mee, “The Dungeon and the Cell”.