



From Sheffield to Raleigh: a Radical Publishing Network in the Age of Revolution

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**From Sheffield to Raleigh:
A Radical Publishing Network in the Age of Revolution**

Michael James Daly

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2011

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The launch of the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information in 1791 is recognised by historians as one of the earliest and most radical expressions of organised working class calls for parliamentary reform in England. Research for this thesis has shown that Joseph Gales, the Sheffield publisher, was active in supporting the reform movement through his newspaper the *Sheffield Register*, with the help of his wife Winifred, a novelist, and his assistant, the poet James Montgomery, until the flight of the Galeses to America in 1794-95. However, existing historical scholarship has not explored the archival material in depth to reveal the detailed content of their radical journalism and publishing in the key years 1791-94. There is also a pronounced gap, despite the presence of a significant archive, in the later activities of the Galeses in North America, and of Montgomery in Sheffield in 1794-97. This thesis will seek to fill this gap in historical knowledge by showing in more detail the content and depth of their radical journalism and writings, their links with national and international reformers, and how their later claims of moderation are contradicted by the newly available data. This will be achieved by exploring the letters, poems, and editorials, of the *Sheffield Register*, the *Sheffield Iris*, and the *Raleigh Register* newspapers, the “Recollections,” letters and novels of Winifred Gales, and the poems and prose writings of James Montgomery. There will also be a consideration of their place in the rise of a middling-sort class awareness, transatlantic radicalism, the role of feminist autobiographical diaries, and the boosterist activities of the Galeses in North Carolina.

This work is dedicated with love to my wife

Anne

and to my children

Morgan, Jackson, Calvin and Grace

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Soli Deo Gloria!

Abbreviations

<i>Iris</i>	<i>Sheffield Iris</i>
LCS	London Corresponding Society
<i>RR</i>	<i>Raleigh Register</i>
SCI	Society for Constitutional Information
<i>SR</i>	<i>Sheffield Register</i>
SSCI	Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information

INTRODUCTION

The 1790s in London and the provinces were a time of great political unrest following the French Revolution, with growing calls for increased parliamentary representation, including provincial towns like Sheffield, which were without proper representation. There was an upsurge in Constitutional societies outside the capital along the lines of the London Corresponding Society (LCS), which gathered support for petitions for reform to parliament and caused the Pitt government to be apprehensive about a possible mass insurrection. In Sheffield the brief flowering of the Constitutional society (SSCI) in the 1790s, encouraged by local newspaper man Joseph Gales, his wife Winifred, their assistant James Montgomery, and orator Henry Redhead Yorke, was soon quashed by the Government and local interests — Gales fled the country and Yorke was imprisoned during which incarceration he (again) changed sides politically.¹ As Donald Read says, “Sheffield was the strongest centre of English provincial radicalism in the 1790s.”² However, whilst recognising the importance of the Galeses and Montgomery, the content of their work has not been explored in depth by scholars.³ My research will show, in detail that the Gales/Montgomery publishing operation was an important regional source of reform support that was also linked to key national and international figures and groups active in the reform movement. These three important figures will thus be raised from the obscurity into which they have sunk and will be shown to be key individuals in the transatlantic radical reform publishing movement in the 1790s.

To achieve this, my research will bring together detailed material from Sheffield and Raleigh (North Carolina), to reveal the extent of the radicalism of these three in much greater depth and sophistication. This includes the handwritten “Recollections”⁴ of

¹ J. G. Alger, “Henry Redhead Yorke (1772-1813),” rev. Peter Spence, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed September 8, 2009, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/30241.

² Donald Read, *The English Provinces c.1760-1960: a Study in Influence* (London: Arnold, 1964), 46.

³ For example, E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2002), 144, 150n, 166, only briefly mentions Gales, even calling him “John,” 197.

⁴ Winifred Gales, “Recollections,” Gales-Seaton Papers 2652, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; see appendix, picture 1.

Winifred Gales; her letters to the Unitarian leader and scholar the Rev. Jared Sparks;⁵ and her two novels, *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe, and Her Family*,⁶ and, *Matilda Berkely, or, Family Anecdotes*.⁷ Political letters, poetry and editorials from the *Sheffield Register* (SR), *Sheffield Iris* (Iris), and the *Raleigh Register* (RR) newspapers. James Montgomery's, *The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan*; ⁸*The Whisperer, or Hints and Speculations, by Gabriel Silvertongue, Gent.*; ⁹*Prison Amusements, and Other Trifles: Principally written during Nine Months of Confinement in the Castle of York, by Paul Positive*;¹⁰ his reform poems and hymns published in their newspapers; and the seven volume *Memoirs of the life and writings of James Montgomery* by John Holland and James Everett.¹¹ As Emma Macleod has noted, this recovery of primary source material is in line with the recent rapid increase in the release of print and electronic publishing collections from the period.¹²

The Galeses have variously been interpreted as assiduous publishers, civic and community leaders in Sheffield, publishing entrepreneurs, provincial literati in the UK and the US, and as successful migrants who 'boosted' local civic society in North Carolina and the public profile of the burgeoning new town of Raleigh. This thesis is an attempt to reclaim and reappraise the material evidence of their activities in these twin situations, returns to the literary survivals of their work, and locates them in their contemporary context. It also seeks to peel away later accretions of piety and Victorian

⁵ Correspondence between Winifred Gales and Rev. Jared Sparks, Gales Papers, 1794-1864, PC. 146, Southern Collection, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

⁶ Winifred Gales, *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe, and Her Family, by a Female, in Three Volumes* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787).

⁷ Winifred Gales, *Matilda Berkely, or, Family Anecdotes* (Raleigh: J. Gales, 1804).

⁸ James Montgomery, *The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan* (London: H. D. Symonds, 1793).

⁹ James Montgomery, *The Whisperer; or, Tales and Speculations. By Gabriel Silvertongue* (London: J. Johnson, 1798).

¹⁰ James Montgomery, *Prison Amusements, and Other Trifles: Principally written during Nine Months of Confinement in the Castle of York, Paul Positive* (London: J. Johnson, 1797).

¹¹ John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of the life and writings of James Montgomery*, 7 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854-56). See also a portrait in the appendix.

¹² Emma Vincent Macleod, "British Attitudes to the French Revolution," *Historical Journal* 50, no. 3 (2007), 690, accessed July 15, 2011, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X07006310.

notions of self-help and respectability from what were actually very troubled, troublesome and radical careers in the fiery and fragmented provincial culture of the 1790s. This was a turbulent decade, and a reappraisal of their role, forces a re-examination of the situation in Sheffield during this period, and the reasons for their migration and exile to the American colonies. These issues constitute the main matter of the thesis.

The rediscovery of this material has forced a re-evaluation of the place of these three individuals within the reform movement, has shown that there is much more to be revealed about them, and that they are more important than previously recognised. The research undertaken here will show that there was a clear connection between these Sheffield publishers and the international reform network in Britain, Europe and America. The geographical distance, the passage of time, the inaccessibility of the primary material and their relative obscurity today has dimmed our awareness of their importance to the radical reform movement at a crucial time. Now, however, my research will show that they are three important individuals whose roles in local events deserve greater notice as part of national and international events. For they are of interest not just to our understanding of the political reform movement but also for their involvement in publishing, writing, social concern, nonconformist Christianity, the rise of the middling classes, and the emergence of the voice of strong, cultured, literary women within the public realm.

When E. P. Thompson wrote, “There has been no systematic research into the extent of such provincial prosecutions” in England during the 1790s, including that of Joseph Gales and James Montgomery at Sheffield, he could also have rightly included the lack of in-depth investigation into their radicalism.¹³ For, whilst historians have acknowledged the role of the Galeses and, to a lesser extent, Montgomery in the Sheffield reform movement, they have not analysed their published material in depth to reveal its radical content.¹⁴ In addition, to argue that theological radicalism fuelled political radicalism in the period, as Eileen Groth Lyon and Stuart Andrews suggest, is

¹³ Thompson, *The Making*, 150n; Frida Knight, *The Strange Case of Thomas Walker: Ten Years in the Life of a Manchester Radical* (London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1957), foreword.

¹⁴ See the appendix for my analysis of letters, poems and editorials in the *SR*, for the crucial years 1791-94; and poems, various editorials, letters, articles, and advertisements in the *Iris* for 1794-1800.

not easy to prove in the case of the Galeses. It seems more plausible to argue that their incipient Unitarianism, before their move to Sheffield, and the French Revolution, made them more amenable to radical politics later.¹⁵ Other than mentioning Montgomery – “a minor poet and man of letters” – as his successor, Marilyn Butler, like E. P. Thompson and others, does not explore his radicalism.¹⁶ Of the broader scholarship, Albert Goodwin says a little more, “Sheffield was to be a pioneer — mainly owing to the public spirit, varied talents and radical commitment of Joseph Gales.”¹⁷ Later articles like Hugh Cunningham’s rely on Goodwin (he calls *The Patriot* a radical newspaper when surely he should mean the *Sheffield Register*).¹⁸ This applies to Winifred Gales’s writings too — Cheryl Turner simply lists her first novel, *Emma Melcombe*, without comment, and William S. Powell, her second, *Matilda Berkely*.¹⁹ Understandably, because of the long residency and the success of the Galeses in America, some early (twentieth century) studies originated there, with Willis Briggs (1907),²⁰ becoming a primary source for later scholars. His short study describes Gales as a businessman of integrity, and a republican democrat who supported the political interests of the lower orders in England and the needs of the less fortunate in America. This made him, says Briggs, a radical in England but a welcome republican in America. Whilst agreeing with these general conclusions, certain cautions must be mentioned. There are frequent inaccuracies of fact, his source material is scant, he does not cite references, and he says

¹⁵ Eileen Groth Lyon, *Politicians in the pulpit: Christian radicalism in Britain from the fall of the Bastille to the disintegration of Chartism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Group, 1999); Stuart Andrews, *Unitarian radicalism: political rhetoric, 1770-1799* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁶ Marilyn Butler, *Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 11.

¹⁷ Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the age of the French Revolution* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), 222.

¹⁸ Hugh Cunningham, “The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914,” *History Workshop* 12 (Autumn, 1981): 8-33, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4288376>.

¹⁹ Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth-century* (London: Routledge, 1992), 172; William S. Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 322.

²⁰ Willis G. Briggs, “Joseph Gales, Editor of Raleigh’s First Newspaper,” *North Carolina Booklet* 19 (Raleigh, 1907): 105-130, accessed December 14, 2010, <http://www.babel.hathitrust.org>.

he obtained his information from a descendant of Joseph Gales, Charles Root,²¹ which suggests too much reliance upon the accuracy of another's memory.²² He also accepts the moderate picture of Gales's radicalism, probably from Winifred's diary via Root, and as a result, later scholars have imported some of these inaccuracies into their own work.²³ As Emma Macleod notes (in speaking of recent biographies of Thomas Paine), historical inaccuracy is not an unknown phenomenon in academic research.²⁴

The paucity of studies on the Galeses and Montgomery contemporary to the events of the early 1790s seems to have resulted in an over-reliance upon Holland and Everett's biography, which uses Montgomery's own redacted version of this earlier history, published sixty years after the events. The reminiscences of Winifred Gales, begun twenty years after their emigration, and only completed twenty-five years after that, also carry a suspicion of redaction, having been "written many years later and with the inevitable benefit of hindsight," as Julie Macdonald observes.²⁵ Care is needed therefore, when using these later autobiographical sources, especially as we know that Montgomery, and the Galeses (like Coleridge and Southey), were deliberately moderating, even minimising, their earlier radicalism. This thesis examines the primary source material of their 1790s journalism and publishing, particularly the letters, poems,

²¹ Ibid., 130.

²² See, for example, his erroneous claims: that Winifred Gales, aged 17, wrote a work entitled "Lady Julia Seaton," 107; that the publisher Holt of Newark was his employee, *ibid.*; that he had association with Thomas Paine whilst still in Sheffield, 108. This was explicitly denied by Montgomery and Gales's sister, *Memoirs*, I. 159. That twenty year old James Montgomery was employed by Gales, "when a lad," 113, and that Gales met Joseph Priestley whilst still in England, 116.

²³ For example, the claim that a fine was £100 instead of the actual \$200: Briggs, "Joseph Gales," 118; Robert Neal, Elliott, Jr., "The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863," *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* 36 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955): 26; Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "William Boylan," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 205; Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 255. Calling Joseph Gales "John": Ray Hemmings, *Liberty or Death: The Struggle for Democracy in Britain 1780-1830* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2000), 170.

²⁴ Macleod, "British Attitudes," 691.

²⁵ Julie Macdonald, "Freedom of Election: The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire and the Growth of Radicalism in Sheffield, 1784-1792," PhD thesis (University of Sheffield, August 2005), 19.

prose and editorials, to reveal the extent and content of their radicalism, and their place in contemporary English and American cultures, rather than reliance upon their weighted memoirs.

Over-reliance on secondary sources has been a continuing feature of transatlantic scholarship on the Galeases and Montgomery, with an interlinking of a small number of works. Many, like Beutner, Williamson, Tolley, Evans, Price and Armytage rely heavily on Holland and Everett.²⁶ Others, like Donnelly, Black, Tise and Graham²⁷ look to Armytage; whilst some like Elliott and Durey depend upon Armytage, Briggs and Eaton;²⁸ and Beutner does not cite Armytage or Briggs at all. This neglect of the primary source material has led to a superficial understanding of the content and extent of the publishing of the Galeases and Montgomery during the early 1790s. For example, Julie Macdonald and John Baxter have shown that Gales, through his publishing house, provided a voice for the Sheffield cutlery workers in their long-running dispute with the Cutlers' Company in the seven years leading up to the formation of the Sheffield

²⁶ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*; H. F. Beutner, "With Fraternal Feeling Fired: the Life and Work of James Montgomery," PhD diss. (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1967); Robert T. Williamson, "The Religious Thought of James Montgomery," PhD diss. (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1950); G. Tolley, "James Montgomery (1771–1854)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), accessed September 8, 2009, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/19070. Eric J. Evans, "Joseph Gales," in *British Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, vol. 1. 1770-1830 (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979); David Price, *Sheffield Troublemakers* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2008). W. H. G. Armytage, "The Editorial Experience of Joseph Gales 1786-1794," *North Carolina Historical Review* 28, no. 3 (Raleigh, July 1951).

²⁷ Fred Donnelly, "Joseph Gales (1761-1841)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), accessed September 8, 2009, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/63598; idem, "The Foundation of the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information," *Labour History Review* 56 (1991): 51-53. Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth-century* (Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd., 1987), 130; Larry E. Tise, *The American Counter Revolution: A retreat from Liberty, 1783-1800* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1998), 292; Jenny Graham, *The Nation, The Law and the King: Reform Politics in England, 1789-1799*, 2 vols. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2000).

²⁸ Clement Eaton, "Winifred and Joseph Gales, Liberals in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History* 10, no. 4 (1944): 461-474, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://jstor.org/stable/2197798>; Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*.

Society for Constitutional Information (SSCI).²⁹ She has demonstrated that this dispute provided the basis for the establishment of the Constitutional society, and explains why it appeared so suddenly and in such an organised form. This is in contrast to Jenny Graham who, with Black, Goodwin and Seaman, cannot accept that the SSCI could be “unlettered mechanics suddenly acquiring political facility” without the leadership of more educated and propertied men like Gales.³⁰ Yet, whilst Macdonald quotes from the *Sheffield Register* and the “Recollections” perhaps more than other studies, she does not research the material in depth. Similarly, J. L. Baxter and F. K. Donnelly acknowledge the role of Gales in supporting the cutlers and in encouraging the radical movement in Sheffield, but also without in-depth investigation.³¹

Articles on the Sheffield reform movement written in the later twentieth century hold varying views of Gales’s involvement with the SSCI, without much analysis of his publications, and with many historical inaccuracies. Alison Twells merely acknowledges the alarm its formation caused local dignitaries; J. Taylor claims that Gales was fairly ignorant about the national reform movement in 1790-91, and, along with other SSCI leaders, was “pale pink” in his politics, despite acknowledging that he printed extracts approvingly from radical works by Paine and others.³² G. P. Jones, like Edward Fearn,³³ gives more prominence to Henry Yorke than Joseph Gales, whom he rarely mentions, and dismisses as one who later regretted his involvement in

²⁹ Macdonald, “Freedom of Election;” John Baxter, “The Origins of the Social War in South Yorkshire,” PhD (Sheffield: Sheffield University, 1976), 75-6. Cf. Armytage, “Editorial Experience,” 339; E. Royle and J. Walvin, *English Radicals and Reformers 1760-1848* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982), 49.

³⁰ Graham, *The Nation*, 110.

³¹ J. L. Baxter and F. K. Donnelly, “The Revolutionary “Underground” in the West Riding: Myth or Reality?,” *Past & Present* 64 (Aug, 1974), 125, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/650321>.

³² Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission, and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: The Heathen at Home and Overseas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 58; J. Taylor, “The Sheffield Constitutional Society,” *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 5 (Sheffield, 1940), 134.

³³ E. Fearn, “Henry Redhead Yorke: Radical Traitor,” *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 12 (Sheffield, 1968): 187-192.

radicalism.³⁴ A. W. L. Seaman produced one of the more factually accurate articles on the origins of the SSCI, and consulted the *Sheffield Register*, but apparently not the *Memoirs*, “Recollections,” or the *Iris*. Consequently, he did not notice, for example, the key influence of Montgomery as supplier of reform ‘hymns’ for public gatherings, or his reform writings.³⁵ I seek here to correct this lack of in-depth investigation of the radical publishing of the Galeses and Montgomery in the 1790s.

James Montgomery’s journey through radicalism in the 1790s is charted only perfunctorily by historians, who, like Wigley, generally see him as just another example of how, “Dissent embraced something like Rationalism only to flee from it to Romanticism and then to an Evangelicalism.”³⁶ This follows Montgomery’s later revisionism, when in later life he blamed the influence of others for his behaviour, “The promiscuous fraternity of all classes as fellow-members of political clubs in that age of liberty was more calculated to debase the virtuous than to amend the profligate.”³⁷ Consequently, in 1819, following the Peterloo massacre in Manchester, he made himself extremely unpopular with middle-class reformers and the artisan crowd, when in his absence (at Leamington visiting his brother Ignatius), his office manager, John Ray, printed a positive report in favour of the people’s right to freely assemble to discuss political grievances.³⁸ Montgomery incensed by this immediately sent a refutation to be inserted in the *Iris* the following week.

This later minimising of his 1790s radicalism is testimony to the success of Holland and Everett, his authorised and voluminous biographers, as *The Times* referred to them,³⁹ who colluded with him to reposition him as a politically naive young man

³⁴ G. P. Jones, “The Political Reform Movement in Sheffield,” *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 4, no. 57 (Sheffield, 1937), 58.

³⁵ A. W. L. Seaman, “Reform Politics at Sheffield,” *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 7 (Sheffield, 1957), 224.

³⁶ J. Wigley, “James Montgomery and the ‘Sheffield Iris,’ 1792-1825: A Study in the Weakness of Provincial Radicalism,” *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 10 (Sheffield, 1964), 2.

³⁷ *Iris*, Dec 7, 1819.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug 24, 1819.

³⁹ “Our warning applies to the scale of the memoir, which is out of all proportion to the dignity or the importance of the subject,” a review of volumes 1 and 2 in *The Times*, Sep 18, 1855, accessed Nov 12, 2010, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, article CS151162162.

inadvertently caught up in radical events.⁴⁰ This was not unusual, for as David Amigoni says, there was a Victorian tradition of friends and family editing biographical material to conceal the failings of their subject.⁴¹ Thus Montgomery's biographers dismissed his early radical satirical works as "harsh and ludicrous ... the unripe fruits of his youthful imagination."⁴² Donna Loftus draws attention to the fact that Victorian middle-class auto/biographies were much concerned to construct exemplar masculinity by portraying the subject as philanthropic in the public and the private spheres, and to position "the self at the centre of a network of narratives about self and society." From this perspective, even a nervous breakdown when associated with over-diligence in duties was a mechanism to confirm masculinity.⁴³ This was certainly true of Montgomery's *Memoirs*, which listed his many public and private virtues, but did not disguise his mental and physical frailties. He underwent a prolonged spiritual struggle in the late 1790s and early 1800s, having previously turned from his Moravian evangelical roots to become more aligned with the Unitarian theology and radical Paineite politics of his employer Gales.⁴⁴ "Indeed," says Wigley, "most of Montgomery's biographers have done little more than attempt to reconcile his early career with what they regarded as the necessary concomitants of their own religious views, and to present him as a paragon of

⁴⁰ "My retired and religious education had laid restraints upon my conscience – I may say so fearlessly – which long kept me back from personally engaging in the civil war of words then raging through the neighbourhood, beyond an occasional rhyme, paragraph, or essay, in the newspaper, written rather for the purpose of showing my literary than my political qualifications," Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, I. 143.

⁴¹ David Amigoni, "Victorian Life Writing: Genres, Print, Constituencies," introduction in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. David Amigoni (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), 13.

⁴² Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, I. 148-149.

⁴³ Donna Loftus, "The Self in Society: Middle-class Men and Autobiography," in *Life Writing*, ed. Amigoni, 82.

⁴⁴ "What can I do? I am tossed to and fro on a sea of doubts and perplexities; the further I am carried from that shore where once I was happily moored, the weaker grow my hopes of ever reaching another where I may anchor in safety; at the same time, my hopes of returning to the harbour I have left are diminished in proportion." James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, Feb 23, 1799, in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:313.

Christian virtue.”⁴⁵ Yet, his earlier radicalism could not be completely buried, as Alan Vardy points out.⁴⁶

Recent analysis has demonstrated the elasticity of radical careers; some radicals exaggerated their radical credentials, whilst others drew a veil over their political pasts in a search of respectability. As late as the Chartist movement (1838-50), radicals either had a tense relationship with their past, or a tendency to over-commemorate it as Antony Taylor asserts.⁴⁷ This research will demonstrate that James Montgomery was, through his journalism and writings far more consciously involved and fervent in his support of radical parliamentary reform than he, like Coleridge or Southey, was later willing to admit, as Richard Holmes notes⁴⁸ — a common retrospective response says Kelly J. Mills.⁴⁹ As H. F. Beutner writes, “Montgomery’s biographers have deliberately de-emphasized his early radicalism, but it must be borne in mind that in their reprehensible cover-ups they were merely acceding to the wishes of their subject expressed in the twilight of his career.”⁵⁰ Alison Twells, following Mary Rawson who knew Montgomery personally, sees his earlier radicalism as merely a “detour” in his journey back into evangelicalism, and him as a victim of overreaction by local authorities rather than a real radical.⁵¹ I shall show that Montgomery’s early works were far more radical and less ‘occasional’ and ‘literary’ than he later claimed, and that he

⁴⁵ Wigley, “James Montgomery,” 173.

⁴⁶ Alan D. Vardy, *John Clare, Politics and Poetry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 120.

⁴⁷ Antony Taylor, ““The Old Chartist”: Radical Veterans on the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Political Platform,” *History* 95, no. 4 (October, 2010): 48-76.

⁴⁸ “Coleridge, like many later nineteenth-century writers ... worked hard to reconstruct the truth of his early experiences and opinions ...” Cf. also his article, “Once a Jacobin Always a Jacobin”, in the *Morning Post*, 21 Oct. 1802; and his letter, of Oct. 1803, to Sir George Beaumont re. his earlier radicalism in Bristol, *Letters*, 2, 1000-1001, in Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions* (London : Flamingo, 1999), xiv, 338, 351.

⁴⁹ Kelly J. Mills, “Subjectivity, Community, and the Nature of Truth-Telling in Two Chartist Autobiographies,” in *The Chartist Legacy*, eds. Owen Ashton, Robert Fyson and Stephen Roberts (Woodbridge: The Merlin Press Ltd., 1999): 196-231.

⁵⁰ Beutner, “Fraternal Feeling,” 39.

⁵¹ Twells, *Civilising Mission*, 110, 58; E. D. Mackerness, “Mary Anne Rawson and the Memorials of James Montgomery,” *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 8, no. 4 (Sheffield, 1962): 218-228.

was a Horatian political satirist impressed by ‘Peter Pindar’ (John Wolcot), “the quintessential poet of opposition,” as Gary Dyer describes him.⁵² As Tamara L. Hunt says of satirists in general, he carefully used this popular street form of protest under different pseudonyms in order to avoid the risk of arrest.⁵³ Yet, as Linda Colley points out, irreverent satire, especially cartoons, were amusingly tolerated even by royalty, and so Montgomery the satirist may not have actually been perceived as a threat to the status quo for this particular media.⁵⁴ Eirwen Nicholson argues that most political prints had a limited clientele anyway, being produced for sale mainly to MPs and the governing elite, and sold at a price that would exclude the lower orders, and therefore avoided inciting disorder.⁵⁵ In the context of the times, politics embedded in poetry, satirical verse, skits and squibs and masked by that format, enabled things to be said that could not be said openly on the public platform or in print because of censorship. The fact that Montgomery did this brings him very much within the context of the radical culture (and even underworld) of the 1790s. As Black says, there was a tradition of political satire using fictional history in early eighteenth-century newspapers.⁵⁶ Susan Pedersen may be correct in claiming that the popularity of the *Rights of Man* amongst the lower orders was the result of exposure to chapbooks and street ballads, described by Hannah More as a “sans-culotte library.”⁵⁷ Michael T. Davis confirms this view that street songs were a theatre of contest between loyalists and radicals.⁵⁸

⁵² Gary Dyer, *British Satire and the Politics of Style, 1789-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1, 3.

⁵³ Tamara L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 13; 16.

⁵⁴ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 210.

⁵⁵ Eirwen C. Nicholson, “Consumers and Spectators: the public of the political print in eighteenth-century England,” *History* 81 (1996): 5-21.

⁵⁶ Jeremy Black, *The English Press: 1621-1861* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2001), 44.

⁵⁷ Susan Pedersen, “Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of British Studies* 25 (Jan. 1986): 84-113.

⁵⁸ Michael T. Davis, ““An evening of pleasure rather than business”: songs, subversion and radical sub-culture in the 1790s,” *Journal for the Study of British Cultures* 12 (2005): 115-126.

This thesis differs from H. F. Beutner's 1967 PhD on James Montgomery in a number of key ways.⁵⁹ It is concerned to explore his 1790s radicalism in depth, whilst Beutner's main focus is upon Montgomery's nineteenth century social reform activities after his conversion from Unitarianism. Consequently, Beutner is unimpressed and indifferent to Montgomery's journalism, poetry, essays or hymns, and does not explore his earlier writings, the *Sheffield Register* and *Iris* newspapers, or the "Recollections." I do, however, share Beutner's suspicion of Holland and Everett's hagiographic portrayal of Montgomery, but note that he still relies upon them for too much of his source material, which he uses uncritically. He follows Holland and Everett, for example, in seeing Montgomery as an innocent young man "suddenly thrust into the midst of a radical movement whose principles he little understood," and blames the Galeases for leading him astray, but without supporting evidence, "the impact of their liberal ideas upon his impressionable mind was tremendous."⁶⁰ He does accept, however, J. W. King's assertion that Montgomery's biographers downplayed his radicalism. I will show, on the contrary, that Montgomery knew what he was doing in joining the Galeases, and that his writings displayed a more mature understanding of, and support for, radical reform than scholars like Beutner and others allow. Beutner fails to reference earlier scholars like Briggs and Armytage, which is shown, for example, in his plea for the emigration and settlement story of the Galeases to be chronicled some day. He says he wrote his thesis because he must "offset the total lack of original modern criticism," whilst seemingly unaware of existing research. He also mentions important figures like Henry Yorke, Thomas Walker and Joseph Johnson but without explanation of their significance to the story of James Montgomery.⁶¹

R. T. Williamson's 1950 PhD upon Montgomery's later religious experience,⁶² ignores his political activity and adds little to the work of previous scholars, and provides few new avenues of research for the purposes of my research. He could, for example, have laid stress on the importance of religious discourse and institutions in the shaping of ideology and social life in the early nineteenth-century as John Seed

⁵⁹ Beutner, "Fraternal Feeling."

⁶⁰ Ibid., 40, 38.

⁶¹ Ibid., 48, 46.

⁶² Williamson, "Religious Thought."

mentions.⁶³ He also omits the significance of Montgomery's flight from rational Unitarianism to evangelical belief and its active missionary work and social reform, at a time when hostility to the evangelical revival was deepening, and the Unitarians were an increasingly important middle-class cultural and political alternative in northern towns. Montgomery's intellectual pursuits made him welcome in Unitarian circles, and Williamson could perhaps have explored the reasons and tensions inherent in this, and provided a valuable additional resource for researchers. I will show that like Benjamin Franklin, James Montgomery was, as Robert Sayre puts it, "a precociously bright, ambitious lad who for a time wasted himself in satire, disputatiousness ... and who then knuckled down to work hard, to thrive, and to help others."⁶⁴

Class awareness

This thesis confirms the hierarchical class awareness revealed in the activities of the Galeses and Montgomery, and their bipartite and sometimes tripartite understanding of class. They seemed to have had, as W. G. Runciman says of most Britons, a fluid understanding of class which moved between the three views, sometimes merged them, and even recognised a fourth stratification of the wage earners into an underprivileged, deprived, sometimes criminalised underclass.⁶⁵ I shall also demonstrate that they displayed a middling-sort attitude of superiority towards upper and lower groupings, whilst seeing themselves as free from the vices of both, as David Cannadine says.⁶⁶ This fits well with the views of middle class reformers, even a generation later, who, like the benefactor of their newspapers, Lord Grey, were paternalistic towards the lower orders, and did not believe in universal suffrage as Linda Colley stresses.⁶⁷ As Ian Christie and H. T. Dickinson point out, this paternalistic view of British class culture by the

⁶³ John Seed, "Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830-50," *Social History* 7, no. 1 (Jan., 1982), 3, 9-10, accessed July 1, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4285133>.

⁶⁴ Robert F. Sayre, "Autobiography and the Making of America," in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 158.

⁶⁵ W. G. Runciman, *A Treatise on Social Theory*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 108.

⁶⁶ David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 32.

⁶⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 342, 345.

middling-sorts may have been the reason why a revolution did not take place in Britain.⁶⁸

Cannadine has raised a number of important points concerning class. For example, the issue of what constituted a gentleman in the minds of those with a tripartite understanding of society. Was he a knighted landowner, a professional man, or a businessman, a member of the 'town gentry' or 'urban patriciate'? In the case of the individuals in this study, we see that although there was no direct claim to being 'town gentry,' yet, they did display the attitudes and behaviour of such.⁶⁹ The case of Montgomery with his later involvement in the exclusive *Sheffield Philosophical Society* was one such example. This placed him in the middle ground between the upper and lower classes but did not automatically presume a middle class awareness, rather a middle ground stance between conservatives and radicals, as Dror Wahrman says.⁷⁰ Cannadine argues that the issue of class in Britain during the last three centuries is a complex one, which has generated three recurring explanations: a hierarchal stream with many gradations; a three-part structure of elite, middle and lower classes; or a simple dichotomous version of the high and mighty, and the rest beneath them.⁷¹ In his opinion, the British are vague about the exact meaning of class. The Marxist reading of class as related to production, with the attendant struggle it causes between the workers and their employers, has, therefore, failed to adequately explain the British experience. The simple division of the landed elite who obtain rent, the bourgeois capitalists who gain profits from business, and the proletarian workers who receive wages for their hired labour is too distinct. In his view, there has been a great deal more fluidity and overlap in actual socio-economic relations; social groupings have not remained within class

⁶⁸ H. T. Dickinson, "Popular loyalism in Britain in the 1790s," in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the late eighteenth-century*. ed. Eckhart Helmuth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 503-33; Ian Christie, *Stress and Stability in Late Eighteenth-century Britain: Reflections on the British Avoidance of Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

⁶⁹ Cannadine, *Class*, 33, 340, 49.

⁷⁰ Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: the political representation of class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 39.

⁷¹ Cannadine, *Class*, 19.

lines, and even the geography of housing has avoided clear segregation and zoning.⁷² E. P. Thompson himself points to the eighteenth-century transitional change in employment conditions away from subordination to paternalistic gentry, to negotiation and free movement for workers in the pre-industrial era, which explains the emergence of a three-tiered system of landowner, tenant farmer and landless labourer.⁷³ Cannadine's thesis is that this division into three classes is a naive oversimplification that cannot explain the true British understanding of social structure, even if it is still a commonly accepted approach. It is, rather, the gradated flow of formal and informal hierarchies that the British actually have in mind when they speak of class. He does concede, however, that although the two or three part class models are self-conscious and misleading, yet, they are persistent explanations, because, "changes in popular perceptions ... have been at least as important as changes in British society itself."⁷⁴ He is surely correct when he argues that in an increasingly tripartite consciousness, the elite ruled and the mob only had an often riotous walk-on part as extras. His claim that the middling-sorts dominated the local oligarchies is surely accurate, but mainly for those who were, unlike Gales and Montgomery, Church and King loyalists.⁷⁵ Eighteenth-century society was, argues D. G. Wright, unequal but not yet vertically cloven, but rather hierarchical in a community of shared interests with inter-dependency in agrarian and industrial relations. He claims that Sheffield with its independent cutlery workers, untouched by the factory system, was not a self-conscious proletarian class capable of mass action, and that it was the rise of the middling-sorts from one to seven million by 1760 that was the real driver for political change.⁷⁶ John Baxter agrees that what was evident initially was not "class consciousness" but "craft consciousness," and the desire for improved economic conditions.⁷⁷

⁷² Ibid., 10.

⁷³ E. P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 4 (1974): 382-405, accessed November 11, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3786463>.

⁷⁴ Cannadine, *Class*, 23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁷⁶ D. G. Wright, *Popular Radicalism: The working-class experience, 1780-1880* (London: Longman, 1988), 2-6, 25.

⁷⁷ Baxter, "The Origins," 14.

As Julie Macdonald has shown, however, the rise of middle-class ‘masters’ among Sheffield cutlery workers, and the industrial dispute (‘war’) with the Cutlers’ Company, caused deep tensions and lasting resentment from the mass of lower cutlers, which belied the apparent harmony and homogeneity of Sheffield’s late eighteenth-century society.⁷⁸ There was says Jason Beech a “fomenting of free-trade capitalism” at the root of this friction,⁷⁹ and Wright sees the emergence of the SSCI as then the result of “class antagonism and conflict between artisans in the cutlery trade and their masters.”⁸⁰ My thesis shows that despite these sharp tensions and divisions there was also cooperative action across the social orders in calls for reform during the early 1790s. The Galeases and Montgomery themselves exemplified this by straddling the emerging class divide having risen from humble origins to be middling-sorts. Their ability to offer leadership to the reform impulse of the lower orders whilst maintaining a middle class aloofness is testimony to their sensitivity to the aspirations of both. It must be stressed, however, as McWilliam points out, that “many political ideas were not peculiar to one class or another but were trans-class,” and Joseph Gales would not have seen himself, therefore, as exclusively representing either the interests of the lower orders or the middling-sorts, but rather those of the general body of unrepresented citizens in popular politics. The protracted struggle for the franchise, just beginning, was instrumental in creating a ‘working class’ public consciousness, “It did not reflect a popular constituency; it actually created it, uniting people of diverse occupational and regional backgrounds that might not otherwise have considered themselves to have much in common.”⁸¹

Cannadine notes that although pre-revolutionary British America had a hierarchical sense of society it was somewhat more fluid and blurred, with more seen as a middling group than in Britain. This ‘British’ view of society may then explain why Federalists like John Adams who emerged from this societal pattern longed to return to it, because of its broader spectrum which allowed for a bipartite society with an ‘aristocratic’ elite

⁷⁸ Macdonald, “Freedom of Election,” 15.

⁷⁹ Jason Beech, “The Sheffield Register and its ‘Public Sphere’ 1789-1794,” BA thesis (Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University, 2005), 8.

⁸⁰ Wright, *Popular Radicalism*, 41.

⁸¹ Rohan McWilliam, *Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7, 44.

to 'preside' over the majority rather than to merely 'represent' them.⁸² Certainly, when Joseph and Winifred Gales arrived in Philadelphia in 1795, virtually penniless, it was to a society in transition, where the 'lowest' could become the 'highest' given the right set of economic or political circumstances.⁸³ Gales confirmed this by hard work, ability and influence to become a successful newspaper proprietor, and a key 'gentleman' citizen and mayor in Raleigh, 'boosting' its national profile. Here, he found it much easier to exert a strong influence upon the political process via his newspaper, as he and Montgomery had unsuccessfully sought to do in Sheffield.

This sense of class identity also extended to nationhood, as Cannadine shows in his use of Benjamin Franklin's tour of Britain in 1772 to highlight the then common view of Scotland, Ireland, and especially Wales, as even more polarised than, and inferior to, England, in the nations of the British Isles.⁸⁴ As Gareth Knapman and Sean Connolly note, the British nation is still not an ethnic group, unlike the French or the Germans, but a construct of different groupings, who also claim, like the Scots, to be nations. Therefore, a cohesive 'British' identity was only gradually developing out of these disparate groups due to the protracted conflict with Catholic, republican, Napoleonic France says Colley.⁸⁵ Although there has been a recent increase in research on the influence of the French Revolution on British attitudes, nevertheless, "further local studies are needed," urges Macleod, for there will always be a tension between what it means to be British.⁸⁶ Did it in reality mean English, with the other nations in minor supporting roles as Knapman suggests?⁸⁷ These countries were seen (not always

⁸² Cannadine, *Class*, 37, 53.

⁸³ It is noteworthy, as Cannadine points out, *ibid.*, 53, that the difference between republican America and monarchical Britain is seen clearly in their approaches to public displays of social structures. Where the former has egalitarian parades, the latter has hierarchical processions.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁸⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 367.

⁸⁶ Macleod, "British Attitudes," 709.

⁸⁷ Gareth Knapman, "Barbarian Nations in a Civilizing Empire: Naturalizing the Nation with the British Empire 1770-1870," PhD diss. (Melbourne: RMIT University, September 2007), 47, accessed November 12, 2010, <http://adt.lib.rmit.edu.au/adt/public/adt-VIT20081029.123025>; Sean J. Connolly, "Varieties of Britishness: Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Hanoverian state," in *Uniting the Kingdom?*, eds. Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (London: Routledge, 1995): 193-207.

correctly), as much more dichotomous, with a small but very rich and powerful (often absent) elite, and a mass of very poor beneath them. In the case of Wales, the distinction was commonly marked by the plebeian use of its own language whilst its patricians were becoming anglicised, says Cannadine.⁸⁸ Although Linda Colley argues that in fact, the lower class in Wales and Scotland saw the learning of the English language as a positive way of improving their employment and mobility prospects.⁸⁹ Winifred Gales used this dichotomy in Welsh society as a device in her first novel in 1787 to accentuate the gulf between high and low, and to show how this could be bridged by love and marriage.⁹⁰ She was perhaps expressing her own dissatisfaction with the English landed elite by exporting this scenario to a neighbouring country with its traditional Nonconformist peasant hostility towards the incoming Anglican land-owning dynasties. Wales could then be seen, says John Davies, as a literary device used to speak of underlying tensions, and extreme social and religious injustices in British society generally.⁹¹ It also stood as a way of expressing not just class aspiration but a hope for the gradual dissolving of class stratification, in the same way that the countries of the British Isles were growing closer. The increasing sense of a 'United' Kingdom was also seen in the use of Wales not only to embody a sense of the wild, uncontrolled, cultural 'otherness' of a foreign neighbour, but also as a fellow citizen, and to underline the sense of the exotic imported into the English identity. This gradual assimilation of the landed families of the constituent countries was beginning to fuse into a corporate 'British' identity says Colley,⁹² recognised even by other nations,⁹³ and yet there is still confusion cautions Macleod caused by scholars confusing 'England' and 'Britain.'⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Cannadine, *Class*, 42.

⁸⁹ Linda Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830," *Past & Present* 113 (Feb, 1986), 112, accessed October 29, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i226640>.

⁹⁰ Gales, *The History*; Colley, *Britons*, 161, 163.

⁹¹ John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, rev. 2007), chap. 7.

⁹² Colley, *Britons*, 295, 373, 193.

⁹³ Colley, "Whose Nation?", 97.

⁹⁴ Macleod, "British Attitudes," 706.

The role of education in teaching people their fixed place rather than encouraging social ambition and mobility was also changing says Cannadine.⁹⁵ Pamphlets like Paley's call to the working masses to be content with their position, and their private concerns were also potentially disruptive. This was because, says Kevin Gilmartin, they were in danger of making the lower orders aware of their place in society rather than being focused on mere observation of the theatre of external passing events.⁹⁶ This thesis will show that the Galeses and Montgomery as educated and upwardly mobile people understood the importance of educating the lower classes, through their newspapers and their support of state/Sunday schools. That they saw this as an important mechanism for 'improving' society, politically and socially - where ideas, like "free floating bacteria," when absorbed would bring about change as Gwyn Williams writes.⁹⁷ This was especially true after the Pitt government crackdown on radicals, when, as John Belchem notes, "Some radicals, mainly self-respecting tradesmen retreated into educational gradualism."⁹⁸ In fact, argues Twells, the launch of the *Sheffield Register* had already signalled the arrival of a professional, polite middle class in Sheffield.⁹⁹

What are we to make of Cannadine's claim that eighteenth-century British politics was not generally concerned with the "articulation, assertion or conflict of collective social identities," and that a hierarchical view, with the elite left to rule unquestioned, was the commonly approved model?¹⁰⁰ Certainly, we see in the *Sheffield Register*, before the war with France in 1793, sympathy for the republican structures of France and America, and in America Gales openly articulating an anti-monarchist, pro-republican social identity. Montgomery in the *Iris*, from 1796 onwards, after two terms in prison, understandably, chose to accept the British status quo, outwardly at least.

⁹⁵ Cannadine, *Class*, 48.

⁹⁶ Kevin Gilmartin, "In the Theater of Counterrevolution: Loyalist Association and Conservative Opinion in the 1790s," *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (2002), 297, 303, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3070720>.

⁹⁷ Gwyn Williams, *Artisans and Sans-Culottes: Popular Movements in France and Britain during the French Revolution* (London: Arnold, 1968), 30.

⁹⁸ John Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 23.

⁹⁹ Twells, *Civilising Mission*, 60.

¹⁰⁰ Cannadine, *Class*, 51.

Cannadine seems correct, in contrast to Thompson, in his claim that popular dichotomous protest was usually concerned only with single issues rather than the wholesale restructuring of society, and that a triadic view of society was rarely, if ever, the mechanism for social or political protest.¹⁰¹ The SSCI with its initial focus on the single issue of parliamentary reform is perhaps confirmation of this, but the subsequent agitation for peace, and concern over food shortages, broadens this view. Perhaps they should be seen as a series of single issues protested at the same time rather than as a coherent complex. I shall show that Cannadine's thesis of a continuing hierarchical view of class in the eighteenth-century, with an acceptance of bi- and tri-partite attitudes rather than a class struggle, is borne out in the life and works of the Galeses and Montgomery, for, as Royle and Walvin point out, the move for parliamentary reform transcended class and was inclusive.¹⁰² I agree with Richard Brown's assessment that the "missionary verve" of radicalism in Sheffield under the influence of Gales as publisher of the *Register* and the *Patriot*, and the SSCI, with its militant proletarians, was evidence of a flat class structure especially among the Dissenters.¹⁰³ The SSCI was says Goodwin, "probably the first British working-class reform association of any consequence,"¹⁰⁴ and, "One of the most active and zealous of the Radical Societies," agrees Maccoby.¹⁰⁵ Though the reform movement may have begun in London, it is in Sheffield that the artisan reformers first officially organised a society when Joseph Gales helped them found the SSCI in late 1791. It thus predates the LCS by some months and has claim, therefore, to be of first importance.

Links with prominent radicals

The 1790s marked the beginning of a strong radical culture in the regional centres outside London, and the Gales "Recollections," in particular, confirm some of the links that they and Montgomery had with the wider group of radicals. Men like Joel Barlow, Henry Redhead Yorke, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Walker, Joseph Johnson, Count

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 50.

¹⁰² Royle and Walvin, *English Radicals*, 190.

¹⁰³ Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 1991), 335-6.

¹⁰⁴ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 223.

¹⁰⁵ Simon Maccoby, *English Radicalism: 1786-1832* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955), 66.

Zenobia, Joseph Gerrald, and the LCS leadership. I concur, however, with Dickinson's view of this wider network as a loose friendship group, agreeing only on equal representation, and not an organised national or international movement.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned, despite the denials of the Galeses and Montgomery, it has been a common supposition among scholars like Goodwin, Macdonald, and Evans, that Joseph Gales must have met Thomas Paine whilst the latter was in the Sheffield area in 1790, and that "it is quite possible that he exerted influence on the young editor."¹⁰⁷ Evans is probably correct in seeing Paine's influence on Gales, but only through his writings rather than in person. Perhaps he is confusing him with Thomas Walker of Manchester who does seem to have known Paine, as Gwyn Williams highlights.¹⁰⁸ What Evans does recognise, however, is Gales's awareness of the importance of publishing the radical works of Paine and others. Works such as the abridged version of Locke's *Civil Government*, designed to politically educate the lower orders and encourage them to participate in the reform movement. He rightly emphasises Gales's loyalty to the Unitarian and Whig thinkers like Priestley and Mackintosh (publishing extracts in the *Register*, and *The Patriot*¹⁰⁹), and his aversion to the work of loyalists like Burke. Julie Macdonald claims that it was John Crome another Sheffield radical printer who actually printed the cheap edition of the first part of *Rights of Man* and not Gales, who only published extracts in the *Register*.¹¹⁰ On the contrary, Winifred Gales states in her diary,

¹⁰⁶ H. T. Dickinson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution 1789-1815* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 25.

¹⁰⁷ Evans, "Joseph Gales," 183; Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 222; Macdonald, "Freedom of Election," 210.

¹⁰⁸ Williams, *Artisans and Sans-Culottes*, 18. Personal contact between Paine and the Galeses was always denied by Montgomery and the Gales sisters: Holland and Everett, *Memoirs* 1:156.

¹⁰⁹ Edited by Matthew Campbell Brown, the first edition was published on 6 April 1792 by Joseph Gales, Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:159: "the most original and radical publication to issue from the provincial press," Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 224.

¹¹⁰ Macdonald, "Freedom of Election," 312; Holland and Everett, *Memoirs* 1:156; 168. John Crome, originally from Scotland, was the radical editor of *The Spy, or Political Inspector* periodical, heavily involved in the SSCI, and suspected of revolutionary intentions.

“We had sold hundreds of Paine’s works previous to Mr Digges’s warning voice,¹¹¹ and had printed thousands by order of the Constitutional Society!”¹¹² Perhaps Crome and Gales both printed editions. Whatever the answer, the SSCI, many of whom were artisans of the cutlery trade, thereby discovered, as Hobsbawm says, “that reason can cut like an axe through the undergrowth of custom which kept men enslaved.”¹¹³

When it is said that the Gales/Montgomery circle was ‘republican’ it does not mean that they were republican in the later French sense of violent revolutionaries. Richard Brown insists, rather, that after the September massacres British radicals were only ever interested in parliamentary reform and not violent regime change¹¹⁴ — for they feared the mob as much as the leaders of the French Assembly says Gwynne Lewis.¹¹⁵ As Gordon Wood points out, republicanism in the eighteenth-century had a wide range of meanings for the English-speaking inhabitants of Britain and America. For most Britons republicanism was a term that could sit easily with a monarchy, and was thus more akin to the idea of a reform of existing government than the necessity for the overthrow of the monarchy and aristocracy as in France. Thus, for the Galeses (whilst still in Sheffield), and James Montgomery, republicanism meant radical reform of government not the ‘Paineite’ removal of the monarchy. “Though rarely cited specifically by name, republicanism represented all those beliefs and values that confronted and criticized the abuses of the eighteenth-century monarchical world,” says Wood. In fact, as Montesquieu asserted in his *Persian Letters* of 1721, the British constitution following the 1688 and 1714 revisions was already seen as “a republic disguised under the form of monarchy.”¹¹⁶ If his view is correct then republican reform of the British constitution was already in operation and individuals like Gales and Montgomery were mainstream

¹¹¹ “Thomas Digges, of the ancestry of Dr. James Dudley Morgan of the Columbia Historical Society, was the American,” Allen C. Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior, Editor and Mayor,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C.* 23 (1920), 89, accessed December 12, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40067140>.

¹¹² Gales, “Recollections,” 47.

¹¹³ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, 3rd ed. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 4.

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Church and State*, 337.

¹¹⁵ Gwynne Lewis, *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate* (London: Routledge, 1993), 24.

¹¹⁶ Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 96, 98.

supporters seeking only further reform, not revolution. Yet, Joseph Gales did have an ambivalent view of monarchy, and in his newspapers, there was an obvious tension between the old aristocratic order and the new republicanism. As Antony Taylor says in relation to current dissatisfaction with the House of Windsor, “it is perhaps time to consider whether the recent disillusionment with the throne is a unique event or part of a recurrent pattern of decay and renewal in the life cycle of the throne.”¹¹⁷ Dissatisfaction with George III and his near abdication in 1783, “scarcely suggest that a ‘love of Princes’ invariably characterized British public opinion in the eighteenth century,” says Linda Colley.¹¹⁸ This study will remind us that dissatisfaction with the monarchy was greatly heightened during the first half of the 1790s, and that editors like Gales were reporting and encouraging it. Nevertheless, the British king was seen by the nation as the ‘republican’ defender of liberty as William Livingston and J. G. Marston write.¹¹⁹ Whatever the common view of the king as the champion of liberty, from 1797 onwards, the executive of Pitt became the unchallenged rulers of the nation, although radical dissent was only silenced and not yet converted. As Robert Southey wrote about some pens, “they are like our Constitution — too bad to be mended, and like the barren fig tree and our ministers fit only to be hewn down and cast into the fire.”¹²⁰ The reformist Whig opposition led by Grey and Fox withdrew in protest at the suspension of the Habeas Corpus into private life leaving control of the country to the repressive and unopposed Pitt regime.¹²¹ Until war broke out with France and brought with it the harsh reaction of the nervous Pitt administration, reformists were not viewed as dangerous subversives, and only pejoratively called ‘republicans.’ In fact the king, more than many members of parliament, was usually viewed by the people as the champion of liberty

¹¹⁷ Antony Taylor, *‘Down with the Crown’: British Anti-monarchism and Debates about Royalty since 1790* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 11.

¹¹⁸ Linda Colley, “The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820,” *Past & Present* 102 (Feb, 1984), 95, accessed October 29, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i226629>.

¹¹⁹ William Livingston, *The Independent Reflector*, ed. Milton M. Klein (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 80-81; J. G. Marston, *King and Congress: The Transfer of Political Legitimacy, 1774-1776* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

¹²⁰ Robert Southey to his wife Edith at the end of 1797 concerning a friend’s writing pens, in W. A. Speck, *Robert Southey, Entire Man of Letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 68.

¹²¹ Thompson, *The Making*, 491.

and not its enemy. Rather than overthrow the crown, the aim of the Galeses and Montgomery was simply to purify the constitution of aristocratic, military, and dictatorial influences; but even this was too much, as Michael Turner points out, and led to Gales becoming a “target for persecution” and forced him to emigrate.¹²²

The emerging voice of literary women

Winifred Gales was the classically educated daughter of an innkeeper of Newark (a cousin of Lord Melbourne), with literary ambitions, who married the young printer Joseph Gales and set up home and business with him in Sheffield in 1784. With his help, she published her first novel, *Lady Emma Melcombe* in 1787, and started a large family. Her domestic memoir, “Recollections,” written in America between 1815 and her death in 1839, show that her home, which was on the premises of their business in the Hartshead, in Sheffield,¹²³ became an open house for political and literary visitors with whom she held conversation on the political, social and religious issues of the day. This is not to say, however, that she was a ‘petticoat’ governor dominating the household and the politics of her husband, simply that she was as politically astute and active as Joseph and his pro-reform male friends. Josephine Seaton, one of her family, described her as having an “ardent political mind and sprightly imagination” in her youth.¹²⁴ At times, she was the stronger partner, as for example on their sea crossing to America, but she never overtly usurped male government in the home, in their business, nor in their political activities. As Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson write, “The petticoat as a metaphor for women’s authority over men had been a favourite symbol in political propaganda from the early eighteenth-century.” However, this could not be applied to Winifred Gales, who functioned more in a complementarian sense, unlike her famous contemporary Mary Wollstonecraft, “that hyena in petticoats” (Horace Walpole), or Sarah Jane Maling the provincial, “Tom Pain [sic] in petticoats,” the

¹²² Michael Turner, *The Age of Unease: Government and Reform in Britain, 1782-1832* (Sutton: Sutton Publishing, 2002), 79.

¹²³ See appendix, picture 3.

¹²⁴ Josephine Seaton, *William Winston Seaton of the ‘National Intelligencer’: A Biographical Sketch With Passing Notices of his Associates and Friends* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing Co., 2007), 38.

skilful political debater from Suffolk.¹²⁵ Winifred never seems to have physically ventured from the home as her theatre of socio-political debate, but her novels and her correspondence with the American Unitarian leader Jared Sparks and their newspapers in Sheffield, Philadelphia and Raleigh gave her an outlet for her views as an “incorporated wife” in “active partnership,” as K. D. Reynolds describes it.¹²⁶ With the increasing isolation of Britain by the wars, first with America and then with France, there was a move away from the Grand Tour to “internal tourism,” says Linda Colley. This was reflected in women writers like Jane Austen (*Northanger Abbey*), and Winifred Gales, who in 1787 roamed France, and Wales in her first novel, and Russia in her second, written in America in 1804.¹²⁷

Winifred was unusual, if S. H. Mendelsson is correct in claiming that, “Women rarely made public speeches on political issues or wrote about politics in their diaries and autobiographies.”¹²⁸ In this context, I will show that her diary was an important exception to the rule and is now resurrected from undeserved obscurity by this research, and provides an important window into a feminine view of socio-political events during the 1790s. As a feminist forerunner, Winifred Gales enjoyed what her middle-class Victorian sisters would later enjoy more fully, when, say Gleadle and Richardson, “The boundaries between public and private worlds merged and overlapped. Contemporary issues could be renegotiated within the home, leading to discrete avenues for political expression.”¹²⁹ She was unusual at a time when, as Linda Peterson notes, women’s domestic “relational” autobiographies were being excluded from the public domain by men’s more “positional” memoirs. Winifred’s memoirs certainly followed the traditional pattern of, for example, Lady Fanshawe’s seventeenth century *Memoirs of*

¹²⁵ Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson, eds., “Introduction to The Petticoat in Politics: Women and Authority,” introduction in *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: the Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), 1, 7.

¹²⁶ K. D. Reynolds, “Aristocratic Women in Political Society in Victorian Britain,” in *Women in British Politics*, eds. Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), 10.

¹²⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 172.

¹²⁸ S. H. Mendelsson, “Stuart women’s diaries and occasional memoirs,” in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior, 199-200; Robert B. Shoemaker, ed., *Gender in English Society 1650-1850* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), 227.

¹²⁹ Gleadle and Richardson, *Women in British Politics*, 9.

family history, with a hagiographic picture of her husband, a genealogy, the husband's career, a "feminine" perspective on political events, and intimate marriage details. Even "her assumption of cabin boy's garb so that she could fight by his side when pirates attacked their ship," was mirrored in Winifred's defence of their America-bound ship. She did not, however, like other Victorian women diarists, struggle with the male imposed "problem of narrative authority," and was not, therefore, a 'self in hiding.' Rather, she moved between the domestic and the public spheres comfortably and with obvious control over her narrative. In fact, it is Joseph who had to finish the diary with her death, when the reverse was usually the norm, says Peterson.¹³⁰ It is also apparent, in contrast to Elaine Chalus, that Winifred Gales exerted a political influence in a masculine publishing environment, and by the social politics of the (for her, informal and irregular) salon like Madame Roland. Though not, apparently, by the more traditional female avenues of bazaars, chapel attendance, lectures, political canvassing, or family and community relationships.¹³¹ Though it is argued here that she did all of these things through the shared medium of publishing, her 'sisters' in political and social campaigning were then addressed by the proxy of the Gales newspapers and her two novels, in a loose transatlantic mixed-sex network of community. Nevertheless, there are evidences in her writings of what Felicity Nussbaum describes as "emergent notions of gender and class clash to replicate and challenge reigning notions of identity."¹³² This was seen in her novels, her historical record and, for example, in her distancing herself from the lower and upper orders, and in her superiority over men. I agree with Nussbaum, that in Winifred's memoirs, as an example of the genre, we see the realization and construction of the "autobiographical self in the conjunctions of the economic and political." That, "They also offer a private space for experimentation,

¹³⁰ Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c. 1754-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005); Linda H. Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian Women's Autobiography: The Poetics and Politics of Life Writing* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 17, 22-27.

¹³¹ As Sarah Richardson points out, in the nineteenth century especially, the political salon hosted by elite ladies was a means for women to exert a strong influence. Sarah Richardson. "Well-neighbour'd Houses: the Political Networks of Elite Women, 1780-1860," in *Women in British Politics*, eds. Gleadle and Richardson, 10.

¹³² Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989), xiv.

revision, and resistance to prevailing notions of identity.”¹³³ Winifred’s nonconformist Unitarian religion allied to, or perhaps feeding, her growing republicanism, was part of the reason why she did not share the reactionary response of Hannah More to the reform movement. Though she was opposed to the violent outrages of the French revolution, the moral degradation amongst the lower orders (and the elite), and the dangers of revolution through mishandled reform. Like other female radicals she did, however, share More’s abhorrence of slavery. Whilst Winifred did not overtly oppose gender restrictions in her writings, yet she did indulge in self-reflection that was free of her husband’s oversight.¹³⁴

Her “Recollections” were written during the period, after 1797, when the fashion and appetite for autobiography had grown rapidly, and she did not, therefore, have to struggle with the “transactions of publication” as James Treadwell describes it.¹³⁵ For she was not concerned to edit her thoughts to suit a reading public or publisher, other than her immediate family. However, as Martin Hewitt points out, the Victorian ideal of privacy was never an absolute with family documents, and Winifred should have understood that it was likely to be circulated more widely over time.¹³⁶ Of course, the private nature of her diary did not automatically protect her from artfully skewing her memoirs to deceive her family by portraying herself and her husband’s earlier radical history in a more restrained light.¹³⁷ In reading her “Recollections” therefore, we must bear in mind her desire to portray them as the cultured political moderates in 1790s Sheffield that they later became in America. Yet, whilst she was prepared to enlighten her family somewhat, and recouch their earlier radical history in moderate terms, she was careful not to overdo this, and so avoided, as Laura Marcus describes it, indecorous

¹³³ Ibid., xvii, xxi.

¹³⁴ Ibid., xix.

¹³⁵ James Treadwell, *Autobiographical Writing and British Literature, 1783-1834* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5, 123.

¹³⁶ Martin Hewitt, “Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History,” in *Life Writing*, ed. Amigoni, 27.

¹³⁷ Treadwell, *Autobiographical Writing*, 14, 30.

self-advertising.¹³⁸ By the 1830s it was says Martin Hewitt, “impossible for a diarist to write without a degree of self-conscious positioning within a published tradition,” and, as in the case of Samuel Bamford, resist the temptation to consolidate an earlier persona, who might from such a distance seem to be almost an impersonating stranger. Winifred was as susceptible to the dangers of rewriting family history as any other diarist of the Victorian era, as Hewitt warns, “diaries challenged autobiographers with an authenticity which magnified the treacheries of hindsight.”¹³⁹

Winifred’s two romantic novels were written either side of the ‘Revolutionary decade’ of the 1790s, and are not obviously revolutionary, but the mere fact of a woman writing was, claims Gary Kelly, a culturally revolutionary act in itself.¹⁴⁰ Winifred followed the cultural norm of anonymity to preserve her femininity and her traditional role as a domestic woman, but when we examine her English, first novel, *Lady Emma Melcombe*, we see traces of a radical feminist viewpoint. Whilst following the conventional formula for romantic novels, like Richardson’s *Clarissa* and Rousseau’s *Julie*, yet she did address the key feminist issues of education, legal status, and the sexual double standards of the period. As Alice Browne explains, it was through characterisation rather than explicit comment that intelligent women-centred novels like these and Thomas Holcroft’s *Anna St Ives* subtly introduced a wider audience to feminist issues.

Most of these women novelists were not feminists, and some explicitly criticised feminism, but the best work by women writers helped to create an audience for feminist ideas by making people aware that women could write with intelligence, perceptiveness and moral sensitivity.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Laura Marcus, *Auto-biographical discourses: criticism, theory, practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 19-22.

¹³⁹ Hewitt, “Diary, Autobiography,” 34.

¹⁴⁰ Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 9.

¹⁴¹ Alice Browne, *The Eighteenth-century Feminist Mind* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 77, 58.

Bearing in mind the encouragement that she and Joseph gave to the younger Montgomery in his satirical writing it is interesting that, as Browne comments, “This kind of novel is close to satire and to didactic writing.”¹⁴² Because her novels bracket the French Revolution and the reform movement in Britain, they are less controversial than, for example, the works of Mary Wollstonecraft or Helen Maria Williams. Though not stated overtly, yet her female characters, and she herself, like Elizabeth Hamilton,¹⁴³ did have an independent mental existence from that of husbands and children.

Linda Colley’s discussion of “Womanpower,”¹⁴⁴ casts interesting light on a number of Winifred’s activities, at a time when British society was influenced by Rousseau’s argument for women’s separate and essentially private sphere in the home as mother and supportive wife.¹⁴⁵ This home-based role of moral and patriotic teacher of children meant that women could still exert a political influence, as Wollstonecraft had also realised. Certainly, Winifred Gales protruded from the private sphere by her writings, her open political salon, and her overt support of Joseph’s journalism, and all with his encouragement. Female opposition to the slave trade (by, for example, support for a sugar boycott), was one way women like Winifred could also be actively political from the private sphere, yet shielded by anonymity as Clare Midgley notes.¹⁴⁶ For a woman to be a novelist was still viewed as disreputable, and as cartoonists liked to point out, it was unsavoury for them to participate publicly, like the Duchess of Devonshire, in political campaigns. Whilst the French Revolution had initially allowed women to take part in political discussion, before October 1793, yet the sad outcome was their exposure to violence and even execution like the Queen and Mme. Roland. This, says Colley, “enabled conservatives in Britain to see in the outbreak of the French Revolution a grim demonstration of the dangers that ensued when women were allowed

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Elizabeth Hamilton, *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers*, ed. Claire Grogan (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000), 195.

¹⁴⁴ Colley, *Britons*, chap. 6.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 273.

¹⁴⁶ “In Sheffield, where Quakers led the abstention campaign, a public appeal to women to replace West Indian produce by ‘food unstain’d with unoffending blood’ appeared in the *Sheffield Register* in 1791,” Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992), 36.

to stray outside their proper sphere.”¹⁴⁷ Public thought in France and Britain turned against feminism with the increasing decadence of political salons in the mid-1790s during the Directory.¹⁴⁸ Did Winifred Gales understand that her activities as novelist, journalist, reform supporter, and salon hostess could be viewed as ‘dangerous’? Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to identify her more outspoken journalism in their newspapers with any certainty, and so it is to her diary and letters, written a generation later in America, to which we must look. With their emigration, Winifred continued her literary career with the first novel written and published by a resident of North Carolina, *Matilda Berkely*, “an uncontroversial tale of class and aristocratic love, set in Britain and Russia,” says Elizabeth Reid Murray.¹⁴⁹ She continued her political comment through support for Joseph’s journalism and by her correspondence (most of which is unfortunately missing). This research will show that Winifred Gales was an example of the emergence of the strong, opinionated, emancipated and capable literary women of the time, and worthy of notice by researchers into the rise of eighteenth and nineteenth century feminist vocality. There is scope for further research into the linguistic content of the editorials, letters and poems in the *Sheffield Register* and the *Raleigh Register* newspapers to identify the journalism of Winifred Gales; see the list in the appendix.

The newspapers of the Galeases and Montgomery

Writing in 1982, J. E. Cookson observed that the “study of the British press in the fifty years after 1780 has lagged disappointingly.... The provincial newspapers of this period, for instance, badly need attention.”¹⁵⁰ My study of the *Sheffield Register* and the *Iris* in the early 1790s will seek to correct some of this lack in research, and reveal the radical content of these two regional prints. As Jason Beech and Jeremy Black point out, the increase of newspapers in the eighteenth-century had created a public sphere, which not only linked other centres but also provided a discussion arena of equality for

¹⁴⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 241, 245, 256, 252.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth Reid Murray, “Matilda Berkely; or, Family Anecdotes,” in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 721.

¹⁵⁰ J. E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-war liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1982), 84.

all readers, and through which artisan organisations like the SSCI could communicate. These were independent of government control and landed interests, and reform prints like the *Sheffield Register* were actively encouraging this discussion.¹⁵¹ Marilyn Butler agrees, “Perhaps the most remarkable populariser for the masses was Joseph Gales of Sheffield, a Unitarian master-printer and bookseller, who ran two journals, the weekly *Sheffield Register* (from 1787) and the fortnightly *Patriot* (from 1792), both designed to disseminate radical opinion and information to a readership which would include working men.”¹⁵² As Rohan McWilliam says, “working people often do not become militant even when they are suffering hardship. They only agitate when a political language provides a diagnosis of the sources,” and, as I argue here, have an outlet for grievances provided for them by organs like the *Sheffield Register*.¹⁵³ As Hannah Barker says, “The language of the newspaper begins to consolidate its ability to shape and respond to changes in English society and its economic structures and to contribute to the ‘complex interplay between press and popular politics.’”¹⁵⁴ Of course, as Julie Mori points out, the loyalist reaction to the reform movement also, inadvertently, “gave its followers a public presence and political voice with which to criticize the polity they sought to defend.”¹⁵⁵

Local news began to be included in regionals, with rehashes of extracts from the nationals, which along with the editorials helped develop and strengthen provincial and political identities observes Martin Conboy. “The first newspaper in the North to develop the techniques of political commentary through the use of editorials and reporting of local meetings was the *Sheffield Register*.”¹⁵⁶ Barker agrees, “In Sheffield, a unique brand of radical politics was evident from before the French Revolution, whilst

¹⁵¹ Beech, “Sheffield Register,” 15; Black, *English Press in the Eighteenth-century*, 21.

¹⁵² Butler, *Burke, Paine, Godwin*, 11, 195.

¹⁵³ Rohan McWilliam in Matthew Roberts, *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 7.

¹⁵⁴ Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 54.

¹⁵⁵ Jennifer Mori, “Languages of Loyalism: Patriotism, Nationhood and the State in the 1790s,” *English Historical Review* 118 (2003), 33.

¹⁵⁶ Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-historical Perspectives* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 53; Read, *English Provinces*, 69.

the *Sheffield Register*, under the editorship of Joseph Gales, was one of the most famous radical provincial newspapers during the 1790s.”¹⁵⁷ Ian Haywood goes a step further, “The most significant of the cheap journals produced by middle-class radicals was probably Joseph Gales’s *Sheffield Register* (from 1787) and *Patriot* (from 1792).”¹⁵⁸ As Gales was the publisher of *The Patriot* and not the editor, we must be careful not to ascribe too great a role to him in its compiling. When the French Revolution took place it seemed initially to peaceful, liberal newspapermen like Gales that this was something akin to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and that it was only the end of the absolute power of the French king and not the overthrow of all order says Clive Emsley.¹⁵⁹ Edmund Burke disagreed, says Jennifer Mori, for he considered it a “destabilising” force for anarchy,¹⁶⁰ whereas, argues Michael Watts, Burke considered 1688 as merely a “deviation from the strict order of a regular hereditary succession.”¹⁶¹ Donald Read highlights the claimed impartiality of Gales (who was, he says, not just a printer but also the first northern journalist) which soon broke down in favour of the reform movement during this revolutionary period.¹⁶²

There was also a noticeable degree of solidarity in liberal newspapers around the country — the warm references in the *Register*, for example, to other reformist editors like Holt at Newark, Phillips at Leicester, and Falkner, Birch and Walker in Manchester confirm that Gales and Montgomery were part of a small informal network of provincial newspapermen supporting the reform movement. As Black points out, however, most sought to portray an unbiased stand and welcomed opposing opinions, in order to maximise sales, and because they needed material to fill their columns. However, this

¹⁵⁷ Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15.

¹⁵⁸ Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 251, n. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), 13.

¹⁶⁰ Mori, “Languages of Loyalism,” 45.

¹⁶¹ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 481.

¹⁶² Donald Read, *Press and People, 1790-1850: Opinion in Three English Cities* (London: Edward Arnold, 1961), 69-70.

even-handedness only thinly masked their decided political allegiances.¹⁶³ After the government gagging acts reform newspapers had to mute their radicalism but still found ways of slanting their reportage says Cookson¹⁶⁴ — we can see this, for example, in a contemporary report in the *London Morning Post*, which did not comment, but in the way it reported Montgomery's first trial was clearly sympathetic.¹⁶⁵ Kevin Williams notes that, "Radical provincial newspapers such as the *Sheffield Register* ... bloomed for a short time, to be replaced by more moderate publications run by middle-class reformers such as the *Manchester Guardian*," after 1855.¹⁶⁶ This may explain why other scholars see the younger radical Montgomery through the perspective of the older moderate journalist that he became in the nineteenth century. Therefore, Butler describes him as simply someone who published a newspaper of "calibre,"¹⁶⁷ and who was, says Alexander Andrews, "the most eminent provincial editor of the time."¹⁶⁸ Brake, Laurel and Marysa Demoor agree, "Montgomery was neither dynamic nor exciting, seeing himself rather as a poet, hymnologist and philanthropist."¹⁶⁹ My study of their newspapers will show that he and the Galeses were far more radical and interesting than that in the 1790s.

Joseph and Winifred Gales in America

The pro-republican, pro-democracy Galeses arrived in Philadelphia, in August 1795, just as the out-of-doors Democratic-Republican societies had virtually expired as an

¹⁶³ Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, 21, 11.

¹⁶⁴ Cookson, *Friends of Peace*, 93.

¹⁶⁵ "Mr. Felix Vaughan acted as Counsel for Mr. Montgomery, and a more admirable speech was never heard in Yorkshire," *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, February 3, 1795.

¹⁶⁶ Kevin Williams, *Read All About It! A History of the British Newspaper* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 116.

¹⁶⁷ Butler, *Burke, Paine, Godwin*, 195.

¹⁶⁸ Alexander Andrews, *The History of British Journalism: from the foundation of the newspaper press in England, to the repeal of the Stamp act in 1855, with sketches of press celebrities*, vol. 2. (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), 125. He confuses Doncaster with Donchester in the imprisonments of Montgomery and Yorke.

¹⁶⁹ Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, eds., *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), 571.

effective political force, having failed in their opposition to the Federalist government and the contentious pro-British Jay Treaty. Philip Freneau's opposition newspaper the *National Gazette*, started at the behest of Thomas Jefferson to encourage Republican awareness and support nationally, had closed after only two years. However, as Sean Wilentz says, these groups had failed and the Republican opposition seemed fatally weakened, yet they had succeeded in expanding the popular understanding of democracy and political debate. For, in an America still dominated by a deferential view of political leadership amongst both Republican and Federalist leaders, "the societies showed that the science of government fell well within the comprehension of ordinary citizens."¹⁷⁰ The Galeses, as supporters of popular political debate in England, settled in to this Federalist-dominated monocratic environment and began again as printers, newspaper publishers, and book and stationery vendors. In 1796, they bought and relaunched the pro-French *Independent Gazetteer*, as their old friend Montgomery noted.¹⁷¹ Later they moved to Raleigh, at the invitation of the Republican interest to start, in October 1799, the *Raleigh Register* to boost the Republican cause in North Carolina. The success of the Galeses in Philadelphia and especially in Raleigh, and of their son, Joseph Jnr., in Washington, confirms, as James Belich claims,¹⁷² the 'boosterist' mythology that talented migrants rise through their talent, effort and skills. "Joseph Gales was one of those rare men who at times spring up from the body of the people, and by mere unassisted merit, apart from all adventitious advantages, make their way to a just distinction."¹⁷³ With the presidential election of 1800 looming, this was an ideal moment for Gales to launch his pro-Republican newspaper, for, as Wilentz says, journalism became a vital weapon in the counter reaction to the Federalist

¹⁷⁰ Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005), 68.

¹⁷¹ "Sheffield, Thursday Evening, September 29. MR. GALES. By a letter received in Sheffield this day, from Philadelphia, we learn, that Mr. Joseph Gales, late Printer of the Register, has just entered upon an Extensive and Well Established Printing Business in that place, and now publishes a newspaper twice a week," in James Montgomery's *Sheffield* editorial, *Iris*, Sep 30, 1796.

¹⁷² James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 154, 166.

¹⁷³ "The National Intelligencer and its Editors," *Atlantic Monthly* 6, no. 36 (Oct 1860): 470-481, accessed 13 April, 2011, http://www.amazonaws.com/manybooks_pdf/various10851085410854-8.

oppressiveness, “In the teeth of the Sedition Law, Republicans around the country banded together to support local, unabashedly partisan newspapers.”¹⁷⁴

In Raleigh Joseph, like so many Unitarians, was, as Brycchan Carey says, motivated by a strong humanitarian impulse, seen in his staunch abolitionism (although he reluctantly used slaves to help him in the printing).¹⁷⁵ He gained a reputation for good work and honest dealings and was awarded the contract as Public Printer for the State Legislature to print and distribute the Laws and Journals, and was mayor for nineteen years. He launched his son Joseph Jnr. as assistant, and then owner, of the patriotic *Washington National Intelligencer*, whose editorial tone so irritated the British that they burned its offices, as Henry Commager notes.¹⁷⁶ Joseph Gales Snr. suffered opposition from the Jacksonian party in the late 1820s and 1830s and, as a result, lost the contract for the printing of the Acts of Congress. When he retired in 1832, he handed the *Raleigh Register* over to his son Weston, and he and Winifred then lived for some years in the home of their eldest son, also Joseph, in Washington.¹⁷⁷ Joseph Snr. was a strong adherent and promoter of Unitarianism in Britain and America, a Republican anti-federalist activist, and a campaigner for the deist Thomas Jefferson in two presidential elections. Once settled in America he was openly anti-monarchical, perhaps because of the influence of Jefferson who thought that ‘men’ naturally fell into one of two personality types and so were drawn to either monarchy or republicanism, “the sickly, weakly, timid man, fears the people, and is a Tory by nature. The healthy, strong and bold, cherishes them, and is formed a Whig by nature.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Wilentz, *The Rise*, 85.

¹⁷⁵ Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment and Slavery, 1760-1807* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), chp. 2.

¹⁷⁶ The offices of the *National Intelligencer* were burned by the British led by General Robert Ross on the night of August 24-25, 1814, in reprisal for its anti-British tone. Also burned was the fledgling congressional library, Henry Steele Commager, “Jefferson and the Book-Burners,” *American Heritage Magazine* 9, no. 5 (1958), accessed November 19, 2010, http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1958/5/1958_5_65.shtml.

¹⁷⁷ Donnelly, “Joseph Gales.”

¹⁷⁸ Jefferson to Lafayette, 4 Nov. 1823, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, eds. J. P. Boyd; Barbara B. Oberg, 60 vols. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1950-).

I agree with Michael Durey that Joseph Gales was important as one of a small group of strong minded, determined radical émigrés who entered the American republic and continued their radical activities, for the ‘boosting’ (mostly) of the Republican cause. In speaking of the Unitarian Benjamin Vaughan, moderate thinker and friend of Priestley, but not a supporter of Thomas Paine, Durey says,

The “ideal” English refugee was a middle-class Unitarian or Deist writer or publisher involved in extra parliamentary politics from the 1780s. He was an enthusiast for the Revolution of 1789, and an active member of a political society, who once Britain was at war in 1793, came to grief on account of his sympathies for France and extreme anti-war views. A radical reformer, he was not a man of violence, but had to flee at some point before 1795.¹⁷⁹

Joseph Gales was one of these ‘ideal’ political refugees. He had printed Paine’s *Rights of Man*, but had not slavishly followed his views — Winifred thought Paine’s writings “very coarse” in style¹⁸⁰ —; they had campaigned for peaceful reform amongst the Sheffield masses via their newspaper; were strong willed and principled enough to be Unitarians;¹⁸¹ and they were stubbornly steadfast in the face of loyalist persecution. In the case of Joseph Gales, Joseph Priestley was surely proved correct in his belief that middle class men of independent means were the most beneficial to society, for the rich had too much self-interest and the poor were too dependent and therefore easily swayed.¹⁸² Of the two hundred and nineteen known political activists who emigrated to America during the 1790s, with or without their families, forty nine were, says Durey, from England (including Joseph Gales) in the peak years 1793-95. Eighteen were from

¹⁷⁹ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 44, 47.

¹⁸⁰ Winifred Gales to Revd. Jared Sparks, May 2, 1822, Gales Papers, PC. 146, Southern Collection, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

¹⁸¹ 90% of the English émigrés were Anti-Trinitarian, and only William Cobbett was an Anglican, Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 10, 15.

¹⁸² Joseph Priestley, *An Essay on the First Principles of Government, and on the nature of Political, Civil, and Religious Liberty, including remarks on Dr. Brown’s Code of Education, and on Dr. Balguy’s sermon on Church Authority* (London: 1771): 16-17, accessed December 6, 2010, <http://www.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: CW107656195.

Scotland, and one hundred and fifty two were from Ireland (one hundred and twenty nine because of the 1798 rebellion).¹⁸³ Durey identifies at least seventy-four British Paineites, including Gales, who contributed to the success of the Jeffersonian presidential election defeat of Federalism in 1800.¹⁸⁴ Although most of the members of radical societies were of the lower orders, seventy percent of the émigrés were middling-sorts and thus well equipped to advance in republican society.¹⁸⁵ They were not radical political thinkers and generally derived their views from Paine, but they were “independently minded, dogmatic, militant and pugnacious, and determined to follow their own routes. That was what made them radical, whether they lived in the deferential society of Britain, or the expanding societies of the republican United States.”¹⁸⁶ Of those who had been active in radical societies, at least half had been involved in respectable journalism and pamphleteering, hounded out of Britain by loyalist associations, and on their settlement sixteen of them, including Gales, continued in the media. Many were not only politically heterodox, but also religious dissenters — ninety percent of these English radical émigrés were anti-trinitarian, and most were followers of Joseph Priestley. Thus, they were discriminated against by the social elite in Britain, and then by the Federalism of Adams and Hamilton which was seeking to preserve the societal conventions on display from the established British model. It was, then, understandable that they should be actively drawn into the Jeffersonian devolved version of government by the states.¹⁸⁷ Of the four hundred and fifty newspapers and seventy-five magazines founded between 1783 and 1800, forty-nine were edited by eighteen British and Irish radicals. Thomas Jefferson recognised the importance of the press to the Republican cause in combating the Federalists, and Gales in Raleigh was one of this small number of émigré radical newspapermen whose importance far

¹⁸³ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸⁴ Michael Durey, “Thomas Paine’s Apostles: Radical Emigres and the Triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 3, vol. 44, (Oct., 1987), 665-89, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1939740>.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 669.

¹⁸⁶ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, x.

¹⁸⁷ Durey, “Thomas Paine’s Apostles,” 670-4.

outweighed their number, not least in hardening American opinion against Britain.¹⁸⁸ Jefferson was impressed with Gales's newspapers from their beginning, and warmly recommended them to James Madison, and took out subscriptions for many years.¹⁸⁹ Editors like Gales were, says Durey, to have "a significant impact on American journalism" and politics.¹⁹⁰

These radicals brought with them a peculiarly Paineite political discourse that combined, without strain, egalitarianism, advocacy of commercial development, and a vision of unlimited progress. The Jefferson Republican party eventually stabilized around just such a political economy.... Their propagandizing was effective in vulgarizing Republican discourse.... They therefore continued Paine's role of demystifying political principles and offering them to the masses.¹⁹¹

Durey argues, however, that for some of the radical British émigrés of the 1790s America was not the Elysian asylum they had expected. They were surprised to discover on landing, usually in Philadelphia, the dominance of the Federal elite led by Adams. Those who settled successfully were those who like Gales adopted a pro-American stance and sought to 'boost' the new society by adopting its ways and manners.¹⁹² Their united opposition to slavery was also put to the test by the realities of living in a society partly dependent upon slave labour. Certainly, the Galeses found that they could not run their printing business and household without the use of slaves; Winifred was frightened by the destabilising prospect of a hurried liberation of the slave population, and Joseph would actively support a gentle repatriation approach. As Durey points out, non-trinitarians like the Galeses discovered that over time the connection between rationalist religion and political liberty was being replaced by a democratized upsurge of evangelical enthusiasm with its emphasis upon personal freedom, individualism and

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 682-5.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers*: vol. 29 (1797), 434; vol. 32 (1802), 60; vol. 37 (1800), 312 n.

¹⁹⁰ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 181.

¹⁹¹ Durey, "Thomas Paine's Apostles," 686.

¹⁹² Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 175.

egalitarianism.¹⁹³ The letters of Winifred Gales in the 1820s and 30s to Unitarian leader Rev. Jared Sparks revealed her concern about this.

James Olney says (thinking of Nietzsche), that “psychology and history, lyric poetry and even literary criticism” can claim to be a species of autobiography, whether conscious or involuntary.¹⁹⁴ With this in mind, I consider the writings and journalism of the Galeses (and Montgomery) as autobiography. Whether in their newspapers, publishing and editorial decisions, Gales unconsciously revealed his life story, personality, ambitions and intentions. In the autobiographical plain writing of their “Recollections,” and journalism, Joseph and Winifred were also participating in what Robert Sayre describes as the creation of the American ‘House,’ the building of a new classless civilization. For Gales was not just an ‘Americanized’ immigrant, but one who sought to emulate men like Benjamin Franklin in identifying with the simple American ‘idea’ and ‘ideal,’ whilst conscious of his English antecedents. Franklin was different to the other founders, Adams, Washington and Jefferson who were still clinging to the classical ideals of the old world. Similarly, Gales provided a ‘classless’ success story in journalism, business and society, and a pattern to be followed by his sons and their children.¹⁹⁵ The story of the Galeses in America is then a part of the creation of American culture and not just another immigrant assimilation account. Their history became part of the epic story of America with its upwardly mobile tradesmen and autobiographical heroes. As Robert Sayre says, “Franklin’s tradesman’s story ... would become, a version of national epic — and one they must seek to repeat without shame.”¹⁹⁶

Summary

This research will then provide an original contribution to knowledge of radical journalism in the 1790s in Sheffield, Britain and America by retrieving a substantial body of important primary source material, previously difficult to access, geographically scattered, and consequently neglected. Bringing this material together

¹⁹³ Ibid., 189.

¹⁹⁴ Olney, *Autobiography*, 5.

¹⁹⁵ Gales printed and sold Franklin’s, *The Way to Wealth*, whilst still in Sheffield, see *SR*, Feb 22, 1793.

¹⁹⁶ Sayre, “Autobiography,” 146-168.

will show that, contrary to their personal claims, Joseph and Winifred Gales and their successor James Montgomery were more radical in their journalism during the 1790s than they would later admit. There is evidence here that that they were in fact three individuals who carved out an important role for themselves within radical politics and literary reform circles in Britain and America in the late eighteenth-century. This examination of their careers forces then a re-evaluation of the culture, literary circles and radical politics of the 1790s and traces the overlap between British and US reform opinion.

Much of this material has been difficult to access for a number of reasons. The original newspapers are too fragile for public access and are held in the archives of Sheffield City Library, the British Library Newspaper department, and the University of North Carolina. In the case of the British newspapers, the quality of the microfilm reproduction is poor and makes them difficult to decipher. To overcome this I organised the transfer of original microfilms of the *Sheffield Register* for the years 1791-94 and of the *Sheffield Iris* for 1794-1800 into digital format with the help of the British Library.¹⁹⁷ Within these years some issues are now lost, and some pages are illegible, but there is still a large quantity of material that can be read with the aid of Microsoft's Office Picture Manager software. Microfilms of the *Raleigh Register* at the University of North Carolina are accessible on a machine reader, and can be read fairly clearly, and downloaded, but with on-site access only.¹⁹⁸ To access this material, the Gales "Recollections" and papers, required a research visit in April 2009 kindly funded by the Graduate School of Sheffield Hallam University. During this visit, the University of North Carolina archive agreed to produce and supply a digital copy of the "Recollections" for the first time, which has greatly helped my research. Winifred Gales's two novels have recently been made available courtesy of the Google online books project, and two of James Montgomery's books are now available to download.

By gathering this material this thesis has greatly increased our awareness and understanding of this reform publishing group centred on Sheffield and Raleigh in the period, and has drawn attention to a large and much more accessible reservoir of

¹⁹⁷ See appendix, pictures 4, 5, 12, 13.

¹⁹⁸ See appendix, picture 9.

primary data. This has allowed an examination of the political thinking and expressions for and against the reform movement centred on Sheffield as revealed in these newspapers during the critical years between the French Revolution in 1789 and the Pitt government's gagging acts in December 1795. All quotations are verbatim and original spelling and punctuation has, usually, been maintained. In many cases the text layout has also been kept, especially where, as in the political poems and the diary, this has been used by the authors and printers to give added emphasis to the content.

CHAPTER ONE

“Recollections” of radical Sheffield, the Gales diary “Friends of freedom, justice, and humanity”¹

In this chapter I will explore the radicalism of the Gales/Montgomery circle as shown in the handwritten diary of Winifred Gales, “Recollections,” written between 1815 and her death in 1839 (with some additional postscript notes from her husband Joseph), and extracts from the *Sheffield Register* newspaper. The diary is a valuable first-hand account of their experiences in Sheffield, especially, in the early 1790s, leading up to their enforced emigration to America in 1794-95. It deals with their family history but also includes her memories and opinions on the politics concerning the British parliamentary reform movement, and displays a retrospective desire to minimise their radicalism. Winifred never intended to publish her diary for public readership and she cannot be accused of writing with a reading public in view, “I here put an absolute and solemn veto upon such an act.”² However, as previously mentioned, Macdonald and Treadwell both caution against overlooking authorial hindsight in auto/biography, which often leads to biased redaction.³ The personal journal provided eighteenth and nineteenth century women with an outlet for the release of opinions, and as a frank ‘confessional’ expression of their personal and social experiences, which was denied to them in the public sphere. It was often a collective activity, which allowed a sense of shared community with family and friends, and provided a mechanism for the recording of family history. This was certainly true for Winifred Gales when in 1815 she began her diary/journal. As Judy Simons says, “In an age when silence was generally considered to be a female virtue, and modesty a characteristic young girls were encouraged to develop, it was to their journals that women turned, when other channels

¹ Gales, “Recollections,” 78.

² “I hope and beleive that all my children have too just a conception of what is right, for any of them to wish to make any part of this family narrative public – but lest any one at a remoter period (for I flatter myself that my children’s children will find some pleasure in the perusal) should be so misled, I here put an absolute and solemn veto upon such an act of folly in them – and injustice towards me,” Ibid., 3.

³ Macdonald, “Freedom of Election,” 19; Treadwell, *Autobiographical Writing*, 14.

of communication were closed to them.⁴ Through her diary, Winifred gives us, not just her private thoughts on family matters, but also more importantly, a window into the radical politics of Sheffield in the 1790s and the extent of their involvement. Again, as Martin Hewitt warns, we must remember that diaries were often redactive, and used “not so much to understand oneself but to manage the circulation of its history.”⁵

The loss of the American colonies to democratic republicanism, followed by the overthrow of the French monarchy beginning in 1789, had a profound effect on British society. The fall of the Bastille became the rallying symbol for a possible reform of Britain’s own parliament. Reform and wider representation was being discussed publicly and in print especially amongst the artisans in the rising industries associated with cotton, wool, steel and coal. Manufacturing towns like Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and Sheffield, which were seeing rapid population growth but had little political representation, became the foci for reform agitation. Sheffield in particular was seen as the leader outside of London in calls for reform says John Stevenson.⁶ Regional newspapers like the *Sheffield Register*, founded by Joseph and Winifred Gales in 1787, with distribution as far as Scotland and Ireland as well as London, were then crucial to the reporting of progress in reform views and activities locally and further afield. Newspaper proprietors were usually working printers who printed books and pamphlets as their main source of income. Gales also relied on his trade as an auctioneer, writes Winifred,⁷ but also managed to sell increasing quantities of the *Sheffield Register*.⁸

Being sympathetic to the reform movement he was happy to print the works, and include extracts from, republican radicals like Thomas Paine, whose *Rights of Man* had caused a sensation in 1791 when published in London.⁹ Within a year of its publication,

⁴ Judy Simons, *Diaries and Journals of Literary Women from Fanny Burney to Virginia Woolf* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 3.

⁵ Hewitt, “Diary, Autobiography,” 35.

⁶ John Stevenson, “Artisans & Democrats: Sheffield in the French Revolution, 1789-97,” *Sheffield History Pamphlets*, ed. Mark Greengrass (Sheffield: Sheffield Historical Association & The University of Sheffield, 1989), v.

⁷ Gales, “Recollections,” 40.

⁸ e.g. 2,025 copies in the first week of May 1794, *SR*, Friday, May 2, 1794.

⁹ For example, “Mr. Paine’s Opinion of Titles, from his “Rights of Man, in reply to Mr. Burke’s Attack upon the French Revolution”, *SR*, Friday, June 10, 1791.

he was printing and selling a cheap six pence edition in large quantities for the SSCI — a claim disputed by Julie Macdonald, as previously mentioned.¹⁰ This was with the stated intention of promoting reform, “Gentlemen; — This Society ... are determined to obtain a radical reform of the country, as soon as prudence and discretion will permit ... until the whole nation be sufficiently enlightened, and united in the same cause, which cannot fail of being the case wherever the most excellent works of Mr. Thomas Paine find residence.”¹¹ In a weekly ‘Sheffield’ editorial of mid-1791 Joseph Gales noted, in a way that hinted at his growing approval of a republican form of government, that Benjamin Franklin was so impressed with Paine that he procured him the position of “secretary of foreign affairs to Congress, where he presently distinguished himself by his eminent abilities and determined opposition to the government of this country.”¹² When Paine published *Common Sense* in January 1776 calling for independence from Britain and its “Royal Brute,” some even supposed it was written by Franklin.¹³ Thus, it was that three years *before* their enforced emigration Joseph Gales was already displaying a pro-American republican mindset in his newspaper. This suggests not accidental radicalism but rather a conscious commitment to the ideas of the American Revolution.

At the time literary figures like William Wordsworth, Samuel Coleridge, Helen Maria Williams, Mary Wollstonecraft and Thomas Paine visited revolutionary France and spread the word of this new dawn of democracy by their writings, and for a time during 1789-93, parliamentary reform in Britain seemed a real possibility. As reformers like Gales never tired of pointing out, even Prime Minister William Pitt had been a

¹⁰ The secretary J. Alcock claimed an initial 1400 subscribers in anticipation of its publication. Writing to the editor of the *English Chronicle*, Jan 15, 1792, PRO TS 11/952/3496 (ii). Julie Macdonald - “Freedom of Election,” 312 - claims it was John Crome and not Joseph Gales who printed *Rights of Man*, and that a copy in the British Library is from Crome’s print-run: BL1578/8369 (1).

¹¹ “Sheffield, 14th March, 1792. Copy of a letter from the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield, to the Society for Constitutional Information in London.” in the “Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy respecting Seditious Practices. June 6, 1794,” in *The Parliamentary History of England, from the earliest period to the year 1803. Vol. 36. Comprising the period from the fourteenth of March 1794, to the twenty second of May, 1795*, ed. T. C. Hansard (London: T. C. Hansard, 1813), 789.

¹² *SR*, June 17, 1791.

¹³ Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnson, Feb 13, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to the Congress, 1774-1789*, eds. Paul H. Smith, et al. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976-), 3:247.

supporter of motions for moderate parliamentary reform prior to the French Revolution. However, with the execution of Louis XVI on January 21, 1793, and the outbreak of war in February, the Government became worried that radicals linked to organisations like the LCS, might seek to overthrow the monarchy and impose sweeping parliamentary reform. SSCI activities were said to have infected Sheffield with revolutionary principles, writes Joseph Hunter.¹⁴ Within a year, Habeas Corpus was suspended and a wave of arrests and state trials began of popular London radical leaders like Thomas Hardy, Joseph Gerrald and John Thelwall. In Scotland, Thomas Muir and Thomas Fyshe Palmer were similarly rounded up, and a general clampdown on public meetings of reformers and sympathetic newspapers had begun. In May 1794 in Sheffield, William Broomhead, Robert Moody, Henry Hill, George Widdeson, and William Camage of the SSCI were arrested and taken to London to stand trial for suspected sedition. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Henry Redhead Yorke, Joseph Gales, and Richard Davison who was the unwitting cause of the warrant.¹⁵

A young Man who belonged to the Leeds Society, came to work with us, and was appointed Corresponding Secretary to one of the Societies. In this capacity, he wrote to one of the London Agents enquiring whether they would adopt the same mode of defence which the friends of Reform in Sheffield meant to adopt [pikes¹⁶]. Of this act we knew nothing until the “Secret Committee” found his letter amongst Hardy’s papers, dated Gales’s Printing Office.¹⁷

¹⁴ Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire. The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York: with Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Parishes of Ecclesfield, Hansworth, Treeton, and Whiston, and of the Chapelry of Bradfield* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, and Jones, 1819), 146.

¹⁵ Wigley, “James Montgomery,” 174, wrongly claims that Yorke was employed by Gales, and he misnames Davison ‘Thomas’ instead of Richard.

¹⁶ Elliott, “Raleigh Register,” 7, claims that it was Joseph Gales who arranged for pike samples to be made by a local cutler for Davison to show to the London Corresponding Society. Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 350, points out that it was Davison acting on his own initiative who wrote to Hardy on 24 April 1794 without the knowledge of Gales. Gary Kelly says, without substantiation, that arms were stockpiled at Sheffield, Kelly, *Women, Writing*, 19.

¹⁷ Gales, “Recollections,” 58.

This later claim of ignorance, by Winifred, of Davison's reform activities whilst in their employ at Sheffield is an interesting one, made more notable by his coming to work for them in America. (He later set up his own newspaper in Warrenton and became a planter and local magistrate¹⁸). At the trial of Thomas Hardy in October 1794, questions were asked of SSCI secretary, William Broomhead (a Cutler, unemployed due to the war), which revealed Joseph Gales to be actively involved in printing for the SSCI and Henry Yorke, and taking a leading part in chairing meetings with Yorke. Broomhead freely admitted Gales to be a member of the SSCI during questions about the alleged offer of Sheffield pikes to the LCS,¹⁹ but also, interestingly, of the testing of a four pronged 'cat' which could be used to lame the horses of cavalry, as William Ramsey recorded.²⁰ Gales went into hiding at the house of his friend, and fellow radical, John Payne of Newhill Grange, Wath on Dearne. Recognising the real possibility of prison or transportation to New South Wales, he fled to Hamburg, where Winifred and the children joined him before embarking to America and settling in Philadelphia in the summer of 1795.

The "Recollections" give insight into how some regional printers were using their influence to help reformers spread their message, and it reveals the political situation into which James Montgomery was in April 1792 entering as a clerk to Joseph Gales.²¹ As an historical narrative, the diary was written to justify their involvement in reform politics as moderates, although Winifred saw herself in the role of a reporter who must faithfully record what she had seen and heard for her readership — in this case her family. "Having passed over the level road of private life, I must now, as a faithful

¹⁸ Ibid., 150.

¹⁹ Under examination before the Privy Council, May 29, 1794, David Martin claimed that Broomhead had been expelled for a time from the SSCI in 1792 for advocating armed readiness, TS 11/963/3509.

²⁰ William Ramsey, *The Proceedings in cases of high treason, under a special commission of oyer and terminer, which was first opened at Hicks's Hall, Oct. 2, 1794, and afterwards continued at the Sessions House, in the Old Bailey. Taken in short hand, by William Ramsey* (London: James Ridgeway and H. D. Symonds, 1794), 173-180, accessed December 13, 2010, <http://www.books.google.com/ebooks>

²¹ He actually started work for Gales when he went with him to a week's auction near Bakewell in Derbyshire beginning March 19, 1792. Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:132.

reporter enter upon the rough path of political discordance.”²² Joseph was consciously portrayed by Winifred to her family as a moderate supporter of reform, and the *Sheffield Register* as a mild and reasonable voice for the grievances of the Sheffield artisans. Perhaps this was a deliberate recreation of a moderate persona and thus “an impersonating stranger,” as Hewitt says.²³ From the very beginning of their time in Sheffield (1784), as Printers, Booksellers and Stationers, they were, she said, sympathetic to the conditions of local cutlery workers and happy to print their complaints, “thus furnishing a medium to lay their grievances before the Public.”²⁴ Moreover, to present them in such a way that employers would not be offended, “Even the Master-Cutlers, were not offended at the Printer, but many expressed themselves pleased at his independence.”²⁵ A clear indication of their support for the artisans in their pursuit of employment rights is seen in that Joseph (or possibly Winifred), helped the workers with the composition of their complaints by “putting their demands into good language,” to ensure that the employers would be receptive through “the propriety with which they were addressed.”²⁶ They must have been aware of the local artisan poet Joseph Mather and his Juvenalian caustic satirical rhymes in support of the cutlers — “That offspring of tyranny, baseness and pride, / Our rights hath invaded and almost destroyed”²⁷ — but do not seem to have published his work, which in any case he sold in the streets.

This identification with the artisans was not odd, for Joseph had worked his way up from just such a position, and was really only one step further along than his own journeymen in the printer’s shop. Unlike the cotton industry in other northern towns like Manchester (with their move towards larger mills owned by a few powerful owners),

²² Gales, “Recollections,” 34.

²³ Hewitt, “Diary, Autobiography,” 34.

²⁴ Probably the cutlers’ strike of 1787, and the scissorsmiths action of 1791, in T. S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), 205-206; Macdonald, “Freedom of Election.”

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁷ Joseph Mather writing about the unjust behaviour of the master cutlers in 1787 in insisting that journeymen produce thirteen knives for the cost of twelve, in *The Songs of Joseph Mather*, ed. J. Wilson (Sheffield, 1862).

the growth of the cutlery industry in Sheffield was centred upon the small craftsmen and their many workshops. These were scattered around the group of small towns that made up Sheffield, which would only reluctantly accept incorporation in 1843 (after a refusal five years previously). Thus from the inception of the industrial revolution Sheffield was unusual in its parochialism, with its resistance to external influence. Its population growth tended to be by short distance migration from neighbouring counties even into the twentieth century, says Timothy Willis.²⁸ Thus, the smaller economic and social distance between employee and employer in Sheffield, “an overgrown village,” as W. Odom described it,²⁹ and the consequent smaller middle class, was conducive to a less class-based society than in other places. According to R. J. Childs, “This in turn could mean that social values and political thought had a greater homogeneity than elsewhere.”³⁰ If Childs is correct, this implied proletarian bias in the make-up of the population would explain why the reformist newspapers of Joseph Gales and James Montgomery, both from humble origins, proved extremely popular with the artisan majority, and why it was so resistant to the influence and interference of local government and employer interests. As Read says, the peculiar makeup of the industrial manufacturing base at Birmingham and Sheffield led to a flattened societal configuration and a strong sense of artisan solidarity.

The metal trades of Birmingham and Sheffield were based ... upon a network of small workshops, with industrial growth proceeding not through building of great factories, but through the multiplication of these workshops; great employers were few, but small manufacturers were many.... The economic and social structure of Birmingham and Sheffield was thus a unity, with few men much elevated and relatively few downtrodden. This unity gave great strength to Birmingham and

²⁸ Timothy J. Willis, “The Politics and Ideology of Local Authority Health Care in Sheffield, 1918-1948,” PhD thesis (Sheffield Hallam University, 2009), 45.

²⁹ Rev. W. Odom, *Fifty Years of Sheffield Church Life, 1866-1916* (Northend: Sheffield, 1917).

³⁰ R. J. Childs, “Sheffield Before 1843,” in *The History of the City of Sheffield*, ed. C. Binfield (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 10.

Sheffield radicalism, as it grew up in protest at government ignorance of the problems of the new industrial society.³¹

Thus, the *Sheffield Register* from its launch in 1787 became the voice for the local workers and for the SSCI (founded at the end of 1791 with up to 2000 members at its peak). Joseph was a founding member but not an office holder, though a “pecuniary friend” and an active supporter says Donnelly.³² The success of this ‘voice’ of the artisans could be seen in its readership, “one at least was taken in every Manufacturing Shop so that it was read by at least 10,000 persons of that class, as they clubbed to pay the Subscription,” said Winifred.³³ This shows that the Galeses clearly understood the circulation of a newspaper (c. 2000 at its height) was only ever a fraction of its actual readership, and that it was a powerful tool, which could be used in the service of reform. The use of a newspaper to push for political change was a central pillar in their activities and one they would again use in the early nineteenth century with the *Raleigh Register* to promote Thomas Jefferson’s successful campaign for the U.S. presidency.³⁴ The general acceptance of the *Sheffield Register* and its editor was underlined, Winifred said, by the newspaper’s acceptance by all classes of society as the only newspaper in the area brave enough to report the issues from both sides. The public debate might have been increasingly strident, but the newspaper sought an objective balance. “The *Register* firmly, but moderately espoused the popular cause, and was open to discussion for and against the great question, which then pervaded the public mind, it was the only Paper in the West Riding of York which openly, and candidly avowed its sentiments on political subjects.”³⁵ There was a silent swipe here at the *Sheffield Courant* printed by John Northall, which from its launch in the summer of 1793 was intentionally and

³¹ Read, *English Provinces*, 35-6.

³² Donnelly, “Joseph Gales.”

³³ Gales, “Recollections,” 36. Interestingly this number is the same as the estimated number of Sheffield men employed in the cutlery industry (about half the male population), as mentioned in a contemporary petition of 1785 by the local Freemen to the Cutlers’ Company; cited in Macdonald, “Freedom of Election,” 33. This may then be a later echo in Winifred’s Gales’s memory of reading the petition.

³⁴ Robert Neal Elliott, Jr., “Joseph Gales,” in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 265.

³⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 36.

aggressively “Church and King,” and spent much of its energy opposing the *Register*. The *Courant* was a regional manifestation of the growing reactionary spirit in the Pitt government and the nation, and was intended to give a platform for vehement attacks on pro-reformers by the likes of the local vicar and grammar school teacher the Rev. John Russell says John Caulfield.³⁶ Winifred’s claim for the impartiality of the *Sheffield Register* cannot be supported, for by her own admission the anti-ministerial bias was obvious to friends of her father; she often read pro-ministerial works to him as a girl. “Ah! (said a Gentleman to me whilst we printed the Sheffield Register) what would your Father say, could he now witness your political Heresy.”³⁷

Despite the political ferment there was, she said, goodwill between the local businessmen in Sheffield regardless of political opinions. For instance, Dr. Brown (e) a leader of the local Church and King party was on good terms with the Galeses despite their political differences, her inference being that they were no actual threat to the status quo. Certainly, when Gales’s business was facing bankruptcy, and he was in exile in Germany, a cross-section of local businessmen approached Winifred with offers of unsecured loans or gifts (which she mostly refused). In many cases, these offers came from men who were not close friends or in political agreement with them but who were moved by compassion for the temporary difficulties of another businessman. This was unusual, for as Davidoff and Hall note, women running a business alone were considered poor credit risks, and banks were very wary of lending to them.³⁸ Because of the common-law principle of ‘coverture’ married women’s legal identity was subsumed under their husband’s anyway, and they could not sue or be sued, and so it was difficult for them to operate independently in business, notes Shoemaker.³⁹

Her claim of a moderate political stance sits uncomfortably with Joseph’s journalism and political activities. For example, his encouragement of the fiery radical orator Henry ‘Redhead’ Yorke (1772-1813), for whom he printed pamphlets and invited to speak at

³⁶ John Anthony Caulfield, “The Reeves Association: A Study of Loyalism in the 1790s,” PhD thesis, (University of Reading, 1988).

³⁷ Gales, “Recollections,” 10.

³⁸ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, eds., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (1987; repr., London: Routledge, 1992), 278.

³⁹ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 196.

large public reform meetings and to whom they gave lodging. Then there was the reporting of the meetings and decisions of the SSCI (often shortened to the “Constitutional Society”), and Joseph’s alleged involvement with the procurement of pikes for the use of “the lower, but industrious part of the community ... who ... were too poor to purchase firearms;”⁴⁰ an offer to LCS brethren which led to Gales’s summons.⁴¹ Yorke had visited revolutionary France in 1792 and whilst there was converted to reform principles, and on his return joined the LCS and published the radical work, *These are the Times that Try Men’s Souls*.⁴² As a result, on his arrival in Sheffield in March 1793, the Galeses welcomed him into their home, where he wrote at least one of his pamphlets, which they printed and advertised.⁴³ They also sold his other works like *Reason urged against Precedent, in a letter to the people of Derby*.⁴⁴ Yorke who, like Montgomery, was barely out of his teens made a tremendous impression on the Gales household and other local reform sympathisers says Winifred.

He came as a Delegate from the Derby Society. His manners were so gentlemanly, his conversation so highly interesting, and his acquirements so extraordinary that every one was fascinated with him, on his first visit his stay was short, but he attended all the Public Meetings, and a general anxiety was evinced for his return.⁴⁵

Yorke not only attended SSCI meetings but was also invited to chair them; the resolutions from such meetings were radical in their condemnation of government attempts to suppress reform activities (as was the case at Derby). “It was resolved

⁴⁰ Gales, “Recollections,” 58.

⁴¹ Armytage, “Editorial Experience,” 356.

⁴² Alger, “Henry Redhead Yorke.”

⁴³ “And on Tuesday will be published, price 2d. or 3d. and sold by the Printer hereof, The Proceedings of the Public Meeting held at Sheffield, in the open air, on the 7th of April, 1794, and also An Address to the British Nation; being an Exposition of the Motives which have determined the People of Sheffield, to petition the House of Commons no more on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform,” *SR*, April 11, 1794.

⁴⁴ “This day was published, price one shilling, *Reason urged against Precedent, in a letter to the people of Derby*... London: printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson and sold by... J. Gales, Sheffield...”, *SR*, April 19, 1793.

⁴⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 55.

unanimously, that in Times like the present, when inquisitorial Proceedings, which are a Disgrace to the Jurisprudence of a free Country, and subversive of the Nature and Spirit of its Laws.”⁴⁶ The SSCI was formed in November 1791 with the help of Gales and the artisan reformers had around two thousand members by the following March when Montgomery joined the Galesees. Initially, they met in eight ‘divisions,’ increasing quickly to thirteen and perhaps twenty or thirty, in public houses on the same night on a fortnightly basis, and sending representatives to executive meetings, recorded *Register*.⁴⁷ There was also a general monthly meeting at which motions approved by the majority were agreed. This divisional organization proved so effective, says Wilfred Prest that it was recommended by Horne Tooke to Thomas Hardy for the LCS.⁴⁸ Who, greatly encouraged by the pioneering work of the regional society adopted its organisational structure, as did their counterparts in Norwich, Leeds and Derby.⁴⁹ It is clear the SSCI was leading the way in organizing the artisan reform movement in 1791-92, and it can be argued that Joseph Gales was, in his background role, thereby providing some guidance and direction to the national movement. Montgomery would also get involved by contributing reform hymns for special meetings and in drafting correspondence for the SSCI.

This influential role of Gales in the local reform movement was underlined by his involvement in promoting the works of Paine. In January 1792, Gales and the SSCI committee obtained permission from Paine to publish a cheap six pence edition of *The Rights of Man*, which their members read avidly. Having been in London when it was first published a year earlier, Montgomery now arrived at the Hartshead office to discover the same work being printed and sold in large quantities to the local artisan reformers. Whether he had read it when in London is not recorded. He understood, however, that by reading it the lower orders would thus obtain a political education in preparation for a wide scale and organized call for parliamentary reform.

⁴⁶ SR, March 15, 1793.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Feb 24, 1792.

⁴⁸ Wilfred Prest, *Albion Ascendant: English History, 1660-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 288.

⁴⁹ PRO TS 11/951/3495; Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 170.

The people of Sheffield, in whatever contempt they may have been held by supercilious censors, ignorant of their character, were then, as they are now, and as I hope they ever will be, a reading and a thinking people ... they judged for themselves on the questions of reform in parliament, liberty of speech, and of the press, the rights of man, and other egregious paradoxes.⁵⁰

Gales's close association with Yorke and other reformist publishers can be seen in the public meetings of the SSCI chaired by Yorke. For example, in April 1793, Yorke was chairman of a meeting of the SSCI where Gales was likely present, and perhaps Montgomery too. The Society gave notice of its thanks to the juries at Derby and Warwick for acquitting Thomas Bower and Thompson of Birmingham for selling Paine's *Rights of Man*.⁵¹ In the *Register* there was a notice of a "Petition for Reform in Parliament" which could be signed at "the Shops of Mr. Gales and Mr. Smith [father of the celebrated Unitarian John Pye Smith] Booksellers." In his editorial, Gales bemoaned the fate of fellow booksellers tried and in some cases imprisoned for selling Paine's works, like Richard Phillips, printer of the *Leicester Herald*, who was jailed for eighteen months.⁵² Nevertheless, they were concerned, Winifred told her family, that on later visits Yorke's assumption of "a higher tone," and his eloquence together with his "bold assertions," were such that "Moderate men were afraid that this admired Orator would inflame the public mind, and endeavoured to abate the warmth of his general feelings."⁵³ The open-air meeting of the 'Friends of Justice, Liberty and Humanity' at Castle Hill on April 7, 1794, was a case in point. The meeting, organised by the SSCI, was "stage-managed" by Gales, claims Goodwin,⁵⁴ with an intention to adopt a

⁵⁰ James Montgomery in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:141.

⁵¹ *SR*, Apr. 19, 1793.

⁵² Thomas Seccombe, rev. M. Clare Loughlin-Chow, "Sir Richard Phillips (1767-1840)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-8), accessed Sep 19, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22167>. He was convicted in January 1793 and sentenced to eighteen months in Leicester gaol for selling the *Rights of Man*. A clear warning to Joseph Gales (unheeded), of a similar fate for the same activity. He later moved to London where he launched the *Monthly Magazine* on July 1, 1796, edited by John Aikin.

⁵³ Gales, "Recollections," 56.

⁵⁴ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 325.

resolution of Yorke's, that no more petitions be presented to parliament calling for universal suffrage, but that henceforth it would be promoted as a common 'right' of all men.⁵⁵ They knew, says Jason Beech, that regardless of petitions, the mere fact of "Assembly was a purposeful way of propagating radical opinion."⁵⁶ Yorke presided "and spoke, as appeared from the testimony of persons present, with more vehemence than discretion." However, rather than Gales calming Yorke down, he was, he wrote to Joseph Aston, thrilled "to hear one of the first orators in the kingdom" and honoured to be drawn in a carriage "along with Yorke amidst the thousands."⁵⁷ Gales recorded his approbation of Yorke and the whole affair in his editorial that week, "Mr. Yorke spoke upon the different subjects for at least two hours, in a manner so masterly and eloquent as to surprise and captivate his hearers, who were from ten to twelve thousand in number, though the day was rainy." He also mentioned the sending of "a congratulatory Letter to Mr. Walker, of Manchester, on his honourable escape from the fangs of a villainous prosecution" (written we now know by James Montgomery).⁵⁸ This is clearly at variance with Winifred's attempts to reposition her husband (and Montgomery) as a political moderate. When she wrote that "Moderate men" tried to keep Yorke calm she surely meant Joseph (and possibly Montgomery), yet this contradicts Joseph's own 'recollections.' If true, it was probably only to avoid intervention from the authorities rather than displaying a more moderate approach than Yorke's. This was a momentous occasion, for this and meetings of the LCS at Chalk Farm on April 14 and the SCI on May 2 in London, were, says Goodwin, the "three final acts of defiance from the radicals that clinched" the decision by the government to arrest the English radical leaders.⁵⁹ Therefore, of the centres of radicalism leading the national reform movement's attempts to force the Pitt government to make peace with France, and grant 'universal representation,' Gales and Montgomery were at the heart of one, actively organising the meetings, writing addresses and political hymns. This is clear evidence

⁵⁵ Henry Yorke, *Proceedings of the Public Meeting held at Sheffield in the open air, on 7 April, 1794* (Sheffield: J. Gales, 1794).

⁵⁶ Beech, "Sheffield Register," 11.

⁵⁷ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 166-167.

⁵⁸ *SR*, Apr. 11, 1794.

⁵⁹ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 325.

of their prominence in the national radical movement, but also of their middling-sort consciousness of the distance between themselves and the lower orders.⁶⁰

At this time I became seriously alarmed, and my dear Father and Mother Gales, frequently asked of me to dissuade your Father from Printing, or having any connection with these Societies. He used to answer it was his duty to do so, and so long as their object was not other than they avowed, a Parliamentary Reform, he would not withdraw from them.⁶¹

Confirmation of Gales's powerful influence over the artisan reformers can be seen in his direct intervention to prevent a riot when local reformers opposed to a pro-government gathering could not enter the meeting. The meeting on June 13, 1792, called by the local "Church and State party" was in danger of turning into a riot because of its resolutions, "so unjust and illiberal towards the friends of Reform." Rioting was not unknown in Sheffield, as *The Times* noted.⁶² Joseph, Winifred remembered, was sitting at home having tea with Lord Effingham's Land Agent, when upon hearing that, "the people had assembled in thousands and were threatening to pull down the Cutlers Hall,"⁶³ and remembering the previous, "disgraceful conflagrations and riot at Birmingham," when Joseph Priestley's house was burnt down by Church and King mobs, "Your Father and his Guest ran immediately without their Hats, the scene of riot being near at hand. They found the Report true and the Revd. Mr Radford Vicar of Trinity Church haranguing the crowd. He talked to the Winds." Seeing that the crowd was now an angry "Mob," he, "in his usual quiet and composed way," chided them for their unruly behaviour and urged them to "depart peaceably Home." To his relief they eventually complied and in twenty minutes, the place was cleared of the thousands of by

⁶⁰ Wahrmann, *Imagining the Middle Class*, 39.

⁶¹ Gales, "Recollections," 59.

⁶² Sheffield artisans already had a reputation for civil disorder. See for example a report of a violent riot against enclosures in 1791, which required troops from Nottingham to quell the mob, *The Times*, Aug 4, 1791, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>.

⁶³ See appendix, picture 6.

now peaceful reformers.⁶⁴ The growth of such impromptu public gatherings was encouraged by increasing urbanisation says Karen Harvey, where by the 1790s around thirty percent of the population were living in towns more evenly spread across the country than before, with open spaces that encouraged greater public gatherings and social interaction than previously.⁶⁵

Joseph's influence over the lower orders was, says Winifred, acknowledged even by anti-reformers, but with mixed feelings, either as evidence of his moderatism or, in a more sinister manner, as proof of his potential leadership in an insurrection. On this occasion, he was a calming influence, judging that disorder would only bring the direct intervention of the authorities and spell the end of the reform movement in Sheffield. Nevertheless, says Winifred, not all accepted Joseph as a moderate, which begs the question as to whether her attempts to portray him as such were justified, or whether he was simply being pragmatic. Perhaps he was less of a moderate than she would have her family believe, just more careful than the unruly artisans. Some government supporters were convinced that Joseph's evident identification with, and influence over, the artisans could easily be put to revolutionary use.

“See, said an Anti-Reformer, what influence Gales has over the Multitude — if he speaks, their wild-ravings are hushed into gentle murmurs.” Rather than accepting this as evidence of his moderate stance on the reform issue, one of them went on to ask, “By what means has he obtained this dangerous influence?” One of his own political party answered. “By pleading the poor man’s cause, by advocating equal Representations. By treating them as Brethren — Gales is a good man, a friend to the oppressed, and a most exemplary man in all his domestic relations.” Thus spoke a person, who though opposed to Mr Gales, was too upright himself to withhold justice from another. “Yes! Yes! We know all that, but so much the worse — there is the rub, for so much greater is his influence. He could lead 10,000 men by the crook of his finger, and if French principles should take root what would be the effect of his

⁶⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 43.

⁶⁵ Karen Harvey, “Gender, Space and Modernity in Eighteenth-Century England: a Place Called Sex,” *History Workshop Journal* 51, 159, accessed November 13, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i395754>.

popularity.”⁶⁶

What is revealing here is that Gales, rather than being just another regional newspaper publisher with radical sympathies, was really a man of some serious influence amongst the lower orders of Sheffield. He was after all a founder member of the SSCI and an active adviser, and therefore a man with leadership qualities who could in the estimation of his political opponents have led a popular uprising given the right set of circumstances (drawn from the radical pool of ‘10,000’ readers of the *Sheffield Register* and those attending the open-air meetings). Did Gales agree with the blood-thirsty tone of the pamphlet issued by William Broomhead, secretary of the SSCI in the same month, which stated that Aristocrats possessed “no Right, but that of being plundered, they are entitled to no privilege, but that of being guillotined; which Right and which Privilege, with the aid of our brethren in France, we intend they shall ‘enjoy’ to the utmost”?⁶⁷ Gales was clearly a possible candidate in the minds of fearful loyalists when considering potential leaders with enough intelligence and influence to lead a local artisan uprising. As the war with France proceeded and the government took fright at the thought of artisan reformers leading armed revolt, support for the reform movement actually ebbed amongst the middling ranks note Davidoff and Hall,⁶⁸ but if so, then Joseph Gales was an exception.

What we can see here is that though keen to position him as a moderate, Winifred could not resist the temptation to reveal to her family her husband’s true stature as a potential revolutionary leader. She was clearly proud of his popularity amongst the Sheffield artisans. Whether he would have led an insurrection is unclear, though who before 1789 would have expected Robespierre to become such a violent revolutionary? As Ruth Scurr says, “Political turmoil can foster unlikely leaders.”⁶⁹ Joseph’s later and extended role as mayor of Raleigh does confirm his credentials as an effective leader. James Montgomery, ten years younger than the Galeses, must have been in some awe

⁶⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 44-45; *SR*, June 15, 1792.

⁶⁷ William Broomhead, *A Proclamation, By Order of the Sovereign Jacobin Club held in Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1794).

⁶⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 19.

⁶⁹ Ruth Scurr, *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006), 5.

of, and sympathy with, their radical political stance; certainly, he did nothing to distance himself from them even when a warrant was issued for Joseph's arrest.

Throughout the "Recollections" Winifred was at pains to show Joseph as a cultured moderate whose concern was to quietly promote parliamentary reform and the rights of the working man. However, this was the same "quiet and composed" man who some years later was involved in a street brawl in Raleigh with William Boylan, a rival newspaper editor, says Armytage, although he was the victim rather than the initiator.⁷⁰ It seems that writing in middle age Winifred was using "editorial amplification or excision" as Linda Peterson describes it,⁷¹ to redraw the picture of her husband's younger years, when his support for the reform movement had a great deal more heat than she was now prepared to admit to her grandchildren. Certainly their enforced flight to America placed them within a moderate democratic republic, similar to the one the Gironde deputies sought so unsuccessfully in France, and which suited the Galeses much better. This strongly suggests a revisionist approach by Winifred to reposition Joseph as a member of a national network of "respectable Booksellers." Joseph, she intimated, did not view himself as a radical seeking to subvert the social order or government, but as a law-abiding citizen whose role in society was simply to make available news, comment, and "improving" information.⁷² She admitted that Joseph was initially enthusiastic about the French Revolution but horrified by the later excesses of the Terror, and that they then aligned themselves with a more moderate Girondin view. "No one could foresee that this glorious event would degenerate into that wild licentiousness which finally prostrated all order, violated all right, and perpetrated those shocking enormities which humanity recoils from Registering,"⁷³ she wrote. Like Helen Maria Williams (and William Wordsworth initially), Winifred seems to have kept a "Gironde-inspired sensibility, a sentimental transparency and faith in cosmopolitanism,"

⁷⁰ Armytage, "Editorial Experience," 332.

⁷¹ Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian*, preface, ix.

⁷² See for example, "Answer to the Mathematical Question. Proposed by B. in the Iris of the 3rd instant, by Mr. James Wainwright, usher to Mr. Eadon, at the Free Writing School, in Sheffield," *Iris*, Apr. 17, 1795.

⁷³ Gales, "Recollections," 54.

as Angela Kean describes it.⁷⁴ If only in a literary sense after the Terror and their emigration, she kept her abiding sympathy for the leading educated, civilized, women victims and their more “reasonable” approach to republicanism. ““Oh! Liberty” exclaimed the virtuous, enlightened Madame Roland, as she passed the statue of the Goddess on her way to the guillotine – “Oh! Liberty! What crimes have been perpetrated in thy polluted name.””⁷⁵

What effect did living and working with the Galeses during 1792-94, and then on his own from July 1794, have upon James Montgomery? Certainly, his reform tendencies as a printer publisher were also tested by Government oppression and as a result he became a much more careful and moderate character after two terms in prison had subdued his health and spirit. Montgomery was at the epicentre of radical reform in Sheffield and the later picture of him as a closeted, timid, otherworldly poet at this time is hard to accept, probably because that is what he later became. Courage in the face of government opposition, whilst not as prominent in his history, was nevertheless present, perhaps instilled in him by the example of his employers and friends. If anything it must have been more difficult for him to stand alone after the Galeses fled the country, yet he did continue to print pro-reform material, if in a more restrained fashion, and held on to his political beliefs despite his imprisonments. His initial enthusiasm for the French Revolution was also abated by the Terror and the Pitt government, and he gradually withdrew in disappointment from reform activism after 1795, and could have said with Samuel Coleridge, “With wearied thought once more I seek the shade.”⁷⁶ The unmarried Montgomery who lived the rest of his life with the three unmarried sisters of Joseph Gales seems to have become, if not desexualised, by his experiences, then more feminine in his personal life and public activities. He was always a more private person even when living and working in Wath and in London, and although active in the public sphere as a newspaper publisher and printer, yet he withdrew into the privacy of the home more and more. He seemed more comfortable in the semi-private matriarchal environment of the home than in the patriarchal theatre of public affairs. It was as if he

⁷⁴ Angela Keane, *Women Writers*, 50.

⁷⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 54.

⁷⁶ “To a Young Lady, with a poem on the French Revolution,” Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited by B. E. Rooke (London: Routledge, 1969), 55.

emulated the strong masculinity of Joseph, whilst working for him during the years 1792-94, and then emulated the more feminised masculinity of Winifred after their departure from mid-1794 onwards. The loss of his mother and father from early childhood and growing up in an extended family at boarding school must have affected him deeply. Though there are indications in his poetry of a desire for marriage, it was thwarted and then permanently faded and from then on he appears more comfortable living at home with the Gales sisters than in a married state. This subsidence into a feminised semi-private condition after his imprisonments was almost as if he became more 'Winifred' than 'Joseph.' His discrete withdrawal from radical public politics into a more home-based expression was a more feminine approach, as previously mentioned.⁷⁷

The "Recollections," and the *Sheffield Register*, reveal much about the role of radical writing and publishing during the period. There is, for example, a strong sense that the Galeses were part of a literary-led movement to encourage freethinking and democratic ideals and change. In their own lives, this was seen in their conversion to Unitarianism, and as publishers in their active promotion of change by publishing a pro-reform newspaper, printing radical works like Paine's *Rights of Man*, and pamphlets for the SSCI and Henry Yorke. They were linked with the London circle around the radical publisher Joseph Johnson that included many writers and painters at the forefront of reform: Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Holcroft, Joel Barlow, Mary Hays, Richard and Maria Edgeworth, Anna Barbauld, John Horne Tooke, Thomas Beddoes, William Blake, Henry Fuseli, William Cowper and others. As newspaper publishers the Galeses were committed to publishing poetry (much of it pro-reform), giving international news, and reporting on the War with France. They reprinted news articles from the London papers concerning parliament, government, reform, the LCS and state trials. They clearly understood the importance of publishing to the reform movement and that Sheffield's healthy industrial base was an ideal environment, which provided the disposable income for working men to further their political education by reading. "The Mechanics were better, and possibly more punctually paid than in other Manufacturing Towns, and thus they could spare more

⁷⁷ Gleadle and Richardson, *Women in British Politics*, 9.

money to purchase Books, and by this means increase their stock of information.”⁷⁸ Thus as Angela Keane says of the “scribbling classes” generally, the Galeses and Montgomery had a definite awareness that they were part of the project for the creation of a new more democratic “national identity.”⁷⁹ The editorial team also understood that their commercial activities were “continuous with intellectual progress and enlightenment” as Helen Maria Williams put it,⁸⁰ for they were educating the workers by informing them. Local news was not neglected, ranging from the incidental to the important, such as the activities of social reformers like sitting MP William Wilberforce, and political activists like the SSCI; but Gales always put principle before personal cost, “In the first establishment of the *Register*, Mr Wilberforce one of the County Members (York) empowered your Father to use his name. When the subject of Reform was agitated, he withdrew it, and the present Premier of England who is Lord Grey then simply Charles Grey, granted us the same privilege.”⁸¹ Gales was saddened when Wilberforce spoke in parliament in support of the transportation of the Scottish reformers, “Hear it, Humanity, and blush,” he said.⁸²

In the political maelstrom of the period religion, especially Unitarianism was a key feature of the public debate and an important part of the life of the Gales/Montgomery circle. In British society at large religion played a vital part whether in the anti-monarchist atheism of French type revolutionaries like Paine, the pro-monarchism of Burke or the Anglican voice of the Bishop of Llandaff, the Evangelical moralism and activism of Wilberforce, or in the socio-political activism of Quakers and Unitarians like Richard Price, David Williams, and Joseph Priestley. In fact, argue Davidoff and Hall, “The oppositional culture” of the provincial middle classes cannot be understood outside a religious context,” for the “goal of all the bustle of the market place was to provide a proper moral and religious life for the family.”⁸³ Few in Britain or America

⁷⁸ Gales, “Recollections,” 37.

⁷⁹ Angela Keane, *Women Writers*, 11.

⁸⁰ Helen Maria Williams, *Letters Written in France*, vol. 5. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001), 117.

⁸¹ Gales, “Recollections,” 34.

⁸² *SR*, March 7, 1794.

⁸³ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 21.

were openly atheist. For Joseph and Winifred having become nonconformists in religion must have made it much easier for them to consider doing the same in politics, and to put it into practice by moving to America when forced to choose. James Montgomery, born a nonconformist Moravian, fitted into the Gales household very easily, and their influence towards nonconformity in politics would have been all the more convincing for him. Unitarianism was a central part of their lives and Winifred happily mentioned their deistical view of a life lived in the beauty of nature and the light of eternity, and one that fuelled their enjoyment of a better world in America. Like Mary Wollstonecraft,⁸⁴ Winifred referred to God as the “Almighty Being,” and, “that Almighty Power.” Robespierre’s short-lived “Cult of the Supreme Being” with its large and only festival in Paris in June 1794 and procession of 300,000,⁸⁵ reached with approval the ears of the Gales, and his major role in the Terror was no deterrent to their reporting it favourably.⁸⁶

Winifred and Joseph as lifelong Unitarians also sought to promote their unorthodox position in North Carolina but with limited success. Joseph’s conversion to Unitarianism had taken place as a young printer’s apprentice in Newark where he had printed the resignation pamphlet by the famous Rev. Dr. John Disney.⁸⁷ This work outlined Disney’s reasons for resigning his living in the Anglican Church because, said Joseph, “he could not conscientiously continue to support the doctrine of the Trinity,

⁸⁴ “She found an inexpressible delight in the beauties of nature, and in the splendid reveries of her imagination. But nature itself, she thought, would be no better than a vast blank, if the mind of the observer did not supply it with an animating soul”, William Godwin, quoted in Barbara Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 96. Mary Hays’s alternative depiction of Wollstonecraft’s God as “a being higher, more perfect, than visible nature” whom she adored ... amidst the beauties of Nature, or ... in the still hour of recollection,” better captures Wollstonecraft’s credo. Mary Hays, “Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft,” in *Annual Necrology, 1797-8* (London: 1800), 416. Winifred Gales’s God was then not dissimilar to that of Wollstonecraft’s.

⁸⁵ “In his time of crisis, Robespierre behaved like many other people have, and turned to religion. Except that, this being the French Revolution he made up one of his own.” Mark Steel, *Vive La Revolution* (London: Scribner, 2003), 229.

⁸⁶ *SR*, June 27, 1794.

⁸⁷ John Disney, *Reasons for resigning the rectory of Panton and vicarage of Swinderby, in Lincolnshire, and quitting the Church of England* (Newark, 1782).

which he believed had no foundation in Scripture.”⁸⁸ The Upper Church in Norfolk street (still extant but in a later building) was well attended with a regular membership of over a thousand when first opened in 1700. By the time the Galeses settled in Sheffield it was an obvious meeting place for those not aligned with the Church and King party. “The Clergy of the Established Church took a decided stand against innovation, Many of them affecting to believe that Dissenters, were fomenting the dissatisfaction of the people, to promote the dissolution between Church and State!”⁸⁹ There is a degree of insincerity in this statement for they clearly did believe in separation of church and state, as admitted in their America journalism. The Unitarian position of the Galeses was to influence Montgomery, who moved away from his more orthodox origins until his return to the evangelical Trinitarian position of the Moravian Church, around 1806, after a long spiritual struggle. Whilst in prison at York, he naturally cultivated friendships with the incarcerated non-tithing Quakers, having sympathy with their less defined stance on religion and politics,⁹⁰ and is a further reminder that the Gales household maintained a wide network of nonconformist friendships.

Like many at the time the Galeses also saw the French revolution in eschatological terms as the beginning of a golden age of political and religious harmony, though, understandably as Unitarians there was no mention of Christ the biblical “Day-Star”

⁸⁸ “*It was this pamphlet which first led me to examine into the foundation of the doctrine of the Trinity, and to the conviction that the doctrine is unscriptural, and induced me to determine to join the Unitarian Church whenever I should find an opportunity. And this occurred unexpectedly at Sheffield. Very soon after we settled there, I attended several Churches in order to decide on one where myself and family could regularly attend. Amongst others I went to what was called the Upper Presbyterian Church, where I was much pleased to hear an excellent liberal discourse. On enquiry, I found that this Church had become Unitarian, that the Preacher was the Rev. S. Catlow, from Maryfield, an Unitarian and that the regular Ministers of this Church, and one connected with it in the vicinity were Rev. Mr. Evans & the Rev. Mr. Naylor. I therefore engaged a Pew in the Church, which we occupied all the time we resided in Sheffield”, Gales, “Recollections,” 182. Joseph Gales seems to have published various letters from Samuel Catlow of Mansfield concerning philosophy and education. See for example *SR*, Jan. 14, Feb. 4, 1791.

⁸⁹Gales, “Recollections,” 35.

⁹⁰ *Iris*, Aug 4, 1797.

returning and reigning as King. “Men of sound judgment and dispassionate minds, thought they saw in it the religious and political regeneration of 25 Millions of people, and they considered it as the dawn of Universal Peace,” Winifred remembered. “The great body of the people bent their necks slavishly to the yoke, and licked the dust from their oppressors feet; Could the true friends of liberty do less than rejoice at their emancipation from thralldom.”⁹¹ The destruction of the Bastille, “that horrid prison,” and the Revolution were, says Winifred, viewed as signs “that the day-star of Liberty would shine on the darkest corners of the earth.” They were hopeful of a positive global influence from the French revolution, which “gave a new impetus to the hopes of Reform. This event roused the slumbering Genius of Liberty, and the oppressed of all nations hailed it as a harbinger of better days.”⁹² Even Joseph’s enforced exile was seen in semi-religious terms as a ‘Moses’ fleeing a ‘Pharaoh,’ “a wanderer in a strange land. Compelled to leave his Country, by the exercise of that relentless spirit of political intolerance, which had banished so many excellent and gifted Men.”⁹³ For Montgomery, under their influence, political and social reforms and the abolition of slavery were to take a more central place in the 1790s than the gospel of Jesus Christ.

As religious people hymns played an active part in their lives and were of great help and comfort to them especially in times of crisis, as for example en-route to America. “Every fine Evening, ourselves and children, leaning over the quarter-railing sang our Vesper Hymns – one in particular so affecting and appropriate we really missed. It was that beautiful hymn of Addison’s, commencing thus: “How are thy Servants blest, O, Lord!”⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that Winifred quoted Joseph Addison whose play *Cato* a generation earlier was considered a pro-republican text as Pat Rogers points out.⁹⁵ There is a clear continuity here between Montgomery’s later career as an Evangelical hymn writer and his earlier radical Unitarian life with the Galeases. Perhaps it was during this

⁹¹ Gales, “Recollections,” 52.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 54, 52.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁹⁵ Pat Rogers, “Joseph Addison (1672–1719),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed Jan 12, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/156>.

time that his gift as a hymn-writer began to take deeper root and flourish as he was encouraged by them to write political hymns for reform gatherings.

The diary shows that literature was important to Winifred, for central to her writing was her obvious literary interest not only as a consumer but also as a producer. She had been a young woman with literary ambitions who had studied Latin as a child and read Shakespeare, Milton and Adam Smith by the age of fourteen, says Donnelly.⁹⁶ Anonymously she and Joseph had published a novel based upon her family connections to Lord Melbourne, *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe*,⁹⁷ and later she wrote *Matilda Berkely, or, family anecdotes*, which they published in Raleigh in 1804.⁹⁸ Joseph first met the literary Winifred Marshall at his employer's library in Newark,⁹⁹ and I would argue that Winifred was the driving literary force in the marriage and publishing business and not Joseph. He published no known prose or poetry of his own, and it is a tantalising question which anonymous pieces in the *Sheffield Register* were hers. It was Winifred, ten years his senior and a published author, who also encouraged James Montgomery as an author and poet more than Joseph.¹⁰⁰ Certainly, those aspiring to be recognised as part of the "polite world" needed to be readers and to display an informed intellect, as John Barrell writes,¹⁰¹ and Winifred's literary and poetic

⁹⁶ Donnelly, "Joseph Gales."

⁹⁷ See appendix, picture 7.

⁹⁸ "A story of upper-class life in England and Russia. It is the first novel written by a resident of North Carolina," accessed April 13, 2009, <http://www.ncmuseumofhistory.org/nchh/nineteenth.html>.

⁹⁹ "Mr. Tomlinson kept a Circulating Library, to which I sometimes attended, especially in the evening after I had closed the Printing-Office. And it was in this way that my first acquaintance with Miss Winifred Marshall, your dear Mother, commenced. She was a great reader, and frequently came in the evening to return the Volumes she had read, and to obtain others from the library. This afforded me frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with her." Gales, "Recollections," 182.

¹⁰⁰ Holland claims over sixty years later that Winifred wrote "many paragraphs" apparently under the initials "J. M." That she was "a lady of some taste and talent, who rendered her husband efficient assistance in the conduct of the paper, and whose conversations and kindness had no inconsiderable influence in the formation of Montgomery's character at this period", Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:145. This research has been unable to identify any J. M. writing in the *SR*.

¹⁰¹ Barrell, "English Literature," 156.

capabilities are clearly to be seen throughout the “Recollections,” but nowhere better than in these striking lines written in 1831.

Memory is the power to voice in our minds those ideas which have disappeared. Reminiscence is the fruit of ideas thus received. Recollection is the act of combining remembrances, and thus we are enabled to recall the past and either orally, or in writing to communicate our knowledge, and experience to others. To look back with advantage, and forward with pleasure, is the sum and substance of human happiness. Fortunate are those who can do so.¹⁰²

As with her inner debate at the Tontine Inn when questioned by local magistrates (see below), she displayed what might be described as a dramatic sensibility, and although she was a minor novelist and the active helpmeet of a publisher, she might have seen herself as a playwright in other circumstances, not least that of being born a man. For to her the memoirs were more than family history, they were a literary production, with a lyrical underpinning which yielded an independent outlet for her creativity, and were as Linda Peterson says, “a literary manifestation of the doctrine of separate spheres.”¹⁰³ It would be interesting to know what specific part she took in writing and editing the various newspapers, but the evidence is sparse. That she was capable is not in doubt, for Joseph records that during a time of his (near-fatal) illness in America Winifred ran the *Raleigh Register* at the critical moment when their favourite, the Republican candidate, Thomas Jefferson, was running against John Adams for the presidency.¹⁰⁴

The *Sheffield Register* had a “Repository of Genius” for poems,¹⁰⁵ a practice Montgomery continued in the *Iris* while Winifred was still in Sheffield before joining Joseph in Hamburg. It may have been Winifred who influenced Montgomery in his

¹⁰² Gales, “Recollections,” 30.

¹⁰³ Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian*, 19.

¹⁰⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 151.

¹⁰⁵ See appendix, picture 5.

choice of poetry for publication, or in his own compositions as Beutner suggests.¹⁰⁶ She enjoyed poetry and often quoted it to illustrate her own thoughts and experiences, “Pope’s beautiful lines naturally occurs, beginning “Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake /... Friends, parents, neighbour first it will embrace / Our country next, and next all human race.” Note, her consciousness of being middle-class and yet her sympathy with the “lower classes” — “When I recollect how much virtue, benevolence and affection emanates from the lower classes, I readily adopt some beautiful lines of Grattan.”¹⁰⁷ Upon sailing from Hull to Hamburg, and leaving England for ever she poured out her heart in poetry, “On Board the Britania, August 25th 1794: O’er the gay Vessel / ... Experienced Alfred held the chief command / Though stain’d in boisterous elements his mind / Was yet by soft humanity refin’d.... I sat down and wept, for I appeared to have left the civilised world behind me, and had bidden adieu to all that embellishes Society.”¹⁰⁸ Even the dangers of a sea voyage were seen by her in poetic terms, “Fog: In dark suspense, Master & Sailors stand / Nor can determine on the next command / Surrounding evils, still they ponder o’er / A Fog — a Storm and leeward shore.”¹⁰⁹ Winifred’s awe of the creation prompted her to include a quotation from Montgomery’s later poetry in her “Recollections,” an evidence of their continuing friendly contact in later years.

For mighty OCEAN, by whatever name
Known to vain Man, is everywhere the same,
And deems all Regions by his Gulphs embrac’d

¹⁰⁶ “The influence of Joseph Gales, and of his wife, Winifred, who was a novelist and writer of talent, upon young Montgomery has received little attention, probably because Montgomery lived with the family only two years”, Beutner, “Fraternal Feeling,” 38.

¹⁰⁷ When Friendship’s honest vows we breathe,

They need not flow from roseate Bowers;

And when Affection twines the wreath,

No matter where she culls the Flowers! Gales, “Recollections,” 88. Thomas Colley Grattan, Irish journalist and novelist, G. C. Boase, rev. Norman Vance, “Thomas Colley Grattan (1791-1864),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), accessed Sep 24, 2011, doi:10.1093/ref.odnb/11304.

¹⁰⁸ Gales, “Recollections,” 98.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 100.

But vassal tenures of his Sovereign waste.¹¹⁰

When she sailed to America, Winifred, wrote Nona Fleming took a library with her, “that ranked almost first in this country in regard to size and value. This library was divided with other valuable family relics, after the death of Mrs. Gales, among what was left of the twelve children and the nine orphan grand children whom they reared.”¹¹¹

Montgomery, a young man with ambitions to be a poet himself had then in 1792 entered a circle in which poetry sacred and profane were greatly appreciated. For the twenty year old, this would have been a real encouragement as he had already tried unsuccessfully to launch a career as a poet in London with Harrison of Paternoster Row.¹¹² This was a defining moment in establishing Montgomery’s literary career in gaining the confidence to again see himself as a poet.

The “Recollections” also reveal the Gales/Montgomery circle as part of a loose-knit international group of pro-reformers who took a close interest not just in local calls for reform but in the national reform movement and who were sympathetic towards the efforts of reformers like Thomas Hardy, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald. There is a clear strain of egalitarianism in their attitude and behaviour and a real sense of being, not just sympathetic reporters, but also active participants in the movement for the establishment of the rights of man. Yet there is still a condescending distance in their own minds between themselves and the lower orders, so

¹¹⁰ James Montgomery, *Greenland, A Poem in Five Cantos* (London: 1819), Canto II, in Gales, “Recollections,” 132.

¹¹¹ From a typewritten manuscript in the Gales-Seaton papers, 2652, University of North Carolina, Southern Collection, Chapel Hill, undated and unsigned. Notes on the document indicate Nona Bond “Gales” Fleming, (“Of late years I have been calling myself Nona Gales Fleming instead of Nona Bond Fleming”) wife of a Canadian shoe merchant, as the author which would suggest a date of 1941 in her 86th year. Caution must be exercised however with this document for when compared to original manuscript sources such as the Gales, “Recollections,” Nona Fleming does not seem to be a wholly reliable source. There are some obvious discrepancies, for example, saying that Winifred sailed separately from Joseph to America.

¹¹² Harrison of Paternoster Row was a Publisher who regularly advertised in the *Sheffield Register*, e.g. *SR*, July 29, 1791, for the “Lady’s Poetical Magazine.”

symptomatic of the emerging middle class as Cannadine says.¹¹³ It was a superior and removed stance akin to the view the Girondins held of the sans-culottes in Paris, who wanted constitutional change but also to maintain their comfortable privileges. “A great number of persons, of more humble pretensions ... lent their aid, by speaking, writing, and printing, to restore their Brethren, to those equal rights which Heaven had bestowed, and earthly Power so unmercifully abridged,” wrote Winifred.¹¹⁴ She and Joseph were, however, saddened by the harshness of the Government’s treatment of plebeian reformers following the meetings of the “Scotch Convention” at Edinburgh, which included, “Matthew Campbell Brown, a man of talents and erudition,” who went as representative of the reform societies in and around Sheffield.¹¹⁵ They were alarmed by the suspension of Habeas Corpus, the arrests of Horne Tooke, Thelwall and Hardy, and were appalled at the ill-treatment of innocent Scotsmen, Thomas Muir and Thomas Fyshe Palmer, who were confined in Newgate Prison, and then transported to the colonies without their families for terms of 14 years. Winifred, Ann Gales and Montgomery she says, often discussed with foreboding the trend of these events and were fearful that the arrests in Scotland and London would be repeated in Sheffield.

Joseph and Winifred were in clear sympathy with these agitators and thought parliamentary representation grossly unfair especially in the new manufacturing centres.

Yorkshire and Lancashire, and Warwickshire are particularly aggrieved. Of the first County, neither the East nor North-Riding send Representatives. In Sheffield, nor Leeds, nor Wakefield the population of which at this period is probably 300,000 persons. Manchester in the second County named, nor Birmingham in the last, have either of them a Representative with a still larger population. A few facts will suffice to show the inequality of Representation in the Councils of the Nation.

¹¹³ Cannadine, *Class*, 32.

¹¹⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 36.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 56. Brown was in the chair of ‘The British Convention of the Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments’ when Edinburgh magistrates arrived to dissolve it on December 5, 1793. He insisted they pull him from the chair, which they duly obliged. Margarot and Gerrald did the same the following day. He also chaired the final protest meeting against the ‘gagging acts’ of the LCS on December 7, 1795.

The Treasury and 71 Peers return by nominations and influence	170 Members
By nominations and influence, 91 Commoners return	139 Members
Making in the whole	309
Whole number of Members in the Commons	558

And these Members are returned by 41,000 Votes. Westminster, with a population of 600,000 returns but 2 Members. Old Sarum, where there is but one House, also returns 2 Members. You will see, by this brief and imperfect statement, what cause the people of England have to complain, of the defect in the Representative System.¹¹⁶

Winifred, perhaps under the influence of Paine's writings, wrote that movements for male suffrage and annual parliaments were historically undermined by kings and governments. "Sir George Lavelle said in Debate that "the House might as well call itself a Representation of France as of England,"" even though, "The House of Commons was originally intended to be the people's defence, against aristocratic dominion, and regal despotism."¹¹⁷ Years later, she was still as interested in the rights of men in Britain as of those in the American states. William Pitt, who had tabled a parliamentary reform bill in 1782 when in opposition, had betrayed the common people, she said, and "made his professed patriotism a stepping stone to the highest round of the political ladder." He then voted against those same reforms and was quite willing to exile men who complained. Writing nearly forty years later she was more encouraged about the prospects of the British representative system. She praised the Duke of Wellington for his "Catholic Emancipation Bill" and the "Bill for the Repeal of the Test Laws!", and was hopeful that the Whig Ministry of Lord Grey, their old sponsor for the posting of the *Sheffield Register*, would bring in "Parliamentary Reform."¹¹⁸

As reform sympathisers, they suffered political oppression, she says, for printing and selling what were termed "dangerous Books," yet they knew their publishing activities

¹¹⁶ Gales, "Recollections," 49.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 52.

would set them at variance with government, but they saw it as a matter of conscience. They must promote freedom of thought as well as speech, and were determined to champion the parliamentary rights of the people even if they were labelled as rebels and revolutionaries, “disorganizers.”¹¹⁹ Winifred suggested that she and Joseph were nevertheless neutral thinkers whose political opinions were balanced and fair, though pro-reform. That on the contrary, it was the anti-reformers who were unbalanced.

The People agitated, and alarmed, saw only Tyranny and Oppression on one hand, and Reform on the other — the Rulers would see nothing but rebellion, and Revolutions! To men capable of thinking neutrality of opinion it was impossible, and if their thoughts ever passed into speech, or became visible on paper, they were ranked either as royalists or disorganizers, for the Government Party ranked all in the other class who presumed to advocate the rights of the people.¹²⁰

Thus, for the Galeses to align themselves with the artisan reformers they ran the risk of being viewed as part of an international revolutionary movement. *The Times*, for example, urged loyalists to distinguish themselves from, “The Weavers of Manchester, the Buckle-makers of Birmingham, the Dagger Forgers of Sheffield, or the new-made Republicans of France.”¹²¹ It also dismissed the claims of “Jacobin Prints” that this was not their ambition, by pointing to the interaction between the reform societies and the Jacobin Clubs in Paris, and their dispersal of books and pamphlets, “inciting the People of this Country to overturn the present system of Government, and establish a mob democracy.”¹²² No matter what they said the plebeian reformers, their Constitutional societies and their publishers like Gales were in the eyes of ministerial prints no better than thieves and bloodthirsty republicans. “There is a club formed in a cellar in Dyot-street, St. Giles’s, called the JACOBINS CLUB ... They are neither more nor less than a set of *house breakers*, who when in full assembly at night, wear *red caps*.”¹²³

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 34.

¹²¹ Editorial, *The Times*, Dec 13, 1792, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ *The Times*, Mar. 28, 1793, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>.

As Arthur Aspinall says, the Pitt Government was successful in controlling the political content of many newspapers with financial inducements to those editors who would exercise self-censorship and agree to print pro-government material supplied to them.¹²⁴ Gales was, however, one who would not yield to such bribes from ‘Judas’ Pitt, “Who with proud words of dear-lov’d Freedom came — / More blasting than the mildew from the South! / And kiss’d his country with Iscariot’s mouth,” as Coleridge portrayed him.¹²⁵ It was ironic, says Hugh Gough, that Robespierre in 1793-94, in a mirror image of Pitt’s censorship of reformist newspapers in Britain, violently suppressed moderate press voices in France.¹²⁶ Joseph Gales, republican newspaperman publisher, would then have been equally unwelcome in both countries — one for being too moderate, the other for being too radical.

By the summer of 1794 the United States had become the best and perhaps the only place for the Galeses to function safely. They were, said Winifred, warned by an American friend “Mr. Digges,”¹²⁷ of the dangers of prosecution for vending Paine’s works and urged to consider America as a potential home.¹²⁸ They heard of the arrests of various printers and publishers who were “Patriots” and friends of theirs, like Falkner and Birch of Manchester, and Holt of Newark, prosecuted at the behest of the local

¹²⁴ Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press c. 1780-1850* (London: Home and Van Thal, 1949), 353.

¹²⁵ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “Sonnet on Eminent Characters: 6. Pitt,” in *The Complete Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. William Keach (1997 repr.; London: Penguin, 2004), 71.

¹²⁶ Hugh Gough, “Robespierre and the press”, in *Robespierre*, eds. Colin Haydon, and William Doyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 123-125.

¹²⁷ They met again much later in Washington and Winifred left a poem of thanks on the dressing table on her departure, celebrating the Potomac river and a closing greeting to her old friend. “Perhaps no more to see my early friend, / No more his hospitable smile to meet, / Where true politeness and kind friendship blend, / The ever-welcome, grateful guest to greet”, in Clark, “Joseph Gales Junior,” 120.

¹²⁸ America seems to have been uppermost in the mind of Joseph Gales at this time with the following advert — “America. ... Number 1. ... A Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical view of the present situation of the United States of America. ... by the Rev. W. Winterbotham, late assistant preacher at Howe Lane Chapel, Plymouth. Printed for and sold by the Editor: H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row; J. Ridgway, York Street, St. James” Square, London, and D. Holt, Newark” (advert: *SR*, final two issues 368 and 369: June 20 and June 27, 1794).

loyalist and Volunteer associations, says Austin Mitchell.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, Austin Gee argues that the Reeves Associations did not see themselves as an active political force, but only as acting out of a general sense of loyalty to the crown.¹³⁰ They were only ever a private initiative, says Linda Colley, because Government did not want to encourage political awareness in the lower ranks, or even a strong national identity. The cult of monarchy was the nearest thing to popular nationalism that the elite would accept.¹³¹ Winifred said they were not afraid at the time, as their opinion was that if the authorities attempted to silence the *Register* by arresting its owner then the local workers would have risen up “en-masse” to defend him. This she believed was borne out by the fact that they had previously printed and published Paine’s works for the SSCI without interference. She was wrong, the protection although real was unable to protect Joseph from prosecution when the time came, but was nevertheless reassuring to Winifred and the children before their emigration.

With the imprisonment of Thomas Hardy in London it was becoming clear that drastic action was called for; Joseph must either “return and risk the tender mercies of a packed jury, and prejudiced judges,” or flee the country.¹³² Montgomery, in particular, counselled that Joseph should leave and go via Harwich and Holland to Hamburg where émigrés from both France and Britain were gathered out of harm’s way from both sides. There he could await the result of the trial and if necessary continue to America. They expected Yorke, when arrested, to be convicted and executed as a warning to the people of Sheffield, but “The warning proved to be that of becoming a “turncoat,” for during his imprisonment “he turned the Cat in the Pan” and was violently opposed to a Reform!”¹³³ Montgomery took Winifred riding pillion on horseback secretly to see

¹²⁹ Austin Mitchell, “The Association Movement of 1892-3,” *Historical Journal* 4, no.1, 67-68, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020381>.

¹³⁰ Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 264.

¹³¹ Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 106-9.

¹³² Gales, “Recollections,” 65.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 79, Yorke was bitter that none of his former reform friends would stand his bail when awaiting trial at York castle prison in 1794-95, which may partly explain his disaffection and change of sides. “There was not *one man* found in this famous town of Sheffield who would step forwards in support of

Joseph at Newhill before their separation not knowing if they would ever be reunited.¹³⁴ On returning home that evening the pregnant Winifred collapsed under the strain and it was Montgomery who supported her in her distress. Joseph left Wath via Eckington to see his parents, and then carried on to Newark to visit his mother in law (his father in law was with Winifred), and then to London to stay with Wright in Piccadilly. Here Montgomery visited him with a £500 loan from William Shore a Sheffield Banker — a not uncommon practice says Julie Macdonald. Local merchants like Shore, Broadbent, Roebuck, and attorneys Wheat, Dawson and Banks were well accustomed to loaning money, especially to master cutlers intending to increase production and trade, and in many cases, these became employers of casual labour. This led to price-wars and poverty during economic downturns and a resented class of ‘merchant capitalists’ within the ruling Cutlers’ Company, who controlled raw materials and finished goods, which made it much more difficult for journeymen to become masters themselves.¹³⁵ Montgomery had no qualms in helping his employer avoid arrest for seditious activities, though he too could have left this dangerous situation but remained.

Looking back at this critical moment Winifred revealed her frustration with the prevailing attitude in English society to educated and able women. She saw herself as well qualified to maintain the printing and publishing business in Joseph’s absence, despite being pregnant and having a young family to care for. What annoyed her most was the response of their creditors who could not believe that a mere woman would cope with the complexities of business, especially one that was in difficulties. Montgomery had gone to London to negotiate with the main creditors but was unable to prevent them from instigating bankruptcy proceedings, much to Winifred’s disgust — “I chid poor Montgomery for agreeing to it.”¹³⁶ She felt that if he had only paid the thirty guineas for the Bankruptcy Docket then bankruptcy could have been avoided. Montgomery the younger man was no match for this forceful and capable older woman.

their supposed seditious champion ... but they all “*shunk scowling back to the cave of Obscurity,*”” Henry Yorke, *The Trial of Henry Yorke, For a Conspiracy, &c.* (York, 1795), xxi.

¹³⁴ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:199. Fearn, “Henry Yorke,” 190, suggests that Richard Davison was also hiding there at this time but offers no supporting evidence.

¹³⁵ Macdonald, “Freedom of Election,” 39-45, 73.

¹³⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 76.

Despite her letter to the main creditors, Robinsons the Booksellers, they said, “that as I was a woman I could not possibly settle our complicated and extensive concerns.”¹³⁷

Equality for women was integral to Winifred’s psychology. She readily identified herself with radical female figures like “the virtuous, enlightened Madame Roland,” but, though not as feminist as Wollstonecraft, yet her egalitarian view of men and women lies open on the surface of the diary. In it, she treated men as her equal, and at times, like Roland, by dint of her feminine wisdom and guile proved them her inferiors. So for example, her clever manipulation of the privateer’s Captain and crew to gain the freedom of their transatlantic ship. Like Roland, she too, was able to quell a hostile mob intent on invading the family home.¹³⁸ Similarly, she opened her home as a centre for political visitors and a place for reform discussions and planning, and in so doing gained a voice in events. Roland used her home in Paris to host political soirées four nights a week for the Jacobins (men only) whilst sitting quietly in the background listening and afterwards giving her opinions to her husband, and was thus rightly accused of exerting direct influence on French politics for which she was guillotined in November 1794. Fortunately, for Winifred, Joseph was never in a revolutionary Government. At the time of their bankruptcy, however, her female force and guile were of no avail, for their creditors were unwilling to allow Winifred, to continue the business, which was a common response say Davidoff and Hall.¹³⁹ They were willing, however, to appoint Montgomery as an official “Messenger,” and for Winifred to wind-up the business by appointing Assignees of her own choosing — William Shore, John Payne, and George Robinson. Their association with the national reform network surfaced in the legal niceties of the bankruptcy, which were organised in London by Felix Vaughan, “a sturdy Friend of Liberty,”¹⁴⁰ a radical barrister and assistant to the famous lawyer Thomas Erskine (Whig MP for Portsmouth, later first Baron Erskine and Lord Chancellor). Erskine had successfully represented the reformer Thomas Walker of

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Madame Roland, *The Memoirs of Madame Roland: A Heroine of the French Revolution*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh (Rhode Island: Moyer Bell, 1986), 68-69.

¹³⁹ “Even in those cases where women had a direct financial stake in the family enterprise, their legal status prevented them from active partnership,” Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 277.

¹⁴⁰ Knight, *Strange Case*, 151.

Manchester,¹⁴¹ as he would Hardy, Thelwall, Horne Tooke and others at the London treason trials in late 1794. When Montgomery was tried at Doncaster in January 1795 for seditious libel against the Constitution, it was to Vaughan that he naturally turned. Before returning to Sheffield, Montgomery made sure that he visited one of their radical contacts, “the high minded, virtuous” Joseph Gerrald, who was still in Newgate prison.¹⁴² Another confirmation of their direct involvement with the network of national radical figures, and proof that they were more than mere reporters of reform. This is underlined in David Alexander’s work on the political prints of Richard Newton, especially the *Promenade in the State Side of Newgate, 5 October 1793*, which showed a group portrait of imprisoned radicals including Joseph Gerrald, Horne Tooke, Charles Pigott, Count Zenobia; and printers well known to Gales and Montgomery, Symonds, Eaton and Ridgway, who were used by Yorke and advertised in the *SR*. Indeed, Gales and Montgomery used Symonds to publish Montgomery’s *The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan* the same month as Newton’s work. Visitors were allowed access to political prisoners, but not felons, and Montgomery in visiting Gerrald must have met some of these other featured radicals. Interestingly, Newton who, like the Galeses and Montgomery, was an admirer of Peter Pindar included him as a visitor in the print.¹⁴³

Winifred, always keen to justify their earlier political activities to her family, recalled in 1825, that Montgomery, by now a famous poet on both sides of the Atlantic, in his retirement dinner speech printed in the *Iris* still had a reformer’s heart and a high view of reformers like Joseph. He cited him as a virtuous supporter of political reform but also a loyalist, whose behaviour was a model for all political activists to follow.

With all the enthusiasm of youth, I entered into the feelings of those who called themselves the friends of freedom, justice, and humanity. Those with whom I was immediately connected verily were such; and had all the Reformers of that era, been generous, upright, and disinterested, like the noble-minded Editor of the Sheffield

¹⁴¹ His bequest of a small farm to Thomas Walker kept the Manchester reformer from destitution following his sedition trial and consequent business failure.

¹⁴² Gales, “Recollections,” 77.

¹⁴³ David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998): 36-37, plate 16.

Register as this paper was then called the cause of which they espoused would never have been disgraced, and might have prevailed even at that time, since there could have been nothing to fear, from the patriotic measures supported by patriotic men.¹⁴⁴

It is significant that Montgomery viewed the *Iris* as the continuation of the *Register*, and that thirty years later he saw himself and the Galeases as moderates whose persecution by the authorities for their publishing in the 1790s was an overreaction caused by fear of more radical elements than from any real threat they posed. This too reads like historical redaction. Government pressure continued during their last days in Sheffield in the Summer of 1794, and they were targeted by government for closure by purchase, a common practice says Jeremy Black,¹⁴⁵ and as Julie Mori points out, a tacit admission by government that it only ruled by consent.¹⁴⁶ William Lane, owner of the *Minerva Press* in London,¹⁴⁷ and a Government agent called unannounced and offered to buy the *Register* — “in order to suppress so popular a vehicle for free discussion,” said Winifred. Jokingly, she asked Lane if he would pay five thousand pounds, as she would not allow the paper to be suppressed for less.¹⁴⁸ He laughed and said he would call on his way back from business further north, but did not return.

Whether there was a threat of revolution in the 1790s is uncertain, but the Pitt government responded as if there was. They spent about £5000 a year on press subsidies, and helped to fund the launches of the alarmist *London Sun* and the *True Briton* in 1792-93, says Boyd Hilton.¹⁴⁹ In the meantime, Winifred sold the *Register* to a local Unitarian preacher, Mr. Naylor, for five hundred pounds on behalf of

¹⁴⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 78.

¹⁴⁵ Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, 157.

¹⁴⁶ Mori, “Languages of Loyalism,” 34.

¹⁴⁷ William Lane dominated the English market for publishing female written romantic novels in the late eighteenth century, making a large fortune in the process. He also organised a system of circulating libraries, was editor of the pro-government *London Star and Evening Advertiser*, and Captain of the West London regiment. Alison Shell, rev. Clare L. Taylor, “William Lane,” (1745/6-1814),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), accessed Sep 24, 2011, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/37648.

¹⁴⁸ “Your dear Father always insisted that there should be no sacrifice of principle, for pecuniary advantage,” Gales, “Recollections,” 92.

¹⁴⁹ Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 65.

Montgomery, who without a break relaunched it the following week, July 4, as *The Iris*. “I had now sold the Register and having placed it in hands where its first principles would be sustained, I turned my thoughts anxiously to Germany, for there a dear Exile was expecting me.”¹⁵⁰ She left England happy in the knowledge that their young friend would carry on the work of providing a voice for the artisans, and that the “first principles” of the Sheffield campaign for parliamentary reform were in safe hands, and would be “sustained.” Winifred and the children (against Montgomery’s advice) sailed from Hull for Hamburg to join Joseph en-route to America, for France was no longer a place for moderate British or French reformers.

Whilst waiting for a ship during 1794-95 Joseph and Winifred were much helped by another in the international reform network, the American radical poet, writer and politician Joel Barlow, a friend of Thomas Paine.¹⁵¹ Barlow was well known in European radical circles and was a member of the LCS, to which Joseph and others in the Sheffield sister organisation, had been elected as associate members in 1792.¹⁵² He had helped Paine publish part one of *The Age of Reason* (a strongly anti-Christian text) whilst Paine was in prison during the Terror. As Kenneth Ball points out, Barlow was the radical to whom Jefferson entrusted the completion of his translation of Volney’s *Ruins*,¹⁵³ just as extreme as Paine, in which all religions were said to be equal and to have derived their origin from Egyptian astrology.¹⁵⁴ Barlow and his wife, who were childless, offered to look after young Sarah to help ease the burden on Winifred for the Atlantic crossing. They would, they said, take her to France for a year and then “give her again into your arms in America.”¹⁵⁵ They refused this offer and were pleased that

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 93.

¹⁵¹ Joel Barlow (1754-1812), radical republican author, friend of Thomas Paine, Henry Yorke and the Gales. A citizen of France, American consul to Algiers, then plenipotentiary to France. He died in Poland in 1812 en-route to negotiate a commercial treaty with Napoleon.

¹⁵² Gales posted a notice of Barlow’s “the author of ‘Advice to Privileged Orders’ election to the French Convention,” in the *SR*, Jan. 11, 1793.

¹⁵³ C. F. Volney, *The Ruins or A Survey of the Revolutions of Empires* (Paris, 1793). See *Iris*, Oct 2, 1796 for an “Anecdote on Volney.”

¹⁵⁴ Kenneth R. Ball, “Joel Barlow’s “Canal” and Natural Religion,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2, no. 3 (Spring, 1969): 225-6, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2737688>.

¹⁵⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 113.

they did so for Barlow was subsequently appointed American Consul to Algiers and did not visit America again for another thirteen years. This is further evidence of their place within the international radical reform/republican movement, and confirmation that they were not the obscure figures they have since become in the history of those times.

The neighbouring towns of Altona and Hamburg were at this period a safe haven for political refugees from France and Britain, and there the Galeases met many royalists as well as reformers and republicans. Some like Barlow, and the Venetian republican, “Citizen (ci-devant) Count Zenobio,”¹⁵⁶ a friend of Horne Tooke and a political radical,¹⁵⁷ they already knew. “He wrote some spirited political pamphlets on the patriotic side of the question, and being then at Buxton, he used to ride over to Sheffield to have them printed.”¹⁵⁸ Count Alvise Zenobio was a prominent member of the Society for Constitutional Information and in constant attendance at the trial of Thomas Hardy, says Michael Davis,¹⁵⁹ and although drawn to English parliamentary reform was horrified by the anarchy the revolution had unleashed in France. He saw an English form of government, with its in-built class system, as their best hope. For, “if the shoemaker, the cobbler, the collier, the miner, the street-beggar, &c. is made legislator and judge, — then we must expect nothing but confusion, anarchy, and all kinds of madness — witness France.”¹⁶⁰ He bemoaned France’s lack of a property qualification

¹⁵⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 117.

¹⁵⁷ Graham, *The Nation*, I. 323, n. 95. He was a political radical, prince of Venice, and Austria, who later attended the funeral of Dr. Johnson, James Boswell, *Johnsoniana; or, supplement to Boswell: being anecdotes and sayings of Dr. Johnson* (London: J. Murray, 1836), 179-181, accessed July 20, 2008. <http://www.archive.org/details/johnsoniananaorsuptoboswich>. Zenobio(a) died in London in 1818, and was buried in Henley on Thames parish church.

¹⁵⁸ Count Alvise Zenobio, *An Address to the People of England, on the Part their Government ought to act, in the Present War between the combined Armies of Austria and Prussia, and the armed Mob of France* (Sheffield: J. Gales, 1792).

¹⁵⁹ Michael T. Davis, “John Horne Tooke (1736–1812),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), accessed September 8, 2009, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/27545. *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the earliest period to the year 1783, ... and continued from the year 1783 to the present time ...* Vol. 24.... A.D. 1794, ed. T. C. Hansard (London: T. C. Hansard, 1818): 539, 547, 554, 558, 559, 876, accessed December 3, 2010, <http://www.books.google.co.uk>.

¹⁶⁰ Zenobio, *An Address*, 10.

for public office as tending to democratic tumult and pointed out that even the Americans had a ruling ‘aristocratic’ elite, and predicted that the inevitable outcome would be despotism.¹⁶¹ The British should intervene to separate the two warring parties and offer the French the opportunity to institute an English form of government, encouraged, he hoped, by General La Fayette, and with the threat of aggression should they refuse to see sense.¹⁶² The Galeses, who printed the work for him in September 1792, may have had some sympathy with his views. He also claimed to have resigned his membership of a Jacobinical society for fear that their reform agenda might lead to bloody revolution in England, and called upon others to follow his example. “Let them therefore leave associations which can bring nothing but a *defeat*, or a ruinous *victory*.... Let them form associations totally unconnected with the mad levellers of France, and for the single and specific purpose of a reform in Parliament.”¹⁶³ He called for a new middle way between the extremes of Burke and Paine, like that outlined by Dr. Samuel Parr, “the Jacobinical Parson.”¹⁶⁴ Eventually, “Count Zenobia was sent from England under the Alien and Sedition Laws, his liberal political sentiments rendering him obnoxious to the ruling Powers,” records Winifred.¹⁶⁵ In 1800, from his refuge in Buonaparte France he wrote to Charles Fox and his circle calling them to influence parliament to seek peace not a counter-revolution to reinstate a Bourbon monarchy.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 12-14.

¹⁶² Ibid., 17-19.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 22.

¹⁶⁴ Leonard W. Cowie, “Samuel Parr (1747-1825),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), accessed December 6, 2010, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/21402; Dr. Samuel Parr, *A Letter from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleutheropolis; or, a Serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham, by a Member of the Established Church* (Birmingham: John Thompson, 1792).

¹⁶⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 118; see also, Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:139, where he is described by Holland as one who “intermeddled, as a liberal partisan, with the politics of the day,” and was remembered by Montgomery as “a smart little personage, with a Napoleon nose.”

¹⁶⁶ Count Zenobio, *A Letter to the Honourable Charles James Fox, and the other Members of the Opposition; on the Present State of Europe, the Restoration of the House of Bourbon; and a Peace with the French Republic, Translated from the French* (London: J. Ridgway, 1800), 6. He also mentions his preference for a ‘confederation’ of states in America (and Italy) rather than a more centralised government, *ibid.*, 22. A view the Galeses held in their support of Thomas Jefferson in the United States, which perhaps they had discussed with Zenobio in Sheffield, or Altona-Hamburg.

He dined with William Godwin and others on four known occasions between 1789 and 1794,¹⁶⁷ and in 1801, he translated David Hume's *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth* into Italian, which he dedicated to the people of the Cisalpine Republic.¹⁶⁸ He was a well-known figure in London society at his death wrote John Nicholls.¹⁶⁹

Rather than just being obscure provincial publishers it is clear that the Galeses and Montgomery were part of an informal network of reform minded, even republican, people reaching far beyond Britain to Europe and America. In her Sheffield contact with Zenobio, we see Winifred's open salon approach, so similar to Madame Roland's. "It did not always happen that the proofs were ready, and in the interval he passed his time with me then an invalid, and sitting in the Drawing Room. He was a new character to me, and quite amusing, for he had been some years Envoy from Venice to England, and remained there many years after his Embassy ceased."¹⁷⁰ Their role in publishing and close association with the Constitutional Societies was clearly instrumental in their admission into this circle. For example, one day Zenobia brought General Henri Jacques Guillame Clarke, a French politician of Irish descent who was later to be a Marshall of France, 1st Comte d'Hunebourg, and 1st Duc de Feltre, Governor of Vienna, Erfurt and Berlin. Winifred mentions a mixture of other notable émigrés associated with Altona-Hamburg during their stay there such as the famous General Dumouriez;¹⁷¹ "M.

¹⁶⁷ "Count Alvisé Zenobio: Meals and Meetings with Godwin - 4 November 1789; 22 December 1789; 24 March 1793; 27 August 1794; 12 September 1794," in *The Diary of William Godwin*, eds. Victoria Myers, David O'Shaughnessy, and Mark Philp (Oxford: Oxford Digital Library, 2010), accessed December 3, 2010, <http://www.godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

¹⁶⁸ David Hume, *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth*, translated into Italian by Count Alvisé Zenobio (National Library of Scotland, *Rare Books – Important Acquisitions*, accessed December 3, 2010), accessed Dec 12, 2010, <http://www.nls.uk/collections/rarebooks/acquisitions.index>.

¹⁶⁹ "The political bias of the Count is well known. As a man of fashion and gallantry he took the lead at Versailles, when under the antient *regime*; at Baxter's Club, about the year 1790, he usually risked 5000l. every night," John Nicholls, "Obituary; with Anecdotes of remarkable Persons," *Gentleman's Magazine* 123 (1818), 88, accessed December 3, 2010, <http://www.books.google.co.uk>.

¹⁷⁰ Gales, "Recollections," 118.

¹⁷¹ Madame Roland: "Deeply to be mistrusted ... a highly intelligent roué and buccaneer," in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1: 60.

Mercier, once Editor of that popular paper the Paris Moniteur,”¹⁷² and, “amongst others Mr Dutton,¹⁷³ who was proscribed in England as the Author of Essays ... and for whom a reward was offered for his apprehension.”¹⁷⁴ As they were in contact with so many political refugees, they learnt much about events in France from eyewitnesses like a Monsieur Grant, “Many were the anecdotes of Revolutionary cruelty and suffering which he detailed to us.”¹⁷⁵ From such sources they gained detailed information about the terrible fate of the Girondins, the French party so close to their own approach. “Few persons of rational minds, whatever their political bias might be, but execrated the Monsters who decreed the death of the Gironde Deputies. They formed a Galaxy of brilliant names, which can never be blotted from the Annals of France.”¹⁷⁶

This time of waiting in Altona-Hamburg (they named the daughter born there Altona) must have contributed greatly to their disenchantment with the direction which the French Revolution was now taking, and perhaps caused them to send such disquieting news back to Montgomery and Joseph’s sisters in Sheffield. They became more than ever convinced, like Godwin, of the importance of slow and cautious reform rather than sudden revolution, recognising that the lower classes must be carefully prepared by education in the truth and by “culture” before being given responsibility for political interaction.¹⁷⁷ Sadly, she wrote.

Alas! for the French Nation, who to escape from the Scylla of Despotism, were

¹⁷² Gales, “Recollections,” 118.

¹⁷³ Possibly the Thomas Dutton who wrote, *A vindication of The age of reason, by Thomas Paine: being an answer to the strictures of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield and Dr. Priestley... By Thomas Dutton*, (London, 1795), accessed July 8, 2010, <http://www.galenet.galegroup.com>,
Gale Document Number: W3322539576.

¹⁷⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 118.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁷⁷ “Godwin, in his Political Justice, speaking of the extreme folly of punishing men on account of their opinions, thus writes: “Does any man assert a falsehood? Nothing farther can be desired than that it should be confronted with truth,” Joseph Gales in the *Sheffield* editorial, *SR*, Jan. 17, 1794. Again: (“says the enlightened Godwin) ... Persecution cannot persuade the understanding, even when it subdues our resolution. It may make us hypocrites; but cannot make us converts,” in the *SR*, Jan. 24, 1794.

ingulphed in the Charybdis of Anarchy — Carnage, desolation, and death, were the bitter fruits of forcing the growth of Liberty, before the human soil was prepared for the experiment by previous culture. In commiserating the Royalists, it cannot be overlooked that so many real friends of liberty perished in her cause.¹⁷⁸

In conclusion we can see that the “Recollections” of Winifred Gales are an important addition to our understanding not only of local political events in Sheffield at the period, but that they also provide valuable first-hand insight into the loose-knit national and international network of literary thinkers, publishers and middle-class business people supporting the reform movement in Britain, France and America at that time. It is surprising that Winifred did not use the diary to detail current political events in America to the same degree. For example, it says little if anything about Joseph’s strenuous efforts to promote Thomas Jefferson’s campaign for the presidency in 1799-1800. Perhaps they thought events in Britain during the 1790s were of more interest than the day-to-day life of American politics. In addition, the “Recollections” is important for its inadvertent contribution to a feminist understanding of the period’s public events and milieu. It is also the contention here that the “Recollections” shows that in April 1792 James Montgomery knowingly entered this radical national network of activists for parliamentary reform when he applied for the position of clerk with Joseph Gales at the *Sheffield Register*. If he did not know it from reading it whilst at Wath (or in London earlier¹⁷⁹) then he must have quickly become aware of their political sympathies on his relocation to Sheffield. It is much more likely that he did know, and was happy to be a part of their radical reform publishing activities. Nearly two years previously, in August 1790, he had visited the iron bridge, which “the notorious Thomas Paine” had designed at nearby Masborough before its removal to London, but he denied that he or the Galeses had ever met Paine.¹⁸⁰ This was just before

¹⁷⁸ Gales, “Recollections,” 117.

¹⁷⁹ *London World*, Nov. 28, 1787; Issue 273. Advert: “Morning and Evening News-Papers. Kirkman and Oney, Booksellers and Stationers, No. 79, Fleet-Street ... Advertisements, &c. taken in for the following Country News-Papers ... *Sheffield Register*,” accessed Sep 19, 2010, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: Z2001500402.

¹⁸⁰ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:79; 1:156n.

Montgomery's removal to London where he sought unsuccessfully to sell his poetry during his stay from August 1790 to March 1791. Whilst there he witnessed the fire at the 'dark Satanic' Albion Flour Mills near Blackfriars Bridge in February 1791.¹⁸¹ Thomas Paine was also in London at the Angel Inn, Islington, writing the Preface for the *Rights of Man*, which was to be published on February 22, but which was delayed until March 13. Printed by Joseph Johnson, Montgomery's later publisher, but for fear of prosecution, says John Keane, hastily published by J. S. Jordan instead (price three shillings).¹⁸² Gales was approvingly quoting it within four weeks of its publication — "wars were raised to carry taxes"¹⁸³ — and selling a cheap six pence edition by the time Montgomery came to live and work for him a year later. It is pertinent to ask whether Montgomery was aware of the publication of "the demon's book," as Horace Walpole called it,¹⁸⁴ whilst living in Paternoster Row very close to Johnson's print shop at St Paul's churchyard, and only a few streets from Jordan's premises in Fleet Street. It is historically possible, therefore, that the nineteen-year-old Montgomery could have witnessed the frantic carting of the manuscript from Johnson's print shop to Jordan's premises by Paine and his friends that March day. He was certainly close enough to do so, living with Harrison a printer in Johnson's circle.¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to accept with his biographers that Montgomery was an innocent just new from the Moravian school and not worldly-wise enough to know about radical politics. For here he was, living close by as one of the most radical books of the eighteenth-century was being published.

¹⁸¹ The steam powered Albion Flour Mills built in 1784, near Blackfriars Bridge, were London's first great factory. They became a symbol of the industrial revolution, bringing in cheap labour, which lived in slums, and putting local millers out of work. When it burned down in February 1791, it was said to be the work of arsonists. William Blake, who lived locally, is thought to have used its charred remains — "these dark Satanic mills" — as an image critical of industrialisation in his poem "Jerusalem," South Bank Employers' Group, "Walk This Way," accessed Sep 19, 2011, <http://www.southbanklondon.com/walkthisway/BuildingDetails.php>.

¹⁸² John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life*, pb. edn. (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 305.

¹⁸³ *SR*, April 8, 1791.

¹⁸⁴ Horace Walpole to Hannah More, "Walpole's Correspondence," vol. 31, p. 373, in Angela Keane, *Women Writers*, 136.

¹⁸⁵ It is said that he met Disraeli who visited Harrison's shop. Obituary of James Montgomery in *The Times*, Sep 18, 1855, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>.

Moreover, this was a year before he arrived in Sheffield to work on one of the most radical regional newspapers, the *Sheffield Register*, which was reprinting it for mass distribution. In her diary, Winifred Gales placed Montgomery firmly with them at the centre of political disturbance in Sheffield, and in direct personal contact with London reformers like Joseph Gerald, Thomas Hardy and Felix Vaughan.¹⁸⁶ What specific contact he had with other reformers in London during his earlier stay in 1790-91 is still unknown, but during the rest of 1791 in the village shop at Wath on Dearne he kept abreast of current events through his reading of newspapers, which in his case would certainly have meant the *Sheffield Register*. Then there were his conversations with Mr. Brameld the stationer at Swinton and others whilst collecting the accounts of his current employer the shopkeeper Joshua Hunt. It is no surprise, therefore, that when on his rounds near Barnsley in March 1792 he saw the advertisement in the *Sheffield Register* for “A Clerk,” he immediately sent off the letter that led to his move. John Holland wrote wryly,

In the letter alluded to, he wrote in a large flourishing character the words “GOD SAVE THE KING,” an indication of youthful loyalty, at the sight of which Mrs. Gales laughed heartily, and which even now seems a somewhat odd prelude to the fact that, within three short years, he who wrote and he who received the sentiment were both implicated in charges of sedition!¹⁸⁷

Was it really such an “odd prelude” — was it not the logical outcome of the radicalism that Gales was already involved in, and to which Montgomery was consciously joining himself? Did reform sympathies draw James Montgomery to the *Sheffield Register* or was he radicalised by his time there? It would appear to be the former. As shown in this chapter, the Gales “Recollections,” reveal the Galeses and Montgomery were actively involved in supporting the radical reform movement, and in personal contact with national and international reform/republican activists.

¹⁸⁶ Vaughan was most likely recommended to the LCS by Horne Tooke in order as a trained lawyer to help draft their regulations, “PRO TS 11/958/3504,” in Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 195, fn. 121.

¹⁸⁷ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:132, n.

CHAPTER TWO

Winifred Gales, 1761-1839

A literary woman

I will show in this chapter, that Winifred Gales was radical not just in her politics and religion but in her personal and literary activities. She was a type of the emancipated middling-sort literary woman increasingly active in the public sphere during the nineteenth century. Whilst lacking the public currency of wealth or position she was typical of many women who exerted a reforming influence from the semi-cloistered environs of the family home/cottage manufactory, in her case by her writings. As previously mentioned, she was a working mother,¹ a well-read author of two novels, a diarist, and an occasional editor of and contributor to three newspapers in Britain and the USA. She was a political salon hostess of sorts in Sheffield, and a strong character able to resist government interrogation (whilst heavily pregnant). In the absence of her fugitive husband, she ran their printing business during bankruptcy negotiations, rejecting all (male) offers of financial help. She also single-handedly dissuaded privateers from seizing their ship off the coast of America in 1795. She was an eloquent diarist, an able socio-political/religious commentator and correspondent. She also

¹ Married on May 4, 1784, Winifred and Joseph Gales seem to have had 12 children: "A female infant born March 6th 1785. Died in a few hours ... Joseph was born on 10th of April, 1786 ... In Janry 1814, Joseph was married to Sarah Maria Juliana Lee, of Woodville, near Winchester Virginia ... Winifred was born November 16th 1787. Married May 4th 1804 ... Robert Ransom Johnson ... Sarah. Born May 12th 1789, married William Winston Seaton, of Richmond, Virginia, ... their marriage Febry 30th 1809 ... Our Son Thomas was born July 27th 1790 and died Novr 20 1815 of a broken heart ... When General Jackson took possession of Pensacola, he was his Aid de Camp. On the 5th of February 1814, he married Eliza Ray Yates ... of Attacapas (she died in Sept. 1815) ... Elizabeth and George Tomlinson died in infancy" ... Altona Holstein. Born at Altona, on the Banks of the Elbe, in the Duchy of Holstein and Territory of Denmark Novr 17 1794 ... married Decr 28th 1813, to the Revd Anthony Forster, then of Mount Pleasant, now Co-Pastor of the Presbyterian Church Charleston, S. C. ... Ann Eliza Born at Philadelphia, North America Febry 28th 1797 ... Mary. Born at Philadelphia Novr 14th 1798. died on our passage between that place and Norfolk in August 1799, and was consigned to a watery grave" ... Caroline Matilda. Born at Raleigh, North Carolina, April 5th 1800.".. Weston Raleigh. Born April 28th 1802 — Raleigh", Gales, "Recollections," 18-23.

supported the unmarried Gales sisters in their bookselling and stationery business — “Formal partnerships between family members ... were extremely common in Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield between 1760 and 1830” says Hannah Barker.² She was a mentor to the poet James Montgomery, and probably also to the reform orator Henry ‘Redhead’ Yorke.

Her “Recollections” reveal Winifred Gales as an equal member of a trinity of Sheffield-based reform publishers alongside her husband and James Montgomery. Her writings also show that her marriage and business activities were more complementarian than hierarchical, which well reflected the gender shift of the period as Anna Clark says.³ Marriage and business were not, for her, a “struggle for the breeches” with a “slow burning fuse of gender antagonism,”⁴ yet, like many women of the period, her talents contributed to her husband’s “rise to public prominence.”⁵ Though complementarian in her actions Winifred was no weakling. For example, when Sheffield volunteer militia were celebrating the British capture of Toulon outside their house and business premises, and threatening to break the windows.⁶

I hastened up stairs and was in the act of opening the last of the drawing room windows, when these valiant men advanced. They looked up and involuntarily, it should seem bowed to me, I very courteously returned their silent salutation, when the Leader said, “would you insult Mrs Gales?” They instantly lowered their

² Barker, *Business of Women*, 107.

³ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1995), 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, 18.

⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 13.

⁶ “It is, or *used to be*, the characteristic of a Man of Honour and a British Soldier, to protect the weak, to vindicate the injured, and shew kindness to those in distress. — It is the province of the blackguard to insult the unhappy, to injure the unprotected, and to abuse those, who, from sex or situation, are incapable of personal retaliation. — Let the Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign who so *bravely* distinguished themselves in the *Hartshead* on Sunday evening last, appropriate to *themselves* that character of these two, which conscience tells them they *deserve*”, *Sheffield, SR*, June 20, 1794. This may be Winifred herself writing.

Musquets,⁷ and giving a tremendous Huzza, which shook every nerve in my system, departed.⁸

Later, when government agents came with a warrant looking to arrest Joseph, Winifred, heavily pregnant, showed them around the house and deliberately used the sight of her young children to soften their attitude. The next day when “called out to see Hale the Constable”, she refused, she wrote, to be cowed into immediately complying, for she was taking tea with “James Eckroyd, a very intelligent Quaker friend of ours, and the Revd Benjamin Naylor, another of our best and truest friends.”

Mr Wilkinson the Rector of Trinity Church, Col. Athorpe, and Dr Zouch wish to see you at the Tontine Inn! “Well” I answered somewhat impatiently, I confess, “they know where I live.” “Yes, Madam” he replied but they sit as Magistrates and had me say “they invite, rather than command your attendance.” I told him, when I had taken my Tea, then ready, I would go, for it was early in July, and the day long.⁹

Writing this in America, over twenty years later, for her family she clearly did not want them to see her as a woman cowering before the powerful masculine authorities. Whether consciously or not, she was a living justification for Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, “Thanks to that Being who ... gave me sufficient strength of mind to dare to exert my own reason.”¹⁰ She saw women as deserving of the rights of man, for “everyone was created equal by God and had access to reason,” as Shoemaker puts it.¹¹ During her long interview with the magistrates, with the threat of arrest hanging over her, she was asked if Henry Yorke had lodged with them, and if he had written his pamphlet about the Castle Hill meeting whilst there. Winifred tired and

⁷ See Joseph Gales’s editorial against the firing of cannons and guns to celebrate the victories of the Allies or the French as tending to promote factionalism, and calling for the celebration of peace instead, in the *SR*, May 9, 1794.

⁸ Gales, “Recollections,” 89.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁰ Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1792), chap. 2, Kindle edition.

¹¹ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 258.

pregnant, who knew that he had, but not in her presence, admitted, “I have read it.” “You perhaps saw it in Manuscript?” “No.” “It is said to have been printed in Mr Gales’s Office. You may have seen it there perhaps?” “No, my business does not lie in the office. I have a large family.”¹² When asked to wait in an adjoining room whilst the magistrates deliberated, she was she says in a quandary about how to answer further questions, but was determined not to be outwitted by these powerful men. Her account not only reveals her wit and determination but also her poetic disposition seen in the inner debate between “prudence,” “fear,” and “resolution.”

Here, until the shades of Evening darkened the room, I paced up and down “chewing the cud of bitter fancy” for alas! little sweet was blended with it. Left to ruminate on this unexpected incident, I determined to remain silent were I more closely interrogated, for why I mentally said should I lend my aid to incriminate this young Man, which may be of the most serious consequence to him. Hitherto I have escaped telling a falsehood, but they may entangle me — if they again question me, I will candidly tell them I will not answer. But said prudence, they do not want to injure your Husband, tell them at once that you have been told Yorke did write it — Besides, said Fear, if you cross them they will send you to London to be examined before the Privy Council. Let them do their worst said Resolution I will not burthen my conscience by incriminating this young Man, which I may, unknowingly, do. I determined to be silent.¹³

This reads more like the diplomatic astuteness of a lawyer like Erskine, or a political activist, than the disinterested actions of a sympathetic onlooker. Fortunately, she was released without further questioning and was amused to learn that the workers in their print room had also been questioned, “You,” said they to a sturdy illiterate Press Man, “you must recollect printing this Pamphlet” “Very loike, Sir, but as I has no larning and cannot read, I doesn’t know.” They laughed very heartily at the idea of a Printer, not

¹² Gales, “Recollections,” 71.

¹³ Ibid., 72.

being able to read.”¹⁴ What is revealing here is that as a woman and only the wife of a radical printer she was not viewed by masculine authorities as a threat to the social order, but simply as a source of incriminating evidence against her husband. This was a gross underestimation of the intellectual acumen and ability of such educated women, but representative of the prevailing view and treatment of British women and obviously demeaning for Winifred, who played an active role in their printing and publishing business, and was no ‘self in hiding.’¹⁵ Her attempt to continue the business in the absence of Joseph was only thwarted by their creditors enforcing bankruptcy. As Angela Keane notes, this was a time when wives of English merchants, in contrast to French ones, were well known for their ignorance and exclusion from their husband’s business affairs.¹⁶ Winifred Gales was anything but ignorant, and it seems, ironically, to have been the contemporary male preconception that middling-sort women should devote themselves to the unpaid and commercially unproductive labour of the “separate sphere” of housework that actually saved her from prosecution.¹⁷

As Felicity Nussbaum identifies, the actions of strong women diarists like Winifred questioned prevailing notions of identity, “women’s autobiographical writing, organized within prevailing discourse, helped to shape and resist the dominant cultural constructions of gender relations and to substitute alternatives.”¹⁸ Her diary records (“If the story can be believed”¹⁹) of how she persuaded the Captain of a Bermuda-based privateer to release their ship is a case in point. Joseph was incapacitated below decks with seasickness, and sitting with their children, in a stark reversal of male/female roles. He was forced to watch from the traditional position of female weakness whilst she acted as the champion not just of the family but also of the emigrant community on board. In that hour she was the true ‘captain’ of the ‘ship of state’ — here was true democratic reform realised in microcosm and by peaceful means not violent revolution, achieved with gentle persuasive speech to render a murderous man impotent in order to

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian*, 26.

¹⁶ Keane, *Women Writers*, 58.

¹⁷ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 145.

¹⁸ Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*, xiv.

¹⁹ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 170. Why Durey questions her veracity is unclear.

liberate her people.²⁰ This irresistible power to overcome men with the allegedly more masculine facility of reason by appealing to the ‘feminine side’ of a man was seen in her final conversation with Captain Hutchins.

As it was a curious scene however which passed previous to the denouement, I will detail it. Capt Hutchins requested the Lieutenant to reach the Letter Bags, which he did and deliberately began to open the letters. I smiled, perhaps shrewdly, for Hutchins caught the involuntary expression, and asked me what amused me. “Your honourable profession, which rises every moment in my estimation – what! open private letters, — explore family secrets — interfere with confidential communications — I am sorry to have witnessed it.” With a raised voice and heightened colour, he drew his chair nigh to me, and said, we must converse together. “Do you recollect you are a Captive” “Yes, I replied cheerfully, “but if we had, had but one stern chaser, you could not have called me so.” A little more passed in good humour, and the right they had to capture the William and Henry was seriously discussed — Finally he waived his privilege, convinced that we had no munitions of War on Board, the plea which was urged as a pretence. “And now, Madam, what can I do for you and your children, as compensation for detaining you?” With courteous thanks, for his conduct demanded it, I replied, “We have no Loaf Sugar — no Molasses — no Flour.”²¹

As with the proletarian women in the British food riots of the war period,²² she focused on keeping the family alive and well provided for, and not on winning an argument.

The History of Lady Emma Melcombe

Winifred Gales had radical views about the roles of men and women, and social class as I shall show from her earliest published work, the romantic novel, *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe, and Her Family* (Fanny Burney’s success with *Evelina* had

²⁰ “The Captain and Mate spoke of the Commander of the Privateer as a bad man, capable of every violation of decency and honour,” Gales, “Recollections,” 136.

²¹ Gales, “Recollections,” 137.

²² *Iris*, Apr 17, 1795; also the food riots at Aberystwyth and Narberth, *Iris*, Mar 13, 1795.

made novels, especially female written ones, socially acceptable by the 1780s).²³ The story is that of a widow, Mrs Emma Davenport, and her two children Edward and Emma, who take up seclusion by the banks of the river Trent. There she is befriended by Lady Montgomery, who “considered her, and doubted not, in her own mind, Mrs. Davenport’s being, by birth, entitled to a far more exalted station than that she at present filled.”²⁴ This echoed Winifred Marshall’s own relation to a higher, but not shared, status by connection with Lord Melbourne’s family. Though Winifred was questioning aristocracy’s superiority, as were other writers like Fielding, yet “for the harmony of their stories and the comfort of their genteel audiences — their apparently plebeian heroes or heroines turn out to be secretly the offspring of gentlemen” says Wood.²⁵

Winifred’s feminist consciousness was openly admitted in her preface, “Men have ever been held infinitely superior to Women, in respect to literary abilities.... Yet we are indebted, within these few years, to the exertions of a GRAHAM, a BARBAULD, a MOORE, a SEWARD, a COWLEY, and a BURNET, to lessen, in some degree, the distinction between the sexes, as writers.”²⁶ She clearly saw her role as a novelist in feminist terms and intended to contribute to the literary movement, and in the equalising of differences between the sexes generally. It is noteworthy but not unusual that she specified it was written “*By a female*” — men had been “held” as superior to women in the craft of writing but now this was being altered by the welcome increase of feminine literary productions. We know that anonymity was used in the eighteenth-century by women authors to protect their reputation, but there is an almost defiant tone to this title. As Alice Browne points out, “Certainly, eighteenth-century writers were usually being ironic when they referred to men as the ‘Lords of Creation’, and fictional women were allowed some spirited parodies of the rhetoric of male superiority.”²⁷ During the 1780s and 90s when Winifred was still in England and writing this her first novel the proportion of published women writers was noticeably growing. Between 1750 and 1769 female authors only represented about 7% of all published novels (there were

²³ Alexander, *Richard Newton*, 11.

²⁴ Gales, *The History*, 1:12.

²⁵ Gordon Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 36.

²⁶ Gales, *The History*, 1:xii.

²⁷ Browne, *Eighteenth Century*, 25.

more but they were anonymous), rising to 21% between 1800 and 1835, says Shoemaker.²⁸

The long and convoluted story proceeds with many a sad twist and turn until her children inherit their rightful place in upper society. This perhaps reflects the ambition of the newly married Galeses to boost their own standing in society. Certainly, their efforts to promote their children's advancement in America were successful through marriage and business. In nineteenth-century America, as friends of Presidents and the powerful, the children would not be viewed as the eighteenth-century artisans their parents had been, but as a boosterist family in control of two powerful newspapers, the *Raleigh Register* and the *Washington National Intelligencer*.

In volume two, letters are used as a 'correspondence device' to tell much of the story from the cloistered environs of the home, much like Winifred herself who was also a keen letter writer. Although lacking the accepted mechanisms of power available to men in a patriarchal society, yet women in Winifred's canon operating from a position of weakness had the power of feminine character and guile to prevail over men. For example, what seemed to be her alter ego, the vivacious Clara Raymond, subdued her suitor Lord Craven by using his vulnerable desires and inferior masculine emotional skills, "Why will you be so silly, Craven? ... I have not objected to your wishes of calling me yours; I permit you to attend me as a declared lover." He could have been the alter ego of Winifred's young husband Joseph, for as Lord Craven freely confessed, "I learnt wisdom from her gentle reproof and now rejoice to see her display those captivating talents."²⁹ Joseph did seem to have been in lovesick awe of the literary Winifred whom he courted for about five years, walking her home most evenings from Mr Tomlinson's circulating library — "she was a great reader, and frequently came in the evening to return the Volumes she had read, and to obtain others."³⁰ He did not seem to have been an avid reader himself, but more the smitten suitor carrying his would-be love's books, his masculine desire making him weak and susceptible to the intellectual literary feminist. As another of her strong female characters, Emma Drayton said to Lady Montgomery — "Craven, who thinks whatever she says "wisest,

²⁸ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 285.

²⁹ Gales, *The History*, 2:118.

³⁰ Gales, "Recollections," 182.

discreetest, virtouousest, and best,” readily submits.”³¹ Winifred had been married to Joseph for less than three years when they organised the publishing of her novel. She had lost one child (a daughter after a few hours of birth); had a son in his first year, also Joseph; and was pregnant with her daughter, Winifred.

A male reviewer in the *Monthly Review* was unimpressed with her novel, belittling her emotion driven efforts with condescending faint praise, “This female, if we may judge from her lessons in virtue and morality, which she strongly endeavours to inculcate, is in possession of a very excellent heart.” When it came to literary talent, it was another matter, “To tell her, however, that she can write well, were to deceive her in an eminent degree.” He adopted a paternalistic stance in dismissing her childish efforts, “It were to resemble the *cruel kindness* of a parent who indulges his children in their untoward humours, and who even allows them to proceed in their error till they are wholly beyond the reach of check or controul.” He was prepared to allow her some crumbs of encouragement, however, if she would but humbly acknowledge her inferior *feminine* talents, and try to learn how to write, presumably like a man, “We will act more generously by the Lady in question. We will tell her that her novel, in point of style and grammar, abounds with faults; and this we are the rather induced to do, as she appears to be of a good and ingenuous disposition, and one who is likely to profit by our hint. When acquainted with the rules of composition, and when her judgment shall be ripened, she may possibly produce a better work than the History of Lady Emma Melcombe.”³² Whether Winifred saw the review is unknown but it showed, as Shoemaker says, the contemporary male antagonism towards women authors.³³

Though her writings may have reinforced traditional feminine values, yet they contributed to the overall progress of the female voice into the public domain,³⁴ but without rancour against the continuing male domination of the public sphere. As Lady Montgomery observed pointedly, “a man’s connections are more extensive, and they

³¹ Gales, *The History*, 3:124.

³² “The History of Lady Emma Melcombe and her Family. By a Female,” in *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal* 76, no. 37 (London: Griffiths, 1787), 448, accessed November 13, 2009, <http://www.books.google.com>.

³³ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 284.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

have more liberty to adopt them to their taste.”³⁵ As Nussbaum says, feminist writings of the period served “as a location where residual and emergent notions of gender and class clash to replicate and challenge reigning notions of identity.”³⁶ It is estimated that only about three to four hundred women were published during the 1790s in Britain,³⁷ which would then make Winifred Gales part of a literary elite. Her two known novels pre- and post-date the French revolution and lack a Jacobinical tone, but both adopt the alternative moralist approach popular with many women authors. As Linda Colley says, we can see the contemporary role of a didactic mother as “guardian of morality” in such productions.³⁸ Accordingly, Winifred’s views on marriage as revealed by Lady Montgomery were not entirely conventional. She did not believe, she said, in marrying young without careful thought, or marrying simply for wealth and position, “I am no advocate for young people rushing inconsiderately into the most solemn of all engagements; which too many do, merely for the opportunity of figuring as the mistress of an elegant house, or a noble title.” Singleness was better than a marriage without love, “a life of single comfort, must be infinitely preferable to a married one, entered into with indifference, and soured by disappointment.”³⁹ Winifred married a poor printer’s assistant for love and bore the consequent economic struggles that brought with it. She also knew personal suffering and the uncertainty of existence. Having already lost one child (she would lose another three in infancy), the spectre of death, as for most people, was never far away, “how frequently is the sweet harmony of connubial friendship broken, by the rapid resistless hand of Death!”⁴⁰

Politically and socially radical though she was, yet Winifred had a morally upright, religious nature allied to great compassion. Seen, for example, in Emma Drayton’s righteous indignation at the remembrance of the ill treatment meted out to her deceased mother. “My resentment too often absorbs those charitable sentiments which we ought

³⁵ Gales, *The History*, 3:134.

³⁶ Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*, xiv.

³⁷ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 285.

³⁸ Colley, *Britons*, 273.

³⁹ Gales, *The History*, 3:131.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

to cultivate towards each other.”⁴¹ Also seen in her religious concern, “The third day of her illness, terminated Mrs. Westbrooke’s life. I wish I could ascertain her repentance; but her dying in a state of delirious insensibility, renders that impossible. May the Judge of all hearts pity and forgive her errors!”⁴² Yet Winifred’s quick wit and tongue was also seen through Emma who refuted her grandfather’s scheming wife, which caused her regret as she later feared that she was growing “peevish, or what is worse, malicious”, and remembered her mother’s warnings against “petulance in speech.”⁴³

As Marilyn Butler notes, “the search for purity often took the form of a journey into the remote” in novels,⁴⁴ and this recognised mechanism was used by Winifred to illustrate social inequalities and as a social levelling device.⁴⁵ Thus, for Winifred, the smaller feminised country of Wales under English domination functioned as a type of subjugated woman lifted up to an equal status by a strong, privileged, but emancipated man.⁴⁶ As Gwyn Williams emphasises, the radical minority of Welsh Jacobins would look to America in the 1790s, as a host husband for a “new, free, republican Wales.”⁴⁷ This emancipation was seen in the character of the Earl of Caernarvon and his exotically named, but low-born wife, Claude de Grey — “of uncultivated nature ... the offspring of a poor cottager, a tenant ... and ignorant and unpolished as the generality of Welsh peasants are.”⁴⁸ The choice of name implied that though Claude was of humble birth, yet as a woman she had an inherent aristocratic beauty and worth, which equalled the

⁴¹ Ibid., 3:150.

⁴² Ibid., 3:167.

⁴³ Ibid., 3:153.

⁴⁴ Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and its Background 1760-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 16.

⁴⁵ Note also how Winifred uses her birthplace, Newark, and her married home, Sheffield, in a uncomplimentary depiction of the masculine: “his Grace of Newark...an immense fortune — which he spends at horse races, gaming-tables, and all the etcetera of vicious folly”, against the more feminine town of Sheffield, typified in its Earl whom he, “Dismissed, without demur. The mild, gentle, simpering Earl of Sheffield,” Gales, *The History*, 3:76.

⁴⁶ This unflattering comparison between Wales and England was a common device used to illustrate class distinctions, Cannadine, *Class*, 42.

⁴⁷ Gwyn A. Williams, “Welsh Indians: the Madoc legend and the first Welsh radicalism,” *History Workshop* 1 (Spring, 1976), 136, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4288039>.

⁴⁸ Gales, *The History*, 3:157.

external accidental advantages of a man's wealth and position. To underline this, Caernarvon had decided that he would never "marry unless he could meet with a female who, preferring him for his merits, would pay no respect to fortune," and so he wooed her disguised as Morgan Evans. This may be a wry comment on Winifred's choice of Joseph, with her highborn relations cloaked by her commoner's situation. Perhaps it was also politically wise for her to marry a Welsh nobleman to a lowborn Welsh commoner than an English one so as not to alienate her genteel readership. Certainly, it enabled Winifred to express her belief in character and love as superior to birth and position, with an egalitarianism that saw no barrier to upward mobility by the lower classes. I agree with Felicity Nussbaum that autobiographical "first-texts disseminate a regimen that enables the production of a particular kind of self, assumed to be free and equal, as a class solidifies its alliances," but I cannot agree that Winifred Gales's writing "subordinates women within its domain ... to maintain gender hierarchies."⁴⁹

In Winifred's utopia the best of the upper echelons of society were able to welcome the best of those far beneath them. "One of the most pleasing reflections I enjoy, is, that you, my best love, know how to respect Virtue, though sunk below its merit; and despise Vice, though exalted to dignity, and decorated with the gaudy trappings of state."⁵⁰ Two years before the French Revolution but eleven years after the American Declaration of Independence from Britain's aristocratic control Winifred Gales was levelling social distinctions. As Dickinson says, there was at the time a lot of support amongst nonconformists in Britain ("The Friends of America") for the ideas of American republicanism.⁵¹ Joseph Priestley (Unitarian hero to the Unitarian Galeses), writing a year later said, "the new governments in North America are so many new *experiments*, of which political philosophers cannot fail to make the greatest use."⁵² Even at this early date (1787), Winifred can be seen to be moving in a radical but egalitarian republican direction rather than a patriarchal controlling federalist one.

⁴⁹ Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*, xvii.

⁵⁰ Gales, *The History*, 3:133.

⁵¹ H. T. Dickinson, "'The Friends of America': British Sympathy with the American Revolution," in *Radicalism and Revolution in Britain, 1775-1848*, ed. Michael T. Davis (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 23.

⁵² Joseph Priestley, *Lectures on History and General Policy* (Birmingham: 1788), 14.

Consequently, America, with its “intense but qualified egalitarianism,” as James Belich puts it, would prove an ideal home for the Galeses.⁵³ As provincialists, first in Yorkshire and later North Carolina, their continuing aversion to strong centralised governments was shown in their fervent support for Jeffersonian republicanism. Having fled centralised autocracy in Britain, Winifred and Joseph would not be content to accept it readily in America. As Onuf says, “For the emerging ‘republican’ opposition the resulting “consolidation” of authority threatened to obliterate the state governments and to transform the federal government into an American version of the British imperial regime that the revolution had overthrown.”⁵⁴

At this time, leadership of women in religion was being pushed out of the public realm, even amongst the more enthusiastic artisan sects like the Quakers, and to a lesser extent the Methodists. Winifred was, therefore, unusual in her prominence as a spiritual voice within the family and even beyond its boundaries. As Patricia Crawford says, there was a “feminisation of religion in England” beginning in the early years of the eighteenth-century, which tended to exclude women from a leading role, “as middle- and upper class men were increasingly attracted to reason and deism, while “enthusiastic religion” was confined to women and lower-class men.”⁵⁵ Winifred’s role may say something not just about her abilities but also about Joseph’s willingness to function in an egalitarian partnership, like Wollstonecraft and Godwin. They carried their heterodox creed with them to Philadelphia where they became personal friends of Joseph Priestley: “Joseph, Winifred, Sarah, and Thomas, were baptised at Sheffield by the Revd Joseph Evans. Altona and Ann Eliza by Dr Joseph Priestly, Philadelphia.” Even in America, they were more radical in religion than the majority, “Caroline & Weston were not baptised, as the Ministers here will not administer that ordinance, without one at least of the Parents, profess their creed!”⁵⁶ Her liberal theism gave her a broad religious tolerance evident even at this early stage, in her novel.

⁵³ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 157.

⁵⁴ P. S. Onuf, “Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed July7, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63233>.

⁵⁵ Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), 185; Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 216.

⁵⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 23.

“You are right, dear madam, in your conjecture, I am a protestant. My mother was one. She renounced the errors of the Romish religion, prior to her marriage with my father. Yet did this difference in religious sentiments, occasion no division in the family. My aunt, indeed, was the only surviving branch of it; and her liberal heart was too much expanded by every social virtue, to let it cause a diminution in her affection.”⁵⁷

This toleration was still visible over thirty years later in a letter to the Unitarian leader Revd. Jared Sparks, “Your opinion and my own certainly accord in one point of liberality, that a good Man is not less estimable whatever Sectarian creed he adopts. Truth and Virtue are immutable — and names are but finite distinctions.”⁵⁸

Winifred saw the hand of Deity in all events — for example, Lady Emma’s prayer on the death of Lord Eltham, “Father of Mercies! forgive thy erring creature ... Sovereign disposer of all events.”⁵⁹ Again, the “intervention of over-ruling Providence” that prevented Emma’s suicide by means of a “ray of religion” shining into her conscience. Emma was concerned for the welfare of her fatherless children in the event of her death (later realised), but Winifred gave her a confidence in the Deity to providentially preserve them, “If it please the wise Disposer of events, to call me early from the objects of my only earthly care, to the protection of that Power I confide them; who will guard them.”⁶⁰ This resignation to divine overruling can be seen when headstrong Emma was encouraged by her scheming step-mother Lady Castlehaven to elope with Sir Charles Eltham, and was then duped into marrying the wrong man, Lord Loudon, by a competitor, Clara — “But, undoubtedly, the unerring hand of Providence directed the

⁵⁷ Gales, *The History*, 2:124. Winifred’s daughter Sarah Seaton was also known for her catholic approach to religious toleration, cf. “Obituary of Sarah Seaton from the New York Christian Inquirer of January 16, 1864,” supplied by Nona Gales Bond, Gales-Seaton papers, 2652.

⁵⁸ Winifred Gales to Rev. Jared Sparks, “Raleigh, July 18, 1820,” *Gales Papers*. See also the letter to Sparks dated March 28, 1821: “The notes appended to the “Letter,” brought to my “minds eye” some good Men, both Churchmen and Dissenters whom I have either personally known, or have been interested in from the knowledge of them by my friends.”

⁵⁹ Gales, *The History*, 1:133.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:147.

blow, that finally, sunk a sinful creature to the earth.... Let me, then, bow submissive to that Power who, for wise purposes, afflicted such a worm as me; and to atone for the transgressions that caused such punishment.”⁶¹ As Alice Browne says.

The heroine-centred novels of the eighteenth century add to the descriptive and prescriptive genres of writing about women in two important ways. Often they dramatise the social danger involved in being a respectable woman, and the constant threats to women’s respectability and reputation. These women-in-peril dramas express a real social fear, though often in a melodramatic and fantastic way....

They are threatened with seduction or rape, leaving them neither maid nor wife, or faced with the prospect of marrying one man when they love another, which raises awkward questions about what being a wife really means.⁶²

In line with this convention, Winifred explored women’s weakness in the male/female power relations with Emma’s betrayal by her husband’s adultery, and her father who disinherited her. Yet, as Browne cautions, “Texts which criticise the arbitrariness of men’s power over women, or ... Attacks on male tyranny may represent comments on the general unfairness of life, rather than calls to remedy particular injustices.”⁶³ This gendered injustice she took stoically, “Too soon, too fatally did I experience, that however circumspectly a female behave, it is impossible to escape the arrows of envy, or the slanders of malevolence!”⁶⁴ Duped by Caroline and Clara into thinking Emma was unfaithful with Charles Eltham, Loudon was mortally wounded in a duel with Lord Eltham, eliciting a fine prayer of resignation by Lady Emma, “Father of Mercies! forgive thy erring creature! And let the influence of thy blessed spirit pour the balm of consolation on my heart!”⁶⁵

Finally, Winifred’s trust in providence was seen when Emma was disinherited by her husband’s cousin as an under-age bride married in Scotland and therefore not under the

⁶¹ Ibid., 1:102.

⁶² Browne, *Eighteenth Century*, 57.

⁶³ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁴ Gales, *The History*, 1:125.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 1:133.

rites of the Church of England, and she found herself destitute and her children illegitimate. Cruelly rejected by her father she contemplated suicide but was stayed by the “intervention of over-ruling Providence”; and was saved by having a small box of cash and jewels to the value of ten thousand pounds, which escaped the grasp of her husband’s cousin. She changed her name to Davenport, and with her faithful servant, Brudenell, went into country seclusion, where she was befriended by Lady Montgomery the reader of her diary. Another example of Winifred’s confidence in the Deity’s power to deliver the righteous, and prophetic of her own experience in 1794-95 fleeing the Pitt government, was Julia Seaton’s escape from France to England.⁶⁶ “We congratulated her, and ourselves, on the fortunate escape she had effected from such a monster as de Alembert; and all joined in admiring the ‘ways of heaven as dark and intricate, puzzled with mazes,’ far beyond our finite conceptions to unravel.”⁶⁷ As Martin Hewitt says, “the diary, far from laying down the raw materials for later processing into an autobiography, plays out and amplifies an already fully formed life story.”⁶⁸ Therefore, as expected, Winifred’s own life story influenced her fiction; she had also known disaster when she and her widowed mother lost all their possessions when their house burned down in 1784, the year she married Joseph.⁶⁹

Her love of the arts was seen not just in her own compositions but also in frequent quotes and references to favourite writers, artists and composers. Thus, we have Alexander Pope cited as a favourite poet, “that maxim of my favourite POPE’s had ever been mine. / For modes of Faith, let zealous bigots fight; / He can’t be wrong, whose life is right.”⁷⁰ Hogarth is mentioned as a favourite illustrator, “Hogarth, alone, could have done justice to this scene.”⁷¹ There are references to her reading of Italian poets, “The next time I saw him, he looked quite in the Pensoroso [pensieroso: pensive,

⁶⁶ Later studies, by Eaton and Elliott, seem to follow Briggs in saying that Winifred’s early novel was called “Lady Julia Seaton.” There is no evidence of such a work and it is much more likely to be *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe*, in which Julia Seaton is a character. Briggs, “Joseph Gales,” 106.

⁶⁷ Gales, *The History*, 3:108.

⁶⁸ Hewitt, *Diary, Autobiography*, 24

⁶⁹ Gales, “Recollections,” 183.

⁷⁰ Gales, “The History,” 3:125.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3:120.

thoughtful, Italian] stile.”⁷² There is mention of Neo-classical productions, “She appears to me, in the light of the Nymph which Shenstone describes, in his description at the Leasowes.”⁷³ The music of Handel (probably through her visits to the Sheffield theatre, often advertised in the *Register* and the *Iris*), “I was playing one of Handel’s pieces — and we insensibly rambled into discussion of its merits. He disliked it. I defended my favourite.”⁷⁴ Winifred’s voice can be heard in her critical comment, via Clara Raymond, upon her “favourite” poet Joseph Addison, “Excuse the digression, Emma; but I cannot help noticing, that I neither comprehend, nor like, the words which follow those I have quoted from my favourite ADDISON.”⁷⁵

As Alice Browne notes, “Moralists complained that these ‘daydreams’ were corrupting, but they did show how easy it was to fall from respectability, novels could implicitly undermine the barrier between the respectable and the unrespectable, by showing how easily it was crossed and how little personalities were changed by crossing it.”⁷⁶ Similarly, for Winifred her novel was a moralising device, in which religion, nature and the arts were used as an antidote to unbridled passion, and a civilising agency for young single people. Thus, Lady Montgomery offers the smitten Edward a cooling corrective.

Accustom yourself to let your attention be fixed only on objects and matters which will increase your knowledge in religion, morality and usefulness. Let your mind be occupied in contemplating the attributes of your Creator... Next to religion, let the obligations of morality engage your thoughts.... As a relaxation to these ideas, permit the contemplation of the wonders of nature and art to engross your admiration.⁷⁷

⁷² Ibid., 3:22.

⁷³ Ibid., 2:179.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 2:170.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3:108.

⁷⁶ Browne, *Eighteenth Century*, 58.

⁷⁷ Gales, *The History*, 2:75.

As Evert Jan Van Leeuwen points out, “In the eighteenth-century people were taught Christian values not only by attending church and listening to sermons. Poems and novels were also written with a didactic purpose that often involved the teaching of Christian morality.”⁷⁸ Donna Loftus agrees, “Middling sort life writing was concerned to construct an ‘exemplar life’ and in the process to support the creation of a middle-class identity.”⁷⁹ This extended to the poetry of graveyard epitaphs, which rather than expressing a Gothic horror of death and burial, sounded a note of hope of the coming bodily resurrection, so that the grave was the custodian of the body not the prison, and “like a mother with open arms, a protector rather than an image of horror.”⁸⁰ Winifred’s graveyard poem in *The History* confirms this view of the grave as mother, “Frail is the Tenure of our brittle Clay; / Hid in a Veil of Darkness, lies our Fate”; and death as merely a gestation period, “When the last Trumpet sounds its awful Voice, / And waken’d Myriads to Life return.”⁸¹ Winifred (like Montgomery) also wrote real epitaphs, “Your Father had one Brother [Thomas] to whom he was most tenderly attached who died in Manchester on business in your Father’s arms. His remains were interred at Eckington, and his Epitaph engraved on his Tomb was written by your Mother.”⁸² Louisa’s epitaph for the wicked De Alembert was pure Winifred.

LET THE VEIL OF OBLIVION BE DRAWN OE’R HIS FOIBLES;
 LET THE EYE OF PITY BEDEW HIS TOMB;
 AND WHILST WE COMMISERATE THE FAILINGS,
 AND LAMENT THE WEAKNESS OF HUMAN NATURE,
 MAY WE LEARN INSTRUCTION FROM HIS ERRORS,
 WISDOM FROM HIS END, AND OBEDIENCE TO THE WILL OF GOD.⁸³

⁷⁸ Evert Jan Van Leeuwen, “Funeral Sermons and Graveyard Poetry,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, September 2009), 354.

⁷⁹ Loftus, “Self in Society,” 67.

⁸⁰ Van Leeuwen, “Funeral Sermons,” 358.

⁸¹ Gales, *The History*, 3:176-177.

⁸² Gales, “Recollections,” 25-26.

⁸³ Gales, *The History*, 3:176-177.

Her interest in the poetry of death also extended to the inclusion of extracts from popular graveyard songs of the period like *Anna's Urn*.⁸⁴

Conclusion

As shown here, the writings of Winifred Gales establish her as a type of the emancipated middle-class literary proto-feminist increasingly active in the public sphere during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in America and Britain.⁸⁵ Whilst lacking the public currency of wealth or position she was typical of the many women who exerted a reforming influence from the semi-cloistered environs of the home/cottage manufactory. Why she did not write or publish more may be partly explained by her busy life supporting Joseph's publishing and caring for a large family, including the orphans of several of her children and other relatives. She also suffered a stroke in 1826, at the age of 65, which left her paralysed completely down her right side and without the use of her right arm for some months — “so that she could not either use a needle or a pen. Whenever she attempted to write, she had to use her left hand — which, after sometime, she managed to do so well, as to write letters on very special occasions,” said Joseph.⁸⁶ She did however resume her diary five years later in February 1831 (after a break of fifteen years) having presumably recovered the use of her right hand.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Burgoyne, “Encompassed In An Angel's Frame,” in *Early Songs of Uncle Sam*, ed. George S. Jackson (Boston: Humphries, 1933), 135. Jackson says it was included in popular song collections in the USA between 1825-50, though a British song from an earlier period.

Encompass'd in an angel's frame,
An angel's virtues lay;
Too soon did Heav'n assert its claim,
And call'd its own away.
My Anna's worth! my Anna's charms!
Will never more return!
What, then, shall fill these widow'd arms?
Ah me! my Anna's Urn!” Gales, *The History*, 1:135.

⁸⁵ “Tocqueville ... believed that Americans showed a much greater respect for women and their judgment than any other nation” — David Reynolds, *America, Empire of Liberty* (London: Penguin, 2010), 129.

⁸⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 175.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 30, Feb. 15, 1831. She seems to have written the diary in two blocks: 1815-16, pages 1-29; and 1831-c. 1839, pages 30-149, with many interruptions according to Joseph Gales, *ibid.*

In 1787 as she had set out in marriage, authorship, business, politics and religion, and perhaps thinking of herself and Joseph, she wrote in her novel, “My good wishes attend Lord and Lady Craven. Bright and unclouded may their future days arise; and no intervening mist obscure their present prospects!”⁸⁸ This was not to be the case.

⁸⁸ Gales, *The History*, 3:132.

CHAPTER THREE

The *Sheffield Register*, 1791-94

“High-seasoned politics”¹

In this chapter, I will focus on the *Sheffield Register* newspaper to strengthen my thesis that the Galeses and Montgomery were more radical than previously admitted, and to reveal some of the content of this radicalism. I will show that they used the letters, poetry and editorial sections of the newspaper to vicariously spread their own reform views. To do this I will focus upon the political element within the letters, poetry, news and editorials, particularly from the key years 1791-94. These will then form the three sections of the chapter. There will also be a sub-section to the poetry exploring the radical writings of James Montgomery published pseudonymously in the newspaper.

J. R. Dinwiddy has argued that moves for reform or even revolution amongst radicals in the 1790s were never linear but a mixed approach incorporating a variety of stances. “This mixed approach supplied them with various ‘strategies of change,’ including ‘Commonwealth’ or ‘Country’ ideology, the myth of the ancient constitution, millennial religion, natural-rights theory, American republicanism, French Jacobinism, Irish insurrectionism.”² An analysis of the content of the *Sheffield Register* (see the appendix) confirms this mix of interwoven information and attitudes, which tended to rise and fall in prominence with the progress of the Revolution in France, the onset of war, economic variations, movements for reform, and the responses of the Pitt Government. As Goodwin cautions, English radicalism of the period must not be viewed only locally but understood within an international framework that incorporated interaction between English radicals and their American, Scottish, Irish and French counterparts.³ As is to be expected, this is shown in the newspaper more by reporting than by direct contact, although there are examples of such contacts between the Gales/Montgomery circle and other reformers locally and nationally. As the appendix shows, the sheer quantity of

¹ James Montgomery, “Letter to Joseph Aston of Manchester, July 30, 1794,” in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:181.

² Dinwiddy, “Conceptions of Revolution,” 169.

³ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 31.

material unearthed from the newspaper means, I can only use some examples to illustrate their radicalism. This reservoir of primary material is large enough to provide enough data for further detailed investigation by future researchers.

Political letters in the *Sheffield Register*, 1791-94

Angela Keane has rightly argued, that the epistolary form actively “extended the domain of public opinion by the circulation of reader’s letters” in the period.⁴ It is the political letters, which particularly reveal the contemporary debate, especially amongst the more educated middling-sorts, and which disclose the radicalism of the *Register*’s editors. To demonstrate, therefore, that the editors were consciously informing and directing public opinion through this medium, I have analysed the letters they published for the key years 1791-94 (see the appendix). It shows that of the five general categories for the letters — arts, education, religion, social, political — the political ones represented 30% in 1791 (fourteen of forty eight), but in 1792 rapidly increased to 66% (fifty three of eighty), then 84% in 1793 (sixty four of seventy six), and finally 100% in 1794 (thirty by the end of June when the *Register* ceased publication). This is clear evidence that political debate through letters was being encouraged but it also mirrors the national explosion of interest in the reform issue, the war and other related matters. The majority of the political letters published were obviously pro-reform, though polemical debate was actively encouraged by the editors. Thus, there were epistolary protagonists like Cato, Crito, Hezekiah, A Neighbour, Rusticus patria & liberatus amator, Candidus, Scrutator, Nestor, Cato minor, and Aristocrat. Many of them sported Classical pseudonyms, presumably to give scholarly gravitas to their views. I argue that the greater quantity of pro-reform letters strongly suggests that the Galeases and Montgomery were using their correspondents vicariously to promote their own views. The pro-reform emphasis of the editorials also supports this, as I will demonstrate below. The nearest category to political was social, which never rose above 17.5%, and religion did not feature as much as perhaps would be expected from the Unitarian Galeases, yet this may simply be because they did not receive many. Of course, we can only assess the letters actually published, for we do not know how many were received,

⁴ Angela Keane, *Women Writers*, 75.

which ones were not included, or their subject matter. Even where there is other subject matter, it often has a politicised tone. For example, the ironic letter of Dan Dismal, in which he bemoans the drunkenness of the church bell-ringers celebrating battles won in the war.⁵

The gradual increase in political letters published from 1791 onwards reflected the rising tide of calls for reform locally, which, allied with local disaffection amongst the cutlers in dispute with the Cutlers' Company would culminate in the launch of the SSCI at the end of that year, as Julie Macdonald has shown,⁶ and as a letter from Ille Ego confirms. He wrote of "that unfortunate dispute which hath for so long agitated the officers of the corporated [cutlers] trade and their constituents," and said prophetically, "I trust the time will come when SHEFFIELD shall not be backward in *improvement*; but let us be careful in the interim how we dare to repress the first dawning of SPIRIT amongst us."⁷ Thus, the intellectual debate sparked by Burke was to be replaced by the end of 1792 with a practical struggle between loyalist and, for the first time, artisan reform societies, says Mark Philp.⁸

There were other political letters published in 1791, like those from T. R. who submitted "A Soliloquy" on "The Progress of Liberty" (May 6), and Candidus who had gathered some "Historical fragments... [from the] Chronicles of Great Britain" in support of the "rights of men" (Aug 5). It was events in Birmingham in July 1791, however, where there were three days of rioting provoked by a dinner celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, which gave impetus to the political correspondence. A Church and King mob, apparently at the instigation of local magistrates, destroyed Joseph Priestley's house and property, two dissenting meetinghouses, and the houses of other Dissenters. A Reader, and A Dissenter (Sep 23), wrote of their dismay at this shameful action. A French citizen said to an English Gentleman at Paris (Sep 30) that at a time when "all the world are emancipating themselves from the barbarous influence of fanaticism" it was a shame the British were

⁵ Dan Dismal, *SR*, May 9, 1794.

⁶ Macdonald, "Freedom of Election," 304.

⁷ Ille Ego, "Local Politics. No. 1.," *SR*, Mar. 18, 1791.

⁸ Mark Philp, ed., *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

allowing the “*religieux* to make war against philosophy and the Sciences.” Sarcastically he also suggested that, “Mr. B. [Burke] oblige the world with Reflections upon the most horrid, atrocious, and afflicting spectacle, lately exhibited at Birmingham — what if there was no Queen among the sufferers, there were many of his fair countrywomen, *bright as the morning star*, exposed to the insults of the people.”⁹

In December 1791, a controversy broke out between correspondents over the newly formed SSCI and the old Yorkshire Freeholders Association, which highlighted the radicalism of the Galeses. On December 23, 1791, Vicinus — John Payne, claim Armytage and Macdonald,¹⁰ a wealthy farmer-tanner, of Wath-on-Dearne, and a close friend of Joseph Gales, who concealed him when government agents were seeking his arrest in May-June 1794 — rejoiced in the advertisements in the *Register* about the recently formed local “associations” for parliamentary reform. He dismissed Wyvill’s Yorkshire Association and previous moves for reform by the “Great Ones of the Earth ... about a dozen years ago,” as mere self-seeking, proved by Pitt’s elevation to power and his subsequent indifference to the cause. “Now their object is obtained, and their favourite in the plenitude of power, their service is achieved, the world hears no more of them, and a reform in Parliament is with them no longer a desirable object.” He was sure that political education of the lower orders would reveal to them their “rights,” and warned that if the violent methods used by the “Birmingham War-whoop” to defend “Church and State” were attempted in Sheffield, then it would be “the most likely means of accelerating its overthrow.” Any disorder was the fault of Pitt the usurper.

We have a *right* here which is now withheld from us by usurpation, and every man who consults the records of Antiquity ... will ... find, that THE LOVERS OF JUSTICE HAVE BEEN THE LOVERS OF PEACE, WHILST THE TYRANNY OF USURPERS HAS IN ALL AGES BEEN THE PARENT OF TUMULT, CONFUSION AND BLOODSHED.¹¹

⁹ English Gentleman at Paris to his Friend near Leeds, *ibid.*, July 30, 1791.

¹⁰ Armytage, “Editorial Experience”, 360 ; Macdonald, “Freedom of Election,” 308.

¹¹ Vicinus, *SR*, Dec. 23, 1791.

It is difficult to imagine that Joseph Gales did not sympathise with his friend, John Payne's radical views, or that Montgomery, the twenty-year-old shop assistant reading this in Wath-on-Deane, and soon to apply to be Joseph Gales's editorial assistant ("clerk") within three months, did not know Payne. If he did not meet him in Wath then he must have met him at the Hartshead offices of the *Register*, for we know that Payne called there in January 1792, and perhaps later when Montgomery was living and working there from April onwards. Certainly, he met him when he took Winifred on horseback to visit her fugitive husband at Payne's house in June 1794, and in the appointment of Payne as one of the guarantors for the Gales bankruptcy proceedings.

The strength of their argument for a national reform campaign can be seen in the victory of Vicinus in the debate this precipitated. On January 6 and again on January 20, 1792, A Yorkshire Freeholder wrote in reply to Vicinus that he strongly objected to his criticism of the Yorkshire Freeholders, at least of Wyvill, Wilkinson and Shore. He insisted that "The elevation of Mr. Pitt was not the object for which the gentlemen in question first associated: neither was he their favourite," except that they approved of his opposition to Lord North's government (Jan. 6). He pointed out that the association met at a country meeting on March 28, 1780 specifically to call for three reforms: firstly for a cap on Government spending, second for "A bill to establish greater equality in the representation of the people," and third for "A bill to shorten the duration of Parliament to a term not exceeding three years" (Jan 20). Therefore, in his view criticism of the Yorkshire Association by current pro-reformers was grossly unfair. On February 17, Vicinus explained that it was not their principles that were at fault but their practice in failing to keep pressing for reform. The issue had not gone away and the abuse of parliamentary privilege was getting worse, so what better than that the "Committee of Association" come forward *now* and "join their fellow citizens in the attainment of this one object — a reformation in the House of Commons."¹² It is notable that A Yorkshire Freeholder had in his first letter offered to leave a copy of the pamphlets of the Yorkshire Association at the office of the *Register*, and that Vicinus did borrow them from there as he admitted. This is evidence that Joseph Gales knew both correspondents and was happy to mediate between them to encourage their polemical dialogue. If, as

¹² Vicinus, *ibid.*, Feb 17, 1792.

previously mentioned, Vicinus was Gales's friend John Payne, and almost certainly known to Montgomery too, then this strongly suggests a radical editorial bias. It also shows that the *Register* was knowingly functioning as a political debating society, and that the Hartshead office was a kind of political library. This differs with Mark Philp's view that there was no clearly delineated political 'debate' in 1790-93.¹³ On March 2, A Yorkshire Freeholder signed off, a little peevisly, in agreement with Vicinus that the Yorkshire Association should revive its reform activities and join with others in its pursuit.¹⁴

Gales's encouragement of polemical debate as a means of politically educating his readers also tacitly revealed his support for the SSCI. As Boyd Hilton suggests, it was Burke and Paley, who in using 'vulgar' language to reason with the lower orders instead of simply encouraging them to be quiet and accept the status quo, had opened up the political discourse, which in turn may have encouraged Paine, whose use of the vulgar speech was more 'subversive' than his republican ideology.¹⁵ For example, the correspondence opened in April 1792 by the pro-reformer Cato (a name chosen presumably to emphasise his identification with the main character of Joseph Addison's play of 1713 concerning the defender of liberty against Julius Caesar's tyranny¹⁶). On April 27, Cato — "I am a plain blunt man ... [with] home-spun sentiments" — related how, "over a pot of ale in an adjoining village" he gave a neighbour his opinion of the Sheffield "Constitutional Society." Though ill health had prevented his attendance he was in favour, he said, of its campaign for "a Reform in Parliament," but only by a "peaceable, temperate, and legal way." (For this reason Nestor, and thereby the editors, urged educated men to get involved in the SSCI, on June 29). Cato rebuked his neighbour for now looking down on the "Journeymen" reformers as one who had only recently risen out of that station (an indication of a burgeoning middling-sort awareness amongst cutlery workers in Sheffield). He cited Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in support of his view that the poorer folk paid a great deal of taxes indirectly by their

¹³ Mark Philp, "Vulgar Conservatism, 1792-1793." *English Historical Review* 110, no. 435 (Feb, 1995), 43. Accessed November 14, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/573375>.

¹⁴ A Yorkshire Freeholder, *SR*, Mar 2, 1792.

¹⁵ Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 61.

¹⁶ Pat Rogers, "Joseph Addison."

purchase of food and clothing, their production of so many goods and the provision of so many services, and so greatly benefitted society. “And as such, are entitled to an elective franchise, or choice of Representative,” and the restoration of their birth right as Britons under “our truly glorious and excellent Constitution.”¹⁷ In response, A Neighbour was happy he said, for the lower orders to meet together as long as it was peaceably informed by the writings of their betters and they excluded “suspicious characters.” His letter is also evidence of the growing awareness of the development of a “middling rank,” and of their importance to the campaign for reform in religion as well as politics. This reflects well the nonconformist middling-sort radicalism of Gales and Montgomery and draws a definite cooperative link between tradesmen like themselves and artisans in the struggle for reform.

Let tradesmen, farmers, and other reputable persons in the lower or middle ranks of life, associate together in a legal, constitutional manner, and resolve to be firm, moderate and persevering, and then we should assuredly obtain a more equal representation, more moderate taxes, and the abolition of all needless, sinecure places and pensions, both in church and state.¹⁸

Though Gales was always openly peaceful in his campaign for reform, the letters reveal that there was a more militant and potentially violent local element. For, whilst agreeing with Cato’s sentiments, Rusticus patriae & liberatus amator was scathing of “that aristocratic body, the pretended representative of the people,” who, despite the “vast number of petitions,” were denying the majority representation, refusing to abolish the Slave Trade, and indulging in exorbitant sinecures and salaries. The Lords he warned ominously should “stand neuter, lest by their opposition they awake the vengeance of the people.”¹⁹ What Gales and Montgomery thought this “vengeance” was is unknown but it did not stop them from publishing it. Printing such statements it could be argued

¹⁷ Cato, *SR*, April 27, 1792.

¹⁸ A Neighbour, *ibid.*, May 25, 1792.

¹⁹ Rusticus patriae & liberatus amator, *ibid.*, May 18, 1792.

was tantamount to inciting insurrection despite Gales's frequent calls for a peaceful campaign.²⁰

Whilst being reform supporters Gales and Montgomery did allow pro-government writers like Crito a voice.²¹ He warned of the inherent dangers of reform, "according to the sapient conclusions of Cato, we are to sustain a privilege, *without control*, tho' it *may* be converted into an engine destructive of the very blessings it was meant to protect."²² Cato replied on June 29, July 13, July 20, and July 27, and although Gales encouraged political debate, it appears that pro-government correspondents were already aware of his radical bias. Thus, on August 10, Crito wrote that he was unhappy at what he saw as the favouritism of the editor towards his opponent in allowing him such frequent inclusion in the newspaper. "After having so kindly indulged your correspondent Cato, not with *one* column only, in *one* of your papers, but with *several* columns in *several* papers upon *one* political subject, I might (were I inclined to notice partialities) complain of such marked civility to any favoured correspondent." Stung by this charge Gales defended himself in a footnote, "Crito cannot say we have broke through this resolution: what ground, then, for an illiberal charge of *partiality*? Crito's, as well as Cato's letters, before this notice, were inserted at full length: in *future*, neither will have a place if they exceed the bounds marked out for them."²³ Gales had already begun to limit submissions to one column and only one political subject per last page from July, an indication that he was editing political letters for length and emphasis.

The understanding of the importance of politically educating the masses can be seen in the letters. For example, Cato insisted that "indecision or timidity" was the reason for the ineffectiveness of the Yorkshire Association, and the reason why they had "sunk into that seeming state of oblivion." In his opinion, only a new move, which included politically educating all the people, could bring about a reform. He quoted Rousseau in support, "Lose as much time as you can, without letting the object escape you." By first educating the "yeomen, farmers and manufacturers" by means of "simple, and

²⁰ Gales, "Recollections," 45.

²¹ Friend of Socrates who unsuccessfully urged him to flee prison rather than die unjustly; Cf. Plato's Crito.

²² Crito, *SR*, June 22, 1792.

²³ Crito, *ibid.*, Aug 10, 1792.

perspicuous publications, containing constitutional information,” they would come to correctly understand their rights and be enabled to pursue them without “abusing” them.²⁴

This confidence in educating the masses led by *Reason* can be seen in a letter published in September 1792. To receive their rights required the overthrow of their own ignorance, superstition and folly, even in the face of opposition from “bigotry” in high places. In his letter, Humanitas of Sheffield said he had a dream in which a Genie called “Reason” led him to a mountain top to show him the “follies of mortals below; to the end that thou mayest edify thy brethren when thou returnest.” From the mountain he could see a beautiful landscape full of people he says, “in battle array, disputing loudly concerning a spacious Well of great depth ... The quarrel was concerning the Bottom of this Well; some affirming it to be *leather*, others *cheese*, some *gold*, and others more confidently asserted it to be *mustard*!” A more reasonable, “comely” group tried to persuade the others of the folly of knowing the unknowable bottom of the well the Genie had dug, and counselled them to attend to their neglected farms. The various groups — *Bigotry*, *Ignorance*, *Superstition*, *Folly* — then turned their weapons on them calling them traitors. The Genie instructed Humanitas to observe this foolishness and to go and warn others against it, whilst he, *Reason*, went to fight against these others. Humanitas watched for the outcome but unfortunately, “my elbow slipped off the arm of the chair I rested my head upon, and I awoke, not a little vexed at the ill-natured trick that deprived me of the pleasure of seeing REASON terminate the foolish contest.”²⁵

Disgust with corruption in high places surfaced regularly, but no more forcibly than with Historicus who used the degeneracy and the autocratic rules of Louis XIV of France and James I of England, who had both believed in the divine right of kings and ownership of the wealth of their respective nations. He drew a direct line between them and present corruption, which he said, explained the motivation behind “Church and King” mobs. “By this also we may in some degree, trace the near affinity of Church and King, the Warwhoop of our degenerate and unenlightened countrymen, — the

²⁴ Cato, *ibid.*, Mar 9, 1792.

²⁵ Humanitas, *ibid.*, Sep 14, 1792.

Birmingham Incendiaries.”²⁶ This mention of nations being the property of kings prompted a reminder from Vicinus that for a century Britain had decreed that “nations are not the property of Kings,” and that such corruption if left unchecked would lead to a “declining empire,” and if so, that “active resistance” would be, should be, the result.

Another very alarming evil arising from the exclusion of the people from their share in legislation is, that the interest of the state becomes directly contrary to the interest of its governors ... Finally, a legislature thus founded, has this most fatal evil, viz. Men of Honour, Education, and Reflection *cannot* allow those laws which it makes to be *morally binding*, and will therefore think the evasion of them no crime.²⁷

This subject of active resistance is seen again in “A Hint to Placemen” from A Lover of Mankind, who warned of the dangers of a civil war when “a spirit of division rends a kingdom into two distinct people,” and that, “A furious party spirit, when it rages in its full violence, exerts itself in civil war and bloodshed.”²⁸ Two weeks later an anonymous correspondent agreed that there were far too many “places, sinecures and titles” being given to Pitt’s relatives, “The Disinterested Family.”

A few more such men as Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Rose, and Jack Robinson, would swallow up the whole country. We may well exclaim, with the late honest Sir Charles Turner, “*Lord have mercy upon the Poor! all their earnings go to support the Minister’s friends!!!*”²⁹

Printing letters like these must have alerted local authorities to the pro-reform sympathies of the *Sheffield Register*, as must the printing of the Commonwealth

²⁶ Historicus, *ibid.*, Jan 13, 1792.

²⁷ Vicinus, *ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1792.

²⁸ A Lover of Mankind, *ibid.*, Sep 7, 1792.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Sep 21, 1792.

political theorist James Harrington's³⁰ "hints" for the "shortening of parliament" (Nov. 2).³¹ A striking example of this was the anonymous writer who made himself a royal speech writer with "a sketch of a Speech which might be delivered by an exalted Personage at an early parliamentary Convention." In it, he caused the King to speak of the current peace and plenty as an opportunity for parliament to provide "fair and equal representation, just and impartial laws, religion taught in the pure and simple strains of the gospel," and to ease taxation upon, "the labouring agriculturalist, and the toiling mechanic." This must have been welcome to the ears of the Sheffield artisans in the process of forming the SSCI. In this suggested speech the King warned that the mob violence in France was reason to act and even offered to reduce his own "emoluments," for, "The good of my people is my first wish; FOR THOUGH FORTUNE MADE ME A KING, YET CHOICE NEVER MADE ME A TYRANT."³²

Satire was a common device used by all sides in the political debate in newspapers, as Jeremy Black writes.³³ I argue that the editors of the *Register* used this method vicariously to promote their own radical views, as did Rev. Thomas Middleton in his short-lived weekly, the *Country Spectator*. This is amply illustrated from a piece of his printed by them in November 1792. S of Sheffield submitted the satirical extract from the *Spectator*, "which humorously exposed the absurdity of violent party attachments," whether "Aristocrats" or "Democrats." It was written almost certainly by Middleton himself, then curate of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, who had been a peer of Coleridge and Lamb at Cambridge University.³⁴ The piece provided two creeds, though he was

³⁰ Radicals liked to refer back to the Civil War period for their heroes, cf. H. M. Höpfl, 'James Harrington (1611–1677),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed June 10, 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/article/12375>.

³¹ See Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: The English Civil Wars and the Passions of Posterity* (London: Penguin, 2001), chapters 5 and 7.

³² *SR*, Nov 9, 1792.

³³ Black, *English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 44.

³⁴ "Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (1769–1822), bishop of Calcutta. At Cambridge University his peers were Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Charles Lamb. He became curate of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, where he edited, and in great part wrote, a weekly periodical called the *Country Spectator*, which appeared from 9 October 1792 to 21 May 1793. This periodical — an echo of the work of Addison and Steele," W. W. Wroth, rev. Penelope Carson, "Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (1769–1822)," in *Oxford*

honest enough to admit his own preference for the “Democrats,” whose principles were those “of my own party.” First, he mercilessly satirised the intransigence of the higher powers with their elevated opinion of kings, their pompous champion Burke, their misapplication of history, their low view of the masses, and their refusal to allow any political change.

“THE ARISTOCRAT’S CREED”

1. I believe that virtue and talents are attached to dignity of birth; which is the reason that all Kings are great and good men.
2. I believe in the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, who *reflected* on the French Revolution.
3. I believe that nothing can legally be done in Church or State without a precedent; which is the better for being found in the annals of the 11th Century.
4. I believe that the vulgar in all countries are a low set of people, fit only to submit to their betters ...
5. Lastly, I believe that whatever is, is right; and, therefore, that nothing in our present form of government can be wrong.

Although he apparently lampooned the Democrats in a similar fashion, yet having already confessed that it was his “own party” it is difficult not believe that it was less satire, and more an excuse to publish radical views, and that Gales and Montgomery were doing the same by reprinting it. This is especially so when we bear in mind that the SSCI was now nearly a year old, and at their behest Gales had printed the *Rights of Man* (and was selling Paine’s portrait for 10s. 6d³⁵).

“THE DEMOCRAT’S CREED”

1. I believe that all genius and virtue resides among the people, who are disdainfully called the *Mob*.
2. I believe in *Thomas Paine* and in every syllable of the *Rights of Man*; in the Editor

Dictionary of National Biography, accessed June 11, 2009,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18683>.

³⁵ *SR*, June 28, 1793.

of the *Morning Post*; and in a certain impartial publication, which ought to be more generally read, called the *Jockey Club*.

3. I believe that all men are naturally equal.

4. I believe that a *popular* government is the least exceptionable form of government.

5. I believe that the present age is more virtuous and enlightened than any preceding one, as may be proved from the spirit of reform, which all Europe is introducing into Church and State.

6. I believe that my ancestors had no right to transmit a form of government to *me*, for which reason *I* will not be aiding and abetting in transmitting any form of government to my posterity.

7. I believe that all men have their *Rights*, except the King and that he has no *right* at all to have any.

8. Lastly, I believe that whatever is, is wrong; and, therefore, that opposition to the present system, whatever it is, is right.³⁶

Of course, satire was also the tool of the government newsprints in the culture of disrespect, and these show how Sheffield was seen as a centre for a dangerous republicanism, even by the king, as Sylvia Pybus says.³⁷ For example, on March 1, 1794 the *London Sun* printed a letter claiming to originate from Birmingham asking the reformist MP Charles Gray to supply “*Razors*,” having heard of his contact with a “*reputable* Friend, who I understand the Overseers of the Poor of Sheffield have long sought in vain.”³⁸ Again, on Jan 15, 1793, *The Times* printed a “*Sans Culotte Account of Mr Fox’s Birth-Day*.”³⁹

³⁶ S, SR, Nov 23, 1792.

³⁷ Sylvia Pybus, ed., *Damned Bad Place, Sheffield: An anthology of writing about Sheffield through the ages* (Sheffield: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1994).

³⁸ *London Sun*, March 1, 1794, <http://www.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number : Z2001461634.

³⁹ See also a satirical and seditious letter by ‘*B. Bounce*’ secretary of the London Society for Constitutional Information claiming a successful artisan-led revolution, “*To the PRESIDENT for the Time being of the HALFPENNY CLUB at SHEFFIELD, and Parts adjacent. Dean Street, London, June 5, 1792*.” This was written in response to the claim in *The Times* that “a succession of expresses to their

All was Frenchified. The Cooks were Sans Culottes — the Waiters Marselleis...

The grace was *ca ira*...

First Course

At the top, a dish of *French Plaices*, stewed in the tears of Royalty ... In the centre, a large tureen of *Soup Societe*, thickened with Manchester Rat's bane, — Sheffield hemlock, [emphasis added] and other exoticks, that constantly spring up from the root of the new Trees of Liberty.⁴⁰

That Sheffield was now viewed as a source of political “hemlock,” and that as the *Sheffield Register*, along with *The Patriot*,⁴¹ were the voice of reform there, confirms that the journalism of Gales and Montgomery was intentionally subversive and not mere reportage.

A striking example of how the editors of the *Register* deliberately mixed dissent in religion and politics to promote their views can be seen in a satirical letter by Hezekiah of Chesterfield. Taking his lead from Solomon's proverbs in the Bible he suggested some for inclusion — “with a few notes applicatory” — of a reformist nature. He was apparently respectful of the king, who he promised would be blessed by heaven if he abolished the Slave Trade, but was less restrained when it came to a “Proud and haughty Scornor,” (probably Burke), “who dealeth in proud wrath. *Is not this applicable to the late furious reviler of liberty and the French?*” He also cautioned against the

friends at Sheffield” had been sent stating that “the *dye was cast, and the fatal blow given* on Tuesday night, in Mount Street, to the Old Government”, *The Times*, June 9, 1792, <http://www.galegroup.com>, article CS50859721.

⁴⁰ *The Times*, Jan. 15, 1793, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, article CS34082863.

⁴¹ “We clearly foresee that Scotland will soon take the lead of this country, and conceive it will be necessary to take the greatest care that an universal communication should be constantly kept up between the several societies, however distant, ... It was by this method France became so thoroughly united ; and we ought never to lose sight of it.” “Copy of a letter from the Editors of the Patriot to the secretary of the London Corresponding Society, Sheffield, October 15th, 1792.” in the “Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy respecting Seditious Practices. June 6, 1794,” in Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, 36:797.

unwise policy of trusting in a dishonest leader (the reform defector Pitt) who in a crisis would cripple the nation.

Confidence in an unfaithful man ... in time of trouble, is like a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint. I recollect a man who has been false to his best friends, to most solemn promises; who yet is perpetually crying confide in me, confide in me!

He issued a scriptural and therefore the most solemn warning possible to John Bull.

A man that flattereth his neighbour, spreadeth a net for his feet. Beware then, O John Bull, of the men who are for ever declaiming upon the perfect soundness of thy constitution, and the unparalleled happiness of thy condition!”

The ruling classes were cautioned against despising the masses.

Scornful men bring a city into a snare, but wise men turn away wrath. Let all those who affect to speak contemptuously of the labouring part of the people, and all their peaceable endeavours to obtain their rights, attend to this...

With a final clarion call to the king, like some thundering Old Testament prophet, he ominously signed off, “If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked.”⁴²

The following Tuesday, A true friend to all the good men of Hezekiah, was stung to reply, although the letter was not published for another three weeks, “though Solomon was a wise man, I believe he little dreamed that any annotator on this text, at the close of the 18th century, would enlist these *moral* maxims into the service of *political paradoxes*.” His response pinpoints a truth that the editors must have been aware of, namely the power of the press, for many people were relying upon newspapers for their political and moral compass. “That many people read a newspaper who never read their

⁴² Hezekiah, *SR*, June 8, 1792.

bibles. I trust that those who do read them, do so with the pious intention of obtaining moral instruction, and not for the peevish purpose of political perversion.”⁴³

The liberty of the Press was coming under pressure and becoming a national issue,⁴⁴ and so on January 6, 1792, Ignotus was moved to defend A Reader and the impartiality of the *Sheffield Register* from the attacks of J.T. (Rev. John Russell). “In all great political questions, the fundamental basis of a really-good paper is its impartiality,” he said.⁴⁵ Another anonymous critic suggested that Gales should publish Benjamin Franklin’s “account of the Court of the Press; it may possibly have some good effect, in checking those scribblers, who sometimes indulge themselves by attempting to ridicule worthy characters in songs, &c. whilst the infamous writers under feigned signatures, or none at all, remain unknown.” In it, Franklin argued for a balance of freedom but also curbs on the press in order to defend the reputation of citizens. He suggested that there should be complete freedom to print critical letters by individuals so long as the one whose reputation was attacked had the right to go and “break his head.”⁴⁶ Recognising that many such writers were anonymous or used pen-names, Franklin said, “If he conceals himself behind the printer, and you can nevertheless discover who he is, you may in like manner, way-lay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing.” He called upon legislators to mark the boundaries of the freedom of the press to attack personal reputations with the State “cudgel.” Using Franklin in support of moves against publishing anonymous correspondents was a poor one, for he was known to have used numerous pen names himself, as Gordon Wood points out.⁴⁷ Gales and Montgomery were happy to print this but did not follow his advice to rein in their correspondents, or in Montgomery’s case avoid disguising his satires in this way. On June 1, 1792, Cato again took up his pen, this time against despotism that deliberately kept the people in ignorance by restraining the freedom of the press or by printing lies

⁴³ A true friend to all the good men of Hezekiah, *ibid.*, June 29, 1792.

⁴⁴ An Association for Preserving the Liberty of the Press held its first meeting in London at the Freemason’s Tavern on December 22, 1792, later moving to the Crown and Anchor to accommodate the large numbers attending.

⁴⁵ Ignotus, *SR*, Jan 6, 1792.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct 12, 1792.

⁴⁷ Wood, *The Americanization*, 14.

against “the associated patriots” in government prints like the *Morning Herald* (“hireling paragraph writers”). Despite the dangers of abuse, freedom of the press he argued should be defended as much as parliamentary freedoms.⁴⁸ He may have been thinking of the Commonwealth days in the previous century when anonymous pamphlets flooded the country despite attempts by the Crown to suppress them. As John Milton had said concerning the “Liberty of Printing,” to try and suppress printing would be like a man “who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate.”⁴⁹

In sum, I suggest that the overwhelming pro-reform bias of the political letters published reveals the radical stance of the editors themselves, who were deliberately using the political letters to promote their own radical views.

*An Address & Petition, to His Majesty ... from Sheffield*⁵⁰

A collection of four inflammatory, addresses, petitions and letters was bound together and published in Sheffield dated 1794, almost certainly by Joseph Gales. Of these four, three may have been composed by Montgomery, certainly the letter to Thomas Walker was. The first, “Justice, Liberty, and Humanity. A Petition to the King. From the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Sheffield, in the County of York. For the Total and Unqualified Abolition of Slavery,” was an undisguised call for the rights of the suffering British lower orders. The writer was openly radical in his (or her) tone and thrust. He on behalf of the Sheffield reformers refused to denigrate his/their position even before the British throne, and consciously elevated them on to an equal intellectual footing with all men, high or low. “As intellectual Beings, we conceive it to be a sacred obligation, imposed by the Supreme Being, *to think for ourselves*.”⁵¹ He used the case of slaves to remind the king that the impoverished masses also considered themselves to be under a slavish yoke, “Wishing to be rid of the weight of oppression under which *we* groan, we are induced to compassionate those

⁴⁸ Cato, *SR*, June 1, 1792.

⁴⁹ James Hamilton ed., *Our Christian Classics*, vol. 2. (James Nisbet & Co: London, 1857), 53.

⁵⁰ *An Address & Petition, to His Majesty, from the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Sheffield. To which is added a Letter to Mr. Walker, and A Letter to the Editor of the Sheffield Register* (Sheffield, 1794).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

who groan also.” He reminded the king that the masses had long campaigned unsuccessfully for equal rights and were losing patience. “On our *own* account we have repeatedly petitioned the lower house of Parliament but petitioned in vain,” and he warned, “We are weary of the practice. We are disgusted to hear the hallowed name of Liberty made the sport of corrupt Placemen ... in the practice of legislation, Humanity is but a name.”⁵² Tongue in cheek, he quoted the king’s own son, the Duke of Clarence, as a supporter of their call for abolition. The Duke had reputedly said that the West Indies slaves were “full as happy as the lower classes of people are in England.” If that was the case then “they must be wretched indeed. For we groan, Sire, under great and grievous burdens, and we see no prospect of redress.” He warned the king that the sufferings of the starving families in England, and the inability of the menfolk to find enough work “to provide them with the common necessities of life” might, unless ameliorated, prove “fatal even to the interest of government itself.”⁵³ There was an implied prediction of social unrest even uprising if the king refused to liberate his own subjects let alone the slaves. So he warned the king that the lack of parliamentary representation, and the unconstitutional quartering of foreign troops around the country, and the “system of state inquisition ... the violent measures employed to wrest the liberty of the press from the hands of the subject” meant that the British masses were not “a free, a happy, and contented People.”

The second work, “To the King. An Address from the Inhabitants of Sheffield,” from, “warm Friends of Liberty and the Rights of Man,”⁵⁴ called upon him to use his royal warrant to pardon Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot and Gerrald. Almost indignantly it insisted that they were innocent of any crimes, and that on the contrary to use “every constitutional means” to bring about parliamentary reform deserved commendation, “since we are persuaded that nothing short of the Accomplishment of such a reform, will restore Peace and Happiness to our present aggrieved and injured nation.” If this was designed to persuade the king then its tone was too strong, and to remind him that Pitt was originally elected on such a reform platform was not designed to achieve its end of obtaining a royal pardon.

⁵² Ibid., 4.

⁵³ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.

Let it not be said, that men of education, of refined sentiments, of the most virtuous and benevolent characters, were severed from their dearest connections, and plunged into dungeons with thieves and prostitutes ... because they had the virtue openly to condemn the acknowledged corruptions of Government... Let it not be said, that it was as great a crime to speak the TRUTH, as to be guilty of FELONY.⁵⁵

With shocking forwardness, the Sheffield reformers suggested to George III that he was surrounded by flatterers, “these are our plain sentiments. We know they are such as your Majesty is unaccustomed to hear: but if they are supported by Truth and Reason ... We are plain men, and we will not flatter a King.” They insisted that if he listened to them then he would surely “avert that *Storm*, which it is too evident has long been awfully gathering and which may burst forth in a moment when your Majesty thinks not.”⁵⁶ This address was so radical in tone with its implications of imminent revolution that it was no surprise when warrants were issued for the arrest of Yorke and Gales. If this was a product of Montgomery’s pen then it is also clear why the local authorities were so keen to arrest him later that year. If Montgomery was responsible for writing on behalf of the SSCI to the imprisoned reformers then it is not impossible that he was also responsible for these petitions, addresses and letters to the king. We know that he wrote the letter to Thomas Walker; the inclusion of the letter from Aristocrat is more problematic. Why Gales should include a letter from such an apparently rabid pro-government writer alongside three radical pieces is unclear unless it is meant to be ironic.⁵⁷ Perhaps this is a deliberate ploy to use the writings of their most pro-

⁵⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁷ In the thirteen letters from Aristocrat published by Gales and Montgomery in the *SR* between November 1793 and June 1794 we see that he was its fiercest critic, but also its favourite correspondent: 1793

Nov 22. His attack on Mr. Printer for his attacks on “the Ajax of the Treasury,” W. Pitt.

Nov 29. The army retreat from St Maloe is a glorious retreat, contra. “blockheads” like the Printer.

Dec 27. He is “laughing at that melancholy phiz of yours... Lord Howe is safe arrived.”

1794

Jan 10. He hopes the Printer will abandon the cause of the Swinish Multitude.

government correspondent to ridicule his cause, or, perhaps the whole correspondence was one long fabricated satire on the Pitt government. On balance, the latter seems attractive, as this would be one way of ridiculing the government position without openly attacking it during a time of increasing press gagging. Who Aristocrat was remains a mystery, “Ah! Mr. Printer, we are all in the dumps again. That d——d *bonnet rouge* will triumph in spite of our teeth, I fear.”⁵⁸

Political Poems in the *Sheffield Register* 1791-94

The rapid increase in political correspondence in the *Sheffield Register* during 1792 antedated a similar increase in the political poems by about twelve months, and it was as if the former prompted the latter. From March 1793, the poetry was overwhelmingly political. Of the sixty-three poems or epigrams only thirteen were of a non-political nature, and in 1794 the figure was four out of twenty-seven (see appendix). It was no surprise, however, that the poems should have reflected a growing political concern at a time of increasing repression. As Tom Paulin points out, poets do not exist in a “timeless vacuum” soaring above history in a “purely aesthetic non-political position.” Rather they are society’s conscience, and “history is a more or less inescapable condition.”⁵⁹ In an era when the popular voice struggled to find an outlet, political verse played an important role, “this was the golden age of popular political ballad both for quantity and quality,” says Mary Ashraf.⁶⁰

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- Jan 24. A “lesson at odd intervals” to a wavering reformist Printer.
 - Feb 21. Address to Nottinghamians: “Ha! Ha!...Where is your Country party now?”
 - Mar 7. The “cursed Fleet of French East-India men should get safe into port.”
 - Mar 14. “The poor of all Nations were born to servitude.”
 - Mar 28. His outrage with Mr. Printer for printing a letter about the Tree of Liberty.
 - Apr 11. Despair at Robespierre’s success and the King of Prussia’s probable withdrawal.
 - Apr 25. A patriotic rant about the war and taxes.
 - May 16. A patriotic rant about the war.
 - June 6. “I can but laugh, Mr. Printer” — at the suspension of Habeas Corpus.

⁵⁸ Aristocrat, in *Address & Petition*, 15.

⁵⁹ Tom Paulin, *The Faber Book of Political Verse* (London: Faber & Faber, 1986), 17.

⁶⁰ Mary Ashraf, *Political Verse and Song from Britain and Ireland* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975), 21.

As 1791 began, there was little warning of the advent of a more political tone to the poetry; there were sonnets to nature, sick children, beautiful young ladies, and addresses from the theatre. However, on April 15 the first sign of change was signalled in an anonymous piece entitled, “Something New. A Flourishing Nation! a flourishing Trade! But Debts.”⁶¹ A month later, there was “Epigrams: The Origin of Oyster Eating: On the Election of an imperious Person to a yearly office.”⁶² The trickle of political poetry then continued throughout the rest of the year with, “Truth and Reason” (July 1), “a song sung to commemorate the French Revolution at Liverpool” (Aug 5), “Peter Pindar’s Panegyric on France” (Nov. 4), and, “On Sugar” (Dec 9; 16).

In 1792 this gradual increase continued with “Verses addressed to Englishmen” (Feb 10), “A Juryman’s Duty. By the Judge” (Apr 13), “Lines to a Friend refusing to sign the Petition against the Slave Trade” (May 11), *Tryo’s* “Extempore, on reading Messrs Pitt and Fox’s Speeches” (May 18), a song commemorating the fall of the Bastille (Aug 7), “Muse of energy and fire / ... Glorious Liberty advance” by Musaeus/James Montgomery (Aug 17),⁶³ “Lines addressed to patriotic and gallant Frenchmen, in their present arduous Struggles for Freedom” (Oct 5), Josiah Bardsley’s, “Sonnet to France on the late Revolution (Oct 12), Sir William Jones’s “What constitutes a state?” (Nov 2), and, a “Song on the Revolution of 1688 ... at the London Tavern” (Nov 16) — “When men by the standard of Liberty led, / Undauntedly conquer’d or cheerfully bled / But now... / While France rises up and proclaims the decree, / That tears off their chains and bids millions be free.”

Concerning their hopes for the continuing progress of “Liberty” and for the success of republican France, the editors published pieces such as the eight stanza, “A song composed for the Anniversary of the French Revolution, July 14, 1792.” The reprinting of this piece by Montgomery’s print shop for a street hawker in the summer of 1794 would lead to his first imprisonment. This was without his knowledge he claimed, unconvincingly.

⁶¹ *SR*, Apr 15, 1791.

⁶² *Ibid.*, May 20, 1791.

⁶³ This seems to be Montgomery’s own panegyric to the fall of the Bastille.

While Tyranny martials its minions around,
And bids its fierce legions advance,
Fair Freedom! the hopes of thy sons to confound,
To restore his old empire in France.⁶⁴

This joy at the fall of tyrants was also a feature of other radical groups, like that at Norwich, where Dr. Parr the hymn writer wrote 'The Trumpet of Liberty' with its refrain, 'Fall, Tyrants, Fall' which was sung at the 'Revolution' dinner on July 14, 1791.⁶⁵

Political poems in 1793 were still few in number as the new year began with an "Epigram from Macleod's New-York Gazetteer.... To some tyrannic Lord, or priestly tool." (Jan 4). But in March, with "British Liberty Asserted" (Mar 15), and, C. B., "On the effects of Gold" (Mar 29), everything suddenly changed. Louis was dead and war with France had begun, political unrest and government repression was increasing. From now on, the editors of the *Register* focused on publishing poetry, which commented on all the live issues, as well as parliamentary representation. Thus there was: "Representation. An old epigram" (July 5), "Effects of War," by Pacificus (Nov 22), and the Government's heavy-handed response to dissent, "On the late Military Attack at Brighton Theatre. The Querist and History" (Sep 6). The desire for reform remained central but the pro-French tone was now replaced with a more nationalistic one.

"BRITISH LIBERTY ASSERTED"

The hopes of a *Frenchman* are vague and delusive;
For LIBERTY'S our's; — they who gallop may see
No Nation on Earth pays so DEAR for't as we.⁶⁶

This growing nationalism did not lessen the radical tone and the continuing pursuit of reform however.

⁶⁴ Mr Scott of Dromore, *SR*, Aug 3, 1792.

⁶⁵ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 56.

⁶⁶ *SR*, Mar 15, 1793.

“THE STATESMAN’S SOLILOQUY”

Reform! — ah! shield me from its searching eyes,
Aid me ye schemes, ye arts, ye subtlest lies;
E’en now, methinks, I feel its baneful pow’r
Rush o’er my soul and ev’ry joy devour.
LIBERTIOR⁶⁷

Or, the expressions of disgust at corruption in high places.

“ON THE EFFECTS OF GOLD”

Would you silence a Patriot Committee,
Touch their lips with this magical wand;
Through country and senate and city,
Tis the lock and key of the land....

Take a piece of the same from your coffer,
Display to the Voter your pelf;
And the wretch, having nothing to offer,
Will frugally sell you — HIMSELF...
C. B.⁶⁸

Though critical of government and monarchy Gales and Montgomery, were clearly men of compassion and moved by the imprisonment of Louis and Marie Antoinette they published, “CAPTIVITY, *A Serious Air*. Supposed to be sung by the beautiful and unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, during her confinement in the Tower of the Temple.”⁶⁹

At this moment, in the spring of 1793, there was a growing awareness that the right to freedom of expression might soon be lost, as seen in a piece allegedly written by Joseph Gales’s younger brother Timothy.

⁶⁷ Libertior, *ibid.*, May 31, 1793.

⁶⁸ C. B., *ibid.*, Mar 29, 1793.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr 5, 1793.

“NO LIBEL TO THINK”

When the sunshine of LIBERTY breaks on our sight,

The reform of *Abuses* we’ll claim as our RIGHT:

‘The Friends of Reform’ is the toast we will drink.

And we’ll think of our Rights — while we’ve *Freedom* to THINK! —

T. G.⁷⁰

There was a foreboding sense that there were moves in government to suppress the despised artisan “slaves,” with their ambitions for the extension of the suffrage.

“PATRIOTISM”

Who dare to tell the *Swinish* rabble,

That all in Politics should dabble,

That every tattered greasy rogue,

Who quaffs a pot, or wears a brogue,

Should vote for Senators, and be

Like men of birth and fortune free.

But soon I trust these noisy knaves

Will be what Nature meant them — *Slaves*.⁷¹

The anti-war theme came to the fore in three consecutive issues as the SSCI was leading the way nationally in calls for peace says Goodwin.⁷² First, there was a verse about army recruitment.

⁷⁰ T. G., *ibid.*, Apr 19, 1793.; see Armytage, “Editorial Experience”, 349. Gales would use this piece again, in the *Raleigh Register*, July 8, 1800, against the repressive Alien and Sedition Laws of U. S. President John Adams, see chapter four below.

⁷¹ *SR*, May 3, 1793.

⁷² “BL, Add. MSS. 27812, fo. 37, Feb 23, 1793,” in Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 282.

“THE POST OF HONOUR!”

Occasioned by seeing the Words “Fly to the Post of Honour” in large Characters, on a recruiting Bill, stuck on a Wall.... Fly to the Post of Honour! fly!

P. B. I.⁷³

Then a plea to government to think of the awful destruction they were inflicting upon their countrymen.

“ODE”

OH ye who fill the throne of pow’r....

Think, while the trumpet’s clamorous breath,

Re-echoes thro’ the regions round,

What scenes of agony and death,

Await the inharmonious sound.⁷⁴

Followed by a young woman’s desolate cry at losing her beloved.

LINES, Supposed to be written by a young Lady of this Town, upon reading the following passage in our last paper:— “They poured upon our troops a shower of grape and musquet shot, that brought to the ground some of our bravest men.”

THEN he is fallen! for he was brave!

My WILLY sinks among the dead!⁷⁵

Gales and Montgomery were vocal in their calls for peace throughout the remaining eighteen months of working together; Montgomery as J.M.G. wrote a “Sonnet upon the close of the campaign of 1793.” In November 1793, they published a long poem by Pacificus called the “Effects of War” which concluded with a challenge to the king.

⁷³ P. B. I., *SR*, *Ibid.*, May 10, 1793.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1793.

⁷⁵ A young Lady of the Town, *ibid.*, May 24, 1793.

Long shou'd reflection in a Monarch's mind
Dwell on such themes.
Then strongly there impress'd,
War, in its various horrors, would appear:
And if a spark of virtue in him lives,
Nature must shrink from such a thought accurs'd,
As plunging nations in offensive war!⁷⁶

In the next issue, to show that it was not just kings who were responsible for the evils of war and the rise in taxes to fund it, they printed a pointed song entitled “Billy’s So Keen For The War.” This neatly encapsulated all the concerns of the editors’ opposition to the war. It revealed the common loathing of rising taxes, their alarm at the economic deterioration with the food shortages for the poorest, the “monstrous” indifference of ‘Billy’ Pitt’s government to the war losses, even the implication that Pitt was deliberately using the war as a distraction from the reform issue, and ended in a plea to the throne.

“BILLY’S SO KEEN FOR THE WAR”

Dear! what can the matter be?
Dear! what can the matter be?
Lord! what can the matter be?
Billy’s so keen for the *war*!

When Billy first crept into administration,
He promis’d to lessen the debts of the nation:
He promis’d — no more to increase our taxation:
A parcel of words in the air!
O! what can the matter be, &c.

What *now* must be ev’ry gull’d Briton’s surprise, sir!

⁷⁶ Pacificus, *ibid.*, Nov 22, 1793.

Our debts are not lessen'd — our taxes must rise, sir!
And both must increase — must increase to a size, sir!
Above what we're able to bear.
O! what can the matter be, &c.

What devil was he that advis'd such a measure?
Thus madly to lavish our blood and our treasure,
A pack of tyrannical Despots to pleasure—
Without any profit whate'er!
O! what can the matter be, &c.

While we are the cause of Ambition subserving,
Our trade is decaying, our peasants are starving;
God send, that the monsters may meet their deserving,
Who thus drive us on to despair.
O! what can the matter be, &c.

Is this — is it not, a most artful invention,
From *odious* REFORMS withdraw our attention,
And kindle the flames of intestine dissension?
Ah! Britons! attend to the snare.
O! what can the matter be, &c.

Tell, Englishmen! tell him, with one acclamation,
Such measures will speedily ruin the nation;
And tell your good K—g that a pacification,
Is ev'ry true Englishman's prayer.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Ibid., Nov 29, 1793. There is an alternative version in the *Cabinet of Curiosities* (London, 1795), 179, which is even more radical, accessed April 11, 2010, <http://www.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: CW115857327.

This satirical piece may have had a ‘Homeric’ lightness of tone but it was truly ‘Juvenalian’ in its tragic content. Gary Dyer is perhaps right when he argues that a Homeric tone of ‘levity’ in such serious themes was inappropriate and actually counterproductive — “Satire that inspires laughter reforms neither ‘fools’ nor the ‘vicious’”.⁷⁸ The *Register* often printed satirical works by the well-known critic of the crown Peter Pindar (John Wolcot), which was deliberately ambiguous, in order to protect him from prosecution for seditious libel.⁷⁹ (A technique Montgomery adopted in his early satires, but which did not save him from prosecution). “This rhetorical indirectness turns out to be his foremost legacy to later reformist satirists,” says Gary Dyer. The poem, “Billy’s So Keen...,” was deliberately counter-balanced as in the previous issue with a letter from *Aristocrat*. But none could seriously doubt that the sympathies of the editors lay with this satirical swipe at ‘Billy’ Pitt and not with Aristocrat, who bracketed the editors with the vulgar rabble — “among the *Canaille* blockheads, like yourself, and the generality of your readers” — and himself, “among us the superior class of beings.”⁸⁰ Gales and Montgomery were thus lumped together by their opponent with the lower orders and defrocked of their middling-sort class distinctive. Montgomery would eventually have to distance himself from the artisan reformers in order to survive as a middling-sort business man rather than take ship for America like the Galeases.

In sum, this overview of the political poetry published in the *Sheffield Register* shows that the editors were using poems as a political voice for their own, and the general populace’s concerns about reform, the war and corruption in government.

The pseudonymous works of James Montgomery in the *Sheffield Register*

A consideration of James Montgomery’s pseudonymous works published in the *Sheffield Register* during 1792-94 will increase our understanding of the radicalism of its editors. Montgomery used a number of pen names, some Greek, some Latin — a device popular with contemporaries since the ‘Junius’ letters of the 1770s — which lent a veneer of classical learning, and gave an echo of the protest voices against abuse of

⁷⁸ Dyer, *British Satire*, 35.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁰ *Aristocrat*, *SR*, Nov 22, 1793.

authority in the ancient republic of Rome. In so doing late eighteenth-century radicals often sought validation by appeal to ancient precedents. Montgomery's use of Marcellus, for example, may be an allusion to one of a number of martial figures in Rome; and Musaeus, one of three Greek poets of that name, perhaps the mythical seer and priest said to be the pupil, or son, of Orpheus.

Marcellus

Only a month after Montgomery started work at the *Sheffield Register* there appeared a satirical letter in two instalments from Marcellus (published at a time when billeted soldiers were clashing with locals). "There is an evil under the sun ... the *Spirit of Patriotism*" (May 4, 1792), and, "The Morning of Liberty begins to break" (May 11) — "Men of every description have not only dared to dispute the rights of Kings, but even presumed to assert the rights of Men." Its tone was Paineite in its contempt for the governing powers and their disdain for the lower "bestial" orders.

Creatures who have been taught from their infancy to look upon themselves as they are looked upon, by those who are, or think themselves their betters, as animals of an inferior species, have lately taken upon themselves mighty airs, and strut and talk politics, and fancy themselves men.⁸¹

He strongly sympathised with the awakening plebeians and their calls for parliamentary reform, and was 'Pindaric' in his criticism of government.

The taylor, who never pretended to more than a tithe of manhood, has now the confidence to call himself a whole one: the cobbler, fondly imagines he can fill a seat in parliament, with as much credit as he fills his own, and because he can mend old shoes, thinks he can mend the Constitution as well.⁸²

⁸¹ Marcellus, *ibid.*, May 4, 1792.

⁸² *Ibid.*, May 11, 1792.

A confirmation that this was Montgomery writing as a radical in his own right, and not just under the influence of the Galeses, was seen two years later in a letter he wrote to Joseph Aston referring to his writing as Marcellus Moonshine in the *Iris*. Montgomery confessed that he could not then pursue too radical a political line only because his business partner and financial backer (Benjamin Naylor a preacher at the Unitarian chapel in Norfolk Street) would not tolerate it. His ironic, flippant ‘Horatian’ tone was still evident in the *Iris* however. In the letter he drew attention to a new series of essays of personal reminiscences on the back page under the heading of “The Enthusiast; or the Follies of Marcellus Moonshine.... wherein I have as clearly as possible copied the portrait of my own character, silly, and trifling as it is. My reason for this, is because my partner is extremely averse to high-seasoned politics, such as the readers of the late ‘*Register*’ were wont to be pampered within the last page of that paper.”⁸³ The clear implication being that if Montgomery were not shackled by his business partner then he would have given free rein again to publishing and writing “high-seasoned politics.” This check on content by Naylor explains the more muted political tone of the *Iris* at its outset, as E. P. Thompson notes,⁸⁴ rather than any immediate change in Montgomery’s politics.⁸⁵ He promised, perhaps ironically, to pursue caution for Naylor’s benefit, “I shall wholly banish independent politics from my plan; yet I shall endeavour to wean the public from violent and irritating language on political themes.”⁸⁶ He was clearly frustrated with this gagging by economic rather than Government pressure. There was also a suggestion here that Montgomery like an ‘Elisha’ was consciously taking over the mantle of his ‘Elijah’, Joseph Gales, as the leading local voice of pro-reform journalism.

Marcellus Moonshine and Marcellus share the same ironic playful tone and it seems reasonable to think that they were the same writer. Note how the writer is absolutely confident that a “second heroic epistle” from him will be published the following week. Who but the editor, Gales or his assistant, Montgomery could be that confident?

⁸³ “Letter to Joseph Aston of Manchester, July 30, 1794,” in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:181.

⁸⁴ “At Sheffield James Montgomery, who tried to continue Joseph Gales’s work by publishing the more cautious *Iris*,” Thompson, *The Making*, 150n.

⁸⁵ The partnership was dissolved on July 3, 1795, after Montgomery’s first imprisonment for seditious libel, thus lasting for only the first year of the *Iris*, Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:230.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:181.

But since we are upon so serious a subject as thinking, it may not be amiss to give the reader time to think till next week, upon what has been already written, when I shall resume my pen, and in a second heroic epistle, give my opinion (gratis) upon certain important subjects, which more nearly interest us as men and as Britons, — Meanwhile, I am happy to have the opportunity of subscribing myself your, and the reader's humble servant, MARCELLUS.⁸⁷

Compare the similarity of language and tone with Marcellus Moonshine two years later in the *Iris*, which strongly suggests Montgomery as the author of both.

It is an unspeakable comfort to me that my name and character alone will provoke every blockhead to say something smart upon me, and be for once in his life a wit — in his own eyes. I do therefore hereby publicly license any dunce to be as merry at my expence as he pleases, and every booby who cannot even spell his own name, is most cordially welcome to crack his joke upon the follies of MARCELLUS MOONSHINE.⁸⁸

Musaeus

On June 8, 1792 in the “Repository of Genius” Gales published “Complimentary Verses, Addressed to X. Z. on his excellent Love Elegies,” written by Musaeus. This short piece of eight lines contained a sarcastic bite aimed at X. Z. concerning his lack of “common sense.” Who X. Z. was is not clear, and why Montgomery was scorning his love poetry is also unclear, but it does illustrate Montgomery's cutting wit. Such sharp effusions were to get him into trouble with the authorities and ultimately led to two terms in prison. We know that it was Montgomery because on April 12, 1793, the *Register* published a paean to Britain's power, and a call for political rights by Musaeus, entitled, “The Bull; A Simile Addressed to John Bull, Esq.” This was appended six months later to the first edition of Montgomery's, *The History of a Church and a*

⁸⁷ Marcellus, *SR*, May 4, 1792.

⁸⁸ Marcellus Moonshine, *Iris*, July 25, 1794.

Warming-Pan, with the addition to the title, “On his petitioning for a Reform in Parliament.”⁸⁹ This is clear evidence that he was writing as Musaeus, a radical reformer. After lauding the might of “The Bull,” Montgomery in the last stanza issued a clarion call for the “Rights” of the people.

BRITANNIA know thy strength! thy Rights regain,
When Britons sue shall Britons sue in vain?
But should the People’s Voice their Rights demand?
The People’s Voice! which nothing can withstand!
Though steel’d against a weeping Nation’s tears
Tyrants are governed only by their fears —
For Freedom all the Nations look to thee;
Britannia speak and bid the Universe be free!⁹⁰

His radicalism was unmistakable here, and disproves Montgomery’s later claim to only writing nondescript pieces.

I entered into the feelings of those who avowed themselves the friends of freedom, justice, and humanity.... Though ... my retired and religious education had laid restraints upon my conscience — I may say so fearlessly — which long kept me back from personally engaging in the civil war of words beyond an occasional rhyme, paragraph, or essay, in the newspaper, written rather for the purpose of showing my literary than my political qualifications.⁹¹

⁸⁹ There are reputedly five copies of this first edition still in existence: the thesis writer has one, and there are copies in the archives of the University of Wales, Lampeter; Dr. Williams’s Library, London; one in New Zealand; and another in America. The later reprint without *The Bull*, is in the Sheffield Archives.

⁹⁰ Musaeus, *SR*, April 12, 1793.

⁹¹ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:142.

He was nowhere near as temperate and timid as he and his biographers insisted. It may be his later sensitivity that coloured his own view of his youthful self, as Williamson claims.⁹²

On August 17, 1792, “Ode. Glorious Liberty Advance” in twelve stanzas by Musaeus appeared. The longing for radical political change was clear; the call for ‘freedom’ was too early for the war with France.

MUSE of energy and fire,
Stretch abroad thy boldest wing,
Freedom calls, assume the lyre,
Freedom calls, arise and sing.
Sing the captive’s broken chain,
Sing the tyrant’s wither’d arm;
Mad oppression storms in vain,
Freedom’s breath hath broke the charm

The eleventh stanza underlined Montgomery’s participation in the commonly held belief in the French Revolution, and his call for a radical reform in Britain.

Glorious Liberty advance,
Bright thy conquering banners shine;
Not alone in favour’d France, —
Britain’s nobler sons be thine!⁹³

J. M. G.

Beginning on July 12, 1793, “The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan” — “a harsh and ludicrous parable, to illustrate the necessity of ecclesiastical and political reform”⁹⁴ — and signed by J. M. G., was published in four parts in the *Register*, and

⁹² Williamson says he later gained a reputation for being a very sensitive poet, Williamson, “Religious Thought,” 60.

⁹³ Musaeus, *SR*, August 17, 1792.

⁹⁴ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:148.

three months later as a book by the London printer H. D. Symonds who was then in Newgate prison for publishing Paine's works.⁹⁵ By so doing Montgomery and Gales were consciously aligning themselves with the radical movement. An advertisement in the *Register* on October 11 made their identification with national radicalism undeniable. Even the advertisement layout (not unusual for new publications) read like a political manifesto with the use of varying type sizes designed to deliberately emphasise the audible proclamation as if being shouted forth by a reformer like Yorke at a political rally.

FIRST YEAR OF IMPRISONMENT IN NEWGATE.

This Day is published,

PRICE ONE SHILLING,

THE

HISTORY

OF A

CHURCH AND A WARMING-PAN.

Written for the Benefit of the

ASSOCIATORS AND REFORMERS

OF

THE AGE.

And dedicated without Permission,

TO THEIR TRI-FOLD MAJESTIES,

THE PEOPLE, THE LAW, AND THE KING,

To which is added

THE BULL,

A SIMILE,

Addressed to John Bull, Esq.

On his Petitioning for

⁹⁵ Given two years in prison, bound over for two years, and a £20 fine for publishing *The Rights of Man*, part 2., *SR*, March 8, 1793 (actually four years in prison and a £200 fine, says Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 272, citing PRO TS 11/944/3419).

A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

(Written from an Idea of the celebrated *Henry Yorke*.)

London: printed for H. D. Symonds. No 20. Paternoster-Row, and sold by J. Gales, the Agents and Distributors of the *Register*, and all other Booksellers.⁹⁶

There are a number of clear evidences here of Montgomery's and Gales's strong reform sympathies. The choice of the publisher, Symonds, already in prison for reform publishing activities in London. Then the clear encouragement to "Associators and Reformers," which leaves us in no doubt whose side the author was on. The cheap price of a shilling (twelve pence), seemed designed to reach as broad a readership as possible particularly among the poorer classes (the *Sheffield Register* was only four pence at the time). The title and the dedication (not the advertisement) which directly addressed the nation, parliament and even the king, "without Permission," were breathtaking in their boldness. There also seems to be no fear of arrest but rather the assurance perhaps of being part of a mass movement for reform that would make confinement of every opinionated spokesman unlikely. In addition, there may be an echo of Paine's 1792 "Letter Addressed to the Addressers of the Late Proclamation" — an extract of which was published in the *Register*.⁹⁷ Moreover, the connection drawn with orator Henry Yorke was a clear attempt to promote sales and to underline the reform credentials of the work, the publisher, the booksellers including Gales and the *Register*, and the presently anonymous author.

The work itself was a satirical account of how the local clergy fleeced a village congregation for money, collected in a warming-pan, to repair the church building, but wasted it in a local tavern instead. Montgomery drew repeated comparisons between the local elite and a corrupt government, and in a clear portrayal of Tom Paine the Norfolk stay-maker and his book the *Rights of Man*, introduced Tom Crabtree also a stay-maker. Crabtree, who was leading a revolt against the local aristocracy for the rights of the people, spoke of a levelling book, in an obvious reference to Paine's work.

⁹⁶ *SR*, Oct 11, 1793.

⁹⁷ *SR*, Nov 2, 1792.

I have lately read a book, no matter what the title is, but it says ... perhaps not in the same words, in short, We're all as equal as a box of dice, as a shilling is to twelvepence, or as my right eye is to my left.⁹⁸

He pointed out that the only difference between the king and a beggar were the clothes he wore and his wealth. "What makes a King? A coat daubed with gold ... a crown, a sceptre, and such like playthings."⁹⁹ Crabtree suggested they should punish the aristocracy who were locked in the vestry, and blow up the church, but the mob was dissuaded by a Mr. Somebody (perhaps a picture of Montgomery). He argued that the war was the greater evil, and counselled them to peacefully seek representation, lower rents and tithes. He was, nevertheless, still calling for radical reform.

The committee appointed to manage the parish have betrayed their trust; the great villains elected themselves first, and then filled up the number with their own sycophants. Would to God there was *not* another Assembly in Britain to which I could, but must forbear, to liken them! — Notwithstanding what has passed, the Church must be repaired, and the Constitution of our Country regenerated: but how must these great ends be accomplished? By an equal representation of the People in Parliament.¹⁰⁰

The unauthorised republication of this radical levelling work a generation later in 1835 — "As a rod for a turn-coat's back" — like Robert Southey's *Wat Tyler*,¹⁰¹ was designed to embarrass Montgomery, by then a pillar of the national establishment.¹⁰² In its appendix one of the publishers, R. E. Lee, quoted 'Junius' of Sir Francis Burdett, and

⁹⁸ Montgomery, *Church and a Warming-Pan*, 40.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰¹ Republished in 1817 to embarrass the then poet laureate. Geoffrey Carnall, "Robert Southey (1774–1843)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed June 8, 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26056>. On seeing the advert in the *Morning Chronicle* on Feb 14, 1817, Southey exclaimed, "The sins of my youth are risen against me," in Speck, *Robert Southey*, 171.

¹⁰² *The History of a Church and a Warming Pan ...* Reprinted, ANNO 1835, for R. E. Lee, London, & P. T. Bready, Sheffield, "As a rod for a turn-coat's back. Price Threepence."

said of Montgomery and Southey, “The flaming patriot who so lately scorched us in the meridian, now sinks temperately in the west.” He lamented, “your apostacy has not been so conspicuous as that of your compeers, yet that it has not been less positive” — an indication of the success of Montgomery’s efforts to suppress his radical activities of the 1790s. The State pension that Robert Peel had later given to Montgomery, as compensation for his imprisonments, had, said Lee, made him a robber of the taxes of the wretched starving poor. Concerning this long suppressed work, he said, “you now blush to own, as SAINT Southey does *Wat Tyler*,” but it would nevertheless stand (because he and Bready had republished it), “like a splendid column in the desert ... a surviving monument of departed glory, and prostrated genius.” In disgust at Montgomery’s defection from radicalism he signed off with a dismissive flourish, “I am, Sir, an admirer of the James Montgomery a Reformer of ‘93, but not of the reformed James Montgomery of ‘35.’”¹⁰³ By 1835 he might just as easily have said of Montgomery as Francis Burdett is reported to have said of himself to John Cam Hobhouse in 1818, “In moderation placing all my glory, Tories call me Whig and Whigs a Tory!”¹⁰⁴ In fact, said Holland and Everett, during the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 he was secretly considered as a candidate for the new seat, and again in 1837 when the sitting MP, Buckingham, was on the point of resigning. But by this time he was a “Conservative ... not at all disposed, to outrage the hereditary opinions of a fast-diminishing remnant of the old Tory school of politicians.”¹⁰⁵ This was a complete volte-face by the radical of the 1790s, as Lee and Bready bemoaned. In the event he was judged too principled to vote with a party, and too sensitive to withstand the rough and tumble of parliament.

On August 23, 1793, the *Register* published “The Madman’s Petition” by J. M. G., a light-hearted musing upon the varying positions open to a young bachelor: farming, marriage, trade, a divine, a soldier, a hermit, or even “a house in Grosvenor-square, with forty thousand pounds a year.”¹⁰⁶ Here was Montgomery full of the vigour and the

¹⁰³ Ibid., appendix.

¹⁰⁴ Marc Baer, “Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1834),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed Jan 21, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3962>.

¹⁰⁵ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 5:240-242.

¹⁰⁶ It was renamed the “Grumbler’s Petition” and included in his *Prison Amusements*, 1797.

confidence of youth, who could hold forth as a poet or a commentator on politics, or on life, just as he pleased.

On the same day the *Register* contained the advertisement for the *Warming-pan* (October 11, 1793), Montgomery included a scathing poem, as J. M. G. that belied his claims of reticence, “Complimentary Lines to J. T. Poet Laureate of the *Sheffield Courant*,¹⁰⁷ and a Lick be Rev. Observator, principal Secretary to the same.” These were the editor J. Taylor and local clergyman John Russell who had strongly criticised Gales, his newspaper and his assistant. A long and sarcastic rhyming mockery was Montgomery’s response culminating with,

Go, paltry reptile! join thy Parson’s rout,
And squirt with him thy spleen and ink about ...

Beat your swollen breasts with Envy’s scorpions curst,
Rage on, brave pair, and welcome — till ye burst:
That cause must be good, that meets with foes,
In Taylor’s doggerel Rhymes, and Russell’s ranting Prose!¹⁰⁸

The following week Gales wrote a long letter “To the Public” dismissing Russell’s accusations of sedition. But the controversy did not abate and on October 25, J. M. G., included a mocking piece to Russell, “Upon hearing the Rev. Observator preach a sermon from I. Thess. c 4 v. xi “Study to be quiet and to do your own business.””¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ The *Sheffield Courant* was launched on June 10, 1793 but only lasted four years.

¹⁰⁸ J. M. G., *SR*, Oct. 11, 1793.

¹⁰⁹ “DO your own business,” Observator cries,
Lifting to Heav’n his pretty little Eyes —
Those dove-like Eyes brim-full of Love divine,
So bright with Brandy and so red with Wine!
“Be quiet too,” roars Observator big,
Shaking the holy powder from his Wig —
That sacred Wig in which the Curate preaches!
--Yet, strange to tell, he scampers up and down,
Minds every body’s business — but his own,*

On December 20, 1793, he addressed them with his full name in reply to their scurrilous attack upon Gales in the *Courant* on November 30, under the name Montgomericus, implying that Montgomery was the true author. Montgomery wrote four lines in response but they chose not to print them and instead he received a personal caller, “a powdered Gentleman,” a stranger who delivered “a rhyming Catalogue of Scurrilities upon my Youth, Person, Occupation, &c and having found me guilty of Rhyme and Treason, (two damning Sins) he threatens, in big bombastic Language, to toss me in a Blanket, to make my scrawling Muse give up the Ghost.” Obligated to defend his literary honour he challenged Montgomericus that they should both “write an Essay, either in Prose or Verse” under their real names, to be printed in either newspaper, for the public to judge who was the better writer. In the absence of a reply Montgomery decided to expose the author’s true name by addressing him directly in the January 3, 1794 issue. “To Montgomericus, also J. May, Engraver, Spring-street.... I have exposed your real Name, and I dare you to deny it.” What was revealing was Montgomery’s assessment of the current political situation in Britain, and how mistaken his predictions of reform would prove to be. His local controversy was seen by him as part of a more widespread contest between the forces of liberty and oppression being fought out in the print media, with reform the inevitable victor.

In Conclusion, I thus publicly inform you, and all such scribbling Satellites, that the combined Rage of Russells and Taylors and Mays and Northalls, will prove as

And tells his flock the best way to be quiet,
 Is to kick up with might and main — a riot:+
 --But, rev’rend Friend, I own with some vexation,
 Thou art an excellent scarecrow to salvation:
 Virtue, thy sermons say, exceeds all price,
 Thine actions shew how horrible is Vice:
 If any Man a perfect saint would be,
 He need but turn Antipodes to thee.

*The Rev. Observator and his Spaniel J. T. condescend to share between them about an hundred pounds per annum, and occupy two good houses, rent free, for the trouble of keeping up ... the name of a school at Dronfield!!! +Witness his late Address to the Inhabitants of Sheffield, “It is high time, Gentlemen, to rouse yourselves to vigorous and decisive exertions”, J. M. G., *ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1793.

impotent to stop the Progress of Truth, of Justice, of Liberty, as Ramparts of Sand, raised by the puny Hands of Children, to stem the mighty rolling Tide: or those puny Hands to intercept the Beams, or eclipse the Splendour, of the Meridian Sun!¹¹⁰

On May 16, 1794, Gales responded vigorously to more accusations and misrepresentations from the same quarter, but by then Government agents were looking to arrest him and he was soon to leave Britain permanently.

On December 6, 1793, J. M. G. published his anti-war "Sonnet, upon the close of the Campaign of 1793," containing the sad question, "Was ever year before so red with crimes?"¹¹¹ This sat squarely at the centre of the radical movement, with the abortive British Convention at Edinburgh and the arrest of its leaders, soon to be followed by the outraged meetings, in January, of the London Society for Constitutional Information and the LCS to protest against this and the war.

Paul Positive

At the same time as writing as Musaeus, Marcellus, and J. M. G., James Montgomery was also using the pen name Paul Positive to publish scathing attacks on the authorities. His first outing was on October 4, 1793, when he wrote in reply to a letter from Peter Dubious, who had written that when his turn came to offer toasts at his club he was accounted a "Jacobin" for recommending toasts for the cessation of the war with France and the recovery of British trade. At the next meeting he said that he was chairman and his toasts were for the king, "the Glorious Revolution of 1688 ... the House of Commons for installing the house of Brunswick in place of the Stuarts ... the Constitution in its purity ... May laws be always founded upon justice ... trial by an impartial jury," and finishing with his crowning toast, "May all men enjoy their rights." The angry response prompted Dubious to ask the printer of the *Register* whether he should report the club as they were clearly treasonous. "I am sure, though they are always drinking "Church and King, and down with the Rump," that they love neither King, People or Constitution, else they would not have demurred at such toasts as those

¹¹⁰ James Montgomery, *ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1794.

¹¹¹ J. M. G., *ibid.*, Dec 6, 1793.

I gave.”¹¹² Joseph Gales deputed Paul Positive to respond, a task that Montgomery clearly relished. Positive facetiously claimed that he had been chairman at a “numerous meeting ... at the C_____ [rown] and A_____ [nchor], in _____ [London], on Friday Sept. 20, 1793.”¹¹³ An ironic claim meant to stress his alignment with the anti-war stance of the Whigs. Beginning with the war, Positive listed a long series of sarcastic loyalist resolutions to parody the government’s stance, for example:

Resolved,

That War is the greatest blessing, and Peace the greatest curse which Heaven in its vengeance can inflict upon any nation, and that to recommend Peace and Union at a time like the present, is high treason, in a positive, comparative, and superlative degree.

That the 1688 revolution had been overthrown.

Resolved

That the revolution of 1688, can no more stand in competition with the conquest of England by William the bastard, than a farthing candle can eclipse the Sun....

Resolved

That the Constitution in its purity, is a scandalous libel upon the Constitution in its present state.

Concerning a lack of impartial justice, a fair trial, and constitutional rights.

Resolved

That his Worship ‘the Law’ having long ago allowed Madam ‘Justice’ a separate maintenance.... That ‘The Freeman’s blessing, a trial by an impartial Jury’ is an outlandish phrase.

¹¹² Peter Dubious, *ibid.*, Sep 20, 1793.

¹¹³ J. M. G., *ibid.*, Oct 4, 1793.

Resolved

That Men have no rights at all, and that for the instruction of his Majesty's liege subjects, that chairman be requested to draw up a bill and declaration of the said 'No rights' to be presented to a future meeting, and by it confirmed, amended or rejected.¹¹⁴

In fact said Positive, ironically, all such meetings for political discussion that Peter Dubious and his like attended were nothing but seditious gatherings and hotbeds of French Jacobinism, which in reference to contemporary government actions must be subdued by Hanoverian mercenaries.¹¹⁵ There was enough in this one piece that if published a year later he could have been arrested for seditious language. This one production alone shows that Montgomery was a well informed radical and no naïve polemicist.

As 1794 progressed so did his confidence as a political satirist. On February 21, "Paul Positive Esq. Poet Laureate to the Association against Republicans and Levellers" published the satirical "Mayor of Donchester, A true and lamentable Tale ... how his Worship was dubbed a Knight a day too soon and undubbed again a day too late, not to be laughed at." This "Tale" detailed how the "jolly Squire," the mayor of Doncaster, George Pearson was actually duped in this way by Sheffield reformers, and who in turn rejoiced at Montgomery's first conviction.¹¹⁶ He had received a letter supposedly on the king and queen's behalf commending him and his wife for the great sacrifices made in supplying clothing for the troops. The letter signed by Granville invited him to London to be knighted. The mayor excitedly gathered all his "Corporation Friends" to celebrate his coming elevation and boasted of his prospects for further preferment, even to the highest position, "And really Gem'men, 'twould be no strange thing, if in my turn, I may — I may be King!" He offered his friends, and they sought, positions of power

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Hessian troops did indeed land on the Isle of Wight and at Portland in January 1794, causing fears of their use in industrial centres to overawe the populace (cf. letter of Margarot to Hardy from prison in Edinburgh: "Are you to wait patiently until 20,000 Hessians and Hanoverians come to cut your throats?", *State Trials*, vol. 24, cols. 636-8.

¹¹⁶ Beutner, "Fraternal Feeling," 44.

when he arrived in high office, until “a fat Old Wag, who in the corner sat” revealed to these “fools” that the letter was clearly a Jacobin forgery designed “to befool our learned Corporation.”¹¹⁷ This was undoubtedly meant to ridicule local authorities and their unthinking support for the war, and must have incensed them.

John Holland confirmed the identity of Paul Positive as Montgomery in another piece, in which he “versified a bit of local scandal against the publisher, Northall ... Mutton Chops; or, the history of John Blunder and his wife, proving beyond a doubt, that a Leg of Mutton will not last for ever. By Paul Positive, Esq. Poet Laureate of the Association against Republicans and Levellers.”¹¹⁸ Published on April 25, 1794, in it Paul Positive mocked the rival publisher’s reputation for gluttony in great detail, and alleged his cruelty against his wife by hitting her with the mutton bone.¹¹⁹ There is no hint here of a mild-mannered, naïve reformer, in any of Positive’s writings.

Anonymous

References in his biography reveal that Montgomery also wrote anonymous pieces in the *Sheffield Register*. For example his anti-war “Hymn, sung at a Public Meeting of the Friends of Peace and Reform in Sheffield”¹²⁰ (March 7, 1794), “one of the first hymns of mine ever sung found its way into Billy Pitt’s green bag,” as part of papers discovered at Thomas Hardy’s arrest.¹²¹ Whilst the calls upon the Deity for peace were clear — “O GOD of Hosts, thine Ear incline, Regard our Prayers, our Cause be thine” — the underlying sense of grievance at the denial of the ‘rights of man’ was prominent — “Burst every Dungeon, every Chain; Give injur’d Slaves their Rights again.” As George Wiley points out, “The ‘God’ of the hymn is a cipher, the embodiment of a moral order to set against the corruption of the present order with its oppression, its slavery, its

¹¹⁷ Paul Positive, *SR*, Feb 21, 1794.

¹¹⁸ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:151.

¹¹⁹ Paul Positive, *SR*, Apr 25, 1794.

¹²⁰ *A Serious Lecture delivered at Sheffield, February 28, 1794 ... to which are added a Hymn and Resolutions* (London, 1794).

¹²¹ This was the critical moment when the national reform movement was faced with its defeat by the Pitt administration, and determined to keep on agitating for reform or “follow our Brethren in the same glorious cause to Botany Bay”, “A Serious Lecture,” in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:164.

tyrants and its wars.”¹²² Montgomery was a passionate reformer but not yet a passionate evangelical. The hymn was reminiscent of the British Convention reformist prayer offered by Joseph Gerrald at Edinburgh four months earlier, which they had printed, “O Thou Governor of the Universe! we rejoice that at all times, and in all circumstances, we have liberty to approach thy throne, and that we are assured, that no sacrifice is more acceptable to Thee, than that which is made for the relief of the oppressed.”¹²³ I would argue that Montgomery’s style seems to have been influenced by his exposure to the works of other reformers in a shared style in common currency.

Montgomery also functioned as an occasional correspondent and poet for the SSCI.¹²⁴ For example, a letter written anonymously by him for the SSCI to Thomas Walker on April 7, 1794.¹²⁵ In writing anonymously he was not trying to avoid attention from the authorities, for the “letter was unanimously voted by more than ten thousand persons, as a proper congratulatory address to Mr. W. on his late triumph.” It must have been common knowledge amongst many present, pro- and anti-reform, that Montgomery was the true author, and that his anonymity was merely custom rather than caution. This again belies Holland and Everett’s claims of innocence, “into such a pandemonium of party had young Montgomery been just dragged from the religious seclusion of Fulneck!”¹²⁶ For them to say that Montgomery “took no ostensible part” in the meeting on Castle Hill was strictly speaking true, but his letter to Walker is evidence that he *was* at the very centre of the radical reform movement in Sheffield at this most critical of moments. Montgomery’s use of terms of address such as “Fellow Citizen,” “devoted brethren,” “brightest luminaries,” “bravest friends,” could not be more explicitly ones of radical solidarity. As was his sympathetic identification with the suffering reformers, “hearts charged with sorrow, and bosoms heaving with sympathy,”

¹²² George Wiley, *The Poems of James Montgomery, 1771-1854* (Sheffield: The Hallamshire Press, 2000), 15.

¹²³ Joseph Gerrald, *SR*, Dec 20, 1793.

¹²⁴ It is not known how many letters Montgomery wrote on behalf of the SSCI or when he began to do so: whether it was before this one in April 1794, for example the letter of ‘condolence’ to Thomas Walker, the persecuted reformer of Manchester, on Dec 19, 1792.

¹²⁵ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:169.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:168.

“tyrannical sentence,” and a degree of hero worship, “veneration, esteem, gratitude.”¹²⁷ The way in which he personified vices and graces, “we now congratulate you upon the Victory which Truth and Justice, in your person, have obtained over Falsehood and Villainy,” was similar enough to Winifred Gales’s style to suggest at least the possibility of consultation in the composition.¹²⁸ This letter confirms that Gales and Montgomery saw themselves, along with the SSCI, as altruistic campaigners in pursuit of wide scale reform,¹²⁹ and underlines their sense of an ‘international’ identity.

In you the narrow name of Patriot, which imprisons its influence with the petty limits of country, expands into the universal Philanthropist, whose generous bosom welcomes, in one fraternal embrace, the whole FAMILY OF MAN.¹³⁰

Montgomery must have written other anonymous prose and poetry in the *Register* and the *Iris* but, again as with Winifred Gales’s anonymous journalism, it is difficult to confidently identify them without using linguistic analysis.¹³¹ Authorship of other letters

¹²⁷ *SR*, Apr 11, 1794.

¹²⁸ Gales, “Recollections,” 68.

¹²⁹ “TO THOMAS WALKER, On his late Trial for a Conspiracy, at Lancaster Assizes, when he was honourably acquitted, and Accuser commanded to Prison for Wilful Perjury. The 2d of April, 1794, shall be a day immortal in the Annals of Freedom. — We will tell our children, and posterity shall read with transport, that, on that triumphant day, there was found in Britain a MAN, against whom Perjury reared his blasted front; against whom Malice exhausted all his poisoned quavers; against whom conspiring Villainy employed all his dark assassins; against whom Envy vomited all his rancour; against whom prostituted Spies and hired Informers preferred their blackest accusations; against whom jealous priests and petty Magisterial Despots pointed all their hottest artillery of anathemas and indictments — In vain! — His Virtue, purified by sufferings, confirmed, collected, strengthened by opposition, burst forth in all its native splendour to the astonishment of his friends, to the confusion of his foes! Signed, by Order of a General Meeting of the Friends of Justice, of Liberty, and of Humanity, in Sheffield, Wm. BROOMHEAD, Secretary to the Constitutional Society. Sheffield, April 7, 1794,” *SR*, Apr 11, 1794. (Misprint in the text of the letter says “1795”).

¹³⁰ *Ibid*.

¹³¹ Perhaps by using plagiarism software such as Wcopyfind, <http://plagiarism.bloomfieldmedia.com/wordpress/software/wcopyfind>, future researchers may wish to analyse the newspapers to identify the, presently anonymous, writings of Winifred Gales and James Montgomery.

for the SSCI must also be considered a strong possibility, as he proudly claimed in a letter to Joseph Aston that he was responsible for other letters to “the persecuted patriots.”¹³² If so, then this might include a letter addressed to the “PERSECUTED PATRIOTS,”¹³³ Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot “on board the Transport which is to convey them to Botany Bay,” March 8, 1794.”¹³⁴ Again, note Montgomery’s “veneration” of, and romantic solidarity with, the suffering reformers, whose constellation he would join as a lesser light within a year when in York castle prison. “You are only banished from a Country, which, however dear, is unworthy of you ... remember your humble followers, your younger brethren, the PATRIOTS of SHEFFIELD.”¹³⁵

Political news, notices, and editorials in the *Sheffield Register*

As with the letters and poems published, the radical voices of the Galeases and Montgomery were heard in the way the *Register* was edited. The political news, notices, and editorial comments all revealed their pro-reform views. Their general support for Revolutionary France, even after war broke out, and the way they carefully listed many cases of government prosecutions of reformers, publishers and ordinary folk for speaking out on reform confirmed this. The notices revealed their support for, and selling of, reformist works by Yorke, Paine and others; the SSCI notices were printed and their activities warmly supported. There was a strongly anti-war and Abolitionist voice, and freedom of speech and of the press were important to them. Drawing from

¹³² Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:169.

¹³³ “WITH hearts charged with sorrow, and bosoms heaving with sympathy, the Sheffield Constitutional Society lately addressed their five devoted brethren, Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerrald,” *SR*, Apr 11, 1794.

¹³⁴ Graham, *The Nation*, 594, claims it was Joseph Gales who authored the letter, Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:169.

¹³⁵ Montgomery visited Gerrald in Newgate. He also met Margarot — “the wretch!” — on his return in 1811, but refused to “have anything to do with him” because of his “shameless profligacy” during his exile, Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:162. Margarot is said to have falsely accused Rev. Thomas Fysshe Palmer of homosexual advances en-route to Australia, see J. Ann Hone, *For the Cause of Truth: Radicalism in London, 1796-1821* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 232; and Clark, *The Struggle*, 154.

the large quantity of material available (see appendix) I will give some examples to illustrate these points.

At the beginning of 1792, the big news was the subscription for an Infirmary to be built in Sheffield. There were the usual newsworthy reports of local trials, bad weather, harvests, and prices. Of a more political nature were reports such as the losses sustained in the Birmingham riot by Dr. Priestley, “who suffered loss and damages to the value of 2,177 pounds, 7 shillings and 9 pence.”¹³⁶ Gales made approving comments on the local petition for the abolition of the slave trade (Feb 24) — “The voice of the nation is loud” — and the table of the Commons is likely to groan under the load of petitions flowing from every part of the kingdom” (Mar 16). The *Register* spoke out strongly against the bloodshed of warfare and had no hesitation in quoting Paine to emphasise their view in wishing with him that war “had no longer footing in the world” (Aug 3). There was news of the formation of “The Universal Liberty Club” in Scotland, “to establish a correspondence with similar clubs throughout the world,” with for its objects, “the extension of Liberty and of the Rights of Man — the Abolition of the Slave Trade — the repeal of various oppressive and disgraceful Laws” (Feb 24). Gales was happy to report that the “Glasgow Society for Borough Reform” were presented with a silver medal emblazoned with the words, “Friends of Reform, Be unanimous, active and steady, in asserting and constitutionally establishing the Rights of Man” (Apr 6). He reported with some dismay, however, of the ill-treatment of reform sympathisers.

A specimen of the liberality and tolerance of the nobility and hereditary legislatures of Great Britain at the close of the 18th century. — It is a certain fact, that a noble Earl, of very large landed property, not more than 100 miles from Sheffield, has given notice to a tenant, whose ancestors have been in possession of a farm of the Earls’ for near a century, to quit the same, *avowedly for no other reason*, but that he was a professed admirer of the New Constitution of France, and a friend to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield!¹³⁷

¹³⁶ *SR*, Mar 2, 1792.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1792.

He stated confidently, that reform was “common sense” and obviously necessary in the opinion of all “intelligent men.”

There appears to be a general alarm in the minds of men on the progress of the spirit of reform... That the spirit of reform is awakened, every intelligent man must see; but there is nothing can make it alarming, save the fastidious pride, which sets itself in opposition to the common sense and the common good of men.¹³⁸

He was also incensed that only twelve voters sent twelve members to parliament to represent “Old Sarum, Newtown, Midhurst, Castle Rising, Downton, and Marlborough,” when five London boroughs had the same number of MPs for “*twenty-seven thousand* electors” — “This is *called* representation!” he cried (May 18). He quoted Locke, “that able advocate for the liberties of mankind,” to emphasise this ridiculous state of affairs, “when we see the bare name of a town, where scarce so much housing as a sheep-cote ... sends as many representatives to the grand assembly of law-makers, as a whole county” (Nov 16).

He was pleased to print international letters from friends in Basil [Basle] and Philadelphia stating that in Germany the “Spirit of Liberty has every where made amazing progress,” and that a rich man was automatically rejected for government in America, “for they think Riches and Aristocracy are nearly allied; and there is no such thing as a person *offering* himself as candidate, as he would be unanimously rejected — He must be *called* to that” (Nov 23).

Gales also complained that now that Dundas had been loaded with “more emoluments and patronage than almost any man in this country,” there was no likelihood of him voting again for a reform of parliament as previously. “Any alteration would not only be *unnecessary*, but *dangerous*, as far as concerns Mr. Dundas” (May 11). Dundas was now an opponent of reform, who had stated in the Commons that Constitutional associations were “subversive of the Constitution and Government of the Country!” (June 1). On June 8, 1792, the *Register* carried a long statement from the SSCI declaring its loyalty to the crown and stating its only ambition was to seek a

¹³⁸ Ibid.

“Reform in Parliament, consisting of an equal representation, and annual elections.” The following week he printed a report of meetings for and against local petitions for reform, the former of which he was called to placate as it degenerated into a near riot. He wrote a long defence of his actions to avoid the misrepresentation that he was the cause of the tumult and not the pacifier. He also took the opportunity to defend the freedom of the press and the *Register* in particular, and insisted that he would not be threatened or tempted by party interests to “depart from that rule of right, which I conceive to be essentially necessary for the *real* welfare of my country. The liberty of the press is essential to freedom, and the purity of its sources is a public blessing” (June 15). Despite the unrest in Sheffield, Gales was happy to mention loyal addresses to the king from other towns like Pontefract, Manchester, and Nottingham (June 22). But he was pleased to record that an “advertisement in one of the London prints announced the intention to publish “Mr. Pitt’s speeches on parliamentary reform, as delivered in the House of Commons in 1782, 1783 and 1784,” and reminded his readers that “it was Mr. Pitt who first awakened the idea in the people.” The publisher, said Gales facetiously, had to ask parliament if he could reprint Pitt’s speeches, “without becoming liable to the penalties and prosecutions threatened against all *wicked and seditious writings*, tending to excite discontent in the minds of the people, respecting the *present mode of governing*.” The following week he pointed to the many “leading men” and “Yorkshire Freeholders” who met with Pitt to petition for reform who were now queuing up to “express their abhorrence of this measure” — “Query, how will such men prove their consistency?” (June 29). The asides in the editorial concerning government sponsored newspapers were illuminating; they were he said, “hireling prints,” and “aristocratical prints,” produced by “slavish editors.”¹³⁹

In late 1792 during the months before war there were celebrations of French successes by the “friends of Liberty” in Sheffield, “So soon as the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick was confirmed, the advantage was celebrated here by firing of guns and other tokens of joy.”¹⁴⁰ As Mona Scheuermann says, “Clearly, not everyone was as

¹³⁹ Ibid., July 13; Nov 30; Oct 12, 1792.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Oct 19, 1792.

bemused by an English uniform as the Bennet girls in *Pride and Prejudice*.”¹⁴¹ There were bonfires, firing of cannons throughout the day, sheep were roasted, American and French flags, and the Cap of Liberty fixed on a pole with the inscription by a “journeyman grinder” — “As Citizens of the World, we rejoice that Twenty-Five Millions of our Brethren have nobly dared to break the Bonds of Slavery.”¹⁴² Gales gave the most contentious of reports.

On Monday and Tuesday last, the late successes of the French armies were celebrated here in the most signal manner.... an Ox was purchased, which was roasted whole ... divided into quarters, and drawn through the public streets ... In the procession was a caricature painting, representing Britannia — Burke riding on a swine — and a figure, the upper part of which was the likeness of the Scotch Secretary, and the lower part that of an Ass — the latter was dragging Britannia back into a *pit*, and the former was attempting to stab her with a spear — the pole of Liberty lying broken on the ground, inscribed, “Truth is a Libel” — the Sun breaking from behind a cloud, and the Angel of Peace, with one hand dropping the *Rights of Man* ... Upon a red silken Flag was inscribed, “*The Republic of France*,” and upon two white Persian Banners were, “*The glorious Conquest of Brussels* ... And, “*The French, by their arms, have conquered Tyrants; and by just Laws, Liberty and Reason, will conquer the world.*”¹⁴³

He made no comment, but the inclusion of this long report must have incensed loyalists and confirmed their view of him and Montgomery as radicals. These were “the first significant outward displays of enthusiasm for French military success” says Frank

¹⁴¹ Mona Scheuermann, *Reading Jane Austen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 181.

¹⁴² *SR*, Oct 19, 1792.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Nov 30, 1792. See also Dec 7, which contains equally inflammatory reports of: a “Civic Festival” at Rotherham; and an “English Civic Feast” at Paris “to celebrate the French successes. ... Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Sir Robert Smith, two Englishmen, renounced their titles, and the former drank — “The abolition of hereditary titles in England.”

O’Gorman,¹⁴⁴ and though there was a possibility of disorder, violence was rare at such gatherings notes Alan Booth.¹⁴⁵ Gales reported that “no act of disorder took place, and the people were gone peaceably home by six o’clock.”¹⁴⁶ A few paragraphs later he reported approvingly that Derby which has “eight Societies ... for a Parliamentary Reform have sent two of their number, one of which is Henry Yorke, to congratulate the National Convention on their recent military successes.”

There were reports of celebrations of the Revolution of 1688 in other English towns with many reform toasts including those of the “friends of Liberty” at Sheffield, who were “The *Swinish Multitude* — equally capable of wisdom and virtue with their calumniators.”¹⁴⁷ Joseph Gales (or perhaps Winifred, or Montgomery) added that, “It has been long the practice of people who raise *prerogative* above *law*, to style themselves LOYALISTS.” It was no wonder that local loyalists sought to prosecute Gales or, in his absence, his successor Montgomery. The editors were well aware that they were embroiled in a conflict of dangerous insults, even possible violence.

It is an insult to common sense and humanity when those who wish Reformation of Abuses (which every *disinterested* man must acknowledge to *exist*) are branded with the names of Republicans and Levellers, and accused of the vilest intentions; intentions as far from their ideas, as Reason and Justice are far from the minds of their defamers.¹⁴⁸

They reported violent loyalist disturbances in Birmingham caused “by the name of *Loyal True Blues*” forcing families to turn out in the middle of night to shout “Church

¹⁴⁴ Frank O’Gorman, “The Paine Burnings of 1792-1793,” *Past and Present* 193 (2006), 117, accessed November 23, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i383782>.

¹⁴⁵ Alan Booth, “Popular Loyalism and Public Violence in the North-West of England, 1790-1800,” *Social History* 8, no. 3 (Oct, 1983), 298, accessed November 19, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4285276>.

¹⁴⁶ *SR*, Nov 30, 1792.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov 9, 1792.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec 14, 1792.

and King!”¹⁴⁹ The war of words was now escalating into actual violence, with the ominous development of loyalist vigilante societies around the country, aiming to bring to justice “persons publishing seditious writing.”¹⁵⁰

The *Register*’s links with other reformers can be seen in a report concerning a “riotous and seditious” crowd in Manchester assembled outside the reformist *Herald* newspaper offices of Falkner shouting “Church and King.” Many were drunk, and in the evening they broke the windows, and then proceeded to the house of co-owner Thomas Walker,¹⁵¹ cotton merchant and political reformer, to do the same, only leaving at three am. The following evening they again attacked Walker’s house where the “reformation society” usually met and destroyed the furniture and smashed the windows.¹⁵² Walker’s defence to the “Enemies of Liberty” was printed by Gales, who probably knew Walker through Samuel Shore his brother-in-law who had helped Gales form the SSCI. This would also explain the link says Goodwin between Walker, Gales and the SSCI.¹⁵³ Thus, Gales approvingly reported Walker’s defence, “If it be a crime to endeavour to enlighten the minds of the people respecting their just rights, I have been guilty of this

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Dec 7, 1792.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ “He had helped establish the Manchester Herald and his house became a rendezvous for reformers after they were excluded from local taverns and public houses. On 11 December 1792, however, Walker’s house on South Parade and the offices of the Manchester Herald were besieged by a “church and king” mob. By June 1793 the Manchester Constitutional Society was dissolved when legal action commenced against him. Manchester authorities and loyalists had bribed an Irish weaver and local radical named Thomas Dunn to give false evidence against Walker and, despite failing to indict him of high treason, he and nine other Manchester reformers were charged with conspiring to overthrow the king, constitution, and government. Walker, who employed the defence of Thomas Erskine and Felix Vaughan, was tried at Lancaster assizes on 2 April 1794, but he was acquitted largely on account of Dunn’s perjury. He was similarly exonerated on the same day on a separate charge of damning the king,” Michael T. Davis, “Thomas Walker (1749-1817),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed September 8, 2009. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/63603.

¹⁵² *SR*, Dec 21, 1792.

¹⁵³ When Gales helped found the Sheffield Constitutional Society in late 1791 one of his supporters was Unitarian steelmaster, Samuel Shore III (1738-1828), whose sister was married to Walker. Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 223.

crime, and to the end of my days I shall live in the commission of it. Is it a crime to glory in the title of being the friend of the POOR?”¹⁵⁴

An illustration of this national loyalist reaction against reform that included Sheffield can be seen in the *London Sun*, the pro-government print, of January 16, 1793. This carried an advert for “*Ten Minutes Reflection on the Late Events in France ...* By the Author of *Ten Minutes Caution* against the doctrines of Thomas Paine.” Underneath was a further advert for “A Few Observations addressed to the persons stiling themselves Friends of the People, Friends of Reform, Friends of the Constitution,” followed by a paragraph attacking the reformers. In it the writer (from Leicester) asked why the inhabitants of northern towns without representation, like Sheffield, should want it. He made the questionable claim that in fact, “the wonderful thriving of these places is generally attributed to their being exempt from the blessings of a contested Election,” with its attendant public disorder.¹⁵⁵

Gales worriedly reported that loyalist violence was spreading against all forms of nonconformity, religious as well as political. For example, the opening service of a new dissenting chapel in Uttoxeter that was disrupted by people calling out “*Church and King.*” Afterwards an effigy of the clergyman was put in the pillory and burnt, the windows were broken and they attempted to burn the gate — “These persons no doubt *call* themselves *Christians!*” he observed.¹⁵⁶

Because of the increasing interest in political affairs Gales decided to enlarge the *Register* for 1793 to a five column format from the previous four, in order to print more details of parliamentary debates, and “less abridged accounts of French news (at this time so highly important).”¹⁵⁷ That year he included many pro-reform reports and comments that underlined his and Montgomery’s radicalism. For example, on January 4, he noted amusingly that Tom Paine had been burnt in effigy in so many places, that

¹⁵⁴ *SR*, Dec 21, 1792. There were letters sent to Walker by the Sheffield Society for Constitution Information, and his replies, which were reprinted in the *SR*, Feb 15, 1793, taking up most of the front page. A clear indication of the support for reform of the editors Gales and Montgomery.

¹⁵⁵ *London Sun*, Jan 16, 1793, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number : Z2001459169.

¹⁵⁶ *SR*, Dec 21, 1792.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec 28, 1792.

“no primitive martyr could have borne a tithe of the hanging and burning he has done!”¹⁵⁸ “The newspapers simply could not find room to report all the burnings,” claims O’Gorman.¹⁵⁹ The editors were amused because in many parishes they were burning Paine without quite knowing why, “In one parish he was burnt for being a *Presbyterian* — in another for being a *Jacobite* — in a third for being a *Popish Jesuit* and in a fourth for being nothing less than the *Devil himself!*”¹⁶⁰ This suggests a widespread ignorance of the true nature of political affairs, and therefore the crucial role of the few reformist newspapers like the *Sheffield Register* in informing the people. O’Gorman may bemoan the “one-sided evidence, which is what the historian of the burnings is confronted with,”¹⁶¹ but here in the *Register* is a contemporary example of the evidence he seeks. This also confirms the previous inaccessibility of the *Sheffield Register*, which this thesis now redresses. O’Gorman is surely correct, however, in seeing the burnings as a successful instrument, at a critical moment, in re-confirming the loyalties and identities of the nation, and strengthening general opposition to the reform movement, with its republican overtones.¹⁶² Though Gales denied that Paine was the Devil yet he opined that “he must be something more than man, who, at the close of the *eighteenth-century*, can work such wonders simply by the magic incantation of a — *goose quill!*”¹⁶³ More seriously, he asked,

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., Jan 4, 1793.

¹⁵⁹ O’Gorman, “Paine Burnings”, 111. He suggests that the estimate of 412 burnings during the period was “a massive underestimate”, *ibid.*, 121. He also claims, wrongly, that the *SR*, though having more news coverage than most, contained no references to the burnings because Joseph Gales was a reformer, *ibid.*, 122. See also *The Times*, 21 December, 1792, which reported that, “*Tom Paine* has been burnt in effigy in every principal town of the kingdom.” A recommendation that ‘Gentlemen’ sack their “French servants, who are mostly Jacobin spies”; and a report of a loyalist Association meeting at the Bush Inn in Staines where Paine was hanged and then burnt with a copy of the *Rights of Man* after being carried around the town three times. *The Times*, Dec 21, 1792, <http://www.infoctrac.galegroup.com>, article CS50990997.

¹⁶⁰ *SR*, Jan 4, 1793.

¹⁶¹ O’Gorman, “Paine Burnings,” 151 n.

¹⁶² Ibid., 153.

¹⁶³ *SR*, Jan 4, 1793..

Which is the best friend to the constitution — the man who peaceably associates for the correction of its universally admitted corruption, by a timely reform — or the man who blindly and implicitly subscribes to perpetuate its abuses?¹⁶⁴

O’Gorman is probably right when he argues that the ritual burnings in the winter of 1792-93, were not “a projection of elite power,” but a general expression of loyalty and obedience, essential to the stability of a society in panic. Although mass ritual could allow for a dissenting undercurrent,¹⁶⁵ Gales and Montgomery were now representing an increasingly unpopular reformist viewpoint in the prelude to the war. This Paineite outburst in the *Register* may have been prompted by an advertisement,¹⁶⁶ for an account of Paine’s trial, in absentia, at the Guildhall, for “a Libel, contained in the second Part of Rights of Man ... printed for C. and G. Kearsley, Fleet Street, and sold by J. Gales.”¹⁶⁷ Simon Maccoby suggests that it was Gales that actually precipitated the government response against seditious writings in May 1792.¹⁶⁸ If so, then the *Sheffield Register* played a major role in a major national event.

Throughout 1793 the editor(s) continued to promote the radical standpoint. They were *openly* scornful of Edmund Burke for his “inconsistencies which daily appear in public.”¹⁶⁹ To underline their stance, they published an extract on “Reform” from the “State of the Representation of the People of England, on the Principles of Mr. Pitt, in 1785, by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill.”¹⁷⁰ By so doing they were again highlighting Pitt’s treachery in deserting the reform cause, and perhaps intending by association with the moderate Wyvill to show that far from being revolutionaries they were moderate

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ O’Gorman, “Paine Burnings,” 114-115.

¹⁶⁶ *SR*, Dec 28, 1792.

¹⁶⁷ Gales was keen to get hold of copies of part two as soon as they were available. He wrote to Daniel Adams, secretary of the SCI, on 11 July 1792 asking for 500 copies, PRO TS 11/952/3496 (ii).

¹⁶⁸ Maccoby, *English Radicalism*, 55.

¹⁶⁹ *SR*, Jan 11, 1793.

¹⁷⁰ *SR*, Mar 15, 1793. Wyvill was a founding member of the moderate Yorkshire Association in 1779-80. John Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform 1640-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 75-76. H. T. Dickinson, “Christopher Wyvill (1738-1822),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed Nov 12, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30180>.

reformers too. To any thinking reader at the time it would have been obvious that the editors were more radical than Wyvill and that this was special pleading.

Their reform bias is clearly seen in the editorials, which bemoan the activities of the “Association of Placemen” who had published the “absurd, profane, and disgraceful farrago of trash” entitled “*A Letter from Thomas Bull to his Brother John*.” In response they cited the “Pennsylvania bill of rights” in favour of freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press.¹⁷¹ There was a growing concern for the freedom of the press; Gales recorded with alarm that various printers, like Phillips of the *Leicester Herald*,¹⁷² were being indicted and in some cases imprisoned for libel as a result of selling Paine’s works. He expostulated sarcastically that if all the printers and booksellers who had done so were arrested then most of them would now be in prison, “and the *Press*, being under the guardian care of *catchpoles* and *turnkeys*, might boast of its *glorious liberty!*”¹⁷³ This sense of being guardians of the press was not confined to resisting government pressure applied *downwards*, but also *upwards* by “scribbling politic-jobbers,” like the ones who scattered copies of a pamphlet entitled “Village Politics” in the streets of Sheffield one night.¹⁷⁴

At the first reports of war, Gales was shocked that the death of one man, the king of France, was to lead to the sacrifice of hundreds or thousands, “to expiate the loss of an individual — Such is the *world’s mad business*.” Quoting “the late Dr. Johnson” he pointed out the “miseries of war” which he hoped could be avoided.¹⁷⁵ Yet as the war progressed Gales and Montgomery had no qualms in printing a pro-French “Hymn ... at Paris, in the Civic Feast, celebrated for the re-taking of Toulon,” even with its ensuing dangers to British naval hopes — the “Tyrants of the Seas!” Perhaps it was their continuing hopes for reform that caused them to sympathise as late as January 1794 with the French Republic, “Free and victorious People! Frenchmen, your destiny shall decide the fate of the world.”¹⁷⁶ Before the war many in Britain were supportive of

¹⁷¹ *SR*, Mar 15, 1793. Wood, *The Americanization*, 164.

¹⁷² *SR*, Apr 19, 1793.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, Jan 25, 1793.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb 1, 1793.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb 8, 1793.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan 24, 1794.

Republican France in its wars on the continent, and Joseph Gales was no different, seeing the Republic as a template for British reform. For example, on the front page on May 4, 1792, there was a favourable report taken from “Saturday & Sunday’s Posts” in London, dated April 27, outlining French manoeuvres in Germany, Luxemburg and the Brabant. The editorial was openly critical of hereditary rulers, and expressed joy that fraternal unity was now springing up between former foes.

What a subject of contemplation for Englishmen! Their ancient enemy no longer engaged in blood at the caprice of a King, a Minister, a Priest, or a Strumpet; no longer sacrificing the human race for territory, for a job, for intolerance or for whim, drawn forth on the side of Liberty.

The poor masses on both sides of the channel now shared a common cause in the pursuit of political freedoms, “opposed to the same cruel system of which they have been so long themselves the victims, is a spectacle worthy the eyes of Freemen. It stifles in the English bosom every latent spark of enmity.”¹⁷⁷

As Dinwiddy points out, the educated classes were the most enthusiastic about the French Revolution at its beginnings, and quite often, these were of the non-Trinitarian millenarian sort like Joseph Priestley and Richard Price.¹⁷⁸ The editors of the *Sheffield Register*, being active middling-sort political and religious nonconformists (one a Unitarian, the other a lapsed evangelical Moravian), shared this millennial view. This combination of religion, reform and revolutionary hopes can be seen, in the *Register*. For example, in the “Ode on Liberty” by George Dyer, which lauded Locke, “immortal sage,” John Milton, “whose bosom glow’d with the sweet raptures and the muses rage,” the “brave injur’d Patriot” [Sidney], and the millennial hope of an age when Liberty shall reign supreme.¹⁷⁹ Or, in a report of the British Convention at Edinburgh and its dispersal by the authorities, fearful of a rival parliament, says Roberts.¹⁸⁰ This carried a transcript of the prayer of Joseph Gerrald calling upon the Deity to lead the people as he

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., May 4, 1792.

¹⁷⁸ Dinwiddy, “Conceptions of Revolution,” 170

¹⁷⁹ George Dyer, in *SR*, Aug 30, 1793.

¹⁸⁰ Roberts, *Political Movements*, 38.

had led the Israelites of old through the wilderness to the promised land. “O Thou Governor of the Universe!... We are assured that no sacrifice is more acceptable to Thee, than that which is made for the relief of the oppressed.... Thou art thyself the great patron of Liberty.... O thou merciful Father of Mankind, enable us for thy name’s sake, to endure persecution with fortitude.”¹⁸¹

Where Church was wedded to State, the editors had no sympathy with such a religion and saw it as an obstacle only to be removed — “And well the Fathers might be vexed, Lawn Sleeves and Mitres may go next.”¹⁸² An anonymous piece entitled “Parliamentary Reform,” pointed out that Jesus was only betrayed by one of his twelve apostles whereas the current “apostate” ministry, quoting Swift, provided “six traitors in seven.”¹⁸³ This radical mix of millennial religion and reform politics can be clearly seen in a piece printed in the editorial on November 22, 1793.

A learned Lawyer, the Oracle of a certain Coffee House, the other evening, wrapt in a thick cloud of Tobacco-smoke, entertained a numerous audience with an historical account of the Rise and Progress of JACOBINISM; of which the following are fragments — “The Devil was the first Jacobin ... Adam and Eve were *Sans Culottes* ... Noah was a Jacobin, because when all the world followed their Noses, he only followed his Conscience: Moses and Aaron were Jacobins, because they abolished the slave-trade in Egypt; Sampson, and all the Judges, were Jacobins, because they were Republicans; Samuel was a Jacobin, because when the Israelites demanded a King, he pulled down Thunder from the Clouds.... In latter ages, the Twelve Fishermen were d—d Jacobins, because ... though they called themselves Apostles, does not the *Scripture* itself say, they were *accused of sedition?*”¹⁸⁴

As the *Sheffield Register* entered 1794 it continued to report and comment favourably upon reform activities. For example, “the Friends of Reform are pleased

¹⁸¹ Editorial, *SR*, Dec. 20, 1793.

¹⁸² “On Lord Stanhope’s being called to Order by the Bp. of Durham, when he was informing their Lordships and Reverences of the Destruction of Idols in France,” *ibid.*, Jan 31, 1794.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1793.

¹⁸⁴ Editorial, *ibid.*, Nov 22, 1793.

with subscriptions raised at Leeds to support Browne on trial at Edinburgh” (Jan 3), “friends of Parliamentary Reform” met near Leicester to reprobate the Edinburgh magistrates (*ibid.*), the ‘alternative’ Fast day meeting at Sheffield for those “who did not approve of the service provided by Authority,” with a “Serious Lecture, written by a labouring Mechanic,” and a hymn composed by Montgomery for the occasion (Mar 7). Joseph Gerrald being sentenced to fourteen years transportation (Mar 21), Charles Handley of Leeds sentenced to two years in York castle prison for “having dispersed certain seditious papers, entitled, “*The Tax and Tythe Club*”” (Mar 28), and the editors’ horror at reports of Jacobins, real or suspected, being arrested (Apr 25).

The tide of opposition was rising, Wilberforce withdrew his postal support of the *Register* after nearly seven years because “he does not approve of the Principles therein contained,” and was replaced by Charles Grey.¹⁸⁵ Robert Erpe, of Castle Donington, was found “NOT GUILTY” of seditious language much to Gales’s relief — “Another honest verdict” — and he called for twelve gold medals to be minted for the jury. He recorded that the Independent Sheffield Volunteers were formed “with the charitable intention” to kill locals who “SPEAK AS THEY THINK!!!”¹⁸⁶ Though, as Emma Macleod points out, it was ‘mass acquiescence’ rather than ‘mass loyalism’ that suppressed radical debate.¹⁸⁷ The *Register* carried reports of a messenger attacked whilst delivering the newspaper at Wakefield (May 16), and Huddersfield (June 13), of the suspension of Habeas Corpus, and the arrests of SSCI leaders (May 30), and the shameful behaviour of loyalist volunteers outside the *Register*’s premises (June 20). Gales and Montgomery culled a short report from the London papers of a sermon concerning the arrogance of the upper classes, “One of our popular preachers, in a sermon lately preached in the city, remarking on the contempt with which *men of birth* speak of the lower orders of society, observed, that it was just so in Jerusalem, when the *Aristocrats* of that place, speaking of our great Mediator, said,— “Who is this, that maketh this stir amongst us? is it not Joseph the carpenter’s son!!!”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan 10, 1794.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1794.

¹⁸⁷ Macleod, “British Attitudes,” 705.

¹⁸⁸ Editorial, *SR*, March 7, 1794.

Gales was now looking to America, perhaps in anticipation of emigration, as seen in his quoting from the Declaration of Independence, “all men are equal” (Jan 17). He printed a Thanksgiving poem (Feb 28), reported the sailing of Joseph Priestley to America (Apr 4), and described the buying of land 150 miles north west of Philadelphia to establish a Unitarian society (Apr 11). He emphasised the “Abolition of Titles in America” (May 30), and gave news of Crown privateers taking ships bound for Philadelphia (June 13). His disaffection with the war was also evident, “War, in its best shape, is a distorted picture of humanity — in its worst, a shapeless monster.” He also opined that to try and subjugate the proud French, the crew of one of whose sinking ships had recently stood calmly on deck shouting “Vive la Republique!”, would be “if not hopeless,” then “at least very unflattering” (June 27).

Finally, on June 27 Gales wrote his farewell “Editor’s Address,”¹⁸⁹ whilst hiding with John Payne. He recognized that flight from “an unjust Aristocracy” to another fairer country was the only hope for him and his family. “Compelled to leave his country, by the exercise of that relentless spirit of political intolerance, which had banished so many excellent and gifted Men,” Winifred wrote years later.¹⁹⁰ He had sought, he said, not just to report but also to critically examine the behaviour and intentions of the government as an independent and impartial editor ought to do.

The disagreeable Predicament in which I stand, from the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, precludes me the Happiness of staying amongst you, my Friends, unless I would expose myself to the Malice, Enmity and Power of an unjust Aristocracy. It is, in these persecuting Days, a sufficient *Crime* to have printed a Newspaper which has boldly dared to doubt the Infallibility of Ministers, and to investigate the Justice and Policy of their Measures.... I shall seek that Livelihood in another State which I cannot peaceably obtain in this.

To the charge of being a member of the SSCI he gladly and proudly admitted, and said he remained in full agreement with their campaign for increased representation.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Gales, *ibid.*, June 27, 1794. He also printed and circulated a handbill for the SSCI: *An Appeal to Britons*, in which he defended its reform activities.

¹⁹⁰ Gales, “Recollections,” 99.

I was a Member of the Society of this Place, and shall never, I am persuaded, whatever may be the final Result, regret it, knowing and believing that the *real*, as well as the ostensible Object of this Society, was a rational and peaceable Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.

He defended the SSCI from accusations of armed sedition by the government's "Secret Committee" as being a sophistic interpretation of the actual facts.

None but venal, unjust, or profligate Minds, can so far pervert the Principles of the Society, as to impute to Them a Wish to overturn the present Form of Government. They published their Intentions to Arm for Self-Defence and the Internal Safety of the Kingdom ... It was natural, that Poor Men ... should seek such Arms as their Circumstances would afford. And, even the Purchase of Pikes was more than their Finances would admit of, as appears by the very few manufactured.

He strongly denied that he wrote or was aware of the letter to Thomas Hardy and the LCS concerning the offer to manufacture and supply pikes which the Secret Committee discovered.¹⁹¹ But he did not disapprove of such actions. His intention to politically educate the lower orders and thus aid them in their reform endeavours was admitted.

¹⁹¹ "A letter from a person at Sheffield, by profession a printer (who has since absconded) which was thus addressed — "Citizen Hardy, Secretary of the London Corresponding Society ... *Fellow Citizens, Sheffield, April 24, 1794*. The barefaced aristocracy of the present Administration has made it necessary that we should be prepared to act on the defensive against any attack they may command their newly armed minions to make upon us. A plan has been hit upon, and if encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity of pikes to the patriots; great enough to make them formidable. ... Orders may be sent to the Secretary of the Sheffield Constitutional Society. Signed —, To prevent post suspicion, direct to" [Here follows, in the original, the name of the person to whom the letters were to be addressed, and his residence at Sheffield.], "Second Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons. *The Times*, June 12, 1794, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, article CS51385036. The *London Sun* also followed this view of Gales as the writer but later printed the real author as Richard Davison, *London Sun*, Nov 20, 1794, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: Z2001463597.

I have done my Endeavours ... to rescue my Countrymen from the darkness of Ignorance, and to awaken Them to a just Sense of their Privileges as Human Beings, and, *as such*, of their importance in the grand Scale of Creation.

He had consistently conducted the *Sheffield Register*, he said, as the radical reform voice of the lower orders, and with a clear conscience he bade friend and foe alike a gracious farewell.

I remain, wishing every HONEST MAN, whatever his Political or Religious Sentiments may be, Health, Peace, and Comfort. JOSEPH GALES.¹⁹²

In conclusion, I have shown from the letters, poems, news, notices and editorials in the *Sheffield Register* that Joseph Gales and James Montgomery were clearly working within the established conventions of radicalism. Their use of many anonymous letters with classical sobriquets to critique society also placed them firmly within the long-established pattern of radical protest.

¹⁹² Joseph Gales in the *SR*, June 27, 1794.

CHAPTER FOUR

America and the *Raleigh Register*, 1795-1832

“He is still following the same course which he has always pursued, advocating Republican principles”¹

In this chapter, I will show how Joseph and Winifred Gales continued their radical political activities in America, with the publishing of newspapers in support of the republican, decentralised polity of Thomas Jefferson, rather than the centralising approach of the federalists led by John Adams. I will also reveal how they sought to promote social reform, Unitarianism, and maintained loose contacts with James Montgomery and Joseph Gales’s sisters in Sheffield. The section of the Gales diary, “Recollections,” covering the period August 1, 1795 — August 20, 1799, deals with their arrival and four year residence in Philadelphia. This chapter will briefly examine their involvement in the politics and culture of that city, and their removal to Raleigh to set-up the *Raleigh Register* newspaper in October 1799 in order to boost the Republican cause there.

After an eventful Atlantic crossing the Gales family landed in the U. S. capital Philadelphia on August 1, 1795, then America’s largest city with a population of 50,000 when London’s was around a million.² Winifred said she nearly kissed the ground that had “produced a Washington. It was at that period a name dear to every liberal heart in both Hemispheres, especially those who sought in his emancipated Country an Assylum,³ from the religious and political oppressions of the old World.”⁴ Here, in a city full of immigrants from Europe, they were welcomed as another family of political exiles by the British émigré community. “In Philadelphia, we found many persons who,

¹ Joseph Gales, in the *Raleigh Register*, Feb 26, 1828.

² Reynolds, *America*, 85. They lived first at “272 North Front Street; then 36 Race Street,” Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior,” 92-93.

³ [America ought to] “shine as Mistress of the Sciences, as well as the Asylum of Liberty”, said Jeremy Belknap in 1780, in Catherine O’Donnell Kaplan, *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 544.

⁴ Gales, “Recollections,” 141.

like ourselves, had sought refuge from the political storm which threatened destruction to all those English friends of Reform who were hardy enough to brave it. Amongst them were several who proved themselves “friends in need.”⁵ Earlier immigrants helped later arrivals, often finding them work, or at least warning them not to pay above the going rate for goods in the market, says Michael Durey.⁶ Post-revolutionary America was an ideal place for political refugees of all shades of opinion, a place where Germans, French, British, could make a new start with freedom of speech, religion and political conscience. Although there was a landed elite there was not the rigid social structures of the Old World, and men willing to work hard could expect to make progress in commerce, as Franklin’s *Poor Richard* and Father Abraham counselled.⁷ Though as Gary Nash points out this was a relatively new development, for pre-Revolutionary European immigrants to Philadelphia had not necessarily expected upward mobility, just economic security, having come from societies where sons normally followed in the trades of their fathers.⁸ Since the 1720s, and especially during the Revolution, there had been a strong alliance between artisan craftsmen and the middling-sort radicals in Philadelphia seeking the interests and political influence of the “small-producer community,” observes Ronald Schultz.⁹ Although largely unsuccessful in their struggles against liberal capitalism, the artisans did gain manhood suffrage. This alliance between artisans and the middling-sorts may have felt somewhat like Sheffield to the Galeses, who arrived at a time of increasing friction between journeymen (including journeymen printers) and masters over prices for goods and services. This was also the time when Dr. James Hutchinson was mobilising dissident merchants,

⁵ Ibid., 142.

⁶ Durey, “Thomas Paine’s Apostles,” 674.

⁷ Benjamin Franklin, *The Way to Wealth* (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1986).

⁸ Gary B. Nash, “Up From the Bottom in Franklin’s Philadelphia,” *Past and Present* 77, no. 1 (1977), 59, accessed Dec 12, 2010, <http://www.past.oxfordjournals.org>.

⁹ Ronald Schultz, “The Small-Producer Tradition and the Moral Origins of Artisan Radicalism in Philadelphia 1720-1810,” *Past and Present* 127, no. 1 (1990): 98, accessed Dec 12, 2010, <http://www.past.oxfordjournals.org>.

manufacturers, some master artisans and artisans to successfully oppose the aristocratical Federalism, now dominating the city, in the October election of 1796.¹⁰

As the political hub of the new republic, understandably, the newspapers were vigorous in their political emphasis and bias, as Robert Elliott says. “The press in Philadelphia easily set the pace in the struggle between the Administration Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans.”¹¹ John Fenno’s *Gazette of the United States* supported the administration, whilst Benjamin Franklin’s favourite grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache,¹² and William Duane his successor, championed the Jefferson-led Republicans, as the voice of the working classes, with the *Aurora* newspaper. Joseph Gales found work initially with Claypole and Dunlap at the *American Daily Advertiser* as a printer’s journeyman for eight dollars a week. In the eighteenth-century printing was dirty and physically demanding work, which when Franklin had been an apprentice a generation earlier had little respectability. “In fact, printing had little more respectability than soap and candle making,” says Gordon Wood.¹³ Thus, Joseph Gales was reduced once again to the ranks of the lowly artisan, but by using his shorthand skills as a reporter of the debates in Congress,¹⁴ he was able to begin rising again to the middling rank, and much to Winifred’s relief his salary was increased to twenty-five dollars a week.¹⁵ In this more respectable role he “became acquainted with the first Men of the Day,” said Winifred.¹⁶ This contact with all the leaders at the centre of American politics was impressive,¹⁷ for here Gales the British printer with radical republican views was no

¹⁰ Ibid., 110.

¹¹ Elliot, “Raleigh Register,” 14.

¹² Wilentz, *The Rise*, 40.

¹³ Wood, *The Americanization*, 19.

¹⁴ “There [Philadelphia] the first professional reporters — such men as Gales, Duane, Callender, and James Carey — assisted the editors in covering government news”, Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 250 years, 1690-1940* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 155.

¹⁵ “He was considered such a curiosity that he had to be curtained in, as people gathered around him so he could not do his work,” Gales/Seaton papers, 2652.

¹⁶ Gales, “Recollections,” 143.

¹⁷ “Their daughter Sarah wife of one of the Gales/Seaton partners in the Washington *National Intelligencer* inherited this gift of association with the great and good: “she was early surrounded by

longer living in a regional backwater like Sheffield. Now he was at the heart of power in the U. S. republic as an observer but also in personal contact with the leaders of the American Independence. This was almost certainly when Joseph met and became a supporter of Thomas Jefferson and the Republican party, says Gary Nash,¹⁸ and would partially explain his willingness to go to Raleigh to launch a newspaper at the instigation of the Republican leaders of North Carolina. As Wood says, the America that Joseph and Winifred Gales arrived in was one in which government was moving away from a genteel aristocratic rule to a more vigorous partisan democratic one, and newspapers were the key players in promoting this change. Their experience in the polemical environs of Sheffield prepared them well to enter into America's increasingly robust political debate.

Indeed, the clash between an older aristocratic world of honor and the emerging new democratic world of political parties and partisan newspapers lay behind much of the turbulence and passion of the 1790s. Under these changing circumstances newspapers became weapons of the political parties, to be used to discredit and demolish the characters of the opposing leaders in the eyes of unprecedented numbers of new readers.¹⁹

After a year, Gales bought the *Independent Gazetteer* or *The Chronicle of Freedom*,²⁰ a weekly newspaper originally founded by Eleazer Oswald a fiercely pro-

intellectual influences, and the companionship of such minds as Judge Gaston, William R. King, and Aaron Burr ... Contemporary with Madison, Monroe, and the younger Adams, sharing with her husband an intimacy with them and their families ... Lafayette was her intimate friend, and his letters, up to his death, were filled with affectionate expressions of his regard for her and her husband... while may be included hospitable and friendly tributes from every President of the United States except one since Washington and the elder Adams ... a most zealous Unitarian, a personal friend of Dr. Priestley," in the "Obituary of Sarah Gales Seaton," *New York Christian Inquirer*, Jan. 16, 1864 ... Copied from leaflet lent by Mrs. Nona Bond "Gales" Fleming, 4440 Beverly Drive, Dallas, Texas, Sept. 22, 1941," Gales-Seaton Papers, 2652.

¹⁸ "Joseph Gales, another promoter of urban Jeffersonianism," Gary Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002), 129.

¹⁹ Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 238.

Jacobinical editor who had fought in the French Republican army and was an anti-federalist, says Frank Mott.²¹ Joseph changed its name to the *Gales's Independent Gazetteer* with issue one on September 16, 1796. It openly displayed sympathy with France and had Republican leanings — “Stories against the slave trade and for a liberal immigration policy were prominent features,” says Elliott.²² During that year, the contact with leading Congressmen led to more printing work,²³ and Jefferson recommended it and Gales’s reports of Congress to James Madison in June 1797.²⁴

This egalitarian society with its absence of the extremes of aristocracy and the impoverished majority lower class, was fast becoming a society where “it seemed as if the so-called middle class was all there was,” says Wood,²⁵ — ideal for the hard-working boosterist printer Joseph Gales.²⁶ The influence of newspapers like his would involve him in the spread of good manners and good taste but would in the opinion of Federal elitists thereby create a widespread culturally shallow middling class of Americans by the early nineteenth century. Federalists mockingly decried this blurring of distinctions between gentlemen and vulgar nongentlemen, “For some of these middling-sorts, it seemed, participation in cultivated civilization had come to mean simply reading a newspaper, owning a tea service, or having a piano in the parlour.”²⁷ Especially having your portrait painted and hung on the wall of the best room in the house,²⁸ all of which the Gales indulged in Raleigh.²⁹ It must be pointed out that though the Galeses might have seen themselves as middling-sorts, their heroes in power, the revolutionary leaders, did not. They were attempting to be not middle class but “enlightened,

²⁰ “Office back of No. 126 North Second Street,” Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior,” 93.

²¹ Mott, *American Journalism*, 176.

²² Elliott, “Raleigh Register,” 15.

²³ Gales, “Recollections,” 143.

²⁴ Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers*, 29:434.

²⁵ Wood, *The Radicalism*, 347.

²⁶ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 175.

²⁷ Wood, *The Radicalism*, 350.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 354.

²⁹ See appendix, picture 2, a portrait of Joseph Gales, Senior (the one of Winifred Gales is missing). This or another one was in the possession of Joseph Gales, Junior in Washington before the Civil War, Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior,” 133.

aristocratic gentlemen.”³⁰ None more so than Washington who agonised over his reputation for “disinterestedness,” and sought retirement to prove it, said Winifred.

Washington’s excessive coyness, his extreme reluctance after 1783 to get involved in public affairs, and his anxiety over his reputation for virtue were all part of his strenuous effort to live up to the classical ideal of a republican leader.³¹

The attempts by the Federalists in 1798 to gag government critics with the arrest of some newspaper editors, through the Alien and Sedition Act only strengthened the resolve of nonconformist Jeffersonians like Gales to print a diverse range of opinion, and in so doing dilute the aristocratic elitism of the Federalists. This contributed to the burgeoning sense of a unified middle-class public opinion, where high and low were one body, involved in the great project of self-government, a common democracy and not a classical republic as some desired.

Whether consciously or not, in many ways Joseph Gales’s career mirrored that of Benjamin Franklin, who also rose from humble printer to self-made middling-sort business man, and selfless political and civic servant (as would Gales as mayor of Raleigh). Like Franklin, Gales was opposed to the elitist federalism of Adams and to Britain’s system of power and patronage, the ‘root of evil.’³² Both held deistical religious views (like Jefferson), they both published anti-federalist newspapers, and in later more comfortable circumstances devoted themselves to the establishment of schools and libraries to encourage the next generation of young men to use hard work as a means of self-advancement. In so doing, they deliberately became templates for younger men, and both also made provision for their sons and grandsons to follow them into the newspaper trade. It has been argued, says Wood, that Franklin’s greatest legacy to America was created through his *Autobiography* in which he became “the man who personifies the American dream” of a hardworking self-made businessman, “the tradesman printer who had made it.”³³ Joseph Gales was already living this ideal in

³⁰ Gales, “Recollections,” 196.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 210.

³² Wood, *The Americanization*, 217.

³³ *Ibid.*, 246.

Sheffield before his arrival but it would help explain why he fitted into the young nation's commerce and politics with such alacrity. It is clear that Gales had the entrepreneurial spirit we now recognise as being so crucial to America's rise to commercial success in the following two centuries.

As radicals in religion as well as politics, the Galeses joined with a small group of Unitarians, to start a meeting in the University of Pennsylvania on June 12, 1796, with Joseph as one of the first lay readers.³⁴ Thus, these fourteen, mostly English-born men, and their families became the first openly Unitarian church in the United States. They never numbered more than forty-two members in the early years, says Elizabeth Geffen, and from 1800-1807, due to deaths by the yellow fever and the removal of families like the Galeses to other parts, the church was virtually closed.³⁵ Though contemporary religion may have been gendered in favour of men and only rarely empowered women to subvert gender boundaries, there is no evidence that Winifred wanted to take a leadership role. However, her epistolary influence was, when the response of Rev. Jared Sparks is taken into account, one of "significant informal power, transcending the limits of gender" as Shoemaker describes it.³⁶ Here they met, for the first time, "The virtuous, the pious, the unassuming advocate of Truth Dr Priestley,"³⁷ some of whose writings they had published in *The Patriot* back in Sheffield and who now baptised two of their children.³⁸ Priestley their spiritual mentor, made the long trip from Northumberland twice, in 1796 and again in 1797, to preach a series of lectures on the distinctives of

³⁴ Gales, "Recollections," 145.

³⁵ Elizabeth F. Geffen, *Philadelphia Unitarianism, 1796-1861* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 54; Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 191-193.

³⁶ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 210.

³⁷ "Dr Priestley, we knew only through the medium of our mutual friends, until he came to America. In Philadelphia we became acquainted, and have frequently had the pleasure to see him at our own dwelling and elsewhere, and ever found him in spirit and truth, an "Israelite without guile." Much I regret having lost amongst other letters one from this good and great man, in answer to a letter of condolence I wrote him on the death of Mrs Priestly," Winifred Gales to Rev. Jared Sparks of Baltimore, March 28, 1821, Gales Papers, PC. 146.

³⁸ Gales, "Recollections," 23.

Unitarianism to the fledgling church,³⁹ but refused to be their pastor, says Jenny Graham.⁴⁰ In retirement in Washington the Galeses were able to regularly attend the Unitarian church, there being none in Raleigh.⁴¹

Around the fall of 1798, Republican Congressmen for North Carolina led by Nathaniel Macon a passionate anti-Federalist were keen to launch a newspaper, and Joseph Gales was identified as a suitable Jeffersonian printer-editor. Upper North Carolina was, says William Dodd, the most determined area in its opposition to centralised government, “and in which, it was boasted, scarce a single Tory lived” in 1788.⁴² “The regular return of the [Yellow] Fever, and the difficulty of collecting the Subscriptions to the Independent Gazetteer, made us more willing to listen,” said Winifred.⁴³ These concerns, and the knowledge that the capital was to be moved to Washington in 1800, were decisive. Joseph closed the *Gazetteer* and sold the subscription list to Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of *The New World*, who was about to launch *The Universal Gazette* in Washington. Elliott suggests along with Dodd that Gales might have been fearful of arrest under the Alien and Sedition Acts passed that

³⁹ Ralph Eddowes, *Sermons Delivered Before the First Society of Unitarian Christians, in the City of Philadelphia; wherein the principal points, on which that denomination of believers differ from the majority of their brethren, are occasionally elucidated* (Philadelphia, 1817).

⁴⁰ Jenny Graham, “Revolutionary in exile: the emigration of Joseph Priestley to America, 1794-1804,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 85, no. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 88n.

⁴¹ “Though we could not assent to all the doctrines of the Presbyterian, Episcopal or Baptist Churches, we scarcely ever failed to attend one or other with our family during our residence in Raleigh. And as an evidence of my attachment to Christianity, I performed the duties of Corresponding Secretary of the Bible Society of the State for twenty years”, Gales, “Recollections,” 174. Joseph Senior and Joseph Junior were both original members of the Washington First Unitarian Church founded in November 1821 and subsequently renamed ‘All Souls’, Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior,” 131.

⁴² William E. Dodd, “The Place of Nathaniel Macon in Southern History,” *American Historical Review* 7, no. 4 (July, 1902), 666, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1834563>.

⁴³ Gales, “Recollections,” 145. Their son would be complaining a generation later that the reading of other people’s newspapers was costing editors dearly, Charles G. Steffen, “Newspapers for Free: The Economies of Newspaper Circulation in the Early Republic,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 3 (Autumn, 2003), (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 384, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3595045>.

year.⁴⁴ Indeed, Benjamin Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, had died that September, a victim of the annual outbreak of yellow fever, whilst indicted for seditious libel, and other pro-Republican editors were being arrested, yet Gales seems to have avoided notice.⁴⁵ It is more likely that it was the inducement of setting up a newspaper in a more healthy climate physically, politically and financially that caused the Galeses to move to Raleigh. As if to confirm this, the pregnant Winifred caught, and recovered from, a mild case of yellow fever a few weeks before the birth of Mary on November 14, 1798.⁴⁶ Consequently, on August 20, 1799, they left Philadelphia by boat with their seven children for Norfolk, Virginia, and then travelled overland the remaining five hundred miles to Raleigh, arriving on September 4. The new baby, Mary, died and was buried at sea.⁴⁷

Raleigh, the seat of state government, had at this time a population of under a thousand, of which at least a third were slaves or “Free colored persons.” Winifred commented with chilling prescience a generation before the Civil War, of “that unfortunate Race, whose numbers are constantly increasing to a most alarming extent, and who at this very day I write are a source of uneasiness, in many States of the Union.”⁴⁸ Having to hire “colored” servants dismayed the Sheffield abolitionists, “The idea of purchasing slaves — of trading in the blood and sinews of our fellow-beings, was most revolting to our feelings,”⁴⁹ but they could not manage the home and business without their assistance. Just over a month after their arrival, on October 22, 1799, they launched their final newspaper the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser* — “a sound Democratic journal”⁵⁰ — and a successful book importation and

⁴⁴ Elliott, “Raleigh Register”, 15 ; William E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh, 1903), 157-158.

⁴⁵ Wilentz, *The Rise*, 80.

⁴⁶ “One attack protects the patient for life ... some maternal resistance is conferred upon uninfected children,” Frederick F. Cartwright & Michael Biddis, *Disease & History*, 2nd ed. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2000), 152. At least ten per cent of the population of Philadelphia had died in the 1793 epidemic, *ibid.*, 153.

⁴⁷ Gales, “Recollections,” 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁵⁰ Mott, *American Journalism*, 189.

stationery business.⁵¹ Like James Montgomery, says Winifred, they gave their new newspaper the irenic strap-line, “Ours are the Plans of fair delightful Peace, Unwarp’d by Party Rage, to live like Brothers.”⁵² However, Gales the republican also included the liberty pole draped with a Libertas banner and the revolutionary icon of the Phrygian cap already in common usage (the great seal of the state of North Carolina included the goddesses Liberty and Plenty). This was especially telling, for by the mid 1790s the pole and cap had been removed from images of Britannia in Britain, notes Emma Macleod.⁵³ Though he claimed to be “impartial” Gales was known, says Gilpatrick, to be a radical with a strong Republican bias, “An adventurer from England ... wafted to this state on the pinions of revenge and party spirit.”⁵⁴ With the *Raleigh Register* — “the first and greatest partizan newspaper the state has ever had,”⁵⁵ Gales and Macon coordinated a successful war of words and won the state for the Jeffersonians in 1800.

The content of the *Raleigh Register* was fairly typical of a regional newspaper of the period, with local, national and international reports, especially concerning the French wars. There was an editorial, but with a strong pro-Republican stance, “Here a discerning reader might have noticed that an undue amount of space was devoted to accounts of prosecutions under the existing Alien and Sedition laws, and, moreover, that the accounts seemed to be slanted in opposition to these laws.”⁵⁶ Accordingly, the first edition carried an article, “The Enquirer,” which sought to answer the question, “Ought the Freedom of Enquiry to be restricted?”, with the obvious answer ‘no’ — “there can be no dispute concerning the natural *rights* of every man to enquire after truth ... each

⁵¹ “The Editor now presents to the Citizens of North-Carolina, agreeably to his Proposals, the first Number of the Raleigh Register, which, he trusts will meet a favorable reception.... The Editor thinks it unnecessary to repeat the promises he has already made of the impartial exertions which he means to use to make his paper interesting to every class of readers,” *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser*, Tuesday, October 22, 1799, vol. 1, no. 1. See appendix, picture 8.

⁵² Gales, “Recollections,” 148.

⁵³ Macleod, “British Attitudes,” 701.

⁵⁴ D. H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 105.

⁵⁵ Dodd, *The Place*, 673.

⁵⁶ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 104-105; Dodd, *Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 158-159; Briggs, “Joseph Gales,” 116-117; Eaton, “Winifred and Joseph Gales,” 463.

individual comes into the world possessed of this birth-right.”⁵⁷ As Durey says, Gales was one of a group of newly arrived British radical Paineite journalists adept at gathering general support by “vulgarizing Republican discourse” through their newspapers.⁵⁸ Thus, there was a poem lauding “Truth and Freedom,” especially as personified by Hampden and Sidney [sometimes written Sydney] challenging the self-interest of old world governance, and the current new world Federalist elite. As Peter Karsten notes, “Hampden and Sydney were invoked by localistic anti-Federalists fearful of the powers the new union might wield.”⁵⁹

Say, didst thou never titled Vice admire,
More than fallen Virtue, struggling with despair?...

Here rest awhile, from groveling cares retired;
And let such visions swell thy mighty heart,
As godlike Hampden once and Sidney fired,
And hence more virtuous, and more free depart.⁶⁰

The American colonies had now significantly taken forward the potential for egalitarianism and meritocracy, which radical heroes like Hampden had striven for in the English Civil War. The Galeses appetite for a truly democratic system had not waned, and the November 26, 1799 issue, contained an unsigned article entitled “On Party Spirit,” perhaps written by Joseph or Winifred, for it is questionable whether they had the network for receiving such articles from other correspondents so soon. It displayed their joy in having settled in a country with a truly democratic system of government, and defended adversarial party politics by appeal to the pattern of “ancient Republics,” whilst admitting that a free government might of course lead to disputes over the constitution and perhaps slow down the political process. But this was

⁵⁷ *RR*, Oct. 22, 1799.

⁵⁸ Durey, “Thomas Paine’s Apostles,” 686.

⁵⁹ Peter Karsten, *Patriot-Heroes in England and America: Political Symbolism and Changing Values over Three Centuries* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 57.

⁶⁰ *RR*, Oct 22, 1799.

preferable, the writer said, to “despotism; where no voice of dissent is allowed.”⁶¹ They accepted that in a free society, there might be fierce denunciation and labelling of opponents as “Jacobins,” or, “Aristocrats,” yet this system was better than the one they had left behind, which dominated all of Europe, except for “the wonderful efforts of republican France in the cause of liberty.” The only persecution and intolerance to be exercised should be towards anarchists, apostates and despots it argued.

Let us confine our detestation to the unprincipled egotist, who, to better his own fortune, would not scruple to introduce all the horrors of ANARCHY, and to the base apostate, who, after being enamoured of liberty, would, from motives of personal interest, endeavour to establish DESPOTISM.⁶²

If written by the Galeases then the reference to a “base apostate” may have William Pitt in mind, or even Henry Yorke, who after his imprisonment betrayed the radical reform cause.⁶³ In it, “Eloquence” described the success of Cicero’s oratory in persuading Caesar to pardon a guilty man, and cautioned against the power of unscrupulous orators. This reflected the lessons they had learnt in the reform struggle of the 1790s, and may partially explain why they supported the campaign of the less than eloquent Jefferson, against the more persuasive orator John Adams.

A great orator, therefore, if he is an unprincipled man, is to be dreaded in all public bodies, as he can lessen great things, magnify little, and disguise all, he carries our passions in his hands, controls our faculties, and in this magical tempest raised by sounds, you are at the entire mercy of him that raised it. He therefore who speaks with clearness, brevity and strong sense, speaks best, though unaccompanied with the graces of oratory, or a display of fine language.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibid., Nov 26, 1799.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:308.

⁶⁴ *RR*, Nov 26, 1799.

Gales's confidence in the educative role of newspapers was undiminished. Thus, in issue two, October, 29, 1799, he was amused to report that a recent arrival from Spain had seen a list of prohibited books posted on all the church doors that included Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and described it as "a profane and seditious libel against Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Kings and Noblemen!" This prompted him to assure his readers that the best way to change men's opinions was "free and unrestricted discussion," in which "Truth must always prove the successful champion.... To this business there is no close; in this pursuit there should be no pause," and, "all resources of violence" must be treated with "aversion." He still believed, despite his Sheffield disappointment, that the "phalanx of Reason is invulnerable," and that "it advances with deliberate and determined pace."⁶⁵ His creed reads more as a journalist's than a political manifesto, "We must, therefore, carefully distinguish between *informing* the people, and *inflaming* them."⁶⁶

The issue of Winifred's authorship of newspaper pieces is an unresolved one. As mentioned previously Holland and Everett insisted that she did write pseudonymous pieces, but I have been unable to satisfactorily identify them.⁶⁷ In the *Raleigh Register*, there were many pieces, which were either anonymous or pseudonymous which could have been Winifred's. So, for example in the "Repository of Genius" of Jan 7, 1800, there was a strongly anti-war poem written by Pacificus, but previously published anonymously in the *Sheffield Register* seven years earlier. The fact that it was now given an author begs the question of authorship. If this is Winifred, then this would offer a linguistic starting point for further research into her writings.

"To the Advocates for War"⁶⁸

Oh ye who fill the Throne of Pow'r—

Who speak and millions must obey:

Who reign — the monarchs of the hour...

Oh shun the guilty walks of war!... Pacificus.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Oct 29, 1799.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:145.

⁶⁸ *SR*, May 17, 1793; Pacificus, *RR*, Jan 7, 1800.

Similarly, on November 22, 1793, in the *Sheffield Register*, they had published another long anti-war poem also by Pacificus. Both these poems appealed for compassion to those in power.

“Effects of War”⁶⁹

Long shou’d reflection in a Monarch’s mind
Dwell on such themes. Then strongly there impress’d,
War, in its various horrors, would appear:
And if a spark of virtue in him live,
Nature must shrink from such a thought accurs’d,
As plunging nations in offensive war!
Pacificus.

There were also two letters published in the *Sheffield Register* in 1793 from a Pacificus of Manchester: an anti-war letter that the *Manchester Chronicle* had declined to publish,⁷⁰ and a letter exposing Grenville’s inaccurate speech in parliament about commerce flourishing.⁷¹ Perhaps this was the source of the poems, or just a coincidence.

Whether writing their own anti-war poems or not, the Galeases continued to publish anonymous pieces, only now their main concern was for their new homeland. They were still passionately against war, as seen in a “Hymn on War” — “With rev’rence may each hostile land, / Hear and obey that high command, / Thy Son’s best errand from above, / ‘My creatures live in mutual love’ — “Horrors of War,” and “The Wounded Hussar.”⁷² There was also, “Lines on Impressment by an Englishman,” which contained strong echoes of their own political refugee experience and changed allegiance.

When the land of my fathers declares me a slave,
From a land so unjust ‘tis my duty to roam,
And if liberty beckon beyond the blue wave,

⁶⁹ Pacificus, *SR*, Nov 22, 1793.

⁷⁰ *RR*, Jan 17, 1793.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Feb 28, 1793.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Apr 29, 1800; May 13, 1800; Aug 19, 1800; Nov 17, 1801.

‘Tis my duty to make her blest region my home.⁷³

Whilst anti-war in principle the Galesees were now passionately patriotic Americans and happy to condone the vigorous self-defence of their new nation against their former homeland.

“A NEW SONG”

Let Britain boast her naval power,
And threaten how she’ll tear us;
This much she must have learnt before,
Her blustering cannot scare us...⁷⁴

In his “Raleigh” editorial Gales spoke out strongly against British harassment of American shipping, and the obstruction of diplomatic contacts with France.⁷⁵ Therefore, in introducing a poem by a British prison ship survivor, Philip Fre(s)neau, he wrote as an American citizen and not a British exile.

We have supposed that our readers at a time when the people of New York are entombing the exposed remains of the Patriots who died on board the British Prison ships,⁷⁶ would peruse with pleasure, the following well written account of the

⁷³ Ibid., May 21, 1814.

⁷⁴ “From the Trenton True American, A NEW SONG. Tune, Yankee Doodle,” *RR*, Feb 11, 1808.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Oct 29, 1799.

⁷⁶ It is reckoned that more American prisoners died on British prison ships off the coast of New York during the War of Independence (1775-1783) than on the battle fields. “Jeremiah Johnson, a teen-age farm boy who lived next to the Remsens, never forgot the gruesome burial grounds. “The whole shore, from Rennie’s Point, to Mr. Remsen’s dooryard,” he wrote, “was a place of graves; as were also the slope of the hill near the house; the shore, from Mr. Remsen’s barn along the mill-pond to Rappelye’s farm.... The atmosphere seemed to be charged with foul air from the prison ships and with the effluvia of dead bodies washed out of their graves by the tides.... The bodies of the dead lay exposed along the beach, drying and bleaching in the sun, and whitening the shores.” “The bleached bones of the dead were gathered for ceremonial burial by members of the Columbian Order, a patriotic society” [in 1808], Arthur

sufferings of our country-men at that period.... Read Britons! Read, ye apologists and advocates of the British government!... blush for the nation and the government, that would countenance such a murderous crew of blood-hounds, as were sent hither “to eat out our substance and destroy our people.”⁷⁷

Hence, it was no surprise that the *Raleigh Register* carried American patriotic poems and songs at this fervent moment (1808), when the bones of prisoners of war were being gathered and buried in a crypt in Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn. Pieces like, “Freedom and Peace, or, The Voice of America,” a “Song for the fourth of July,” and “Anacreon in Heaven,” which contained a rallying cry at the end of each stanza, “Will Columbians by Europe’s proud tyrants be led,” and finished with the determined resolution.

‘Till our flag can protect each American cargo,
While British ambition’s dominion shall last,
Let us join heart and hand to support the EMBARGO
For EMBARGO and Peace, will promote our increase;
Then *embargo’d* we’ll live, till injustice shall cease;
For ne’er till old ocean retires from his bed
Will Columbians by Europe’s proud tyrants be led.⁷⁸

Gales, now an American citizen, was clearly proud of his new republican nation, a peaceful country, “Where freedom holds her bloodless sway.” Opposed to the battles engulfing Europe, America was “An Empire in the people’s love, ‘Tis here the sovereign will obeys, No King but he who rules above,” as Thomas Paine had said.⁷⁹ Consequently, in 1812, when the British were threatening American soil the *Raleigh*

B. Tourtellot, “Rebels, turn out your dead!,” *American Heritage Magazine* 21, no. 5 (Aug 1970), accessed April, 15, 2009, http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1970/5/1970_5_16.shtml.

⁷⁷ *RR*, June 16, 1808.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, July 16; July 28, Aug 4, 1808.

⁷⁹ “Thomas Paine, “Freedom’s Refuge,”” *RR*, Oct 19, 1809.

Register was vocal in support of the republican ideal, printing a “Song. To the Tune *Hearts of Oak*” which ended “May our Laws rule FOREVER, but NEVER a KING!”⁸⁰

American patriot though he may have been yet Gales remained ‘philadelphian’ in his love for all mankind, and it was no surprise to see his tacit support for the Jefferson-Madison opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, by publishing Jefferson’s “Resolutions of the Kentucky House of Representatives.”⁸¹ Having suffered at the hands of a centralising state sponsored persecution, he understandably recoiled from such moves in America. He had lived in the provinces, in Yorkshire, far from the centre of power and he steadfastly remained provincial and devolutionary in his theatre of activity at Raleigh, away from Philadelphia and later Washington D. C.⁸²

1800 was a key year with the presidential election and the battle between the devolutionist republicans and the centralising federalists. On May 13, there was an article concerning President Adams’s previous support for freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, and reminiscent of William Pitt’s perfidy in betraying the reform movement in Britain. Gales introduced it with heavy irony.

“Free Discussion”

The following excellent observations on the Freedom of Enquiry, and the Liberty of the Press, were written by the present President of the United States, in his Essay on Canon and Feudal Law, published in Massachusetts, before the Revolution. How far these sentiments are sanctioned by that Gentleman, or by the General Government at present, we leave our readers to determine.⁸³

Gales the radical newspaperman was again reminding a man in power of his former more democratic position, just as he had with William Pitt.⁸⁴ Perhaps this was why he

⁸⁰ *RR*, Dec 11, 1812.

⁸¹ P. S. Onuf, “Thomas Jefferson,” *RR*, Jan. 7, 1800.

⁸² “Thus the devolved structure of the state shaped the agenda of popular politics which was characterised by opposition to centralisation,” Rohan McWilliam, in Roberts, *Political Movements*, 40, speaking of the devolved England, and a more localised governance that Gales seems to have preferred.

⁸³ Joseph Gales, *RR*, May 13, 1800.

⁸⁴ Cf., “A Yorkshire Freeholder in reply to Vicinus,” Dec 30, 1791; Feb 17, 1792, in *SR*, Jan 6; 20, 1792.

chose to reproduce an old reform piece from the Sheffield days, “No Libel To Think.”⁸⁵ The inclusion of material previously published in the *Sheffield Register* was evidence that the Galeses carried manuscript material with them when they fled to America. Once again, he was experiencing a government that could brook no criticism from the people or the press.

We may speak (it is true) if we mind what we say;
But to *speak all we think*, will not suit in our day;

The evil of increasing taxation by central government (one of the causes of the War of Independence with England), was again a problem.

From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head,
They stamp us, and tax us, both living and dead;

But he was hopeful of a Republican victory to stem the centralising trend of the executive.

When the sunshine of LIBERTY breaks on our sight,
The reform of *Abuses* we’ll claim as our right.⁸⁶

The strong Republicanism of the Galeses can be plainly seen in a letter printed in August 1800, “A Touchstone for the Leading Partymen in the United States.”⁸⁷ This concerned Senator James Ross of Pennsylvania, chairman of a Senate committee who had introduced a bill “by which a grand committee of twelve members of the national Legislature, and the Chief Justice,” including himself, would pronounce “upon cases respecting the election of the President and Vice-President.” This would lead said the correspondent to an unconstitutional tyranny as the letter to Mazzei [written by Jefferson] had warned, “there are some among you, who would wrest from you, that

⁸⁵ *RR*, July 8, 1800; *SR*, Apr. 19, 1793, by Timothy Gales, his deceased younger brother.

⁸⁶ President Jefferson did indeed reprieve those arrested under the Alien and Sedition laws.

⁸⁷ *RR*, Aug 19, 1800.

freedom for which you so longed toiled and bled.” The government of Adams in the judgment of the writer leant towards tyrannical bullying and name-calling to silence opposition, which like the English system, branded opponents as “Jacobins.” The abuse of power by Adams in not allowing the prosecution sanctioned by the House of Representatives of federalist Senator William Blount for an act of war, using a native Indian force against a “neighbouring power” (Spain) was he claimed tantamount to treason on the part of the chief magistrate himself. It was in effect to break his oath of office to uphold the Constitution and thereby to render himself not only unconstitutional, un-Christian, but what was worse, “English.” There was surely no greater accusation of disloyalty against an American president, than to be labelled an “anglo-monarchic-aristocrat.”⁸⁸ The writer foresaw the introduction of “hereditary government” along the lines of the “British Commons” if Adams was allowed to proceed unchecked. With that in mind, he warned against Adams’s use of hired troops and standing armies instead of citizen militias to defend the states against insurrections and foreign invasions.

History has informed us of vast, numerous and never-failing dangers from REGULAR, HIRED armies. They have dethroned Kings, annihilated Republics, expelled Legislatures, over-awed Elections, banished Public Functionaries, broken Constitutions, destroyed Morals, and sold Empires to the highest bidders, at the point of the sword. Our Constitution, therefore, contemplates them with consummate prudence.⁸⁹

Joseph had been invited to North Carolina to launch a pro-Republican newspaper in anticipation of the presidential election of 1800. Its importance to the political debate

⁸⁸ “Did not M’Clean hang in Canada for such a project against England? It is to be wondered at, that it is supposed by many that the influence of England has affected the most important proceedings of the government itself! It is a memorable circumstance that Chisholm, who was one of Mr. Blount’s men, and had his passage to England, paid by Mr. Liston the British Minister ... Who can blame the writer of the letter to Mazzei [Thos. Jefferson], if he perceives in such facts, and an hundred others he may know, strong evidence of an anglo-monarchic-aristocratic faction in the United States,” *ibid*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

can be judged by realising, as Joyce Appleby points out, that it was one of only four newspapers in the whole state during the early nineteenth century, when the population was approaching half a million.⁹⁰ It was unfortunate then but not fatal to the Republican cause that Joseph was taken ill with typhus during the actual election period, for in Winifred and their old radical Sheffield assistant Richard Davison he had substitutes able to prosecute the campaign in support of Jefferson. Interestingly, from September 23, for three issues, *Americanus* wrote in support of the character and policies of Jefferson, seeking to vindicate him from the charges of the Federalists. I would argue that there is a strong possibility that Winifred was the writer, certainly there was no editorial from Joseph at this period.

During my sickness, the warmly contested Election between Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Adams took place; but my dear Wife, aided by our then assistant Mr. Davison, conducted the Register with great spirit and effect, and the issue answered the most sanguine expectation of the friends of the former.⁹¹

It is noteworthy that Winifred was described by Joseph as an editor and political campaigner capable of working with “great spirit and effect,” further proof if needed of her ability to compete favourably in a male dominated environment, and evidence of her political acumen.

As with his days in Sheffield, there was virulent local ‘loyalist’ opposition to his political publishing activities. For, the Federalists had their own champion in Raleigh in William Boylan (1777–1861), who, in anticipation of Gales’s arrival, had opened the *North Carolina Minerva* as a strongly Federalist print, five months before Gales launched the *Raleigh Register*. This man attacked Republicans in general, and Jefferson in particular, singling out his religious views in an attempt to discredit him, dismissing him as a “second-hand varnished Deist.”⁹² Boylan like the editor of the *Sheffield Courant* before him was quite prepared to print personal slurs upon the character and

⁹⁰ Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 103.

⁹¹ Gales, “Recollections,” 151.

⁹² *North Carolina Minerva*, Aug 12, 1800.

politics of his rivals in politics and business. In 1804 matters came to a head when he published a series of attacks on Gales contending that he had been incorrect in giving a public toast on the Fourth of July attributing to Jefferson the authorship of the Declaration of Independence; he stated that the Declaration had been written by a committee. Gales challenged him to prove it,⁹³ but Boylan simply replied with personal abuse concerning Gales's foreign birth and his political activities in England. Gales refused to respond in like manner saying that if it was "criminal to have been born in England or to have exerted himself as an Editor ... whilst living there, to obtain a reform of the corruptions of that government," then he would plead guilty.⁹⁴ Further exchanges of handbills followed, including the implication that Boylan was involved in the fire that had burnt down the print shop of Gales. This culminated in a vicious assault by Boylan upon Gales, "as I was repairing to the Capitol to take an account of the Proceedings of the Legislature.... he struck me with a large walking-stick on the head."⁹⁵ Attempting to close with him, I fell, and received two or three other blows from him while down, which cut and bruised me considerably. Having no weapon with which to defend myself, I returned home."⁹⁶ Gales sued, and Boylan was ordered to pay him \$200 in damages, which after deducting legal costs Gales donated to the Raleigh Academy.⁹⁷

Like their British counterparts political satire was popular in American newspapers. For example, Gales reprinted a wonderful piece, strongly reminiscent of the anti-Pittite works of the 1790s in Britain, "From the *American Citizen*. The First Book of the Kings,"⁹⁸ which plainly outlined his strong Republicanism. In this biting satire Old Testament imagery was used to characterise the various presidents, "kings," from the humble reign of "king George" Washington, who "arose from the South," and who, "smote the Albionites," to his successor the tyrannical king from the "east" — "John

⁹³ *RR*, July 16, 1804.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sep 17, 1804.

⁹⁵ To emphasise their superior standing as gentlemen many Federalists resorted to caning their Republican opponents rather than resorting to duels, says Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 334.

⁹⁶ Gales, "Recollections," 153.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁹⁸ *RR*, Dec 14, 1802.

who was the son of a tanner, of the tribe of the Adamites,” and a treacherous “Albionite.” The parallels between the Adams administration and that of Pitt during the 1790s could not be starker. According to this, Adams was just as “aristocratical” and as heavy handed as Pitt.

6. Now the Israelites feared John, lest he should rule them as with a rod of iron: for John was learned in the wisdom of princes, and had written a book teaching for doctrines the customs of the Albionites.

This “king John” Adamites, “laid upon the people burdens heavy to be borne,” in taxation, “and gathered unto him an host of officers, all taken from his own tribe,” who agreed, like Pitt’s parliament to make a “gagging law” to silence the protests of the people and their newspapers. As with the radical movement in 1790s Britain there was popular protest.

10. Nevertheless many of the people spoke boldly unto John, saying, It is not lawful for thee to put a gag into our mouths.

But popular protest in America was met with the same devices of judicial intimidation and oppression that Pitt had used.

11. And John was sore vexed; and calling unto him his judges, he said unto them...

12. Know ye not that the Israelites grow discontented ... and out of their lips proceed doctrines grating to mine ears ... bring them before the judgement seat, and from some take away their silver, and the rest cast ye into prison; leave them neither scrap nor scrawl.

Like Pitt, Adams used the distraction of a possible war with the “Franks” to divert the population from their protests, believing that thereby he would be able to dissipate calls for democratic reform and consolidate a hereditary succession.

16. ...Behold, now I am established in my kingdom ... and I will continue to reign in Israel; I, and my son, and my son's son to the latest generation.

But unlike Britain the free Americans were not so easily cowed and their protests by “chosen men of Israel, men of eloquence ... with ... (the voice of truth, which was mighty powerful in those days),” caused “king John” to dismiss his counsellors and military leaders in order to project a more reasonable appearance to the people, so as to get re-elected. But he was confounded by the election of “Thomas, a chief man among the Israelites.” (This was before the fall of Pitt and the (brief) entrance of Charles James Fox into power in England but the similarity still holds). The “reign” of “Thomas” was “quiet and peaceable ... But the Adamites were filled with anger against him” and slandered him especially in his pacifism and religion.

26. ...he draweth our ships of war upon the dry places, and beateth our swords into ploughshares and our spears into pruning-hooks, that we may learn war no more.
Behold! *Our craft is in danger!*

27. Let us therefore revile Thomas, and say all manner of evil concerning him; and let us send forth messengers among the people, and persuade them, if possible, that Thomas regardeth not justice, but walketh after strange gods.

28. Howbeit the people believed them not; for they knew the Adamites, that they were grasping after loaves and fishes, and that, while Religion was in their mouths, yet as to their hearts it was far from them.⁹⁹

The opposition to court corruption and the monarchy, along with a levelling theme were recurring ones in the *Raleigh Register*, as they had been in the *Sheffield Register*. For instance, the inclusion of a poem they had originally published in Sheffield, six years earlier. “The Folly of the Pride of State, illustrated in the Fable of the Diamond Pin and Farthing Candle, by Peter Pindar, Esq.,” ridiculed the notion of the superiority of one human being above another. ““You nasty tallow thing,” exclaimed Miss Pin ... I loathe ye — and all your greasy kin.... Miss Pin, Lift not in future *quite so high* your

⁹⁹ Ibid.

chin.”¹⁰⁰ King George III’s arrogance was parodied (again by Pindar), in “The King and Parson Young,”¹⁰¹ and there was an extract from their old friend Joel Barlow’s “Conspiracy of Kings,” with its revolutionary call to the “Millions, whose ceaseless toils the pomp sustain,” to free themselves from the rule of tyrant kings. “Awake to wisdom, seize the proffer’d prize, From shade to light, from grief to glory rise.”¹⁰²

One short poem, “Monarchy,” illustrates best the satirical approach of Gales. It pointedly drew the connection between monarchy and war, and in so doing neatly encapsulated his republican pacifism.

“Monarchy”

Curs’d be the day, how bright so’er it shone.
That first on Freedom’s ruins rear’d a throne;
And curst the wretch, who first, with regal pride,
Their equal right to equal man denied:
Submissive bow’d and own’d a monarch’s yoke —
Their servile souls his arrogance ador’d,
And basely own’d a brother for a lord —
Hence wrath and blood and feuds and wars began,
And man turn’d monster to his fellow man.¹⁰³

The fear of dictatorship was a device used by Gales in the election campaign of 1800. He printed an anecdote about the similarities between Cromwell and Buonaparte,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Aug 26, 1800; *SR*, Mar. 28, 1794.

¹⁰¹ *RR*, Sep 23, 1800.

¹⁰² Ibid., Nov 24, 1801. Barlow also authored the song, “God Save the Guillotine,” sung to the tune of “God Save the King,” and popular with Republican supporters in America in the late 1790s, claims Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 256. “God save the guillotine! Till England’s king and queen Her power shall prove; Till each anointed knob, Affords a clipping job, Let no rude halter rob The guillotine....” Benson John Lossing, claims the author was actually John Thelwall and that Barlow merely supplied it for use at a Jacobin festival in Hamburg in 1793; Benson John Lossing, *The pictorial field-book of the Revolution*, vol. 1 (New York, 1851), 94. The Galeses were friendly with Barlow and his wife in Hamburg in 1794-95, and this is surely further evidence of their radical association with international reformers.

¹⁰³ *RR*, Nov 15, 1811.

both “kings” under the guise of “new titles,”¹⁰⁴ and a “Sketch of the Life and Character of HAMPDEN,” an opponent of the tyranny of Charles I. These were warnings to federalist leaders in particular, and the electorate in general, that “the possession of a great degree of power naturally tends to corrupt the mind.” A study of English history, he said, was most instructive. “Governors may learn from it, that tyranny necessarily ensures its own destruction: that the throne which is not founded on the affections of the people, is insecure, though it be bound about with the prerogative, guarded by the sword, propped by the mitre, and enwrapped in the mysterious veil of divine right.”¹⁰⁵ Later, during the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837), when the press was again under pressure to yield to the will of government, editors were being bought by patronage, but not Joseph Gales. With the election of the militaristic Jackson in November 1828, whom Gales had opposed, the *Raleigh Register* eventually lost the contract to print the Acts of Congress. Gales, the radical reformer of old, again trumpeted his allegiance to principle over expediency, “when it is seen that abject servility to the powers that be, is a greater recommendation in the eyes of the President, than fidelity to the public, we should be led to suspect the soundness of our principles.”¹⁰⁶

Gales, as he had in Sheffield, maintained an unpopular pro-French position at a time when American opinion was divided, with more in favour of Adams’s neutrality.¹⁰⁷ For instance, on February 10, 1801, a month before Jefferson’s inauguration, he printed a “Letter of Thomas Paine.... dated Paris, Oct. 2, 1800,” which echoed his hopes of a new era for America with a new administration. It underlined the welcome successes of the French in their wars with the European allies, and ridiculed the blundering of “John Bull” in the Baltic region. Like Jefferson, Paine, was in favour of international diplomacy and dreamt of “an associated congress of nations” which could determine and enforce the rules of war including neutrality “at all times.” Paine’s hope was that America would now leave behind its years of “so much folly” (under Washington and

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., Apr 29, 1800.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Aug 26, 1800; (continued, Nov 4, 1800).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Feb 15, 1830.

¹⁰⁷ Onuf, “Thomas Jefferson.”

Adams), and all the “little secret jobbing politics,” which, “have only served ... to increase and multiply expences, and embarrass her politically.”¹⁰⁸

The Unitarianism of the Galeses was not prominent in their newspaper. There were, nevertheless, some non-polemical religious poems, such as the extracts from “Our Father Who art in Heaven,”¹⁰⁹ or, Byron's “Oh Weep For Those” from his *Hebrew Melodies*,¹¹⁰ lamenting the poor condition of the “wandering” Jews.¹¹¹ Some were polemical, making sardonic sideswipes at those who would establish a British state church in America, like “The Prebendary and the Curate” by Clericus, reprinted from their Sheffield days.¹¹² Their long-standing Unitarian position can be seen more clearly in a letter by Winifred to Jared Sparks in 1820, in which she was very open about the failings as she saw it of established denominations, and was still strongly opposed to an established Episcopal state church. It summarised their disestablishment position succinctly.

I have thought (since I thought at all on the subject) that the Episcopalians, are the most assuming and dictatorial amongst Religionists, and the Presbyterians most

¹⁰⁸ “It is necessary that the whole of her unsystematical system with respect to foreign policy should be changed. She has pretended to steer clear of European politics, and yet has been always running around upon some of them by dabbling in them by secret, partial, and contradictory treaties” Thomas Paine, *RR*, Feb 10, 1801.

¹⁰⁹ *RR*, Aug 8, 1815.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct 27, 1815.

¹¹¹ “Poetry. Era of Good Feelings. There is a Society in London, composed mostly of Christians, of which the Duke of Sussex, one of the King’s sons, is President, for the relief and education of poor Jews and their children. At their late anniversary, a little Hebrew girl, not seven years old was placed on the table by his royal highness, when she recited the following beautiful Ode. O ye whose comprehensive claims. ... But the best part of the account is, that the collection on the occasion amounted to between seven and eight thousand dollars. What a change! Two or three centuries ago, the Jews were considered the outcasts of the world, and it was considered as serving God to persecute them — America is the only christian country in the world whose annals do not record some persecution of the descendants of Abraham,” Joseph Gales, *RR*, Aug 6, 1819.

¹¹² *RR*, Sep 29, 1801. *SR*, Dec 20. 1793, contained a letter from Clericus of Mansfield, which called for men to examine their own religion before condemning the French for their atheism. There is no clear proof that this was the same Clericus.

violent and bigoted. The Episcopacy in Maryland has banished a spirit of bitterness, I think, ever since the honest veto of that virtuous statesman James Madison, at an early period of his Administration. But for that exercise of Judgement, Maryland would have had an Established Church, and so rapid is the progress of error, so imposing are the dogmas of that Church, that in a few years it might have become a National one. This circumstance I should most sincerely deprecate even were it an Unitarian one — for I deem it totally repugnant to the divine spirit of Christianity to shackle the consciences of Men on this all important point — to give to one Sect the privilege and power to domineer over every other. That monster of deformity in morals and politics produced by an union between Church and State will never I trust be engendered in America. When religion and politics are blended, prudence and discretion are generally banished from the mind; hence the violence of polemical discussion.¹¹³

This and another surviving letter both written to Sparks show, not only that Winifred was in contact with leading national figures, but that significantly she and Sparks were aware of the importance of passing on first-hand political and social history. As Shoemaker points out, “although many aspects of the world outside the family were male dominated, women had a significant if distinctive role to play in religion, politics, social life, and culture.”¹¹⁴ She wrote, “I fear this long letter will be as troublesome to read (almost) as writing one yourself. Well!... You said “let Mrs Gales write often” you did say “Mr Sparks will read all she writes.””¹¹⁵ She and Joseph also sought to encourage the Unitarian cause by publishing extracts from the *Unitarian Miscellany*, edited by Sparks. Though strong Unitarians and opposed to denominations, nevertheless, the Galeses were catholic in their warmth towards individual members of other sects. For example, in the letter to Sparks dated March 28, 1821. “The notes appended to the “Letter,” brought to my “minds eye” some good Men, both Churchmen

¹¹³ Winifred Gales to Rev. Jared Sparks of Baltimore, July 18, 1820, Gales Papers, PC. 146. Jared Sparks (May 10, 1789 – March 14, 1866) was a historian, educator and leading Unitarian minister; chaplain to the House of Representatives, 1821-182; President of Harvard, 1849-1853.

¹¹⁴ Shoemaker, *Gender in English*, 209.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

and Dissenters whom I have either personally known, or have been interested in from the knowledge of them by my friends.”¹¹⁶ The Galeses also had compassion for the outcasts and refugees of the world like the Jews, and “The Poor Little Sweep.”¹¹⁷ The morality and everyday concerns of the Galeses also showed through the letters they published; with various moralistic injunctions on “Prejudice,”¹¹⁸ “Aphorisms on Mind and Manners,”¹¹⁹ “Eloquence,”¹²⁰ “Happiness,”¹²¹ “Thoughts on Commerce and Agriculture,”¹²² and ““Murder” by a negro.”¹²³

The United States were a melting-pot for different Christian creeds, with no one denomination established as the state church during the revolutionary settlement, and it was therefore quite ‘American’ for the Galeses to be so tolerant. They would not force their views on others and objurgated those who did, for example, “On hearing a violent Preacher anathematise every sect but his own.”¹²⁴ This did not mean however that they did not view Unitarianism as superior to other creeds. Joseph recounted how he “accidentally” converted his would-be son-in-law, the Presbyterian minister Rev. Anthony Forster, suitor to their daughter Altona. It is clear from the account that Joseph (and presumably Winifred) knew that his theology was generally considered liberal, but as such he simply relied upon the reasonableness of his position to impress itself upon others willing to examine its tenability. Forster thought the reverse — that he could actively persuade Joseph to renounce his views.

¹¹⁶ Winifred Gales to Rev. Jared Sparks, Raleigh, Mar 28, 1821, Gales Papers, PC. 146.

¹¹⁷ *RR*, Dec 13, 1816. See also “From the Sheffield (Eng) *Iris*. *Stanzas, on going out of a Sick-Chamber into the fields*” (*RR*, Sep 3, 1819); “On a Lady, Dying of Consumption” (Dec. 14, 1802); “Mrs. B. Hoole of Sheffield, Eng. The Widow to Her Infant, in the Cradle” (Aug 19, 1805). Further evidence of the Gales taking material from the (Sheffield) *Iris* produced by James Montgomery, and their continuing friendship and shared concern for the suffering and underprivileged.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct 22, 1799.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct 29, 1799.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov 26, 1799.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1800.

¹²² *Ibid.*, July 15, 1800.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Sep 29, 1801.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1812.

While Mr. F. was paying his addresses to our daughter, he had, in some way, learnt that I was an Unitarian, and spoke to me on the subject, from an apprehension that my daughter might be infected with my error. I told him that I had never taken any pains to impress my Religious opinions on any of our Children. They all knew them. But I left my Children to form their own opinions... Mr. F. seemed satisfied with this declaration, saying that he thought it would be no difficult matter to convict me of error.¹²⁵

A year or so into the marriage Forster confessed to Gales that he had been ““reading all the old and most eminent Works on Divinity in order to convince you of your error, and I believe the issue will be, that I shall convince myself of my own error.” And the next thing I heard after his return home was, that he had openly declared himself an Unitarian.”¹²⁶

James Montgomery’s rise to prominence as a poet in Britain from 1806, was noticed by his old friends who were delighted to print extracts from his poems on many occasions. They were especially fond of printing passages from his long work *Greenland*. The “Sonnet. To Amicus,” published by them on Montgomery’s twenty-ninth birthday (Nov 4, 1800), may have in mind his unjust imprisonments in 1795 and 1796.

“Sonnet. To Amicus”

Avails it ought, my friend with ceaseless care,
Firmly the path of rectitude to tread,
The sternest frowns of angers fate to bear,
With mind unaw’d, unchang’d by slavish dread?
While, like the constant shadow, Envy pale,
And sneering Scorn, and Ruffian Hate pursue;
Dark Slander whispers her malignant tale,
And paints her victims of the darkest hue?

¹²⁵ Gales, “Recollections,” 170-171.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Yes, it avails! in innocence secure,
The heart, though bleeding at the touch of woe,
Can taste a pleasure more refin'd, and pure,
Than proud triumphant Guilt shall ever know;
Can, spite of all its banded foes, rejoice.
Sweet is the spirit's self-approving voice.¹²⁷

An outline of Joseph Gales's newspaper business in America reveals a boosterist success story. He had trained his eldest son Joseph in the printing business and taught him short-hand, as well as sending him to Philadelphia to gain further experience through the mentoring of his friend William Young Birch. In 1807 Joseph Snr. saw a 'for sale' notice in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, which had been set-up by Samuel Harrison Smith, a supporter of Jefferson, to whom Joseph had originally sold the subscription list for the *Independent Gazetteer* whilst still in Philadelphia. To underline Jefferson's support for the *Intelligencer*, it is notable that the President whose weak voice could barely be heard by the crowd, presciently gave Smith an advance copy of his inaugural address to print so that the residents of the city could read it on the same day, says Sean Wilentz.¹²⁸ Gales wrote to Smith saying that he would have loved to take on the *Intelligencer* himself but asked his old acquaintance if he would consider a partnership with Joseph Jnr. Six months later, in the absence of any other suitable offers, Smith agreed to employ the son for a two year trial period after which if proven capable he would transfer the business to him. Thus, Joseph Jnr. found himself, in 1810, the sole owner of one the most powerful newspapers in the country.¹²⁹ He became a staunch supporter of James Monroe, soon to be Secretary of State, as Charles Wiltse notes.¹³⁰ The next step in this rise to national prominence of the Gales family, was the marriage of printer and editor William Seaton to their eldest daughter Sarah (March 30, 1809), and his partnership with Joseph Snr., followed by his move to Washington in

¹²⁷ *RR*, Nov 4, 1800.

¹²⁸ Wilentz, *The Rise*, 95.

¹²⁹ Gales, "Recollections," 155-6.

¹³⁰ Charles M. Wiltse, "The Authorship of the War Report of 1812," *American Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (Jan, 1944), 259, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1838610>.

1812 to be a partner with Joseph Jnr. at the *Intelligencer*, and for many years to exert great influence at the heart of government.¹³¹ It was not unusual therefore for the *Raleigh Register* to carry items previously published in the *National Intelligencer*, which enjoyed patronage at the very highest levels of government, says William E. Ames.¹³² In 1821 Joseph Snr. brought his youngest son Weston, aged nineteen, into partnership with him, and left the business to him on his retirement in 1833. Thus, we can see that the Gales-Seaton clan became a powerful U. S. press family with newspapers in the capitals of a state and the nation. All through the efforts of Joseph Snr., originally a printer's apprentice from England, who succeeded through hard work and ability.

Joseph's role in boosting the local situation in Raleigh can be seen through his involvement in many civic projects such as the establishment of a school, the improving of the water supply, and the building of a paper mill. His service as mayor between 1819 and 1833 was particularly important, and their home became (like Sheffield again) a centre for the hospitality and sparkling conversation of Winfred and her daughters. "A contemporary described Gales as "a man of few words," but his wife as "a great conversationalist," says Elliott.¹³³ The high mortality rates at the period meant that like other families the old couple had to take in many of their orphaned grandchildren and others from the extended family, which they gladly did.

The mental photograph is fresh upon my memory. The well-set stout English figure, with the unmistakable face and look of intelligence, honesty and resolution of the

¹³¹ "They lived at a time and were nurtured in a school when the spirit of a purer political philosophy, a higher statesmanship, and a more elevated tone of social intercourse brought leading men of all and opposite opinions together, and when gentlemen knew how to differ like gentlemen and still be friends." "B. The Old Gales House," *Raleigh (NC) Sentinel*, Gales Papers, 2652, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

¹³² "Official organ of the administrations from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams (1801-1816), printers for Congress until Jacksonites removed the privilege in 1829, staunchly Whigite and strongly opposed to President Jackson", William E. Ames, "The National Intelligencer: Washington's Leading Political Newspaper," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 66/68 (1966/1968): 71-83, accessed December 13, 2010, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40067248>.

¹³³ Elliott, "Raleigh Register," 267.

one, and the gracious self-possessed and ladylike manners and address of the other, could never be forgotten when once seen. Then, too, I think of the elegant and generous hospitality, in the olden style, which they so liberally dispensed to friends for so many years in that same old mansion, while their ready charity for all that were needy was proverbial.¹³⁴

In 1834, even in retirement he was still seeking to make a positive contribution to society, locally and even internationally. So, at Washington he supported gentle moves for the emancipation of slaves by persuasion rather than confrontation, and became treasurer of the American Colonization Society, which led to the founding of Liberia.¹³⁵ And when Winifred died in 1839 he returned to Raleigh where he was again elected mayor in January 1840, only to die in office the following year (Aug 24, 1841) aged 80. This valuable civic servant was buried in the City cemetery in a simple stone sarcophagus,¹³⁶ not too far from his old rival William Boylan whose monument was, as usual, more flamboyant.

In conclusion, this material shows that the years in America and the publishing of the *Raleigh Register* confirm Joseph and Winifred Gales as active campaigners for radical political, religious and social reform — Republican, Unitarian and liberal. Their activities in Sheffield can therefore be judged as deliberately radical and not accidental, and a place within the transatlantic reform publishing movement of the 1790s and on into the 1800s is fully deserved.

Perhaps the most fitting epitaph for Joseph Gales are his own, the final words of the Gales diary. The words of a ‘Franklinite’ self-made man, who had risen from proletarian obscurity to a genteel middle class rank, a true man of the new republican world. A man who had striven successfully to make a better, more educated, more useful family, and society, through his publishing, and his civic duties.

Indeed, I can say, what few men can do, who have commenced business with as

¹³⁴ “B. The Old Gales House,” Gales Papers, 2652.

¹³⁵ See letter of Joseph Gales, May 10, 1834, accessed January 11, 2011, <http://www.footnote.com/image/#27424678>.

¹³⁶ See appendix, picture 10.

small an amount of funds as I did ... I have during my long life never been sued for a debt.¹³⁷ It is true, I have not amassed much fortune for my Children; but I can truly say, that I have spared no pains to give them a good education, and to afford them all the assistance in my power, to make them useful members of Society ... I never wished for more.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Though he was declared bankrupt, *Iris*, Nov 14, 1794, yet he paid off his debts.

¹³⁸ Gales, "Recollections," 183. The diary of Joseph and Winifred Gales ends at this point.

CHAPTER FIVE

James Montgomery and the *Sheffield Iris*, 1794-97

“I ventured ... like Noah’s Dove, to quit the ark of private security and wander over the ocean of public strife”¹

This chapter will further explore and confirm the radical career of James Montgomery,² from the letters, poems, satirical writings, and editorials in the *Sheffield Iris* newspaper, in the years 1794-97. I shall also briefly consider him as an example of the growing class-consciousness of the middling-sorts.

After Joseph Gales fled to Germany, Montgomery, with the financial backing of Benjamin Naylor, immediately relaunched the *Sheffield Register* as *The Iris, or Sheffield Advertiser for the Northern Counties* on July 4, 1794, and continued to support the reform movement. Armytage claims that Montgomery “did not openly espouse the reformers’ cause.”³ On the contrary, I shall show that this claim is unfounded. In the absence of Gales he was prosecuted twice and imprisoned in York castle for seditious libel in 1795, and again in 1796, almost certainly as a substitute for Gales, and as a warning to the SSCI, as R. E. Leader reveals.

This prosecution is carried on chiefly with a view to put a stop to the Associated Clubs in Sheffield; and it is to be hoped, if we are fortunate enough to succeed in convicting the prisoner, it will go a great way towards curbing the insolence they have uniformly manifested.⁴

¹ James Montgomery, *Iris*, Jan 1, 1796.

² See appendix, picture 11.

³ Armytage, “Editorial Experience,” 361.

⁴ Local Sheffield prosecuting attorney J. Brookfield to Treasury solicitor White, in R. E. Leader, *Sheffield in the Eighteenth-century* (Sheffield, 1901), 298. This was proof discovered years later of the politically motivated prosecution of Montgomery and the reason why he received a state pension as compensation from Robert Peel.

Prosecutions of those producing seditious writings had been going on for eighteen months as Austin Mitchell points out.⁵ Certainly, when Montgomery launched the *Iris* it was with the irenic promise, “Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, unwarped by party rage, to live like brothers,” but whether he was entirely genuine is debatable, for the early editions contained much that was pro-reform. After 1796, his imprisonments did make him more careful as can be seen in his poetry collection, *Prison Amusements* (1797).⁶ But by the time of *The Wanderer of Switzerland* in 1806, which spoke against Napoleonic expansionism in Europe and established him as a mainstream poet of national note, his transition from radicalism to social reformer was complete.⁷ He was then more concerned with social issues and not reform. So, for example he wrote on the abolition of slavery, *The West Indies* (1806); against the use of climbing boys by chimney sweeps (1816); and the evils of a State Lottery, *Thoughts on Wheels* (1817). Local philanthropy came to occupy a major place in his life, as seen in his involvement in the formation of the Sheffield Gas Company (1818), and the founding of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. After 1806, he also devoted much energy to promoting the spread of evangelical Christianity by supporting overseas Missions, Bible societies and local Sunday schools. This was not contentious, as John Seed points out, “For [Unitarian] businessmen devotion to political economy and economic expansion did not prevent them investing considerable energy, money and time in public schemes.”⁸ The success of all this was seen at his death with the granting of a public funeral by the city of Sheffield and the erection of a bronze statue for his grave (now outside the Anglican cathedral) by public subscription.

The issue of reform in Sheffield during the mid to late 1790s must be understood in the context of economic subsistence due to the war with France, as Roger Wells has shown. Since 1770, Britain had been a net importer of cereals, to supplement

⁵ Austin Mitchell, “Association Movement,” 69.

⁶ “Sir Walter Scott rhymingly wrote to Montgomery: “Sheffield with all its works of smoke and fire, / Has nought produced superior to thy lyre,” cited in Clark, “Joseph Gales, Junior,” 91.

⁷ Though not without his critics: “like the singing of a bad pantomime; and is more insipid and disgusting than any tragic ballad,” — “The Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems. By James Montgomery,” in the *Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* 18, no. 6 (Jan, 1807), 349.

⁸ Seed, “Unitarianism, Political Economy,” 5.

homegrown crops, which in times of bad harvests and war conditions became a real problem. Before the war in 1793, and the grain shortages of 1794-5, the working people were more concerned with obtaining enough food for their families than reform, and from 1793, this became the critical issue. The poorest folk lived on an oatmeal based diet supplemented with potatoes, whilst, increasingly, the more affluent workers began to purchase wheat and even meat. Whatever their diet, however, all workers had to devote between sixty and eighty per cent of their income for food, which in times of shortage and large price rises was a huge problem. For example, for an average cutlery worker between 1794 and 1801 with a family of two children even to buy oats, barley and rye would have left him increasingly in debt, says Wells.⁹ Before 1790 the average price of wheat was 47.9 shillings per quarter nationally, from 1790 to 1800, this increased to 63.5 shillings, and then with bad harvests in 1800-1801 the price shot up again to 84 shillings, notes Boyd Hilton.¹⁰ Montgomery launched his newspaper, just before a poor harvest, which was followed by an exceptionally hard winter, and by the summer of 1795, the price of wheat had leapt from 67 shillings to 80 shillings in a month. There were severe shortages and famine conditions in Yorkshire, alleviated only by government-supplied wheat and the availability of oats. In 1796, the price of wheat was still artificially high at 80 shillings and did not stabilise to pre-dearth levels until the end of the year.¹¹ Montgomery's first two and a half years as an editor were thus dominated locally by food shortages and associated unrest. Around the county hungry crowds were seizing grain supplies from barges and tolls which they sold off at low prices. On August 4, 1795, in Sheffield, there was violent unrest and Montgomery's report of the intervention of the Volunteer Infantry led by Colonel Athorpe was to lead to his second imprisonment for libel. Three months earlier an anonymous writer had informed the local authorities of a plot to seize arms from the barracks when the soldiers were away on drill, and to 'butcher' local interests and Aristocrats.¹² By the winter of 1800, the situation was even worse with few workers able to earn enough to meet the

⁹ Roger A. Wells, "Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802," *Borthwick Papers* 52 (York: University of York, 1977), 1, 13, 17. See his appendix B, table 2 for average weekly prices versus incomes.

¹⁰ Boyd Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 7.

¹¹ Wells, "Dearth and Distress," 6.

¹² *London Sun*, May 8, 1795, <http://www.infotrac.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: Z2001462137.

high cost of food. Consequently, Montgomery's attention was inevitably focused upon social needs as much as any reformist agenda.

As Barbara Taylor suggests, "Successful change is evolutionary and gradual."¹³ Subsequently, Montgomery like Mary Wolstonecraft and other disappointed pro-reformers in the overlapping circles of reform writing, including those gathered around Joseph Johnson in London, came to recognise that to impose a utopian society upon a culture not civilised enough to cope with it, was just plain dangerous as the French had proved. A pragmatic approach was needed which would make steady efforts to educate the poorer classes – in Montgomery's case through the Sunday School movement. Thus, Montgomery's radicalism came to be increasingly overlaid with social reformism from 1797 onwards. But for now, in 1794-96, like Coleridge,¹⁴ "Radical politics, Unitarian theology, poetry, newspapers, the glories of nature and Science, were all fizzing in his mind."¹⁵

The James Montgomery of the 1790s was a very different writer from the one who later wrote the biblical epic *The World before the Flood* (1813). For example, his series of humorous, irreverent newspaper essays, *The Whisperer, or Hints and Speculations, by Gabriel Silvertongue, Gent.* which he later published as a collection. He printed five hundred copies for release in 1798 but afterwards regretted it and did everything he could to destroy the unsold copies — about 400 of the 500 printed — and dismissed them in later life as "burlesque writing.... Crazy tales, and other abominable productions."¹⁶ The primary source, however, of his socio-political opinions during the 1790s is to be found in his 'Sheffield' editorials and the back page 'Cemptucet'¹⁷ 'Bower of the Muses' poetry columns, plus sundry prose.¹⁸ Significantly, productions

¹³ Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, 152.

¹⁴ Coleridge refused to generate subscriptions for the *Watchman* when he learnt on his visit to Sheffield in January 1796 of Montgomery's imprisonment — "a very amiable and ingenious young man." He did not want to undermine sales of the *Iris* he said, letter from Manchester, cited in Beutner, "Fraternal Feeling," 58.

¹⁵ Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions*, 60.

¹⁶ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:230.

¹⁷ An acrostic constructed from the first letters of the names of the nine Muses.

¹⁸ See appendix, picture 13.

not included in his nineteenth century collected works are published there. It is the contention here that Government repression initially caused him to mute rather than moderate his views and that the gagging acts achieved their aim of silencing his dissent but not changing his opinions. Yet we do not dispute that he did have a change of heart ten years later and that like the original leaders of the LCS, after his second imprisonment, he increasingly retreated into “self-improvement and private upward mobility,” as J. Ann Hone describes it.¹⁹

Montgomery had then, only a small window of eighteen months (July 1794-Dec 1795) in which he was able to freely publish controversial material in the *Iris*. My overview of the newspaper (see the appendix) reveals that during those months the war with France revealed him as an active and vocal promoter of peace. Reform activities in all manner of ways were enthusiastically reported, covering a broad range of societies from the LCS to the more moderate Whigs; social concern for the disadvantaged was prominent; religion was evident, but mainly in the background; and freedom of the Press became an issue as the gagging acts took effect. America was usually portrayed favourably; satirical humour was strongly featured, including his own; economic conditions, especially taxation were important; Pitt as government first minister was consistently criticised; Burke was often quoted, rarely favourably; and Paine was mentioned. Advertisements and Notices contained an insight into contemporary books, periodicals, products, services, and events; historical figures and events were used to illustrate his political and social attitudes; parliamentary reports were plentiful. Local news was abundant; Ireland’s political situation was periodically featured; attitudes to women occasionally obtruded into the editorial; and the theatre in Sheffield warmly supported.

Middling-sort class-consciousness

Did Montgomery think of himself as ‘middle class’ during the 1790s or was it a gradual development? Certainly by the time of his comfortable retirement in middle age, in 1825, as a well-known poet he was living as a ‘middling-sort’ distinct from the lower orders. This is an important subject for eighteenth-century studies and a short

¹⁹ Hone, *Cause of Truth*, 86.

subsidiary examination is undertaken here to establish the place the *Iris* occupied as an example of a middling-sort of journal contributing to the development of a middle class awareness. As Anna Clark argues,

Until the 1820s, the boundaries between plebeians and the middle class were often quite blurred... As the nineteenth century progressed, however, successful tradesmen and merchants distanced themselves from their neighbors who were sinking deeper into proletarianization and poverty.”²⁰

E. P. Thompson disagrees, claiming that “plebeians did not form a *class*, in the sociological sense of a stratum of people who shared a common experience of productive relations and social values.”²¹ Linda Colley observes that in recent years “the easy belief that economic modernization accelerated class formation has fallen into increasing ... disrepute.”²² In reality, she argues, the ruling elite actively encouraged quaint parochialism, especially after 1815, in order to restrain the notion of a stratified society beyond the traditional bipartite one. Thus, the patriotic activism of the mercantile middling sorts like John Julius Angerstein, Josiah Wedgwood and Samuel Whitbread II, were frowned upon by the landed peers who saw such “patriotic initiatives” as “vehicles for sectional self-interest” and simply attempts at asserting their parity.²³ Was Montgomery a typical middling-sort newspaperman in the 1790s as Harris might argue?²⁴ In the early 1790s, as we argue here, his primary concern was more with the campaigns for parliamentary reform and the effects of war, than with economic upward mobility *per se*. Harris has drawn attention to various studies concerning the development of middle class, ‘middling-sort’ consciousness in the eighteenth-century

²⁰ Clark, *The Struggle*, 7.

²¹ E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: New Press, 1991), 73.

²² Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 99.

²³ *Ibid.*, 117, 110.

²⁴ Bob Harris, “Praising the Middling-sort? Social Identity in Eighteenth-Century British Newspapers”, in *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth-century*, eds. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 1-18.

and the role of the newspaper in that process, and pertinently asks, “Are we correct in seeing the rise of the press as reflecting, and a crucial part of, the development of an eighteenth-century ‘bourgeois’ or even simply a distinctively ‘middling’ culture?”²⁵ Undoubtedly, this notion of society as a threefold model was a novel one for most people who still tended to divide society into two ranks, “a tiny elite of gentlemen on the top dominating the bulk of the commoners on the bottom” as Gordon Wood says.²⁶ I would argue that Montgomery, like other newspapermen, was deliberately “reflecting and serving the distinctive interests and values of the middling-sort.”²⁷ He probably saw himself as representing a distinct burgeoning economic middling class, *and*, as a spokesman and member of the mass beneath the ruling and landed elite. The influence he exerted as a controller of a mass media, as an educated Christian, with above average income and social position, inevitably caused him also to see himself as one of the upper sort of the lower orders. However, he did not seem to identify more readily with other middling-sorts such as affluent farmers rather than the cutlery workers of Sheffield, and was not consciously an associate of the cutlery masters and merely a friend to their workers. In fact, Montgomery probably felt himself to be one of the greater population and yet one of those rising above the mass in income and influence. Certainly as Joseph and Winifred Gales were to discover in America, the distance between middle class artisans and labourers was far smaller than that between the middling-sorts and the gentry, as Stuart Blumin writes.²⁸

It was, asserts Harris, the increasing demand for news by the middling-sort, the wealthier educated business class, through the only reliable media, the newspaper, that generated the finance necessary to support the efforts of newsmen like Montgomery. (The number of presses trebled between 1750 and 1800²⁹). This wealthier group, which contained a growing business community, was in turn dependent upon newspapers to advertise and stimulate demand for their wares and services. Clearly, products like

²⁵ Ibid., 2.

²⁶ Wood, *The Americanization*, 35.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 33-34.

²⁹ Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 101.

patent medicines and books could not rely simply on local demand and therefore needed a wider geographical distribution. Thus, regional newspapers like the *Sheffield Register* and the *Iris* could not afford to be too parochial as they relied upon sales in other counties even as far as Scotland. The best method of promoting sales was then not word of mouth but newsprint, and, claims Harris, “newspapers were for the most part products of the commercial ambition and energies of individuals from the middling-sort.”³⁰ Montgomery and Gales recognised their significant plebeian readership but they also knew that it was the middling-sorts upon whom they were financially dependent via advertising revenue and subscriptions.

The reports of the war and foreign affairs would have been of concern to all, but the auctions of land, the price of commodities, the latest London ladies’ fashions, the sales of businesses, would have been only matters of curiosity to poorer folk and in that sense Montgomery and the *Iris* were part of a developing middle class awareness. In his case, this dependence upon commercial interests was compounded by his guardianship of the Gales sisters who lived with him and who continued the bookselling and stationery business from the same premises in the Hartshead. Not surprisingly, the *Iris* contained regular advertisements for books and medicines sold by the sisters; and the Hartshead must have resembled a cross between a chemist, a bookshop and a printing works. Montgomery was perhaps deliberately sheltering the Gales sisters from the opprobrium often associated with (unmarried) women running their own businesses.³¹

He could not afford to alienate the wealthier middling cross-section, and so whatever his editorial emphasis he had to devote a significant proportion of the *Iris* to news as well as products and services that would satisfy them. Much of his newspaper’s content was therefore not of immediate interest to the lower orders and it can be argued that mercantile pressures were unconsciously separating Montgomery from the common herd and forcing him to identify with the upwardly mobile. As Botein, Censer and Ritvo say in their analysis of some mid-century British and French newspapers, they “conveyed a view of society which emphasized the influence and importance of the

³⁰ Harris, “Praising,” 5.

³¹ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 272.

middling-sort, as well as one which strongly endorsed upwards mobility.”³² This emphasis upon social improvement inevitably meant that reporting of international events like the French Revolution and wars would be couched by editors in terms of their economic consequences to British trade and commercial interests. Kathleen Wilson,³³ suggests that a growing vision of British identity as being closely connected to commercial interests at home and abroad was aided by newspapers especially in commercial centres such as the ports and manufacturing towns like Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, and Manchester. Consequently, the prints contained much information about prices of goods and the performance of trade as it affected British interests, including hints on improving agricultural processes and yields. This pandering to the middling-sort was reflected in the high number of their ranks included in the birth, death and marriage notices.³⁴

³² Stephen Botein, Jack R. Censer and Harriet Ritvo, “The Periodical Press in Eighteenth-century English and French Society: A Cross-cultural Approach,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (1981): 464-90.

³³ Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: People, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁴ Taking just one double page from *Iris* of June 23, 1797 we can illustrate this. Column one carried a report from London about “a French Flag of Truce arrived at Dover from Calais”; a list of new “Bankrupts” around the country; “Dividends” from three merchants in Liverpool, Manchester and Derby; arrivals and departures of trading ships at Hull and Liverpool. The *Sheffield* editorial in columns two and three carried various items including a report of the “negociations” for peace with France but also a fall in the pound: “Despondence has again taken possession of the public mind; the Funds experienced a further depression yesterday.” Column three continued with a list of marriages of mostly middling-sort business people, including two linen drapers and a merchant; the deaths of: the wife of a “master of the Free Grammar School”, a merchant, and the “principal agent to the proprietors of the Air and Calder navigation.” “Sheffield Corn Market” was selling: “Wheat from 15s. to 19s. 0d. per load. – Oats from 15s. to 18s. per quarter”; “Andrew Meikle, of Houston Mill, in the parish of Preston... East Lothian” was advertising his “Patent Threshing Machines” with “Royal Letters Patent”; “Whitehead’s Essence of Mustard” was being commended for its power to relieve “Rheumatic Affection in my head”, claimed “A. M’Can, Esq. Captain of the 60th Regiment, dated Fort George, Guernsey”; the “Irish State Lottery” advertised that there were “Only Thirty Thousand Tickets”; “Brodum’s Guide to Old Age” insisted that it had “A Cure for the Indiscretions of Youth”; and “Jackson’s Oriental Ointment” was ideal for the “Itch” which was “Infallibly cured at twice rubbing” and, “It may be had ... of A. and E. Gales, Sheffield.” There were: “Valuable Freehold Estates to be Sold by Auction”; “A Common Brewery. To Be Immediately

Harris underlines the absolute normality of this ‘miscellaneous’ format to period newspapers, for “Miscellany was, as one editor put it, “the soul of a Newspaper.””³⁵ This would explain the ease with which editors were used to publishing contradictory, even mutually hostile, viewpoints.

As a result newspapers gave full expression to the often conflicting and discordant voices and attitudes present in contemporary propertied and literate society. Because of this, they are a peculiarly faithful mirror of contemporary perceptions and debates at this level of society, as well as the ambivalence and ambiguity with which contemporaries often responded to contemporary social economic change.³⁶

Sold by Private Contract”; “The Preserver & Restorer of Health to the Weak, sickly and infirm, is that truly valuable Medicine The Cordial Balm of Gilead ... Prepared (only) by S. Solomon, M. D. Author of the “The Guide to Health,” at his house, No. 12, Mary-bone, Liverpool – price Half a Guinea a Bottle. Sold by John Jennings, Bookseller, Market-street; and A. and E. Gales, Hartshead, Sheffield.” The “Original Lodge of Odd Fellows Sheffield. By command of the Most Noble Grand, the Third Festival of the Club of Odd Fellows, will be held at the House of Brother Watson, the Bull and Mouth Inn, Waingate, Sheffield, on Monday the 10th day of July next. Dinner on the Table at Four o’clock precisely. By Order, John Peacock, Secretary. *** No Gentlemen on the List of Recommendation can be admitted, on the Festival Day, as Members of the Club.” Presumably few if any poor artisans qualified as “Gentlemen” suitable for admission to the “List of Recommendation”; see John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1995), chp. 5.

There were various other adverts and notices — a regional advert for the “Royal Exchange Assurance ... for Assuring Houses, Buildings, Goods, Corn, Hay, &c. and also, for the Assurance of Lives ... For Sheffield and its vicinity. Doncaster ... Halifax ... Hull ... Leeds ... Northallerton ... Newark ... Rippon ... Scarborough ... Selby ... Sunderland ... Wakefield ... Whitby ... York.” “Messrs. Wingfield and Metcalfe”, were paying out their “Dividend” to shareholders; “Navigation Shares” in the canals were “to be sold by auction”; as were various properties including “a Messuage or Dwelling House, with a Yard and suitable outbuildings, situate in Worral ... and Two Tenements, with a Smithy and other conveniences ... together with Nine Closes or Parcels of valuable Land ... in seventeen Lots ... Several of the Freehold Estates.” There were notices of two bankrupts: “Francis Hawke” and “Mark White”; for the auction of toll rights to raise funds for road repairs between Derby and Sheffield, and for the dissolution of a Knife Cutlery partnership. Two “Fine Pen Knife” apprentices were required and details of “The Literary and Commercial Seminary at Thorp Arch, near Wetherby” were posted — *Iris*, June 23, 1797.

³⁵ Harris, “Praising,” 13.

³⁶ Ibid.

Botein *et al* are surely correct then in their conclusion that British newspapers like the *Iris* were not only dependent upon the middling-sort for financial support but also actively cooperated in their aspirations for social improvement. Montgomery and the Gales sisters as business people could not help but be carried along with the upwards mobility of the middling-sort, and thus played a part in the development of an increasingly distinct middle class culture. This development of a middle group consciousness can be seen in newsprint. The nobility and aristocracy were, says Harris, usually praised only for their charitable activities and often criticised for their immorality and preoccupation with fashion and amusements, whereas middling-sort civic dignitaries were often held up by newspapers as the objects of admiration.³⁷ The lower classes, say Botein *et al*, were “featured as criminals or as proper objects for the enlightened benevolence or interventions on the part of their betters,”³⁸ “serving to affirm the rational and superior judgement of the reader.”³⁹ Thus, newspapers were strengthening the tri-partite view of society, and affirming a middling-sort consciousness. When it came to newsgathering, most of the poorer sort would club together to buy a copy and meet together to hear the news read. This guaranteed a wide hearership but not greater sales, and as a result, the support of the middling-sorts was crucial to a newspaper’s survival; the rival *Sheffield Courant*, for example, could not survive Pitt’s tax increase of 1d per issue and due to its low circulation had to suspend publication in 1797.⁴⁰ Editors like Montgomery, therefore, had to satisfy a middle class expectation in order to survive, but without denying the possibility of being a spokesman for the aspirations of the lower artisanal grouping. Certainly in the first of his weekly “Sheffield” editorials his primary concern was, he said, to provide “impartial” information and opinion covering both sides of the political question, rather than support for any supposed class position, middle or otherwise. “Though they think it

³⁷ Harris, “Praising,” 6.

³⁸ Botein *et al*, “Periodical Press.”

³⁹ Harris, “Praising,” 8.

⁴⁰ When it closed Montgomery recommended the *Iris* to its readers, *Iris*, Aug 11, 1797.

In May 1794 the *SR* had a circulation of c. 2000 per week whereas the *Sheffield Courant* had only 285, *SR*, May 16, 1794.

their duty to state the reasonings on both sides upon public and interesting Questions, they do not conceive it to be, at all, the proper business of the Editor of a Newspaper, to present his Readers with his own particular opinions.”⁴¹ He was claiming at the outset that his political position was not a vertical one somewhere between the lower and upper stratas of society, but more a horizontal one stationed between two opposites. As Dror Wahrman indicates, when war broke out moderates exemplified by the Friends of Peace found themselves inhabiting the horizontal middle ground, and so, “caught between vehemently enraged radicals on the one hand and vehemently exhortative loyalists on the other, were those who still preached political moderation.”⁴² Although there was agreement, we must not see the ‘Friends’ as an official body, says Cookson, but rather as an informal national movement for peace, as the name suggests.⁴³ At this dangerous moment moderate men of wealth, position and influence of all classes, Foxite liberals, including some newspapermen like Montgomery were as concerned to promote peace as much as parliamentary reform or a burgeoning middle class identity.

In sum, it seems certain that newspapers (also pamphlets and books) played an important role in increasing general awareness of class distinctions during the eighteenth-century, but except for published letters and smaller snippets it is not easy to say exactly how the readership responded to the multifarious information it received. The extent to which print promoted a greater awareness of class distinctions and even the emergence of a middle class is not easy to say, for the intertwining question is how much newspapers were *reflecting* contemporary class-consciousness and how much they were *influencing* and *directing* it. Nevertheless, “Because it was a medium which served to narrow and dissolve boundaries between elite culture and cultures of certain non-elite groups, the relatively widespread readership of newspapers added to perceptions of social fluidity,” says Harris.⁴⁴

⁴¹ James Montgomery, “*THE IRIS or Sheffield Advertiser for the Northern Counties &c. &c.* Friday, July 4, 1794. Price Fourpence” (Sheffield, The Hartshead: James Montgomery and Co. 1794).

⁴² Wahrman, *Imagining*, 39.

⁴³ Cookson, *Friends of Peace*, 1.

⁴⁴ Harris, “Praising,” 18.

From the launch of the *Iris* Montgomery revealed himself to be a man of peace and a campaigner for a cessation of hostilities with France, criticising Pitt's "warlike tone."⁴⁵ One way of signalling his support for the liberal Whigite anti-war activities was to print reports of the Crown and Anchor celebrations, with their many toasts for peace and reform, "12. Mr. Grey, and success to his Motion on Monday next.... He hoped every community in the kingdom would speedily petition for Peace; for the present ruinous War was not more destructive of our finances."⁴⁶ He also printed many such reports from around the country, for example, one from the stage at Chester theatre in December 1794 — "A speedy Peace," commenting wryly, "Had a performer, six months ago, given such a toast, it would been at the risk of his neck!"⁴⁷ He did not restrict himself to supporting moves for peace to just news and editorial but also in verse, as for example in the anonymous forty eight line "Ode to War,"⁴⁸ or, with the overt patriotism of an

"INVOCATION TO WAR"

O War! thou daemon most accurs'd! be gone,
 O haste thee hence from Albion's sea-girt isle....
 For Britain's sons are made of kindlier mould....
 They are not murderers — are not assassins,
 The 'Milk of human kindness' dwells within them....
 VERAX⁴⁹

His own muse often invaded his editorials, where he regularly raged against the madness of war.

Like some savage monster of the Desarts of Lybia,⁵⁰ beset, besieged on every side
 by negro bands, that lashes himself into redoubled rage at the anguish of every fresh

⁴⁵ *Iris*, July 11, 1794.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan 23, 1795.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec 12, 1794.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug 15, 1794.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1795.

wound, till pierced with incessant darts, rolling, foaming, expiring in the dust, with his teeth he tears from his mangled heart, the red arrow that reeks with the last warm drops of life.⁵¹

War was a judgment from an offended Deity against warmongers, he said.

Terrible have been the judgments and severe the calamities, which heaven has permitted to overtake, and almost overwhelm the Belligerent Powers on the continent.... How awful to contemplate the folly, the madness of man! – of man who boasts his superior intelligence! – of man who arraigns eternal wisdom, and condemns Almighty Power at the bar of his blind passions!⁵²

Even after his first imprisonment in York he remained he said a loyal patriot who would support “Justice, Peace and Liberty” by means of his “perfectly independent” newspaper. “Attached to no party, shackled by no sordid prejudices ... the firm Friend of Truth and Liberty ... and, oh! may it soon, very soon, announce the glad tidings of Peace restored to a bleeding, suffering, sinking world!”⁵³ His desire for peace was everywhere evident and he often inserted news not just for “the gratification of our very many Readers, but also to keep the campaign for peace to the fore.” Accordingly, in July 1795 he published in full the draft New Constitution of France, not just as a political statement, but also as an opportunity to express his hope that “universal negotiations for Peace [might] restore tranquillity to exhausted Europe.”⁵⁴ Montgomery, like all editors, had his political bias and in his case, it was a liberal anti-war one. However, in this, he

⁵⁰ Note the contemporary use of ‘Lybia’ and monsters lurking in the ‘desarts’ to exemplify the brutal savagery of war and warlike kings: “Why grace we the stern lion with the name / That marks the chiefs of Europe? / ... King of the forest HE, and doom’d to reign, / Like earthly monarch, o’er the Lybian plain / For fierce pre-eminence in brutal force”, from “The Lion by ‘Joshua’” in the *Moral and Political Magazine of the London Corresponding Society*, vol. 1.” (London: Ashley, 1796), accessed Apr 14, 2011, <http://www.galegroup.com, CW3304938642>.

⁵¹ *Iris*, Oct 3, 1794.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Apr 24, 1795.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1795.

aligned the paper not only with the landed and wealthy Whigs like Fox but also with the efforts of artisan peace campaigns by such as the SSCI.⁵⁵

Political correspondence in the *Iris*

It was apparent, from the letters published, that from the outset the *Iris* was viewed as the “unpatriotic” successor of the pro-reform, pro-French, *Sheffield Register*. Certainly it also carried regular reports from France, for example, “Jacobin Club report, Paris, Aug 3” (Aug 29, 1794), “Robespierre,” a character sketch by Condorcet (Sep 19), “France — National Convention, August 26” (Sep 26) — “Of the excellent speech of Freron on the Liberty of the Press, we gladly avail ourselves of an opportunity for giving a more ample account than we were enabled to do in our last paper.”⁵⁶ Accordingly, True Blue accused the printers of being “friends of the French Revolution,” and inserting politically offensive material, and urged them to use the pro-government prints like the *London Sun*.

To the Printers of the Iris.

Sirs,

When you published your proposals, you declared your intention to make the *Iris* an impartial paper. But I find you do not adhere with strictness to your own professed intention, and that you evidently take pleasure in favouring the views of opposition, and the friends of the French Revolution. You sometimes insert in your Paper paragraphs which, I can assure you, are very offensive to loyal subjects and the true friends of liberty, and our present excellent administration. You are thought to copy too much from party papers, while you neglect those which are impartial and well informed. I beg leave to caution you against the former publications, and to recommend to your particular attention the most authentic and the most impartial of all the London prints, I mean the SUN ...

TRUE BLUE.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid., Aug 7, 1795.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Sep 26, 1794.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

In reply, Montgomery, ‘tongue in cheek,’ assured his correspondent that he would be as “impartial” as *he* clearly was with his allegiance to the strongly partisan *London Sun*.

True Blue may be assured of our loyalty and that we shall strive to be as impartial as himself, and to use the beneficial rays of the Sun to the best purpose we can.⁵⁸

Civis agreed with True Blue, “It is with concern I observe that your Paper is not conducted upon such liberal and independent principles as I expected it would have been. A great many excellent things which appear in the patriotic prints are omitted in yours.” Montgomery, was obviously amused but did not yet feel threatened. “We are much obliged to our various friends for their kind advice with respect to the conduct of this Paper. As some of the letters we have received on this subject are curious, we shall occasionally publish a few of them for the entertainment of our Readers.”⁵⁹

One of the most amusing political letters Montgomery received (with his strong preference for humour) was from Jacobus Tremor. This gentleman had a problem — he wanted to know what the difference was between a “Jacobite” and a “Jacobin,” because he was called James and was fearful of being a “Jacobin” and the eternal damnation it would bring, as his parson had warned in the Fast Day sermon. Montgomery was happy to supply the clarification which also clarified his own position. He was neither a “Jacobite” nor a “Jacobin” he said, for, “The latter are the avowed enemies of all Kingly Government, and the former were the worshippers of the *Divine Right* of Kings.”⁶⁰ He hoped that there were no Jacobins in Britain except some prisoners of war. “And even in France, where they have exercised such a tremendous power, their influence has lately received a dreadful blow; and every good man must rejoice to see it giving way to juster, milder, and more benevolent principles of Government.” He assured *Jacobus* that it was now no crime to be a “Jacobite” in England, in fact it was viewed with approval, but not by Montgomery whose ambivalence towards despotic monarchy protruded here.

And as for his being a “Jacobite,” the odium formerly attached to the name has long

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Dec 19, 1794.

since been laid aside: So much so, indeed, is the tide of public opinion turned, that wearing oak on the 29th of May is now considered as a mark of loyalty! and a white rose on the 10th of June (the birthday of the late Pretender) is looked upon as an unequivocal testimony of attachment to a Protestant Church and a Protestant Royal Family!⁶¹

Jacob Demo

It is the letters of Jacob Demo published in 1794 which are the most revealing and politically interesting however. Bearing in mind the proscription Rev. Benjamin Naylor, Montgomery's partner, had placed upon him to avoid radical effusions,⁶² the question arises as to whether Jacob Demo was actually a creation of Montgomery's to circumvent this prohibition. As Patricia Anderson has pointed out, the fabrication of letters under various pseudonyms by editors a generation later was not unknown. There were certainly established conventions within radicalism, going back to pamphlet literature in the seventeenth century, which allowed for the use of pseudonyms in political letters published in the press.⁶³ It is noticeable that Demo appeared in only the third issue of the newspaper and spent his ink in attacking the editors for not being radical enough, yet by the conclusion of his correspondence two months later he was speaking as one whose stance was now akin to their more moderate one. His sudden disappearance after September 19 with a prosecution of Montgomery for reprinting in August the hymn celebrating the fall of the Bastille pending, may have meant it was more politic for him to withdraw Jacob Demo from circulation.

Demo was angry with the editors, he said, for their unfavourable representations of Barrere the French leader,⁶⁴ and claimed, "I was particularly fond of your predecessor," which he clearly saw as more pro-French. As Montgomery later confessed this was in accord with his own stance at the time, as mentioned above. Demo warned, "I myself, and a great many more of us are determined to give up your paper, and to plot your ruin,

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:181.

⁶³ Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 139.

⁶⁴ *Iris*, July 11, 1794.

except you mend your manners, and let us hear no more in praise of the SHEFFIELD BLUES, or against our much esteemed friend Barrere.”⁶⁵ This was a strange accusation for Montgomery was not enthusiastic about loyalist militias. Demo said that he suspected the printers were in fact government sympathisers and not pro-reformers at all. “We are many of us disposed to suspect that, under a specious appearance of *impartiality*, you are a set of rank Aristocrats, and that you dare not at once shew your principles, for fear you should lose the sale of your paper.”⁶⁶ Perhaps this was Montgomery, the frustrated radical, speaking to his partner, Naylor. Jacob Demo said that he had hoped that their “professions of attachment to the Constitution ... was only with a view to humour the present whim of the country, and to serve as a bait to catch the favour of the public,” and so, he was prepared to bear with the odd “paragraph or two” which were not “perfectly consistent with Revolutionary Principles.” He expected they would prove to be revolutionaries at heart like himself and tried for treason.

But as these men profess to be independent and impartial, and appear, at the same time, to have common sense, they must think as I do upon all great political questions, and bye and bye we shall find them at the bottom of some glorious plot making a distinguished figure in some future Report of the Secret Committee, or immortalizing themselves by procuring a verdict of *Guilty* in an action for *Treason* at some county Assizes.⁶⁷

Was this Montgomery expressing his own opinions, and anticipating his own troubles? On August 8, Demo berated the “Citizen Printers” for their moderation and impartiality, and accused them of not using the present alliance of the Portlandites with the Pittites as an opportunity to speak out. “Upon my soul, I wish it may not prove that you have received a bribe from the coalition ministry! Otherwise I don’t see how your conduct is to be accounted for.” Quoting Addison he asked, “Was it not said of Julius Caesar, by the great man Cato of Utica, or, at least, has not Joseph Addison made him say, “*Curse on his virtues! they’ve undone his country!*”— And, do you wish the same to be said of

⁶⁵ Ibid., July 18, 1794.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., July 25, 1794.

you?” He reminded Montgomery, “If you want to be on good terms with the *mass of the people*, and especially the people of your own *patriotic town*, you must shout, *Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberte! Rights of Man for ever!*— But, from all that I see of you, this appears to be a strain a little above you.”⁶⁸

His letter of August 29 had even more of the “violent democratic nonsense” from “that seditious firebrand, Demo.” He had decided he said to drop the address “Citizen” when writing to the Printers since the decapitation of Robespierre because, “now and then, I observe something of a *blackish circle* beginning to shew itself around my neck.... I most certainly am not at present ambitious of the crown of martyrdom.”⁶⁹ But he was doing it for the benefit of the printers and not himself, he said. “To be serious, I must tell you that it is on your account rather than my own, that I have changed my mode of addressing you: I find you were spoken ill of for publishing letters which began with such a dreadful word as *Citizen*.” Strangely, he thought that the printers would then be favoured by the government with contracts. Was he being sincere or, is this Montgomery being ironic?⁷⁰

On September 12, the paper carried Jacob Demo’s letter describing a conversation he had had with a local Squire concerning his letters to the newspaper. “Why, Sir,” replied the Squire, “though I do not believe, you yourself wish to see a revolution accomplished in this country, or to introduce here the confusion which reigns in France, yet you use such *French terms* as seem to imply a wish to imitate that nation even in minute and insignificant details.... Is it necessary to call the printers of the *Iris* *Citizen Printers*, in order to support your arguments?”⁷¹ The Squire pointed out to Demo that the “famous Scotch Convention, lately dispersed by so strong an effort of power,” was due to their unnecessary use of “French expressions,” and for “modelling themselves on the plan of the French National Assembly.” This showed a keen awareness of the local and national struggles of the reform movement and a concern that the SSCI had gone too far in its

⁶⁸ Ibid., Aug 8, 1794.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Aug 29, 1794.

⁷⁰ Ibid. On Sep 5, Jonathan Plain, felt he must respond to Jacob Demo, about his lack of wit and humour, and to point out that he was “enveloped in the clouds of egotism and self-sufficiency.” Demo roundly dismissed him on Sep 19 before disappearing suddenly from the pages of the *Iris*.

⁷¹ Ibid., Sep 12, 1794.

radicalism. Perhaps the Squire also spoke for Montgomery when he said that the Scotch Convention went further than a move for parliamentary reform, to actual moves for a revolution and for which their forthcoming trials would probably prove fatal. The Squire introduced the LCS into the discussion where he pointed to their revolutionary errors, which had given the government an excuse for a national crackdown, which had “checked the operations and impeded the success of *moderate and constitutional Reformers, the truest and best Friends of the People.*”

As 1794 closed, Montgomery was awaiting his trial for libel. He had shown himself in the early editions of the *Iris* to be pro-reform. In 1795, after the excitement with Jacob Demo, the correspondence and articles become more restrained. Naturally, this was because of the editor’s imprisonment, the ongoing treason trials, the war, and government pressure on radical newspapers. My suggestion that Jacob Demo was a creation of James Montgomery to give himself a more radical ‘voice’ to skirt the curbs his partner placed upon him is one that perhaps other scholars might explore.

Poems published in the *Iris*

I will now give consideration to the politics of the poetry published in the *Iris* during 1794-97, with special attention to the pseudonymous works of James Montgomery, to confirm his radicalism.

In the first six months, July-December 1794, he published thirty-four poems of which eight, or twenty-five per cent were his own. There was little by other authors of a political nature except perhaps the anonymous “Ode to War,” which could be better titled “Ode *against* War”; and “Verses, dedicated to the Right Hon. Thomas Erskine, on his defence of Mess. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall,” submitted by Britannicus. The latter celebrated the victory of justice over “the vast Influence of the Crown” (a footnote quote from Erskine’s speech at Tooke’s trial).⁷²

As he had done in the *Sheffield Register*, Montgomery used pseudonyms to express his own radical views.

⁷² “Britannicus. Verses to the Right Hon. Thomas Erskine, on his defence of Mess. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall,” *Iris*, Dec 12, 1794.

Paul Positive

Mount Vesuvius had erupted on June 15,⁷³ and Montgomery used it to publish the first of his own radical poems in the fourth issue, “Vesuvius Bewitched, or the Mountain in Labour.”⁷⁴ With the imminent departure of Winifred Gales and the children to join Joseph, this seemed to be a thinly veiled comment upon the Church and State in Britain. In it, he mocked the Catholic church and its corrupt clergy, the king of Naples and his courtiers, and the idolatrous credulity of the local populace. Kings, courtiers and government ministers were described as lazy, lying, self-seeking, superstitious, and hopeless in a time of national crisis.

The consternation reached the palace,
And Majesty look'd like a goose.
Ave Maria, Paternoster rung,
From every Courtier's lying tongue;
Even Ministers were rouzed at last.⁷⁵

Church and State were the oppressors of the overworked, under-represented masses.

Bishops, Cardinals and Priests,
Tithes, Establishments and Tests,
Church and State, thrice happy pair!
These thy sons and daughters are!
By the right divine of Kings!
By a million *such like* things!
By the *People's* ancient right
To sweat and toil with all their might!
To misery and misfortune broke,

⁷³ The previous major event had been Aug 8, 1779.

⁷⁴ “Vesuvius Bewitched, or the Mountain in Labour, by Paul Positive, Esq. Part 1” (Part 2, was published on Aug 1), *Iris*, July 25, 1794. This piece would be included in the 1798 collection of *The Whisperer*, see below.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Beat the billows, bear the yoke,
With raging thirst 'midst fountains burn,
And beg the very bread they earn!⁷⁶

There was a clear echo of pre-revolutionary France, and grain shortages in contemporary Britain, where the peasants of a rich land were reduced to beggary, and the 'volcano' of public discontent was ready to erupt and engulf the country in slaughter and anarchy — "Yon awful mountain armed with thunder, / Pours forth destruction every minute."

If this was a little veiled, then his poem "The Statesman and His Fool: A Marvellous Tale" was a clearer attack upon the government.⁷⁷ Set in a foreign land it told the story of a "Statesman" who rapaciously "tax'd and tyth'd, and tyth'd and tax'd" his people, like a wild animal tearing at sheep and geese, having no regard for "age, sex, nor beauty." He taxed every aspect of everyday life and reduced them to great need, and yet they patiently bore it even unto death — "for their country's, or their monarch's good, / Were thankful even to shed their blood." With Britain at war, food shortages, and Pitt beginning to tax them mercilessly the parallels must have been obvious to many disaffected and suffering plebeian readers.

Greedy as a death he ne'er relaxed,
His unrelenting demands.
From every sheep he tore the fleece,
The feathers pluck'd from living geese,
With his rapacious claws.
He spar'd not age, nor sex, nor beauty,
Nose and eyes themselves paid duty,
And grievous was the tax on jaws!
In eating, drinking, working, playing,
Sleeping, waking, swearing, praying,

⁷⁶ "Vesuvius Bewitched... Part 2.," *ibid.*, Aug 1, 1794.

⁷⁷ "The Statesman and His Fool: A Marvellous Tale, by Paul Positive," *Iris*, Sep 12, 1794.

The pennies were for ever paying.
With panniers of oppression loaded,
Kick'd and pummell'd, maul'd and goaded,
To the vilest slavery humbled,
Poor patient souls! they neither growled nor grumbled;

But, he warned — “Tho’ statesmen who seem the sons of thunder, / And strut like demigods to-day” — the highest in the land were themselves, to use biblical imagery (Ecclesiastes 12:6⁷⁸), but earthen vessels easily dashed to pieces.

The pallid shroud, the pompous hearse,
Proclaim them sons of clay.
Yes, for such knights and lords and bishops are,
Even kings and queens themselves are *crockery* ware.

This clear levelling view showed Montgomery’s egalitarian stance and contempt for those in high places who had no scruples about beggaring the general populace and sending them to their deaths under the banner of blind nationalist fervour. After death, however, the “Statesman” met his former “Fool” Roger in hell and discovered that *he* was the fool, for Roger has deceived him with his wife, and his son was not his but Roger’s. Paul Positive warned, “To punish folly, open folly’s eyes,” the suggestion being that, in the next life at least, corrupt ministers of state, lords, and royalty would find recompense for their wicked abuse of the masses now. By itself the piece was mildly mocking and amusing, but in the context of the political emergency of 1794 it was tantamount to seditious language. A year or so later he could easily have been arrested and even executed for “imagining the death of the king,” as John Barrell says.⁷⁹

Montgomery’s sympathy for the artisan reform movement can be seen in his

⁷⁸ *The Holy Bible, The New King James Version* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983).

⁷⁹ John Barrell, *Imagining the King’s Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also: “High Treason. Extract from a letter from Trim, in Ireland... Traynor, charged... in compassing and imagining the death of the king... *Guilty*” — to be hung, drawn and quartered, *Iris*, Aug 5, 1796.

poignant poem on the acquittal of LCS leader Thomas Hardy and his visit to his wife's grave.⁸⁰ "'Is this thy grave?" the afflicted Patriot said, / And fresh from every pore his sorrows bled."⁸¹ Note how Montgomery was bold in his statement that Hardy was a "patriot" and no traitor, as the government but not the jury had decided.

During his time in York Castle prison (January to April, 1795), he composed a number of pieces as Paul Positive, some of which were published in his absence in the *Iris*. These would later appear as a volume of *Prison Amusements* in 1797, and were mainly non-controversial pieces, such as, "To a Robin Redbreast, who visits the Window of my Prison every day," and, "Moonlight." Montgomery was more careful in his choice of political poems for publication after his return from York. In his first edition he included an anonymous piece, "Lines about the Transportation of Messrs. Palmer and Muir to Botany Bay, &c.," with the rueful remark, "Many still preach Reform, 'tis true, / But yet its real friends are few."⁸² But in September he could not resist printing a short anonymous verse which at first seems merely humorous until it reaches its radical Paineite conclusion.

"THE BUTCHER AND THE HOG"

Thus spake the *butcher*, in his hand the blade,
The *hog* upon the tressel screaming laid:
"I wish my hat were in your gullet ramm'd!
"Lie still, and have your throat rent and be damn'd
"You're but a *hog*. Sure by the coil you keep
"You think yourself as good as any SHEEP!

⁸⁰ James Montgomery, "Verses occasioned by the Visit of Thomas Hardy, immediately after his Acquittal, to the Grave of his Wife, who had died during his confinement, in child-bed — declaring in her last moments, that the grief occasioned by her Husband's misfortune had broken her heart. By Paul Positive," *Iris*, Dec 5, 1794.

⁸¹ It was reprinted without these opening lines in the radical Norwich journal the *Cabinet of Curiosities* No. I. (London, 1795), 15. This journal was similar to *The Patriot* in its format and radical agenda and Montgomery may have given his permission for the inclusion of his verses. It ran from September 1794 for a year, and was edited by Charles Marsh, C. B. Jewson, *The Jacobin City: A Portrait of Norwich in its Reaction to the French Revolution, 1788-1802* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1975), 59.

⁸² *Iris*, Apr 24, 1795.

“Bleed quietly, and cease that frightful bawl;

“Tis [] *sedition* makes you squall;

“Shall *hogs* pretend to any *rights* at all?”⁸³

The Enthusiast; Marcellus Moonshine

As James Olney suggests, we can read lyrical poetry as an autobiographical device,⁸⁴ which in Montgomery’s case, as I show, he used to express his radical views. Thus, in his first outing as “The Enthusiast; Marcellus Moonshine,” Montgomery began by confessing his delight with the freedom owning a newspaper gave him to indulge his muse, “Every author is both by nature and by trade an egoist; and above all periodical writers, from their peculiar situation, are eternally galloping that great hobby horse, a capital I.”⁸⁵ At school he confessed he had to be “driven like a coal-ass through latin and greek grammars,” because he had caught a “raging rhyming fever” whilst listening to his master reading from Blair’s *Poem on the Grave*, and ever since he had been haunted by the Muses.⁸⁶ In a letter to Joseph Aston concerning “The Enthusiast” reprinted in the *Memoirs* there is a contradictory statement, “I shall wholly banish independent politics from my plan; yet I shall endeavour to wean the public from violent and irritating language on political themes.”⁸⁷ Without the original letter it is difficult to check but surely it must have read, “I shall [*not*] wholly banish independent politics from my plan.” This would then agree with his *actual* practice, for he definitely *did* indulge in publishing “independent politics,” as with the paeans to Hardy et al., but temperately so. Was this a deliberate oversight, or merely an accidental omission, or an attempt to portray him in a more moderate light, as we now know his biographers were keen to do? In his second outing, only two days after his supposedly non-controversial letter to Aston, he seditiously lambasted the “madmen *in* their senses,” who “dance in the sunshine of St. James’s Court, riot on turtle and champaign, are bound with ribbons

⁸³ Ibid., Sep 4, 1795.

⁸⁴ Olney, *Autobiography*, 5.

⁸⁵ James Montgomery, “The Enthusiast; or the Follies of Marcellus Moonshine. No. I.,” *Iris*, July 25, 1794.

⁸⁶ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:39.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1:181.

and garters, honoured with titles, and share the plunder of the industrious poor!”⁸⁸ He expressed his disquiet against “volunteering,” and “duelling,” and “arming” the general populace and warned of the breakdown of all law and order.

And if the Christian system of cutting the throats of our brethren abroad, because they perversely will not let us make them happy in our way, be persisted in a few years longer, soon shall we become an *armed Nation* at home.

As Linda Colley notes, the rise of local militias and volunteers, with widespread eligibility for service, carried with it the danger of an expectation of manhood suffrage, especially through the gradual introduction of committees, “in conscious imitation of the American Revolutionary militia committees,” to fund raise and discuss general topics. Such plebeian militias could also be both loyalists in opposition to the threat of France, and at the forefront of food riots. In fact, she says, their gradual arming in the ten years 1793-1803 attracted former corresponding society members and posed the real risk of pressure for parliamentary reform. Hence their dismantling by government by 1810, not to be revived until 1850.⁸⁹

Note that Montgomery thought the “Rights of [freeborn English] Men” had already been transported to Botany Bay with the radical martyrs; a contentious notion with treason trials in progress.

All law, and the execution of it, all justice, all humanity will be transported to Botany Bay; and not only the old-fashioned Rights of Men, but even the divine Rights of King and Priest themselves, will be unregarded?

In outing number three, Marcellus Moonshine ridiculed the use of wigs by “blockheaded” clergy, lawyers, courtiers, doctors, soldiers, and the fashionable. He insisted that ridicule was not his intention but that he had invented a new system of

⁸⁸ Montgomery, “The Enthusiast... No. II.,” *ibid.*, Aug 1, 1794, was writing as Frank Firebrass.

⁸⁹ Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 113-114.

philosophy — “Wigionomy” — which enabled him to deduce a man’s character from his wig. He savagely mocked them group by group starting with the established clergy.

What is pompous theology, but a huge round full bottom, which the addition of a black gown, bloated belly, and purple pimpled nose, constitutes a right reverend doctor, who on Sunday exalted above his drowsy audience, fulfils the scripture only in one point, making the Sabbath a day of rest, by preaching all his hearers asleep.⁹⁰

He mocked the lawyers with their “monstrous congregation of voluminous curls ... through which the learned in quibbling hunt each other up and down like rats among sheaves of a corn mow.” He mocked the judges and their deafness to justice, “does not this stupendous Wig when placed in solemn form upon some worshipful blockhead enveloping him in such a cloud of wisdom, that (if *ear* were necessary for the *hearing* causes) you would swear no sound could penetrate it; does not this wig thus placed make a Judge?” He mocked the “bowing smiling Courtier ... a cork blockhead, in a wig powdered, scribbled and perfumed.” He warned, in a Jacobinical tone, that wigs notwithstanding, “neither men, nor even wigs themselves, know what they may come to; and it was but this very morning I saw the sacred wig which once over-shadowed the consecrated head of a Bishop, profanely used to clean the unhallowed shoes of a tinker!” Revealed here is Montgomery’s strong levelling attitude to society and his desire for a more equal distribution of wealth and rights, and if necessary another ‘Glorious Revolution.’ “What is Poverty, but a battered worm-eaten blockhead, mocked with the wretched ruins of what, a century ago was — O frame it not — a wig royal, and swept with imperial pride the shoulders of a Monarch!” For the local Church and King supporters this seditious mockery must have made him a marked man and been a contributory factor in their determination to find a cause for his arrest, especially now that Joseph Gales had escaped to Germany.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Montgomery, “The Enthusiast... No. III.,” *ibid.*, Aug 29, 1794. As Linda Colley observes, the main role of Established clergy seems to have been to remind parents and children of their patriotic duty to obey the king and the state, especially in times of war, Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 107.

⁹¹ “the inflexibility of the Men in Power, and the knowledge that like death, they wished for “a shining mark,”” said Winifred Gales speaking of the flight of Joseph Gales, Gales, “Recollections,” 61.

True to his description of his character as “silly and trifling,” he made fun of beards in his fourth essay, with reference to variations in religious traditions and classical cultures, but with nothing politically tendentious. Essays five and six were published from York Castle the following February and March, 1795, before *The Enthusiast*; Marcellus Moonshine quietly disappeared from the newspaper. Unsurprisingly, writing from prison, essay five was taken up with maintaining “cheerfulness,” and number six with contentment with one’s lot and philosophical about life’s inequalities.

The labourer longs for the hounds and horses of the squire; the squire pants for a coronet; the lord, while he bows at the levee of the king, sighs for a levee of his own; the monarch grasps at empire; the emperor would be — a god! — Fools!... Truly, honest folks! you forget that, with continually aspiring at things above, you lose the enjoyment of those within your reach.⁹²

His parting shot was a morose reminder to the poorest ranks that there *are* inequalities in the world which must be borne with equanimity by *all* classes of men, but the day is coming when all will anyway be levelled by death.

If you can compose your appetite with five ounces of meat, can you repine because you once saw Alderman Gander, at a corporation feast, gormandise twice as many pounds?... don’t you recollect, that in the middle of his dinner his worship was carried off by an apoplectic fit?

His hopes of reform seemed to have been severely dented by his first imprisonment and he had little encouragement to offer the disenfranchised lower orders, and we may be seeing here the first shoots of his later concern for social rather than political reform. “But, hold! my pen seems to have drunk too freely — no liquor under the moon is so intoxicating as ink! M. York Castle, Feb. 28, 1795.”⁹³

⁹² Montgomery, “The Enthusiast... No. VI.,” *Iris*, Mar 6, 1795.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

J. M. G.

With this pen name Montgomery leaves us in no doubt where he stood on the reform issue. For example the hymn for the SSCI public meeting to celebrate the acquittals of Hardy, Tooke and Thelwall.⁹⁴ Montgomery who was about to be tried himself was celebrating not just victory for the reform movement but expressing his own hopes of a fair trial and acquittal.

Her best and favourite Sons she saw
Arraign'd before the bar of Law;
That generous Law, on Justice built,
Tried — pronounc'd them pure from guilt...

Bid peace her smiling reign resume
Where desarts howl, let Edens bloom;
Already is REFORM begun,
The work is thine — thy will be done.⁹⁵

With his trial imminent there were two political poems published on January 16, 1795, "Lines addressed to Mr. Erskine" in his praise, by "—A —S"; and "*Impromptu*, on reading Serjeant Adair's assertion at the Trial of THELWALL, that a plot had been formed against the King and Constitution." The latter was contained in the "Sheffield" editorial, which may mean that he composed it himself; certainly it expressed his own sentiments.

Saith John to his wife, "My dear joy and my life,
Here is a strange puzzling affair,
Six men are acquitted, who all have been tried,
Yet a plot has been form'd, saith Adair."

⁹⁴ James Montgomery, "Hymn, in memory of the acquittal of T. Hardy, J. Horne Tooke, J. Thelwall, &c. Tried upon a charge of High Treason. Sung at a Public Meeting of the Constitutional Society of Sheffield, Dec. 29, 1794. J. M. G.," *Iris*, Jan 2, 1795.

⁹⁵ This and the verses by Britannicus would also be reprinted in the *Cabinet of Curiosities*, 1795.

To whom, in return, she quickly reply'd,
"Your doubts do surprise me my dear,
A plot there has been, by all the world seen,
But the Serjeant can not tell us where."⁹⁶

He was to discover at his trial, as Cookson observes, "The courts apparently preferred to concentrate on what the offensive passages could be drawn out to mean rather than on the meaning intended to be conveyed."⁹⁷

Gabriel Silvertongue

Beginning on May 29, 1795, after his return from York, Montgomery published a series entitled, "The Whisperer, or Hints and Speculations, by Gabriel Silvertongue, Gent." These semi-autobiographical essays, were thinly disguised fictions that revealed much about the thinking and feelings of the recently released, twenty three year old editor. I believe, therefore, that they are a much more accurate picture of the young radical of the early 1790s than the cursory summary his biography provides. For, they explain his radical views and experiences at the time and not in redacted hindsight fifty years later. Ostensibly edited by Gabriel Silvertongue the addresses and descriptions are by a whole collection of pseudonymous characters, male and female, who spoke on Montgomery's behalf. As Gordon Wood says of Benjamin Franklin, Montgomery wrote with self-deprecating humour using different personas and "many voices."⁹⁸ It is my

⁹⁶ Ibid., Jan 16, 1795.

⁹⁷ Cookson, *Friends of Peace*, 101.

⁹⁸ "In all of Franklin's writings, his wit and humor, his constant self-awareness, his assuming different personas and roles, make it difficult to know how to read him. He was a man of many voices and masks who continually mocks himself. Sometimes in his newspaper essays he was a woman, like "Silence Dogood," "Alice Addetongue," "Cecilia Shortace," and "Polly Baker," saucy and racy and hilarious. At other times he was the "Busy Body," or "Obadiah Plainman," or "Anthony Afterwit," or "Richard Saunders," also known as "Poor Richard," the almanac maker.... During his London years he wrote some ninety pseudonymous items for the press using forty-two different signatures," Wood, *The Americanization*, 14. Cf. Beutner, "Fraternal Feeling," 323, who points to Montgomery's sense of "fellowship with Franklin, as a printer, and his admiration of the American philosopher's character," and

contention that these ‘voices,’ like the poems in the *Prison Amusements*, represented Montgomery’s understanding of, and responses to, contemporary events, as they were actually unfolding. As my thesis shows, he was a radical gagged by the authorities, and not a naive victim of events. Here then was his radical dissent reduced to ‘murmuring’ against a repressive gagging government, and an attempt to maintain, albeit in a ‘whisper,’ a voice for the reform movement. Accordingly, in No. II., “Hints concerning Title-pages, and a Whisper about whispering,”⁹⁹ he said he was determined to continue using his freedom of speech, and although it was reduced to “whispering” he hoped to be heard occasionally when the louder “barkings” of noisy political dogs were momentarily stilled.

My small still voice, like the voice of conscience, may hope sometimes to be heard at silent intervals.... Here, then, I dwell like the little insect that spins its silken nest within the furrowed bark of some majestic oak.... And here, where even the thunder that shakes the political hemisphere vibrates only in a whisper, my own whisperings may perhaps be heard with those of the breezes and the busy insects that people the summer air.”¹⁰⁰

His melancholy tendency was heightened by his time in prison, but he said he would make the effort to enjoy convivial company and occasionally “peep” at the world and its great affairs from his position of “retreat.” Perhaps thinking of the Quakers he met at York, who were imprisoned for their conscientious refusal to pay Established Church tithes his sufferings had made him more compassionate, and foreshadowed his gradual move away from radicalism to evangelical philanthropy.

I have been a stricken dear; but feeling for myself has taught me to feel for others.
Though I have met with ingratitude, ingratitude itself has instructed me in the art of true benevolence; and, to the last moment of my life, I hope always to have a mite for

highlights his 1846 poem for the American’s centenary (16 Jan 1847), “Franklin, the Printer, Philosopher, and Patriot.”

⁹⁹ James Montgomery, “The Whisperer... No. II.,” *Iris*, June 5, 1795.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

the needy and a tear for the distressed.¹⁰¹

In No. III., “The Whisperer meets with other Whisperers,”¹⁰² Silvertongue had discovered, he says, by his previous essay that he was not the only “Whisperer,” and that there were whole societies of them, which he was now invited to join.

With No. IV., “A Pair of Portraits of Sir Solomon Sombre and Doctor Alexander Lapwing,” the experience of the aged Sir Solomon Sombre clearly mirrored his own, and thus provides us with a sketch that prefigured his future identity as the fragile, spiritually sensitive poet. Sombre was a rake in his youth who through inadvised revolutionary toasting got himself arrested and charged with High Treason and was committed to Newgate prison. He paid a fine and was released. With echoes of Montgomery’s own imprisonment this time of confinement had a salutary effect upon Sombre, awakening his conscience with “agonies of remorse and repentance which tortured him during his confinement.”¹⁰³ Montgomery’s ten year spiritual journey from rationalism and radical Unitarianism back to evangelical Moravianism was beginning. Like Sombre, Montgomery’s post-internment character “shrinks from the society of men, except that of a few choice friends,” but he still had a strong poetic sensibility.

His imagination is warm and romantic: at certain periods there is an enthusiasm in his very look; he moves, he stands, he speaks in a manner peculiar to himself: fairies, witches, genii are all familiar spirits with him: his conversation is in heaven among the stars; and his soul may be said to reside oftener and more in any one of the other planets than in that which his body inhabits.¹⁰⁴

Montgomery, like many former political internees, had fragile health, weakened by his time in prison, with recurring bouts of ill-health — “his constitution was so much

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² “The Whisperer ... No. III.,” *ibid.*, June 12, 1795.

¹⁰³ “A poet is an unhappy creature whose heart is tortured by deepest suffering” (Kierkegaard), Williamson, “Religious Thought,” 60, speaking of Montgomery as the 19th C. celebrated Christian poet.

¹⁰⁴ Montgomery, “The Whisperer ... No. IV.,” *Iris*, June 19, 1795.

shattered”¹⁰⁵ — a common experience that placed him within the context of radical martyrology. He seemed, thenceforth, to have recognised himself as hypochondriachal, sensitive and amiable like his fictional creation.

But with all his chimerical opinions and hypochondriachal weaknesses, the Baronet possesses an exquisite sensibility of soul, a tenderness of heart and amiable, though whimsical, simplicity of manners, that irresistably win the affections of all who converse with him.¹⁰⁶

In many ways Sir Solomon Sombre is an accurate outline of James Montgomery’s life journey from radical to evangelical social reformer.

With No. V., “Characteristic Sketches of two more of the Whisperer’s Companions,”¹⁰⁷ we are introduced to Jonathan Starlight, a sketch, I suggest, of Montgomery’s then current rational theology. He was a “speculative philosopher” who “believes in the omnipotence of truth and the perfectibility of human nature.” The views of Starlight were rational and deistical — theologically, scientifically and politically heterodox like Montgomery’s Unitarianism imbibed from the Galeases and his readings of Priestley and others.

By his skill in physic and chymistry he will be enabled to render his body immortal ... All the world will become one nation and all mankind one family: all laws and government will be abolished ... churches will be converted into dwellings, for every man will worship God in the temple of his own heart.¹⁰⁸

To embody his pacifism, Montgomery, in a clear dismissal of British global expansionism with its terrible human cost, introduced Captain O’Shannon an Irish soldier who had sacrificed half his body in the wars of his country (Britain), an ear in

¹⁰⁵ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:267.

¹⁰⁶ Montgomery, “The Whisperer ... No. IV.,” *Iris*, June 19, 1795.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, “The Whisperer ... No. V.,” *ibid.*, June 26, 1795.

¹⁰⁸ Montgomery anticipated the video-phone: “two friends, with each a perspective glass and a pocket telegraphe, may converse together from one end of the universe to the other,” *ibid.*

the West Indies, an eye in Coromandel (India), an arm in Germany, and a leg in America.

No. VI., “A domestic Picture, sacred to the Ladies,”¹⁰⁹ hinted at Montgomery’s already disappointed hopes of marriage. “Dear departed hours! too happy long to last; too delightful ever to be forgotten! All nature smiled ... the flowers breathed incense, and every breeze whispered love.” But he would not betray the secret love.

Hush! — another syllable might betray the secret which has been locked up in my bosom these fifteen years; and which shall never be entrusted elsewhere till I descend with it into the tomb, that faithful repository, where the deep secrets of all hearts repose in eternal silence with the ashes of their owners.”¹¹⁰

In No. VII., “Tea-Table Talk,”¹¹¹ Captain O’Shannon’s complaints about Silvertongue’s “scandalous” representations of them, reflected Montgomery’s painful experiences surrounding his prosecution, where *he* was libelled, and scandalously imprisoned for telling the truth, ““I hope I have said nothing but the truth!” “Truth! aye, Sir, that’s the mischief on’t! Scandals, like libels, are the most scandalous when they are the most true.””¹¹²

It is in the next two essays that Montgomery gives us a contemporary description of the polluting effects of industrialisation, and the famine conditions caused by the bad harvests and the war. His view was that the sufferings could be rectified by the efforts of the enlightened and resourced. Firstly, in No. VIII., “A Morning Ramble,”¹¹³ he displayed a less than idyllic view of industrialised Sheffield, which lay like a “flaw” on

¹⁰⁹ Montgomery, “The Whisperer ... No. VI.,” *Iris*, July 10, 1795.

¹¹⁰ He recounted the delights of tea with ladies present, which suggests a memory of tea with the Gales sisters with whom he was living: “I love to see ladies at a tea table; for I think the gentle sex are never more charming than when they are employed in those pretty domestic offices,” *ibid*.

¹¹¹ Montgomery, “The Whisperer... No. VII.,” *ibid.*, July 17, 1795.

¹¹² “if you was not as short-sighted as a beetle” — Captain O’Shannon to Gabriel Silvertongue, refers to Montgomery’s poor eyesight which kept him from sports at Fulneck school, *ibid*.

¹¹³ Montgomery, “The Whisperer... No. VIII.,” *Iris*, July 31, 1795.

the landscape, a place where the gods of “Industry” and “Labour” were rousing their servants for another day’s hard toil in the grime and polluted smoke.

Far away towards the north east lay, wrapt in sleep and vapours, the town of S——, dimly discovered, like a flaw in the landscape, by the pinnacles of its steeples glittering in the light. In the country Industry was opening his heavy eyes, and Labour rising slowly from his hard bed.

Montgomery’s evangelical background can be heard, in his opinion that this was the result of mankind’s rebellion against a benevolent Creator, and a picture of man’s inner pollution and ugliness, and self-inflicted sufferings.

Yes! he is the father of his own calamities ... the offspring of his vices! ... God created the world fair and good, and his creatures innocent and happy: but man has rebelled against his maker; he has converted his blessings into curses, his beauty into deformity, his happiness into punishment.

What was worse, man blamed his Maker.

He presumes to arraign the justice of his Creator; he taxes Omnipotence with weakness, Omniscience with ignorance, he charges infinite Goodness with partiality and eternal Providence with neglect! God has spread his table for the whole universe, and invited all nature to sit down and partake of the feast, which his bounty has prepared. Man only, murmuring, repining man, turns discontented from the board, to feed upon vanity, and riot on his lusts: he only, of all the families that people the world, is miserable, though invested by his maker with the sovereignty over the rest!¹¹⁴

Thus, on his “Morning Ramble,” Gabriel Silvertongue arrived at “The Cottage,”¹¹⁵ expecting to find a rural idyll, only to discover that “Poverty and famine, relentless

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

sister fiends! had taken up their abode here.” The husband was dying of starvation being given some scant nourishment from the breast of his wife, whilst the corpse of their child lay to one side, and they were surrounded by their other famished children. Gabriel Silvertongue was determined to help them financially and called upon his readers to show similar compassion, “wherever the pulse of humanity beats, wherever the throes of compassion are felt, let a sigh rise, let a tear drop.” Here was the compassion that led Montgomery increasingly into campaigns for the amelioration of the sufferings of the poor as a social rather than a political reformer.¹¹⁶ As Baxter and Donnelly record, it was the local political and religious nonconformists, the SSCI and the Methodists, who were at the forefront of such moves, as seen in the setting up of a co-operative corn-mill for which Montgomery wrote a hymn.¹¹⁷

No. XII, published in October 1795, was a whimsical piece written by Nobody, who complained that he took the blame for every species of crime that his “mortal enemy” Somebody commits! As he proceeded humorously the tone became more politicised and thus more dangerous to the editor who was again waiting to stand trial, prosecuted this time for a libel by local magistrate R. A. Athorpe for reporting the public disturbance and deaths of innocent bystanders at the hands of local Volunteers.¹¹⁸

Plots and conspiracies are formed — nowhere: Treason is discovered — not to exist:
The Church, King, Constitution are in danger — from nothing: the nation is alarmed,
all Europe is alarmed, the whole world is alarmed! And who hath alarmed them? —

¹¹⁵ Ibid., “The Whisperer... No. IX.,” *ibid.*, Aug 14, 1795.

¹¹⁶ Montgomery’s social conscience shone through in occasional pieces like the, “Picture of African Distress”, *Iris*, Oct 9, 1795.

¹¹⁷ “Hymn. Appointed to be sung on the occasion of laying the Foundation Stone of a Corn Mill, to be erected for the purpose of supplying the Members of Forty-three Sick Clubs, in Sheffield, with Flour and Meal at reasonable prices. November 5, 1795, Paul Positive,” *Iris*, Nov 6, 1795. Reprinted with changes as “Hymn CCLXXVI. *The Poor praying for Bread in Time of Scarcity*,” in James Montgomery, *Original Hymns for Public, Private, and Social Devotion* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1853), 294. J. L. Baxter, and F. K. Donnelly, “The Revolutionary “Underground” in the West Riding: Myth or Reality?” *Past & Present* 64 (Aug, 1974), 125, accessed July 13, 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/650321>.

¹¹⁸ *Iris*, Aug 7, 1795.

Nobody! Seats in Parliament are bought and sold — by Nobody. Consciences are bartered for Places and Pensions — by Nobody. Titles are lavished upon the most worthless of men, and mitres showered upon the heads of persecuting zealots — by Nobody!¹¹⁹

Three years later he published the collection with the help of radical London publisher Joseph Johnson,¹²⁰ but with a number of changes to the original order and additional content.¹²¹ The series came to an end he says because of his lack of “knowledge and abilities,” and, “years and experience,” but in fact it was his second prosecution and imprisonment — “the present edition of the first volume, which kept pace with the work in its periodical progress, was nearly printed off, when the irrecoverable blow, alluded to, administered the *coup de grace* to poor GABRIEL SILVERTONGUE!”¹²² “When I have leisure I mean to raise him again to life,”¹²³ he wrote to Joseph Aston, but he never did. With his second imprisonment at York, 1796 sees the disappearance of reform poems from the *Iris*. From then on he restricted himself to innocuous poems on love, the war, social issues and sundry themes such as fashion, nature, and the opera.

¹¹⁹ James Montgomery, “The Whisperer... No. XII.,” *ibid.*, Oct 2, 1795.

¹²⁰ James Montgomery, *The Whisperer; or, Tales and Speculations. By Gabriel Silvertongue* (London: J. Johnson, 1798).

¹²¹ “The ‘Whisperer’ is at present in the hands of my partner and myself: the first essay was the joint production of both of our heads and hands, and if any future paper should be marked X, it will stand in the same predicament. The third paper, marked S, and all in future signed with any of the letters in SOPHRON, will be the production of my partner,” James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, June 22, 1795, in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:225 fn.

“Nugator,” in Montgomery, *The Whisperer*, 148,” originally in *Iris* Oct 17, 24, 1794. “The Mayor of Donchester,” in Montgomery, *The Whisperer*, 90, originally by Paul Positive in the *SR*, Feb 21, 1794.

“Frank Firebrass,” in Montgomery, *The Whisperer*, 101, originally by Marcellus Moonshine in *Iris*, Aug 1, 1794. “Vesuvius Bewitched,” *The Whisperer*, 120, originally in *Iris*, Mar 6, 1795. “The Whisperer... No. XVII,” Montgomery, *The Whisperer*, 135, originally by Paul Positive in *Iris*, July 25; Aug 1, 1794.

¹²² Montgomery, *The Whisperer*, introduction, p. vii.

¹²³ Montgomery, “Letter to Joseph Aston, Jan 2, 1796,” in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:247.

Again, there is a great deal of extant material in the *Iris* news and editorials, and so I will reveal from various extracts during 1794-96, Montgomery's radicalism. His main concerns were with the war and the sufferings of the people; parliamentary reform and government repression, including his own struggles with local interests culminating in his second prosecution and imprisonment; and the gagging acts, which effectively silenced his radicalism at the end of 1796.

In August 1794, Winifred Gales and her children left Sheffield for Hamburg via Hull, and Montgomery was now alone with the Gales sisters, Ann and Elizabeth. Despite government attempts to arrest Joseph Gales for sedition, he was not prepared to deny his former employer and friend — “an HONEST MAN.”¹²⁴ He was disturbed at the intolerance of the British authorities and the resulting, preventable loss of good (dissentient) citizens, particularly Quakers, to the “hospitable shores of America.” Using the cautions of Dr. Johnson he warned against this unwise repression that was draining the nation, “We are sorry to find, that the spirit of emigration continues so much to prevail,” he wrote.¹²⁵ There was a direct reference to the reason for Joseph Gales's sudden departure to Hamburg, and that of Joseph Priestley to America.

Have not the Alarmists a right to believe, that Eight Million Pikes have been forged in Sheffield, because HALF-A-DOZEN have been found there?¹²⁶ — Have not the Reformers also a right to suppose their lives are in danger, when Birmingham, Manchester and *Nottingham* Mobs *usurp* a right to burn their houses, and drag their persons through horse-ponds?¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *Iris*, Aug 29, 1794.

¹²⁵ ““To hinder insurrection” says he, “by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics.””, *ibid*.

¹²⁶ He is probably referring to M. P. Lambton's comment during the parliamentary debate on the “Report of the Secret Committee respecting Seditious Practices”, June 16, 1794: “Not 18,000, as might have been supposed, but eighteen pike-heads, ten battle-axes [sic], and twenty blades, unfinished,” Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, 36:920.

¹²⁷ *Iris*, July 18, 1794.

From July to December he included plenty of news about America and nonconformism there, but whilst not overtly pro-American yet they did affirm his interest in nonconformism and his democratic leanings.¹²⁸

In the first six months the “Sheffield” editorial carried many items critical of the government’s prosecution of the war. For example, in the third issue where he sprang into voice against various corruptions at home and abroad but with an obvious bias towards the proletariat, “RIGHTS OF OPINION!!!... Have not the Sons of France a right to fancy themselves happy under a Republican Government?”¹²⁹ He had little sympathy for the war effort and the terrible loss of life, despite the pious claims of governments. “And have not the Allies an equal right to swear they are doing GOD service in attempting to exterminate Twenty Seven Millions of their Brethren?” As Paine had said, European royalty was simply using the war as a pretext for self-seeking, “All the monarchical Governments are military. War is their trade, plunder and revenue their objects.”¹³⁰ He complained of that “unfeeling bachelor Mr. Pitt,”¹³¹ who was uncaring of the suffering masses, and of the thousands of single women unable to marry due to the war. Lack of money due to poor wages and a general shortage of work was as much of a problem as the shortage of eligible husbands, and led to a significant increase in prostitution, said Thomas Bentley at the time.¹³² A sugar monopoly was the cause of high prices Montgomery suggested, which was why “the *swinish multitude*, were perpetually complaining of their *distressing* poverty”!¹³³

¹²⁸ “Address from a committee of the Democratic Society of New York to Joseph Priestley,” *Iris*, July 11, 1794; “the third reading of the embargoes bill in the American Congress,” *ibid.*, July 25, 1794; “Short account of the malignant fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia,” *ibid.*, Aug 15, 1794; “...a report of celebrations and patriotic toasts of the “American Republic. New-York, July 5,” *ibid.*, Sep 5, 1794; “Desultory observations from Cooper’s “Present State of America,”” *ibid.*, Oct 3, 1794; “...that America was on a war footing against Britain, “Monday’s Post. Philadelphia, August 26,” *ibid.*, Oct 10, 1794.

¹²⁹ *Iris*, July 18, 1794.

¹³⁰ Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Part the Second* (New York: Signet Classic, 2003), 268.

¹³¹ *Iris*, Sep 12, 1794.

¹³² Thomas Bentley, *A Short View of Some of the Evils and Grievances Which Oppress the British Empire* (London, 1792).

¹³³ *Iris*, Sep 19, 1794.

Although in favour of reform and opposed to the war he was not unpatriotic, and he favourably reported a meeting of the Sheffield Independent Volunteers at which the local vicar James Wilkinson offered an “excellent prayer... Save us now, O Lord! — Keep us, and direct us through all dangers and difficulties. Bless and preserve our most Gracious Sovereign, and all his Liege People.”¹³⁴ Throughout 1795, Montgomery, like the LCS, commented much on the war, the resulting food shortages and his desire for peace, which became the one remaining avenue of safe protest against the Pitt government, says Goodwin.¹³⁵

Government repression of reformers and the press, 1794-97

Montgomery’s comments on, and experience of, government inspired repression of the reform movement and the radical press will be considered in two parts. First from July 1794 to January 1795, and his first imprisonment, to show the expression of his editorial radicalism; and then from April 1795 to December 1797, with the gagging acts and his second imprisonment, which demonstrate how his radical journalism was effectively silenced, and petered-out by the end of 1797.

The treason trials, July 1794-January 1795.

He reported on the increasingly repressive actions of the government during this first period. In an early indication of his continued support for the reform movement, he advertised that he was selling an account of Thomas Walker’s trial.¹³⁶ He was hopeful that fair trials rather than the travesty of packed juries would soon become the norm.

TRUTH and JUSTICE are eternal and immutable; and, we hope, the day begins already to dawn, when all Prejudices shall be eclipsed by Truth, and all Laws, and

¹³⁴ *Iris*, Aug 15, 1794.

¹³⁵ Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 372.

¹³⁶ “(To be had at the Printers of this Paper) The whole proceedings of the Trial of an Indictment against Thomas Walker of Manchester, merchant... for a conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government, and to aid and assist the French, (being the King’s enemies,)... Tried... Apr. 2, 1794,” *Iris*, July 11, 1794.

the administration of them, established upon Justice!¹³⁷

Thus, in September he included a report of the trial of Thomas Dunn who had perjured himself against Walker and nine other co-defendants, which if successful they would, he said, have “suffered public execution, although totally free from any offence whatever.”¹³⁸ If Montgomery’s reformist sympathies were in doubt, he dispelled it with a report of a man at Leith who was refused bail because he had been reading the *Iris*. “Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the ignorance and virulence of the High Party on the other side of the Tweed,” he said.¹³⁹ He was no revolutionary however. His report of the arrest of a schoolmaster at Halifax for “publishing and distributing a certain hand-bill ... exciting the people to take up arms, and plant the tree of liberty,” and when repeated at Leeds, he labelled as just “silly.”¹⁴⁰ He mistakenly believed that the recent suspension of Habeas Corpus would only mean the arrest without trial in cases of Treason. In the event of “*false imprisonment*” there would be redress, “Thank God ... our personal Liberties are secure against petty and capricious despotisms of that kind!”¹⁴¹ He was relieved that George Thompson was acquitted at the York assizes for “distributing a seditious pamphlet, entitled “a Serious Lecture for the Fast Day.””¹⁴²

In September 1794 as the political horizon became much darker, he reported that at Edinburgh, Watt and Downie were sentenced for Treason to be hung, drawn and quartered, — “When will these bloody footsteps of gothic and feudal barbarity be washed from the soul of Britain?” he asked — and Mr. Stoke a medical student was arraigned because he “began to *prescribe* for the Constitution.”¹⁴³ He was incensed at this cruelty shown to peaceful reformers when in his view the Constitution was suffering more savage attacks from those in power than ever it did from reformers. He

¹³⁷ Ibid., July 18, 1794.

¹³⁸ Ibid., Sep 12, 1794.

¹³⁹ Ibid., July 25, 1794.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., Aug 8, 1794.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.,

¹⁴² Ibid., Aug 15, 1794.

¹⁴³ Ibid., Sep 12, 1794.

sardonically wished that Martin the rat catcher to Parliament in 1711 was still alive to deal with the present “rats” in parliament.

If Mr. Walter Martin was now living, and would undertake to destroy the “Rats” which have been nibbling at the vitals of our Constitution, and the “other Vermin” which have so long sucked the blood and treasure of this kingdom, whether, in the House alluded to, or any other House, he would deserve not only liberal pay, but a handsome pension for his services.¹⁴⁴

Buried at the end of an editorial this is the sort of radical comment that undermines Montgomery’s claims of being only moderately involved in the reform movement. The following week’s editorial commended Wyvill’s publication of his “Collection of important Political Papers,” and he used Dunn’s conviction at Lancaster for perjury as a warning against the “power patronage can bestow.” He also drew attention to Watt who was exposed as a State spy and informer at the Edinburgh treason trials, having been paid thirty pounds by Dundas. Montgomery also recorded, with implicit sympathy, a warrant for the arrest of Edmund Stock for High Treason issued at Edinburgh, and, as a religious man, he was pleased to commend Muir’s “advice to the Friends of Reform” from his trial defence.

Let personal Reformation precede public; let the torch of knowledge light the path of Liberty; but above all, let sound morality, and genuine christianity be the Goals from which you commence your political career. A people ignorant — never can enjoy freedom. A people immoral — are unworthy of the blessing.¹⁴⁵

Concerning freedom of speech and the liberty of the press he inveighed ironically against government interference.

So conspicuous are the benevolence and charity of our legislators so refined is the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., Sep 19, 1794.

system of English liberty, that, if a man be in love with hanging or transportation, he may speak or write the truth with all imaginable boldness.¹⁴⁶

To show his sympathy with a “middle way” through the political turmoil as the salvation of the nation he printed an extract from an address of fellow newspaperman Richard Phillips of Leicester, recently released from eighteen months in prison for radical publishing.

All wise and thinking men ... agree that nothing can be expected from *violence* on the one side, or from *oppression* on the other, and that the saviours of this country will be the firm, moderate party.¹⁴⁷

On October 3, 1794 he printed extracts from the London papers about the imminent bill for High Treason against thirteen persons including Horne Tooke, Kidd, Hardy and Thelwall. The deceit and dishonesty on the government side was being made clear to the most simple of readers when he recorded that one of the supposed informers was a bigamist active in the Scottish treason trials, who was avoiding his two wives who wished to bring *him* to trial! When the trials started the *Iris* carried full reports, especially that of Hardy, and adverts for short-hand accounts published by Ridgeway and Symonds.¹⁴⁸ With his first trial pending, he had good reason to rejoice in these acquittals but also to be very wary as men known to him from the SSCI — William Broomhead, Robert Moody, Henry Hill, George Widdeson and William Camage — along with two men from the LCS— John Edwards and Samuel Williams — had been freed after six months in London only on the understanding that they would give evidence against Henry Yorke at *his* forthcoming trial at York assizes. The *Iris* carried an advert for Fox’s Book of Martyrs on the front page of the same issue, and we can speculate that Montgomery saw a correlation between these martyrs of the Reformation and the current ‘martyrs’ of the reform movement, including himself and Yorke.¹⁴⁹ On

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., Nov 14, 1794.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., Dec 19, 1794.

Oct 31 he ominously reported the start of Hardy's trial for High Treason; the trial in Suffolk of a man for assaulting "*Thomas Paine* ... because he refused to drink "Damnation to the French!!!", and a garbled report from the Continent of the "pop gun" assassination attempt on George III.

But it is his own situation that became more pressing as local loyalist interests were seeking an opportunity to arrest him. Thus, on October 17 he told his readers he had been bailed for "printing a supposed libel, entitled — "*A Patriotic Song, by a Clergyman of Belfast,* '" (Aug 16), celebrating the fall of the Bastille.¹⁵⁰ This was on the testimony of a vagrant street seller, Joseph Jordan, and the town constable, Samuel Hall, who arrested him. We do not know if Montgomery and Gales normally printed 'broad-sides' for public sale, although their newspapers contained them on the back pages, and they did sell pamphlets and sheets, such as the account of Walker's trial already mentioned. As John Barrell notes, satirical broadsides were much in vogue during 1793 and again in 1795, especially in London;¹⁵¹ Montgomery's satirical works like *The Bull* would have been well suited to this medium. The effectiveness of the national campaign against reformers by loyalist associations and the government can be heard in his editorial on the same day.

Loyalty to a government vested for the public good in king, lords, and commons, we revere and profess: but we feel indignation when we find it used as a cloak to the perpetuation of abuses; for freedom must expire in any states in which men are exposed to insult, to the loss of property, and perhaps of life, and are made liable to be stigmatized with the charge of *disloyalty*, merely for endeavouring to bring back the constitution to its original purity, and to reform the abuses which had crept into it through the lapse of time. When loyalty degenerates into *ruffianism*, it is as dangerous as a wild beast.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Oct 17, 1794.

¹⁵¹ John Barrell, ed., *Exhibition Extraordinary!! Radical Broad-sides of the mid 1790s* (Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2001), vii.

¹⁵² *Iris*., Oct 17, 1794.

The following week he appealed to the “candour, liberality and good sense of an unprejudiced public,” asking that they suspend judgment of him until his trial. He also listed a number of local individuals who were rejoicing in his situation and who counted themselves his enemies, John Brookfield attorney for the prosecution, with an interest in a “hostile paper,” and Samuel Marshall and Jonathan Whittam, “harpies of envy, bigotry and prejudice.” Montgomery realised that he was close to a charge of High Treason, and said that if the “charge had been strained one point further ... my Life must have paid the forfeit had I been found *Guilty!*... My principles may be erroneous, but whilst I believe them true and just, and constitutional, it is my duty to embrace them.”¹⁵³ He hoped the *Iris* would survive this storm but he vowed that should it deviate from its “Impartiality and Independence” then he hoped it would “perish.”¹⁵⁴ He said he despised the threats of “a certain Gentleman” who intended “to do everything in his power to effect his ruin, and that of this Paper,” and assured him that should he succeed, “another Patriotic Paper would, no doubt, immediately spring up in Sheffield.”¹⁵⁵ Like Thomas Walker he took consolation in that he had sought to prevent the people from “conveying the poison of corruption” to their lips and sitting down “tamely under an established despotism.”¹⁵⁶

Despite the seriousness of his own situation, however, Montgomery could not restrain himself from printing humorous pieces that would appeal to a ready audience, but which also confirmed the view of those who saw papers like the *Iris* as the voice of radicalism. Accordingly, he rued the fact that many “working people” still did not understand the difference between a “Jacobin” and a “*Jacobite*,” and tellingly cited a “Whiggish Chelsea collegian” who, “commenting on his weekly newspaper, exclaimed, “Damn these *Jacobites!* why do they now print ‘em *Jacobines?*” Or, again, a report of

¹⁵³ Ibid., Oct 24, 1794.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 31 Oct, 1794.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., Dec 23, 1794; Thomas Walker, *A review of some of the political events which have occurred in Manchester, during the last five years: being a sequel to the trial of Thomas Walker, and others, for a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution and government of this country, and to aid and assist the French, being the King's enemies* (London: J. Johnson, 1794), Preface, X, accessed Nov 23, 2009, <http://www.galegroup.com>, Gale Document Number: CW3323681983.

“*More Sedition at Manchester,*” where a herd of unsold swine was led back home by candlelight — “Notwithstanding the persecution of Tom Paine and his booksellers ... a man (Not having the fear of Botany Bay before his eyes) was lately detected in the very act of *enlightening the “Swinish Multitude”* in the public streets of Manchester!!”¹⁵⁷

The gagging acts, April 1795-December 1797

On his return from York Castle in April, 1795, he was politically more cautious. In his first editorial he recorded that he was alarmed to hear that “an anonymous letter was circulated in this town, addressing the people of Sheffield by the name of Citizens and calling upon them, under pretext of the present dearness of provisions, to meet in the market-place on the evening of Saturday last to plant the Tree of Liberty and to bring every one his weapon with him ... Such measures are, indeed, as foolish as they are criminal,” he said.¹⁵⁸ On June 27, 1795, his partnership with Benjamin Naylor was dissolved, belatedly allowing him more freedom but little leeway for political comment, and which perhaps had already saved him from worse treatment by the authorities.¹⁵⁹ On July 17 he mentioned the forthcoming trials of Henry Yorke and recorded that Joseph Gales and Richard Davidson were also arraigned with Yorke for a conspiracy but without comment. He could not resist however reporting a humorous seditious outburst in London, the “*Ingenious defence*” of a man arrested for crying, “No king, we want no king,” who when questioned by magistrates replied that there was no need because there was already a king “and a *very good one*.”¹⁶⁰

On August 7, 1795, things took a serious turn when Montgomery published an account of a local disturbance when Volunteers led by Colonel Athorpe a local magistrate had intervened, injuring and killing innocent bystanders. The disturbance had begun following an evening exercise when privates of a newly raised regiment under a Colonel Cameron complained that bounty money and arrears in pay had not been paid. Athorpe appeared with his troops and ordered the watching crowds to disperse. When

¹⁵⁷ *Iris*, 24 Oct, 1794.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr 24, 1795.

¹⁵⁹ Whilst Montgomery was in prison in 1795, Naylor stated that the newspaper would eschew radical news and comment and focus instead on scientific and educational features, *Iris*, Mar 20, 1795.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1795.

they did not leave quickly enough for his liking he “plunged with his horse among the unarmed defenceless people, and wounded with his sword men, women and children promiscuously,” reported the *Iris*.¹⁶¹ In confusion the crowd began to fall back and the Riot Act was read causing them to run to and fro in even greater bewilderment, “scarcely one in an hundred knowing what was meant by these dreadful measures.” After an hour had elapsed the Volunteers fired on the remaining crowd and killed two men and wounded some others. One of the fatalities was a man who was only there looking for his wife. Other troops were then called in to subdue the townsfolk who were in great agitation throughout the rest of the night. Montgomery was outraged at this unjustified assault on the people who he says were only “assembled out of mere curiosity ... as they had repeatedly done.” General food shortages were an additional reason for the gathering and near riot, says Roger Wells.¹⁶² Montgomery said that the magistrate (Athorpe) and other leading men present could easily have defused the situation and commented sardonically, “When the Coroner’s Inquest has sat upon the bodies, they will no doubt bring in a verdict of *justifiable homicide*”¹⁶³ (which is what happened).

As a result, Montgomery was vilified yet again, in the loyalist *Sheffield Courant*. To expose their perfidy he reprinted their report of the disturbance by an Irishman under the pseudonym B—, and a hand-bill reprinted in the *Sheffield Courant* which had suspiciously appeared a few hours *after* the disturbance, which they claimed had been circulated *before* the event and was thus directly responsible for the conduct of the mob. Montgomery said he searched in vain at the time for a copy but only heard of one which was lodged with the local constable. It read,

Treason! Treason! Treason!

Against the People,

The People are humbugg’d! A Plot discovered! P—t and the Committee for bread are combined together to starve the poor into the Army, and Navy! and to Starve your Widows and Orphans!

¹⁶¹ Ibid., Aug 7, 1795.

¹⁶² Wells, *Dearth and Distress*, 26.

¹⁶³ *Iris*, Aug 7, 1795.

God help you! Labourers of the Nation! you are held in requisition to fight in a bad Cause! a Cause that is blasted by Heaven and damned by all Good Men!!!
 Every man to his Tent O Israel! sharpen your Weapons and spare not for all the Scrats in the Nation are united against your blood, your Wives and your little ones!!!
 Behold good Bread at six shillings per stone, and may every wearer of a bayonet be struck with Heavens loudest Thunder that refuses to help you — Fear not your lives —
 Aristocrats are Scoundrels, Cowards. Cursed be the framers and promoters of the Corn Bill, and let all the people say Amen!¹⁶⁴

This hand-bill was, says Montgomery, a fabrication produced after the event, a “Cock and Bull story,” and that it was the “disobedience alone” of the soldiery that was the real cause of the “late melancholy disturbance in this town.”¹⁶⁵ Seizing the opportunity to further silence this voice of local pro-reform, Athorpe preferred an indictment for libel against Montgomery for reporting the event; the local authorities tried to prosecute him for stirring up riot and sedition but there was no evidence. Montgomery realised that the real target was the *Iris*, “they are determined to crush it” he wrote to Aston.¹⁶⁶ When the prosecution began at Doncaster on Jan 21, 1796, it stated that the *Iris*, “had long been the vehicle of abuse upon the Government,”¹⁶⁷ despite being only eighteen months in existence. This was surely meant to include the *Sheffield Register* and Joseph Gales, and strongly suggests that Montgomery’s prosecution was as much as a substitute for Gales as for anything he may have printed himself.¹⁶⁸ Despite the best efforts of attorney, Felix Vaughan, Montgomery received a six month sentence.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., Aug 21, 1795.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., Aug 14, 1795.

¹⁶⁶ James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, Oct 24, 1795, in Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:239.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 1:247.

¹⁶⁸ In reply to Mr B, who claimed to have “preached the funeral sermon of Mr. Gales” in the *Sheffield Courant*, Montgomery pointed out that “Whatever the faults of the “Register,” at least it had the merit of being expressed in the *hogish language*” — a clear admission of the affinity of Gales and Montgomery with the ‘swinish multitude,’ editorial, *Iris*, Aug 21, 1795.

His radicalism was not silenced yet, however. On September 25 he included an extract from “*A Dictionary of Titles, Terms, and Phrases*,”¹⁶⁹ which described “*Anti-monarchical principles*,” as those which are “absolutely necessary for defending our present constitution, and hindering it from being turned into an absolute monarchy.” “*Anti-monarchical men*” were the real patriots, a “rebellious sort of people, who prefer the preservation of our own government by King, Lords, and Commons, to absolute Monarchy, and are for defending it against all, *from the highest to the lowest*.” In protest at the absolutist ‘hereditary’ as opposed to ‘parliamentary’ trend of the Hanoverian monarchy he contrasted it with true patriots (like himself), “*Men of republican principles*” who are a “dangerous set of men, who are advocates for the revolution, and the Protestant succession established on that revolution.”¹⁷⁰ Because the Church of England was party to this absolutism he stoutly defended political and religious nonconformism under the heading “*Schismatics*.” They agreed with the state church in all matters “tending to salvation, and the essentials of religion,” but this did not mean that they had to adopt “every *iota*” of its particularity, though they were “therefore considered and pronounced to be in a damnable state” because they did not agree to its non-essential minutiae.

The gagging of the Press and the reform movement was now a pressing issue, and on Oct 9, 1795, he chastised Philo Britannicus for submitting poetry that was politically libellous and therefore unprintable, “The Poet should have confined himself to *fiction*: — nothing is so dangerous to be spoken as the *TRUTH!*”¹⁷¹ Here was Montgomery expressing his frustration at government pressure upon editors, yet having served one term in prison, reluctant to challenge it head on. Two weeks later he was even clearer.

To Correspondents.

The nervous and indignant poetical Effusion of our esteemed friend Horatio, so pointedly attacks certain flagrant abuses, that were we to publish it, *the galled jades would wince*. We shall always be glad to hear from this intelligent Correspondent, but we must remind him, that when *Truth is a Libel the boasted Liberty of the Press*

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., Sep 25, 1795.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., Oct 9, 1795.

*is nothing but the empty echo of a name.*¹⁷²

On November 6, he recorded a rumour of the Convention bill to be presented in Parliament which would prevent “any political meetings, in which persons, not being members of Parliament, shall vote and act as the agents or representatives of others.” Dryly he remarked, “Whether our Liberties are thus to be stabbed, we know not.”¹⁷³ Unsurprisingly, we read of his shocked dismay the following week when the identity of the bill was confirmed and the penalties proposed for breaking it were, “death and transportation, inflicted on Englishmen for exercising their inalienable birth-right — LIBERTY OF SPEECH !”¹⁷⁴ He reported a large open air meeting on Crookes’ Moor of the Friends of the Constitution of 1688, at which a petition against the Treason, and Convention acts was raised.¹⁷⁵ During the Commons’ debates Montgomery told his readers there were many cries of “Hear! Hear!”, but when the bills were passed, “*Silence* may soon be the order of the day, and then all the tongues and ears in the nation will probably be *to let*.” Notwithstanding the proposed softening of certain provisions within the bills, “yet the squeamish stomachs of the Swine revolt against these wholesome provisions!”

Ye stiff-necked and seditious Pigs, will not hunger itself compel you to relish such food? Hark ye! though it may not *fill your bellies* it will *stop your mouths* — ye grim, gruff, grunting, grumbling rogues!¹⁷⁶

¹⁷²Ibid., Oct 23, 1795.

¹⁷³ Ibid., Nov 6, 1795.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Nov 13, 1795.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., Nov 20, 1794. See also the SSCI letter — “Committee Room, Sheffield, Nov. 20, 1795. Fellow Citizens... We called a public meeting... which we are happy to inform you, was numerously attended, and conducted with the greatest peace and good order. The people seemed roused to a just sense of the danger attending the two bills: and we hasten to forward the Address and Resolutions, Secretary to the Society of Constitutional Information. To the Members of the London Corresponding Society,” in *Moral and Political Magazine*, 87, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://www.galegroup.com>. CW3304938535.

¹⁷⁶ *Iris*, Nov 20, 1795.

Sheridan's presentation of the Sheffield petition in parliament, the raising of many similar ones around the country, and the widespread sympathy of the nation towards the king generally, was says Montgomery, "an unanswerable argument against all that has been, and can be said in favour of the Treason and Convention Bills."¹⁷⁷ When the king assented to the bills in December, he counselled his readers to exercise "patient submission" as the only realistic response. He had to defend himself on the one hand against the charge of "*lukewarmness*" by some for his lack of opposition to the bills; whilst on the other hand some accused him of "unbecoming heat and violence." He admitted he was not convinced of the necessity for these bills but he wished to be obedient to the laws of the land, "We love liberty ... but we dread anarchy as much as we abhor despotism. Civil War is *National Suicide*."¹⁷⁸

The reform movement was effectively gagged from this point onwards and Montgomery was well aware of it, and said in his radical editorial farewell, "On this last day of the most trying year of my life, the Readers of the *Iris* will pardon the egotism of a few remarks."¹⁷⁹ He confessed that he had taken on the mantle of Joseph Gales reluctantly and with less talent, fortitude or experience, and had discovered that "His enemies felt no reluctance in transferring that resentment, which he had escaped, to his successor." His youth and inexperience had certainly led to mistakes but not from any evil motive. "If I have occasionally been deceived *into errors* I have never designedly misled the public: if the enthusiasm of a warm and zealous heart has sometimes betrayed me into violence of expression, I have never wilfully concealed or exaggerated the truth." His motives had been pure he claimed but his intention had also been clear, "I have reprobated abuses in Church and State, and while abuses exist I trust I shall never want courage to censure them." His pronunciamento for the new year, 1796, and the new state of affairs under the gagging acts was plain.

When we contemplate the despotism of some, and the anarchy of other European nations, it is impossible not to wish that in Britain we may never see a Constitution without a King, nor a King without a Constitution: — a King, whose throne is

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., Nov 27, 1795.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Dec 25, 1795.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Jan 1, 1796.

established in the hearts and not upon the necks of his subjects: a constitution, which secures the Rights and Liberties of the People on the eternal basis of Justice...

Moderation and Independence shall characterise the *Iris*: but should this Paper ever become the despicable tool of any party, or the prostituted flatterer of any man in power; — either alternative will be a signal for its friends to forsake it.¹⁸⁰

Yet his integrity as an editor still smarted under the oppressiveness of the gagging acts. He recorded wryly, of a meeting of the “truly *Constitutional Thinking Club*” at Manchester on December 4, where all were to sit in silence with pen, ink and paper, and except for those who were born deaf and dumb, “and who, consequently, may have the *Treasonable* infirmity of exercising the faculty of SPEECH, in order to obviate every possibility of danger, may be accommodated with *Constitutional Muzzles* at the door. *The first question to be *thought* of, is — “How long shall we be PERMITTED to *think*?” *Dumb Waiters* are provided.”¹⁸¹

If as Montgomery claimed, newspaper circulation was running at twelve million a year, then we can see why the Pitt government was so keen to suppress debate and dissent by this media.¹⁸² On February 5, 1796, Montgomery’s editorial letter to the public at Sheffield — “Strike — But Hear Me!”¹⁸³ — argued his innocence and obliquely implicated his prosecutor, magistrate Colonel Athorpe, as a perjurer and a murderer by reminding his readers of the testimony of four independent eye-witnesses, and others he had personally interviewed. He stated that, “Both the counsel for the prosecution, and the chairman of the bench, in their addresses to the jury, declared that, if the facts stated in my account had been true to the extent, the prosecutor ought to have been at the bar in my room.” Montgomery reminded his public that “truth cannot be changed, nor can the opinion of the world make an innocent man guilty.” The conviction of innocent reformers attacked by loyalist mobs, or as in Montgomery’s case, for simply giving an accurate report, was commonplace, says Alan Booth.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Jan 1, 1796.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., Jan 8, 1796.

¹⁸² Ibid., Jan 15, 1796.

¹⁸³ Ibid., Feb 5, 1796.

¹⁸⁴ Booth, “Popular Loyalism,” 301.

During Montgomery's six months in prison, John Pye Smith, quietly looked after the paper and avoided contentious editorial comment, as instructed.¹⁸⁵ On Montgomery's return from the second of his "unmerited misfortunes,"¹⁸⁶ his editorial focus was now trained on the evils of the war rather than reform. "I spoke a bold truth, but the event has proved that it was an imprudent one: I do not retract ... what I have written, but I will learn henceforward to be an hypocrite."¹⁸⁷ His enforced move away from radicalism to social reform had begun. Though he was careful now to avoid 'seditious words,' yet on August 26 he included three humorous pieces that attacked government incompetence and self-seeking. The first concerned "*False Characters*."

At one of the police offices a man was fined the other day for giving himself a *false character* to obtain a place. There are some men already in place who give themselves the following characters, but we have now heard that the magistrates have even thought it proper to investigate whether they are true or false: — Mr. Pitt — *an able financier*; Mr. Dundas — *disinterestedness*; Mr. Windham — *a great war minister*; Duke of Portland — *a wise statesman*; Lord Loughborough — *consistency*.¹⁸⁸

In a second comment he questioned Pitt's 'chivalry,' because in former ages a gallant hero thanked "*Jesus Christ* and the *Ladies* for having preserved him from all his enemies."¹⁸⁹ But as Pitt was known for his lack of devotion to the female sex then he

¹⁸⁵ "Do not throw any reflections on the conduct of the Administration respecting peace or war: in one word be quiet — but do not be angry for this advice." James Montgomery to John Pye Smith, June 26, 1796 from York castle prison, in Tanya Schmoller, "Letters from a Newspaperman in Prison: James Montgomery to John Pye Smith, 1796," *History of the Book Trade in the North* PH85, rev. (Newcastle: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2002), 25; "there are some truths which like ancient coins must be kept only in private cabinets and not circulated among the swine ... May 23", *ibid.*, 23; "If any riots happen before my return — don't tell any dangerous truths" ... July 17, from Scarbro," *ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸⁶ *Iris*, Aug 5, 1796.

¹⁸⁷ "On release from York Castle Montgomery decided he should avoid politics, and his paper changed from being one of radical persuasion", Schmoller, "Letters," 7.

¹⁸⁸ *Iris*, Aug 26, 1796.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

could not be judged as such, and may explain his lack of success as War Minister. Whether Montgomery was also questioning Pitt's sexuality is not clear. Thirdly, he could not resist mentioning that the Pope had warned that any of his subjects criticising the French would be punished with death. Montgomery said that in London he had seen a picture in a print shop in which a man was uttering the words, "Damn Tom Paine — Damn the French; that's no treason however."¹⁹⁰ Regarding the "prayer of a Jacobin — "Defend us from Pitt, Dundas, the Tower and Newgate!" — he asked axiomatically, "Does the writer mean to insinuate, that the Tower and Newgate have become useful instruments of policy and necessary engines of terror under the present administration?"¹⁹¹ He must have been sorely tempted to say much more but his two terms in prison had made him more cautious. Perhaps because this 'prayer' was lifted from a "Treasury Paper" he was bold enough to reprint it.

The loyalist *Sheffield Courant* was still printing sneering comments against the *Iris*. For example, its printing of a notice of a forthcoming lecture visit by John Thelwall (cancelled). Montgomery dismissed the author as "an insignificant scribbler of broken English."¹⁹² He was very pleased to record that Joseph Gales, the *Sheffield Courant's* old enemy, had now launched a printing business and newspaper in Philadelphia. The *Courant* was ridiculed by Montgomery as an 'animal,' or even a 'vegetable,'¹⁹³ and it eventually retired from the contest with Montgomery's dismissive remarks ringing in its ears, "like the snail he peeps into daylight, marks his path with slime, then hides himself again in the shell of his insignificance." To Montgomery's satisfaction, the *Sheffield Courant* suspended publication in August 1797 due to the increase in stamp tax, and he its few readers to take the *Iris*.¹⁹⁴

As 1797 approached Montgomery's editorials were now taken up mostly with the war and other less controversial matters. He advertised the forthcoming publication of his *Prison Amusements*,¹⁹⁵ and Henry Yorke's defence,¹⁹⁶ but these would cause him no

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., Sep 16, 1796.

¹⁹² Ibid., Sep 30, 1796.

¹⁹³ Ibid., Oct 7, 1796.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., Oct 14, 1796; Aug 11, 1797.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., Oct 28, 1796.

danger. Except for the occasional mention of forthcoming trials (for example, that of Jones and Binns, Apr 14, 1797), in the main, Montgomery stopped making reformist comments and instead concentrated on the war and its unwelcome effects on the economy. The cause of his gagging was quite plain and makes the remark of Holland and Everett redundant, “the paucity of his political comments is certainly remarkable throughout both this and the preceding year.”¹⁹⁷ In that context he was happy to print reports of calls for the ‘dismissal’ of government ministers for their mismanagement, but calls for parliamentary reform or adverse comment on the liberty of the press were now very muted. He did, however, report an LCS public meeting in August 1797, which was dealt with under the new convention act. Montgomery assured his readers ironically that he was pleased that Sheffield folk would not dream of gathering in like manner, “by assembling to discuss such idle and unprofitable questions, as the dismissal of ministers, the necessity of peace, or a reform in parliament.” This would be a dangerous and pointless exercise in any case.

The faith of that man must be strong enough to remove mountains, who, after the experience of the last five years, fondly imagines that he can benefit his country, by preaching himself into a gaol or a consumption, on such unhallowed texts: “Go — eat your pudding, Lads! and hold your tongues.”¹⁹⁸

In anticipation of a government increase on the stamp duty for newspapers Montgomery was fearful that this would have the effect of ‘dismantling’ or even ‘annihilating’ the press, and even the British constitution! He was comfortable with commenting on a tax issue if not a ‘gagging’ one.

A blow is now mediating against the Freedom of the Press, which threatens to dismantle, if not to annihilate, the strongest bulwark of our liberties: if the Press fall the Constitution must perish.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., Nov 4, 1796.

¹⁹⁷ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:313.

¹⁹⁸ *Iris*, Aug 4, 1797.

In conclusion, James Montgomery now turned his attention more and more to social reform, with support, for example, for the opening of the new infirmary,²⁰⁰ at which a hymn of his was sung.²⁰¹ Montgomery the radical newspaper editor might be gagged by the Pitt government but, as I have shown, he had not changed his political views, for he would have spoken out if he had been able to. Nevertheless, the growing political consciousness of the Sheffield working class, which he and the Galeases had encouraged, would continue on into the next generation without them, says Roger Wells.²⁰² As 1797 ended and with it the dying embers of Montgomery's freedom to publish radical reform news and views, perhaps a fitting epitaph for his youthful radicalism is his last editorial of the year.

A starling in Rose-land, Spital-fields, London, arrests the attention of almost every passenger, with the following couplet: —

What's BILLY about?

I'm afraid to speak out.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., May 5, 1797. He met with other newspaper printers from York, Leeds, Hull, Doncaster and Sheffield, at Tadcaster on June 17, 1797 (including arch-rival John Northall of the *Sheffield Courant* with whom he shared a room en-route at Great Houghton (Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 1:152), where it was agreed to a general increase to six pence per issue on their eleven newspapers. Montgomery says he petitioned more than fifty MPs against the bill but to no avail, *ibid.*, June 30, 1797.

Newspaper circulation fell by a third immediately as he warned it would, and therefore would prove no gain to government revenue, *ibid.*, July 21, 1797.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., Oct 4, 1797.

²⁰¹ Schmoller, "Letters," 3.

²⁰² Wells, *Dearth and Distress*, 45.

²⁰³ *Iris*, Dec 29, 1797.

CONCLUSION

A Radical Publishing Network in the Age of Revolution

This research has demonstrated that the little noticed Gales/Montgomery circle in Sheffield occupied an important place in the national and international radical publishing network of the 1790s, and therefore deserves greater recognition. I have demonstrated my main thesis that contrary to their personal claims, Joseph and Winifred Gales and their successor James Montgomery were far more radical in the period than they and later scholars would admit, and therefore more interesting than was previously thought. Much of the reason for this was the inaccessibility of original manuscript material; the condition of the newspapers, which were too fragile to access; and the microfilm copies which were often illegible. In addition, the deliberate suppression of radical material by James Montgomery (who like Coleridge¹ and Southey censored his back catalogue to exclude radical effusions), and the removal of Joseph and Winifred Gales to America, all contributed to their obscurity. Now these overlapping factors — historical, technological and personal — have been overcome, to yield an original contribution to knowledge of radical journalism in the 1790s in Sheffield, Britain and America. The retrieval of this substantial body of primary source material was achieved by the use of digital technology with the co-operation of the Sheffield Archives, the British museum, the University of North Carolina, and the North Carolina State Archives.

The 1790s were a watershed in the emergence of a constitutional reform movement in Britain, which provided a platform for actual change that resurfaced in the (Great) Reform Act of 1832. Both the Galeses and Montgomery played a role in these events as this research has revealed. This examination of their careers has thus effected a re-evaluation of the culture, literary circles and radical politics of the period, and also traced an overlap between British and US reform opinion, and shown that the situation was more nuanced and complex than was previously thought. As Julie Macdonald has correctly noted, in a recent study of the cutlers' dispute at that time, Joseph Gales was "an ardent champion" of the local artisans and parliamentary reform through the

¹ Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions*, 47.

Sheffield Register.² However, like other scholars before her, as I have demonstrated, she does not explore in depth the content of this radical publishing. Similarly, Paul S. Taylor's recent study considers James Montgomery to have been merely a naive "humble assistant" who became the editor of the *Sheffield Iris*, the "less radical" successor to the *Sheffield Register*.³ However, my research has demonstrated that, on the contrary, James Montgomery had from the very outset of his time in Sheffield (in March 1792), a sophisticated understanding of radical politics, which was displayed in his satirical writings and journalism, and that it was only governmental repression which eventually silenced him at the end of 1795. The absence of detailed research, and an apparent over-reliance upon earlier nineteenth and twentieth century studies of Montgomery and the Galeases has now been redressed here. As the appendix indicates, the large quantity of material unearthed in the process, provides a valuable resource for scholars and future students, paving the way for a further reappraisal of the 1790s in Sheffield, and the role of its radical newspapers and publishing.

As J. E. Cookson notes, there has been a lack of detailed research of the activities of regional newspapers of the late eighteenth century.⁴ I have conducted, therefore, a detailed examination of the political letters, poems and editorials published in the *Sheffield Register* during the years 1791 to 1794, and in the *Sheffield Iris*, 1794-1800 (see the appendix). This corroborates my contention that the Galeases and Montgomery were at the centre of the reform campaign centred on Sheffield. This has also demonstrated the dramatic rise of political letters, which rapidly colonised the correspondence element of the *Sheffield Register*, rising from a third in 1791 to a majority by 1794, with a prominent pro-reform emphasis. An interesting discovery has been the fact that this increase in pro-reform letters predated the rise in reformist poetry by twelve months (the former from mid-1792, the latter from mid-1793), suggesting that one influenced the increase of the other in the minds of the editors and the contributors to the newspaper. It has also been established that the poems published in the *Sheffield Register* notably from mid-1793 displayed a common concern for political reform, international peace and a millenarian hope. In addition, I have shown that the

² Macdonald, "Freedom of Election," 210.

³ Paul S. Taylor, *James Montgomery: A man for all people* (Leominster: Day One Publications, 2010), 46.

⁴ Cookson, *Friends of Peace*, 84.

satirical prose and poetry written by James Montgomery under various pseudonyms amply illustrate Montgomery's place within the radical culture of disrespect, with its contempt for despotic kings and governments, and his support for the plebeian masses in their campaign for their 'rights.' As he axiomatically asked, "should the People's Voice their Rights demand?"⁵ I have argued that the publication in book form of *The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan* after serialisation in the *Sheffield Register* in 1793 also underlines this, as did his letters and political hymns for the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information.

As Donald Read notes, the editorials of provincial newspapers helped to develop and strengthen provincial and political identities in the period.⁶ Therefore, as I have shown, these two Sheffield newspapers were the voice of the SSCI and active instigators of a developing lower order political consciousness. Consequently, the editorials of the *Sheffield Register* and the *Sheffield Iris*, as Barker, Conboy and Haywood note,⁷ but do not explore, were used as an outlet for radical political views, which I have shown in detail to be the case. Again, there is much material in the editorials, which would lend itself to further study.

As previously mentioned, W. G. Runciman observes that the middling sorts often displayed a fluid class awareness which was sometimes bipartite, and at other times tripartite.⁸ I have demonstrated that the role of the Galeses and Montgomery in encouraging the artisan reform movement regularly placed them within a bipartite understanding, whilst at the same time their business activities actually positioned them in a tripartite milieu, which as David Cannadine and Linda Colley say, made them, in effect, paternalistic town gentry.⁹ Their pro-French stance and their links with prominent radicals have also been displayed here through examination of their newspapers, their publishing, and the Gales diary. I have shown that they deliberately published extracts from radical works like Thomas Paine's, the letters and notices of the SSCI, and carried advertising for radical works published in London. They also

⁵ Musaeus, *SR*, April 12, 1793.

⁶ Read, *English Provinces*, 69.

⁷ See page 31 above.

⁸ See page 13 above.

⁹ See page 14 above.

maintained links with an informal network of national and international radicals such as Thomas Hardy and Joel Barlow. Their willingness to publish the works of radical freethinkers like Joseph Priestley, James Mackintosh and Thomas Paine displayed evidence of their own intellectual, political and religious nonconformity as ardent Unitarians. I have also shown that the Galeses played an important role in helping to found the first openly Unitarian congregation in Philadelphia as Elizabeth Geffen records,¹⁰ and were in personal contact with Joseph Priestley. In addition, Winifred Gales's correspondence with Rev. Jared Sparks has revealed their ongoing involvement in the Unitarian cause in America, and her role as an amateur historian.

My recovery of the autobiographical Gales diary, "Recollections," has provided a valuable eyewitness account of how these pro-reform printers at the centre of regional political turmoil in early 1790s Sheffield viewed events, their role, and the government response. Though it has the advantage of assessing the outcomes of actions taken in the 1790s from twenty or thirty years distance, yet, as I have previously noted, along with David Amigoni, Kelly J. Mells and others, autobiographical material like this and Montgomery's *Memoirs*, are known for their redacted quality and must be treated with caution.¹¹ Nevertheless, with this in mind, I have shown that the diary, along with their other writings, established the Galeses and Montgomery as part of a network of freethinking literary-led international pro-reformers working together especially through print to bring about constitutional change. Some they knew only by reputation such as the Girondins in France — "Martyr'd patriots — spirits pure"¹² — others by correspondence like Thomas Walker and Thomas Hardy; some like Henry Yorke in visits to their print shop in Sheffield; many through publishing their works or extracts in their newspaper such as Thomas Paine. Others the Galeses met during their exile, like Joel Barlow in Germany, and Joseph Priestley in America. Their involvement with artisan constitutional societies also gave them a wide pool of contacts in the reform movement with individuals like Joseph Gerrald, and Joseph Johnson the radical London printer.

¹⁰ Geffen, *Philadelphia Unitarianism*, 191.

¹¹ See pages 9, 10 above.

¹² Speck, *Robert Southey*, 64.

I have shown that the writings of Winifred Gales reveal her to have been a type of the emancipated middling-sort of literary woman increasingly active in the public sphere in Britain and America. She was, therefore, as Gleadle and Richardson, and Linda Colley describe them, one of the literary women at the time who was able to express her political views from the cloistered environs of the home.¹³ It has also revealed a strong nonconformist woman, as an equal member of a trinity of reform publishers, brave in the face of government pressure and gendered bullying, who opened her home for reform sympathisers as an occasional political salon. I have used her first novel to reveal how contemporary literary women like her were challenging prevailing ideas of sexual identity through the use of the auto/biographical self (as Felicity Nussbaum describes it¹⁴), and for evidence of her conscious feminist role in the campaign “to lessen, in some degree, the distinction between the sexes, as writers.”¹⁵ In addition, my research has also demonstrated her belief that class structures could be breached by women from their inferior position, through love and marriage, despite the hostile forces operating from above, as illustrated by her dichotomous use of the smaller country of Wales under English domination.¹⁶ My research of the writings of Winifred Gales has thus revealed a feminist authoress and diarist of the period whose literary corpus is worthy of further study.

By exploration of the “Recollections,” and the *Raleigh Register* newspaper, I have confirmed that in America, as Michael Durey notes,¹⁷ the Galeses pursued an important and strategic course to boost the Jeffersonian Republican cause. To underline their continued commitment to radical political action, in North Carolina they also re-employed their most radical employee from Sheffield, Richard Davison, as Richard Twomey says.¹⁸ I have also shown that Joseph Gales and James Montgomery were types of the self-made, upwardly mobile businessmen exemplified by Benjamin

¹³ Gleadle and Richardson, *Women in British Politics*; Colley, *Britons*, 21.

¹⁴ Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*, introduction.

¹⁵ Gales, *The History*, 1:xii.

¹⁶ Cannadine, *Class*, 42; Colley, “Whose Nation?”, 111.

¹⁷ Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 332.

¹⁸ Richard Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790-1820* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1989), 68.

Franklin, men of humble origins who rose to middling-sort respectability, not just in America as Robert Sayre claims, but also in England.¹⁹

When the Galeses left Sheffield they were lost sight of in terms of the history of the British reform movement, but by bringing together material from both sides of the Atlantic, I have shown that they continued to exert a notable influence through their publishing. As revealed here, they were ideally qualified by their experience to fit into the new republic's burgeoning self-made middling-sorts and to support its champion Thomas Jefferson and his Republican party, says as David Kennedy.

The "middling-sorts," a new social class composed of unprivileged but energetically striving merchants, artisans and entrepreneurs, arose to dominate politics and define the very essence of the national character. They ferociously opposed all "monarchical" pretensions and insisted on nothing less than a society completely open to talent and industry.... Their great champion was Thomas Jefferson, the quirky and brilliant Virginian aristocrat.²⁰

Thus, as newspaper proprietors, they were a valuable addition to boost the vocal spread of republican virtues opposed to the 'monarchical' pretensions of the Federalists led by President John Adams. The launch of the *Raleigh Register* in October 1799 in North Carolina was, therefore, their chief contribution to this struggle over the next three decades.

I have shown that their establishment as middling-sort business people active in local politics and social concern, and the launching of their children into society and newspaper publishing especially in Washington, with the *National Intelligencer*,²¹ established the Gales dynasty as influential members of the coterie surrounding

¹⁹ Sayre, "Autobiography," 146-168.

²⁰ David M. Kennedy, introduction in *Empire of Liberty*, Wood, xv.

²¹ "one of the most extensive and influential Printing Establishments in the United States", Joseph Gales in Gales, "Recollections," 155; "It was in its best days, cold-hearted, didactic, rather a 'bore,' ... a sort of Sunday-school journal for grown-up sinners," George Alfred Townsend, in Clark, "Joseph Gales, Junior," 143.

government for over fifty years.²² I have also revealed their consistent and active support for Thomas Jefferson in the presidential campaign in 1800 and beyond and how they used satire, their old weapon from the Sheffield days, against his political opponents. Also, how they used verse and prose to combat the dangers of the religious establishment in Britain and against its inroads in America; and how they sought to promote the Unitarian cause alongside prominent leaders like Jared Sparks and Joseph Priestley. It has been demonstrated by this research that Joseph Gales as mayor of Raleigh continued, as he had in Sheffield, to support social improvements for his neighbours and that the Galeses maintained their contact with former assistant James Montgomery, and celebrated his later success as a poet by publishing extracts in the *Raleigh Register*. This research has thus shown that with their move to America Joseph and Winifred Gales did not disappear into obscurity, but rather became the prominent and successful middle class campaigners for radical political, religious and social reform that they had sought to be in Sheffield during the 1790s. As Beutner says,²³ their story there deserves to be chronicled in more detail.

The longstanding revisionism of the radical career of James Montgomery, begun by himself and his biographers, which I have exposed here, can be seen, for example, in Wigley's questionable claim that.

His early radicalism was the product of accidental contact with Gales enlivened by youthful enthusiasm ... so that when the Government acted he had insufficient political conviction either to sustain himself or to give himself resilience.²⁴

Despite the claims of Montgomery himself that he and John Pye Smith were merely "young and inexperienced politicians, committing many mistakes,"²⁵ this thesis has shown that on the contrary, he *was* a radical reform journalist and satirical writer who

²² On August 24, 1814, the Washington offices and the type of the *National Intelligencer* were burned by the invading British troops in reprisal for its anti-British tone, Clark, "Joseph Gales, Junior," 100; "under the barefaced pretext that it was a Governmental Office," Gales, "Recollections," 209.

²³ Beutner, "Fraternal Feeling," 48.

²⁴ Wigley, "James Montgomery," 181.

²⁵ Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, 7:145.

was deeply involved in the reform movement during the years 1792-96. This research has revealed that James Montgomery wrote many pointed and satirical political poems in the two newspapers which he deliberately suppressed later to disguise his earlier radicalism. Likewise, I have shown that the news, his editorials, and the letters he printed like Jacob Demo's, and the advertisements for radical publications and events in the *Sheffield Iris*, were all calculated to encourage the radical reform movement. I have show that it was only with the departure of the Galeases for America, his two terms in prison and the government gagging acts that he, like the better-known radical, George Dyer, reluctantly turned from radicalism. So when Wigley asks "should any man who gratefully accepted a state pension from Sir Robert Peel be considered to be a radical?"²⁶ I have demonstrated that the reply should be, that the radical Montgomery of 1794 could, but the social reformer of the 1820s could not.

In conclusion, G. D. H. Cole is correct in pointing out that local archives outside London, such as Manchester and Sheffield (and North Carolina) contain "a great deal of material that has not yet been adequately used."²⁷ This thesis has shown that this is accurate and that there is still a lot more to discover about the intersections between the transatlantic radicals of the 1790s. In this research, a wealth of new material has been rediscovered and utilised along with the creation of better access to old material through digitization. In re-examining this data in much greater depth, it has therefore forced a re-evaluation of the culture, literary circles and radical politics of the 1790s and traced the overlap between British and US reform opinion. It has revealed Joseph Gales, Winifred Gales and James Montgomery as three significant individuals who carved out an important role for themselves within radical politics and literary reform circles in Britain and America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Evidence has been presented to indicate that what N. Sykes says of the response of the London Corresponding Society to the *Rights of Man* can also be said of the Gales/Montgomery circle — that Paine's views formed a blueprint for the radical reform of all societies.

²⁶ Wigley, "James Montgomery," 181.

²⁷ Cole, *The Strange Case*, foreword.

They shared his millenary aspirations for universal peace, for a liberal alliance between the United States, Britain and France, and enthusiastically welcomed his views on the reduction of taxation, the abolition of primogeniture, his condemnation of enclosures, borough-mongering and state sinecures.... the need for public education, his humanitarianism, his compassionate concern for the poor and his prophetic blue-print for a modern welfare state.²⁸

²⁸ "N. Sykes, "Thomas Paine," in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Victorian Age*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (London: George G. Harrap, 1931), 122.

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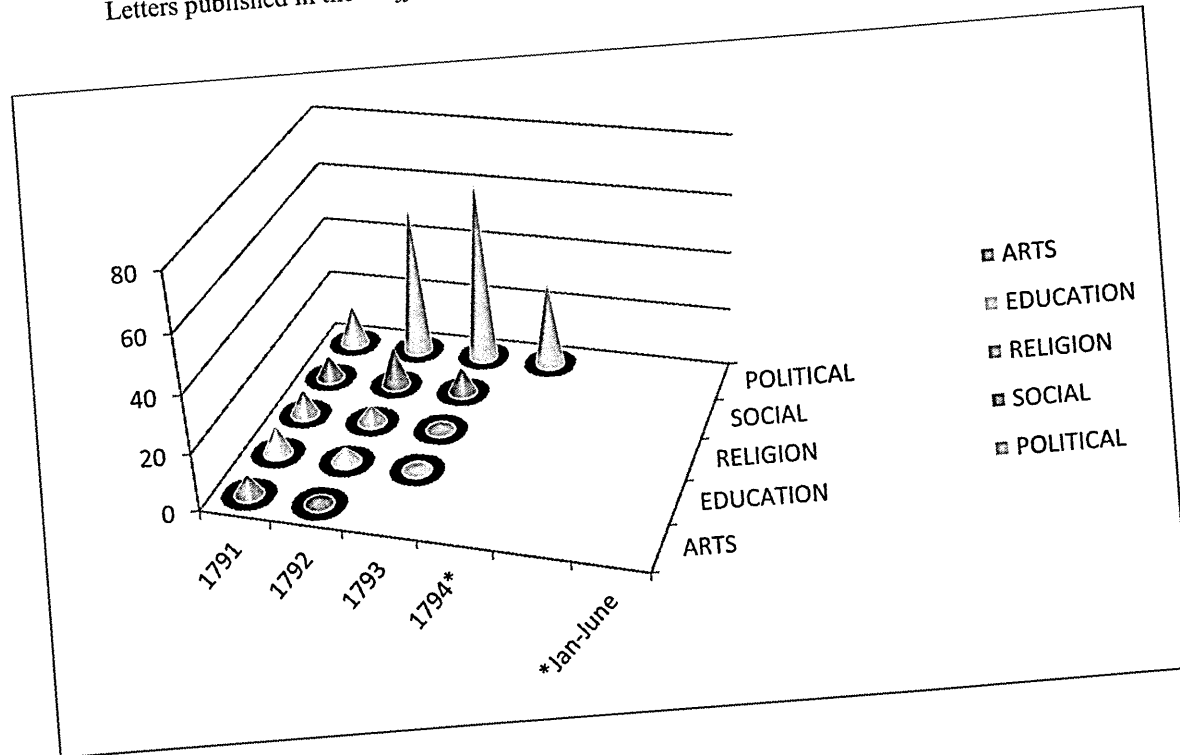
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Appendix

Letters published in the *Sheffield Register*, Jan 7, 1791 – June 27, 1794, by subject



Letters to the *Sheffield Register* 1791-94 listed by subject

1791

Arts: 7

- Jan 7 Julius. "On Winter."
Feb 25 "In my rambles last summer on the borders of Wales."
May 13 "The Swallow is the friend of man."
May 27 Julius. "Haunted Places."
June 3 Robt. Burns. "To Oran Uffraig."
June 3 Homo. "Increasing prevalence of Theatrical Representations."
Oct 21 A Friend of Liberty. "Babicon" — actress lifts wigs of French musicians, joke.

Education: 10

- Jan 14 Samuel Catlow. "Philosophical instruction.... Mansfield, Jan. 10."
Feb 4 Samuel Catlow. "On Education, Letter VII."
Mar. 4 S. C. "On Education, Letter VIII."
Mar 11 S. C. "On Education, Letter IX..."
Mar 18 S. C. "On Education, Letter X."
Mar 25 S. C. "On Education, Letter XI."
Apr 1 S. C. "On Education, Letter XII."
Apr 8 S. C. "On Education, Letter XIII."
Apr 29 S. C. "On Education, Letter XIV."
Oct 14 "Pursuits tending to inspire the heart of man ... of attaining eternal happiness."

Religion: 9

- Mar 4 A Christian. "A bill for the relief of the Catholic Dissenters."
Mar 18 A Catholic. Response to A Christian.
Mar 25 A Protestant Dissenter. Reply to A Catholic.
Apr 1 A Catholic. Response to A Protestant Dissenter.
Apr 8 A Protestant Dissenter. "To a Catholic."
July 8 W. Extract from Boothby's letter to Burke on 'religious liberty.'
Aug 5 Astro Theologus. "A most extraordinary [Deist] dream"
Sep 30 A Catholic. Call for politeness.
Oct 7 A Dissenter. "To a Catholic."

Social: 8

- Feb 25 "On compulsory Laws respecting Marriage."
Mar 25 An Inhabitant. "Good arguments for the erection of a New Workhouse."

Apr 22 H. Humane Society warnings against accidental drowning.
 May 13 An Inhabitant. Further on the proposal for a New Workhouse.
 July 15 A Boxer. "Suppressing the noble art of boxing."
 Sep 23 Friend to Humanity and Decorum. "Bull-baiting at Eccles."
 Oct 7 An Enemy to Imposition. Concerning the proposed price increase of milk.
 Dec 2 A Reader. "A Crust for Jokers."

Political: 14

May 6 T. R. "The Progress of Liberty, A Soliloquy."
 Aug 5 Candidus. "Historical Fragments.... Chronicles of Great Britain... Rights of men."
 Sep 23 A Reader. On a sermon concerning the Birmingham riots.
 Sep 23 A Dissenter. On a sermon concerning the Birmingham riots.
 Sep 30 From an English Gentleman at Paris, to his Friend near Leeds.
 Nov 11 A Reader. "The late extraordinary Revolution."
 Dec 16 A Reader. "Extract from "Rous's Letter to Mr. Burke.""
 Dec 30 J. T. Reply to A Reader, and against reform.
 Mar 18 Ille Ego. "Local Politics. No. 1."
 July 15 R. B. S. Abolition extract from Manchester 'patriotic society' commended.
 Dec 23 Vicinus. In favour of the recent formation of Sheffield 'associations' for reform.
 Apr 22 A. S. Caution against joining allies in against Russia; quotes Paine's Answer.
 May 20 A. S. Possible effects to British manufacturing trade, of war with Russia.
 Sep 2 M. S. Abolitionist recommendation against buying sugar.

1792

Arts: 2

Feb 3 Thomas Elliot. "On revising my solution of the Musical Question ... 6th inst."
 Oct 5 A Reader. "Letter of Condolence written by the late Dr. Franklin to his Niece."

Education: 5

Feb 24 A Well-wisher to Sunday Schools.
 Mar 2 A Friend to the Sunday Schools. Reply to A Well-wisher to Sunday Schools.
 July 20 A. "On the advantages of miscellaneous reading."
 Dec 7 S. C. "Letters on Education. Part II. Letter 1."
 Dec 14 S. C. "Letters on Education. Part II. Letter II."

Religion: 6

Feb 10 Monitor. 'Establishment' clergyman buying a dog at church!
 Mar 23 Scrutator. The antiquity of Dissenters proved from the Bible.

Mar 30 R. L. S. Horror at Scrutator making the Saviour a 'mere Man' and 'a Dissenter!'
 Apr 6 Robert Barnard. Two Quakers elected to the 'Company of Cutlers,' wearing hats!
 Apr 6 Scrutator Secundus. Against R. L. S. and his attack on Scrutator.
 Apr 13 Candidus. Extract from the charge of the Bishop of Landaff to his clergy.

Social: 14

Feb 3 Tom Ploughshare. "News of all the fine dresses... at the Queen's Ball."
 Mar 16 Speculator. The folly of giving tips to servants on visits to friends' houses.
 Mar 16 Julius. The dangers to 'Health' by 'dissipation and riot' in youth.
 Mar 30 An Inhabitant. Benevolent societies.
 Aug 3 G. "Anecdote of the Duke of Bedford" and charity to a poor indebted tenant woman.
 Aug 10 A Cutler. "To those who have, and those who lack charity" — proposed Infirmary.
 Aug 17 A Journeyman Cutler. On the distress of the working classes and the need to ease poverty.
 Aug 31 A Reader. Sheffield mechanics are earning more than A Journeyman Cutler claims.
 Aug 31 A Friend to the intended Infirmary. "Advice for the "Infirmary Committee."
 Sep 7 A Reader. The financial sufferings of cutlery manufacturers, and the benefit of workmen.
 Nov 2 Viator. "The intended canal from Swinton to Barnsley."
 Nov 16 H. W. "Odious custom of every master having to advance for a man ... from 5L. to 30L."
 Nov 30 Observer. "Bull and Bear, at the Stock Exchange.... Scandals to commercial."
 Dec 7 A Constant Reader. How to kill mice.

Political: 53

Jan 6 A Yorkshire Freeholder, in defence of the Yorkshire Association against Vicinus.
 Jan 6 Ignotus, a pro-reform defence of A Reader, and newspaper impartiality, against J. T.
 Jan 13 Historicus, to J. T. on the degeneracy of Louis XIV, and the 'Birmingham Incendiaries.'
 Jan 20 Vicinus, "Nations are not the property of Kings."
 Jan 20 A Yorkshire Freeholder, to Vicinus in defence of the 'Yorkshire Association.'
 Jan 27. J. T. ("one poor Taylor"), reply to A Reader, Ignotus, and Historicus.
 Feb 3 Ignotus, reply to J. T.
 Feb 10 T. H., in support of Historicus against "Mr. B. and the whole herd of anti-reformers."
 Feb 17 Vicinus, reply to a Yorkshire Freeholder.
 Mar 2 A Yorkshire Freeholder, reply to Vicinus.
 Mar 2 Cato, reform by political education, reply to Vicinus and A Yorkshire Freeholder.
 Apr 20 Against "The True State of the Question," [Henry Redhead Yorke].
 Apr 27 Cato, conversation 'over a pot of ale' about the Sheffield 'Constitutional Society.'
 Apr 27 Against "The True State of the Question," [Henry Redhead Yorke] 'concluded.'
 May 4 Marcellus [James Montgomery], "An evil under the sun ... the Spirit of Patriotism."
 May 11 Marcellus, "The Morning of Liberty begins to break."

May 18 A Neighbour, to Cato re. members of the Sheffield Constitutional Society.

May 18 Rusticus patriae & libertas amator, against Parliament's refusal of Abolition.

June 1 Cato, on the 'Liberty of the Press' and misinformation spread by Government prints.

June 8 One of the men of Hezekiah, proverbs of Solomon used to satirise Burke, Pitt, etc.

June 15 Crito, defence of Govt. press against Cato's accusations of 'licentiousness.'

June 22 Nestor. Reform is to be sought by Constitutional societies led by 'respectable men.'

June 29 Cato. In answer to Crito.

June 29 A true friend to all the good men of Hezekiah, against use of Bible: 'political perversion.'

July 6 Cato Minor. Support of the SSCI against Nestor's fears of sedition.

July 6 Cato. "Liberty of the press... guarded by... trial by jury" — concluded from June 29.

July 13 R. B. Opposition to a reform meeting at Morpeth, June 30, by local authorities.

July 13 Cato. "I once more take up my pen to do away with the unjust insinuations of Crito."

July 20 Cato, letter concluded.

Aug 3 J. B., "Amor Patriae" — "a Citizen of the World... of the most worthless characters."

Aug 10 Crito, complaints of partiality towards Cato with more column space.

Aug 10 The Printer, refutation of Crito's accusation of favouritism.

Aug 17 Cato. "To answer the evasive ideas and remarks of Crito's last letter."

Aug 24 W. E. "Extracts ... from Wyvill's defence of the Reformers," in answer to Crito.

Aug 24 A Citizen of the World. "On National Prejudices," in answer to J. B., Aug 3.

Aug 24 A Friend to the Military. "Soldiers" — in support of soldiers but not a 'standing army.'

Sep 7 A Lover of Mankind. "A Hint to Placemen" — danger of civil war.

Sep 14 Humanitas. A dream of 'Reason' fighting with 'Superstition and Bigotry.'

Sep 21 "The Disinterested Family" — against Pitt's family 'places, sinecures and titles.'

Sep 21 "The Bear. A Recent Fact" — satire? on 'Mr. P——' and 'Fox'.

Sep 28. "From Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective"

Oct 5 "Mr. Paine's Letter to Mr. Dundas, Occasioned by the Treatment he met with at Dover."

Oct 12 "The Court of the Press... Benjamin Franklin" against slanderous 'scribblers.'

Oct 19 "Letter of Thomas Paine to the People of France."

Nov 2 Harrington. "On the Duration of Parliament — "hints" for "a shortening."

Nov 9 "Sketch of a Speech which might be delivered by and exalted Personage."

Nov 9 A Grinder. "Obnoxious ... because we have formed ... a Constitutional Society."

Nov 16 A. B. "From the last Monthly Review, on the *Perversion of Terms*" — reform call.

Nov 16 A constant subscriber since your first publication. "The Trumpeter taken prisoner."

Nov 23 S. A satirical extract from the *Country Spectator*.

Nov 23 P. P. Sarcastic reformist comment on the 'balance of power' in Europe.

Dec 28 Compatriot. "Political Societies in this neighbourhood" should also promote morality.

Dec 28 A Sheffield Constitutionalist. Rebuttal of a Birmingham clergyman's lies.

1793

Arts

Education: 1

Aug 23 A Detester of Persecution. French massacres and the need for education of the masses.

Religion: 2

Sep 27 A Constant Reader. A man rebuking disorderly people outside a church prosecuted!

Dec 20 Clericus, Mansfield. A call to examine own religion, not condemn atheistical French.

Social: 9

Jan 11 A Friend to the Poor. A call for the setting up of a Sheffield Benevolent Society.

Feb 8 A Well-wisher to Sheffield. "Neighbouring coal restricted exclusively."

May 24 Ebenezer Watchful, Overseer of the Poor. "A Seasonable Caution": ladies' fashions.

June 7 "Forming the morals of a State. Form the *Traits of Morals*, by M. Lacroix.

June 28 Aratus. "On Industry... Your breasts may be warmed ... with the ... Soul of Freedom."

Aug 9 R. "On Commerce... Till monopolies are abolished, and tyranny expelled."

Aug 16 R. "On Commerce. Paper II... *A reformation in government*."

Aug 30 A Well-wisher to Friendly Societies. "Case drawn up by Steventon and J. Adair."

Oct 25 Hint. Newspapers more interested in a litter of pigs than starving families of prisoners.

Political: 64

Jan 11 A. B. "Parliamentary reform... by no means necessary... I am of the Anti-reformers."

Jan 18 A Manufacturer. An informal meeting of 'Constit. Society' to discuss Reformer's letter.

Jan 18 Church & King. Extract from "The False Alarm" of 1769-70, on seditious petitions.

Feb 1 Querist. "Beware of lurking mischiefs, under the specious shew of *Reformation*."

Feb 1 J. M., Bedlington. The "Declaration of the Society of the Friends of the People."

Feb 22 Detector. In answer to Querist.

Mar 8 Anti-Jacobite, Nottingham. Against preaching politics from the pulpit.

Mar 8 Enquirer. "What is Libel... especially... against Government."

Mar 15 Querist. In answer to Detector or 'Detractor'!

Mar 22 Detector. In answer to "the irritable disposition of your correspondent *Querist*."

Mar 29 A Manufacturer. "Is it a greater fault to read Tom Paine, than to rob and burn houses?"

Apr 5 Sinceritas. "Reform sentiments" on the British Constitution, on *Dectector's* behalf.

Apr 12 Philelectheros, Norton. "Countrymen, let us be united ... pursuing ... Reform."

Apr 12 Anti-Jacobite. Answer to the *Nottingham Journal's* contempt of his letter in the *Register*.

Apr 26 Detector. "On the Constitution."

May 3 Detector. "On the Constitution. Concluded."

May 3 "Some remarks on Paper Circulation" — paper money, 'country banking,' and taxes.

May 24 Philanthropos, Wakefield. Depression of Trade due to the war.

May 24 Spectator. "How often have you been forewarned ... this war would ruin England!"

May 31 Philo Sinceritas, Nottingham. Extracts from turncoat Burbage of Nottingham.

June 14 A Peasant, Thurlstone, near Penistone. Defence of the Sheffield Constitutional Society.

June 14 Cato. "On the Representation of the People" — pro-reform.

June 14 "The Interest of Great-Britain respecting the French War."

June 21 Constant Reader. "The Deplorable Case of an unhappy Patient — the Constitution."

June 21 "The Interest of Great-Britain respecting the French War" continued.

June 28 "The Intererst of Great-Britain respecting the French War" continued.

July 5 A Friend to Reform, Bristol. In praise of the *Register* and the late *petition*.

July 5 "The Interest of Great-Britain respecting the French War" concluded.

July 19 Libertas. Extract from the "Mr Frend's appeal" at Cambridge University.

July 26 Libertas. "Decision of the delegates on Mr Frend's appeal" at Cambridge University.

Aug 23 Tom Poland. "A Daring Robbery!" — "High Contracting Parties" known to *Reeves*.

Aug 30 A Constant Reader. "Strictures on the present War."

Aug 30 A Detester of Persecution. "Persecution of the last century in England."

Sep 6 Pax, Doncaster. "Let every attempt to create a riot... be severely punished."

Sep 6 Philanthropos. An extract from Dr. Knox on the folly and wickedness of war.

Sep 13 Libertas. Macauley on James II: "in which the Historian extenuates the conduct."

Sep 20 T. H. L. "Intemperate, or unguarded expressions on political topics" in the *Register*.

Sep 20 Editor's footnote to T. H. L. defending his impartiality.

Sep 20 Peter Dubious, Salford. Satirical request for advice on adverse reaction to his 'toasts'.

Sep 27 F——r Civis, Birmingham. Satirical report on Duke of Richmond's "aerial Tower."

Oct 4 P——p A——n. "All power virtually and originally resides in the governed."

Oct 4 "Ah! why will Kings forget they are Men? Porteus."

Oct 4 Paul Positive. "To Peter Dubious, Member of a club in Salford."

Oct 11 Tom Trim. Reply to "frantic effusions of a *poor maniac*, who calls himself J. Russell."

Oct 11 Philom. In support of the *Register* against the abuse of the *Sheffield Courant*.

Oct 11 Oneircritic. Anti-war polemic.

Oct 18 Elucidator. Martyrdom of Margaret Staines in the reign of *bloody Mary*.

Oct 25 Plato. "To the Constitutional Society of Sheffield."... "Go on ... friends of Freedom."

Oct 25 D. S. Ministerial prints boasting of Subs. to buy flannel waistcoats for soldiers.

Oct 25 Black and All Black. Mockery of allied forces restoring enslaved peoples.

Nov 1 Valerius Publicola. The folly of war and its destructive effects upon commerce.

Nov 1 A Friend to Mankind. From Robt. Hall's *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*."

Nov 8 A Friend to the Constitution, Birmingham. Against *Church and King* persecutors.

Nov 8 A Plain Man. "Tell me in plain words what we are fighting for."

Nov 15 An Enemy to War & Standing Armies. Request for troop numbers.

Nov 15 Nestor. Extract from Yorks. Assoc. report "for a Reform.... Dec. 1782."
 Nov 15 An Old Whig. Call to recognise the independence of France as with America.
 Nov 22 Aristocrat. Attack on *Mr. Printer* for his attacks on "the Ajax of the Treasury," W. Pitt.
 Nov 22 Aristocrat. Retreat from St Maloe, glorious retreat, contra. 'blockheads' like the *Printer*.
 Nov 22 A Reader. Extracts from the Yorks. Assoc. 1782-3 for Reform.
 Dec 6 A Friend to Mankind. A call to exit from the "ruinous and disastrous war."
 Dec 6 A Constant Reader, Leeds. "The Bees, A Fable" of Revolution by a general strike.
 Dec 13 A Friend to Peace. Birmingham, on what we are fighting for.
 Dec 27 Aristocrat. "Laughing at that melancholy phiz of yours.... Lord Howe is safe arrived."

1794

Arts

Education

Religion:

Social

Political: 30

Jan 3 A Friend to Truth, Birmingham. Persecution cannot stop the spread of Truth.
 Jan 10 Aristocrat. Hopes that the *Printer* will abandon the cause of the *Swinish Multitude*.
 Jan 10 Associator. "I have been grossly deceived" by the Govt. into an accessory to war.
 Jan 17 Pacificus, Manchester. Anti-war letter refused by the *Manchester Chronicle*.
 Jan 24 Aristocrat. "A lesson at odd intervals" to a wavering reformist *Printer*.
 Jan 24 A Christian. "To the British Nation" for Peace.
 Feb 7 Spectator. "New Mode of obtaining Evidence" against a poor man's wife.
 Feb 14 A Reader. Sarcastic comment on Parliamentary speech on the war and Constitution.
 Feb 14 Nottinghamiensis. The war and Pitt's self-interest.
 Feb 21 Aristocrat. To Nottinghamiensis: "Ha! Ha!...Where is your Country *party* now?"
 Feb 28 Honestus. "For the ... Fast-day" re. "Christian Kings, Princes, and States!"
 Feb 28 Pacificus, Manchester. Grenville's inaccurate speech about commerce flourishing
 Mar 7 Aristocrat. "*Cursed* Fleet of French East-India men should get safe into port."
 Mar 7 A Cobler. Army enlistment of poor workmen proof of economic decline.
 Mar 7 A Repenting Aristocrat. Regret for opposing *Stanhope*, *Lansdowne* against war.
 Mar 14 Aristocrat. "The poor of all Nations were born to *servitude*."
 Mar 21 A Political Gardener. "The *Tree of Liberty*.... botanical descriptions of it."
 Mar 28 Aristocrat. Outrage with *Mr. Printer* for printing the letter about the *Tree of Liberty*.
 Apr 4 Dignity. "Gales change sides ... your carriage would shine brighter than ... Orestes."
 Apr 11 Aristocrat. Despair at *Robespierre's* success. King of Prussia's probable withdrawal.
 Apr 18 A Friend to Justice, Manchester. "Well,... what says your friend Aristocrat?"

Apr 18	Mechanicus, Royton. Against Pitt's claim to commercial improvement during war.
Apr 18	A Lover of Justice, Sheffield. Inhumane activities of a press-gang in Liverpool.
Apr 25	Aristocrat. Patriotic rant about war and taxes.
May 2	Aristides. Hanover ordinances to police reading societies and circulating libraries.
May 2	Nottinghamiensis. Ministerial print admits " <i>declining Trade</i> ."
May 9	Plato, Sheffield. Nationalism, a curse that leads to bloodshed.
May 9	Dan Dismal. Outrage at Fast-day defilement of the Church by drunken bell-ringers.
May 16	Aristocrat. Patriotic rant about the war.
June 6	Aristocrat. "I can but laugh, Mr. Printer" — at suspension of Habeas Corpus.

Poems published in the *Sheffield Register*, Jan 7, 1791 — June 27, 1794

1791

- Jan 7 Henry Pye James. "Ode for the New Year, 1791."
- Jan 14 A. "A Fragment."
- Jan 21 John Sharpe. "An Address to the ladies and gentlemen of Sheffield; spoken by Miss Betterton, only seven years old, at our Theatre."
- Jan 28 M. R. "Sonnet to a sick infant."
- Jan 28 Miss Pearson. "An Address spoken by Mrs. Kemble, at the closing of the Sheffield Theatre on Friday last, and received with the greatest applause."
- Feb 4 Tithonus. "Sonnet, to the Rev. Mr. Cunninghame, on his appointment of Chaplain to the Embassy at Constantinople."
- Feb 11 Arrechess. "Emma; or the Nun."
- Feb 18 R. "Lines, written during the late tempestuous weather."
- Feb 25 Leonardo. "Sonnet. Happy those youthful hours."
- Feb 25 J. D. "Lines written amongst the Hills of Derbyshire."
- Mar 4 Cleonicus. "Philosophy, A poem. Inscribed to a Lady."
- Mar 11 Philander. "Sonnet to Fortune."
- Mar 11 P. "On seeing an infant at its Mother's Breast."
- Mar 18 Juliana. "Sonnet."
- Mar 25 Leonardo. "Sonnet."
- Apr 1 "Stanzas to Love."
- Apr 8 Leonardo. "Sonnet."
- Apr 15 "Something New. A Flourishing Nation! a flourishing Trade! But Debts."
- Apr 15 "Epitaph in Beverly Church Yard... Dec. 3, 1689."
- Apr 22 Leonardo. "Sonnet."
- Apr 29 Philander. "Sonnet to a Violet."
- May 6 Shakespeare. "Sonnet."
- May 6 "Verses copied from the window of an obscure Lodging House in London."
- May 13 "An Old Bachelor's Reflections on Matrimony."
- May 20 W. Hamilton Reid. "The Miser: or, the Unwelcome Deliverance."
- May 20 "Epigrams: The Origin of Oyster Eating; On the Election of an imperious Person to a yearly office."
- May 27 Corpret. "The Lounger."
- June 3 Oran Uffaig. "To R. Burns. The Song of the Lark."
- June 10 Henry James Pye. Poet Laureate, "Ode for his Majesty's Birth-day, June 4, 1791."
- June 17 Juliana. "Written in Spring during a fit of indisposition: Idyllium."
- June 24 Juliana. "Idyllium, Written upon the Banks of the River Wye, in Monsaldale."

July 1 "Truth and Reason."
 July 8 "Sonnet to Eliza in mourning."
 July 15 Rev. Mr. Cunninghame. "Invocation to health."
 July 22 M. R. "Sonnet to the Evening Twilight."
 July 29 "Monumental Inscription, in memory of William Hodgkinson."
 Aug 5 J. H. "A Snug Supper at an Inn."
 Aug 5 "The following Composition was sung by Mr. Meredith, at Liverpool, on the Anniversary of the French Revolution."
 Aug 12 Philander. "Evening Reflections."
 Aug 19 R. Burns. "Song... A Rosebud."
 Aug 26 Eliz. Bentley. "a poor unlettered girl of Norwich. On a Summer Morning."
 Sep 2 "What Marks True Passion May Be Known."
 Sep 23 William Newton. "Sonnet: Rural Happiness."
 Sep 30 William Newton. "Sonnet: On the Pleasures of the Country."
 Oct 7 R. B. S. Mary Queen of Scots, A Monody. Written near the Ruins of Sheffield Manor."
 Oct 14 W. "Stanzas, Written in a church-Yard."
 Oct 21 M. R. "Sonnet to a Red-Breast."
 Oct 28 "Sacred to the Memory of Lydia Medley."
 Nov 4 "Peter Pindar's Panegyric on France."
 Nov 11 "Supplicatory Impromptu."
 Nov 18 "Sonnet. Keen through the leafless Thorn, November's wind."
 Nov 25 "Verses suggested by the account of the Death of Prince Potemkin."
 Dec 2 Mr. Sharpe. "Damon & Daphne."
 Dec 9 Invelin. "Love!"
 Dec 9 "On Sugar."
 Dec 16 A Man. "Lines, Humbly Addressed to the Fair Sex" [W. Indies sugar].
 Dec 16 "Extempore Lines, on hearing a discourse between two boys."
 Dec 23 "Effusion. Written by Moon-light."
 Dec 30 "Innocence."

1792

Jan 6 M. R. "Inscription for the Tomb Stone of a Mother."
 Jan 13 Miss Seward. "Song of a Northern Lover."
 Jan 20 P. "Verses addressed to a Young Lady."
 Jan 27 R—t H—t. "The Stolen Kiss."
 Feb 3 Fitz-alan. "Sonnet."
 Feb 10 "Verses addressed to Englishmen."
 Feb 17 S. "Sonnet."

Feb 24	T. "The Willow."
Mar 2	William Newton. "Lines on the Fate of Collins."
Mar 9	Philander. "Sonnet."
Mar 16	Arno. "Song."
Mar 16	"Epitaph on a Scolding Wife."
Mar 23	Fitz-alan. "Sonnet, written in a moon-light evening."
Mar 30	W. Grove. "Stanzas to Miss Seward, on the death of Sappho, her favourite lap-dog."
Apr 6	"Sonnet. Autumnal Evening."
Apr 13	Corpret. "A Sonnet on Marriage addressed to Miss. Blakelock."
Apr 13	"A Juryman's Duty. By the Judge."
Apr 20	"Sonnet."
Apr 27	F. T. "On Retirement."
May 4	"Verses written on the Death of a favourite Greyhound, belonging to a beautiful Lady."
May 11	"Lines on a Lord refusing to sign the Petition against the Slave Trade..."
May 18	Tryo. "Extempore, on reading Messrs Pitt and Fox's Speeches, in your paper of this Day, on the question of Reform."
May 18	"Patch Work."
May 25	"Saturday Morning."
June 1	Corpret. "The Rose ... addressed to Belinda.... Coquetish carriage in public worship."
June 8	Musaeus. "Complementary Verses, addressed to A. Z."
June 15	Henry James Pye. "Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day."
June 22	Ildefonso. "Adieu to Poetry and the Muse."
June 29	Bion. "Song."
July 6	Edwin. "Lines on viewing a picture, executed by a young Lady."
July 13	Rev. Mr. Grigg. "Epitaph," from the Christian Miscellany. No. 2.
July 20	"Apostrophe to Tobacco, by Amanda."
Aug 3	Mr. Scott of Dromore. "A Song, composed for the Anniversary of the French Revolution, July 14, 1792" [for the Demolition of the Bastille].
Aug 10	Mortimer. "Lines to a Young Lady."
Aug 17	Musaeus. "Ode... Glorious Liberty advance."
Aug 24	Thomson. "Ode."
Aug 31	Eliza. "Lines. Since from love, you resolve to be free'd."
Sep 7	"Elegy."
Sep 14	"On the death of Sir Richard Arkwright."
Sep 21	Mrs Williams. "Sonnet to Twilight."
Sep 28	Selina. "To Virtue."
Oct 5	"Lines, addressed to patriotic and gallant Frenchmen, in their present arduous Struggles for Freedom."

Oct 12 Josiah Bardsley. "Sonnet to France on the late Revolution."
 Oct 19 Miss Seward. "Stanzas, addressed to a young Gentleman."
 Oct 26 I. S. B. "Theatrical Intelligence, extraordinary."
 Oct 26 "Epigram."
 Nov 2 Sir William Jones. "An Ode. What constitutes a state?"
 Nov 9 "On the Comforts of Religion. An Ode."
 Nov 16 "Song on the Revolution of 1688, Sung by Mr. Digman, at the late Anniversary, celebrated at the London Tavern."
 Nov 23 Charlotte Smith. "The Dead Beggar."
 Nov 30 "On Smoking Tobacco. Part I."
 Dec 7 "On Smoking Tobacco. Part II."
 Dec 14 Miss Seward. "Elegaic Ode."
 Dec 21 "Song. Now Cynthia rode in silver car."
 Dec 28 S. M. "A Sonnet."

1793

Jan 4 "Epigram from Macleod's New-York Gazetteer of Aug. 19, 1792. To some tyrannic Lord, or priestly tool,"
 Jan 11 Henry James Pye. "Ode for the New Year."
 Jan 18 Peter Pindar. "To his candle."
 Jan 25 Charlotte Smith. "Sonnet to the South Downs."
 Feb 1 Veritas. "Life."
 Feb 8 Adela. "To Orlando."
 Feb 15 William Newton. "Extract from a manuscript poem, intituled A Wish."
 Feb 22 William Newton. "A Wish, continued."
 Mar 1 William Newton. "A Wish, continued."
 Mar 8 William Newton. "A Wish, continued."
 Mar 15 "British Liberty Asserted."
 Mar 22 William Newton. "A Wish, continued."
 Mar 29 C. B. "On the effects of Gold."
 Apr 5 "Captivity, a serious Air. Supposed to be sung by the beautiful and unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, during her confinement in the Tower of the Temple." Altered by W. [illiam] N. [ewton].
 Apr 12 Musaeus. "The Bull; a simile addressed to John Bull Esq."
 Apr 19 T. G. "No Libel to Think."
 Apr 26 "A "Knight of the Legs" Answer to the "Irishman's Address to the twenty-six Nottingham Worthies," written by a Thing stiling itself "the Bard."
 May 3 "Patriotism."

May 3 "An epigram. Of Generals don't tell me of York."

May 10 P. B. I. "The Post of Honour!"

May 17 "Ode. Oh ye who fill the throne of pow'r—"

May 24 "Lines, supposed to be written by a young Lady of the Town, upon reading the following passage in our last paper: "They poured upon our troops a shower of grape and musquet shot, that brought to the ground some of our bravest men."

May 24 Z. A. "On the Pad."

May 31 Libertior. "The Statesman's Soliloquy."

June 7 Phileleutheros. "Thoughts on Fasts."

June 14 Henry Pye. "Ode for His Majesty's Birth-day."

June 21 "Dialogue between Messrs P— and D—, on Mr. Pye's ode for the fourth of June."

June 28 "The Observations of a Swine on the condition of his fellow creatures."

July 5 B. D. T. "Lines, written after viewing the Remains of Sheffield Manor."

July 5 "Representation. An old epigram."

July 12 Tom Priestcraft. "Stanzas, on hearing certain liberal Toasts."

July 12 "The Swinish Herd to Edmund Burke."

July 19 Colonus. "Verses, written on reading the Account of the Battle of St. Amand."

July 26 A Reformer. "The Ox Over Driven: an original fable."

Aug 2 "The Gentleness of Human Wisdom."

Aug 16 "Epigrams."

Aug 23 J. M. G. "The Madman's Petition."

Aug 30 G. Dyer. "Ode on Liberty."

Aug 30 C. M. "Epigram. Full many a bloody conflict Britain fought."

Sep 6 J. T. R. "The Wrongs of Poverty."

Sep 6 "The Farmer's Petition. Immortal Pitt! we pray thee to impart..."

Sep 6 "On the late Military Attack at Brighton Theatre. The Querist and History."

Sep 13 W. N. "Thoughts... laying of the First Stone of the Sheffield General Infirmary."

Sep 20 F—c Civis. "An ode on the Birth-day."

Sep 20 P. "Impromptu. On the sudden Retreat... near Dunkirk."

Sep 20 Dr. Porteus. "The Bishop of London's Opinion on War."

Sep 27 Concilius. "The Pensioner's Soliloquy."

Sep 27 Aratus. "Epigram.... Rights of Man."

Oct 4 "On Dr. Franklin's Shedding a Tear while signing the American Federal Constitution."

Oct 11 J. M. G. "Complimentary Lines to J. T. Poet Laureate of the Sheffield Courant, and a Lick be Rev. Observator, principal Secretary to the same."

Oct 18 Capt. Morris. "New Irish Song ... sung at the Anniversary of Mr Fox's election."

Oct 25 J. M. G. "Elegy to the memory of the late Col. Bosville."

Oct 25 J. M. G. "Upon hearing the Rev. Observator preach."

Nov 1 T. F. Camillus. "Stanzas on Domestic Felicity."
 Nov 8 "Parody on the Song of Poor Jack."
 Nov 15 "The Volunteer. From Lord Gardenstone's Miscellanies."
 Nov 22 Pacificus. "Effects of War."
 Nov 29 "Billy's So Keen for the War."
 Dec 6 J. M. G. "Sonnet upon the close of the Campaign of 1793."
 Dec 6 P. W. "Impromptu. Upon reading ... the French Festival of Reason."
 Dec 13 A Constant Reader. "On seeing a Dial in the neighbourhood of Buxton."
 Dec 20 "Lord Howe and his Fleet."
 Dec 27 A Briton. "Lines on Ambition."

1794

Jan 3 "The Happiness of America. From the New-York Journal."
 Jan 3 "An Epigram ... to Mr. Erskine."
 Jan 10 Henry James Pye. "An ode for the New Year, 1794."
 Jan 17 J. T. R. "To Messrs. Muir & Palmer."
 Jan 24 "Hymn raised at Paris, in Civic Feast, celebrated for the re-taking of Toulon."
 Jan 31 "On Lord Stanhope's being called to Order by the Bp. Durham."
 Jan 31 "The Generals... We rest our hopes forlorn on General Fast!"
 Feb 7 "The Tender's Hold."
 Feb 14 Peter Pindar. Esq. "Ode to Eastern Tyrants."
 Feb 21 Paul Positive. Esq. "The Mayor of Donchester."
 Feb 28 J. H. "Sonnet. Freedom farewell! from Albion's hapless Isle."
 Mar 7 "Hymn sung at a Public Meeting of the Friends of Peace and Reform in Sheffield."
 Mar 14 Brutus. "Fast."
 Mar 21 Paul Positive. "The Slave Trade."
 Mar 21 G. Dyer. "To T. F. Palmer ... on his voyage to Botany Bay."
 Mar 28 Peter Pindar. "The Folly of the Pride of State illustrated in the Fable of The Diamond Pin and Farthing Candle."
 Apr 4 G. B. "An Essay on the Times."
 Apr 11 Sylvanus Amicus. "Sonnet. Few are the pleasures which the Spring can yield."
 Apr 18 Sylvanus Amicus. "Sonnet. Oh how I envy him whose eye-lids close."
 Apr 25 Paul Positive. Esq. "Mutton Chops; or, the history of John Blunder and his Wife."
 May 2 Sylvanus Amicus. "Sonnet. Who loves his country.... I hate all Wars."
 May 2 Albert. "Epigram. On the French impressing their Gold and Silver Saints."
 May 7 Sylvanus Amicus. "Sonnet. What gives a Man, in peace or strife the right."
 May 14 "Ode to Liberty (from the Latin)."
 May 21 "Bruce's Address to his troops at the battle of Bannockburn."

May 28 "Sighs of Venus.... Horrid, horrid war."

June 6 Alexander Thistlethwayte. "Stanzas... Ev'n Kings are nothing but a name. "

June 13 Henry Pye. "Ode for His Majesty's Birth-day."

June 20 "Song in the new opera Lodotska."

June 27 N. "Sonnet.... Wm. Windham,... to tyranny's detested service sold?"

1793

- Jan 5 Rev. Wilkinson, magistrate, in the chair of mtg. to express support to King and Govt. Thos. Renge of Halifax jailed for seditious language. Leicester baker cleared of same. Paine martyred in effigy everywhere as Presbyt., Jacobite, Jesuit, the Devil.
- Jan 12 Fears of imminent war. Disapprobations of pro-Govt. *A Letter from Thomas Bull to his Brother John*. Pennsylvanian bill of rights on freedom of speech; and liberty of the press quote from [Junius c. Jan 1769- Jan 1772, prob. Sir Philip Francis, 1740-1818]. J. Gales on libel and liberty of the press. The 'rhapsodies of Burke'!
- Jan 19 Dronfield burning of Burke's effigy at Dronfield and toasts of the *swinish multitude*. Paine hung in effigy by a clergyman; and at Chepstow. Crown & Anchor Whig mtg.; Liberty of the Press.
- Jan 26 Nottingham: Mr. Thompson tried for selling *Rights of Man* and *Address to the Addressers*.; Phillip of Leicester too; J. Gales's comment on libel. Friday's Post: King Louis Capet's trial and sentence of death.
- Feb 1 Report of Louis' death, (Jan 21); Paine's plea for banishment to the USA and end of death penalty. *Village Politics* a production of 'scribbling politic-jobbers' scattered in streets of Sheffield. Chesterfield man struck off list of *Assoc. against Seditious Writings* for enjoying Burke's burning. Manchester: indictments for printing & selling seditious books, and speech.
- Feb 8 Dr. Johnson on the miseries of war. Crown & Anchor mtg.
- Feb 15 SSCI notice against War; thanks to Fox, Erskine, Grey, Lambton, Sheridan, Duke of Norfolk Francis Rodgers convicted for treasonable and disrespectful words against the King. Claim that the London Gazette was the first newspaper in the nation, hence the ignorance of the people! J. Gales's call to amiability in political differences. Notice of Washington's re-election and Adams too, just!
- Feb 22 Notice of Erskine's Speeches on Liberty of the Press; Paine's Trial; Franklin's *Way to get Wealth*, printed and sold by J. Gales. Paine burnt by a mob at Birmingham: a long report. J. Gales's call to 'liberty of *thought*.' Tacitus against war.
- Mar 1 Manufacturing output suffering due to the war. Nottingham petition for reform rejected for not showing respect to the Commons. '*Shocks*' a long diatribe against injustice and esp. war:
- Mar 8 Notice of SSCI mtg. Fast day proclamation; US rejoicing at French army's progress. J. Gales's mention of Nottingham petition. Leics., 100 lashes for seditious speech. Edinb. Petition, 'It gives us so much satisfaction'...
- Mar 15 Northampton address to the King in favour of the war; 5000l at Manchester to pay for marines. Letter of Wyvill, 'a true Patriot and Friend to Const. Liberty', to Pitt on Reform, and Peace. Roman emperor Augustus and the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.
- Mar 29 Notice of Wyvill's letter to Pitt, sold by J. Gales. *Register* to be released on Thurs eve. to

- include urgent war reports. J. Gales's long call for Peace! Peace! County assizes: to men pilloried and imprisoned for disrespectful speech against King, Const. and Counsellors. Irish pro-French disturbances. Commons proposal for 'bill to prevent Traitorous Correspondence.'
- Apr 5 Notice of PARLIAM. REFORM mtg. Mon. 8th with Gales in the Chair. Pleased with Friends of the People reform movement in London. Notice: 'A Speech in which the question of a war with France is stated and examined, by a Lover of his Country. Birm.: Printed by Thomas Pearson, and sold by J. Gales. 'Abolition mtgs. at Durham and Newcastle. British ship released by French and given printed speech on Liberty-Equality by the Presid. of Friends of L. & E. calling Capt and crew to speak well of repub. France. Long comment on the evils of war and question on why we grieve the death of one man (Louis) but not hundreds and thousands of soldiers. Against anti-reform writings and quoting *Advice to the Advisers*.
- Apr 12 Notice Parliam. Reform mtg. Apr 8 resolutions, a petition at Gales & Smith's. Notice of an 'extraord. mtg. of SSCI. General Dumourier's defection and his 'dishonourable scheme' to restore the monarchy. Castle Hill reform mtg. report. Derby printer acquitted for selling *Rights of Man* pt. 2. Commons address by Fox against 'Seditious Correspondence' bill to no avail.
- Apr 19 Notices: *The Patriot* vol. 2; 'Encomiastic Advice to the acute and ingenious Personage who parodied the Address from the Derby Socs. to the Rt. Hon Charles James Fox. London: printed and sold by J. Gales'; '*Reason urged against Precedent*,... Henry Yorke'; 'Political Justice, William Goodwin'; H. Yorke, 'Independent Juries'; 'Petition for Reform in Parliam. ... About Five Thousand names are already received'. 'Sheffield': Increase in bankrupts incl. 40 bankers and merchants. *Leicester Herald* 18 months prison for vending *RoM* pt.2, and *Letters to the Addressers*. Thompson of Birm acquitted.
- Apr 26 Fast Day, London taverns were *full*, churches *empty*, Pitt gave a dinner for his Friends!!! 'Sheffield is stigmatised with being the seat of *ignorance* and *disloyalty*' - two loyalist toasts! Comment on injustice of Phillips' imprisonment, Thompson and Bower's acquittal. Plea for freedom of opinion. Comment on abuse of privilege by those in authority over reformers. 'Christian charity' sermon by Bishop of St. David's on loving our neighbour (France). Arthur Young against French aristocracy. 'To Correspondents' on 'contemptible', 'Hired Informers' newly arrived in Sheffield as told by Cato.
- May 3 Further petition from Notting. based on Pitt's of 1785 in order to show 'proper *respect*'! Derby, Durham petitions.
- May 10 Notices: SSCI thanks to Grey, Fox, Sheridan, etc., for defence of the petition in Parliament and against Wilberforce for calling them 'Jacobins; Notting. Soc. for promoting a Parliam. Reform mtg., resolution for Right of Trial by jury. 'Sheffield': report of petition support, with names, in Commons. More bankruptcies in London. Manchester trade suffering. Against press gangs in Shields. Against La Fayette and Dumourier for trying to turn republican soldiers! 'Commons' Reform petitions voted down, 42:282.

- May 17 Call to feed the 'suffering artisans' as much as soldiers. Collapse of some big businesses in Ireland. In support of the Catholic Bill: 'Ignorance and religious prejudice, dissipated by the sun of science, claims but an impotent number of votaries ... and in Britain at the close of the eighteenth century, the Protestant and Papist approach each other with the smile of fraternity.' Marquis of Lansdowne against the war. 'Commons': Wilberforce slavery limitation bill defeated by 10 votes.
- May 24 Sardonic comment on blasphemy and Sabbath breaking re. Archdeacon of Doncaster. Cry against Ministers when people are starving. 'A War is to Portsmouth and Plymouth, what PEACE is to the rest of the kingdom!' Facts in petition of Friends of the People unchallenged in Commons. Loyal veteran of Oldham with reform sympathies lured into seditious comment by lawyer, commits suicide. Ridgeway and Simmonds persecuted booksellers 'the first year of our imprisonment in Newgate!' J. Gales on suppression of publishing quotes Pope. On the foolishness of current Fashions. 'To Correspondents' on various letters and poems to be included soon.
- May 31 Joseph Gales to his public, a long defence of his principles. Dundas calls to feed poor French Catholic priests, J. Gales calls for them to feed the British poor as well! Approval of National Convention's provision for war widows and orphans. Sarcasm against Dundas. On the Friends of the People's reform petition, 307 MPs (majority) sent by 154 voters!
- June 7 Notices: Honley, Crossland, Netherthong in the W. Riding congratulate Wilberforce on his resistance to reform petitions; FofP. thanks to the SSCI of their efforts; Freedom of the Press to publish an 'Address to the People of Great Britain'; SSCI thanks to MP, John Wharton for support of 1688 Constit. in Commons; 'Letters on the Impolicy of a Standing Army', printed by Eaton, sold by Gales. 'Sheffield': Notice of 'death' of the Sheffield Advertiser.
- June 14 Friend expelled Camb. Univ. for *Peace and Union* pamphlet: 'Another instance of the freedom of discussion, and the liberality of the times!' Curate in debtor's prison in Carmarthen for 20l. On (Daniel Isaac) Eaton's trial and similarity with William Penn and Matt. Mead's in reign of Charles II. How the war with France has united rival nations in a general pursuit of gain at the expense of Liberty. Principles are lost 'A little and a little, is easily made into a *little more*'. On the evils of war; Burke. Approving extract from William Godwin's *Political Justice*.
- June 21 Notice: *Prospects on the War, and Paper Currency, of Great Britain*. by Thomas Paine, pub. by Ridgway and Symonds, sold by J. Gales. 'Sheffield': Agitations of High Treason and libels at Manchester, Walker's and Erskine's comments at mtg. of Friends of the Liberty of the Press.
- June 28 Notice: 'Liberty of the Press. Crown and Anchor'; 'A Portrait of Thomas Paine' 10s. 6d, sold by J. Gales. Regret that Dissenting families are removing to America for fear of British mobs. 100,000l. collected for emigrant French clergy. Satirical report of drunken Irishman raising the recent 'sedition' hue and cry at Manchester. Notice of Paine's *Prospects*... is it a libel? Milton's reply to Charles II and the Duke of York. Comment on Reform being desirable before Revolution breaks out.

- July 5 137L. 1s. 7d. collected for Fr. clergy refugees. But what of our own poor say others, and these are the predecessors butchered thousands of innocent Protestants. Q. Locke against such rebels. A long discourse on the 'ravages of War' and the poverty it brings at home, in e.g. Norwich. Slave ship arrived at Liverpool: 100 of 300 already dead! Burke criticised; on 'An arbitrary Prince'; 'Argument, Persuasion, Example'; 'Violence exerted towards opinions ... increase the zeal and number'; 'cherish to excess the forms, while they repress the spirit of the constitution'; 'worth of MORALITY! (say the *Monthly Reviewers*,)'.
- July 12 Dinner at the Tontine Inn spoiled and split up by anti-reform remarks by a clergyman: "A head without pain, and Pain without a head. Confusion to the Discontents." "Brave Sheffielders!" satirical prose on ridiculous fears of radical Sheffield [James Montgomery?]. *Sans Culottes* and *Highland regiments*. 'Life may be likened to a *stage-coach* —' (and providence). Dr. Scott's sermon on Philosophy a demon and Reformation a ruffian: editor's response; bad Govt. is better than none; 'Sovereignty of the People ... a licence to anarchy and disorder'; 'Some species of Govt.... is essential'; 'divine right' and its victims; extract from address of Soc. of U. Irishmen on Reform.
- July 19 A long satirical response to a *Satire upon Common Sense* from another paper [James Montgomery?]. Letter from a private in Duke of York's army about massacring all civilians at Macelin near Valenciennes. War and Peace! Great cost of European mercenaries to GB. Dr. Knox's *Letter to a Young Nobleman* ... warnings of revolution following aristocratic corruption. 'Friday's Post': education of women encouraged in France; 'The burthen of John Bull's song at present is. "Oh! dear, what can the matter be?" that all the powers of Europe are at loggerheads, and I am obliged to pay the piper!' Trial by Jury under attack from 'treasury newspapers'.
- July 26 On the evils of rising food and milk prices during scarcity. Nott. assizes: Holt convicted for publishing Paine's *Addressers* and *An Address...on a Parl. Reform* from 1783. Alexander White, Newcastle, held in jail for five months for 'writing and uttering a seditious libel' was acquitted by a jury. Incidents of starvation and stealing food; Petition to King from Glasgow to stop war and economic want. There are two sorts of politicians (Hall, *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*); J. Gales: 'There are now but two Political Parties ... Patrons of Corruption and the Friends of Liberty'.
- Aug 2 Notice: SSCI monthly mtg. postponed until further Notice. 'Sheffield': riot at Nottingham; Benj. Booth convicted at Manchester of seditious words on testimony of (perjurer) Thomas Dunn. Petitions against the war at Paisley, etc. Burke against war contra Pitt. Letter of *Veritas* 'To the Printers of the Nottingham Journal' for misreporting the riot.
- Aug 16 Birmingham *Levellers* stealing clothes from small children! Need for a Welsh speaking chapel in Liverpool. Muir returned from France surrenders himself at Edinburgh. Copy of the Paisley Petition. Seneca against war. Destruction of families at Valenciennes; contradictory report in the *London Sun*.

- Aug 23 Notice: 'These are the Times that try men's souls! A letter to John Frost, a prisoner in Newgate, by Henry Yorke'; Paine's *Prospects of the war...*; *The Regal Rambler*; *Killing no Murder* by Col. Tytus; *Treachery no Crime* by Charles Pigott: pub. by Symonds and Ridgway, sold by J. Gales. 'Sheffield': Govt intention to prevent emigration to America: 'It does not look well in a Government to *force* its subjects to be contented at home!' *Church and King Mob* at Manchester. Godwin on Govt. & Ignorance; and 'Printing ... is destined to annihilate the Slavery of the Human Race.' 'A street Cicero 'haranguing a motley groupe'. J. Gales: Jacobinism practised by British in Martinique!!!
- Aug 30 Unlit windows smashed at Bullocksmithy and residents attacked by soldiery. The *London Sun* rejoicing at deaths of 2000 republicans! Henry VII's dying legacy, 'Peace'.
- Sep 6 Laying the Infirmary foundation stone. Muir's trial.
- Sep 13 Notices: Trials of Daniel Isaac Eaton; Muir's Trial; Society of the Friends of Literature. 'Sheffield': J. Gales called 'an ideot or a maniac and Jacobin Editor'. Peace if Ministers were forced to tell truth.
- Sep 20 Notice: Kings & Queens ... the necessity of a Reform in Parliam; 'French Constitution ... Price One Penny ... upon a Sheet of large Paper, for the Convenience of Framing ... sold by J. Gales.' 'Sheffield': Celebrations at taking of Toulon; J. Gales's jaundiced view. Against boisterous crowds. Church and King crowd at Huddersfield baiting a bull for three days! Unitarian minister, Fische Palmer's trial and conviction at Perth. Extract from Felix Vaughan's defence of Eaton, on Liberty of the Press. Diomed the pirate adopted into Alexander the Great's army to 'rob, steal and murder!'
- Sep 27 Reform toasts at Southampton. Hopes for popular petitions for peace. Pitt's resistance to French initiatives for peace. Alexander the Great and the terrors of war. Notice: J. Gales, 'To the Writer of a Calumny signed *Observer* ... I demand your real Name.'
- Oct 4 A provincial Print claiming 17M deaths of French Republicans and Jacobins! Pitt's ridiculous claims of the weakness of the French Constitution. Lady Jane Grey and treason. Notice: 'To the Rev. Russel, Dronfield. ... Your injur'd Correspondent, Joseph Gales.'
- Oct 11 Notice: *The History of a Church and a Warming-Pan*. Constitutional Society mtg. 'Sheffield': Sales of the Register 'outstrips our calculation'. Macclesfield mob with Paine effigy attack ironmonger's house, who is arrested after firing at them. News of Birmingham constables trying to collect assessment on account of the Riots.' Montesquieu quote on Germany, Italy, England, France.
- Oct 18 Ridiculous claims anent France by ministerial prints. Plea for sentence-setting rather than discretionary powers of judges. Defence of Liberty. Notice: 'To the Public.' a defence by J. Gales re. Rev. J. Russell's calumnies.
- Oct 25 Notice: Abolition Soc. call for funds. 'Sheffield': Response to *Sheffield Courant*'s questioning Register circulation figures. Birmingham, riots against damages levies. Manchester damages claim refused. 'Execution of the late Q. of France.'

- Nov 1 Public disorder in Birmingham. J. Gales's lament at 'loyalist' mobs in Birmingham and elsewhere. Report of disorders and even deaths in Bristol. False alarm at Nottingham. Horrible press ganging at Liverpool. Cruelty of both sides in the war. Blessings of peace enjoyed in America. Huge national debt and 30, 000 debtors in prison. Notice 'Scotch Convention, October 29' first meeting. 'To Correspondents': reply to Courant, etc.
- Nov 8 Report: Crown and Anchor meeting, for 1688, the Rights of Man. 'Sheffield': 1688 anniv. celebs. Birm. printers selling Paine's *Addressers* released from jail after 3 months. Pitt a 'broken reed', and a 'spear' to Abolitionists and Reformers (J. Gales). Various comments against war. J. Gales on 'chimney tax'.
- Nov 15 Notice: SSCI mtg. Nov 13. fund raising to send Matthew Campbell Brown to Scotch Convention mtg. on Nov 19. Subs to received by Camage and 'at Gales's Printing-office.' 'Sheffield': fund raising for soldiers' flannel waistcoats. J. Gales's sarcasm on placemen. Letter from Philadelphia re. yellow fever abating. Scotch Convention, favourable report.
- Nov 22 Update letter from Browne at Scotch Convention. Halifax bookseller forced to apologise in *Leeds Mercury* for vending 'The French Constitution' for 1p. Poor curate dies in poor house at Deal. Extract on the evils of absent livings. Humorous coffee house address on the 'Rise and Progress of Jacobinism.' Pitt and Dundas claims of evangelical war! Against 'standing armies'. Against 'Absolute Monarchies' ... and wars the 'insatiable ambition of *Priests* or *Princes*!'
- Nov 29 Notice: Nottingham Reform Soc. letter of support to the Scotch Convention. Loyalist *The King and Constitution. Constit. Magazine and True Briton's Friend*. Unconstitutional war fund-raising. No further news from Scotch 'British' Convention yet.
- Dec 6 Erskine's pro-reform comments at trial of Holt, Newark printer. Late Lord Chatham's comments on urgency of reform. On executions of traitors in France and England.
- Dec 13 J. Gales scornful of pompous loyalist toasts at a Scots Hospital Corp. meeting. 'British Convention' delegates arrested.
- Dec 20 Notice: 2000 'Friends of Freedom and Parliam. Reform' mtg., Dec 16 in Sheffield send their 'Resolutions' to arrested Sheffield delegate Browne at Edinb. Wm. Broomhead, Chair. 'To Montgomericus' from James Montgomery. 'Sheffield': Ministerial prints distorting war reports. Pitt's treachery to reform.
- Dec 27 Notice: Newark; Holt's trial and vindication, sold by Gales. Nottingham 'Thinking Society'! Humorous comment on émigré priests fleeing the light like bugs. Blackburn, 'treasonous expressions'; Skirving's trial set for Jan 6 at Edinb.

1794

- Jan 3 Friends of Reform pleased by subs. at Leeds to support Browne on trial at Edinburgh. 2000 "friends of Parliamentary Reform" meet near Leicester, to reprobate Edinb. Magistrates. 18, 000 Royalists slaughtered in France; Britain fails to support them as promised! "Equality is a levelling, a dangerous, and an impossible principle, say the enemies of reform."

- Jan 10 Wilberforce withdraws his postal support of the Register after nearly seven years because “he does not approve of the Principles therein contained”; Gray replaces him. Gray’s letter. 80k lives lost in a week of war, “four times the men inhabitants of Sheffield.” Edinb. Gazetteer: “patriotic Societies” applauding Edinb. Convention, determined on reform.
- Jan 17 Godwin on the value of Truth in overcoming Error. Quote from US Declaration of 1776, “all men are equal...”; 1789 on freedom of religion and speech.
- Jan 24 French not using Christianity as a pretence or cover for their crimes, as hypocrites and fanatics. Arch.b of York and B. of Ancaster instruct manager of Bath theatre to dismiss reformist actors! Margarot’s triumphal arch with medallion, ‘Liberty and Virtue, Reason, Justice, and Truth..’ Pro-reform trial report; Godwin quote on Truth.
- Jan 31 200k deaths at war: ‘PEACE, excites a *horse-laugh* in *lords* and *bishops*...’ Irony on ‘Republican form of Govt.’
- Feb 14 Pitt’s speaking of French severe treatment of citizens when Muir, etc., await transportation!
- Feb 28 Thanksgiving poem of US war of Indep. “Vile Heretic! are these thy pranks — / First murder men, then give God thanks?/Vain Hypocrite! proceed no further; / The Lord accepts no thanks for murder.” “swinish ideas”, £4K sinecure to be given to Lord Chatham by Pitt.
- Mar 7 General Fast, 5-6K ‘who did not approve of the service provided by Authority for the occasion, held a solemn public meeting in the open air, and attended to a Serious Lecture, written by a labouring Mechanic, ... concluded by an hymn’ (J. Montgomery) + FAST DAY Notice in previous column. Wilberforce criticised for voting against Muir, Palmer, etc. House of Lords criticised on slave trade.
- Mar 14 Favourable report of Gerrald, Muir and Palmer. King of Prussia’s selling his “swinish multitude.”
- Mar 21. Gerrald sentenced to 14yrs transportation; letter from an Ednb. tradesman. Diatribe on injustice. Independent MPs praised for resigning. Subs in US papers for provisions for republican France.
- Mar 28 Notice from SSCI to the Friends of Peace and Reform at Sheffield. ‘Charles Handley, of Leeds, charged with having dispersed certain seditious papers, entitled, “*The Tax and Tythe Club*,” ... Castle of York for two years, and be bound in 100l. himself, and two sureties in 50l. each, for his good behaviour for three years afterwards.’ Gerrald taken to Newgate; SHERIDAN on Pitt’s ‘more forcible’ support of reform. Test and Corporation Acts contra to arming nonconformists.
- Apr 4. Priestley sails for America. ‘*Another honest verdict!*’ Robert Erpe, Castle Donington found NOT GUILTY of seditious language: J. Gales’s rejoicing and a call for 12 Gold Medals for the jury.
- Apr 11 Notice of H. R Yorke’s ‘Thoughts on Civil Govt., addressed to the Disenfranchised Citizens of Sheffield’ ... and ‘The Proceedings of the Public Mtg. held at Sheffield ... 7th April, 1794’ re the determination not to petition Parliament any more. “Sheffield” report of the meeting and

- [James Montgomery's] letter to Thos. Walker approved. Report of Walker's trial, acquittal, Dunn's perjury, Erskine's defence of reform societies. 'Mr. Russell of Birmingham, has bought 300,000 acres in America, 150 miles northwest of Philadelphia, on a navigable river: where it is purposed to establish an Unitarian society.' Petition to King and JM's letter to Walker on behalf of the SSCI. Petition to end the slave trade, protect liberty of the press, against the bought flesh of Prussian troops.
- Apr 18 Pitt's dinner party toasts 'for success to throat-cutting in defence of our RELIGION!' Friends of the People dinner with Sheridan in the chair, toasts to a speedy Reform. Society of United Irishmen's address to Dr. Priestley.
- Apr 25 Clergyman Judge offering 100L. to land 10,000 French in order for military law to be declared and Jacobins real or suspected arrested. J. G. horrified. Edinb. Theatre Royal disturbances during National Anthem.
- May 1 Vast increase in sales of the Register, 2025 printed this week. The Independent Sheffield Volunteers formed 'with the charitable intention' to kill locals who 'SPEAK AS THEY THINK!!!' Easter Monday meeting for Reform at Royton near Manchester violently attacked.
- May 9 Notice of SSCI mtg., resolution against war. Trial of Geo. Harley Vaughan at Leics. for seditious handbill against handbill; three months prison.
- May 16 Controversy of J. Gales with Mr. Marshall and with the Courant re. a letter. Report of attacks on a messenger delivering *Register* in Wakefield.
- May 23 Notice. 'The Spirit of John Locke, on Civil Govt. Revived by the Constitutional Soc. of Sheffield ... printed and sold by J. Gales'. Edinb. search of Reformers' houses for weapons, arrests made.
- May 30 SSCI men, BROOMHEAD, CAMAGE, MOODY and 4 others incl. Widdison and Hill, arrested Sat. May 24, 1794. On the suspension of Habeas Corpus; the foolishness of the *True Briton* on time limits. Quote from *Camb. Intell.* on Thatch'd House mtg. & Pitt's call for Reform. *Friday's Post*, Horne Tooke imprisoned but undaunted; 'Abolition of Titles in America' (in Charlestown).
- June 6 Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Yeomen to raise defence and suppress reformers, chair Duke of Norfolk. Pontefract mtg. chair, Earl Fitzwilliam. 'Sheffield': Broomhead, Camage, Moody examined; warning against spies and informers; against war; Dr. Drennan Soc Utd. Irishmen arrested Dublin; Edinb. castle, reformers denied visitors.
- June 13 Crown privateers taking Philadelphia-bound ships. *Register* distributor arrested at Huddersfield for selling a *Serious Lecture on the late Fast Day*. Poor attendance in Commons during debate on Habeas Corpus.
- June 20 Shameful behaviour of local volunteers in the Hartshead on Sun. 15, June. Musquet attacks upon house of Jonathan Leadbetter where three of Gales's compositors lodged, case brought before R. A. Athorpe. Windows broken esp. of Quakers at London, York, Leeds during victory celebrations; J. Gales's call to use money to alleviate widows and children

instead. Norwich pedlar released for selling pruning knives. 'London June 18' H. R. Yorke examined by Privy Council, 17th.

June 27 'London June 24', Yorke, esp., Pierce, Broomhead, Camage, Moody examined by Privy Council. Advert for *The Patriot*, complete in 3 vols. Notice: J. Gales sells *Register* to J. Montgomery for the *Iris*. Notice from James Montgomery. 'Sheffield': The Editor's [farewell] Address'.

1794

- July 4 Obeltoh. "To the Iris."
- July 11 Joseph Richardson."Prologue. Spoken by Mr. Kemble." Benefit for sailors' families.
- July 18 Obeltoh. "Stanzas to Melancholy."
- July 18 Obeltoh. "Sonnet to Wealth."
- July 25 Paul Positive. "Vesuvius Bewitched or The Mountain in Labour. Part I."
- July 25 Marcellus Moonshine. "The Enthusiast;... No. I." Signed, "Marcellus Moonshine."
- Aug 1 Paul Positive. "Vesuvius Bewitched or The Mountain in Labour. Part II."
- Aug 1 Marcellus Moonshine. "The Enthusiast;... No. II." Signed, "M. M." [Note, No. III missing].
- Aug 8 Mrs. Radcliffe. "To the Winds."
- Aug 15 "Ode to War."
- Aug 22 "Song."
- Aug 29 Tyrtoeus. Ode, to the citizen-soldiers enrolled in the London Horse Association."
- Sep 5 Samuel Lane. "Lines on a Robin Red Breast."
- Sep 5 Marcellus Moonshine. "The Enthusiast;... No. IV.... devoted to wigs." Signed, "M."
- Sep 12 Paul Positive. "The Statesman & His Fool: A Marvellous Tale."
- Sep 19 "Goldfinch and Linnet."
- Sep 26 "Verses by Mr. Sheridan."
- Oct 3 J. R. W. "To Laura."
- Oct 10 "The Swallow and Tortoise."
- Oct 17 "October."
- Oct 17 "The sublimity of Love."
- Oct 24 Corpret. "An Invocation to Contentment."
- Oct 31 B—. "To Integrity." [N.B. the *Iris* is here dated wrongly as Oct 24].
- Oct 31 "To Maria. Leeds, October 28."
- Nov 7 Obeltoh. "Stanzas Dedicated to Doctor Browne."
- Nov 14 Tomaz. "Sonnet written near the barracks. Bromsgrove, Nov. 10"
- Nov 21 Philidor. "To Cleora."
- Nov 28 Captain Morris. "Lines addressed to the Society for a Literary Fund, by the elder."
- Dec 5 "Paul Positive." "Verses ... by the Visit of Thomas Hardy ... to the Grave of his Wife."
- Dec 12 Britannicus. "Verses, dedicated to the Right Hon. Thomas Erskine, on his defence of Mess. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall."
- Dec 19 A— S—. "Verses inscribed to the Laurifinus."
- Dec 19 "Orders to my Porter. (From the French)."

- Jan 2 J. M. G. "Hymn, in memory of the acquittal of T. Hardy, J. Horne Tooke, J. Thelwall, &c. Tried upon a charge of High Treason. Sung at a Public Meeting of the Constitutional Society of Sheffield, Dec. 29, 1794."
- Jan 2 "Stanzas for Christmas Day."
- Jan 9 H. J. Pye, Poet Laureate. "Ode for the New Year."
- Jan 16 —A —S. "Lines addressed to Mr. Erskine ... Attercliffe, Jan. 6."
- Jan 16 "Impromptu, on reading Serjeant Adair's assertion at the Trial of Thelwall: 'Saith John to his wife, "My dear joy and my life..." cf. *Sheffield* editorial.
- Jan 23 "Monody on the late Josiah Wedgwood ... Henley, Jan. 7, 1795."
- Jan 30 Mr. Holcroft. "Gaffer Gray."
- Feb 6 —A —S. "Sonnet to Eloquence, inscribed to Mr. Vaughan. Attercliffe, Jan. 26, 1795."
- Feb 6 "Epitaph, on Paul Fuller and Peter Potter,... Shrewsbury Church-yard."
- Feb 13 Paul Positive. "...to a Robin Redbreast, who visits the Window of my Prison every Day."
- Feb 13 —A —S. "Lines, written during Mrs. Fell's funeral.... Attercliffe, Feb. 6, 1795."
- Feb 20 "Songs from Andrew's Mysteries of the Castle."
- Feb 27 "A Winter's Reflection."
- Feb 27 "The Dutch and the chief General who subdued them."
- Feb 27 Marcellus Moonshine. "The Enthusiast;... No. V. York Castle, Feb. 14, 1795." "M."
- Mar 6 Peter Pindar. "An Insupportable Apology for Variety, and a laugh at that most respectable State, Matrimony. By that arch Way, Pindar. Ode."
- Mar 6 "To Chloe from the same pen."
- Mar 6 Marcellus Moonshine. "The Enthusiast;... No. VI. York Castle, Feb. 28, 1795." "M."
- Mar 13 Paul Positive. "Moonlight,... Castle of York, March 7, 1795."
- Mar 13 "Lines addressed to the elegant Translator of the Ghost Seer."
- Mar 20 Alexis. "Spring,... Bridlington, Feb. 20, 1795."
- Mar 20 P. P. "To Signora Banti."
- Mar 27 "Sonnet. Occasioned by a Gentleman's assertion that Friendship was but a name."
- Mar 27 Squib. "Impromptu. On the Project of Prohibiting the use of Hair Powder."
- Apr 3 J. M. G. "To Celia,... Castle of York, March 7, 1795."
- Apr 10 "Contradiction ... in a woman the gift is not at all uncommon."
- Apr 17 Amanuensis. "Addressed to Mr. Montgomery..., *Sheffield*, April 9th, 1795."
- Apr 24 "Lines about the Transportation of Messrs. Palmer and Muir to Botany Bay, &c."
- May 1 B. "Song."
- May 1 Manlius. "A Dream."
- May 8 Marcellina. "To my Butterfly."
- May 15 Alexis. "Canzonet."
- May 22 Bion. "The Retreat,... *Sheffield*, May 15."

May 29 Peter Pindar. "Ode to Health."

May 29 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. I." Signed, "X."

June 5 Penserosos. "Sonnet, on climbing some rocks in Derbyshire."

June 5 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. II." Signed, "Q."

June 12 Henry James Pye. "Ode on his Majesty's Birth-day."

June 12 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. III." Signed, "S."

June 19 "Christian Admonition. A Tale ... doubts of priestly zeal ... Cambridge."

June 19 "Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. IV." Signed, "Q."

June 26 "Amusement." — a democratic tone.

June 26 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. V." Signed, "Q."

July 3 "The Sweet Neglect. Written by Ben Jonson — 1609."

July 3 Brush. "Epigram on a Mull and to Bull ... Birmingham."

July 10 Verax. "Invocation to War ... *Sheffield*, July 6, 1795"

July 10 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. VI." Signed, "V."

July 17 Peter Pindar. "The Young Fly and the Old Spider."

July 17 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. VII." Signed, "V."

July 24 G. "A Lover's Rhapsody."

July 31 G. "Conclusion of A Lover's Rhapsody."

July 31 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. VIII."

Aug 7 Mirabile! Medicus Sum. "Ode to Health."

Aug 7 Pretender or King; seditious toast of 1745: cf. in "Sheffield."

Aug 7 "God be in my bed ...", 1533, cf. in "Sheffield."

Aug 14 W. Cowper. "The Dog and the Water-Lily."

Aug 14 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. IX." Signed, "Q."

Aug 21 Clara. "Henry's Grave."

Aug 28 W. Cooper. "The Rose."

Aug 28 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. X." Signed, "Z."

Sep 4 "Friendship,... *Sheffield*, August 30."

Sep 4 "The Butcher and Hog.... Sedition makes you squall."

Sep 11 —A —S. "Sonnet... lurks the fiend Despair."

Sep 18 Hayley's epitaph to Collins in *Sheffield*.

Sep 18 Penseroso. "Sonnet."

Sep 25 R—. "Lines to the Author of a Sonnet on Friendship, which appeared in the Iris..."

Sep 25 Teague's Sort. "The National Debt or Rev. Dr. Tatham's Consolation for John Bull."

Sep 25 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. XI." Signed, "Q."

Oct 2 "A Hymn written by a Military Chaplain ... sweetly y let us sing to the God of War."

Oct 2 "The Wounded Thrush."

Oct 2 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. XII." Signed, "Q."

- Oct 9 "Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey", in "Sheffield."
- Oct 9 Dr. Byrom, "Bone and Skin, two Millers thin....", in *Sheffield*.
- Oct 9 Theodore Dwight. Student of Law, Connecticut. "Picture of African Distress."
- Oct 16 Clara. "Sonnet, on the approach of Autumn."
- Oct 23 M. "Song. Possess of the girl I adore."
- Oct 23 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. XIII."
- Oct 30 Saphonetta. "To a Fly."
- Oct 30 Gabriel Silvertongue. "The Whisperer;... No. XII continued." Signed, "Q."
- Nov 6 Paul Positive. "Hymn. Appointed to be sung on occasion of laying the Foundation Stone of a Corn Mill, to be erected for the purpose of supplying the Members of Forty-three Sick Clubs, in Sheffield, with Flour and Meal at reasonable prices. November 5, 1795."
- Nov 13 E. H. "The Quixotic Expedition; or the Knight of the Windmill" in Normandy.
- Nov 20 "Cultivation of Wastes." Anti-war piece.
- Dec 25 Albano. "Effusion." Gentle allusions to lost freedoms.

1796

- Jan 1 Robert Blair. "Verses occasioned by the tolling of a Passing-Bell."
- Jan 1 William Newton. "With the dead Acasto lies"
- Jan 15 Mrs. Piozzi. "Female Fascination."
- Jan 22 Leonard. "Elegy. Oh Sheath the Sword..."
- Jan 29 Henry James Pye. "Ode for the New Year, 1796."
- Feb 5 Helen Maria Williams. "On the death of the Reverend Doctor Kippis."
- Feb 12 Robert Southey. "Death of a Common Soldier" extract from "Joan of Arc."
- Feb 19 Paul Positive. "The Captive Nightingale... Castle of York, Feb. 12, 1796."
- Mar 11 "Lamentation of Kosciusko."
- Mar 18 "To a young lady, with a poem on the French Revolution."
- Apr 8 Paul Positive. "Soliloquy of a Water Wagtail on the walls of York Castle."
- Apr 8 Miss Seward. "To Time Past."
- Apr 15 Yenda. "A Lark fed her nestlings."

Note, most issues between these dates are not microfilmed.

- June 17 Paul Positive. "The Pleasures of Imprisonment ... Castle of York, June 13, 1796."
- June 17 "On seeing Dr. Katterfelto's ... Solar Microscope", in *Sheffield*.
- June 24 Paul Positive. "The Pleasures of Imprisonment: The Second Epistle to a Friend ... Castle of York, June 14, 1796."
- July 1 Poem to Katterfelto's Grand Exhibition in *Sheffield*.
- July 1 Mr. Sheridan. "Lines on the death of a British officer."

July 15 A—. "Ode ... Lark ... too happy ye, who feel no Tyrant's wound!. ... *Sheffield*, July 13."
 July 22 "Sonnet to Fashion ... Tyrant of Pomp and Noise" — a veiled reform song.
 July 29 Poem by Dr. Katterfelto given at Chesterfield: 'Ye curious Britons! in *Sheffield*.
 July 29 Paul Positive. "A Tale too True ... Scarborough, July 23, 1796."
 Aug 5 "Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogine."
 Aug 12 Britannicus. "Lines written under a beautiful Print of Alfred the Great."
 Aug 19 Hatem Tai. "Verses on Avarice; translated from the original Arabic."
 Aug 19 "His ship beyond description lies", of Dr. Katterfelto, in *Sheffield*.
 Aug 26 L—. "The Commissioner ... mock monarchs deign to grace our street ... Edinburgh."
 Sep 2 Robert Burns. "On seeing a wounded hare limp by."
 Sep 2 "The Contented Couple."
 Sep 9 "The Shepherd's Wife's Song. Written at the beginning of the last Century."
 Sep 16 M. "Irish Drinking Song, suitable for a Christening, a Wedding or a Funeral... Sep 14"
 Sep 23 Robert Burns. "Address to the Bard, by his native Muse. Extracted from a Vision a Poem."
 Oct 7 Paul Positive. "On seeing the feathers of a Linnet... *Sheffield*, October 3, 1796."
 Oct 14 Robert Burns. "To Ruin."
 Oct 28 Paul Positive. "On plucking a Wild Rose, late in the month of October."
 Nov 4 "New and infallible Mode of Converting a Jew to Christianity,"
 Nov 11 Helen Maria Williams. "Sonnet to the Curlew."
 Nov 18 "On the death of Politian."
 Nov 25 Mr. Holcroft. "The Flower Girl."
 Nov 25 "Epigram. Jane kiss'd her husband, with these words..."
 Dec 2 Robert Burns. "Song."
 Dec 9 Mr. Fitzgerald. "Mrs. Crespigney's Grotto."
 Dec 9 "Epitaph on a Tomb-stone in Essex ... the wife wore the breeches."
 Dec 16 Peter Pindar. "Lines on Miss Craunch. From an unpublished manuscript."
 Dec 30 A Snarler in Love. "To Laura ... *Sheffield*, Dec. 19, 1794."

1797 Note, some issues are not microfilmed.

Jan 6 "Content. Dear Sam ... you ask me what system of life, I should choose."
 Jan 13 "Song, from the new Opera of the Honeymoon, Sir George."
 Jan 20 Obeltoh. "Must war again his brazen clarion blow?"
 Jan 27 H. J. Pye. "Ode for the New Year, 1797."
 Feb 3 X. X. X. "Epitaph on the Right Hon. Lady Raneliffe."
 Feb 10 A Druid. "The Death of the Empress of Russia."
 Feb 17 "War — an ode. Delirunt Reges!"
 Feb 24 Paul Positive. "The Fox and the Lion;* A Fable... *Sheffield*, February 22, 1797. *The subject is partly borrowed from the French of La Motte."

Mar 3 "An Italian Song."

Mar 17 "March, an Ode."

Apr 7 "Ode to his most excellent majesty King Bladud, of Bath: Britannia on the brink"

Apr 14 "There is an old play of King John, a speech of him ... which seems wonderfully applicable to many modern men. 'Methinks I see a catalogue of sins'."

May 5 "Verses to Mary."

May 12 Acalus. "To the memory of Mrs. Metcalfe, of Birmingham ... Sheffield, Apr. 19, 1797."

May 19 "Ode to Health. On the late Appearance of the Spring."

May 26 Cowper. "The Newspaper. (From Cowper's Talk)."

June 9 "Grasso. Written at Rome in 1780."

June 16 Henry James Pye. "Ode for his Majesty's Birthday, 1797."

June 23 "Pity the Poor Africans."

June 30 M. G. Lewis. "Giles Jollup the Knave, and Brown Sally Green, A Romance."

July 7 Robert Burns. "Song.... From thee, Eliza! I must go."

July 14 "Content."

July 21 "Love Letter, supposed to be written by a modern philosopher."

July 28 Dr. Glyn. "Song." to 'Kitty.'

Aug 4 "Liberty... hardened Britons plough the waves... make their fellow-mortals slaves!"

Aug 11 William Gifford. "Verses. I wish I was where Anna lies."

Aug 18 W. Gifford. "To a Tuft of early Violets."

Aug 25 R. Southey. "Inscription on a column at Newbury. Art thou a patriot traveller?"

Sep 1 "Love verses. Now published from a manuscript of Mrs Gray by Dr. Warton."

Sep 8 Alexis. "On setting at liberty a butterfly, fluttering against my window."

Sep 15 "Verses sent to a lady with a prize carnation. From ... 'English Lyrics.'"

Sep 22 Samuel Rogers. "A Wish."

Sep 29 "To a rose bush planted by a deceased friend."

Oct 6 "Hymn, sung by the Original United Lodge of Odd Fellows, on the occasion of the opening of the Sheffield General Infirmary. Tune— "The Hundredth Psalm." [JM?].

Oct 6 "Lines written for the Blind Asylum at Liverpool.

Oct 13 "Song from Axemia."

Oct 20 M. F. "On Benevolence ... October 16, 1797."

Oct 27 "Country Life.

Nov 17 O——. "Lines written during a walk near the Infirmary...Nov. 8, 1797."

Nov 24 Robert Southey. "Hannah a plaintive tale."

Dec 1 P. P. "Epilogue spoken by Mrs Taylor at the Theatre, Sheffield, after the comedy of The Wonder, performed for the benefit of the General Infirmary, on Monday, Nov. 27, 1797."

Dec 8 "Sonnets attempted in the manner of Contemporary Writers. To Simplicity."

Dec 8 Nehemiah Higginbottom. "On a ruined house in a romantic country."

Dec 15 "The Sparrow and Diamond. A Song."
 Dec 22 W. Heald. "Translation from Casimir. Book II."
 Dec 29 Viator. "On a celebrated Belle's retirement to a cottage in Warwickshire."

1798 Note, many poems are illegible through poor microfilm quality, and titles only are listed.

Jan 5 W. Cowper. "Verses written at the close of the year."
 Jan 19 "A New Song, sung at the Original United Lodge of Odd Fellows.
 Jan 26 Henry James Pye. "Ode for the New Year."
 Feb 2 A Parish Clerk. "The Siege of the Cottage: A grand display of modern heroism. Most humbly dedicated to the belligerent powers of Europe, by a parish clerk. Part I."
 Feb 9 A Parish Clerk. "The Siege of the Cottage. Part II."
 Feb 16 "Stanzas from Mrs Robinson's 'Walsingham'."
 Feb 23 Paul Positive. "Norvan and Nila."
 Mar 2 "A Thought."
 Mar 9 Edward Hamley, Fellow of New College, Oxford. "An Inscription."
 Mar 16 "Mrs. Robinson."
 Mar 23 Rev. T. Crabbe. "Description of a parish poor house."
 Mar 30 "The Faithful Friend."
 Apr 6 "Lines on the River Derwent.... In imitation of Petrarch."
 Apr 13 Thorus. "A Blush."
 Apr 20 W. Cowper. "The Death of Mrs. Throckmorton's Bullfinch."
 Apr 27 "Human Life."
 May 4 "To a Fountain."
 May 11 "Verses to a friend on his marriage by the author of 'The Pleasures of Memory.'"
 May 25 William Cowper. "The Cricket."
 June 1 "She never thinks of war."
 June 8 "Henry's Tomb."
 June 15 Henry James Pye. "Ode on his Majesty's birth-day, 1798."
 June 22 Paul Positive. "A True Story."
 June 29 "The Adieu."
 July 6 S. T. R. "The Humble Petition of the Whales to Neptune."
 July 13 P. P. "Hymn...Original United Lodge of Odd Fellows...July 9."
 July 27 "The Debtor."
 Aug 10 "To a Violet."
 Aug 24 "Address delivered at the Liverpool Theatre by Mr. Holman...Benefit given for the children of Mr. Palmer, written by Mr. Roscoe."
 Sep 21 "Inscription on a gate near the River Mersey."
 Oct 5 "Song."

Oct 12 Mr. Sterne. "Composition."
 Oct 19 "Fable."
 Nov 2 Henry James Pye. "Prologue to Henry IV. Part I."
 Nov 9 Paul Positive. "The Treasure. A Fable."
 Nov 16 Henry James Pye. "Elegy."
 Nov 23 "Verses written by a young lady...deserted by her lover."
 Dec 7 Charlotte Smith. "Apostrophe to an old tree."

1799

Jan 4 "Dumfries."
 Jan 18 "A Beggar's Dog."
 Jan 25 Peter Pindar. "Gorin's Profession."
 Feb 1 Henry James Pye. "Ode for the new year."
 Feb 15 Governor Ellis. "Stanzas written at Pisa."
 Feb 15 M. "Marion."
 Mar 8 William Beckford. "The Storm.; The Calm."
 Mar 15 Robert Southey. "On a Golden Cup."
 Mar 22 "To the Memory of a Friend. From Drake's Literary Hours."
 Mar 29 "Occasional Address, spoken at the Theatre, Sheffield.... Benefit of Mr. Foley."
 Apr 5 Robert Southey. "Jaspar."
 Apr 12 A Humming Bird. "Remonstrance to Winter."
 Apr 19 "An imitation of modern poetry. 'Joseph', an attempt at simplicity."
 Apr 26 "Invocation to Mothers, on suckling their own children. (From Roscoe's Nurse)."
 May 3 M. M. "Meditations on the Income Bill."
 May 10 "On seeing some bees at work."
 May 17 "A Negro Song. from *Park's Travels*. Versified by her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire."
 May 24 Octavia. "Aurelia and the Spider."
 May 31 Sheridan. "Song in Pizarro; The Reverie."
 June 7 Sheridan. "Prologue to Pizarro."
 June 14 "Lines to a Lady, who had a loose Tooth extracted."
 June 28 "Mrs. Robinson to a gentleman who asked her opinion of a Kiss."
 July 12 "The Dream."
 July 19 John Scott. "Ode occasioned by reading Dr. Akenside's Odes, 1758."
 July 26 Nobody. "Edmond and Ella... Sheffield, July 23, 1799."
 Aug 2 "Ode"
 Aug 9 Peter Pindar. "To our Armies."
 Aug 16 "The Beggar Girl."
 Aug 23 John Scott. "Ode to Fancy."

Aug 30 "On Revisiting Scenes of Early Life."
 Sep 6 "Extract from Campbell's Pleasures of Hope."
 Sep 13 Mr. Grey. "Amatory Ejaculation."
 Sep 27 "The Fall of the Leaf. A Dirge."
 Oct 11 "To a Spider."
 Oct 18 Bryan Edwards. "The Death of Alico.... Slave condemned for rebellion."
 Oct 25 Martha Lee, aged 12. "The Following Lines" submitted by "E..... G....."
 Nov 1 "Scottish Poetry.... James Thomson."
 Nov 8 "Song. Billy Moor. From Mr Harley's Volume of Ballad stories, sonnets, etc."
 Nov 15 "On the ruins of Rosline Castle."
 Nov 29 "Hope. From Campbell's Pleasures of Hope."
 Dec 6 "The Address of the Fairies."
 Dec 13 Paul Positive. "The Loss of the Locks. A Siberian Tale. Canto I."
 Dec 20 Paul Positive. "The Loss of the Locks. A Siberian Tale. Canto II."
 Dec 27 Paul Positive. "The Loss of the Locks. A Siberian Tale. Canto III."

1800

Jan 3 "To a Lady with an Almanack and Prayer Book."
 Jan 10 "The Connoisseur."
 Jan 17 "Poetical Repository. A Lapland Ode." NOTE move to top right for this issue only
 Feb 7 Robinson. "The Singing Dame."
 Mar 7 "The Fairy Gift."
 Mar 28 "The Counterfeit Shilling."
 Apr 4 "To a young lady, studious of Botany."
 Apr 11 "Occasional Address, spoken at the Theatre, Sheffield, on Monday, April 7, 1800."
 Apr 18 "The Harper."
 May 1 Note: the *Iris* changes from a Friday to a Thursday with this issue.
 May 1 "To a Lady who refused to accept of a knife."
 May 8 G. "The Despotism of Love."
 May 15 "To the Memory of a Deceased Friend."
 May 22 Mr. Roscoe. "Sonnet."
 May 29 Dr. Darwin. "Address to the Swilcar Oak."
 June 5 "To Charity."
 June 12 Henry James Pye. "Ode for his Majesty's birth day, 1800."
 June 12 Cinara. "Retirement."
 June 19 "On reading the Verses, entitled, "The Resignation.""
 June 26 Captain Morris. "Ancreontic Song."
 July 3 Peter Pindar. "To General Kosciusko."
 July 10 "Tit for Tat.... The Farmer and the Old Woman."

July 31 William Roscoe. "Elegy on ... Burns."
Aug 7 Miss Seward. "Pastoral Ballad."
Aug 14 "Sung at the Tontine Inn 5th August.... Rev. James Wilkinson's Birth Day. To friendship
and virtue this day consecrate."
Aug 21 Bloomfield. "Neighbourly Resolution."
Aug 28 T. Campbell. "The Beech Tree's Petition."
Sep 4 Robert Burns. "The Vision."
Sep 11 "Ancient Poetry."
Sep 18 "A Fragment addressed to James Currie on his Edition of the Works of Burns."
Sep 25 "The Hamlet."
Oct 2 "Autumn — An Ode."
Oct 9 R. Bloomfield. "Respecting the place of my nativity."
Oct 16 "Lucy."
Nov 13 C. B. "The Question. Whether man from nothing came, or hath never had a cause"
Nov 20 J. Y. "The Suffering Peasant."
Nov 27 William Cowper. "The Poplars."
Dec 4 G. D. Harley, Comedian. "The Shed."
Dec 11 "A Fable."
Dec 18 Clericus. "The Prebendary and the Curate."
Dec 25 R. Burns. "The Soldier's Return."

1794

- July 4 "The Editors ... assure the Public.... To render it worthy of their patronage."
- July 11 "Music Festival", pro-military comment. Inaccurate French reports of British ships taken. "Disgraceful" Nottingham riots. US Independence celebrations at Hull. Ironical comment on misleading maps; Italian Optician's 'truth and false' glass invention.
- July 18 "Right of Opinion!!!... Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius ... France ... Allies.... Have not the Alarmists a right to believe, that Eight Million Pikes have been forged in Sheffield, because half a dozen have been found there?... Manchester, Birmingham and Nottingham mobs. Truth and Justice." "The celebrated Henry Yorke.... To York Castle on a charge of Sedition." "An honest farmer," anti-French satire.
- July 25 Leith man refused bail for reading the *Iris*! Anti-jacobin comment. American justice.
- Aug 1 Sermons for the benefit of Poor Girls; Girls Charity School. Stygian darkness of Manchester. City Light Horse Assoc. parade in London 'for some purpose that we have no doubt will be hereafter explained'.
- Aug 8 Oaths of allegiance pointless. Henry Yorke's to be tried for 'High Treason'. Eye-witness account of Manchester riot (28 July) 'a disgrace to the boasted police of Manchester.' Mark Bull acquitted at Hull for fatally resisting impressment. 'Silly production' and distribution of *Tree of Liberty* handbills in Leeds. Suspension of Habeas Corpus: JM's naïve confidence in justice. Carlisle: trial for sedition thrown out, it was being used 'to revenge a private quarrel'. A waggish toast 'May all men be made Peers.' Paris executions. Anti-war plea. Mrs. Fitzherbert's sinecure pension £6K pa!
- Aug 15 York assizes: Geo. Thomson acquitted for 'distributing a seditious pamphlet, entitled "a Serious Lecture for the Fast Day." A military assoc ... for the suppression of jacobins and levellers.'
- Aug 22 JM pleased with prayer of Rev. J. Wilkinson at Volunteer parade, and recommends it to 'the true friends of Peace, Reform, and Constitutional Freedom.' Lord Chancellor rules that the Bible maybe printed by anyone not just those claiming exclusive rights. Dr. Johnson on Habeas Corpus.
- Aug 29 W. Gales sails to join J. G. Quaker emigration to America; quote from Dr. Johnson.
- Sep 5 First anniversary of laying the foundation stone of the General Infirmary. Two men arrested without trial released. Two youths in a near fatal fight over a song 'Tom Paine'. Mr. Cooper of Manchester emigrates to America. Printer, Phillips of Leicester released from prison. Mass emigrations at Liverpool. Priestley viewed in America as Franklin's 'intellectual heir'. Philadelphia anti-war letter. Edinburgh: Watt and Downie arraigned for seditious Conventions. 'Game Laws' - man imprisoned 12 years for shooting a hare on his own property. Anonymous political pamphleteer defending himself against democracy. Anglican religious fanaticism.

- Sep 12 Stabbing of citizen by a soldier. Watt and Downie sentenced to be hung, drawn and Quartered. “gothic and feudal barbarity.” Edinburgh: medical student Mr. Stoke arraigned for high treason because he “began to *prescribe* for the Constitution .” Emigrations, ‘alarming’. “this is the age of Reason” attacks upon Christianity will fail. Walter Martin rat catcher to Parliament 1711; JM’s wish that he was still alive to catch the “Rats which have been nibbling our Constitution.”
- Sep 19 Cumberland moves for a peace petition. Wyvill publication of “a Collection of important Political Papers.” Dunn’s conviction a warning against the “power patronage can bestow.” Extract from Phillips of Leicester. Watt exposed as a State spy and informer: “dead men tell no lies.” “English liberty” encourages truthful men to hang or be transported. The “unfeeling bachelor Mr. Pitt.” uncaring of thousands of single women due to the war. Warrant for Edmund Stock for High Treason issued at Edinburgh. ‘Swinish multitude’ complaining of ‘poverty’ due to war. Sugar monopoly cause of high prices.
- Sep 26 Christian charity not crusades (Charlemagne). SPCK schools in Highland Scotland. Women enlisting. Ipswich clergyman call to arm the clergy. “Journeymen Stocking Manufacturers at Nottingham, have formed an Association for the purpose of obtaining an advance of wages. “ French dentist of York expelled under ‘Alien Bill’ commits suicide. A ‘constitutional’ bear. Scottish oath of kings. Sanctuary in St. Peter’s Westminster; Edward the Confessor’s oath of sanctuary.
- Oct 3 “Another year of troubles and disasters, now enters upon its last quarter... Like some savage monster of the Desarts of Lybia.” H. Yorke’s forthcoming trial. Recruiting sergeant in Essex promising gold dust. “Notice from the Mayor of a Corporated Town” arrests three ‘Jackobin’ parsons. Fighting in a carriage between Greenwich and London over Tom Paine.
- Oct 10 Methodist Benevolent Society. Sheffield Volunteers accidental shooting; JM call for peace. Empress of Russia waxing strong. Dukes of Bedford and Grafton to propose a ‘Motion for Peace.’
- Oct 17 JAMES MONTGOMERY bailed for publishing a libellous ‘Patriotic Song’. Thomas Muir reportedly dies en-route to Botany Bay. Jacobin and Jacobite terms confused by the ‘working people’. Persecution of constitutional reformers — JM’s indignation. “When loyalty degenerates into *ruffianism*.” Military Anecdote... How many ... I may have killed today for Six-pence.” Erasmus and the cost of war versus the cost of peace.
- Oct 24 JAMES MONTGOMERY’S appeal to the public to suspend judgment before his trial in January. Compositor wanted immediately. “*More Sedition at Manchester*”, pigs led by candlelight. Robert Watt executed at Edinburgh for high treason, Downie delayed. Cowper’s insanity, £200 pension.
- Oct 31 William Russell captured then released by French en-route to emigrate to America. Report of Hardy trial. Woodbridge Quarter Sessions, James Howard for an assault on Thomas Paine. West Indies slave loses her front teeth to a planter’s wife. Misreport of popgun assassination

- attempt on Geo. III. 'To Correspondents', a defence of the *Iris*.
- Nov 7 Hardy's trial. 'Irish' humour at foolish attempts of British 'Peace-mongers'. Unverified reports of the death of Muir on ship. Oldham female benefit society: "no more than *three* Ladies shall be allowed to speak at once! Dundas and Pitt anecdotes. 'The liberty of the Press in Paris'.
- Nov 14 Smallpox vaccination enjoined. Hardy's trial. Loyalty a cloak for the temporising.
- Nov 21 Theatrical review of 'The Jew' and the 'Maids of the Oaks'. Priestley in America, warm welcome. Celebrations at Nottingham and Norwich on Hardy's acquittal. Contrast with Muir and Palmer's treatment under Scots justice. Hardy taken to an gentry birth! Margarot letter of mutiny plot on ship.
- Nov 28 Celebrations for Hardy and Tooke at Sheffield, at the 'Bull, in the Wicker' with many toasts. 'Liberty' becomes synonymous with 'Jacobin'. In praise of lawyers in late trials. Threatening letter to a reformer at Liverpool, and JM's response. Acquittal of Hardy and Tooke will lessen internal alarms.
- Dec 5 Friend refused reinstatement at Cambridge Univ. JM's call for reconciliation between prosecutors and patriots. "The Old Woman of the St. Giles's Chronicle, complains..." publishing 'things that never happened.' "Reform", renovations in Parliament house! Gunpowder invented by a Friar, Printing discovered by a soldier! "To Correspondents", *Iris* not being received in distant parts, exclusion of an article on the War, which might prejudice readers against JM for 'levelling' tendencies.
- Dec 12 Celebrations of Thelwall's acquittal; JM's increased confidence in the judicial system! Female recruit arrested. Dismay at French captures of merchant ships. "To our correspondents",
- Dec 19 JM's delight at acquittals of Broomhead and his defence of Reform. David Downie delay of execution at Edinburgh. Betting on Hardy/Tooke trial. Graveyard humour at Macclesfield. Accounts of Priestley's good health and spirits in America, elected Prof. of Chemistry at Philadelphia college.

1795

- Jan 2 Sheffield celebrations of Hardy, J. MONTGOMERY'S HYMN: JM's long account.
- Jan 9 Walter Miller acquitted reformer welcomed home at Perth; his address. Reformer Mr. Saint of Norwich welcomed home. York reps. vote to end war; JM's call to the King. Fear of food shortages in London. Anti-papist hymn on Nov. 5 by a parish clerk.
- Jan 16 Notice of J. MONTGOMERY'S forthcoming trial, and his claim of innocence. Burke and Bishop Porteus contrasted in their view of the masses. Frederic late King of Prussia and Dr. Franklin; contrasting views on 'Liberty.' "Impromptu, on reading Serjeant Adair's assertion at the Trial of Thelwall... 'Saith John to his wife, "My dear joy and my life..." J. MONTGOMERY? "To Correspondents... P. P. is ... not ... free from *corroding griefs* and *anxious fears*."

James Montgomery on trial at Doncaster and transferred to York castle.

- Jan 23 "The Trial of Mr. JAMES MONTGOMERY, Editor of the *Iris*." Decline of party spirit in Manchester pubs. Petition of 'Freemen of Carlisle' for peace. 'Swinish multitude' and Milton.
- Jan 30 Trial report of J. Montgomery.
- Feb 6 Letter from JAMES MONTGOMERY at the Castle of York, Jan. 25, 1795. Celebrations of the 'late Trials by Jury by dining at the Crown and Anchor, and in Sheffield at the Crown and Anchor, Fargate. Toasts. Peace petitions from Durham; Hull.
- Feb 20 "A curious prophecy" about France, war, Messianic kingdom.
- Feb 27 Influenza and prophecies of prophets/esses incl. Richard Brothers are nonsense. Two French emigrants arrested at Southend for taking drawings of fortifications. Counter-petition [for the war?] unsigned at Sunderland.
- Mar 6 Lines on providence. The difference between War and Peace: fathers bury sons. Powder tax lampooned. Reasons for war: 'fought first, and reasoned after.' "To Correspondents", reluctance to publish a 'seditious' letter from "Privatus."
- Mar 13 Commending two poems in the 'Bower', incl. one by J. Montgomery. On Brothers's arrest and his deluded offers to some at Sheffield to join his 'Israel'. Aberystwyth and Narberth food disturbances. Marat's bones removed from the Pantheon.
- Mar 20 Dissent with the anti-Sunday school letter of "Oxoniensis." The confusions of Brothers. "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in York Castle to a friend in Sheffield"; update on JAMES MONTGOMERY. Richard Brothers's claim to be 'God's nephew.' Uckfield — no relief to poor who own dogs. Eulogy on the warlike William Pitt the elder.
- Mar 27 Invitation for articles for "the cultivation and improvement of the understanding, and...the amelioration of the manners and morals." 'Celia's' letter to JM mentioned. Awaiting news of Yorke's trial and the SCS witnesses. Vaughan at York, Erskine at Stafford. "To Correspondents", various correspondents mentioned incl. "Amanuensis" whose letter is declined as "it relates to party politics."
- Apr 3 In praise of self-improvement contra "Oxoniensis." Henry Yorke declines bail and sureties. Voltaire's 'three great evils': famine, plague, war. "To Correspondents." Thanks for letters contra Oxoniensis.
- Apr 10 "'Oxoniensis"... In a very unequal contest." Yorke now 'prisoner at large' in York castle [conversing with JM?]. "To Correspondents." Assurances that letters received will be published.
- Apr 17 Montgomery released and his return awaited. Food riots in other places frowned upon. "To Correspondents": word to "Simon Crab", mathematics.

James Montgomery returned from York castle as editor of the *Iris*:

- Apr 24 "To the Public.... JAMES MONTGOMERY." His disgust at handbills calling for armed food rioting and planting the Tree of Liberty. Sheffield, royal wedding celebrations. 158 newspapers

- in GB. Eulogy on Ireland. Papal Bull for land sales to support the war! "To Correspondents." JM's thanks for letters whilst in prison.
- May 1 Dismay at food riots in various places. "Political Heat — According to Sir Isaac Newton's calculations." "To Correspondents." JM's thanks for various letters.
- May 8 Two Quakers speak to king George III at Windsor about the evils of field sports whilst the masses are starving. Hair powder certificates. Food riots frowned upon.
- May 15 "A marvellous Prophecy! — ... a lamb which has eight legs, four ears and two tails." JM's ironic development, "Are not these extra members prophetic emblems of the town and trade of Sheffield?" Stealing children's clothes; stealing a Bible. "A call. A popular preacher, in Jamaica" challenged by a poor Negro. "To Correspondents", esp. "Sheffieldiensis."
- May 22 "York Courant", eight Quakers imprisoned for non-payment of tithes to the Vicar of Carlton. Man falsely accused of murder: "another...instance of the danger of admitting circumstantial evidence." Flour riot at Sudbury and petition to parliament on pricing. Puppets singing "God save the King" over the body of Tom Paine, at Bolton. "To Correspondents", excellent replies to Oxoniensis; notice of the forthcoming inclusion of the first part of *The Whisperer* by *Gabriel Silvertongue*.
- May 29 Outbreak of fighting between God's children [JM]. Letter from America praising its system of politics. 'Strange' letter to the Lord Chancellor by Halhed in defence of Brothers. Unhappiness at troops being barracked at Sunderland and Norwich. Poor relief in Ecclesall Bierlow. Pindar's *Hair Powder*, Humorous account of a corporation debate to fast, overturned.
- June 5 Famine report from an English man at Paris. Trowbridge food riot. "amusing nonsense from the pamphlet of Mr. Geo. Coggan... in support of the prophetic Mission of Mr. Richard Brothers."
- June 12 Cavalry reviewed on Brindsworth Common — JM would prefer peace. "Curtois's well-drawn description of the last days of Robespierre."
- June 19 Bishop of Ely's charge to his clergy to be careful of 'Popish errors.'
- June 26 "Parliamentary Bon Mot..." On 'draining the country' by Prussia and Germany!
- July 3 "Partnership Dissolved... J. Montgomery, Benj. Naylor... June 27, 1795."
On charity schools. Church and King mob at Birmingham. Letter, America, land of liberty.
- July 10 Hopes for the proposed French Constitution and peace. Hair Powder caricatures. "Women says Rousseau have an extreme flexibility and fluency of tongue; they talk a great deal."
- July 17 Notice of impending trial of Henry Yorke (mention of Gales and Davidson). Divine vengeance on W. Indies slave traders.
- July 24 Trial of Yorke begun. "our truly respectable" Vicar Wilkinson supports Corn relief.
- July 31 "Ingenious defence..." No king, we want no king."
- Aug 7 Bystanders injured and killed by soldiers led by R. A. Athorpe, Col. of the Volunteers.
Constitutional Society petition meeting. Seditious Royal toast from 1745. Various religious anecdotes and a poem. "To Correspondents", "Anonymous Slanderers... requested to pay

postage.”

- Aug 14 Montgomery’s defence of publishing an account of the late disturbance. Report of Constitutional Society meeting including toasts at the evening meal to “Mr. Gales and Family” and “Liberty.” Reply to the *Sheffield Courant*. “Justifiable Homicide” verdict on two men killed by the Volunteers. Food disturbances at Castleford. James Kennedy, associate of Watt, Downie, etc., taken prisoner at Edinburgh. Food disturbance at Bath. Sermon text for Ministers during a food shortage. Law concerning riots. “To Correspondents.... Fragmaticus. ... it is dangerous to play with edge tools.”
- Aug 21 Tribute to the Corn Committee. To “B” of the *Sheffield Courant* for his slanders of JM. Benevolent Society. “Billy’s Budget” by a ‘facetious wag at Chester.’ “Merry Andrew” on John Bull’s disorder. Pleasure at peace amongst the people of Manchester. Derbyshire colliers seeking wheat at reduced prices. Fracas at Durham because man refused to take of his hat during “God save the King.”
- Aug 28 To “Mr. B” of the *Sheffield Courant*. Local celebrations of price of Corn. Riots at Halifax. “New species of Fraud” — using purchased sermons. Peace petition in Northumberland.
- Sep 4 “Mr. B.” has left Sheffield. Attack by the editor of the *Sheffield Courant*. Forthcoming Yorke trial account. Villainy of farmers hoarding grain and selling at inflated prices. “Military Eloquence”, hair powder used for Yorkshire puddings. Coventry candidate, Mr. Bird. standing on Peace platform. Women must be ‘angels’. “To Correspondents.”
- Sep 11 Good harvest but still at war: three million deaths in three years, “before the shrine of ambition!” Gloucestershire clergyman’s bequest to support six poor curates or their widows. British ambassador, Lord Macartney’s hasty retreat from Prussia, “somewhat familiar to more exalted characters.” Woman tried in London for singing and selling seditious ballads: “Billy’s crop sick of the War!” Stocking apprentices wearing iron collars: “What will Mr. Wilberforce...say.” Irish poverty.
- Sep 18 Manchester court case concerning election of church wardens and poor rates controversy. Parliament to sit in November to grant further war funds — 50M. in one year! Venison is so plentiful that town corporations eat so much they grow horns! Chester curate living in poverty in a rich parish! Monument to the late poet Collins by Flaxman with epitaph by Hayley.
- Sep 25 Sarcastic comment on sitting of Parliament for its ‘last will and testament’. Duke of Norfolk climbing a spire in Newcastle: ‘exalted personage’. Suggestion of relieving farmers of tithes to promote grain availability. “The Delights of War”, Commons request to Q. Anne for money to shorten war. Cromwell returning from Ireland anecdote, “a great many more would come to see me hanged.” Chevalier Charette’s congratulatory address to King Geo. at slaughter in the Vendee! “A Dictionary of Titles, Terms, and Phrases. Anti-monarchical principles; Anti-monarchical men; Hereditary right”; Men of republican principles; Schismatics. Extract from pacific ‘Brown’s Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.’
- Oct 2 Yorkshire MPs Duncombe and Wilberforce withdraw support for the War. Matthew Brown

arrested in London in connection with the 'Scotch Convention.' Call to public thanksgiving for the Harvest better than fast days for the war. Continuing food disturbances around the country. Ministerial prints accusing the 'Friends of the French' for the food shortages. London moves for taking religion to the heathens. 26M further loans for the massive war debt! Five slave deaths on ship in fight with French privateer. Petition for peace at Monmouth. British hostilities to Dutch shipping, authorising privateers: "we shall not be such *Jacobins* as to reprobate it." Parliament to meet on Nov. 1 to vote even more money to Pitt's pointless war effort. Weights and Measures article from the French Constitution recommended. "Madame Necker" against French divorce laws.

- Oct 9 'Ministerial prints' claim 33M loans from a bank to Pitt, and French ambassadors arrived begging peace! Requests to parliament for more canals submitted; JM approves of increased food distribution thereby. The nation is severe debt to bankers because of Pitt and his "herds of dotards"... poem: "Ill fares the land..." "Women are like the forts of Flanders; some are taken by storm, others sustain a long and dreary siege", two married after 37 year courtship. "Bone and Skin" Byron's epigram. New Dissenters Meeting house at Birmingham to replace the one lost in riot of 1791. "To Correspondents. The Verses of Philo Britannicus are libellous. The Poet should have confined himself to fiction— nothing is so dangerous to be spoken as the TRUTH!"
- Oct 16 Geo. III as Elector of Hanover rumoured to be seeking peace with France! 48M grants given by Britain to allies in one year! Two humorous anecdotes about marriage; and divorce.
- Oct 23 Montgomery charged with libel against R. A. Athorpe, on Bail. Anti-war comment. Creation of twelve Irish peers a distraction from war. "To Correspondents", "when Truth is a Libel the boasted Liberty of the Press is nothing but the empty echo of a name."
- Oct 30 Holcroft's favourite comedy, 'Road to Ruin' at Sheffield theatre. MP Powis recommends 'biting' the French, JM says the poor will have no teeth! Wyvil on the disgrace of the rotten borough of Knaresboro; JM agrees a reform is needed. JM outrage at a prosecution of man 'letting out Newspapers to read' at the Royal Exchange in London. American consul at Algiers [Joel Barlow] writes of treaty. Extract from Franklin's letter on the foolishness of the war. New Taxes rumoured. Poverty amongst the peasantry critical.
- Nov 6 Grenville intimates moves for peace with France once their new constitution is in place. Rumour of a "Convention bill for the prevention of any political meetings.... Whether our Liberties are thus to be stabbed, we know not."
- Nov 13 Lament on the Convention bill and the loss of Liberty of the Press. Laying the foundation stone of the new mill, a report incl. JM's hymn. Henry Yorke, sentence expected. "the gospel which fell from the SUN on Tuesday, November 3": concerning the religious conscience of Charles Middleton and his removal from the Admiralty Board; JM's attack on MPs and Bishops! Address to the King from York Corporation calling for end to the war.
- Nov 20 Congratulatory address to the King from Sheffield Cutler's hall. Open air meeting of the

- 'Friends of the Constitution' with a petition against the Treason, and Convention acts. JM: "the squeamish stomachs of the Swine revolt." Arrest of Francis Ward, a Peruke-maker for noticeboard: "Citizen Ward, Shaver, to the Swinish Multitude."
- Nov 27 Good will towards king, proof against the bills. Sheridan's presentation of Sheffield petition. Nottingham petition. Further local moves to call a meeting to present an address to the king.
- Dec 4 Petition for the Bills for the County of York. Charles Fox counters the arguments of Mr. Grant. Report of public meeting to thank the Duke of Norfolk. "What kind of man is a spy?" The evils of using flour to powder the head when others starve.
- Dec 11 Humorous anecdote of Sheffield petitioner and the *True Briton* no lover of Truth. "A well-known English politician, (the celebrated T. Paine) ... has asserted that this country has no constitution." JM disagrees. "Degrading effect of Slavery." York Freeholders meetings split into two: Wilberforce, pro-bills; Wyvil, anti-bills.
- Dec 18 King to assent to Treason and Convention Bills. Mail coach accident with Henry Yorke en-route to Dorchester prison. Grain ships looted at Mildenhall. "Bishop of Landaff's Charge to the Clergy of his diocese, June 1795."
- Dec 25 "The Treason and Convention Bills." JM recommends patient endurance. Answers charge of lukewarmness in speaking out, against the Bills but also against Anarchy. "Civil War is *National Suicide*: we would rather behold our Country perishing by the merciless sword of Tyranny, than plunging the dagger of discord with her own hand into her own heart." "Whig Club of England.... Thomas Erskine ... Chair": repeal Assoc. formed.

1796

- Jan 1 "a few remarks, which my own situation and the present melancholy condition of our common country seem to justify." "Peter Pindar and The True Briton", attack on Pindar.
- Jan 8 "Manchester, Dec. 4... Constitutional Thinking Club...Constitutional Muzzles at the door." Donations for poor Curates. Dr. Maty on compliments to monarchs in sermons. Fashion tips esp. on feathers. Hair Powder prosecutions. US Constitution extract on freedom of speech and Press. "To Hercules Langrish" MP, anti-war humour.
- Jan 15 Manchester 'Thinking Club' disturbed by sleep. Fashion feathers anecdotes. Newspaper circulation reckoned to be 12M per annum. State trials and execution in Holland by suicide.
- Jan 22 Trial of James Montgomery at Doncaster (Thursday Jan 21), verdict awaited — John Pye Smith editing in the absence of JM. Warning to farmers hoarding grain. Call to end the war. Contrast with USA. Edinburgh, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates election swayed by gagging acts. Extract from Burke on excessive war expenditure.
- Jan 29 "Mr Montgomery's Address to the Public shall appear in the Iris, of next week."
- Feb 5 "To the Public. Strike but hear me!" James Montgomery, York castle, Jan. 30.
- Feb 12 Pleasure at the Whig Club petition.

- Feb 19 The war; Pitt's move for a minimum wage for labourers.
- Mar 11 Reports of death of Abolitionist, Clarkson, incorrect.
- Apr 15 Disappointment at failed peace attempts.
- May 20 Rumour of dissolution of parliament, voters encouraged to vote with conscience.
- June 17 Support for the Missionary Society. Dr. Katterfelto's 'Grand Solar Microscope' and a poem.
Election at Shrewsbury, Sir Richard Hill spent £100,000 in bribes for his son, to no avail.
Wine tax; dog tax.
- June 24 French successes and hopes for peace. Dundas pelted by Edinburgh crowds.
- July 1 Unruly troops in Sheffield. Recruiting disturbances in Nottingham. Poem to Katterfelto.
- July 15 Wage disputes of journeymen cutlers. List of prisoners at York awaiting trial.
- July 22 Dog tax.
- July 29 Poem by Dr. Katterfelto given at Chesterfield: 'Ye curious Britons!

James Montgomery released from York castle prison and returned as editor of the *Iris*.

- Aug 5 "Once more, on emerging from prison, I place myself at the bar of the public."
Dr. Katterfelto's arrival. Hair tax and shooting tax fines; humorous dog licence. Various anecdotes and wry comments on taxes, war, law, hats, bishops. 'Bastille' treatment of Kyd Wake in prison. John Gales Jones, John Binns, Francis Bathurst indicted for 'seditious words' against Treason Bills. Extracts from letters from America.
- Aug 12 'The Christian Society' formed at Leeds to distribute religious material to stem flow of 'Atheism and Infidelity.' David Downie sentenced to suffer with Watt at Edinburgh arrived safe in New York. Men become like worms in being impaled by war! "The New Code of Morality. Improved during every War, and now greatly enlarged, and very nearly perfected by the well known Mr. William Pitt."
- Aug 19 "Summer saw Europe mourning in ashes...weltering in blood." Katterfelto science anecdotes and another poem: "His ship beyond description lies." Naval superiority no cause for relaxation.
- Aug 26 Another poem to Katterfelto. Letter from Baltimore on newspapers. Humorous and Biblical anecdotes re. dog tax. William Pitt's lack of chivalry. The Pope, the French, Tom Paine: "Damn Tom Paine — Damn the French; that's no treason however."
- Sep 2 Magistrates cannot read because of the Sedition Bill! "To Correspondents" re. libel.
- Sep 9 Recommendation of Handel performances— Judas Maccabaeus and Messiah. Sending South Sea missionaries a pleasure. Calls to Englishmen to defend the country against France. "To Correspondents." "Benedict's Love Elegy is dismal."
- Sep 16 Methodist Benevolent Society visitors commended for charity and gospel witness. "Prayer of a Jacobin" from a "Treasury Paper." Rumours of a French invasion groundless. German article in support of Thomas Muir. "To Correspondents" commending "An Admirer of Good Works."
- Sep 23 Account of Musical Festival for the Benevolent Society.

- Sep 30 "MR. GALES." Letter from Philadelphia mentioning his printing business and newspaper. French victories. Loyalist dinners and toasts. Thelwall not allowed to lecture; 'Courant' prints a sneer; JM's response to "an insignificant scribbler of broken English."
- Oct 2 Notice. "In December next, will be published ... PRISON AMUSEMENTS ... PAUL POSITIVE." Quotes from the *Sheffield Courant* ridiculed. Highwayman 'New Brass' transported. Silver cup presented to Sunday school superintendant at Bury. French preparations for an invasion. Ironical comment on elevation of Lord Chatham by W. Pitt. Anecdote of Volney and George Washington. "The following Picture of Human Life, is recommended to the perusal of our readers", on the brevity of life.
- Oct 14 Peace hopes. Fox and Pitt debate; JM's intention to give a greater length than in any other country paper. Luke Palfreyman imprisoned by Athorpe et al. for "disrespectful language in the presence of, and concerning two magistrates." "The Conductor of the Courant" retires from the contest with JM, "like the snail he peeps into daylight, marks his path with slime, then hides himself again in the shell of his insignificance."
- Oct 28 Notice. "In December next, will be published... PRISON AMUSEMENTS... PAUL POSITIVE." War reports. "Burke's Pamphlet on the proposals for Peace "with the Regicide Directory of France"— has been anticipated by a pamphlet with the title of "Thoughts on the Regicide Peace"— which he advertised several months ago, but which he thought proper to withdraw." Hat tax fines.
- Nov 4 Lord Malmesbury's peace talks with France, but King of Spain's threat of war to England. Holcroft's comedy, "The Man in Ten Thousand" at Sheffield theatre. Henry Yorke to publish a defence against Earl Fitzwilliam's attack in the House of Lords. No applicants for role of public executioner in France. Burke sarcastic comment towards British ambassador Lord Malmesbury. Papal humour.
- Nov 11 Capture of the Dutch fleet.
- Nov 18 Washington's farewell. Rumours of violence in Ireland. Objections to military 'call-up' lists. Cromwell anecdote. Epitaph in Jamaica of an earthquake survivor, swallowed then regurgitated into the sea. "To Correspondents" incl. "Billy O'Blunder."
- Nov 25 JM's indignation at use of child chimney sweeps [early mention by Montgomery].
- Dec 2 Man who shouted "Treason" in House of Commons gallery prosecuted.
- Dec 9 "All wars have been ruinous and bloody."
- Dec 16 Sheridan's masterpiece 'The School for Scandal.'
- Dec 23 Commons debate on unauthorised grants to the Emperor by Ministers; La Fayette's cruel treatment. Pleasure at the death of the bloodthirsty Catherine the Great.
- Dec 30 Peace negotiations break down, "thus concluded the present bloody year!" Call for changes in poor laws. Prices before and during the war.

1797

- Jan 6 *Prison Amusements* ready for publishing. Latest issue of the *Monthly Magazine* for sale. Failed peace attempts. "Invasion of Ireland", attempt by French at Cork.
- Jan 13 "Supplementary Militia; Cavalry Act."
- Jan 20 "Wanted immediately, a Compositor." JM on the folly of war, esp. sieges. Need for a regular Mail Coach between Nottingham and Sheffield. "Dr. Priestly Letter...to a friend in London", happy in America. Extract from an anonymous letter from America [J. Gales?].
- Jan 27 Rhine armistice expected, at cost of the lives of 18,000 Austrian soldiers! Various theatre reports. Part of Stonehenge fell down on Jan 3.
- Feb 3 JM's surprise at Paine's criticism of Washington. Latest issue of *The Monthly Magazine* for sale. Execution of James M'Kaen at Glasgow. Seditious libel trial at Kesteven, Lincoln of Joseph Tye a blacksmith, "damnation to the king": sentenced to twelve months solitary confinement. Poverty of a poor clergyman relative of a Bishop a scandal.
- Feb 17 *Prison Amusements* ready for publishing, author's introduction. Two sermons to be preached at the Methodist church in Norfolk Street in aid of the *Benevolent Society*. "Thomas Hardy has received a letter from Mr. Margarot...Muir has found means to escape hence on board an American vessel." Opposition to the Poor Bill. Window tax to be changed to the 'square foot' from 1798.
- Feb 24 *Prison Amusements* published'. Imprisoned vagrant surgeon a woman! Archbishop of Canterbury to introduce a Bill with seven years transportation sentence for Sunday gambling. "A Pasquinade" about Buonaparte and the Pope.
- Mar 3 *Prison Amusements* published. JM's reason for not commenting on commerce and politics. Benefit funds raised from sermons.
- Mar 10 Fast day comment. In defence of Napoleon's robbing 'robber' churches. 'Cauliflower' Bishop.
- Mar 17 Pope humiliated by Buonaparte. French invaders of Wales captured, JM's plea for mercy.
- Apr 7 Addresses to the king calling for dismissal of present Ministers of state from various towns. Edinburgh petition. "Reasons why the present Administration should not be changed"—ironic. Dr. Horsley comment on royalist parliament. Peace in the muslim world a contrast to Christendom. Chalk comment on the Bank of England.
- Apr 14 Buonaparte's victory in Italy over Austria. "SEDITION! — Jones (and Binns)...trial", Jones LCS rep visiting Birmingham. Counsel, Romily and Felix Vaughan. Guilty! DEATH of Joseph Gerrald and William Skirving...sacrifice to political persecutions." "MARRIED. Lately in London, Mr. Phillips, the late publisher of the Leicester Herald, and the present proprietor and conductor of the Monthly Magazine, to Miss Griffiths, daughter of Captain John Griffiths, of Tenby, Pembrokeshire."
- May 5 Increase in taxation a "most unwelcome and discouraging." "A blow is now meditating against the Freedom of the Press." Sermon for the Missionary Society raised £36. "Mr. Thelwall, we understand, is now at Nottingham lecturing with applause, and without molestation." List of

- Counties, Cities and Towns with peace petitions and calls for 'dismissal of Ministers.'
- Humorous marriage invitation of 'Matt Dowson.' Letter from New York on preparations of war with France. Proclamation by President John Adams calling emergency meeting of both houses at Philadelphia. "DIED. Orion Adams journeyman printer, an unusual life.
- May 12 French victories. British seamen's mutiny. List of new tax rates.
- May 19 Peace between France and Austria. York petition and address incl. former Pittites. Tax on newspapers. "Court of King's Bench" John Gales Jones, move for a retrial for sedition. James Ridgeway released on payment of fines and bail for selling Paine's *Rights of Man*.
- May 26 Edinburgh 'friends to constitutional freedom' meeting of two hundred for a meal. Gagging of the press by Pope Sixtus IV, extract from Roscoe's Life Lorenzo de Medici, chap. 6. Newspaper tax Bill introduced by Mr. Rose without warning to other MPs.
- June 9 Nore mutiny continues. Sheffield Volunteers celebrate King's birthday. General Kosciusko arrived in England. Muir's death at Cadiz fighting for the Spanish! Admiral Gayton's speech to mutineers. Nursing mother hanged at Tyburn for stealing, outrage in parliament by Sir William Meredith.
- June 16 African animals on show at Castle-hill fair. Ironie report of voters of Old Sarum meeting on Salisbury Plain. Anecdote from the Nore of mutineers vetting merchant vessels. A United Irishman imprisoned with humorous remark to judge.
- June 23 Financial depression, and disappointment at French treaty demands. Mutiny over, Parker to be tried. Bill for 'additional three halfpence' on every newspaper passed. "Citizen Davies" committed to Wakefield, for distributing seditious papers and pamphlets. Light Dragoons quartered in East Riding offering rewards for arrests of seditious scoundrels. Man living under ground for seven years in solitary confinement for a bet. Sketch of Parker mutineer leader. Muir is not dead but badly wounded. "How to reconcile a quarrelsome couple" at Zurich.
- June 30 Concern at increase on newspaper tax; price increase to 6d. a copy. JM made expressions to more than 50 MPs. La Fayette— Americans reluctant to intervene, French have applied. Humour: "A Curious Letter" from a son to his father; Mrs. Woolstoncraft, the Rights of Women and fashion!
- July 7 Iris now sixpence. Lord Malmesbury in France for further peace negotiations: "Peace is only the *Sleep of War!*"
- July 14 Death of Edmund Burke. Tax— Englishman pays as much as three dutchmen, five Spaniards, six Austrians, nine Portuguese, ten French, ... On tax on clocks and newspapers. Pitt and taxing 'Father Time'. Misreports in newspapers of capture of Hamilton Rowan, who was in Philadelphia studying 'calico printing.' On newspaper tax and Liberty of the Press.
- July 21 Details of the Bill for duty on Clocks and Watches. JM on the importance of Newspapers. The fall in circulation due to increase in tax. Report of Muir's injuries at Cadiz.
- July 28 Parliament closed, peace still uncertain. JM against war. Lists of sentences for various civil offences. John Wesley humorous anecdote from 1776 about plate tax. Irish paper, "Christians

- are now the worst set of Jews!” Worshipful Company of clock-makers toast “Mr Pitt and the Pendulum!
- Aug 4 Independent Sheffield Volunteer manoeuvres followed by a meal; JM’s wish for the latter. London Corresponding Society meeting and local militias — JM’s sarcastic assessment! Quakers [friends of JM during his imprisonments] to be released from York castle contrary to last week’s report. JM’s tirade against archaic laws and Rev. George Markham the culprit here. “In a political sermon published not long ago…”Thank God ,we were forced into the present war.”! ‘Incorrigible Jacobin’ and a ‘licence for everything’ by Pitt’s tax regime. In praise of Fox by a Danish Minister.
- Aug 11 “The Publication of the COURANT being suspended” due to stamp tax increase JM recommends the Iris to friends of Northall. Dogs beings put down to pay tax on clocks! Humour: “Of the Botany Bay Theatre…The cast consists of tried actors, and the audience must have been all *transported*.” John Lovelace, Portsea, imprisoned, “Damn Mr. Pitt and his party.” John Cantello at Christchurch, “A whole nation ought not to be sacrificed to the folly or ambition of one man.” Both acquitted.
- Aug 18 New infirmary to open in October. Peace negotiations dragging on. Portugal makes peace with France. France likened to eruption Vesuvius. “Taxes are the greatest ... reformers of the age.”
- Aug 25 Pleased with forthcoming opening of the infirmary. Humorous account of a Cobler panicked into thinking the French were coming by his barber. Various ordinary sentences. Sans culotte dropped out of Court vocabularies. New MP for Old Sarum wants another house built so there are two to match the number of MPs! Pope unlikely to be succeeded; irony.
- Sep 1 Infirmary. Peace reports. New copper coins already counterfeited. Humorous account of a political writer *Peter Porcupine* [William Cobbett] of Philadelphia. Travels in China of Sir George Staunton.
- Sep 8 Infirmary: Musical Festival fund raiser. Reports of peace were false.
- Sep 15 Musical Festival ‘Bill of Fare.’ Mention of articles on France in the Iris this week. Letter of Ben Franklin at Paris ‘lending’ 12 Louis d’Ors, to be ‘lent’ by the recipient in turn to a needy person. “To Correspondents... personal panegyric as well as personal censure, we wish to avoid.”
- Sep 22 Musical Festival. French reports. New Methodist Sunday School. Decline in the use of the terms, *Jacobins*, *Leveller*, etc. JM’s long comment. Two men acquitted of High Treason at Haverfordwest for helping French invaders at Fishguard, through lack of evidence.
- Sep 29 List of Freemason procession for the grand opening of the infirmary. Sharp reply to Correspondents grieved by JMs criticisms of late proceedings in France.
- Oct 6 Infirmary grand opening Weds. Oct 4. — JM’s account incl. Montgomery’s ‘Hymn’ on last page. Massive increase in publishing in post-revolutionary Paris. “To Correspondents. The Letters of a “Not far distant Neighbour” can never be unacceptable, while they appear to be dictated by friendly motives.”

- Oct 13 Infirmary opening processions. Mr Wilkinson's 'excellent and pathetic' prayer. Musical Festival funds raised £1,055.1.11. "To Correspondents", a strong defence of JM's HYMN.
- Oct 20 Infirmary opening: subscribers list, Vicar's sermon, Musical Festival. Admiral Duncan's defeat of the Dutch fleet. A false trial in Ireland with a rigged jury.
- Oct 27 Infirmary; toast by Earl Fitzwilliam for Dr. Browne. Othello at the theatre. Quakers released from York castle (Rev. G. Markham, Vicar of Carlton in Craven) their nemesis. Talking *female* parrot!
- Nov 10 Duke of Norfolk subscribes £30 pa to the Infirmary. Austria, France peace treaty. French "Army of England" to assemble for invasion, but the French and British people want peace. Govt. approved prayer of thanks for Duncan's victory. Private toast: "May our enemies never gain ground by sea"! "To Correspondents", beautiful verses received but unprintable due to 'rigid rules of propriety'.
- Nov 17 Earl Fitzwilliam subscribes 20 guineas pa. to the Infirmary. Pitt's 'Treble Assessment' taxes. Humorous anecdote of Scottish sermon on the 'loaves and fishes.' Burke on compensation as a basis of treaty.
- Nov 24 Infirmary. Drama and music evening benefit forthcoming. *Redacteur* article on back page: that France and England would fight with ink not swords.
- Dec 1 Benefit performances. 'The Occasional Epilogue' [JM?]. Pitt's retrospective taxation will be severe in its effects. Henry Yorke, now anti-reform, released from Dorchester as reported in the *Times*. Admiral Duncan a pious as well as brave man. A 'sublime' Epitaph.
- Dec 8 Pitt's 'exhausting' taxation. 'Pompous' French Directory. 'Macbeth' performed. Scandalised by two drunks in the river on a Sunday. Enraged woman of 'Swinish Multitude' at Lewes dies chasing pig.
- Dec 15 Infirmary benevolent funds. Thanksgiving day for naval victories following Tuesday.
- Dec 22 Mixed pleasure at reductions in 'Triple Assessment' Bill.
- Dec 29 Infirmary update. Opposition to the 'Triple Assessment Bill' in various towns and counties. JM's report of theatre visit. Article from the *Hull Advertiser* on Henry Redhead Yorke's financial need and his changed politics [no comment from JM]. York public meeting against the Bill. "A Starling in Rose-lane, Spital-fields, London, arrests the attention of almost every passenger, with the following couplet:— What's Billy about? / I'm afraid to speak out."

1798

- Jan 5 Report of alarming French invasion preparations at Brest. Humorous account of sedition in Scotland. Erasmus against hanging military flags in cathedrals.
- Jan 12 Commons debate on Tripling the Assessed Taxes: much 'chaff'. Peter Finetry, printer of the Dublin newspaper, *The Press*, imprisoned two years for printing a seditious libel. Pitt's tax.

1794

- July 4 "Ireland. King's Bench, June 25. The King v. Dr. William Drennan.... Not Guilty."
- July 11 "Trial of an indictment against Thomas Walker of Manchester, merchant...for a conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government.... Apr. 2, 1794" sold by J. Montgomery.
- July 11 Jacob Demo. Angry at Montgomery's lack of radicalism.
- July 11 "Address from a committee of the Democratic Society of New York to Joseph Priestley."
- July 25 Jacob Demo.
- July 25 "American Congress." Third reading of embargoes bill.
- Aug 1 "New Constitution of Corsica."
- Aug 8 Gales bankruptcy auction of 'six Messuages Tenements'; household goods.
- Aug 8 Jacob Demo. "Are you an Atheist?"
- Aug 15 "Spanish Honour."
- Aug 15 "Affairs of Ireland. Society of United Irishmen of Dublin. Established Nov. 9, 1791."
- Aug 15 "Short account of the malignant fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia."
- Aug 22 "Chimps & Kidnappers." Charing Cross criminal impressment gang.
- Aug 29 "Jacobin club" report, Paris, Aug. 3.'
- Aug 29 "Church & State; heterogeneous; or a Layman correcting the Vicar of Duffield. In reply to a pamphlet.... Sermon against Jacobinical and Puritanical Reformation." sold by Galeses.
- Aug 29 Jacob Demo.
- Sep 5 Adverts by the Gales sisters for auction of JG's stock, and their new stationary business.
- Sep 5 Jonathan Plain. Jacob Demo's lack of wit and humour.
- Sep 5 A Farmer. "To the President and Secretary of the Board of Agriculture."
- Sep 5 "The Old Nurse's Meditation upon the dead Alderman. A Fragment."
- Sep 5 "American Republic. New-York, July 5." Celebrations and toasts.
- Sep 5 "Emigrations. New-York, July 17.... society for the information and assistance of" emigrants.
- Sep 12 Jacob Demo. Conversation with a squire.
- Sep 12 "Trial of Thomas Dunn, for perjury" at the trial of Thos. Walker.
- Sep 19 Jacob Demo. Reply to Jonathan Plain.
- Sep 19 A Farmer, West-Riding. "To the President and Secretary of the Board of Agriculture."
- Sep 19 "Robespierre", a character sketch by Condorcet, extract from the *History of Robespierre*.
- Sep 26 Civis. The *Iris*, "Not conducted upon such liberal and independent principles as I expected."
- Sep 26 True Blue. The Printers are — "friends of the French Revolution."
- Sep 26 Abigail Afterday. "You don't give us a more particular account of Deaths, and Marriages."
- Sep 26 Simon Fillpot, of the "Holly Bush" club — Is parliament sitting now?
- Sep 26 "Days of Old. Extracts.... Directions for the Household of Henry VIII.... That all ... at the end of the Sessions of Parliament, depart ... on pain of the royal displeasure!!!"

Sep 26 "France — National Convention... excellent speech... on the Liberty of the Press."

Oct 3 "Serious and important Information to youth of both sexes, by Dr. Brodum" — onanism.

Oct 3 "Friday's Post." High Treason trial pending of Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, etc. Scottish informer a bigamist. D. Adams, Sec. of the Constitutional Society to give evidence. Higgins, Le Maitre and Smith in custody on charge of attempted regicide: "traits of absurdity and improbability."

Oct 3 A Farmer. "To the President and Secretary of the Board of Agriculture."

Oct 10 "Monday's Post. Philadelphia, August 26." War footing against Great Britain.

Oct 10 A Farmer. "To the President and Secretary of the Board of Agriculture" concluded.

Oct 10 "Amusement for young readers... little *Lord Linger*."

Oct 10 "National Convention. September 10," assassination attempt on Tallien; debate.

Oct 17 Philanthropos. Benevolent society address.

Oct 17 "Nugator." The *Golden Gate and Pleasant Ascent*. Allegorical dream, progress of Knowledge.

Oct 17 "Anniversary of Mr. Fox's Election for Westminster. London, Oct. 11, 1794."

Oct 24 Nugator. The *Golden Gate and Pleasant Ascent*., concluded.

Oct 24 "An authentic anecdote." Republican general and a besieged enemy commander.

Oct 31 "A tour through Holland in a series of letters. Letter I. Harwich to Helvoes Sluys."

Oct 31 "Trials for High Treason. At the Old Bailey, on Saturday October 28." Tooke, Hardy, etc.

Nov 7 "Monday's Post. Trial of Thomas Hardy. Third Day, Oral Evidence."

Nov 7 "Wednesday's Post.... Trial of T. Hardy: Fifth Day. Prisoner's Defence."

Nov 7 "Thursday's Post.... Trial of T. Hardy: Sixth Day. Monday Morning, Nov. 3."

Nov 7 "Friday's Post.... Trial of T. Hardy: Seventh Day."

Nov 7 "High Treason. Trial of Thomas Hardy, (Continued from our first Page.)."

Nov 14 Advert: "High Treason.... Price 1s. 6d. Number 1.... Printed for ... Ridgeway and Symonds."

Nov 14 "Saturday and Sunday's Posts. High Treason. Trial of Thomas Hardy. Seventh Day."

Nov 14 Advert: "The Assignees of Joseph Gales, a Bankrupt.... auction ... of remaining stock."

Nov 14 "A Tour through Holland.... Letter III."

Nov 14 "Anecdote of the late benevolent Howard" in relieving a clergyman's widow and six children.

Nov 14 "Trial of Thomas Hardy ... from the first Page. Eighth Day.... NOT GUILTY!" Grave visit.

Nov 21 "High Treason. Trial of John Horne Tooke."; "First Day. Continued"; "Second Day."

Nov 21 "King's Bench. Trial of the Rev. Mr. Jackson. Dublin, Friday, Nov. 7.... High Treason."

Nov 21 "Whig Club of England", first meeting of the present season.

Nov 28 "Mondays' Post.... Trial of ... Tooke. Prisoner's Defence continued"

Nov 28 "High Treason. Trial of John Horne Tooke. Old Bailey, 6th Day.... NOT GUILTY!"

Nov 28 Advert. "Trial of Thomas Hardy.... Printed for and sold by Sutton, Nottingham; A and E Gales, and J. Jennings.... Sheffield, Daniel Holt, Newark"

Nov 28 "Trial of Thomas Hardy [misprint, should read *Tooke*]. Fourth Day."; "Fifth Day."

Dec 5 "Dublin, Nov. 17 ... The King v M'Creary,... Proprietors and Printers of the Northern Star."

Dec 5 "London Dec 1. High Treason", Holcroft, Kyd and Joyce. Letter of acquittal.

Dec 5 "High Treason. Trial of John Thelwall. First Day. Continued from Wednesday's Post."
 Dec 5 Letitia Bandeau. On fashion.
 Dec 5 Navigator. On the names of ships of the royal navy.
 Dec 5 "A Tour through Holland.... Letter IV;... V"
 Dec 12 "High Treason. Trial of John Thelwall. Third Day."
 Dec 12 "Court of King's Bench.... Sermon v. Lord Abingdon.... Guilty."
 Dec 12 "Trial of Mr. Thelwall, Continued from first Page... Not Guilty."
 Dec 19 "High Treason. Old Bailey.... John Richter and John Baxter", acquitted.
 Dec 19 Broomhead, Moody, Hill, Widdeson, Camage arraigned against Henry Yorke.
 Dec 19 Jacobus Tremor. His dilemma between Jacobite and Jacobin; JM's reply.
 Dec 19 "Tour through Holland. Letter VI."

1795

Jan 2 "The Protest of the Seventy-One Deputies."
 Jan 2 "The President Washington's Speech to Both Houses of the Legislature."
 Jan 2 "A Tour through Holland. Letter IX."
 Jan 9 Advert. Issue 1. of The Senator or Clarendon's Parliamentary Chronicle.
 Jan 9 "House of Commons." Grey, Fox, Sheridan calls for peace, Habeas Corpus.
 Jan 16 "Character of the late Lord Camden."
 Jan 16 "The Military Mendicant; or, Benevolence Repaid."

James Montgomery on trial and confined at York castle. John Pye Smith editor

Jan 23 Advert. "A Narrative of Facts", Holcroft's trial. Printed, Symonds; sold, Galeses.
 Jan 23 "A Tour through Holland. Letter X."
 Jan 30 "Mr. Foxe's Birth Day" celebrations at the Crown and Anchor Tavern..
 Jan 30 Advert. "America.... Number 1." by Rev. W. Winterbotham: Symonds, Galeses
 Jan 30 "Copy of an Indictment for a Libel...The King v. James Montgomery."
 Jan 30 Debate on suspension of Habeas Corpus: Fox in particular.
 Feb 6 "Poverty Desirable, by Peter Pindar."
 Feb 6 "A Tour through Holland. Letter XI."
 Feb 13 "A Letter from Mr. Muir ... extract.... Rio di Janeiro, July 20, 1794."
 Feb 13 Advert. "A Catalogue of Books ... by John Smith ... Sheffield."
 Feb 13 Advert. "Society of the Friends of Literature.... Address ... to Mr. James Montgomery."
 Feb 13 Candidus. Fallible Govt. Ministers.
 Feb 13 "House of Lords. Protest against...suspending the Habeas Corpus Act."
 Feb 13 "House of Commons." Wilberforce's intention to table a slave bill.
 Feb 20 Ministerial. Reply to Candidus.
 Feb 27 "Irish House of Commons." Grattan's Bill for Catholic emancipation.

Feb 27 Advert. "Testimony of the Prophecies of Richard Brothers", by Nat. Halhed.

Feb 27 "Sheffield Constitutional Society." John Alcock cleared of charges.

Feb 27 James Montgomery to the Society of Friends of Literature in Sheffield.

Feb 27 Pamphlet. Trial of James Montgomery sold at shop of A & E. Gales.

Feb 27 "A Tour through Holland. Letter XII."

Mar 6 G. G. A way of making bread from potatoes.

Mar 6 "House of Commons. Slave Trade." Wilberforce motion defeated, 61 for, 78 against.

Mar 13 "Monday and Wednesday." Richard Brothers arrested.

Mar 13 "State Trials. Subscription." London; Sheffield Constitutional Society.

Mar 13 Rusticus. On the delights of the parsnip.

Mar 13 "Anecdote ... from John Ryland" on Truth and Justice.

Mar 20 "Look Before You Leap; The Fate of the Jews,... Brothers the Prophet", Symonds, Gales.

Mar 20 Oxoniensis. Letter against Sunday schools.

Mar 20 "Elizabeth Edmunds" saviour of Irish protestants from 'Bloody Q. Mary.'

Mar 27 Celia. "To Mr. Montgomery."

Mar 27 "The Modern Brutus. In the reign of Henry VIII.... Lynch" of Galway.

Mar 27 Candidus. "Let not prejudice govern reason.... Sheffield, March 23, 1795."

Mar 27 "The Catholic Address to Mr. Grattan with his answer."

Mar 27 "State Trials. Subscription", received by J. Johnson, J. S. Jordan.

Apr 3 "State Trials. Subscription", received by J. Johnson, J. S. Jordan.

Apr 3 Advert. "Mr. Fox's Speech on the State of the Nation.... No. XVI of The Senator"

Apr 3 Advert. "The Trial of James Montgomery for a Libel on the War." Montgomery/Galeses.

Apr 3 B. "The multiform importance of Mathematical Science."

Apr 3 A. C. In favour of discontinuation of use of hair powder which deprives the poor.

Apr 10 Advert. "The Trial of James Montgomery for a Libel on the War." Montgomery/Galeses.

Apr 10 Sheffieldiensis. Reply to Oxoniensis supporting Sunday schools.

Apr 10 A Friend to the Sunday Schools. Reply to Oxoniensis supporting Sunday schools.

Apr 10 Plebeian. Reply to Oxoniensis supporting Sunday schools.

Apr 17 "State Trials. Subscription." List of subscribers.

Apr 17 Simon Crab. Disquiet at editor's approval of royal wedding celebrations.

Apr 17 W. C. 'Mathematical Questions.'

Apr 17 Mathematical puzzles and answers.

Apr 17 Me. Mo. Reply to Oxoniensis supporting Sunday schools.

Apr 17 Rusticus. Reply to Oxoniensis supporting Sunday schools.

Apr 17 Hortator. In support of the inclusion of 'improving' material in the newspaper.

James Montgomery returned from York castle and restored as editor:

Apr 24 "State Trials. Subscription." List of subscribers.

Apr 24 Seraphina. Pleased at 'improving' content.

Apr 24 B. Mathematics.

Apr 24 "Extract from Earl Fitzwilliam's Letters..On the Affairs of Ireland, to Lord Carlisle."

Apr 24 Advert. "America.... Rev. W. Winterbotham", Symonds, Ridgeway, Holt.

May 1 Advert. "America.... Rev. W. Winterbotham", Symonds, Ridgeway, Holt.

May 1 Manlius. "A Dream" on the nature of man.

May 8 "High Treason" trial at Dublin of Rev. William Jackson.

May 8 Sheffieldiensis. Further on Sunday schools.

May 8 An Enemy to Learning. Ironical reply to Oxoniensis.

May 8 A Soldier's Widow, the mother of nine orphans. Anti-war "Hint to Addressers."

May 8 Ben Blockhead. "The Life and Adventures of a Wig." Chester, April 30, 1795.

May 15 Sheffieldiensis. Further on Sunday schools, concluded.

May 15 "Anecdotes of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq." — his defence of R. Brothers.

May 15 "All is Vanity. A Tale" anti-war.

May 15 "Rise, Progress, and Best Method of Preventing and Punishing Crimes."

May 22 "Thursday and Friday. Paris, May 8, The trial of Fouquier Tinville, and his accomplices."

May 22 Simon Crab. On paying the Prince of Wales's debts; Poland; the war.

May 22 "Characteristic Anecdote of the late Frederick III. King of Prussia" of mercy.

May 29 "French National Convention.... Declaration of the Rights of Nations."

May 29 "Interesting Anecdote of a French Royalist & a Republican", brotherliness.

June 5 "Athalia; or the Tocsin sounded by modern alarmists: two collection sermons, towards defraying the expence of the defendants in the late trials for High Treason.... Norwich."

June 5 "House of Commons. The Prince of Wales's debts."

June 5 Alegumbo. In praise of mathematics.

June 5 Junius Minor. "Enthusiasm ... there are innumerable Bigots...few genuine Enthusiasts."

June 12 Simon Crab. Corrective to Alegumbo.

June 19 Advert. "Number 1.... Divinity. By ... Rev. John Gill ... sold by ... A. & E. Gales"

June 19 "The Epistle from the yearly meeting held in London" of the Quakers.

June 26 "Anecdotes of Marie Charlotte Cordet, the assassin of Marat. From Dr. Moore's."

June 26 Advert. "Observations on a course of instruction", Rev. Sam. Catlow, Mansfield.

July 3 "Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam's letters & administration rescued from misrepresentation."

July 3 "The Voluptuary's Soliloquy."

July 3 "Rioting. Birmingham, June 23."

July 3 "Particulars respecting the deceased son of Louis XVI."

July 10 "Plan of Constitution for the French Republic.... June 23, 1795. Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of a Citizen." — whole front page, continued over page.

July 10 Dead Bodies. "To the Hon. The House of Commons.... Petition" for Bill of security.

July 17 "Saturday & Sunday.... Extract of a letter from an Officer in the Botany Bay Corps who sailed in the same ship with Messrs. Palmer, Muir, Skirving and Margarot.

July 17 "From Miss Williams's Letters, lately published. Switzerland, September, 1794."

July 24 Advert for Harrison's [JM's London lodgings] various Magazines. Sold by Galeses.

July 24 "Whigs and Tories.... extracted from Vol. IV. Beshames Memoirs of George III."

July 24 "Further extracts from Miss Williams's Letters."

July 24 "Letter from Mr. Skirving to the Rev. Mr. Joyce. Sydney Cove, N. S. Wales, Dec. 1794."

July 24 "Expedition against France."

July 24 "A Sketch of the Germanic Constitution."

July 31 Horticultator. Farming tips.

July 31 "Sketch of the trial of Henry Yorke, for a conspiracy."

July 31 Two accounts of slave trade.

Aug 7 "Peace or War! Public Meeting. In the open air.... Committee of the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield.... Monday next the 10th of August ... on the Castle Hill."

Aug 7 "Muir & Palmer. Extract of a Letter from Mr. Muir to a Friend in London."

Aug 7 T. F. Palmer. "Letter from Mr. Fyshe Palmer to Mr. Jeremiah Joyce."

Aug 7 "Further extracts from Miss Williams's Letters."

Aug 7 "Liberty in Limbo." Seditious snuff box at Ashton-under-Lyme.

Aug 14 "To the Printer of the Iris." Affidavits of attempts to seduce soldiers to treason.

Aug 14 "Notice." Two soldiers swear before Athorpe that local man tried to persuade him to desert.

Aug 14 "The late disturbance in this Town is copied verbatim from the *Sheffield Courant*."

Aug 14 "Further extracts from Miss Williams's Letters."

Aug 21 "To the Printer of the Iris." Affidavits of attempts to seduce soldiers to treason.

Aug 21 P. P. Uncertain about confirmation in the Church of England.

Aug 21 A Farmer. "The Present Scarcity."

Aug 21 Dama. "Dama's Petition" from a captive deer held for hunting season.

Aug 21 "State Paper. Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation" with America.

Aug 28 "Ireland. High Treason.... compassing the King's death, and ... adhering to his enemies."

Aug 28 Advert. "Trials for High Treason.... The Trial of Thomas Hardy", printed by Joseph Gurney.

Sep 4 "Mutiny in Ireland."

Sep 4 Advert. "Number I.... The Trial of Henry Yorke ... in eight weekly numbers," Galeses.

Sep 4 "Hierophilus", concerning P. App.'s request for information re. confirmation.

Sep 4 "Picture of a Battle by M. Mercier."

Sep 11 "Manlius." "an investigation of some female hearts."

Sep 11 "True Patriotism is of No Party."

Sep 11 "Dr. Parr" on the present war.

Sep 11 Anti-war essay from the *American Magazine*.

Sep 11 Sermon extract of Bishop Latimer to Edward VI.

- Sep 11 "Conditional Ratification" of the Treaty with America.
- Sep 18 "Trial for High Treason. Dublin, September 5."
- Sep 18 "Monday & Wednesday.... Fresh Mutiny in Ireland. Cork. September 5."
- Sep 18 N. On the harvest, Norwich, Sept. 8.
- Sep 18 "Duties of Man." Extract from the new French Constitution, warmly recommended by JM.
- Sep 25 A Provincial Editor. "To the Editor of the True Briton" on Government bribes to editors.
- Sep 25 Demoticus. "Was Louis XVI sincere, when he accepted the Constitution?"
- Sep 25 "Fox and Pitt. Parallel between the probable consequences of the Negotiation proposed by Mr. Fox, in December 1792, and the effect of the War soon entered on by Mr. Pitt."
- Oct 2 Paddy Pittite. "Mr. Pitt Vindicated." "Dublin, Sept. 3, 1795."
- Oct 2 "Russian Manifesto." Polish priests commanded to pray for Empress.
- Oct 2 "The Blessings of War, a sermonical address to the Right Honourable John Bull, by the Heaven-born Tinker."
- Oct 9 "To the Select Men of the Town of Boston.... George Washington."
- Oct 9 "Dumourier on the New French Constitution", critical.
- Oct 16 Advert. "The Trial of Henry Yorke. Number I.... Written by himself."
- Oct 16 Advert. "History of the French Revolution.... Number I.... H. D. Symonds." "By Sampson Perry, Editor and Proprietor of the late Newspaper called The Argus."
- Oct 16 Friend and Admirer. "To a Great Minister", a long ironic discourse.
- Oct 16 "Characters of Thomas Paine & David Williams by Madame Roland."
- Oct 16 Horatio. Set the slaves free.
- Oct 16 John Harrington. "Electioneering ... 1646", money spent on garnering votes.
- Oct 23 A Lover of his Country. On buying votes by Pitt's government.
- Oct 23 "Important Death!!!", the "Princess of "March to Paris", strong satire.
- Oct 23 "Extract from Belisarius, by M. Marmontel."
- Oct 30 "To William Pitt. Friend William...from one of the people called Quakers."
- Oct 30 "A Political Litany. Spare us good Lord!"
- Oct 30 Brutus. "A few political sentiments to a patient and generous public."
- Nov 6 "Monday & Wednesday. From the London Gazette by the King. A Proclamation" concerning the mobbing of his passage to and from Parliament.
- Nov 6 Advert, "Treasonable Assault upon the King....The Senator, or Clarendon's Parl. Chron."
- Nov 6 "Thursday and Friday. London." Parliamentary address of outrage to the King.
- Nov 6 "Saturday & Sunday...By the King. A Proclamation...to discourage, prevent. and suppress all Seditious and Unlawful Assemblies" and seditious Papers.
- Nov 6 "Saturday & Sunday... A Petition for Peace from the citizens of Sheffield."
- Nov 6 "Saturday...The system of Terror is again the Order"; two waggons of pikes stopped from Birmingham on route to London.
- Nov 6 "Meeting to Celebrate The Trial By Jury, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Nov. 5." Toasts.

- Nov 13 "A Bill, an Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treason and Seditious Practices and Attempts": black border and JM's comment.
- Nov 13 "Corn", its scarcity because of the war.
- Nov 13 Horatio. "An Imitation of the Stile of Ossian", anti-war piece.
- Nov 13 "Copy of The Petition for Peace from Sheffield presented to His Majesty."
- Nov 13 "Badges to be worn by Paupers."
- Nov 13 "The Elector of H———, to the K—— of G—— B———"
- Nov 13 "Convention Bill. House of Lords. November 6."
- Nov 20 "Treason Bill. House of Lords. November 10."
- Nov 20 "Extraordinary Meeting of the Whig Club of England" against the two gagging acts.
- Nov 20 "Meeting of Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers, etc., of the City of London": the acts.
- Nov 20 "House of Lords. November 13." The Duke of Bedford opposes the Treason and Sedition Bill.
- Nov 20 "Thursday and Friday.... H. Yorke moved from York to Newgate."
- Nov 20 "Meeting at Westminster in the Palace Yard" Charles Fox in the chair.
- Nov 27 "House of Commons. November 17.... second reading of ... Seditious Assemblies." Solicitor General's speech, mentioning Henry Yorke and Sheffield meetings with petitions allegedly to cause sedition.
- Nov 27 "Court of King's Bench.... William Stone arraigned for High Treason"
- Nov 27 Kidd Wake bailed for following King's coach shouting "No War!"
- Nov 27 Henry Yorke given time to prepare defence with Erskine.
- Nov 27 "Thanks to his grace the Duke of Norfolk" for Essex petition, and call for public meeting.
- Nov 27 "Middlesex County Meeting. November 21" petition against bills.
- Nov 27 "House of Commons", Reeves pamphlet and debate.
- Nov 27 "Protest against the passing of the new Treason Bill in the House of Lords."
- Nov 27 "A Bill for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings & Assemblies."
- Dec 4 "Meeting. Paul's Head Tavern. Mr. Waddington in the Chair" against the war & the Govt.
- Dec 4 "House of Commons. Nov. 25. The Chancellor" proposes the Seditious Meetings Bill.
Opposed: "The Euthanasia of the Constitution!"
- Dec 4 "Court of King's Bench. November 17." Henry Yorke found guilty.
- Dec 4 "Thanks to the Duke of Norfolk": report of Sheffield meeting, Nov. 30.
- Dec 11 "To ... The Commons of Great Britain.... The Petition.... Freeholders of Yorkshire."
- Dec 18 "House of Lords. December 9" second reading of Sedition bill.
- Dec 18 "House of Commons", bill debate esp. Sheridan.
- Dec 25 "Saturday & Sunday", rejoicing in Paris at King assenting to the Bills.
- Dec 25 "House of Lords", third reading of Sedition bill.
- Dec 25 "First Protest; Second Protest" against the Bills by various Lords.

- Jan 1 "House of Lords", two petitions from Stockport.
- Jan 1 "Lord Grenville's Bill."
- Jan 1 "Some Account of America in a letter from Mr. Thomas Cooper, to a Gentleman of Manchester", encouraging emigration.
- Jan 1 "The Transmigrations of Indur."
- Jan 15 "Monday & Wednesday. Philadelphia, Nov. 5", insurrectionists pardoned.
- Jan 15 "Prophecy of Dr. Smollet", France cannot continue as at present.
- Jan 15 "Some account of America in a letter from Mr. Thomas Cooper" continued.

Thurs. January 21, 1796, trial of James Montgomery, John Pye Smith editing *The Iris*.

- Jan 22 "History of Newspapers."
- Jan 22 "Revolutionary Tribunal", in France, a comment.
- Jan 22 "The following Very Interesting Account" of trial by jury in reign of Q. Elizabeth.
- Jan 22 "Transmigrations of Indur" continued from Jan. 1.
- Jan 29 Advert. "Peter Pindar's Works ... Vol. IV", printed by Walker sold by Galeses.
- Jan 29 "Trial of James Montgomery, for a Libel against R. A. Athorpe ... Jan. 21", GUILTY.
- Jan 29 "Whig Club of England, Shakespeare Tavern" for repeal of two Statutes.
- Jan 29 Notice: Continuation of Printing business and the *Iris*.
- Jan 29 "Interesting Trial to Dissenters", Kensington chapel wins tax review.
- Jan 29 "Report" of the treachery of Dumourier.
- Jan 29 Advert. "Burke's Portrait and Life."
- Feb 5 "Trial of Mr. William Stone, on a charge of High Treason", NOT GUILTY.
- Feb 12 Notice: Continuation of Printing business and the *Iris*.
- Feb 12 Advert. Assoc. for repeal of the Acts, petitions in Sheffield incl. Smith's Bookseller.
- Feb 12 "Declaration of, an form of Association recommended by the Whig Club.... When Bad Men Conspire Good Men Must Associate."
- Feb 12 "Killed Off, A Simple Story" of a mother losing her son in the war.
- Feb 19 Advert. Assoc. for repeal of the Acts, petitions in Sheffield incl. Smith's Bookseller.
- Feb 19 "The British Senate", letters of a German clergyman 'about thirteen years ago.'
- Feb 19 "Select Thoughts collected, by the late Bishop Horne."
- Mar 11 Advert. Assoc. for repeal of the Acts, petitions in Sheffield increased sites incl. Galeses.
- Mar 18 "Saturday and Sunday... Whig Club of England. Crown and Anchor Tavern."
- Mar 18 Advert. Assoc. for repeal of the Acts, petitions in Sheffield increased sites incl. Galeses.
- Mar 18 "Louis XVI...anecdotes."
- Apr 8 "Charles Fox. From Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works", a holiday meeting and conversation.
- Apr 8 Advert. "A Leaf our of Burke's Book...by M. C. Browne", printers Walker & Symonds.
- Apr 8 Advert. "The new Comic Magazine ... No. 1", printer Harrison, sold by the Gales sisters.

- Apr 8 "Brutus." The role of periodicals in political education of the masses for Reform.
- Apr 8 "(Specimen). Prejudice." From "Brutus."
- Apr 8 "On the Political State of Great Britain.... Executive Directory of France", place and pensions.
- Apr 8 "Mrs. Heswick, A Tale. Addressed to the Members of the Stranger's Friend Society."
- Apr 8 "Adair against Burke."
- Apr 15 "Old Bailey." Poison dart Treason trial.
- Apr 15 Dr. Pegge. Anecdotes.
- Apr 15 "Characteristic Anecdotes of the late Mr. Howard."
- Apr 15 "Lord Chief Justice Holt." Defender of the law over Parliament in 1704.
- Apr 15 Advert. "John Thelwall's Answer to ... Edmund Burke", printed Symonds, sold Galeses.
- May 20 "House of Commons. May 10. Motion for a complete change of system, in regard to external politics. Mr. Fox ... opened the Motion, on the disastrous effects of the system of the war."
- May 20 Advert. "Theatre, Sheffield, Mahomet, as translated from Voltaire", widows' benefit.
- June 17 "Whig Club of England. Crown and Anchor Tavern. The last meeting for the season."
- June 17 Advert. "Missionary Society" to the S. Seas, call for donations, by incl. John Smith.
- June 17 "The Festival of Victories. The Discourse...by Carnot."
- June 17 "General Lafayette.... by T. I. M. Gillet, Aid de Camp of Gen. La Fayette, London May 27."
- June 17 "The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting" of Quakers in London, mention of York prisoners.
- June 24 Notice. "Commercial and Literary Education at Mansfield", Rev. Samuel Catlow.
- July 1 "Epitaph on a private soldier at Cobham."
- July 1 "Slave Trade. From the report of the Sierra Leone Company."
- July 22 Reports of Nelson's victories.
- July 22 Advert. "Trials for Adultery. Number I", sold by Symonds; Galeses.
- July 29 Advert. "Proposals, for publishing by subscription, Poems &c. chiefly pastoral. Inscribed, by permission, to R. A. Athorpe Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of the County of York, and Colonel of the Loyal Independent Sheffield Volunteers, by John Richardson, of Park School, Serjeant in the said Corps."
- July 29 "Died. On the 21st instant, at Dumfries, after a lingering illness, the celebrated Robert Burns."
- July 29 N. C. Against compulsory church tythes for Dissenters.

James Montgomery released from York castle and returned as editor.

- Aug 5 "High Treason. Extract of a letter from Trim, in Ireland. ... Traynor, charged,... in compassing and imagining the death of the king.... *Guilty*,... to be hung, drawn and quartered!"
- Aug 5 Advert. "No. II.... Moral and Political Magazine of the London Corresponding Society."
- Aug 5 Erastes. "The Bible. The Bishop of Landaff, in...excellent reply to Paine's *Age of Reason*."
- Aug 5 "The Poor of Ireland. The Committee of the Whig Club of Ireland...Report."
- Aug 5 "Robert Burns. The Scotch Poet" — Call for widow's support.
- Aug 12 A Layman. Answers "N. C." against Quakers' refusal to pay tythes.

Aug 12 A Traveller. The lack of signposts.

Aug 12 "The Holy Chapel of Loretto." Anti-Romish account.

Aug 12 "Singular Anecdotes of the unfortunate Weston" executed for fraud.

Aug 12 "Trial for Seditious Words, by Lord Kenyon" of Lewis Bowyer re. King's assault.

Aug 12 "A True story" about 1750 of two young fools helped by an old "Fellow Traveller."

Aug 19 N. C. Reply to A Layman on Quakers and tythes.

Aug 19 "Singular Anecdotes of Hatem Tai, a celebrated Arabian Chief and Poet...before Mahomet."

Aug 19 "Curious Account of the punishment of State Criminals of Family, in Holland."

Sep 2 A Layman. Reply to N. C. re. Quakers and church tythes.

Sep 2 "On the necessity of re-establishing Poland.... General Kosciusko."

Sep 9 Madame De La Fayette. Prison letter to the Emperor.

Sep 9 "Invasion of England by the French", editor's note on article in a ministerial print.

Sep 16 An Admirer of Good Works. In praise of unnamed giver of wheat to Girls Charity school.

Sep 16 N. C. Tythes.

Sep 16 Sir George Saville. Anecdote of his generosity, and a sketch by Edmund Burke.

Sep 16 "Oromasis: A dialogue translated from the French."

Sep 23 Advert. "Lecture on Classical History" by John Thelwall in Sheffield.

Oct 2 "Proclamation for pardoning Deserters." W. Windham.

Oct 2 "A Scene from a Drama entitled The Negro Slaves, translated from the German."

Oct 2 "Gibbon on Reform" incl. editor's introductory note.

Oct 14 Advert. No. I. of "Cooke's Parliamentary Debates."

Nov 4 "Mr. Burke's Pamphlet. Thoughts on a Regicide Peace."

Nov 11 Advert. "Peter Pindar's Works", printed John Walker, sold by A. and E. Gales.

Nov 11 "General La Fayette. Ollmutz, 1796. A letter from an Austrian Officer to his Brother."

Nov 18 Notice. "Defence against Foreign Invasion.... God save the King , and protect old England!"

Nov 18 Advert. "Peter Pindar's Works", printed John Walker, sold by A. and E. Gales.

Nov 18 "General Washington's Farewell Address to the people of the United States."

Nov 18 G. E. "To A. M. the author of an anonymous Letter."

Nov 18 "Court of King's Bench...Libel — King v. Birks. Mr. Vaughan..."

Nov 25 "Dublin. By the Lord Lieutenant.... A Proclamation. Camden" against sedition.

Nov 25 "Law Intelligence. Court of King's Bench.... Erskine move for prosecution of sailors at Yarmouth for violently disrupting a Thelwall lecture.

Nov 25 An Inhabitant. "Address of the Clergy" to the people of Manchester.

Dec 2 "Outrage at Linlithgow." Soldiers threatening local populace and magistrates.

Dec 2 "Quakers' Bill. Abstract of a Bill for the further relief of..."

Dec 2 A Snarler. "An Extract from a Spanish Manuscript."

Dec 2 "The Nun. By Diderot, from the French Journals."

Dec 2 "Anecdote of Doctor Watts."

- Dec 2 "The Negotiation from a French Paper."
- Dec 9 "Saturday & Sunday. Mr. Pitt's newest plan of finance."
- Dec 9 Advert. "Men for the Army. Fifteen Guineas Bounty."
- Dec 9 "The Present Age."
- Dec 9 "American Improvements."
- Dec 23 "Exact account of the treatment of La Fayette, and his fellow-sufferers by an American Gentleman."
- Dec 30 "An Examination of the Morality of Mr. Burke's Doctrines."
- Dec 30 Thuau. "On Death of the Empress of Russia."

1797

- Jan 6 "Official Documents of the Negotiation for Peace", Malmesbury.
- Jan 6 Advert. "The Monthly Magazine", sold by J. Johnson; Galeses.
- Jan 13 "York Castle." "Luke Palfreyman" selling goods made by prisoners at York.
- Jan 13 "An Examination of the Morality of Mr. Burke's Doctrines" continued.
- Jan 13 "La Tour-Maubourg & Bureau de Pusy", fellow-sufferers with La Fayette.
- Jan 13 "On the Peace.... Dupont."
- Jan 13 "The New Poor Bill."
- Jan 20 "America. Senate of the State of New York", address to G. Washington.
- Jan 20 "Irish Invasion. Meeting at Belfast."
- Jan 20 N. The need for a regular Mail Coach between Nottingham and Sheffield.
- Jan 20 "America. Congress.... Address" of Washington.
- Jan 27 "America." The glories of its Constitution and the voice of the people.
- Jan 27 "A proof of the freedom of the Press in France. Ultimatum."
- Feb 3 "An Examination of the Morality of Mr. Burke's Doctrines."
- Feb 3 "Thomas Paine to George Washington", a critical letter.
- Feb 10 "Mr. Palmer's Narrative" of the transportation sufferings of Palmer and Skirving.
- Feb 10 "Historical Anecdotes. Of the value of money and commodities, from the earliest periods of the English History."
- Feb 17 "Poor and Stranger's Friend Society at Hull."
- Feb 17 "State Paper." Papal answer to Buonaparte's letter requesting peace talks.
- Feb 24 Advert "Mr. Erskine's view on the Causes and Consequences of the present War."
- Feb 24 "Mr. Erskine on the Causes and Consequences of the War", and JM's comments.
- Feb 24 "Law Intelligence. Court of Common Pleas." Clergyman wins case for false arrest.
- Mar 3 "Saturday & Sunday." American presidential results: Adams 71, Jefferson 68.
- Mar 3 "House of Commons. February 24. Quakers' Bill."
- Mar 3 "On the Invasion of England. From the Republican Francais."
- Mar 17 "Saturday & Sunday.... Pius Pope VI" to Buonaparte.

Mar 17 "House of Commons.... Quakers' Bill."

Apr 7 Advert. "Poems, on upwards of fifty various subjects by John Peacock."

Apr 7 "Journal of a Tour through England ... by John Houseman", Sheffield, Chesterfield.

Apr 14 A. B. *Complete Magazine*, 1764, "The true Causes of the Decline of the French Nation."

May 5 "House of Commons" tax increases including newspapers and advertisements in same.

May 5 "Observations on the present Alarming Crisis, addressed to the nobility and clergy. By J. Morfitt, Barrister at Law...Birmingham: Printed for the author and sold by A. and E. Gales."

May 5 "The Origin and Utility of Country Banks. From the Monthly Magazine", editor Phillips.

May 12 "House of Lords. May 3. Mutiny of the Seamen."

May 19 "York Meeting." petition and address to the King.

May 19 "Committee of Secrecy", the state of the British Bank.

May 19 "America. Philadelphia, March 6", retirement of Washington.

May 26 "Watson, Mayor." London petitions and addresses against present ministers.

May 26 C. "For the Iris. On Constitutional Rights."

May 26 Ostinaco. "Substitute for the tax on newspapers. To the Editor of the Iris."

May 26 *York Courant*. "Newspaper profits."

May 26 "Meeting for Parliamentary Reform" at the Crown and Anchor, Sir Francis Burdett, Chair.

May 26 "Reform in the Representation of the People." Dr. Ferguson.

June 9 "House of Commons. June 2. Seamen", continuing mutiny at the Nore.

June 9 Notice. "A List of the Preachers & Collections for the Benefit of the Boys Charity School."

June 9 "Official Papers. By the King, A Proclamation, for the suppression of the mutinous...Nore."

June 9 "Demands of the Sailors at Sheerness."

June 9 "Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, in consequence of the Resolution of the House to reject the Motion of the Duke of Bedford for the dismissal of Ministers", Bedford.

June 16 Notice. "Whig Club of England." Crown and Anchor, June 6, Chair, Earl of Thanet.

June 16 "Humble Petition ... of the County of Warwick"

June 16 "The London Gazette Extraordinary ... Court of the Queen's House" King's act against mutineers.

June 16 "Whig Club of England", Crown and Anchor, report.

June 23 "Arming the People.... Plan of a General Association."

June 23 "British Parliament. House of Commons" re the Bank of England.

June 23 "Original Anecdotes of General Buonaparte. From the Monthly Magazine, for May, 1797."

June 30 "Trial of Richard Parker, the Mutineer. Greenhythe, June 22."

June 30 Notice. "At a Meeting of the Printers of Newspapers, published in the City and County of York."

July 7 "Trial of Richard Parker, the Mutineer. Greenhythe, June 27", his defence.

July 7 "Particulars of the execution of Richard Parker, the Mutineer."

July 7 "Court of King's Bench, June 24. The King v. Williams. For publishing the First and Second

Parts of *Paine's Age of Reason*." Prosecution, Erskine. Defence, Kyd. Judge, Lord Kenyon.
Guilty!

- July 14 "Execution of the Mutineers. Plymouth, July 6."
- July 14 "Standing Armies. Extracted from Fletcher of Saltoun's "Discourses concerning the Affairs of Scotland. Written in the year 1698."
- July 14 "On the present situation of the French Directory and the Councils by Dupont de Nemour."
- July 14 "Mr. Grattan's Address to his constituents."
- July 21 Memo. "A Plain Sermon" on the need for more seating for the poor in churches.
- July 21 "Law Report. Court of Common Pleas, July 8. Knobel versus Fuller and Stuart ... to recover damages for a libel ... published in the Morning Post."
- July 28 "Trial of the Mutineers at the Nore."
- July 28 "Commemoration of the Fourteenth of July at Paris."
- July 28 "Edmund Burke."
- Aug 4 "Clocks and Watches. Abstract of an act for granting to his Majesty certain duties."
- Aug 4 "Reflections of Semainier, a royalist journal on the present temper of the people of France."
- Aug 4 "London Corresponding Society", report of a meeting.
- Aug 4 "Compassion. From Dr. Darwin's "Plan for the conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools."
- Aug 11 "Melancholy & Affecting Account of the Distresses of the Poor Manufacturers in Dublin."
- Aug 18 Notice. "Friends of Parliamentary Reform.... Crown and Anchor" resolutions.
- Aug 18 Notice. "John Northall's Bankruptcy. To be sold by auction."
- Aug 18 "America. Philadelphia, July 3" entertainment for Monroe late ambassador to France [Gales?].
- Aug 25 "Education a fragment."
- Aug 25 "Warwick Assizes. Trial of Binns."
- Aug 25 "The False Inscription." French royalist ridicule of the Republic.
- Sep 1 "Thursday and Friday. A Peace between England and the French Republic."
- Sep 1 "Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt." Flattering portrait of Pitt, amusing to JM.
- Sep 1 "Lord Mountmorres" tricked into forcible elopement attempt, lost his mind and died.
- Sep 1 "Anecdote from that inestimable publication the Monthly Magazine" on James I being flogged.
- Sep 8 "America." Blount's intention to attack Spanish Louisiana from Canada denied by British.
- Sep 15 Advert. "Trial of John Binns", sold by Galeses.
- Sep 15 "Mr. [Joseph] Wright, the painter" has died. A brief life sketch.
- Sep 15 "Quebec, July 7, High Treason. The trial of David McLean, an American Adventurer, at Quebec, for having conspired to put the Province of Canada into the hands of the French, by inviting the Canadians to massacre the troops, Civil Magistrates, &c."
- Sep 15 "The late Rev. John Wesley, Dr. Whitehead,... A National blessing.""
- Sep 15 Account of the death of Earl Chatham after a seizure in the Lords.
- Sep 15 "Three Memorials on French Affairs, by the late Mr. Burke."

Sep 22 Plain Mister. "Tax upon Squires."

Sep 29 "Anecdotes of the Banished Deputies" in France.

Sep 29 "Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French People" warning of a royalist plot.

Oct 6 "General La Fayette" released!

Oct 6 "Morning Prayer of a poor old Pedlar in a Barn."

Oct 13 "Slave Trade" article in an American newspaper.

Oct 13 "High Treason. Trim Assizes. Pleas for clemency granted.

Oct 13 "France — Executive Directory. Message to the Council of Five Hundred" re. royalist plot.

Oct 20 "Lord Lyttleton on the Liberty of the Press." Press suppression in France.

Oct 20 "The Late Empress of Russia."

Oct 20 "Lord Rokeby's Pamphlet" to the people of Kent on petitioning the King to sack Ministers.

Oct 20 "Original & Authentic Anecdotes of Richard Parker, the Mutineer."

Oct 27 "Admiral Duncan."

Oct 27 "Extract of a Letter, from a Correspondent at Yarmouth" concerning battle with Dutch fleet.

Oct 27 "The Late Mrs. Godwin."

Oct 27 "Memoirs of the French Revolution, by M. de Bouille."

Nov 10 "Saturday and Sunday ... His Majesty's Speech" to MPs bemoaning faltering peace talks.

Nov 17 "A Genuine Anecdote of the late Lord Hardwicke" concerning buying cabbages.

Nov 17 Advert. "Sermon by James Wilkinson ... Vicar of Sheffield", printed by James Montgomery.

Nov 17 Advert. "Directory of Sheffield" printed by James Montgomery.

Nov 17 "Illuminations. Reasons against public Illuminations on the event of a Battle, submitted to his parishioners by a Clergyman of the Church of England."

Nov 17 "House of Lords; House of Commons" on the peace negotiations.

Nov 24 Advert. "For the Benefit of the Sheffield General Infirmary", drama and music evening.

Nov 24 "The Bank" of England report of the Committee of Secrecy.

Nov 24 "From John Nicholls, Esq. M.P. to the Right Hon. William Pitt" for bungling peace talks.

Nov 24 "England. From the Redacteur." Against British imperialism.

Dec 1 "To the Editor of the Iris." Various humorous Epitaphs.

Dec 1 "Singular Account of a Suicide. From the Monthly Magazine." Verses at Bristol

Dec 1 "Mr. Burke" on the war.

Dec 8 "To the Right Hon. William Pitt ... Mr. Samuel Cornett", recommendations on raising taxes.

Dec 8 "France. Executive Directory. Proclamation" blaming Britain for stalling peace process.

Dec 15 "New Taxes" and how to reduce liability in the future if not the past and present!

Dec 15 "Anecdotes. A Great Philosopher. Mr. Locke." His generosity to a false friend.

Dec 22 Advert. "Education. The Literary & Commercial Seminary ... Rev. Samuel Catlow."

Dec 29 "France. Executive Directory." Speech of Borrás to Buonaparte.

Dec 29 "Royal Procession to St. Paul's."

1798

Jan 5 "Abstract from the Triple Assessment Bill."

Jan 5 "France. Executive Directory. Descent on England."

Jan 12 Notice. "Resolutions, unanimously agreed to" at York to petition for peace.

Pictures

1. "Recollections," the (Winifred) Gales diary, University of North Carolina archive.
2. Joseph Gales, from a lost portrait, supplied by North Carolina State archives.
3. No. 12 The Hartshead, premises of the *Sheffield Register* and *Sheffield Iris*.
4. *Sheffield Register* newspaper.
5. *Sheffield Register* back page featuring the 'Repository of Genius' poetry section and letters.
6. The Cutlers Hall, Sheffield.
7. Title page of *The History of Lady Emma Melcombe*.
8. Gales family street plaque, Raleigh North Carolina [by the author].
9. *Raleigh Register* newspaper.
10. Gales family tombs, City Cemetery, Raleigh, North Carolina [by the author].
11. James Montgomery [by the author].
12. *Sheffield Iris* newspaper.
13. *Sheffield Iris* back page featuring the 'Cemtuget or Bower of the Muses' poetry section and letters.

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North Carolina State archive: no. 2.

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Recollections

Raleigh N. C.
1815

The time has now arrived when all personal labors appear to be ~~ended~~^{as far as} in the happiness and prosperity of our children: all our wishes now repose upon those dear objects for whose support and education we have toiled and suffered, and whose virtues and well-doing are our reward. These recollections are traced in writing for the benefit of my children and grandchildren, when I am gone to that brave where knowledge and desire cease, and the troubled waves of time subside in eternity.

Oh! that our recollections when we meet in another and a better world may be pleasant to our souls. The race of life will soon be over even with the youngest of the dear Breeze I now address with your parents then my children it must necessarily be that. I am 55, every day shades nearer to the grave. The ties of affection will soon be broken and the bonds of kinship soon be dissolved. Soon shall we all enter into relationship more glorious and more lasting in the "Household of God in the Family of Heaven."

"Sh! who can tell the triumphs of the Mind
"By Sea or Land, and in the field of Mind:
"When age has quenched the eye, and closed the ear,
"Still here's for action in her native sphere
"Off will she rise—with searching glance pursue
"Some long-lost image vanished from her view;
"Past through the deep recesses of the past,
"Her dusky forms in chains of slumber fast;
"With giant-grasp fling back the folds of night,
"And catch the faithful fugitives to light."

Kept in memory of Memory

1.

"Recollections," the Gales diary.
Courtesy of North Carolina State archives.



2.

Joseph Gales (1761-1841).

Courtesy of the North Carolina State archives.



3.

Montgomery Tavern, No. 12 The Hartshead, Sheffield, formerly the home of the Gales family and James Montgomery and the premises of the *Sheffield Register* and *Sheffield Iris* newspapers.

Courtesy of the Sheffield Local Studies Library.

<http://www.picturesheffield.com>

NUMBER 197.

Friday, March 11th 1798.

VOLUME IV.

TRUSTEES.
Dr. Herbert Blackmore, Bath, Dorset, John & Co
Whittington, Messrs. Hambro, London.
TRUSTEES.
Dr. Herbert Blackmore, Bath.
Dr. R. Moss, Hq. Manchester
Thomas Corbett, Hq. Birmingham
R. Tegg, Hq. Coventry
John Cooper, Hq. Trowbridge
Mrs. Stevens, Ipswich
Mr. Hemmings, Mr. Mansel, and Mr. Robin.

The Society Atty. General has forwarded a Brief, which on 1st inst. was the principal Motive for opening this office, therefore those Towns who forwarded it are to be commended. It is to be desired that all Towns are requested to make an early Application to the Secretary, by Letters post-paid.

[illegible]

LONDON, BARN &

On Thursday the 24th inst. the King of France sent a letter to the National Assembly, representing that his name had been seized and detained for three bimonths by Armand de La Roche. The Assembly resolved to send a commission to which they refer to the decree that declares a passport unnecessary to their departure, and claims the right of citizens. A very disorderly debate ensued upon the result, and the King leaves, after which the discussion of the mode of making the inquiry within the jurisdiction of the executive power.

A Court of Proprietors of Bank Street assembled on Thursday, when the subject of the bill referred to was discussed.

10-10-68

המלך, שם לזכרה

Method.

The land tax bill went through a vote. Report ordered to be received on 11th Nov.

Mr. Dames tried to induce the House, that two other resolutions to move which were, the first, in the name of the committee of Lord Cornwallis, and the Council of Bengal, in denouncing the British Government. The second resolution was that the treaties of alliance formed with the Nizam and the Marathas are wise and politic, and ought to be supported by the nation.

The interest and the safety of our Government is well demonstrated that we should humble *my*, people *here* *and* *every* *where* this tyrant.

Mr. *Stearns* then read the speech of *Mr. Stearns* (Mr. *Stearns*) who was prevented by illness from coming down to the House. He who proceeded to read Mr. *Stearns*'s speech, of which the object was to enforce more fully the *abolition* of *slavery* in the United States. Mr. *Stearns* said by him on the subject of *slavery* in the United States. Some misstatements of his own, which, however, had been anticipated by Mr. *Stearns* on the 1st day's debate on this subject. He was much surprised at the opinion, that the *King of Tennessee* had been the agent.

Mr. *Stearns* was by the means of Col. *Almond* and his friends, with respect to the policy of *abolition* in the United States.

The question today being, without a divine...
motion was put, and carried, without a division.
The President moved a resolution to the following effect: That the resolution of Lord Cochrane, in relation to the war with vigor against Tippecanoe, was highly just and merited the approval of the House. *Mr. Fox* then moved that he and many others authoritatively dissent from the original, the motive and the practice of the war, he could not think any resolution in relation to the conduct of it, either just or meritorious, and he should therefore dissent from the proposition. *Mr. Fox* thereupon stated the point in question, which he had suggested, the original motion was read and agreed to.

[illegible]

MONDAY'S POST

Abstract

The Directors and Company, we are offered from authority, are desired for Nineteen hundred, prior to any attempt at discovery. Their vessels, it is intended, shall pursue a settlement at Nueva, in conformity to the articles of convention concluded upon with the Court of Madrid.

As an adjourned meeting of the Country Association, I was
held on Tuesday at the Lexington Hotel, New York City, at
Creston Hall, in the Chair, at the following lecture, was read
the subject of the proposed tax on Notes, was read
as follows:

Dunning, Feb. 25, 1891.

I take the first opportunity in my power of be-
serving you, that, in consideration of the suggestion
which I received last Thursday from you and the
other gentlemen of the Committee of the
of my interest in the subject, I have been
of the subject of Notes, and to ascertain
the amount of the notes in the United States
from ten cents to two dollars, as well as the
of, instead of, on notes not exceeding ten
and to the effect of it, on those not exceeding ten
cents.

WILLIAM PITT

The following Glasgow communication to the *Bellevue* was received on 7th 1851 by the Doctor at Orleans, then in France: "I am in the *Louverture d'Amiens*, for distribution to King George the First, in our mentioning him in the Almanac as King of Great-Britain."

Mr. Gibson comments on this, saying, "The *Katharine* is a slave ship, and the University of London, worth of slaves. At present the trade in slaves has been carried out of this country since to double its amount. How dearly does John Bull purchase his breakfast!"

Such was the violence of the flames at the Albion Mills on Wednesday morning, that large quantities of grass were red by it to a considerable height and afterwards scattered in different parts of Westchester. A great deal was picked up in St. Margaret's church-yard. The workers employed in employment by the late architect at the Albion Mills are said to be nearly three hundred.

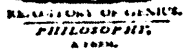
ring of 1 in April, Van
 about the middle of the month

The American Intercoastal bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed for Albany.

author of the "Katharsis" on
the subject on this subject

The Majority also recommends it to this House, to consider such provisions as may be necessary to enable the Majority to make a permanent appropriation of Lands in the said provinces, for the support of the maintenance of a Freeborn Clergy within the same, in proportion to such Lands as have been already granted within the same by the Majority; and it is the Majority's desire, that such provisions may be made, with respect to all future grants of Lands within the said provinces respectively, as may be considered to be the same object, in proportion to such Lands as have been granted, and that such provisions may be made as may happen in the population and cultivation of the said provinces.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

as The world has been slowly on its way from barbarism to civilization, and it is the duty of every nation to do its part in this work. It is the duty of every nation to do its part in this work.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE MILFIELD REGISTER.

[illegible][illegible]

TO THE PRINTER OF THE MILFIELD NOBILITY

[illegible]

A CHRISTIAN

[illegible][illegible]

obtained by the better sort of your countrymen
as to the standing place of them in the number

[illegible]

BULL.
 about 1000 ft. from Ocean, with view.

[illegible]

LIVERPOOL.

5

FOR ASSURED
Houses, Buildings, Goods, Crops, Hay, &c.
AND ALSO
For the Assurance of Lives.

[illegible]

BY AUTHORITY OF
His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent,
The following names of Medicines are arranged and set

JACKSON AND Co's.
Only Wholesale Mineral Water, No. 9, Fleet-market,
London.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Worthington's Medical of Life, for sale	1	1
True Original Daffy's Elixir,	1	1
Doze do. Another Size	1	1
Miss Platters,	1	1
Running Sports,	1	1
Pratt's Reliance,	1	1
Laurens Supperment,	1	1
Shannon's Gold and Silver Sports of }	1	1
Heavy Clock,	1	1
Reich's cover-holding Corded,	1	1

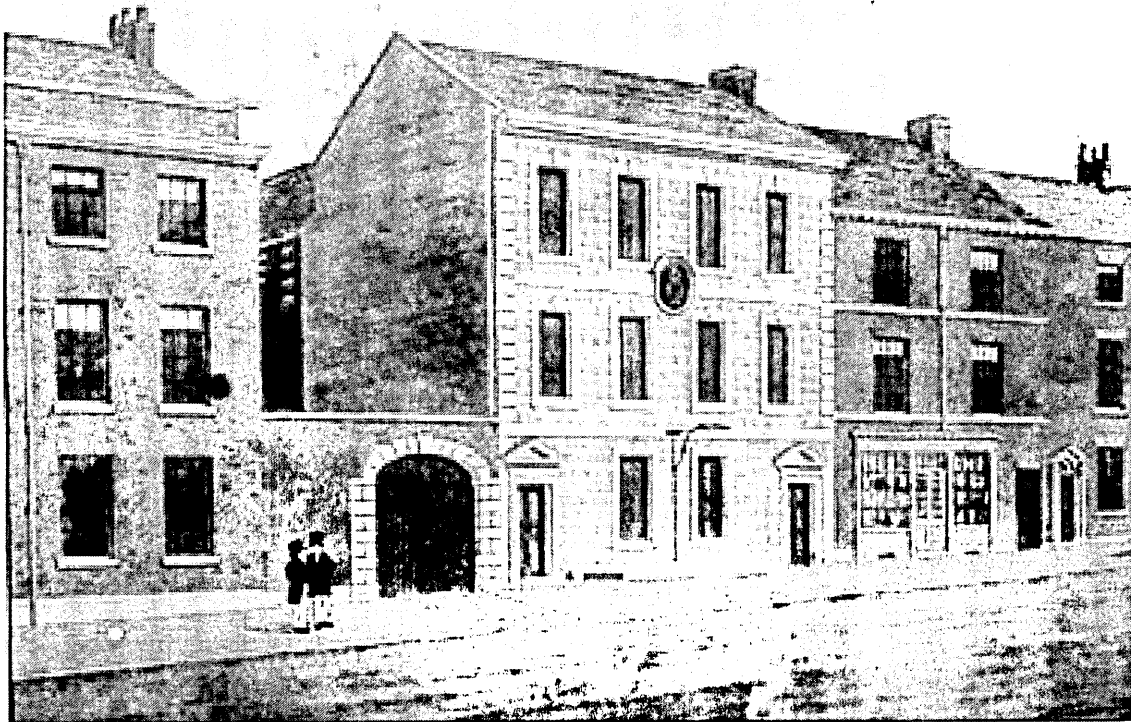
The above Members are to be had, by Appointment, at Gates, Southfield, Washfield, Miss. Watson's, in which are Mr. P. W. Smith, J. C. Smith, Washfield, Mr. Taylor, Washfield, Mr. Smith, Washfield, W. Adams and others. Persons, in Longhorough, J. W. Smith, Washfield, and Miss. Lund, Washfield, J. C. Smith, Washfield, and W. W. Smith, Washfield.

SOLOMON'S PILLS

[illegible]

THIS PAPER IS FILED
At the Lloyd's, London, Chancery, and Post's Office Stables; at Mr. Kilmer's, Red Lion Passage, Fleet-street; and at Mr. Taylor's Office, No. 5, Warwick Court, London.
(A large quantity is sold by the Auctioneers in the Market Towns of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire and Lancashire, by the Storekeepers, and by the Printers of every County. You Super in the Kingdom.)

Sheffield Register back page featuring the 'Repository of Genius' poetry section and letters.



6.

The Cutlers Hall, Sheffield (1725-1832).
Courtesy of the Sheffield Local Studies Library.
<http://www.picturesheffield.com>

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
Lady Emma Melcombe,
AND
HER FAMILY.
BY A FEMALE.

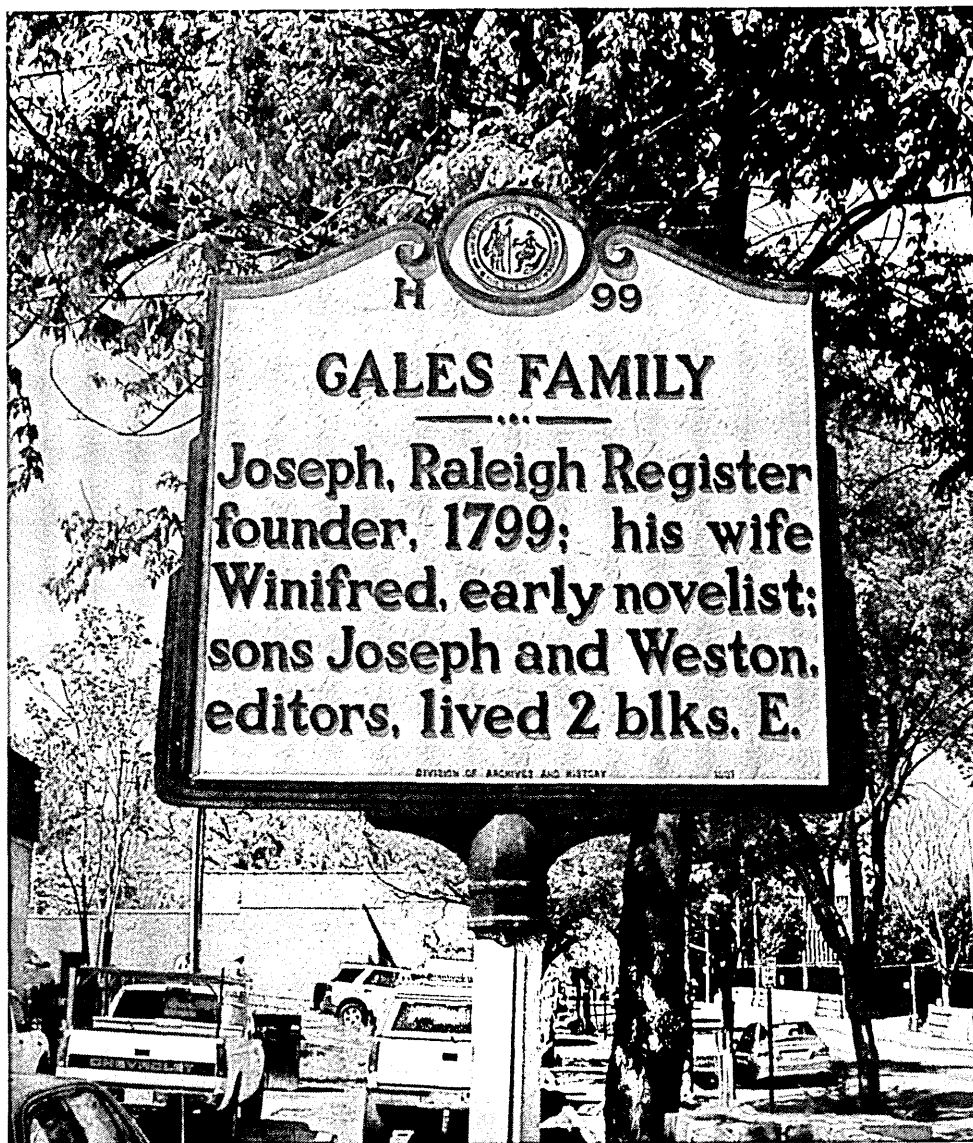
“ Laugh where we must, be candid where we can.”

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-
NOSTER-ROW. 1787.



8.

Gales family street plaque, Raleigh, North Carolina.

RALEIGH REGISTER

NORTH-CAROLINA WEEKLY ADVERTISER

Vol. I.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1794.

No. 1.

THE EDITOR

NOW presents to the Citizens of North-Carolina, agreeably to his Prospect, the first No. of the Raleigh Register, which, as a public will accord a favorable reception, and its materials and execution will, some good degree, answer the expectations which the prospect for its publication may have raised. If this should be the case, when the General Assembly of the State and Congress shall be in session, the Editor doubts not of rendering the Register particularly interesting and satisfactory to its readers, from the accounts which he will be enabled to publish of the proceedings of this public body.

The Editor thinks it unnecessary to repeat the promises he has already made of the impartial, extensive, and judicious manner in which he will conduct the Register. He is now before the public, and the present succeeding numbers of it will be the best criterion by which to try the sincerity of the professions already made.

The price of the Register, it will be recollected, is three cents a year, or one dollar and a half for half a year. The subscription money is paid in advance.

Persons inclined to become subscribers to the Register, who have not yet signified their intention, will be pleased to do so immediately, either to the Editor in Raleigh, or to the principal Stationer, who is authorized to receive their subscriptions.

Advertisements, not exceeding twenty lines, will be inserted at the ordinary price of half a dollar the first publication, and a quarter of a dollar for every continuance. Advertisements longer than twenty lines, and from the extensive circulation which the Register has, render it expedient the Editor will have through every part of the State, advertisers will doubtless see their advantage in making it their advertising medium.

Being possessed of a very complete Printing Office, J. GAZES engages to execute every kind of Printing with neatness and correctness. His Book and Stationery Store is always kept well supplied.

PRINTING OFFICE

JOHN GAZES, having arrived at the printing office, is now in a position to receive and execute every kind of printing with neatness and correctness. His Book and Stationery Store is always kept well supplied.

GERMANY.

VIENNA, AUGUST 2.
Three Supplements Extraordinary to the Court Gazette.

SURRENDER OF MAN'UA.

"The General of Artillery Baron Kray, has sent out by Major Fuchman of the Engineers, the most numerous and pleasing intelligence of the surrender of the city and fortress of Man'ua."

The following events preceded the surrender of this place. Early in the night of the 29th the British on the dyke between Ceria and Tar were charged by assault. On the 30th the enemy had evacuated Fort St. George, leaving behind several pieces of cannon and ammunition, and our troops occupied it immediately. The place was brought in, but the enemy was too feeble to have forced the dyke in the night, or had pushed forward ready to be obliged to the place: they were driven from upon their work, and the British left the late night. On the 31st the British entered the city, and the enemy left behind several pieces of cannon and a mortar, most of which were taken, and the British entered the city. The British entered the city, and the enemy left behind several pieces of cannon and a mortar, most of which were taken, and the British entered the city.

This induced General Kray, partly to gain time, to examine the works, partly to make detachments to the city, and partly to the town of the city. The British entered the city, and the enemy left behind several pieces of cannon and a mortar, most of which were taken, and the British entered the city.

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above mentioned conditions. The capitulation is well in the particulars relative to the important conquest will forthwith be published."

RUSSIA.

PETERSBURG, JULY 25.
His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, has declared war against the King of Spain, as an ally of France.

ITALY.

TURIN, JULY 26.
We are informed that a considerable corps of Montenapoli's army has been sent to the city of Turin. The French have been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city. The French have been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city.

ALBANO, JULY 26.
The French have been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city. The French have been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city.

FRANCE.

PARIS, JULY 26.
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

The Executive Directory has been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city. The Executive Directory has been ordered to leave the city, and the Montenapoli's army has been ordered to enter the city.

he immense demand, and it is now by a similar measure that we keep the Republic in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic.

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BERNADOTTE.

The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic.

multitude in the public mind, and demand to-day, what it once demanded. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic.

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COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic. The Republic is now in the arms of the Republic.



10.

Gales family tombs, City Cemetery, Raleigh, North Carolina.



James Montgomery.

WILLIAM HICKMAN, 11, WILKINSON ST., LONDON, ENGLAND

11.
James Montgomery.

Sheffield Iris back page featuring the 'Cemptucet' poetry section and letters.