Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century

This volume examines the nineteenth century not only through episodes, institutions, sites and representations concerned with union, concord and bonds of sympathy, but also through moments of secession, separation, discord and disjunction. Its lens extends from the local and regional, through to national and international settings in Britain, Europe and the United States. The contributors come from the fields of cultural history, literary studies, American studies and legal history.

James Gregory is Associate Professor in Modern British History at the University of Plymouth. Among his publications is The Poetry and the Politics: Radical Reform in Victorian England (2014).

Daniel J.R. Grey is Lecturer in World History since 1800 at the University of Plymouth. Among his recent publications is the co-edited collection Judgment in the Victorian Age (Routledge, 2018), with Annika Bautz and James Gregory.
55 Transatlantic Trade and Global Cultural Transfers Since 1492
   More Than Commodities
   Edited by Martina Kaller and Frank Jacob

56 Contesting the Origins of the First World War
   An Historiographical Argument
   Troy R E Paddock

57 India at 70
   Multidisciplinary Approaches
   Edited by Ruth Maxey and Paul McGarr

58 1917 and the Consequences
   Edited by Gerhard Besier and Katarzyna Stoklosa

59 Reforming Senates
   Upper Legislative Houses in North Atlantic Small Powers 1800-present
   Edited by Nikolaj Bijleveld, Colin Grittner, David E. Smith
   and Wybren Verstegen

60 Unsettled 1968 in the Troubled Present
   Revisiting the 50 Years of Discussions from East and Central Europe
   Edited by Aleksandra Konarzewska, Anna Nakai and Michal Przeperski

61 Marginalized Groups, Inequalities and the Post-War Welfare State
   Whose Welfare?
   Edited by Monika Baár and Paul van Trigt

62 Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century
   Edited by James Gregory and Daniel J. R. Grey

For a full list of titles, please visit: https://www.routledge.com/history/series/ MODHIST
Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century

Edited by James Gregory and Daniel J.R. Grey
# Contents

*List of figures*  
viii  
*List of tables*  
x  
*List of contributors*  
xi  
*Acknowledgements*  
xiii

**Introduction**  
JAMES GREGORY AND DANIEL J.R. GREY  
1

## PART I  
Representing union and disunion in art  
29

1 **To ‘purchase union thus cheaply’: the controversial statue of an Irish Archbishop in the United Kingdom’s Houses of Parliament**  
JAMES E.H. FORD  
31

2 **Leave or remain? Antidisestablishmentarianism in Margaret Oliphant’s Salem Chapel**  
MARGARET MARKWICK  
46

## PART II  
Union and disunion in Europe  
63

3 **Popular efforts to forge union: the English visit to Paris in April 1849**  
JAMES GREGORY  
65
4 Rose Blaze de Bury and the ‘unfeminine’ German and European politics of disunity
   RACHEL EGLOFF

Part III
The politics of union and disunion in Great Britain

5 Scottish political leadership and Anglo-Scottish union in the long nineteenth century
   GORDON PENTLAND

6 An ‘illegal Union of Lawyers, and Writers, and Political Baronets’: the Conservative party and Scottish governance, 1832–1868
   GARY D. HUTCHISON

7 Union Street: more than simply a metaphor for the coming together of Plymouth’s Three Towns?
   KIM STEVENSON AND JUDITH ROWBOTHAM

PART IV
Union and disunion in the United States of America

8 The union of enslaved couples during the disunion of the nation: love, discord and separations in US slavery and thereafter
   EMILY WEST

9 Attempting disunion: mutable borders and the Mormon experience with the United States, 1846–1858
   PEARL T. PONCE

10 The South Carolina jeremiad: reinterpreting John C. Calhoun’s legacy in the 1850s
   LAWRENCE T. MCDONNELL

PART V
Family division and union

11 Family union and the discharge of infanticidal married mothers from Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 1863–1895
   ALISON PEDLEY
12 Unity or disunity? The trials of a Jury in *R v John William Anderson*: Newcastle Winter Assizes 1875  242
   HELEN RUTHERFORD

13 Establishing the poor law unions under the New Poor Law  259
   KAREN ROTHERY

Index  277
Figures


0.2 Design derived from woodcut in *The Bude Light: A Social ... Skiterary Monthly Illuminator* (London: Cunningham, 1841), p. 145

0.3 ‘The Old Man and His Sons’, *Harper’s Weekly*, 2 February 1861, p. 76

0.4 Richard Doyle, ‘Union is Strength’, *Punch*, 17 October 1846, p. 161

1.1 Joseph Nash, *State Opening of Parliament, 1857*, bodycolour on paper, 1858

1.2 Statue of Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, by John Evan Thomas, 1852

3.1 Medal commemorating the return visit of the English to Paris, April 1849


3.3 ‘The Return Visit to Paris’, *Illustrated London News*, 7 April 1849, p. 294

3.4 The reception at Boulogne lampooned by Gustave Doré, *Journal Pour Rire*, 21 April 1849, reprinted as ‘The First Glass of Champagne’ in *Two Hundred Sketches*, p. 61


5.2 ‘The Late Lord Jeffrey’, *Illustrated London News*, 2 February 1850, p. 76

5.3 Lord Rosebery. Engraving from photograph by George Jerrard, c.1896

6.1 Lord Colonsay (Duncan McNeill) from ‘Modern Athenians. No. 39’ by Benjamin W. Crombie, originally published 1848
6.2 The fifth duke of Buccleuch, a carte de visite portrait by William and Daniel Downey 130
6.3 ‘The Late Sir Archibald Alison, Bart’. *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1867, p. 605 133
7.2 A view of Union Street from a postcard in W.H. Smith’s Kingsway Real Photo series 161
9.1 Brigham Young (1801–1877) from *Gleason’s Pictorial*, 1854 189
10.1 John C. Calhoun, engraving in obituary notice in *Illustrated London News*, 20 April 1850, p. 269 205
11.2 The female airing court at Broadmoor Asylum, from an undated photographic postcard, undated but probably early twentieth century 235
11.1 ‘Discharges Removals & Deaths’. Married mothers who had murdered their children – Admissions between 1863 and 1895 224
13.1 Number of Unions and parishes unionised in each county by 8 August 1835 263
13.2 Distribution of Hertfordshire Parishes into Poor Law Unions 267
13.3 The Hertfordshire Poor Law Unions: Population, Area, Guardians and Poor Law Expenditure 268
**Contributors**

Rachel Egloff is an independent scholar. Her PhD, awarded by Oxford Brookes University in 2019, studied female participation in nineteenth-century discourses on national identity in the context of European international politics, using the case study of the writer Rose Blaze de Bury.

James E.H. Ford is curator at Longleat House and was formerly Consultant Assistant Curator at the Houses of Parliament. His Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded PhD project entitled ‘The Art of Union and Disunion in the Houses of Parliament, 1834–1928’ (University of Nottingham, 2016) explored the visual representation of the four nations in the New Palace of Westminster.

James Gregory is Associate Professor in Modern British History since 1800 at the University of Plymouth. Among his publications is *The Poetry and the Politics: Radical Reform in Victorian England* (2014).

Daniel J.R. Grey is Lecturer in World History since 1800 at the University of Plymouth. Among his publications is the co-edited collection *Judgment in the Victorian Age* (Routledge, 2018), with Annika Bautz and James Gregory.

Gary D. Hutchison is a postdoctoral research assistant in the School of Government and International Affairs at Durham University. His Wolfson Foundation-funded PhD (University of Edinburgh) focussed on the Scottish Conservative party, 1832–1868.

Margaret Markwick is an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Exeter and has published on Anthony Trollope. She is currently exploring the relationship between the Anglican thought and the expression of religious belief in the mid-Victorian novel.

Lawrence T. McDonnell is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Iowa State University and author of *Performing Disunion: The Coming of the Civil War in Charleston, South Carolina* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).
Alison Pedley is a PhD student at the University of Roehampton, studying married women admitted c.1840–1890 to Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum and other institutions for the murder of their children.

Gordon Pentland is Reader in History at the University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on the political and cultural history of Scotland and Britain since the French Revolution, and has co-edited the Oxford Handbook of Modern British Political History, 1800–2000 (2018).

Pearl T. Ponce is Associate Professor in the Department of History, Ithaca College, and author of 'To Govern the Devil in Hell': The Political Crisis in Territorial Kansas (2014), Kansas's War: The Civil War in Documents (2011), and various essays on Civil War and Kansas history.

Karen Rothery is an independent scholar, researching the implementation of the 1834 New Poor Law in Hertfordshire.

Judith Rowbotham is Visiting Research Professor in Law at the University of Plymouth and a director of SOLON: Promoting Interdisciplinary Studies in Law, Crime and History. Her numerous publications include the edited collection, The Windsor Dynasty 1910 to the Present (2016).

Helen Rutherford is Senior Lecturer in Law at Northumbria University, and a doctoral researcher at the University of Newcastle, studying the life and work of the Victorian coroner for Newcastle upon Tyne, John Theodore Hoyle.

Kim Stevenson is Professor of Socio-Legal History at the University of Plymouth. Among her numerous publications are: with D.J. Cox, C. Harris and J. Rowbotham, Public Indecency in England 1857–1960. ‘A Serious and Growing Evil’ (2015).

Emily West is Professor in American History at the University of Reading. She is the author of numerous books including Enslaved Women in America (2014) and (as co-editor) the special editions of Slavery and Abolition and the Women's History Review on enslaved mothers in the Atlantic World in 2017.
The editors wish to thank all the contributors for their efficiency and patience in the delivery of their chapters, and for acquiring some of the images in this collection. The images in Chapter 10 appear by courtesy of the Library of Congress and those in Chapter 12 by courtesy of the Berkshire Record Office, Coley Avenue, Reading (with thanks to Mark Stevens). In addition, we would like to thank Ian Rayment for assistance in obtaining images from the Rare Books collection at the University of Plymouth. We are grateful to Rob Langham and Dana Moss at Taylor & Francis for all their support.
This collection of essays examines the nineteenth century not only through episodes, institutions, sites and representations concerned with union, concord and bonds of sympathy, but also through moments of secession, separation, discord and disjunction. Its lens extends from the local and regional, to national and international settings in Britain, Europe and the United States. The contributors come from the fields of history, literary studies, American studies and law, and the introduction's first part outlines their themes. Some of the ideals and realities of nineteenth-century union are then explored by the editors.

Part I. The scope of Union and Disunion in the Nineteenth Century

The chapters are arranged in five sections. The first is interested in union and disunion in artistic form, through literary fiction and sculpture. We begin with James Ford’s chapter on the controversy stimulated by representing in sculpture the barons and prelates involved in Magna Carta in the rebuilt Houses of Parliament. Debates about the validity of including an Irish archbishop in the scheme became the flashpoint for contention between Irish nationalists keen to repeal the Act of Union of 1800, and unionist opponents. The second chapter studies literary representation through Margaret Marwick’s discussion of English religious divisions in Margaret Oliphant’s Salem Chapel and her related novels.

The second part studies promotion of transnational friendship through popular diplomacy and texts on European states. James Gregory’s chapter examines public and political responses to the ‘English return visit’ to Paris in April 1849 in the aftermath of European revolution and Chartist agitation: an attempt to express unions of affection as well as commerce in a more democratic and popular register than the diplomacy of the period. Gregory uses British and French satiric cartoons, graphic journalism and material artefacts. In the next chapter Rachel Egloff studies closely the work of the writer Rose Blaze de Bury, who aimed to forge a literary style that would simultaneously educate the British public regarding German culture and
politics, traditionally seen as ‘masculine’ subjects, while emphasising her respectability and adherence to conventions expected of a female author.

The third part of the book turns to the politics of union and disunion in Great Britain in a variety of forms from national and unionist party politics to ‘local politics’, beginning with two chapters on political leadership and political parties in Scotland and the United Kingdom. Gordon Pentland looks at Scottish political leadership in the ‘long nineteenth century’. Hutchinson’s chapter looks particularly at the role of the Conservative party in Scotland from the Great Reform Act to the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act of 1868. A symbolic and practical site for union is the focus of Kim Stevenson and Judith Rowbotham’s essay on the three towns of Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse in Devon, linked through Union Street.

One of the most prominent expressions of union and disunion in the century occurred in the United States with civil war and secessionist impulses. In part four of the study, we turn to union in Emily West’s study of enslaved couples and marriage in the Civil War era. Pearl Ponce’s chapter focusses on the Mormon community’s experiences with the United States in the 1840s and 1850s. This section concludes in a more biographical vein with Lawrence McDonnell’s chapter on the role and legacy of the Democratic statesman (and seventh Vice-President) John C. Calhoun of South Carolina in the period leading up to the war.

The final section of the book examines family division and union in England through the law. In Alison Pedley and Helen Rutherford’s chapters, efforts to reunite English families sundered by criminal behaviour, and the disunion apparent in the jury room in a capital case during the late-Victorian period, allow us to see the legal, judicial and penal dimensions to our themes of union and disunion. The book concludes with welfare reform as an impulse for establishing networks of local unions: Karen Rothery studies the creation of administrative ‘unions’ following one of the most profound legislative interventions of the British nineteenth century, the New Poor Law of 1834.

Part II. Union and disunion in the long nineteenth century: an introductory essay

In a British context, the century begins with the major constitutional act of union with Ireland (1800). In continental Europe union figured politically and in economic terms via such events as the British effort to extend free trade, the Norway-Swedish union (1814–1905), the Italian Risorgimento completed in 1871, German unification (a process officially culminating at Versailles in January 1871), customs unions such as the Zollverein established in 1834, and currency union schemes such as the Latin Monetary Union formed in 1865 (and comprising France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland). External commentators on these tumultuous events and changes held them up as models to celebrate, emulate or avoid. Anglophone writers
turned to continental Europe for instances of ‘unnatural disunion’ in the present or past.9

There is a linguistic aspect to union and ‘reunion’. In the seventeenth century, Francis Bacon treated the ‘confusion of tongues’ as the ‘first curse of disunion’, while Archibald Sayce claimed in 1880 that ‘Language begins with multiplicity and disunion, but its end is unity’.10 In an era of nationalism, the idea of ending ‘disunion’ among peoples speaking the same language, in continental Europe, could rally support.11 Others at the end of the century advocated a political union in the Anglophone world. There might even be anticipation of a ‘world union’.12 Advocacy of unity outside political and national entities included efforts to unify science and harmonise technical nomenclature, measurements and a variety of standards at an international level to assist intellectual union.13 Germaine de Staël hailed a ‘union of all thinking men, from one end of Europe to the other’, in 1813: scientific unions developed to unite scientists across nations, alongside the creation of less formal personal and intellectual networks.14

From the opposite perspective of disunion, the United States’ federal union was imperilled and saved, generating a flood of print material defending the idea and reality of the union, or promoting disunion of the nation. As Catherine Hall has commented, ‘[t]he idea of the nation … was always fragile’ in this period.15 The question of who could join ‘national’ unions and enjoy political citizenship – who counted, who was excluded and the reasons why – was fiercely debated. This was despite the legal and political decisions of the late eighteenth century that had strengthened the expectation that ‘normal’ for British citizens was defined as white, Anglican men of themiddling sort.16 Imperialism and colonialism were the creation of, and exploitation of internal disunion and division.17

In this introductory essay, we examine the definitions and usages of the opposing terms of ‘union’ and ‘disunion’ in the nineteenth century, noting traditions of representation and interpretation which had already been established. The theme of artistic and literary representation is then turned to.

‘Union’ and ‘disunion’: definitions and usage of the words

In 1836, the conservative British Fraser’s Magazine observed, ‘Among the rare phenomena of the day in which we live, are the strange unions that are formed in our country. We have political unions, trades’ unions, Protestant unions, and, last and not least, the voluntary unions’.18 A decade later, the Coventry Herald extolled inclination to unite:

without union there is no strength for anything, – no practical victory for truth, – no security for society, – no progress for individuals or nations … the greatest hindrance to union is an indiscreet exercise of individual liberty, or the abuse of the Voluntary Principle.19
Unions were formed in their thousands for philanthropic, cultural, economic and political aims: from transatlantic labour organisations, women’s suffrage, to teetotalism and international telegraphy. These groups might well be reactionary in nature as well as radical, as Madisson Brown has demonstrated was the case for gender-conservative activists in the transatlantic campaigns against prostitution. This section surveys the discussion on union and disunion as ideas in nineteenth-century British discourse.

As a binary to describe political relations and constitutional organisation, ‘union / disunion’ was not new – ‘union’ is noted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in English usage in the fifteenth century, while ‘disunion’ appears in the late sixteenth century. Ideas about union were an important aspect in Christian theology and sermons. Unsurprisingly an extensive discourse relating to ‘union with Christ’ continued in Victorian theology whether Catholic or Protestant. The afterlife – after the moment of death which was itself sometimes called ‘disunion’ – was imagined as time ‘without disunion’, or indeed an end to ‘souls’ disunion’, for the blessed. But Christianity accepted the disunion of natural humanity from God. Union also figured, as a consequence of their roots, in new faiths like Swedenborgianism and the theosophical movement.

In political discourse, the word ‘union’ is traced to classical, civic humanism. Its essential presence for political stability was highlighted at moments of crisis: take the comment in a sermon before the House of Commons in 1741, ‘Union is so much the Strength of every Society, that without it there is little probability of its continuing long’. As Kersh’s research on its prominence in American political language through the war of independence demonstrates, the word was the key term for commonality in political discourse from the 1770s ‘into the Civil War era and beyond’. Talk of union in politics, Kersh argues, needs to be interpreted as operating within a culture familiar with religious motifs of union and in which union was constantly extolled, as in the words of one prominent writer, the Congregationalist preacher Jonathan Edwards, ‘union is one of the most amiable things that pertains to human society; yea, it is one of the most beautiful and happy things on earth, which indeed makes earth most like heaven’. As a term of communal feeling and organisation, ‘union’ was joined by others in the lexicon of unionism, to describe political, commercial, social and cultural entities in the Anglophone nineteenth century, from ‘association’ and ‘amalgamation’, to ‘co-operation’. Society itself being a union, it is natural that among the combinations is ‘social union’, which appears in Robert Burns’s poem of 1785, ‘To a Mouse’ (‘I’m truly sorry man’s dominion | Has broken nature’s social union’). It was the title for an organisation involving Robert Young, designed to unite ‘whatever constitutes the interest, the dignity, or the welfare of society’ in April 1799. Social union was described by the English physiologist Thomas Laycock in 1860 thus:

The desire for union and communion with his fellow-men is the fundamental desire of man as a social animal. And out of this desire arise all those high motives and social efforts, excited by the love of country, and which characterise the patriotic hero.
Laycock traced this through

... those infinitely varying combinations of men for a common object, which arise when man is free to carry into effect the social motives which actuate him. It is from this source that the stimulus is derived which, in free countries like Great Britain and the United States, impels men to the formation of all those institutions, companies, associations, clubs, benefit societies, masonic lodges, and religious sects, that so remarkably characterise their social polity.31

In a religious age, this social concord was traced back to God’s will.32 The Eclectic Review’s essay on Christian union in 1845 argued, ‘order and harmony pervade the works of the Deity, so as to constitute the general law of all’.33 The Liberal writer John Morley observed that Conservative philosophy was that ‘social union is the express creation ... of the Deity’.34 Obviously associated with this is the idea of ‘social disunion’ – often discussed by Victorians in the context of societies (including the writers’) where social unity was absent.35 The social reformer Edward Carpenter wrote of the ‘disunion of the present-day man’, in 1889, ‘the disunion of the outer self from the inner – the horrible dual self-consciousness – which is the means ultimately of a more perfect and conscious union than could ever have been realised without it’.36

The great transatlantic example of political union might act as model, inspiration and warning in the old Europe.37 But Americans in a century of secession and internecine conflict were obviously aware of the significance of, and challenges towards the ideal of ‘union’.38 Alexander Hamilton told Washington in March 1783, ‘The seeds of disunion are much more numerous than those of union’.39 President Buchanan wrote in 1858, ‘In the last age of the republic it was considered almost treasonable to pronounce the word “disunion.” Times have since sadly changed, and now disunion is freely prescribed as the remedy of evanescent evils’.40 ‘Union pledges peace at home’, commented R.C. Pell in 1863, ‘and its invulnerable front frowns off war from without. L’Union c’est la force says the motto of Belgium – Union is strength; Union is peace, may America add. It is our very life. It means civilization, progress – all future hope for the continent’.41 The Englishman Richard Cobden justly observed in 1861, ‘each State is in some sense a centre of disunion. Each State attracts to itself a share of political attachment, has separate interests, real or supposed, has a separate set of public men anxious to increase its importance’.42 The spirit of union and disunion was depicted by Nevin in Harper’s Weekly (see Figure 0.1).

The many other areas in which union and disunion could be examined include the phenomena of natural and human sciences (such as the relationship between sexual, family and social unions43) and policy in state and inter-state relations, as most famously represented by the German Zollverein and discussion of British imperial unions.44 Those British workers uniting in trade unions had international parallels, as might organisations for social
policy and welfare such as Poor Law Unions. The Scottish philosopher George Ramsay’s *Political Discourses* (1838) asserted ‘among the various forces which in the moral world are constantly at war with each other, some lead to Union, others to Disunion’, in establishing his dichotomy of central and local powers. Acts of local administrative union, as in national and international affairs, could be fraught with contention. The ‘union’ of the reformed English poor law in the 1830s was the source of enduring dread for the poor. One satirical comment on the new system – an engraving entitled ‘Poor Law Disunion’, displays a couple being dragged apart to their separate wards by the poor law staff, their hands symbolically missing each other under the doorway marked ‘The Union’ (see Figure 0.2).

The tendency to union or disunion, as already indicated, has ecclesiastical, theological and religious aspects. Dictionaries, including Samuel Johnson’s, in defining the word ‘union’, provided a legal usage specifically related to (personal) union in religious bodies: ‘a combining or consolidation of two churches in one which is done by the consent of the bishop the patron incumbent’. There was also the creation or breakup of denominational unity (the deprecation of the Protestant Reformation by the Oxford Movement, for example, as more of a loss through disunion). There was the forging of
ecumenical bodies such as that attempted under von Döllinger at Bonn in 1874–1875. This was also an era which saw pioneering interfaith activity in which some spoke of the 'prospective religious union of the human family' and others anticipated a 'grand union of the world’s religions'. Solidarity might be expressed on interfaith lines through working together on social issues and developing friendships, as was the case for some Jewish and Christian women activists in late-nineteenth-century Britain. Missionary work might be seen as promoting union of belief, but as the Anglican clergyman and poet Robert Hawker said, ‘For God’s sake, let us try to agree together at home, before we transplant our demoniacal dis-union to foreign lands’.

Modern technology assisted transcontinental and global union through steam-powered land and maritime transport, telegraphy and transoceanic cables. The Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association gestured to modern science when fraternally greeting Daniel O’Connell and fellow Irish repealers in 1840: ‘England and Ireland are now enabled almost to shake hands with each other; our steam inventions have cast a floating bridge across the Irish channel, which is traversed by hundreds and thousands of our respective peoples’. But at the end of the century Leo Tolstoy scorned the millennium effected ‘when all shall be united from one end of the world to the other’, by telegraphy, telephony and balloons, because human nature would remain in disunion.

Union encompassed conjunctions of interests and mind – material and spiritual connections. At the level of affective relations within the domestic sphere, there were acts of union and threats of disunion. They might have wider implications for ‘debates about marriage are not simply about private,
intimate relationships; these controversies are ways of negotiating the meanings and values of the nation.58 Despite the fact that no state recognised the marriages of enslaved men and women as ‘legal’ or binding, such unions were of lasting importance to these couples and their families in the antebellum United States.59 Eighteenth-century sermons on envy touched on the threat of disunion to family happiness.60 Jeremy Bentham in discussing divorce in ‘Principles of the Civil Code’ argued that ‘a principle of disunion among married persons introduces negligence and disorder’. John Stuart Mill used these terms in an unpublished essay on marriage referring to ‘perpetual bickering and disunion’.61 His partner Harriet Mill wrote of union and disunion of feelings and character in an essay on female enfranchisement in 1851.62 Sarah Ellis’s The Wives of England, a famous text published in 1843, spoke of ‘discoveries made which have fully justified an entire disunion of the parties thus associated’, in marriage. Radical periodicals discussed marriage law reforms under the title of disunion.63 This is quite apart from the idea of gender difference as disunion (for example, ‘intellectual disunion’).64 Women becoming enfranchised and expressing political opinions, it was feared, would disunite families.65 Disunion also came into the family through in-laws damaging the ‘loving patriarchal union’, according to Dinah Craik’s Studies from Life (1862).66 The fear and threat of ‘unhallowed disunion’ in its ultimate large-scale expression of civil war between brothers was realised in the United States in the 1860s (see Figure 0.3).67

Figure 0.3 ‘The Old Man and His Sons’, Harper’s Weekly, 2 February 1861, p. 76. Image courtesy of James Gregory.
Union and disunion go together. Some commentators, such as the mid-century author Edwin Paxton Hood, optimistically saw union and amalgamation in religion as the happy eventual fruit of sectarian divisions. But nonconformist Protestants might generally be viewed as preferring their state of disunion. Others, committed to the established church’s stability, saw threats from external enemies and, like the Congregationalist minister Henry Rogers, detected ‘fatal signs of disunion from within’. Advocates of a non-denominational national education in the mid-Victorian period justified themselves by pointing to the disunion of religious bodies. Commentators saw the progress of humanity, no less, at stake from the existence of union or disunion in Anglo-French relations: the émigré Ivan Golovin commenting in 1848: ‘The progress of mankind depends upon the union of these two nations; and their disunion must be injurious to liberty’. How union and disunion might be seen in racial terms is something to explore further: the essayist Charles Lamb’s discussion of his own anti-Semitism, in the essay on ‘Imperfect Sympathies’, refers to ‘so deadly a disunion’. In the scientific realm, amateurs and experts played with the idea of union in nature and chemistry (with its atomic and molecular unions, for example) and found analogies in human nature. Psychology was turned to by the novelist Catherine Crowe in 1848 to explore states of disunion of body and spirit such as sleep, as a ‘foretaste of its future destiny’, the body would experience disunion from the spirit. A sense of disunion in the waking state was abnormal, ‘hence it is that somnambulists and clairvoyantes are chiefly to be found amongst sickly women’. The mathematician Royston Piggott told an audience of the Eastbourne Natural History Society in 1881, ‘All organic matter is in one tremendous turmoil of union and disunion’. The anti-Darwinian Samuel Butler provocatively described eating as ‘a mode of love; it is an effort after a closer union; so we say we love roast beef ... the effort is after closer union and possession’. Famously the philosopher Herbert Spencer sought to elaborate an evolutionary theory in which increasingly complex forms developed out of simple forms: arguably union was at its heart. In Social Statics (1851) he commented:

as man has been, and is still, deficient in those feelings which, by dictating just conduct, prevent the perpetual antagonism of individuals and their consequent disunion, some artificial agency is required by which their union may be maintained. Only by the process of adaptation itself can be produced that character which makes social equilibrium spontaneous.

The barrister and keen anthropologist George Harris, studying civilisation in what he thought was a scientific manner in 1861, cogitated on ‘union’, civilisation tending to promote it at a national level and globally: ‘The complete accomplishment of civilization is indeed mainly dependent upon, and principally effected by this union and co-operation of its different Elements’.
Social evolution was also invoked in terms of political unions, thus discussion of Anglo-Irish relations by the liberal activist Wordsworth Donisthorpe in 1894, referred to the argument ‘urged against union or in favour of disunion … that the two peoples in question are in different stages of social evolution’.81

In the political discourse of union and disunion Irish nationalists could find much to emphasise in the latter category, by way of explaining the continuation of British rule: ‘Disunion among yourselves, was the cause of their prostration. Disunion! – in that obnoxious word, contained the history of Ireland’s wrongs’, and ‘Disunion it was that gave footing to that foreign power, and handed over the government of the country to its minions. Disunion has made impregnable the fortress of the enslaver.’82 In the British context, it was Irish discourse in which the language of union and disunion was particularly fraught, take this passage from a letter by a Catholic priest, on O’Connellism, in 1847:

Union is a mere instrument – in itself neither good nor evil, and just as powerful for evil as for good. Union is not truth, nor virtue, nor happiness; but truth and virtue tend, through union, as an instrument to happiness, which is the final end of man, and of all human machinations. This instrument, like all the other gifts of God or devices of men, may be used or abused. To speak of the value of union in the abstract is to speak nonsense. To speak of the evils of disunion is equally nonsensical. Truth and virtue are the kernel of all good; error and vice the origin of all misfortune. A union not centered in virtue is the shell of a blind nut. It is well to break it.83

Then there was this, Richard Doyle’s comment on the philanthropy of the English side of the union with Ireland, during the Irish famine (see Figure 0.4).

Political memoirs made references to party divisions in terms of disunion.84 When Irish Home Rule split the Liberal party, there was much coverage of British politics in terms of union and disunion in the late nineteenth century.85

Representing union and disunion in literature and art

Unions and disunions are commemorated: Independence Day being, after all, the ‘anniversary of the disunion of the United States from England’.86 Union was represented in physical form in monuments to dynastic, national and federal union: or so Laycock argued, ‘The most remarkable illustrations of this aesthetic and constructive evolution of the idea of social unity have been erected by two free nations – namely, the British House of Parliament, and the Capitol at Washington’.87 Parliament, through statuary, history painting, mosaic and heraldry, presented a united kingdom: the representation of the union, and the episodes of disunity caused by decorative schemes,
has been explored in detail recently by James Ford, who contributes a chapter to our book. Beyond such imperial and republican architecture, union had artistic representation. In political projects of union, the mobilisation of poetry, prose and graphic propaganda occurred; extolling or vilifying the act of union with Ireland in 1800, for example.
The origins of American Civil War iconography of disunion reside in the eighteenth-century visual rhetoric of the revolution. Lithographic and wood-engraved serpents or hydras of disunion or secession (strangled or clubbed by infant or adult Hercules) thematically originated in the famous image of the divided serpent with the motto ‘JOIN, or DIE’ of 1754 – and the variant ‘UNITE or DIE’ – to encourage the union of colonies against changing enemies.90 Recent discussion of the photographic response to antebellum and Civil War politics has identified disjunction and an effort to construct permanence, through the new medium of daguerreotype photography.91

The representation of ‘union’ in trade-union banners, and commemorative medals, are manifestations of the attempt to celebrate and extol union materially and performatively.92 In James Gregory’s chapter in this collection, which studies the diplomatic ramifications of the English holiday visit to Paris organised in April 1849, several designs of commemorative medals struck in Paris, displaying the hands clasped in unity, are noted. The symbolic gesture of hands clasped or shaking can be traced through a wide range of nineteenth-century British, European and American artefacts from pledge cards for the late-Victorian Gospel Temperance Union, commemoration of the successful Atlantic telegraphic link (‘The laying of the cable – John and Jonathan joining hands’, as one cartoon depicted the event in 1858), the iconography of Marianne and Britannia for the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 and the socialist Walter Crane’s famous design for workers of the world uniting. Sometimes, when it was a matter of personal diplomacy, for instance, representing friendly intimacy need not involve bodily contact: thus a print (published internationally) commemorating the cordiality of Emperor Napoleon III and Victoria depicted the two royal couples sharing a box at the Paris Opera in 1855, with the legend ‘Hail! happy union!’93

One of our contributors, Margaret Marwick, looks to literary treatment of union and disunion in the context of the British nonconformist movement against the union of church and state. Union and disunion appeared in all sorts of novels, including romances of marital bliss imperilled and gained; examples where the maxim of ‘union is strength’ is invoked include the poet and prolific novelist Harriet Maria Gordon Smythies’ Courtship and Wedlock; or, Lovers and Husbands in 1850.94 Novels offered, to quote Smythies elsewhere, ‘passionate pictures of the union of two hearts’.95 The novelist, often working to support families after marital disunion or economic failure, might write with experience of the reality of domestic division. Catherine Crowe’s eponymous heroine in Linny Lockwood (1854) observes, ‘poverty would be sure to create disunion’.96 In Charles Reade’s Hard Cash (1863) appears the observation, ‘disunion, a fast-growing plant, when men set it in the soil of the passions’.97 In other cases, such as early nineteenth-century novels by Walter Scott and Sydney Owenson, the marriage union plot is a device to explore metaphorically, the ‘union’ of nations.98 American writers would also comment on their political unions through novels and poetry.99
Introduction

What is ... more continually in our ears – continually exemplified most convincingly before our eyes than that old fable of the bundle of sticks, ‘Union is Strength.’ From the history of a nation to a game at chess, we wonderingly behold the magic power of that time-honoured dictum. Viewing the matter in a higher light it is strictly enjoined by our creed. How comes it, then, we are so loath to practise what in a spiritual and material sense we are all ready to admit is capable of yielding rich fruit? The cause is not far to seek. Jealousy, weakness, and all other imperfectness, wage a Titan war against faint and uncertain strivings.

So commented the author of an essay on ‘co-operation’ in the British feminist *Victoria Magazine* in 1868.100 This introduction demonstrates how prevalent ideas of union and disunion (and efforts to realise and avoid these states) were in nineteenth-century culture through its survey of discourse and representation. Our contributors consider the disunion created through the politics of architectural sculpture, and literary treatments of current union or disunion (literary plots prominently involve the themes of disunion, reunion and union). They explore enterprises of popular diplomacy combined with commerce, attempting to create *entente cordiale* between historic enemies. From the local and familial to international relations, our authors demonstrate how fruitful the lens of union and disunion are to understanding the period in Anglo-American culture. Without overstating a ‘transatlantic’ culture in our period, it is worth remembering the keen American interest in the fate of the Irish under the British state’s union, and the fascination with the United States’ disunion in Britain (as well as internationally), to take merely the subject of political union. The American ambassador to Portugal published *Union, Disunion, and Reunion: A Letter to General Franklin Pierce, Ex-president of the United States* in London with the publisher Richard Bentley in 1862.101

Chronologically, the essays focus on the era before 1914, after which a new global conflict created new demands to realise the maxim ‘union is strength’, triggered new acts of disunion and reunion, and proliferated through old and new media, familiar tropes of unity and disunity.102 Our topic of union and disunion, examined as a historical theme from the perspective of various nineteenth-century histories, local, national, and international, is novel. It is also timely. In Britain, with present-day concerns about Scottish independence and the repercussions of the vote for Brexit, it is natural to turn to history to seek understanding of disunitive tendencies.103

Notes


5 German unification could be heralded by Britons as a positive development, on racial grounds. Thus Andrew Paton, ‘for no nation has suffered more from disunion … Whatever … gives real unity and solidity to Germany, must be viewed with satisfaction by the Briton’, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic: Including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849), vol. 2, pp. 295–296.


18 ‘Union of Papists and Dissenters to Achieve the Disunion of Church and State’, *Fraser’s Magazine* 13, May 1836, p. 519.

19 ‘No Success Without Union’, *Coventry Herald*, 5 November 1847.

20 On a world’s temperance union, see comments pro and anti-, including caustic comment of John Dunlop, T. Beggs, *The Proceedings of the World’s Temperance Convention: Held in London, Aug. 4th and Four Following Days, with the Papers Laid Before the Convention, Letters Read, Statistics and General Information Presented* (London: Gilpin, 1846), p. 45, ‘There was a difference betwixt the word union – and the thing union. If begun it would contain within itself the elements of disunion’. The International Telegraph Union was formed in 1865. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union was established in 1875, and the Women’s Social and Political Union was formed in 1903. On transatlantic labour see S. Parfitt, *Knights across the Atlantic: The Knights of Labor in Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).


22 Thus, for example, in discussing absolute monarchy and the British polity, *Britannia Languens, or a Discourse of Trade: Shewing the Grounds and Reasons of the Increase and Decay of Land-Rents, National Wealth and Strength* (London: 1680): ‘a great part of the transcendent Policy of this our Form of Government consists in the high Obligations and means of a Union’ between prince and parliament.

24 In theology, take, for example, Isaac Watts’s discussion, ‘The Doctrine of Unions, is one of the most unknown and unsearchable Difficulties in natural Philosophy’, in *The Glory of Christ as God-Man Display’d, in 3 Discourses. With an Appendix* (London: Oswald, 1746); and Thomas Flower’s *The Doctrine of Union between Christ and the Believer: Being the Substance of Thirteen Sermons* (London: Ward, 1740). For Victorian usage, see J. Cox, *The Believer’s Position and Prospects; or, Thoughts on Union to Christ* (London: Ward, 1856). For understanding of Jewish conceptions of disunion and union, see Joseph Caryll on Job, ‘The reason which they give of it is this, because then was the first disunion, that made the first second that ever was; all before was one (*sub unissimo Deo*) under the One-most God. But to leave this fancy to the Jewish doctors, among many others of the like nature, there is somewhat in the notion itself, namely, that division and disunion are the evils of the creature, all natural disunions are the afflictions of natural things’. Quoted in *Things New and Old: Or, A Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, Allegories, Apophthegms, Adages, Apologies, Divine, Moral, Political, & c., with Their Several Applications. Collected and Observed from the Writings and Sayings of the Learned in All Ages to this Present* (London: Tegg, 1869), vol. 2, p. 217.

25 And ‘disunion’ has been applied to study of Machiavelli, see V. Kahn, ‘Reduction and the Praise of Disunion in Machiavelli’s “Discourses”’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18:1 (1988), pp. 1–19.


28 Kersh, *Dreams of a more Perfect Union*, p. 26, referring to the parable of the shepherd’s staff of union, from Zechariah 2. Kersh cites the work of D.H. Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989) on the ‘importance of unity’ to Puritan sermonic discourse into the eighteenth century, p. 26: the words of Edwards, *A Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union in God’s People* (Boston, 1747) are quoted by Fischer at p. 190 of *Albion’s Seed*.


30 *Transactions of the Social Union. Formed for the Improvement of Civil Society* (London: T. Becket; J. Johnson; Debrett; T. Hookham; and White and Son, 1790), p. 4.

31 T. Laycock, *Mind and Brain: Or, the Correlations of Consciousness and Organisation; with Their Applications to Philosophy, Zoology, Physiology, Mental Pathology, and the Practice of Medicine* (Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1860), vol. 2, p. 125.

32 As the OED notes, of the usage of ‘cement’, quoting from Edward Irving, *Babylon* (1826) I. iii. 246 Faith is the cement of all domestic and social union.

34 J. Morley, On Compromise (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), p. 96. The work refers on several occasions to ‘social union’ in terms of the bonds of a society.


37 The Albany ‘Plan of Union’ involving Benjamin Franklin, also drew on British concerns about the colonies’ security in the 1750s: Timothy Shannon argues, ‘the idea of colonial union owed as much to British officials as it did to colonial Americans’, Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 55–56. References to ‘union’ in Franklin’s writings, and among other leading American rebels are discussed in Kersh, Dreams of a More Perfect Union, p. 40, and see more broadly his analysis of union usage, 1764–1773 through newspapers to study ‘Americans’ propensity to express national sentiments in the language of union’ (p. 39).


41 R.C. Pell, Forward or Backward? (New York: Miller, 1863), p. 4.


43 For example, Laycock, Mind and Brain, vol. 2, pp. 122–123.

44 For imperial-focussed discourse on union and disunion, see C.J. Rowe, Bonds of Disunion; Or, English Misrule in the Colonies (London: Longmans, Green, 1883) pp. 1–2: ‘those political measures for the government of our Colonies which, while intended to weld the empire into one harmonious whole, whereof each part should derive its laws from a common centre, were, and under any circumstances would be, so many centrifugal forces tending to disunion between England and her Colonies. Every now and again we are regaled with some elaborated scheme of quasi-legislative union between Great Britain and her Colonies wherever situate’. See also, for review, The Athenaeum 2928 (8 December 1883), pp. 737–738.


On the debates leading to the welfare reforms brought about by the New Poor Law (1834 4 & 5 Will. IV c. 76), see the multi-volume evidence of witnesses compiled in the ‘Royal Commission of Inquiry into Administration and Practical Operation of Poor Laws’, Parliamentary Papers, 1834, No. 44, Vols. 27–39, pp. 1–8323.


‘Bishop Jewel; His Character, Correspondence, and Apologetic Treatises’, The British Critic, July 1841, p. 2: ‘Too many of us speak as if we had gained more by the Reformation (that deplorable schism) in freedom, than we have lost by it in disunion’.

See Report on the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn between the 10th and the 16th of August, 1875 (London: Pickering, 1876), including Dr P. Schaff’s comments p. 79: ‘We do not want an absorptive union or a dead uniformity, but a living unity in liberty, and liberty in unity’. See T.L. Strange, The Sources and Development of Christianity (London: Trübner, 1875), pp. ix–x ‘if even the semblance of union was to be secured, it could only be by the parties engaged casting a cloak of charity over their diverging opinions’.

See World’s Congress of Religions (Boston, MA: Arena, 1893), J. Gmeiner, ‘Primitive and Prospective Religious Union of the Human Family’, which hoped in the ‘comparatively near future’ for this ‘union of mankind’ to be ‘fitly crowned by religious unity’ (p. 182); the other quotation, p. 304, is from Kinza Ringem, Hirai of Japan.


Dublin Monitor, 26 November 1840.


J.-J. Rousseau’s Emile, Book 5 refers to ‘disunion of hearts’, let all possible calamities be accumulated on two affectionate and congenial spirits, they will find more true happiness in weeping together than they would have found in all the riches of the world, poisoned by the disunion of heart (qu’ils n’en auroient dans toutes les fortunes de la terre, empoisonnées par la désunion des cœurs’), the translation here being T.L. Peacock’s. See his novel Melincourt (London: Printed for T. Hookham, Jun. and Co, 1817), p. 171.


65 On these and the mobilisation of other complaints against women’s greater freedoms, see S. Crozier-De Rosa, Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash: Britain, Ireland and Australia 1890–1920 (New York: Routledge, 2018).
67 The phrase is from Jackson’s proclamation regarding nullification, 10 December 1833.
68 See from Hegel’s Logic, ‘We must know that the Progressus is the alternation of the union and of the disunion of the two moments; and, again, we must know that the union and disunion are themselves inseparable’ J.H. Stirling, The Secret of Hegel: Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form, and Matter: In Two Volumes (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865), vol. 2, pp. 153–154.
70 This sentiment is suggested as being in decline, in C.J. Shebbeare’s The Greek Theory of the State and the Nonconformist Conscience: A Socialistic Defence of Some Ancient Institutions (London: Methuen, 1895), p. 63.
75 See, for instance, the repetitious treatment of union in James Hinton’s self-published Selections from Manuscripts, vol. 1 (London: 1856), including: union of absolute law and liberty (p. 535), and ‘polar’ unions.
77 Eastbourne Gazette, 26 January 1881.
78 S. Butler, Luck, or Cunning as the Main Means of Organic Modification?: An Attempt to Throw Additional Light upon the Late Mr. Charles Darwin’s Theory of Natural Selection (London: Trübner, 1887).
80 G. Harris, Civilization Considered as a Science, in Relation to Its Essence, Its Elements, and Its End (London: Bell and Daldy, 1861).
82 Tipperary Free Press, 1 October 1831; Kilkenny Journal, 4 December 1847.
83 Newry Telegraph, 9 January 1847. See also the references to ‘disunion’ in John Denvir’s The Irish in Britain: From the Earliest Times to the Fall and Death of Parnell (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894).


Thus the Royal Academician’s James Barry’s design, in the British Museum collection, 1868, 0612.2142, and such ephemera as ‘The Union Song’, a print by Peltro William Tonkins (1801), and also his ‘Union Wreath’ of the same year. Decorated fans presented the ‘United Sisters (Ashton and Hadwen); the Repeal movement would stimulate such graphic comments as the cartoonist George Cruikshank’s ‘The Queen and the Union’, with O’Connell poised above the two female personifications, arms joined in amity, ready to hack them apart with the axe of repeal (1843). Inter alia, an old meaning of ‘union’ was harmony in colour and design.


Lithograph by M. Alophe, Hail! Happy Union! The State Visit to the Royal Italian Opera, on Thursday, April 19th, 1855 (Paris and New York: Goupil et Cie, 1855), British Museum, 1982, U.2062.


‘Co-operation’, *Victoria Magazine*, May 1868, pp. 50–56 [p. 50].


For example, Senia Pašeta has provided an excellent and nuanced analysis of continuity and change in the attitudes of Irish women nationalists from the turn of the century up to the end of the Great War: see S. Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).


First Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, HC 412 (1842), 5.


‘FAC Minutes’, 12 April 1843, Fine Arts Commission 1841–1844, Royal Archives, Windsor (RA) VIC/MAIN/F/29/31. Material from the Royal Archives is cited with the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.


Thomas Babington Macaulay to Viscount Mahon, 15 March 1845, Stanhope Papers, Kent Archive and Local History Service, Maidstone (KALHS) U1590/C348/7/1, U1590/C348/7/2. Material from the Stanhope Papers is quoted by kind permission of the Board of Trustees of the Chevening Estate.

KALHS U1590/C348/7/1, U1590/C348/7/2.


14 Fourth Report, Appendix 2, p. 11.
16 Fourth Report, Appendix 3, p. 11.
17 Fourth Report, Appendix 3, pp. 11–12.
18 The Commission resolved to adopt the subcommittee’s report and Hallam’s explanatory letter in early June 1845. See ‘FAC Minutes’, 6 June 1845, RA VICT MAIN/F/30/13.
20 The Times, 16 October 1845, p. 5.
22 ‘Conciliation Hall’, Freeman’s Journal, 21 October 1845, p. 3.
23 Quoted in Freeman’s Journal, 21 October 1845, p. 3.
33 Patten, Samuel Ferguson, p. 99.
34 Patten, Samuel Ferguson, p. 99.
35 ‘Mr. Ferguson’s Letter’, Nation, 1 November 1845, p. 12.
36 Nation, 1 November 1845, p. 12.
37 Nation, 1 November 1845, p. 12.
42 Nation, 6 December 1845, p. 10.
43 Nation, 6 December 1845, p. 10.
44 Nation, 20 December 1845, p. 3.
45 Nation, 20 December 1845, p. 3.
46 Seventh Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, HC 862 (1847), Appendix 2.1, ‘Alteration in the selection, before made, of personages whose Effigies might be placed in the House of Lords’, p. 16. As a result of the resolution being published, this is the only aspect of the controversy that has been widely known. For example, see Boase, p. 340.
47 Seventh Report, Appendix 2.2, ‘Statement by Sir Robert H. Inglis, explaining his reasons for not agreeing as to the expediency of such alteration’, p. 16.
48 Seventh Report, Appendix 2.2, p. 16.
49 Quoted in Ferguson, Samuel Ferguson, pp. 166–167. There is no evidence to support Ferguson’s claim that he had a role in the statue’s design.
50 Quoted in Ferguson, *Samuel Ferguson*, p. 167.
51 Quoted in Ferguson, *Samuel Ferguson*, p. 112.
52 Patten, *Samuel Ferguson*, p. 125.
55 Sir Robert Peel to Albert, 21 November 1845, RA VIC/MAIN/F/30/33 and 34. Albert, ‘Memorandum (Private)’, n.d. (c. 6 February 1846), KALHS U1590/O170.
57 ‘Minutes of a Committee of the FAC’, 1 May 1846, KALHS U1590/O170.
58 All three are untitled but dated 8 May 1846, KALHS U1590/O170.
60 *Seventh Report*, Appendix 1, p. 10. A full examination of the 1847 schemes through the prism of the Union is given in Ford, ‘The Art of Union and Disunion’, ch. 4.
61 For a detailed history of the mosaics, see Ford, ‘The Art of Union and Disunion’, ch. 6.
1 Owen Chadwick is the prime authority on the history of the Church of England, and I draw widely on his accounts in vol. 1 of his two-volume *The Victorian Church* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970). For Phillpott’s attack on the soundness of bishop Hampden’s doctrine, for instance, see pp. 237–250.
5 Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 7–17.
6 Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 24–47.
8 Coventry Patmore’s immensely popular long poem, *The Angel in the House* (London: John W Parker, 1858) sold 250,000 copies in his lifetime. Patmore’s ‘angel’ devotes her life to supporting her husband, ministering to the children and running the household as a model of domestic economy.
16 Jay, Mrs Oliphant: A Fiction to Herself, p. 147.
17 M. Oliphant, Salem Chapel (1863; London: Virago, 1986), p. 77. Full details of the modern editions of Oliphant’s other works cited here are in the bibliography.
18 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 94.
19 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 457.
20 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 253.
22 The concept of a dormant mind being restored to full intelligence is further explored in Innocent, serialised in The Graphic, 1873.
23 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 19; p. 69.
24 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 98.
26 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 40.
27 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 114.
28 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 133.
29 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 136.
30 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 106.
31 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 160.
32 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, pp. 227–228.
33 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 169.
34 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 174.
36 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 364.
37 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 365.
38 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 453.
39 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 4.
40 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 77.
41 Oliphant, Salem Chapel, p. 454.
42 M. Oliphant, Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Margaret Oliphant, ed. by Mrs Harry Coghill, 1899 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974), p. 84.
43 'Modern Light Literature-Theology' Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 78:477 (July 1855), pp. 72–86.
44 'Religious Memoirs', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 83:512 (June 1858), pp. 703–718.
48 Oliphant, Perpetual Curate, p. 3.
52 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 211.
54 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 197.
55 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 243.
56 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 229.
57 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 296.
58 Oliphant, Phoebe, Junior, p. 340.
59 Chadwick, Victorian Church, pp. 142–158.
60 Chadwick, Victorian Church, p. 559.
3 Antoine Capet noted, in A. Capet, ed., Britain, France and the Entente Cordiale Since 1904 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 2, over sixty works studying the entente cordiale are listed by the Royal Historical Society bibliography, dating back to 1916. For high-political British perspective, see D. Brown, ‘Palmerston and Anglo-French Relations, 1846 – 1865’, in Anglo-French Relations since the Late Eighteenth Century, ed. by G. Stone and T.G. Otte (2008; London: Routledge, 2013), which notes the ‘era of growing extra-parliamentary influence, even on foreign policy-making’ (pp. 45–46).
4 The Times, 16 April 1849, p. 4.
5 The Era, 22 April 1849.
6 Norwich Mercury, 14 April 1849.
8 Illustrated London News, 7 April 1849.

10 *The Satirist*, 16 December 1848, p. 545.

11 Address of Francis Lloyd, Esq., (Vice-President) to the West London Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics’ Institution, Manor House, King’s Road, Chelsea, at the close of the first lecture session terminating May 21, 1847 (London: B.D. Cousins, 1847).

12 On his Quaker background, see H. Lloyd, *The Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution* (1975; Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 268. Lloyd, p. 268 states this resignation was due to perjured witnesses, but *The Legal Guide*, 14 September 1839, pp. 313–314, shows Lloyd’s involvement with a pretended widow who was his mistress.

13 Reported in *Coventry Herald*, 15 January 1841.


15 First published as *The Paris Estafette; Or, Pilferings from the Paris and Dover Post-Bag ... Embellished with Portraits and Wood Cuts* (London: Biggs [1842]), I cite *Pilferings from the Paris and Dover Postbag* (London: Routledge, 1843), pp. 68–86.

16 *Pilferings from the Paris and Dover Postbag*, p. 169, see also p. 132.


20 ‘The “Grande Fete De La Fraternite” of the National Guard’, p. 175.


22 *Morning Post*, 19 February 1849.

23 The prospectus does not survive, but its introduction was quoted by Baillie Cochrane in the Commons, see *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, vol. 102, House of Commons, 22 February 1849, cols. 1098 – 1100, and in the press, e.g. *The Spectator*, 24 February 1849, p. 171.

24 *Punch*, 3 March 1849, p. 93.

25 *The Times*, 23 February 1849, p. 3; *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, vol. 102, House of Commons, 22 February 1849, col.1100.

26 *Globe*, 24 February 1849.


28 For example, *Essex Standard*, 13 April 1849.

29 *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 March 1849.


31 *Kentish Gazette*, 27 March 1849.


33 *Morning Post*, 8 March 1849.

39 *Globe*, 14 April 1849, reprinting from *The Times*.
40 *Morning Post*, April 1849.
42 *English Party’s Excursion to Paris*, p. 30 (Bill’s visit to the Assembly is reprinted at p. 58).
44 *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 18 April 1849.
45 *Reading Mercury*, 14 April 1849.
46 *The Era*, 22 April 1849.
48 *Morning Post*, 14 April 1849.
49 *The Spectator*, 14 April 1849.
52 *Inverness Courier*, 19 April 1849.
53 *Nottingham Review*, 20 April 1849.
54 *The Times*, 17 April 1849, p. 8, translating *Journals des Débats* of 14 April 1849.
56 *The Times*, 10 April 1849, p. 4.
57 *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 18 April 1849.
58 *What I Saw in Paris during Easter 1849*, p. 49, states that ‘two galleries, immediately in front of the President and the tribune, were set apart for the use of the English Visitors’.
59 I have used the Bibliothèque Nationale’s *Gallica* database, but not extensively studied the French-language press, e.g. regional titles such as *Le National Boulonnais*, which began 3 March 1849. Bill, *The English Party’s Excursion to Paris*, pp. 136–137, quotes the enthusiastic English-language *Boulogne Gazette*, 17 April 1849.
65 *The Times*, 9 April 1849, p. 4.
The Times, 2nd morning edition 13 April, reprinted in Evening Mail, 13 April 1849.
Puppet-Show, vol. 3 (1849), p. 162; also Morning Chronicle, 9 April 1849 on this rumour.
Norwich Mercury, 14 April 1849.
Punch, 21 April 1849, p. 158.
Globe, 15 May 1849.
Kentish Gazette, 3 July 1849.
The Principality, 18 May 1849.
The Era, 22 April 1849.
The Times, 10 April 1848, p. 4.
The Times, 18 May 1849, p. 5.
The Times, 10 April 1849, p. 4.
The Times, 10 April 1849, p. 4.
Northern Star, 24 March 1849.
The Era, 22 April 1849.
Globe, 24 February 1849.
Congrès des amis de la paix universelle réuni à Paris en 1849: compte-rendu, séances, résolutions adoptées, discours [etc.] (Brussels: Lesigne, 1849).

Aberdeen Press and Journal, 21 February 1849.


Banffshire Journal, 20 February 1849.


Morning Chronicle, 29 May 1849; Norwich Mercury, 14 April 1849 saw the demise of stately diplomacy’s demise through ‘steam and railways … iron-hearted reformer’.

The Times, 18 May 1849, p. 5.


Illustrated London News, 21 April 1849.

Punch, 3 March 1849, p. 93.

Punch, 9 June 1849, p. 219.

The Times, 16 April 1849, p. 6.

Kentish Gazette, 3 July 1849.

Bell’s Weekly Messenger, 12 May 1849.


Literary Gazette, 23 March 1850, p. 222.


The Times, 16 April 1849, p. 4.


The phrase is from *Visite rendue*, p. 7.


5 [Anon.], *Standard*, 21 August 1850, p. 3.
6 This chapter’s usage of the terms masculine, feminine and unfeminine refers to mid-nineteenth-century perceptions thereof.
7 The terms German and Germany refer to German-speaking parts of Europe pre-1871.
8 Rose was her preferred first name. Her first name has been spelled Mary or Marie and her surname Stuart or Stewart. See J. Voisine, ‘La Baronne Blaze de Bury (1813(?)–1894) et son rôle littéraire’, *Thesis* (Paris: Faculté des lettres de Paris, 1955), p. 10.
10 [Anon.], ‘Marriages’, *Spectator*, 26 October 1844, p. 1016.
15 [Anon.], *Morning Chronicle*, 8 April 1845.
16 Sarah Richardson posits that some political arenas ‘were exclusively masculine’. Women tended to be involved in every-day politics centred around the home. Richardson, pp. 9, 14. A current study that attempts to undo this perception is G. Sluga and C. James, eds, *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

The Zollverein officially came into force in 1834. It entailed the unprecedented full economic union of independent states without mandating a political union or federation. Austria was not part of the Zollverein. See C.H. Shiue, ‘From Political Fragmentation Towards a Customs Union: Border Effects of the German Zollverein, 1815–1855’, *European Review of Economic History* 9:2 (2005), pp. 129–162.

J.A.S. Grenville, *Europe Reshaped, 1848–1878* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976), p. 56. Prussia, for example, held Polish territory and the Habsburgs ruled over Hungarian and other domains. Prussia and Austria dominated the Confederation but each of them, in their own right, held territories that did not form a part of the Confederation. Even after 1871, when Germany was unified and became a clearly defined entity, the usage of the term Germany was still not clear-cut. There were (and still are) significant German-speaking territories outside of the newly united Germany, for example, in Austria and Switzerland.


See, for example, A. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); or Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 170–1837*.


Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, p. 9.


Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) was a French historian and theologian, who pondered the question of unity in variety among the Christian sects – in particular Catholicism’s ability to achieve unity. Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, vol. 2, p. 173.


For example, the so-called first modern historian of ancient Rome, Edward Gibbon, epitomises this tradition. He was praised for his objectivity and unusually great use of primary sources, which would influence a new methodological way of writing history. However, at the same time, his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789) would not be as well understood and as pleasurably read were it not for his literary irony, sumptuous prose style and unscientific aphorisms.


The Reichskammergericht (Imperial Chamber Court) became one of the highest judicial institutions in the Holy Roman Empire. Unlike the Reichskammergericht, the Reichsregiment (imperial government) was a unified democratic forum among the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire in Nuremberg. It failed shortly after its creation but was reformed again in 1521. Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 32–33.


In 1815 Cologne (now in North Rhine-Westphalia) had been assimilated into the kingdom of Prussia during the Congress of Vienna.


For more on nineteenth-century symbolism of the horse and its gender dynamics see G. Dorrè, *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).


60 Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, vol. 1, p. 10.


64 Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, vol. 1, p. ix.


69 Blaze de Bury, *Germania*, vol. 2, p. 84.

70 After the Congress of Vienna, Austria controlled parts of northern Italy, which led to the three wars of Italian Independence between 1848 and 1866. See F. J. Coppa, *The Origins of the Italian Wars of Independence* (1992; Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).


9 Pentland, ‘“We Speak for the Ready”’, pp. 84–90.


11 Caledonian Mercury, 14 October 1775.


13 Parliamentary Register, 2 August 1784, pp. 320–326.


16 Parliamentary Register, 2 August 1784, pp. 320–322.


19 ‘An Irish Union!’, in Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires, ed. Stephens and George, no. 9344.

20 Jackson, Two Unions, p. 99.

21 Kidd, Union and Unionisms, p. 6.

22 Parliamentary Register, 25 March 1794, p. 650.

23 Parliamentary Register, 17 November 1795, p. 227.


26 Cockburn, Memorials, 261. See also H. Cockburn, Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from His Correspondence, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852).


30 C.J. Green, Trials for High Treason, in Scotland, under a Special Commission, held at Stirling, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Paisley, and Ayr, in the Year 1820, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Manners and Millar, 1825), vol. 1, p. 92.

31 P. Mackenzie, Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, 2 vols, 3rd edn (Glasgow: James P. Forrester, 1890), vol. 1, p. 155.


33 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, VIII, 63.

34 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, III, 61.
36 National Library of Scotland, Adv. MSS, 9.1.8, f. 92, Jeffrey to Cockburn, 1 November 1831.
41 Cited in Biagini, Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform, p. 380.
43 [Barrie], Edinburgh Eleven, p. 12.
45 Rectorial Address delivered before the students of Aberdeen University, in the Music Hall at Aberdeen, Nov. 5, 1880 by Lord Rosebery (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1880), p. 16.
47 James, Rosebery, pp. 120–121.
50 British Library, Gladstone Papers, Add MS 44288, f. 126, Rosebery to Gladstone, 16 December 1882.
51 British Library, Hamilton Papers, Add MS 48612, f. 12, Rosebery to Hamilton, n.d. [MS note ‘before 9 Dec. 1882’].
52 British Library, Gladstone Papers, Add MS 44228, ff. 176–177, Rosebery to Gladstone, 30 July 1883.


Liverpool Record Office [henceforth LRO], MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/13/7/10. Lord Mansfield to Earl of Derby, 10 April 1859.

LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/10. [?] Smith to Duke of Buccleuch, [April 1859].


NRS, MS Lothian, GD40/9/326/3. Colonel Macdonald to Lord Lothian, 4 January 1835.

NRS, MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/5/7–9. Buccleuch to Sir Robert Peel, 12 January 1835.

Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, had originally taken over as de facto Scottish manager from his father, Henry Dundas, and retired from politics in 1832. See Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992).

NRS, MS Drummond of Hawthornden, GD230/580/18. Buccleuch to Sir Francis Drummond, 1 June 1835.

NRS, MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/5/7–9. Buccleuch to Peel, 12 January 1835; MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/4/18–19. Drummond to Buccleuch, 30 December 1834.

British Library [henceforth BL], MS Peel, 40517, fos 14–16. Buccleuch to Peel, 14 October 1842.

Omond, *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, pp. 219–222.


National Library of Scotland [henceforth NLS], MS Makgill, GD82/472/5. Archibald Campbell Swinton to George Makgill, 25 February 1867.


Somerset Heritage Centre, MS Hylton, DD\HY/24/16/179. Duke of Montrose to Jolliffe, 11 April 1859.

24 Bagehot had recently completed his seminal work, *The English Constitution*, which posited a distinction between ‘dignified’ and ‘efficient’ parts of the constitution. Given Bagehot’s respectable vote-share, it seems very likely that he also engaged in widespread bribery and other corrupt practices; such activities sit uneasily with his forthright denunciation of corrupt practices in his writings. See W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 130–131.


27 BL, MS Peel, 40339, fo. 322. Peel to Rae, 19 December 1834; BL, MS Peel, 40339, fos 332–333. Henry Home Drummond to Rae, 21 December 1834.

28 For the underlying (and evolving) ideology which informed the exertion of this influence, see M. Michie, *An Enlightenment Tory in Victorian Scotland: The Career of Sir Archibald Alison* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997).


32 Omond, *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, pp. 140, 144.


36 BL, MS Graham, 79727, fos 179–181. Sir James Graham to Buccleuch, 28 September 1842.

37 BL, MS Graham, 79666, fos 63–64. Graham to Duncan McNeill, 30 September 1842.

38 See, for instance, NRS, MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/54/1–2. Graham to Buccleuch, 29 December 1842.


40 BL, MS Graham, 79666, fos 72–74. Graham to Rae, 29 December 1842.

41 NRS, MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/54/5–6. Graham to Buccleuch, 31 December 1842.


44 BL, MS Aberdeen, 43327, fos 79–81. Aberdeen to Hope, 10 February 1838.


48 BL, MS Aberdeen, 43065, fos 391–394. Peel to Aberdeen, 11 November 1849.


50 BL, MS Peel, 40541, fo. 59. James Blackwood to Peel, 4 March 1844.

51 See, for instance, BL, MS Peel, 40525, fos 1–2. Buccleuch to Peel, 15 February 1843.
55 NLS, MS Blackwoods, 30011, fo. 259. Derby to John Blackwood, 30 October 1858. For the relationship between Scotland, the party, and Blackwood’s, see J. Shattock, ‘The Sense of Place and Blackwood’s (Edinburgh) Magazine’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 49 (2016), pp. 431–442.
56 LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/148/2/49. Lord Eglinton to Derby, 26 April 1852.
59 LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/148/2/53. Eglinton to Derby, 13 May 1852.
62 LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/15. Buccleuch to Derby, 9 July 1866.
66 LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/60/2/15. McNeill to Derby, 5 October 1866.
67 LRO, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/2. Buccleuch to Derby, 12 March 1858.
68 There is a still-flourishing body of work on the NAVSR. The most recent valuable work on this is A. Tyrrell, ‘The Earl of Eglinton, Scottish Conservatism, and the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights’, *Historical Journal* 53 (2010), pp. 87–107.
70 *Press*, 24 December 1853, quoted in Tyrrell, p. 106.
72 Edward Bouverie and Arthur Kinnaird, for instance, were Liberal MPs for Kilmarnock Burghs and Perth, and opposed the creation of a Scottish Secretary. See *Hansard*, HC Debates 15 June 1858, vol. 150, cc. 2125–2127; 12 July 1869, vol. 197, c. 1734.
7 Worth, *The History of Plymouth*, p. 90.


12 The land on which much of Devonport was built belonged to the St Aubyn family who took a keen interest in the town; Stonehouse was largely land-owned by the Edgcumbe family; the Earls of Mount Edgcumbe (related to the St Aubyns) also took care to be involved in local Stonehouse politics.

13 Worth, *History of the Town and Borough of Devonport*.


15 ‘Devonport Column’, *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 August 1824.


17 ‘Devon Midsummer Sessions’, *Exeter Flying Post*, 3 July 1861. County average was one constable per 1,600/1,700 population; Torquay was 1 to 2,000.

18 ‘Devon Midsummer Sessions’, *Exeter Flying Post*, 1 July 1863.


20 *Reports of Inspectors of Constabulary to Secretary of State, 1880–81*, p. 245.


24 ‘Stonehouse’, *Western Courier*, 24 November 1852.


27 See, for example, ‘South Devon Railway’, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 1 March 1856.

28 ‘The South Devon Railway to Laira’, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 13 May 1848; ‘South Devon Railway: Completion of the Line into Plymouth’, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 7 April 1849. The SDR later amalgamated with the GWR.


31 Worth, *The History of Plymouth*, p. 32.


33 This was replaced by the current French Gothic construction in 1879.

36 ‘South Devon Botanical and Horticultural Society’, Western Courier, 29 January 1851.
37 Jewitt, History of Plymouth, p. 481.
39 Trewin, Portrait of Plymouth, p. 89.
41 Western Morning News, 16 July 1887.
42 Robinson, Union Street, p. 62. The Beerhouse Act 1830 virtually allowed anyone to set up a public house or off-licence.
43 Royal Cornwall Gazette, 14 December 1865.
45 Western Times, 6 April 1904.
46 Western Weekly News, 30 November 1895.
47 With a member of the St Aubyn family always holding the living of Stoke Damerel, they were determined to hang on to their moral and ecclesiastical authority by ensuring the new churches of Devonport were not independent parishes but still linked to and dependent on Stoke Damerel and so to the St Aubyns.
48 Robinson, Union Street, p. 72.
49 Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Reference 750, The Royal Sailors’ Rest in Portsmouth was not built until 1881.
50 Western Morning News, 12 August 1871.
51 Western Weekly News, 24 September 1887.
52 Western Morning News, 22 September 1887; Western Weekly News, 24 September 1887.
53 Western Morning News, 22 March 1895.
54 Western Morning News, 23 September 1902.
55 The population of nearly 214,000 became a single entity under the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Baker, or as Trewin concludes, like Malaprop’s Cerberus ‘three gentleman at once’, Trewin, Portrait of Plymouth, p. 95.
56 Trewin, Portrait of Plymouth, p. 95.


2 Writing in the 1950s, Kenneth Stampp stressed the emasculation of enslaved fathers, unable to ‘protect and provide’ for their wives and families. Writers of the 1970s, notably Herbert Gutman, reacted against this ‘myth of matriarchy’ and stressed the strong role played by enslaved men as heads of households. In reaction, Deborah White questioned how far the pendulum should swing in favour of patriarchy. She also suggested that the loaded term ‘matriarchy’ be replaced with ‘matrifocal’ – mother-centred rather than mother-dominated. However, more than a decade before this, Angela Davis had demolished the entire matriarchy thesis when she noted how enslaved women’s ‘release’ from contemporary ideals of femininity and integration into a productive workforce in addition to performing reproductive labour simply meant more work for them to perform outside the usual sphere of dull, boring monotonous domestic chores.
that have characterised the lives of so many women across time and space. See
K.M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Knopf, 1956); H.G. Gutman,
*The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Pantheon,
1976); D.G. White, ‘Female Slaves: Sex Roles and Status in the Antebellum Plan-
and p. 256; A. Davis, ‘Reflections on the Black Woman’s Role in the Community

3 Some historians have used the conceptual tools of historians of enslaved women
to probe notions of masculinity under the regime, including the homosocial worlds
of enslaved men, and also the impact sexual abuse had upon them. See S. Lussana,
*My Brother Slaves: Friendship, Masculinity, and Resistance in the Antebellum South*
(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2016); D. Doddington, ‘Are You Men?’:
*Contesting Manhood in the Slave South* (New York: Cambridge University Press,
2018); T.A. Foster, ‘The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery’, *Journal

4 Recent emphasis on overcoming archival silences offers exciting opportunities
to explore same-sex desire under bondage. Orlando Patterson notes that since
homosexuality has existed in other societies across time and space, the same
would have been true of US slavery. See O. Patterson, *Rituals of Blood: Consequences
of Slavery in Two American Centuries* (New York: Basic Civitas, 1998),
p. 289. See also A.I. Abdur-Rahman, ‘“The Strangest Freaks of Despotism”: Queer
Sexuality in Antebellum African American Slave Narratives’, *African American

5 See L.E. Hudson Jr., *To Have and To Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum
John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman have also claimed that, in their mar-
rriage patterns, slave communities resembled certain preindustrial and peasant
societies. See J. D’Emilio and E.B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of
Sexuality in America*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997),
p. 97. See also D.G. White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation

6 West, *Chains of Love*, p. 25.

7 Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock*, chapters one and two, especially p. 77.

8 J. Forret, *Slave Against Slave: Plantation Violence in the Old South* (Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 2015); E. West, ‘Tensions, Tempers and Tem-
tations: Marital Discord among Slaves in Antebellum South Carolina’, *American
Nineteenth Century History* 5:2 (2004), pp. 1–18; and ‘Reflections on the History
and Historians of the Black Woman’s Role in the Community of Slaves: Enslaved
Women and Intimate Partner Violence’, *American Nineteenth Century History*
Slave Communities,’ in *Sexuality and Slavery: Reclaiming Intimate Histories in the
Americas*, ed. by L. Harris and D.R. Berry (Athens: University of Georgia Press,
2018), pp. 145–158; S. Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*
D.C. Hine, ‘Rape and Their Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West:
Preliminary Thought on the Culture of Dissemblance’, *Signs: Journal of Women

9 S. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the
See also B. Connolly and M. Fuentes, ‘Introduction: From Archives of Slavery to

10 For more on cross-plantation marriages, see West, *Chains of Love*, chapter two.
For example, Charles Ball made wooden trays and bowls that he sold in order to support financially the family he lodged with. See *Fifty Years in Chains; or, The Life of an American Slave* (New York: Dover Publications, [1859], 1970), p. 134. The ways in which men could acquire skills more easily than women is also considered in West, *Chains of Love*, p. 92.

On female roles within the slave home, see West, *Chains of Love*, pp. 100–101.


Leslie Schwalm has warned historians against romanticising the family life of enslaved women, writing that their ‘social and reproductive’ labour should be examined as critically as the work they performed for their owners. See L. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), p. 47. Deborah White noted how the absence of ‘ownership’ among enslaved men contributed to women's independence from them, meaning enslaved families were ‘unusually egalitarian’. See *Arn’t I a Woman?*, p. 153, p. 158.


Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains*, p. 197.


Bibb did however later explain that ‘I bring no charge of guilt against her, for I know not all the circumstances connected with the case’. See *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave* (New York, published by the author, 1849), pp. 162–163.

23 Emily Wharton Sinkler, letter to her mother, 11 December 1843, Emily Wharton Sinkler letters, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia South Carolina.


25 Letter to Benjamin Franklin Perry from Elizabeth Perry, 11 May 1846, Benjamin Franklin Perry Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

26 Thavolia Glymph argues persuasively that white women were ‘co-masters’ who were complicit in the regime. See T. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 5, 123.

27 Some of these arguments appear in West, ‘Reflections on the History and Historians’.


34 WPA Slave Narrative Project: Georgia Narratives, Vol. 4, Pt. 4, p. 225.


36 McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, p. 9, p. 266.

37 Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock*, chapter five, especially p. 166.

38 Hunter, *Bound in Wedlock*, p. 213.


40 Letter from Lucy Skipwith to her master, quoted in Dorothy Sterling (ed.), *We are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984, 1997), p. 310.


4 Howe, What Hath God Wrought, pp. 723–726.


7 For more on territorial policies, see Ponce, To Govern the Devil in Hell, chapters 2 and 3.

8 Bigler, Forgotten Kingdom, p. 49, n. 15.

9 Letter from John M. Berhisel to Thomas L. Kane, 11 September 1850, The Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

10 Howe, What Hath God Wrought, pp. 730–731. The Supreme Court dismissed this claim.

11 Brigham Young, Deseret News, 31 August 1856, quoted in Cleveland Plain Dealer, 12 November, 1856.

12 Howe, What Hath God Wrought, p. 726.

13 Broughton D. Harris to Daniel Webster, 3 May 1852, Broughton D. Harris Papers, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

14 Brigham Young to Millard Fillmore, 29 September 1851, Series 242, Executive Book A, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

15 Brigham Young to Elisha Whittlesey, 31 January 1852, Series 242, Executive Book A, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

16 W.F.M. Magraw to President Pierce, 3 October 1856, in US House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 71: The Utah Expedition: Message from President of the United States, Transmitting Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, relative to the military expedition ordered into the Territory of Utah (Washington, 1858), p. 3.


20 ‘From our N. Y. Correspondent,’ Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, 31 May 1852.


22 Broughton D. Harris, draft letter c. January 1852, Broughton D. Harris Papers.

23 Broughton D. Harris to James Guthrie, 30 September 1853, Broughton D. Harris Papers.

25 Garland Hurt to Jacob Forney, 4 December 1858, Jacob Forney Letterbook 1, Church History Library.


27 Charleston Mercury, 30 April 1857.


30 Brigham Young, ‘Proclamation of the Governor,’ 15 September 1857, Graham Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

31 Alfred Cumming to Brigham Young, 21 November 1857, Series 242, Executive Book B, Utah State Archives.


33 Brigham Young, ‘Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly to the Territory of Utah,’ 15 December 1857, Series 242, Executive Book B, Utah State Archives.

34 By James Buchanan, President of the United States: A Proclamation, 6 April 1858, HM 470193, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

35 By James Buchanan, President of the United States: A Proclamation, 6 April 1858, HM 470193, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.


37 Brigham Young to William Hooper, 3 January 1861, Brigham Young Letters, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

38 Brigham Young to William Hooper, 25 April 1861, Brigham Young Letters. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

39 Brigham Young to Millard Fillmore, 29 September 1851, Series 242, Executive Book A.

40 Brigham Young speech, 25 April 1858, Kane Family Papers.

41 The LDS’ Millennial Star, n. 48, vol. XVII (1 December 1855).


43 Garland Hunt to Jacob Forney, 4 December 1857, Jacob Forney Letterbook 1; *Ex. Doc. No. 71*, pp. 203–204.

44 See C.L. Craig to David H. Burr, 1 August 1856, in *Ex. Doc. No. 71*, p. 116. This is a recurring comment from both surveyors and Indian agents in the territory.


46 William E. Phelps to Thomas Kane, 10 February 1859, Thomas Leiper Kane Papers.

47 For how the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill animated political action by clergy, see Ponce, *To Govern the Devil in Hell*, chapter 1.

48 By James Buchanan, President of the United States: A Proclamation, 6 April 1858.
For advice and criticism, I am indebted to Kathleen M. Hilliard and Orville Vernon Burton.


2 The Nullification movement (1827–1833), with little support beyond South Carolina’s borders, insisted on the right of individual states to prevent collection of federal customs duties that were imposed inequitably or had a broadly deleterious effect on their constituents. Political leaders of this movement (‘nullifiers’) such as Calhoun feared that the imposition of tariffs that bore especially heavily on the South would provide a constitutional rationale for abolitionist efforts to destroy slavery through federal legislation. ‘Nullifying’ those taxes by state legislation or direct action, à la the Revolutionary patriots of the Boston Tea Party, challenged the Federalist interpretation of the Constitution itself. W.W. Freehling, _Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816 – 1836_ (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).


5 TU Colcock Family Papers, William Ferguson Colcock to Mary Woodward Hutson Colcock, 29 January and 14 February 1850; University of South Carolina, South Caroliniana Library, Washington Peace Papers: Washington Peace to Anna M. Hoover, 9 April 1850.


In the late 1840s, Calhoun sought to resolve the problem of how a proslavery sectional minority’s political rights could be secured within an increasingly antislavery federal union. His solution – which remained private until after his death and endlessly revised and contested thereafter – was to provide the South with a collective veto over Congressional legislation. With regard to ameliorating or abolishing slavery, then, passage of federal laws would require not only the assemblage of a majority of representatives and senators, plus the president’s signature, but the concurrence of a Southern majority. D.M. Potter, *The South and the Concurrent Majority* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); L.K. Ford, Jr., ‘Recovering the Republic: Calhoun, South Carolina, and the Concurrent Majority,’ *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 89 (1988), pp. 146–159.


*Charleston Mercury*, August 10, 1835; P. Della Torre, *Is Southern Civilization Worth Preserving?* (Charleston: Southern Rights Association, 1851); South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina, Chesnut-Miller-Manning Papers. W.S. Lyles to James Chesnut, Jr., 1 July 1851.


21 SHC, Pettigrew Family Papers. See variously Franklin Gaillard to James J. Pettigrew, 18 October 1858; Robert F.W. Allston to James J. Pettigrew, 21 October 1858; James J. Pettigrew to William S. Pettigrew, 24 October 1858.

22 McDonnell, Performing Disunion.

23 McDonnell, Performing Disunion, p. 316; Charleston Mercury, 8 November 1860; Charleston Daily Courier, 8 November 1860.


25 Charleston Mercury, 11 November 1860.


27 Charleston Daily Courier, 13 November 1860.

28 Charleston Mercury, 16 November 1860.

29 Charleston Mercury, 16 November 1860; Charleston Daily Courier, 16 November 1860.

30 Charleston Mercury, 16 November 1860; Charleston Daily Courier, 16 November 1860.

31 Charleston Mercury, 16 November 1860.

32 That problem, considering the afterlife of Calhoun from 1850 to 2018, is the subject of my book in progress, The Death and Rebirth of John C. Calhoun.


3 See variously Berkshire Record Office [henceforth BRO], D/H14/D/1/15/1, Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Discharge Register – Males and Females 1863–1900; BRO D/H14/D1/1/1/1 and BRO D/H14/D1/1/1/2 Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Admissions Registers, 1863–1900; BRO Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Patients’ Case Files: Females D/H14/D2/2/2.

Asylum records are closed to researchers until 100 years after a patient’s death. The records for discharged patients whose date of death is unknown are opened 160 years after their birth date.


BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/111. Case file of Mary Bennett. See variously: letter from Mary Bennett to Dr Orange (undated); letter from H. Spence to Dr Orange, 30 July 1867; letter from E. Cooper to Dr Orange, 9 December 1875; letter from A. Stokes (M.P.) to Dr Orange, September 1876.

Orange was Deputy Medical Superintendent 1862–1870, then Medical Superintendent 1870–1886 at Broadmoor.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/111. Letter from Dr Orange to Mrs E. Cooper 21 December 1875.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Case File of Annie Nicholls. See Schedule A, 26 December 1871. The ‘Schedule A’ was a pro forma included in each file containing details of the crime, verdict, general health and the cause of insanity.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Letter from Richard Nicholls to Dr Orange, 10 March 1871.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Report from Dr Orange to Home Office, 15 March 1871.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Letter from Richard Nicholls to Dr Orange, 10 March 1871.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Warrant of Discharge, 12 March 1878.


*Worcestershire Chronicle*, 18 October 1875.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/252. Draft report for Home Office by Dr J. Isaacs, May 1877.


*Worcestershire Chronicle*, 23 October 1875.


BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/251. Case File of Martha Baines. See Medical Certificate, 20 November 1875.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/251. Letter from Thomas Baines to Medical Superintendent, Broadmoor, 30 December 1876.

BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/251. Report from Broadmoor to Home Office, 3 January 1876.


35 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Report from Dr Orange to Home Office, 10 February 1878.
36 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/284. Case File of Lucy Keary. See various letters 1879–1886.
37 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/284. Letter from Bombay, Baruda & Central India Railway, Parel Works, 16 October 1879 and letter from Edward Keary to Dr Orange, 28 February 1883.
38 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/284. Letter from Edward Keary to Broadmoor, 21 August 1886.
39 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/284/32. Warrant of Discharge, 6 October 1886.
40 Other ‘manias’ relating to childbearing included lactational insanity and insanity of pregnancy. See Marland, Dangerous Motherhood, pp. 3–7.
41 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/284. File note for medical report for Home Office June 1885.
43 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/290. Letter from Broadmoor to the Home Office, 6 August 1879.
44 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/244. Case File of Louisa Ashley. Letter from John Ashley to Dr Orange, 30 March 1879.
45 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/244. Medical Certificate, 16 December 1903.
50 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/344. Letter from Pvt J. Beagley to Dr Nicolson, 21 February 1890. Dr David Nicolson was Deputy Medical Superintendent 1872–1886 at Broadmoor, then Medical Superintendent 1886–1896.
51 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/344. Warrant of Discharge, 12 August 1895.
52 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/257. Case File of Elizabeth Cole. See copy of report to Home Office by Dr Orange, 26 September 1877.
54 BRO D/H14/D2/2/365. See memorandum to Home Office signed DN, 30 September 1885 and Warrant of Discharge 4 November 1885.
56 Hide, Gender and Class, p. 42.
60 BRO D/H14/D2/2/189. See Warrant of Release, 21 March 1872. Letter from Elizabeth Harris to Dr Orange, 16 April 1872.
61 The Community of St John the Baptist was an Anglican religious community in Clewer, Windsor, which ran the House of Mercy, a home for unmarried mothers and ‘fallen women’.
62 BRO D/H14/D2/2/189/12. Letter from Sister Frances Constance to Dr Nicolson, 1 August 1872.
64 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/189/11. Letter from Richard Harris to Dr Orange, 16 July 1872.
65 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/189/20 Copy of memorandum to Home Office, August 1872.
66 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/189. Letter from Elizabeth Harris to Dr Orange, 16 January 1881.
67 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/274. Case File of Ellen Oldman. Letter from Charles Oldman to Dr Orange, 16 March 1881.
68 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/274. Letter from Samuel Rainbird to Dr Orange, April 1880.
72 Ross, Love and Toil, pp. 69–72.
73 Worcestershire Chronicle, 23 October 1875.
75 Hide, Gender and Class, p. 8.
77 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/330. Case file of Kate Barrow. See Warrant for Reception, 2 November 1881.
78 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/330. Memorandum from Dr J. Isaacs to Dr D. Nicolson, 11 July 1891.
79 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/330. See letter from Viscount Curzon, 10 October 1887 and Warrant of Discharge, 20 November 1888.
80 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/330. Letter from C. Barrow to Dr Nicolson, 5 January 1892.
81 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/330. Letter from Chief Constable, Birmingham Police to Dr Nicolson, 19 August 1895.
82 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/251. Letter from Thomas Baines to Medical Superintendent, Broadmoor, 12 March 1876.
83 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/261/6. Case File of Agnes Martha Morris. Letter from Laces, Bird, Newton & Richardson (Solicitors) to Dr Orange, 15 January 1877.
84 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/261/55. Memorandum from Dr Orange to Home Office, 4 April 1885.
85 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/261/22. Letter from Rev. R Gough to Dr Orange, 23 May 1878.
86 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/188. Letter from Richard Nicholls to Dr Orange, 5 May 1877.
89 Northampton Mercury, 17 January 1880.
91 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/398. Case File (2) of Sarah Bates. See letter from J. Bates to Dr Orange, 19 July 1881 and letter from Dr Orange to J. Bates, 27 August 1884.
92 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/398. Letter from Rev. G. Harrison, 29 July 1884.
93 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/303. Letter from Thomas Britten to Dr Orange, 7 July 1882.
95 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/398. Letter from J. Bates to Dr Orange, 9 July 1886.
96 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/398/78. Undated letter from Sarah Bates to Dr Orange.
98 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/661. See letter from Sarah Bates to Dr Brayn, 19 December 1904 and Revocation of Warrant, 14 January 1905.
99 BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/661. Letter from Dr Nicolson to Home Office, 11 July 1886.
100 See variously BRO D/H14/D2/2/2/219. Case File of Martha Bland; and BRO D/ H14/D2/2/2/440. Case File of Elizabeth Hillier.


1 Death Certificate: Elizabeth Anderson.
2 The National Archives [hereafter TNA], HO 45/9395/49945. R. v. Anderson. Evidence of Dr May recorded in Mr Justice Denman's notes, 1 December 1875.
3 Death Certificate: John William Anderson. The hangman was William Marwood.
4 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. R. v. Anderson and TNA ASSI 44/192. Assizes: Northern and North-Eastern Circuits: Indictment Files (1875). The Home Office file contains depositions from the coroner's court and a note that the additional depositions taken before the magistrates were returned in February 1876 to the clerk of the Northern Circuit. They must have then been mislaid or misfiled, as neither these nor copies of the coroner's depositions that would normally also be kept by the clerk seem to have survived. Defendants could not testify in their own defence until the Criminal Evidence Act 1898 and therefore Anderson's voice is muted in the records. Defence counsel could cross examine witnesses, and the words are often recorded in newspaper accounts which provide information that cannot be obtained elsewhere.
6 Newspaper accounts of the exchange between the judge and jury differ slightly but there is no indication of the turmoil revealed in the letters.
8 Double Executions: John William Anderson, at Newcastle and Richard Charlton, at Morpeth, both for murdering their wives, copy from Kenneth Goldstein Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries. Crime broadsides, printed locally and often with woodcut illustrations, were an important means of recording and disseminating news about serious crimes and punishments. The increased availability of cheap newspapers after mid-century caused their decline: Anderson's is thus a late example. See R. Crone. Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).
9 Wiener incorrectly suggests that broadsides relating to the earlier trial of Wainwright in 1875 were the last produced in a murder case, Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in Victorian England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), note 73, p. 144.
10 On the Charlton case, see Morpeth Herald, 18 December 1875.
11 Manchester Evening News, 3 December 1875.
13 Census: Mitford Street.
14 Sunderland Daily Echo, 30 August 1875.
15 Marriage certificate of John William Anderson and Elizabeth Walker.
16 Gaol Calendar.
17 'John Anderson', census return for Jackson Street, Gateshead, 1851.
18 Census: Mitford Street.
19 Anderson is registered on the ward list of burgesses in 1875: Tyne and Wear Archives D.NC/D/2/1/1875.
20 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Plan of the house at Mitford Street.
21 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Inquest deposition of Ashley Walker, 31 August 1875.
22 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Inquest deposition of Ashley Walker, 31 August 1875.
23 York Herald, 30 August 1875.
26 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Inquest deposition of Ashley Walker, 31 August, 1875.
27 Newcastle Journal, 21 December 1875.
28 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
29 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
30 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Evidence given by a number of witnesses.
31 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Benjamin Danskin, evidence at trial noted by judge.
32 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Walker’s evidence at the inquest and trial was conflicting as to whether the relationship was violent.
33 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Evidence of a witness also named Elizabeth Anderson.
34 Morpeth Herald, 4 September 1875.
35 Sunderland Daily Echo, 30 August 1875.
36 Morpeth Herald, 4 September 1875.
37 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Inquest deposition, 31 August 1875.
38 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Evidence of Dr May recorded in Denman’s notes of the trial.
39 Double Executions referred to Elizabeth as ‘wretched’.
41 Newcastle Journal, 21 December 1875.
43 Denman’s obituary notice, The Times, 22 September 1896.
44 Royal Commission on Capital Punishment Commission: Together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1866), p. 78.
45 Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, p. 99.
46 Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, p. 91.
50 W. Bruce, Archbold’s Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases. With the Statutes, Precedents of Indictments, &c., and the Evidence Necessary to Support Them, 17th edn (London: H. Sweet, 1871). Archbold as the leading practitioner text would have been consulted by lawyers in this case.
52 Judges lost the power to merely record sentence of death when the Offences against the Person Act 1861 abolished the death penalty for all offences except murder and high treason.
53 Bruce, Archbold, p. 621.
54 Bruce, Archbold, p. 633.
55 Bruce, Archbold, p. 631.
56 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Deposition of P.C. Dixon to Coroner 30 August 1875.
57 See discussion in Bruce, Archbold, pp. 633–634.
58 No provocation, however great, could extenuate or justify a homicide where there was evidence of express malice.
59 Bruce, Archbold, p. 631.
60 Bruce, Archbold, p. 623.

62 Morpeth Herald, 4 December 1875.
63 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
65 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
66 On the Grant case, see Newcastle Journal, 17 December 1872.
67 Newcastle Journal, 23 December 1875. My emphasis.
68 See The Times, 18 December 1872.
69 Denman mentioned this in his evidence to the Royal Commission in 1864, see Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, p. 79.
70 Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, p. 79.
71 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman trial notes, 1 December 1875.
72 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman trial notes, 1 December 1875.
73 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Letter from James Dellow to Home Secretary, 18 December 1875, and letter from Christopher Anderson to Home Secretary, 19 December 1875.

74 Morpeth Herald, 4 December 1875.
75 York Herald, 10 December 1875.
76 Prerogative of Mercy. Return of Instances since 1869 in Which Appeal has been Made on behalf of Persons Convicted of Capital Offences to the Home Secretary, for the Exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Pardon or Mitigation of Sentence; Setting Forth the Names, Dates of Conviction, Crimes, Sentences, Dates of Appeal to the Secretary, and the Result; with Summary of Total Number of Such Applications Refused or Granted in Whole or Part. House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1881, vol. LXXVI, p. 391. This includes reference to a petition in the 1863 murder case of R. v. George Vass, there was no petition.
77 The first time a prisoner appeared in court to answer to a criminal charge was in the police court, where the magistrates decided if there was sufficient evidence to send the case to the assize court.

78 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Letter from the Earl of Ravensworth to Home Secretary, 6 December 1875.
79 Newcastle Journal, 3 December 1875.
80 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
81 See the report of an exasperated judge informed by the foreman of a Newcastle jury that a recommendation to mercy was ‘on account of an objection to capital punishments,’ Newcastle Journal, 24 February 1849.
82 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Christopher Anderson to Home Secretary, 19 December 1875. There is no way of establishing whether he was a relation of the accused.
83 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. James Dellow to Home Secretary, 18 December 1875.
84 Newcastle Journal, 31 December 1872.
85 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Dellow to Home Secretary, 18 December 1875.
86 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Dellow to Home Secretary, 18 December 1875.
87 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Denman to Home Secretary, 5 December 1875.
88 TNA HO 45/9395/49945. Christopher Anderson to Home Secretary, 19 December 1875.


96 *Shields Daily Gazette*, 14 December 1875.

97 *Double Executions*.


2 In 1842 the Poor Law Commissioners claimed all of England and Wales was ‘under the operation of the … Act’ with named exceptions including three unions in Lancashire that resisted the new law’s imposition. British Parliamentary Papers (hereafter BPP), 1842 (389) XIX.1, *Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, with Appendices*, p. 18.


7 *The Times*, 25 November 1834, p. 2.


10 BPP, 1841 (263) XXI.1. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return of the Total Amount of Salaries or Other Payments Received in 1840 by the Poor Law Commissioners, Secretaries, and Others; also Amount of Printing Expenses, as far as the Same can be Ascertained*, p. 1.

11 Roberts, *Victorian Origins*, p. 239. See also the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners correspondence files, The National Archives (hereafter TNA) Series MH 32.
Three early appointees resigned and were replaced.


BPP, 1834 (44) XXVII–XXXIX. *Report from His Majesty’s Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws*, p. 1.


After 1847 many continued in their posts and were known as Poor Law Inspectors.


MH 12 series is catalogued on a union-by-union basis.


Adey’s correspondence with Poor Law Commission, TNA, MH 32/5, 14 September 1835.


TNA, MH 32/5 14 Apr 1835 and Hatfield House Manuscript Collection, 2M/I/1/25/36. Letter from William Blake and draft reply, 10 May 1835.


TNA, MH 32/5, 7 January 1836.

TNA, MH 10/2, 23 March 1836.


Instructional Letter, paragraph 4.

Instructional Letter, paragraph 18.

Instructional Letter, paragraph 19.

Any surviving Pauper Description Books are likely to be in county archives. Gloucester, Kent, Somerset and Bedfordshire record offices have a small number.

TNA, MH 9, *Registers of Paid Officers, 1837–1921*. Note: those who were employed before the mid-1860s and were still employed at the time the registers began were recorded, but anyone who had left employment prior to their introduction was not.
Instructional letter, paragraph 87.


Bibliography


‘Bishop Jewel; His Character, Correspondence, and Apologetic Treatises’, *The British Critic*, July 1841, p. 2.


‘The Enfranchisement of Female Freeholders and Householders’, *Journal of Social Science* 1 (1866), p. 615.


Alophe, M. *Hail! Happy Union! The State Visit to the Royal Italian Opera, on Thursday, April 19th, 1855* (Paris and New York: Goupil et Cie, 1855).


Anon. ‘No Success without Union’, *Coventry Herald*, 5 November 1847.

Anon. ‘Union of Papists and Dissenters to Achieve the Disunion of Church and State’, *Fraser’s Magazine* 13, May 1836, p. 519.


Browne, T. *Hydrotaphia*, ch. 1.

Butler, S. *Luck, or Cunning as the Main Means of Organic Modification?: An Attempt to Throw Additional Light upon the Late Mr. Charles Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection* (London: Trübner, 1887).


Clarke, R. *A Sermon Preach’d Before the Honourable House of Commons, at St. Margaret’s, Westminster, on Wednesday, Feb. 4, 1740–1* (London: E. Say, 1741).


Cox, J. *The Believer’s Position and Prospects; or, Thoughts on Union to Christ* (London: Ward, 1856).

Craik, D.M. *Studies from Life* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862).


Denvir, J. *The Irish in Britain: From the Earliest Times to the Fall and Death of Parnell* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894).

Digby, K.H. *Compitum, or the Meeting of the Ways at the Catholic Church* (London: Dolman, 1854).


Dublin Monitor, 26 November 1840.


Eastbourne Gazette, 26 January 1881.


Freeman, E.A. *Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1892), vol. 3.


Harris, G. *Civilization Considered as a Science, in Relation to Its Essence, Its Elements, and Its End* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1861).


*Kilkenny Journal*, 4 December 1847.


Knox, V. *Sermons, Chiefly Intended to Promote Faith, Hope, and Charity. By Vicesimus Knox, D.D* (Dublin: Printed by John Ershaw, 1792).

Laycock, T. *Mind and Brain: Or, the Correlations of Consciousness and Organisation; with Their Applications to Philosophy, Zoology, Physiology, Mental Pathology, and the Practice of Medicine* (Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1860), vol. 2.


*Newry Telegraph*, 9 January 1847.


Olson, L.C. *Benjamin Franklin’s Vision of American Community: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), ch. 3.

*Oxford English Dictionary*.


Pell, R.C. *Forward or Backward?* (New York: Miller, 1863).


Rowe, C.J. *Bonds of Disunion; Or, English Misrule in the Colonies* (London: Longmans, Green, 1883).


Strange, T.L. *The Sources and Development of Christianity* (London: Trübner, 1875).


*The Athenaeum* 2928 (8 December 1883), pp. 737–738.


*Things New and Old: Or, A Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, Allegories, Apotheses, Adages, Apologies, Divine, Moral, Political, &c., with Their Several Applications. Collected and Observed from the Writings and Sayings of the Learned in All Ages to this Present* (London: Tegg, 1869), vol. 2.

*Tipperary Free Press*, 1 October 1831.


Tonkins, P.W. ‘The Union Song’ (1801).

Tonkins, P.W. ‘Union Wreath’ (1801).

*Transactions of the Social Union. Formed for the Improvement of Civil Society* (London: T. Becket; J. Johnson; Debrett; T. Hookham; and White and Son, 1790).


Watts, I. *The Glory of Christ as God-Man Display’d, in 3 Discourses. With an Appendix* (London: Oswald, 1746).


*World’s Congress of Religions* (Boston, MA: Arena, 1893).


‘Conciliation Hall’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 October 1845, p. 3.
First Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, HC 412 (1842).
Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, HC 671 (1845).
‘Mr. Ferguson’s Letter’, Nation, 1 November 1845, p. 12.
Patten, E. Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).
Kent Archive and Local History Service, Maidstone. The Stanhope Papers, U1590.
Royal Archives, Windsor. Minutes of the Fine Arts Commission 1845–1850. VIC/MAIN/F/30/2.
Seventh Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, HC 862 (1847).
Sixth Report of the Commission on the Fine Arts, HC 749 (1846).
Disraeli, B. Lothair (1870; London: Peter Davies, 1927).


Keble, J. *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year* (1827; Oxford: Collingwood, 1832).


Oliphant, M. *Autobiography and Letters of Mrs Margaret Oliphant*, ed. by Mrs Harry Coghill (1899; Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974).


‘Grand Interlittoral Visit between Chelsea and Battersea’, *Punch*, 3 March 1849, p. 93.


‘Mr Jolly Green’s Account of the Great Paris Excursion’, *New Monthly Magazine*, May 1849, pp. 84–99.


‘Shameful Hoax!!! The “International Visit” Turns Out to Be a Meeting of Creditors!!!’ *Punch*, 21 April 1849, p. 163.

‘Small Shot Fired by a Five-Pounder; Or, What I Saw in France during My Recent Excursion’, *Punch*, April 1849, p. 183.


‘The International Visit,’ *Puppet-Show*, vol. 3 (1849), p. 163.

*Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 21 February 1849.


Anon., *Congrès des amis de la paix universelle réuni à Paris en 1849: compte-rendu, séances, résolutions adoptées, discours [etc.]* (Brussels: Lesigne, 1849).


*Banbury Guardian*, 1 March 1849.

*Banffshire Journal*, 20 February 1849.

*Bell’s Life in London*, 25 February, 4 March 1849.

*Bell’s Weekly Messenger*, 12 May 1849.


*Birmingham Journal*, 17 February, 10 March 1849.

*Bradford Observer*, 26 April 1849.

*British Review*, November 1851, p. 6.

Burritt, E. *Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad* (Boston, MA: Phillips, Sampson, 1854).
*Coventry Herald*, 15 January 1841.
*Doré, G. Two Hundred Sketches* (London: Warne, 1867).
*Essex Standard*, 13 April 1849.
*Evening Mail*, 13 April 1849.
*Evening Standard*, 5 December 1849.
*Freeman’s Journal*, 12 March 1849.
*Glasgow Herald*, 9 April 1849.
*Globe*, 24 February, 10 April, 14 April, 15 May 1849.
*Illustrated London News*, 7 April, 21 April 1849.
*Inverness Courier*, 19 April 1849.
*Journals des Débats littéraires et politiques* (Paris), 14 April 1849.
*Kentish Gazette*, 27 March, 3 July 1849.
*Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 April 1849.
*Literary Gazette*, 23 March 1850.
Lloyd, F., *Address of Francis Lloyd, Esq., (Vice-President) to the West London Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics’ Institution, Manor House, King’s Road, Chelsea, at the close of the first lecture session terminating May 21, 1847* (London: B.D. Cousins, 1847).


*London Evening Standard*, 15 February, 8 March 1849.

*Manchester Courier*, 11 May 1850.

*Mechanics’ Magazine*, 4 August 1838.


*Morning Advertiser*, 8 January 1842.

*Morning Chronicle*, 9 April, 29 May 1849.

*Morning Post*, 19 February, 8 March, 9 April, 14 April 1849.

Musée Carnavalet collection.


*Northern Star*, 24 March 1849.

*Norwich Mercury*, 14 April 1849.

*Nottingham Review*, 20 April 1849.

*Oxford Journal*, 17 February, 10 March 1849.


*Punch*, 9 June 1849.

*Reading Mercury*, 14 April 1849.


*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 28 July 1838.


*The Economist*, 14 April 1849.

*The Era*, 22 April 1849.

*The Examiner*, 6 October 1849.


*The Principality*, 18 May 1849.


*The Satirist; or, the True Censor of the Times*, 16 December 1848; 24 March 1849.

*The Spectator*, 28 July 1838; 24 February, 14 April 1849.
The Times, 23 February, 9 April, 10 April, 14 April, 16 April, 17 April, 18 May 1849.


Wolverhampton Chronicle, 18 April 1849.

Worcestershire Chronicle, 9 December 1840, 18 April 1849.


———, ‘Literature’, *Standard*, 21 August 1850, p. 3.
———, ‘Marriages’, *Spectator*, 26 October 1844, p. 1016.
———, *Morning Chronicle*, 8 April 1845.
———, *Standard*, 26 July 1850.


Davis, J. *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).


British Library, Gladstone Papers, Add MS 44288, f. 126, Rosebery to Gladstone, 16 December 1882.

British Library, Gladstone Papers, Add MS 44228, ff. 176–177, Rosebery to Gladstone, 30 July 1883.


*Caledonian Mercury*, 14 October 1775.


Cockburn, H. *Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from His Correspondence*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852).


Green, C.J. *Trials for High Treason, in Scotland, under a Special Commission, held at Stirling, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Paisley, and Ayr, in the Year 1820*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Manners and Millar, 1825), vol. 1.


Mackenzie, P. *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland*, 2 vols, 3rd edn (Glasgow: James P. Forrester, 1890), vol. 1.


Mossop, J. *Elegant Orations, Ancient and Modern, for the Use of Schools* (London: G. Kearsley, 1788).


National Library of Scotland, Adv. MSS, 9.1.8, f. 92, Jeffrey to Cockburn, 1 November 1831.


Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, III, 61.

Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, VIII, 63.

Parliamentary Register, 17 November 1795, p. 227.

Parliamentary Register, 2 August 1784, pp. 320–322.

Parliamentary Register, 2 August 1784, pp. 320–326.

Parliamentary Register, 25 March 1794, p. 650.

Parliamentary Register, 7 February 1799, pp. 705–731.


Primrose, A. A Rectorial Address Delivered Before the Students at the University of Edinburgh Nov. 4, 1882. By Lord Rosebery (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882).


Ramsay, A. ‘Edinburgh Ready to face up to Dark Past of Henry Dundas’, The Herald, 14 August 2018.


British Library, MS Aberdeen, 43327, fos 68–69. Aberdeen to Hope, 19 May 1836.
British Library, MS Aberdeen, 43327, fos 79–81. Aberdeen to Hope, 10 February 1838.
British Library, MS Peel, 40339, fo. 322. Peel to Rae, 19 December 1834.
British Library, MS Peel, 40339, fos 332–333. Henry Home Drummond to Rae, 21 December 1834.
British Library, MS Peel, 40485, fo. 79. Sir James Campbell to Peel, 7 July 1841.
British Library, MS Peel, 40493, fos 396–397. Robert Lamond to Peel, 2 November 1841.
British Library, MS Peel, 40517, fos 14–16. Buccleuch to Peel, 14 October 1842.
British Library, MS Peel, 40525, fo. 1–2. Buccleuch to Peel, 15 February 1843.
British Library, MS Peel, 40541, fo. 59. James Blackwood to Peel, 4 March 1844.
British Library, MS Aberdeen, 43065, fos 391–394. Peel to Aberdeen, 11 November 1849.
Hansard, HC Debates, 15 June 1858, vol. 150, cc. 2125–2127.
Hansard, HC Debates, 12 July 1869, vol. 197, c. 1734.


Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/148/2/53. Eglinton to Derby, 13 May 1852.

Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/2. Buccleuch to Derby, 12 March 1858.

Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/10. [?] Smith to Duke of Buccleuch, [April 1859].

Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/13/7/10. Lord Mansfield to Earl of Derby, 10 April 1859.

Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/164/17b/15. Buccleuch to Derby, 9 July 1866.

Liverpool Record Office, MS Derby, 920 DER (14)/60/2/15. McNeill to Derby, 5 October 1866.


National Library of Scotland, MS Blackwoods, 30011, fo. 259. Derby to John Blackwood, 30 October 1858.

National Library of Scotland, MS Makgill, GD82/472/5. Archibald Campbell Swinton to George Makgill, 25 February 1867.


National Records of Scotland, MS Buccleuch, GD224/1031/54/1–2. Graham to Buccleuch, 29 December 1842.


National Records of Scotland, MS Drummond of Hawthornden, GD230/580/18. Buccleuch to Sir Francis Drummond, 1 June 1835.


Somerset Heritage Centre, MS Hylton, DD\HY/24/16/179. Duke of Montrose to Jolliffe, 11 April 1859.


*Exeter and Plymouth Gazette.*

*Exeter Flying Post.*


Parliamentary Papers, *Reports of Inspectors of Constabulary to Secretary of State, 1880 – 81* (1882).
Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Reference 750.
Robinson, C. Union Street (Plymouth: Pen & Ink, 2000).
Royal Cornwall Gazette.
Western Courier.
Western Morning News.
Western Times.
Western Weekly News.
Worth, R. History of the Town and Borough of Devonport, Sometime Plymouth Dock (Plymouth: Brendon, 1870).
Worth, R. The History of Plymouth from the Earliest Time to the Present Time (Plymouth: Brendon, 1873).
Ball, C. Fifty Years in Chains; or, The Life of an American Slave (New York: Dover Publications, [1859], 1970).
Block, S. Rape and Sexual Power in Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
Downs, J. ‘The Other Side of Freedom: Destitution, Disease and Dependency among Freedwomen and Their Children during and after the Civil War,’ in Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War, ed. by C. Clinton and N. Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 78–103.
Fraser, R. Courtship and Love among the Enslaved in North Carolina (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2007).
McCurry, S. Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
Patterson, O. Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries (New York: Basic Civitas, 1998).
Letter to Benjamin Franklin Perry from Elizabeth Perry, 11 May 1846, Benjamin Franklin Perry Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia South Carolina.
Schwalm, L. A Hard Fight for We: Women’s Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).
Emily Wharton Sinkler, letter to her mother, 11 December 1843, Emily Wharton Sinkler letters, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia South Carolina.


WPA Slave Narrative Project, Federal Writers Project, United States Work Projects Administration; Manuscript Division, Library of Congress: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.htm


Alfred Cumming to Brigham Young, 21 November 1857, Series 242, Executive Book B, Utah State Archives.


Brigham Young to Millard Fillmore, 29 September 1851, Series 242, Executive Book A, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Brigham Young to Elisha Whittlesey, 31 January 1852, Series 242, Executive Book A, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Brigham Young, ‘Proclamation of the Governor,’ 15 September 1857, Graham Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
Brigham Young, ‘Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly to the Territory of Utah,’ December 15, 1857, Series 242, Executive Book B, Utah State Archives.


Brigham Young to William Hooper, 3 January 1861, Brigham Young Letters, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Brigham Young to William Hooper, 25 April 1861, Brigham Young Letters. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


Broughton D. Harris, draft letter c. January 1852, Broughton D. Harris Papers, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Broughton D. Harris to Daniel Webster, 3 May 1852, Broughton D. Harris Papers, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Broughton D. Harris to James Guthrie, 30 September 1853, Broughton D. Harris Papers, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.


By James Buchanan, President of the United States: A Proclamation, 6 April 1858. HM 470193, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.


Foner, E. This Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2010).


Garland Hurt to Jacob Forney, 4 December 1858, Jacob Forney Letterbook 1, Church History Library.


Letter from John M. Bernhisel to Thomas L. Kane, 11 September 1850. The Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


New York Herald, 27 June 1856.


The Charleston Mercury, 14 May 1856.

The Charleston Mercury, 30 April 1857.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, 12 November 1856.

The LDS’ Millennial Star, 1 December 1855.

The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, 31 May 1852.


William E. Phelps to Thomas Kane, 25 June 1852. The Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

William E. Phelps to Thomas Kane, 10 February 1859. The Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


Armistead Burt Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.


Charleston Daily Courier.

Charleston Mercury.

Chesnut-Miller-Manning Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

Colcock, W.F. Autobiography, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Colcock Family Papers, Tulane University.


William Porcher Miles Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.


Weir, R.M. ‘The South Carolinian as Extremist,’ *South Atlantic Quarterly* 74 (1975), pp. 86–103.


Berkshire Record Office Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Admissions Registers 1863–1900 D/H14/D1/1/1/1 & 2.

Berkshire Record Office Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Discharge Register – Males and Females 1863–1900, D/H14/D1/1/15/1.

Berkshire Record Office Broadmoor Hospital Archive: Female Patient Case Files Series D/H14/D2/2/2.

*British Medical Journal*, 13 January 1917.


England & Wales Census, 1881, 1901, 1911.

England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index, 1916–2007.


*Kendal Mercury*, 6 November 1875.

Northampton Mercury, 17 January 1880


Worcestershire Chronicle, 18 October and 23 October 1875.


Census Return for Mitford Street, Elswick, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, (RG10/5081, folio 11, 1871).

Certified Copy of Death Certificate for Elizabeth Anderson, 1 September 1875 (Newcastle upon Tyne Register Office, 1875).

Certified Copy of Death Certificate for John William Anderson, 24 December 1875 (Newcastle upon Tyne Register Office, 1875).

Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for John William Anderson and Elizabeth Walker, 31 March 1866 (Newcastle upon Tyne Register Office, 1866).


Double Executions: John William Anderson, at Newcastle and Richard Charlton, at Morpeth, Both for Murdering their Wives (n.d., December 1875) [copy in Kenneth Goldstein Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries].


Manchester Evening News.

Morpeth Herald.

Newcastle Daily Journal.


Prerogative of Mercy. Return of Instances since 1869 in Which Appeal has been Made on behalf of Persons Convicted of Capital Offences to the Home Secretary, for the Exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Pardon or Mitigation of Sentence; Setting Forth the Names, Dates of Conviction, Crimes, Sentences, Dates of Appeal to the Secretary, and the Result; with Summary of Total Number of Such Applications Refused or Granted in Whole or Part. House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1881, vol. LXXVI, p. 391.


Reports to Secretary of State for Home Department on State of Law relating to Brutal Assaults, Command Papers C1138 1875, vol. LXI, p. 29.

Return of Appeals on behalf of Persons Convicted of Capital Offences to Home Secretary, for Exercise of Royal Prerogative of Pardon or Mitigation of Sentence, 1861–1880, (London: House of Commons Papers, 1881).


Shields Daily Gazette.

Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette.
York Herald.

British Parliamentary Papers. 1834 (44) XXVII–XXXIX. Report from His Majesty’s Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws.
British Parliamentary Papers. 1837–1838 (236) XXXVIII.539.38 Poor Law Amendment Act. Return, Showing the Size in Square Miles of the Several Unions Formed, with the Population, and Number of Guardians.
British Parliamentary Papers. 1841 (263) XXI.1. Poor Law Amendment Act. Return of the Total Amount of Salaries or Other Payments Received in 1840 by the Poor Law Commissioners, Secretaries, and Others; also Amount of Printing Expenses, as far as the Same can be Ascertained.
British Parliamentary Papers. 1842 (389) XIX.1. Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, with Appendices.
Carter, P. and N. Whistance, Living the Poor Life: A Guide to the Poor Law Union Correspondence c.1834–1871 Held at the National Archives (Salisbury: British Association for Local History, 2011).

Hatfield House Manuscript Collection 2M/I/1/25/36. Letter from William Blake and draft reply, 10 May 1835.


The National Archives. MH 10/2. Circular Letters from the Poor Law Commissioners to the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners 1836.

The National Archives. MH 12. Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and Other Local Authorities.

The National Archives. MH 32. Correspondence with Assistant Poor Law Commissioners.


Wise, S.F. ‘Head, Sir Francis Bond,’ in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval: 2003), vol. 10.