

RICHARD CARLILE AND THE FEMALE REFORMERS OF MANCHESTER: A STUDY OF GENDER IN THE 1820s VIEWED THROUGH THE RADICAL FILTER OF REPUBLICANISM, FREETHOUGHT, FEMINISM AND A PHILOSOPHY OF SEXUAL SATISFACTION

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The Male Bid for Female Support

Suddenly in the course of 1819 - and for the first time ever - women found themselves appreciated as a force in British politics. The leading reformers of the day made a determined bid for their support. Both Cobbett and Hunt, who had previously used the address "my friends and fellow countrymen", now resorted to "friends, countrymen and countrywomen". Their public statements - published letters and speeches - were gallantly decorated with flirtatious phrases such as "To you my beloved countrywomen" (Cobbett) and "Beloved and Admired Countrywomen" (Hunt). They commended women for possessing virtues not previously recognised as feminine: especially, single-mindedness, courage, strength and perseverance. They made approving references to female activities at reform meetings, as well as spotlighting cases of female victimisation. At celebratory dinners toasts were frequently raised to the female reformers. Thomas Wooler's *Black Dwarf* for 1819 and 1820 encapsulated the new attitude. Headed "Female Reformers" and subtitled "Women in arms against the system and men defend it! Shame", a letter from *Black Dwarf* to the *Yellow Bonze* pronounced: "the array of women against the system, my friend, I deem the most fatal omen of its fall."¹ The new need to make public appeals to women affected the whole range of reform, not only the Radical Reformers but also moderates, such as the gentlemen Burdett and Cartwright, and ultra-radicals, such as the former tinsmith Richard Carlile.²

Responsible for this male acceptance of women as a serious political force was the recent establishment of female reform societies, especially in the north and particularly around Manchester, and their usefulness in organising women to make reform banners and caps of liberty, to educate their children in the principles of reform and to serve in the reformers' anti-tax campaign, which centred upon boycotting household goods that were liable to the Excise.³ Also bringing women to political prominence were two instances of outrageous female maltreatment. The first occurred at Peterloo on 16 August 1819 when female reformers from the north-west gathered at Manchester, along with their menfolk and children, not just to listen to Orator Hunt but also to acknowledge him as the champion of reform by presenting him with their colours, in the manner of a knightly romance. Before they could do so, the cavalry intervened, Hunt was arrested and the crowd forcibly dispersed. The second instance occurred in 1820 when, shortly before his coronation, George IV sought to divorce his wife and the people came to her defence. Designated "head of the reformers", Queen Caroline's cause was strongly backed by the female reformers of Manchester. With the divorce denied, the *Black Dwarf* commented: "the old adage is verified: better attack anything than woman!"⁴ Why female reform societies should have sprung up in early 1819



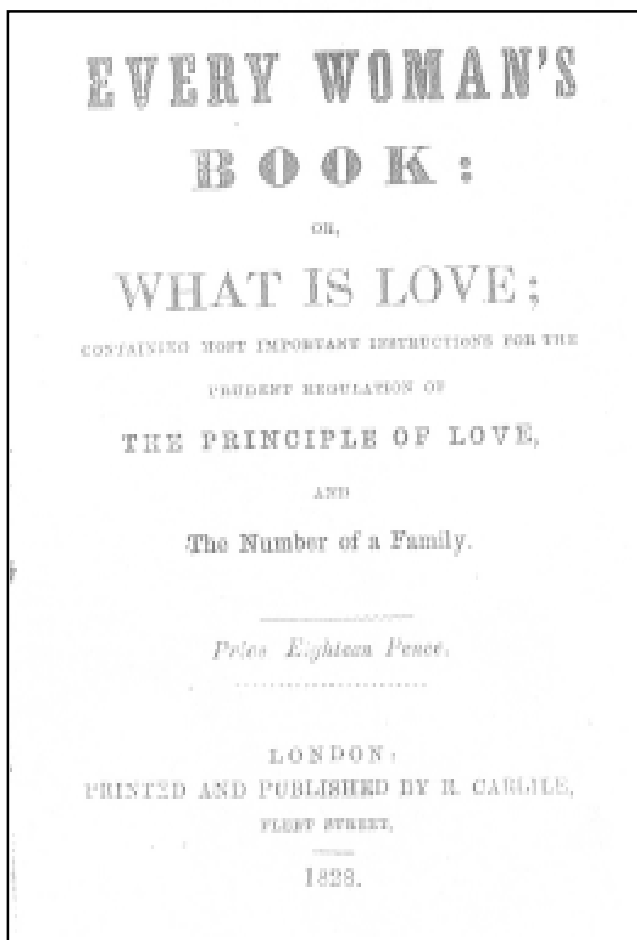
Carlile, the respectable artisan turned radical journalist

and not before remains a mystery, although, clearly, it had much to do with the decision of female reformers in the north-west to meet separately from their menfolk. In the process, the establishment of the Blackburn Female Reform Society was a crucial step, especially thanks to the publicity it received in the local and the national press and the inspiring example it set for other north-west towns, such as Royton, Stockport and Manchester. It is equally clear that these female reform societies did not purvey a feminist message. After all, they backed a political reform programme which confined the parliamentary vote to men; and their public announcements expressed traditional beliefs on the social role of women, with a strong emphasis placed upon complementing the male rather than competing with him. The members appeared to owe no debt to Mary Wollstonecraft but rather, given their predominantly working-class background, many were responding to a radical change in the nature of work, as women in large numbers found employment outside the home in factories and workshops.⁵

Richard Carlile first encountered the women of Manchester at Peterloo itself. As a radical London journalist, he had been invited to attend by the Manchester reformer, John Knight. It was

his first visit to Manchester. Travelling to the meeting in Henry Hunt's open barouche, he was deeply impressed by the fervour of the crowds that lined the route and accompanied the carriage, as well as by the mass of people they met in St. Peter's Field. Carlile was privileged to stand on the platform alongside Hunt. Like other eye-witnesses, he was moved by the female presence, notably embodied in the "Joan of Arc" figure of Mary Fildes, the chairwoman of the Manchester Female Reform Society, who, upon meeting Hunt's entourage with her fellow members as it entered town, managed to secure a seat alongside the driver. As many noted, she arrived at the meeting aboard the barouche vigorously waving a handkerchief and holding a large flag surmounted by a cap of liberty and depicting a woman treading corruption underfoot. She likewise gained access to the platform and stood close to Carlile. Her intention was to present Hunt with the flag and cap, along with an address, in imitation of the way the Blackburn Female Reformers had impressed themselves upon a mass meeting the previous July. In addition, Carlile was deeply moved by the large number of women in attendance, especially because of their enthusiasm, because many were dressed in white, and because in the breeze their tresses were tossed about as they doffed their bonnets in salute to Hunt. He was then shocked to the core by the sight of defenceless women being sabre-slashed and trampled down by the cavalry.⁶

Peterloo revealed to Carlile the potential power of women as backers of radical causes. It also impressed upon him the need



The first book on birth-control ever published in Britain, combined with a sex manual advocating free love

to enlist this power. Soon afterwards he published a print of Peterloo that portrayed himself and Mary Fildes on the platform as the massacre began. It was dedicated not only to Hunt but to "the female reformers of Manchester and the adjacent towns who were exposed to and suffered from the wanton and furious attack made on them by that brutal armed force the Manchester and Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry". The same caption stated that the dedication had been made by "their fellow labourer, Richard Carlile". Throughout the early 1820s he made repeated appeals to women in general and Manchester women in particular through his journal the *Republican*, starting in October 1819 with the publication of an address from a fiery Manchester female reformer, Ethelinda Wilson, who had recently taken up residence in London. Appalled by the Peterloo massacre, she urged female Mancunians to press for a further meeting in Manchester to protest against it, calling upon them to persuade their menfolk to forget their fear, "so truly feminine a trait", and thus avoid going down in history as cowards. In this way, she claimed, "female influence" could save the feeble plant of liberty. Then in November 1819 Carlile published an address to "my fair countrywomen" which expressed his gratification at the thousands of women who had attended Peterloo, and his wish that they would "continue to stand forward" - deliberately fashioning his message to attract and attach them to his cause. This sustained effort to win over the women culminated in his publication of *Every Woman's Book* in 1826.⁷

In his bid to recruit the women, Carlile went to greater lengths than any other reformer of the time, producing a remedial programme which was feminist in its radicalism. He regarded the exclusion of women as completely unacceptable. Accordingly, he condemned not only the parliamentary reform programme of the Radical Reformers, who settled for a manhood franchise, but also the all-male membership of the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows and mechanics' institutes.⁸ In addition, he formulated a philosophy of sex which, by means of free love and contraception, sought to liberate women from the shackles of marriage and the burden of child-bearing. Central to this philosophy was Carlile's belief in the intrinsic virtue of sexual intercourse since it was the fount of happiness and health, his belief that sexual intercourse was the right of all adults irrespective of whether they were married, and his belief in the need for a true equality between the sexes that could only be completely achieved if men and women had the same opportunities to gratify their sexual desires. For Carlile, women should not be typified as "wives and mothers", but should enjoy an equality with men. Why not become philosophers and politicians, he asked; and given their greater tenderness, why should they not make better surgeons than men.⁹ As well as hacking away at the root of gender, Carlile also went far beyond the radicalism of his contemporaries by advocating republicanism and Atheism. Rather than stopping at universal suffrage, he explicitly required the abolition of the monarchy, the house of lords and the church - if necessary by revolutionary overthrow. Yet he was no Spencean or Owenite. Essentially a libertarian, he rejected the enforced redistribution of property and all forms of socialism.¹⁰

Carlile's supporters, then, had much to swallow; and it is not at all surprising that, in comparison with the reform movements centred upon Hunt, Cobbett and eventually Owen, Carlile's fol-



Carlile and Mary Fildes (circled) at Peterloo

lowing should remain small. The north-west was a major source of support for him but those who openly declared their allegiance to his cause amounted to no more than 3,546. Of this number, 1,040 were residents of Manchester; and among these followers 116 were women.¹¹ What light does this support cast upon Manchester in the 1820s and its female inhabitants?

The Female Response

It was Carlile's firm belief that his sexual philosophy would prove so irresistible to women that it would render them easy converts to republicanism and freethought. In practice, the opposite happened. On the one hand, his female supporters found his political and religious beliefs readily acceptable but objected to his sexual views because they appeared to expose women to exploitation by the predatory male.¹² On the other, many committed female reformers not only took great exception to his rejection of Christianity and monarchy but also showed no willingness to alter their political and religious beliefs in return for the sexual advantages he claimed to offer. For them Hunt and Cobbett retained an overwhelming appeal, not least because they dissociated themselves from Carlile's brand of ultra-radicalism and stuck to a programme of parliamentary reform, even though it denied women the vote.

In his bid to enlist the women of Manchester, certain factors worked in Carlile's favour: first, his fortuitous appearance at Peterloo and the use he made of the experience to condemn the massacre and to demand redress; secondly, the imprisonment not only of himself but also of his wife and sister; and thirdly, the belated evolution of his sexual philosophy which only became evident from 1824 onwards and was only widely publicised in April 1826 when, outraged by the frontispiece to *Every Woman's Book* with its full-frontal, genitally explicit Adam and Eve, Cobbett publicly branded Carlile as the grand pornographer and pimp who planned to lure into prostitution the maidenhood of England.¹³

For establishing a close affinity with the people of Manchester, Carlile's debt to Peterloo would have been even greater if, like Hunt, he had been one of its victims. Instead, he had managed to slip away unharmed and undetected, losing no more than his top hat. Nonetheless, he earned considerable respect in the town and its vicinity from his fearless journalistic coverage of the event. In his reports on Peterloo, moreover, he urged the people to resort to physical force if the government failed to punish the perpetrators of the massacre, the Manchester magistrates and the Yeomanry Cavalry.¹⁴ All this went down well with Mancu-

nians, male and female. Furthermore, the fact that two of the magistrates who had authorised the military action at Peterloo were clergymen (Hay and Ethelstone) meant that the strong anticlericalism ever present in Carlile's attacks on religion increased his appeal. Finally, the failure of the government to punish the perpetrators, coupled with its willingness to commend them for bravery and to reward them for loyal conduct, gave Carlile's sustained exhortation to revolution a compelling resonance in the north-west, especially as Hunt continued to advocate caution and peaceful protest.

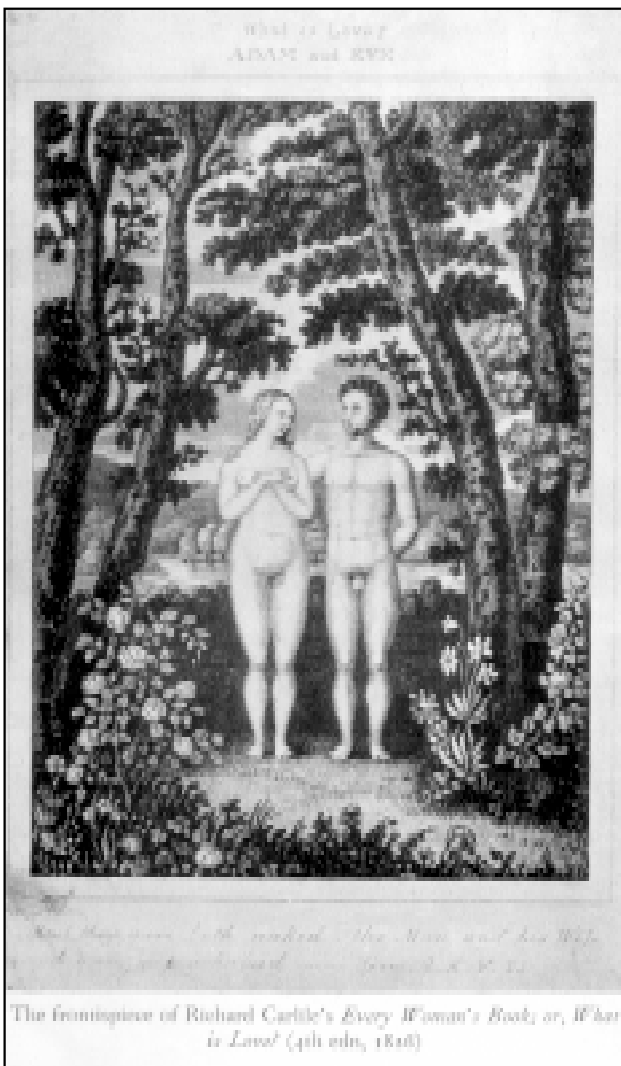
Within a few months of Peterloo, both Carlile and Hunt had been removed far from Manchester. Both were incarcerated in the south-west, the one in Dorchester, the other in Ilchester. A month after Peterloo Carlile was sentenced to three years imprisonment for blasphemy, the result of publishing two Deist tracts, Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* and Elihu Palmer's *Principles of Nature*. Neither work denied the existence of God, but both repudiated Christianity by dismissing the Bible as a collection of fables. Carlile's imprisonment was soon followed by that of Jane, his wife, and Mary-Ann, his sister, the former for the seditious crime of publishing a seventeenth-century advocacy of assassination entitled *Killing No Murder*; the latter for the blasphemy of publishing further works by Paine. Both of them joined

Carlile in Dorchester Gaol, remaining there from 1821 to 1823. In addition, by the end of 1822 another woman had been imprisoned for her connexion with Carlile. Susannah Wright, a lace-maker from Nottingham, was committed to Newgate for eight-months, the result of selling blasphemous works from his Fleet-street shop and for declaring at her trial that the best use to which the Bible could be put was in the toilet. Intensifying the emotive appeal of these stiff sentences were the young children imprisoned with their mothers, for Susannah Wright entered Newgate suckling a six-month-old baby, while Jane went to Dorchester Gaol with the infant Thomas Paine and, before her release, gave birth to Hypatia. Besides these women, a number of men went to prison for selling Carlile publications in the early 1820s, four of whom were from Manchester. One of them, David Ridgeway, a fustian-cutter, was committed to Lancaster Castle in 1821 for selling the *Republican* to fellow townsmen. The other three - the shoemaker Joseph Rhodes in 1822 and in 1824 William Champion, another shoemaker, and William Cochrane - willingly became martyrs for the cause, having volunteered to serve in Carlile's Fleet-street shop, knowing full well that it would lead to a charge of sedition or blasphemy.¹⁵

Sustaining Carlile's support in Manchester, then, was compassion for victimised women and outrage at the sentences imposed upon the Manchester four. Throughout his prison sentence - which endured for six years - Carlile maintained connexion with the Manchester region through the *Republican* which he was able to edit from gaol. In addition to articles on religion and politics, the journal contained hyperbolic letters from its readers and flattering responses from Carlile. His relationship with Mancunians was especially intense between 1821 and 1823. Frequent letters passed from Manchester to Dorchester Gaol repeatedly professing self-sacrificial opposition to kingcraft, lordcraft and priestcraft, and presenting gifts and money, which Carlile took care to acknowledge and thank.¹⁶ In addition, Mancunians demonstrated their loyalty to Carlile by organising exuberant dinners to celebrate his birthday on 8 December and Paine's birthday on 29 January, and by making the long journey to Dorchester to visit him in gaol.¹⁷ And when Carlile called upon his followers to found reading and discussion societies they did so with enthusiasm and pride.¹⁸

The Female Republicans and Freethinkers of Manchester

In this relationship, the women of Manchester seemed mostly content to be represented by their husbands. The local leaders, organisers, money-collectors and speakers were all men. What is more, women rarely featured under their own names in the lists of Mancunians making donations to Carlile: thus in the first list women provided only 4 out of 57 subscriptions; in the second, only 4 out of 42; in the third, none at all; in the fourth, 13 out of 76; in the fifth, 4 out of 57; in the sixth, 7 out of 81; and this continued to be the pattern.¹⁹ Yet the female reformers of Manchester contained a considerable number of committed republicans and freethinkers. One was the child, Mary Ann Rhodes of 56 Henry-street, daughter of the imprisoned atheist shoemaker, Joseph Rhodes. From the age of thirteen, when she gave one shilling "to your infant son Thomas Paine Carlile", she became a regular subscriber to the Carlile fund. Following her father's imprisonment in March 1822 for selling blasphemous works in



The frontispiece that outraged Cobbett



Carlile's representation of free thought, centred on natural woman portrayed as impartial justice. The Peterloo massacre is depicted in the background

Carlile's Fleet-street shop, she appended to her subscription the ironical notes that his sentence of two years hard labour was "the only way to learn the blessings of Christianity" and was "for the glory of God and the honour of revealed religion".²⁰ Another committed freethinker was Margaret Clarke who, in presenting Jane Carlile with a "present of silk" for her baby, declared herself to be "a real Deist, but hath the misfortune to be the wife of a Christian".²¹ In the Manchester subscription list for November 1822 one woman designated herself "A Female Deist and Republican, though young" and another designated herself "A Female Deist and Republican though I have only fourteen children".²² Among his female following freethought was not limited to Deism. The pseudonyms used in the subscription lists - Female Materialist, A Female Naturalist, A Female Ephemeron, Queen Mab - indicate that several were Atheists. Yet another committed ultra-radical was Mary Walker who named her son Henry Hunt Carlile and allowed her house at 9 Back-Piccadilly to be used free of charge for the celebration of Carlile's birthday in December 1821 and of Paine's birthday in January 1822. On the latter occasion she sang to the assembly "Millions be Free" and when toasted for her hospitality she rose to say that they were welcome "at any time to use her home for such patriotic meetings". The same house also became the venue of a weekly reading society for Carlile's Manchester supporters. In offering such hospitality Mary worked to promote the cause with her husband "Citizen William Walker", although normally she made a contribution to the subscription lists under her own name and on one occasion saucily presented Carlile with a peculiar nightcap. On another occasion she wrote him a letter.²³

Manchester women, however, tended not to write to Carlile himself; or if they did they withheld their name as with "F. of Manchester" who in September 1822 presented two silk shawls to Carlile's wife and sister and signed off "an unknown friend and admirer".²⁴ Nonetheless, they did correspond openly with Jane, his wife, for whom they showed deep concern. In January 1822, for example, at the dinner to celebrate Paine's birthday, Jane and her son Thomas Paine received a toast to which the women present added in unison: "A safe delivery with the next". The correspondence began towards the close of Jane's imprisonment, just as she was about to give birth to "the next". Jane dutifully responded to each letter and, soon after her release, paid a visit to Manchester in August 1823, accompanied by her children, who unfortunately contracted measles during the stay.²⁵

The first of the letters was dated 22 April 1822 and written by Elizabeth Gaunt.²⁶ She saw herself as having a special affinity with Jane because, three years earlier, she had also suffered imprisonment when pregnant. This followed the Peterloo massacre at which she was truncheoned on the head and back by the constables and then subjected to solitary confinement in the New Bailey for eleven days, having been mistaken for Mary Fildes, the woman with the flag. In her letter to Jane she revealed how she had been incarcerated in "one of the Boroughmongers' Bastilles" and "exposed to the sabres of a ferocious Yeomanry Cavalry" for doing no more than perform her duty: that is, by supporting Hunt's programme of parliamentary reform. She then focused on the imminent birth and, in the Deist manner, called upon "the God of Nature" to "assist you through the great pain

and peril you must naturally endure". She closed by presenting Jane with a pair of tiny shoes "being the work of my own hands", and the hope that they will be "more acceptable to you than if they were diamonds from a tyrant". Accompanying this gift was a small, practical present of needles and cotton thread.

Jane responded on 4 May, declaring that the first shoes to be placed on the feet of "my daily-expected infant" would be the ones made by Elizabeth Gaunt and that as soon as possible the "birth shall be announced to the Female Republicans of Manchester".²⁷ The latter point reflected the fact that shortly after the letter from Mrs Gaunt, Jane had received another from sixty-six women of Manchester, professing republican and freethinking sentiments and also offering gifts for the baby.²⁸ Why Elizabeth Gaunt should have operated independently of this group is uncertain. It could not be attributed to differences of principle. Although Carlile had by this time become an Atheist, many of his supporters clung to Deism; as did Mrs. Gaunt. True, in her letter she made no explicit reference to republicanism; but twice in early 1822, she subscribed to Carlile's cause (fourpence each time), and on both occasions she was content to have her name associated with a covering letter which was undeniably republican in sentiment.²⁹ The second of these "republican" letters was dispatched on 28 April, just two days earlier than the letter from the sixty-six Mancunian women. Possibly Elizabeth did not contribute to the latter because, as a subscriber, she was represented in the former and had already sent to Jane a letter and gifts of her own. Otherwise, it must have resulted from personal differences between her and some of the other female republicans of Manchester.

The letter from the sixty-six women was signed by Mary Walker, who undoubtedly had an important part in its composition.³⁰ However, its claim to be from "we, the undersigned females" suggests that they all approved of the content. The "liberal principles" they asserted at the start of the letter received elaboration in the rest of it. First, they objected to the Christian religion "with its imposition, bigotry and superstition... knavery and priestcraft", wishing to replace it by "a system of justice and humanity... more consistent with reason and common sense". Secondly, they wanted an end to monarchy. For them the treatment of the two Carlile women "is sufficient to convince the considerate mind of the necessity of a Republican system of government where justice will be administered to all or redress obtained in default thereof". Thirdly, they claimed the right of free discussion "on all subjects, both political and religious", branding any attempt to stop it as "oppressive and tyrannical". All this complied with the Carlile canon; and was to be found replicated in the letters composed by his male Mancunian followers. But there is more to this letter than that. Running through it, not surprisingly, was a strong vein of gender allegiance, affiliation and solidarity. The letter began by addressing its recipients, Jane Carlile and Mary-Ann Carlile, as "Beloved and highly esteemed sisters". They were, in fact, sisters (i.e. sisters-in-law), but this was not the point. The address echoed a form used by the Manchester Female Reformers in July 1819 when an invitation to women from "the higher and middling classes of society" to join their all-female society began "Dear Sisters of the Earth". Also imparting a sense of gender solidarity to the letter of July 1822 was its declaration that the sixty-six female signatories

possessed "hearts of humanity towards our fellow females and sisters (i.e. the two imprisoned Carlile women) in the cause of liberty" and that, fully approving of their conduct, they "glory in your spirit", so much so that "we are not ashamed to come forward and prove to the people of England that there are as yet women possessed of common sense and reason". Yet, for all its radicalism, the letter mounted no root-and-branch challenge to the status quo. The female's duty of obedience to the authority of priests and kings was explicitly repudiated, but obedience to the husband was firmly upheld. Jane was congratulated - and there was no irony in the remark - for obeying her husband "according with what every married woman promises in her marriage ceremony". Furthermore, she was commended for setting a good example: the obedience she had demonstrated was "what every honest and virtuous woman considers to be her duty". The letter's acceptance of the traditional duties of woman was coupled with an acceptance of the traditional duties of man as breadwinners, family heads and public figures. Such beliefs, of course, were a source of criticism as well as of approval since, as a natural corollary of accepting this system of differential obligation, blame automatically attached to its nonfulfilment. Thus the letter presented the treatment of Jane - the work of men - as "unmanly, unnatural and brutal". In offending the expectations of gender obligation, it was therefore objectionable. The letter, then, appeared to assume that gender was a system of complementary functions, some assigned to women and some assigned to men, and therefore bore resemblance to the old notion of orders in which priests pray, knights fight and commoners labour. While rejecting the society of orders, Carlile's female following seemed to accept its derivative, the traditional system of gender. The point at issue - not the role of men but their failure to perform it properly - was made in Jane's reply which closed with the remark that she looked forward to the day "when the men of this country shall manage their own affairs and be in a condition to protect us from the tyrants by whom we are now oppressed".³¹

On 17 February 1823 Carlile's female following in Manchester sent another letter to Jane, this time signed by fourteen women.³² Its purpose was to offer congratulations for her liberation "from the Christian Bastille of Dorchester". Compared with the previous letter, anti-monarchism featured much more prominently, the signatories presenting themselves as the Female Republicans of Manchester: that is, as a society under that name, and an alternative to the Female Reformers of Manchester. The letter indicated a larger membership than those named in it for the signatories claimed to be writing "in behalf of the whole". It represented yet another blast against Christianity. Dwelling on the females martyred for the cause, it cited not only the Carlile women but also "our brave Mrs Wright who has made such a noble stand against the friends of kingcraft, priestcraft, superstition and delusion". The letter, however, still purveyed a Deist message, although by this time Carlile and many of his supporters had moved on to Atheism. On the one hand, the letter linked "the supporters of the humble Jesus" with Percy Jocelyn, bishop of Clogher who, charged with the capital offence of sodomy, had escaped punishment by fleeing to France: that is apart from being stripped by a mob of women after his detection *flagrante delicto* in the back room of the White Lion, St. James.³³ But on the other, the letter declared a belief in a natural and

benevolent God who casts his blessings on believers and disbelievers alike, arguing that such a God surely could not authorise “the dogmas of those inhuman monsters called priests”, especially those relating to punishment in Hell. Nor, according to the letter, could the true God uphold “a set of men[who] want to oppress the poor” and to “deprive the hireling of his wages and the widow of her right”; for if He did so it would be inconsistent with “the laws of Nature and every moral law”. It seemed, the letter reasoned, that Christians were worshipping a false God and therefore had to be resisted in defence of humanity and justice. Seen in this light, Jane’s stand, along with that of her brave husband and sister-in-law, could only be “viewed with inexpressible delight and joyful sensation”.

As with the previous letter, this one was suffused with an overpowering sense of gender affiliation: one that sought to identify with traditional female roles while asserting that, in the trying circumstances of the time, women as well as men needed to take public action. Thus reference was made to Jane’s obligations to see to “your domestic affairs”: that is, to maintain a home and to care for her family, citing how her house had been invaded, with everything confiscated that was “calculated to make life comfortable”, and how “your infant family” had been “dispersed” - a reference to the fact that her two eldest sons, Richard and Alfred, had to be left with relatives during her prison sentence. Responsibility for all this was attributed to man behaving unnaturally. This point was made not only by presenting the unnatural bishop of Clogher as leading the onslaught in the Courts against freethought but also in typifying the political and religious establishment as “the band of Christian

man-tigers” who followed an unnatural God. Since the men were abusing their natural right to rule by failing to fulfil their natural obligations, it was, the letter declared, the duty of females as well as males “to oppose it to the uttermost of their power”, just as Jane had demonstrated, but not by confusing the roles of the two sexes as conventionally determined. The letter closed with an invitation to Jane to come to Manchester where she would be made very welcome, accompanied by the apology that their “humble situation” left them with little to offer her but “mental enjoyment”. But was not this “at all times more agreeable to the virtuous female”?

These two letters from the women of Manchester were intended as public manifestos. After all, it was known that they would be printed in the *Republican* along with the reply. As such, they were not unprecedented, although the practice in Manchester reached back no further than 1819 when three female declarations were produced, one in July addressed to women of the middle and upper classes, another in August addressed to Hunt at the time of Peterloo, and the third in November addressed to William Cobbett. Accompanied by Tom Paine’s bones, which he had just brought back from America, Cobbett had sought permission, en route from Liverpool to London, to visit Manchester but had been denied entry by the municipal authorities. The address from the women was to demonstrate that this decision did not command their support. All three addresses were the work of the Manchester Female Reform Union.³⁴ Their comparison with the ones addressed to Jane Carline in the early 1820s is instructive, especially the address of July 1819 to “Dear Sisters of the Earth”, another woman-to-woman communication. The similarities are striking. The basic source of objection is the same: a corrupt government and the parasites it maintained. Present is the same gender directive, calling upon females to become engaged in politics but proposing no radical alteration in the relationship of the sexes. In both cases, female action was justified in terms of male inadequacy. Thus, in 1819 the house of commons was presented as a male institution, the defects of which reflected badly on the capacity of men for self-correction. Women therefore needed to persuade men to put the matter right. This, however, was not seen as requiring a transformation in gender. The political engagement of women was regarded as a temporary measure, a response to a crisis rather than a permanent reordering of the body politic. Equally striking are the differences. They partly reflected the contrast between the reform programme of Henry Hunt and that of Richard Carline. A notable feature of the addresses of 1819 is that they did not reject Christianity or indulge in anticlericalism. Proposing that “all good men were reformers”, the address to “Dear Sisters of the Earth” resorted to the Bible for proof, declaring that “Noah was a reformer...all the prophets were reformers and also the Apostles”; and as for “the great founder of Christianity, he was the greatest reformer of all”. Elsewhere in the same address, the complaint was made that poverty prevented women from respecting the Sabbath for on Sundays they were obliged to repair “tattered garments to cover the nakedness of our forlorn and destitute families”, even though it had been “set apart by the all-wise creator for a day of rest”. Evident in the address was not conventional Christianity but one adapted to the cause of reform, a radical Christianity which, to Carline’s disgust, remained popular in the Manchester region throughout the 1820s. None-



The epitome of Enlightenment after six years in prison

theless, it was far removed from the Deism advocated in the addresses of 1822/3. The same could be said of the attitude to political reform. The address of July 1819 was radical in the sense that, applauding the French Revolution, it condemned the long war against France because the purpose - at enormous cost to the British people in taxes and lives - had been to enthrone, contrary to the people's wishes, "the present contemptible Louis". Yet it was not republican. The aim of the 1819 July address was to persuade women to advocate "by constitutional means" the reform of the house of commons, not to demolish the house of lords and the monarchy. In matters political and religious the female reformers of 1819 adhered to the so-called Radical Reform policies associated with Hunt. These characteristically combined a progressive call for universal suffrage with a conservative profession of Christianity and monarchism.³⁵ Hunt's claim to be a Christian reduced him to tears at his trial in 1820 when it was suggested in Court that he shared the irreligion of Carlile. He accepted the balanced system of government shaped by history, wishing only to prevent its malfunction. This was to be done by ensuring that the hereditary element, vested in the Crown and the Lords, was effectively counterbalanced by the representative element. Correction rested simply upon making the house of commons answerable to the people. Carlile, in contrast, had no historicist or religious scruples. True to the principles of Thomas Paine, he believed that the revered balance was a myth and that justice and liberty depended upon disposing of the hereditary element. It was Paineite principles, in politics as well as religion, that directed the thinking of Carlile's female following.

Apart from the reform programmes of Hunt and Carlile, the female declarations of 1819 and 1822/3 were affected by a change in circumstance. The economic recession of 1819, which had led to bitter complaints about impoverishment, had blown over by 1822; and the memory of the wars and their waste, still poignant in 1819, was fading fast three years later. Furthermore, by 1822 the novelty of women engaging in politics had worn off. When first encountered, such behaviour was charged, by men and women, as unfeminine, the result of females behaving unnaturally through aping the ways of men, in the manner of Amazonians or viragos, or abandoning their characteristic modesty, in the manner of bloodthirsty Jacobins or hot and shameless prostitutes.³⁶ By 1822 these charges were losing their sting. Consequently women had less need to justify their actions as consonant with femininity. Finally, the differences evident between the two sets of female address derived from a change of leadership.

The Mancunian Female Reformers Divided

In 1819 the female reformers of Manchester were very much under the control of Mary Fildes and Susannah Saxton. As secretary of the Manchester Female Reform Union, it was Saxton who signed the "Dear Sisters of the Earth" address. As chairwoman of the same society, it was Fildes who assumed the task of conveying their address to Hunt at Peterloo; and, in the same official capacities, it was these two women who signed the address to Cobbett and presented him with a writing set. Yet by 1822 their control was slipping away, as considerable numbers of female reformers switched allegiance from Hunt to Carlile.

Until 1822 Hunt's female supporters were quite capable of subscribing to Carlile's cause as well; so much so that in the course of 1821 both Susannah Saxton and Mary Fildes gave him small sums of money as he languished - an utterly commendable martyr to the cause of free discussion - in Dorchester Gaol. Mary Fildes even attended the celebration of Carlile's birthday in December 1821, held at the house of Mary Walker.³⁷ But as the relationship between Hunt and Carlile slumped into a vindictive and irreconcilable antipathy and as their respective causes came to be defined in reaction to each other, the loyalty of their following was put to the test. Two mutually opposed parties - the one Huntite, the other Carlileite - inevitably formed, splitting the Mancunian reformers into separate and hostile camps.

Two local incidents promoted this process of bifurcation, each of them featuring Mary Fildes and Susannah Saxton. The first arose from a letter dated 18 March 1822 that was published in the *Manchester Observer*. Signed by Mary and addressed to Carlile, it soundly rebuked him for his hostility to Hunt. It also questioned his behaviour at Peterloo. Mary, who had stood by his side on the hustings as the cavalry had charged the crowd, accused him of having shown extreme fear, evident in "the quivering of your lips and the falter of your tongue".³⁸ Carlile bitterly dismissed this charge as a Huntite trick to discredit him.³⁹ A number of Mancunians came to his rescue, notably Mary Walker, who claimed to have eye-witness proof that Mary Fildes had not composed the letter herself but had simply added her signature to it. The letter was the occasion of a bitter conflict in the town in which the former friendship between the two women foundered. Mary Fildes, moreover, was shunned by the Carlile party and had her last subscription returned by the local collector as a mark of her disgrace. Carlile spitefully accused Mary Fildes - a person who claimed that her public actions sprang virtuously from "nothing more than my duty as a wife and mother" - of having been "seduced into a trick of that kind", the result of being "a woman with warm feelings". He also attributed the authorship of the letter to Susannah Saxton's husband, John Thacker Saxton, whom he dismissed as a hopeless drunk.⁴⁰

The second defining incident occurred the following October. The Carlileites and Huntites almost came to blows in the Union Rooms in George Leigh-street, Ancoats when the reformers of Manchester met to approve an address to Hunt which congratulated him upon his imminent release from prison.⁴¹ The address openly condemned a pamphlet recently published by a venerable Manchester reformer, Joseph Johnson, who on the occasion of Peterloo had also sat in the barouche and had stood on the platform but now, like Carlile, had turned against Hunt.⁴² The Huntites, with Saxton to the fore, wanted to keep the address as it was; while others, principally Carlileites, wanted the comments on the pamphlet removed. Johnson was no follower of Carlile. His Christianity prevented him from siding with an Atheist in spite of his hostility to Hunt. Yet he and Carlile were aligned in their opposition to the project for founding a Great Northern Union, regarding it as a cynical ploy whereby Hunt would secure a parliamentary seat, enter the house of corruption and abandon the cause of reform.⁴³

That the struggle in the Union rooms was between the followers of Carlile and Hunt became clear when Elijah Ridings, the silk-

weaver poet, advocated amendment and was met with the cry "Damn him, he's a Carlileite" and "Pull him down [i.e. from the rostrum] and all those Carlileites". Although no women stood up to address the meeting, quite a few were present, some representing Hunt, others Carlile; and they participated vigorously in the barracking of the speakers. They also provided a general chorus of hisses, hoots, cheers and groans. John Harper, in his account of the meeting, cited "the shrill tones of female voices threatening blows". Prominent in the imbroglio was Mary Fildes who at the end - that is, after the decision had been made not to alter the address - was so enraged by the Carlileites that, even though the victory was hers, she was disposed, according to Harper, "to have a set-to with some female republicans" present.⁴⁴ As for Mary Walker, what did she now call the son whom two years earlier she had proudly named Henry Hunt Carlile?

At the centre of the conflict was the principle of republicanism. As a divisive issue this had surfaced earlier in the year as a result of the attempt to substitute "republican" for "reformer" within the Radical Reform movement. As a Huntite, Wooler had publicly condemned the proposal, in the pages of the *Manchester Observer* and *Black Dwarf*, in such a way as to suggest that he preferred Christians to republicans. In response a group of Manchester republicans, all men, deplored Wooler's stand in a signed statement addressed "To the Public" which Carlile obligingly printed. Johnson's "pure republicanism" alienated him from Hunt while making him eminently qualified, although still a committed Christian, to receive Carlileite support. The outcome was to crystallise the parties and clarify their principles. According to Carlile, Hunt had become "a quack in politics, a quack in religion, a quack in trade and what is worst of all a quack in morals"; and his followers accepted the judgement.⁴⁵ For Hunt and his followers Carlile became the immoral materialist. Each party ceased to be a broad church of radicalism, as the republicans backed Carlile and as the Christians sided with Hunt or Cobbett: that is with the exception of the likes of Joseph Johnson who, as republicans and Christians, fitted into neither camp. It was within the context of this process of party formation and disagreement that the Manchester women had written to Jane.

The Issue of the Sponge

Carlile's relations with Mary Fildes went from bad to worse in the period 1823-6 when the issue of contraception became a bone of contention between them. In July 1823 Mary received a parcel from London containing a pile of handbills which advocated birth-control. The parcel was accompanied by a note from "a sincere well-wisher to the working classes" which asked her - as a woman "having much influence in her neighbourhood" and who had "shown herself the ardent friend of the working people" - to distribute the bills to married women of her acquaintance. It was a part of Francis Place's campaign to promote birth-control by other means than sexual abstinence. Essentially, it spelled out the benefit of a small family and recommended the sponge as the most effective of contraceptive devices.⁴⁶ As a woman who had given birth to five children by the age of twenty-seven (i.e. by 1819), and as an inhabitant of a town whose already dense population had so far more than trebled in her own lifetime (from 43,000 in 1788 to 142,000 in 1831), Mary had good reason to appreciate its benefits.⁴⁷ Instead, she was

filled with indignation. Rather than distributing the bills to the married women of Manchester, she sent copies to the Attorney General in order to start a public prosecution, and also to Wooler of the *Black Dwarf* and Carlile of the *Republican*, the leading radical journals of the time, calling upon them to publish a condemnation of the bill.⁴⁸ Mary's anger stemmed from the fact that she associated it with "the cold-blooded Malthus" and the attendant conservative belief that the ills of society were due to the fecundity of the working classes rather than the greed of the rich. Malthus would have found the handbill's recommendations equally as deplorable but that was beside the point. In the eyes of reformers his principle of population, along with its prediction that unchecked population growth would inevitably immiserate society, was readily seen as working against their cause, especially in proposing that the sufferings of the working classes could best be remedied by self-improvement rather than political reform.⁴⁹ In response to Mary Fildes, Wooler emphasised these points in the *Black Dwarf* for 17 September 1823.⁵⁰ In contrast, Carlile made no public statement about the matter until May 1825 when he devoted almost the whole of one issue of the *Republican* to the subject of "What is Love?". In this long essay he not only printed the offending bill and strongly argued in its favour, but also presented Mary Fildes as a supporter of contraception, stating that, although once offended by it, "I have since been informed from good authority that she...has become a convert to its great utility and importance".⁵¹ A strong denial from both Mary and her husband elicited no apology from Carlile.⁵² When the essay was converted into the tract *Every Woman's Book* (1826), Carlile did remove her name from the text but suggestively substituted: "Women are also secretly engaged in it, after having got over the prejudices of old customs, by giving it a full consideration".⁵³

Carlile's decision to embrace the principles of Malthus exposed him to attack from a wide spectrum of political reform: basically on the grounds that he was blaming the working classes, not the government, for the current problems of society.⁵⁴ This was not true, for Carlile managed to work self-improvement and radical political reform into one coherent programme. Nevertheless, his conservative and radical opponents had a field day in manipulating his advocacy of the sponge to question both his personal morality and his credentials as a political reformer; even more so as Carlile was reckless enough to connect the principle of population, which he had adopted from Place, to a principle of love all of his own making. For Carlile, contraception served two purposes. Not only did it limit the size of families but it also liberated sexual pleasure.⁵⁵ This enabled opponents to portray Carlile as an obscene monster bent on dragging women down into a quagmire of depravity by persuading them to regard sex as primarily a means of self-gratification. Thanks to this linguistic turn, Carlile's philosophy of sex - even though it offered a great deal to women - did nothing to improve his popularity with them.⁵⁶ Not only Mary Fildes but also his Manchester female followers distanced themselves in the late 1820s. To boost his popularity in Manchester, Carlile paid several visits to the town once out of prison - in 1827 and in 1829 - but without the desired effect.

In the early 1830s Carlile's conduct appeared to bear out all that his opponents had predicted, for republicans and Atheists were traditionally regarded as lacking in moral fibre and therefore free to commit any outrage. For a time in the early 1820s Carlile had appeared to disprove this case by showing that morality could exist apart from religious beliefs; but then he proceeded to blot his copybook, not once but twice. The startling message of *Every Woman's Book* suggested that the traditional associations made between supernatural disbelief and obscenity might well be true; then in September 1833 the revelation that Carlile had left his wife and family to cohabit with a woman from Bolton strongly suggested that, by liberating lust, his philosophy could easily reduce men and women to the animal state. Shortly afterwards, in October 1833, Carlile paid another visit to Manchester and found himself popular again, with over a thousand attending his lectures on morality in Newall's

Hall in Market-street; but this popularity was grounded on notoriety, not reverence or respect; and no matter how hard he tried to defend his moral probity, he found his radical leadership in Manchester on the slippery slope, even more so because he now had to compete with other forms of radicalism which took care to avoid the taint of immorality.⁵⁷ On the one hand, the widespread dissatisfaction with Christianity, which Carlile had catered for, found a welcome in Utilitarianism and Owenism; while, on the other, the widespread dissatisfaction with a self-serving, corrupt government found expression in the evolution of Radical Reform into Chartism, as well as in the durability of radical Christianity, with its belief that the Bible provided a wonderful inspiration for political reform through the example set by Christ. In these circumstances the female reformers of Manchester attached themselves to other movements and, no matter how hard he tried, Carlile was unable to win them back.

Notes

¹ See *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, XXXV, pp. 257ff, 401ff and 513ff; Henry Hunt, *Letters to the Radical Reformers, Male and Female* (London, 1823); *Black Dwarf*, III, p. 453.

² For Burdett, see *Black Dwarf*, III, p. 549. For Cartwright, see *ibid.*, pp. 442-3. For Carlile, see *Republican*, I, pp. 226-7.

³ A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, 1995), p. 160.

⁴ *Black Dwarf*, V, pp. 442-3, 573, 686. For Peterloo, see below. For Queen Caroline, see Clark, *Struggle*, pp. 164ff.

⁵ See the pioneering account by W.W. Kinsey in 'Some Aspects of Lancashire Radicalism, 1816-21' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1927), pp. 66-71. Also see M.I. Thomis and J. Grimmett, *Women in Protest, 1800-1850* (1982), ch. 5; R. Glen, *Urban Workers in the Early Industrial Revolution* (1984), ch. 10; R. and E. Frow (eds.), *Political Women, 1800-1850* (1989), ch. 2; J. Epstein, *Radical Expression* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 87-92; Clark, *Struggle*, ch. 9; H. Rogers, *Women and the People* (Aldershot, 2000), pt. 1, ch. 5.

⁶ For Carlile's account, see *Sherwin's Political Register*, V, pp. 238-45; *Republican*, V, p. 271. For the intended presentation and address, see the journal *Peterloo Massacre* (Manchester, 1819), pp. 21-2. For the Blackburn example, see Frow, *Political Women*, pp. 17, 20-4.

⁷ For Ethelinda Wilson, see *Republican*, II, pp. 71-2; I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld* (Oxford reprint, 1998), p. 135. For Carlile's overtures to women, see *Republican*, I, pp. 226-7; M.L. Bush, *What is Love? Richard Carlile's Philosophy of Sex* (1998), pp. 41-2.

⁸ For parliament, see *Republican*, VIII, p. 13; *Prompter*, pp. 357-8; *Gauntlet*, p. 712. For Masons / Odd Fellows, see *Republican*, XII, pp. 8, 482. For mechanics institutes, see *Republican*, XIII, p. 41.

⁹ I. McCalman, 'Females, Feminism and and Free Love in an Early Nineteenth Century Radical Movement', *Labour History* (Australia), XXVIII (1980), pp. 1-25; Bush, *What is Love?*, ch. 1.

¹⁰ J.H. Wiener, *Radicalism and Freethought in Nineteenth-century Britain: The Life of Richard Carlile* (Westport, Conn., 1986), ch. 6; Epstein, *Radical Expression*, pp. 119-22.

¹¹ Principally compiled from the following journals: *Republican*, *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, *Newgate Monthly Magazine*, *Lion*, *Prompter*, *Isis* and *Gauntlet*.

¹² Bush, *What is Love?*, ch. 4.

¹³ Cobbett's attack was reprinted in *Republican*, XIII, pp. 482-7. For its beneficial effect on sales, see *ibid.*, p. 622.

¹⁴ For his two letters to Lord Sidmouth, see *Sherwin's Political Register*, V, pp. 238ff; *Republican*, I, p. 21ff. For his Five "Crisis" articles, see *Republican*, I, pp. 3ff, 49ff, 81ff, 177ff, 225ff. For his letter to the Prince Regent, see *ibid.*, pp. 17ff. For his Leader addressed to the inhabitants of Manchester, see *ibid.*, pp. 33ff.

¹⁵ W.H. Wickwar, *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819-1832* (London, 1928), ch. 7; Wiener, *Radicalism and Freethought*, ch. 5.

¹⁶ For correspondence and subscription lists, see *Republican*, IV, pp. 491-3; *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, 3 March 1821, pp. 2-6, 16; *ibid.*, 23 April 1821, pp. 13-16; *ibid.*, 24 June, 1821, pp. 26-32; *ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1821, pp. 19-25, 36-40; *Republican*, V, pp. 496-501; *ibid.*, pp. 586-9; *ibid.*, pp. 593-5; *Republican*, VI, pp. 521-8; *ibid.*, pp. 846-8; *ibid.*, pp. 906-9; *Republican*, VII, pp. 48-52; *ibid.*, pp. 483-8; *Republican*, VIII, pp. 635-40.

¹⁷ *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, 20 Dec. 1821, pp. 13-14; *Republican*, V, pp. 236-40; *Republican*, VII, p. 294; *Newgate Monthly Magazine*, II, p. 383. James Wheeler visited him in Dorchester Gaol in spring, 1823 (*Republican*, VII, p. 486); Joseph Rhodes visited in Feb. 1824 (*Republican*, IX, p. 412).

¹⁸ e.g. *Republican*, VIII, pp. 635-6.

¹⁹ i.e. 3 out of 35; 14 out of 140; 7 out of 148; 1 out of 35; 4 out of 40; 3 out of 40; 3 out of 60. For refs., see above, n. 16.

- ²⁰ *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, 23 April 1821, p. 16; *ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1821, p. 39; *ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1821, p. 25; *Republican*, VI, p. 591; *Republican*, VI, pp. 522, 848.
- ²¹ *Republican*, V, p. 590.
- ²² *Republican*, VI, p. 848.
- ²³ For child's name, see *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, 13 Oct. 1821, p. 20. For Walker hospitality, see *ibid.*, 20 Dec., pp. 13-14; *Republican*, V, pp. 236-40; *Republican*, VI, p. 848. For her song, see *Republican*, V, p. 237. For nightcap, see *Republican*, VI, p. 522; *Republican*, IX, p. 745. For her letter to Carlile, which has not survived, see *Republican*, V, p. 457.
- ²⁴ *Republican*, VI, pp. 543-4. A notable exception was the letter written to Carlile by Ethelinda Wilson who had gone to live in London. See *Republican*, II, p. 71.
- ²⁵ For the toast, see *Republican*, V, p. 237. For Jane's visit to Manchester, see *Republican*, VIII, pp. 351-2. For the children's illness, see *Republican*, VIII, pp. 188, 402. For Jane's replies, see *Republican*, V, pp. 591-2, 603; *Republican*, VII, p. 330.
- ²⁶ *Republican*, V, p. 602. For a brief biographical sketch, see Frow, *Political Women*, pp. 19-20.
- ²⁷ *Republican*, V, p. 603.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 589-91. The gifts were all made by friends in Bolton: one frock, one frockwaist and a garment in silk.
- ²⁹ *Republican*, V, pp. 496-8; *ibid.*, p. 593.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 589-90.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 591-2.
- ³² *Republican*, VII, pp. 328-9.
- ³³ For graphic details, see W. Benbow, *The Crimes of the Clergy* (1823), pp. 41-2.
- ³⁴ For July address (first printed in *Manchester Observer*, 31 July 1819), see Frow, *Political Women*, pp. 24-7. For Aug. address, see *Manchester Massacre*, p. 21. For Nov. address, see *Cobbett's Political Register*, XXXV, p. 515.
- ³⁵ See J. Belchem, 'Republicanism, Popular Constitutionalism and the Radical Platform in Early Nineteenth-century England', *Social History*, VI (1981), pp. 1-32; and his *Orator Hunt* (1984), ch. 5 (2-3). Also see Epstein, *Radical Expression*, pp. 119-22.
- ³⁶ Epstein, *Radical Expression*, pp. 88-9; Clark, *Struggle*, p. 161; D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), pp. 192-5.
- ³⁷ *To the Reformers of Great Britain*, 13 Oct. 1821, p. 39 (Fildes and Saxton); *ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1821, p. 25 (Fildes); *Republican*, VI, pp. 260-1 (Fildes).
- ³⁸ *Manchester Observer*, subtitled *Wooler's British Gazette*, 23 March, 1822.
- ³⁹ *Republican*, V, pp. 456-7.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 457; *Republican*, VI, p. 260-1.
- ⁴¹ The surviving account of the meeting is by a Carlile supporter, John Harper. See *Republican*, VII, pp. 48-52. For the address to Hunt, see *ibid.*, pp. 53-6.
- ⁴² The offending pamphlet, published in June, was entitled *A Letter to Henry Hunt by Joseph Johnson* (Manchester, 1822). It was followed by *A Second Letter to Henry Hunt by Joseph Johnson* (Manchester, 1822), published in November. For a thumbnail sketch of Johnson, see Donald Read, *Peterloo* (Manchester, 1958), pp. 35-6.
- ⁴³ Johnson revealed his principles earlier that year when he declined to chair a meeting of Manchester republicans. See *Republican*, VI, p. 141. For opposition to the Great Northern Union, see above, n. 41 and *Republican*, VII, pp. 487-8, 720-2. For support, see Belchem, *Orator Hunt*, ch. 5 (2).
- ⁴⁴ *Republican*, VII, pp. 49, 52.
- ⁴⁵ For the reformer / republican conflict, see *Republican*, VI, pp. 280-1. For Wooler's condemnation, see *Black Dwarf*, VIII, pp. 741-9. For Carlile on Hunt, see *Republican*, VII, p. 60.
- ⁴⁶ For note and handbill, see *Black Dwarf*, XI, pp. 406-9.
- ⁴⁷ For details of Mary Fildes, see the Appendix to *Report of the Metropolitan and Central Committee Appointed for the Relief of the Manchester Sufferers* (1820). For Manchester population, see E. Butterworth, *A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster* (1841), p. 75.
- ⁴⁸ For her communication with Carlile, see B.L. Place Collection, Box 50 / vol. 68. For her communication with Wooler, see *Black Dwarf*, XI, pp. 505-6.
- ⁴⁹ For radical reaction against contraception, see Clark, *Struggle*, pp. 103-5.
- ⁵⁰ *Black Dwarf*, XI, pp. 409-11.
- ⁵¹ *Republican*, XI, no. 18. Fildes' name appears on p. 561.
- ⁵² *Republican*, XIV, p. 31.
- ⁵³ *Every Woman's Book* (4th ed. 1826), p. 23.
- ⁵⁴ For reception, see Bush, *What is Love?*, ch. 4.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, 21-6.
- ⁵⁶ For reaction, see *ibid.*, pp. 125-36.
- ⁵⁷ *Gauntlet*, pp. 595-8.