

ART. XVI. – *Liberty or Death.*

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“Liberty or Death is our motto . . . equality of rights, not property, is the object for which we contend . . . we are not that lawless sanguinary rabble which our oppressors would persuade the higher classes we are – but a brave and generous people determined to be free . . .”¹

IN 1933, the Caldewgate Working Men’s Association of Carlisle deposited a red flag in Tullie House Museum. Although fragile and tattered and bearing the evidence of much careful mending, its message, boldly ornamented and beautifully lettered, stands out strong and clear: *Liberty or Death*. On the reverse are the words *Equal Laws, Equal Rights*, and in the centre of both sides are crude daubs of yellow paint, with “1819” in black, obviously added by a later hand. An attached label indicates that this was a Chartist banner, although the date 1819 suggests it should more rightly be associated with the Radical Reform movement of that year, rather than with the Chartist movement of the late 1830s and the 1840s.

This paper aims to trace the history of this flag and its associations, in an attempt to place it in its historical context and to show how for over sixty years it was revered as a symbol of the lower classes’ struggle for the right to vote in Parliamentary elections – an agitation which occupied the minds and energies of the British working people throughout the 19th century.

Although the Carlisle Radical Reformers did not unfurl their *Liberty or Death* flag until 1819, the slogan “Liberty or Death” was first adopted by political reformers in the United Kingdom in the years following the 1789 Revolution in France, and its appearance in this context may be more particularly dated to around the year 1793. To British minds, the concept of Liberty rested in the right to elect those who would govern them in Parliament. The idea that the franchise was an absolute right to be possessed by all adult males had been put forward by groups of “levellers” as early as the middle of the 17th century, and from that time on, increasing demands for reforms in the ways by which Parliaments were elected served to emphasize the injustices then existing in the British electoral system. By the end of the 18th century, the changes in the distribution of wealth, interests and population that were resulting from the increasing industrialization of the nation, meant that the rapidly growing centres of population were quite unrepresented, while at the same time a handful of electors in a decayed or “rotten” borough might be entitled to elect as many as two M.P.s. At the time of the popular disturbances which had accompanied the “Wilkes and Liberty” elections in 1768 and 1774, John Wilkes had declared that “even the meanest mechanic, the poorest labourer and peasant”, should have some say “in the power of making laws which deeply interest them”;² again, in the 1780s, Major Cartwright was reminding “free-born Englishmen” that at one time it had been “their imprescriptible right” to elect their rulers, urging them to fight to have these ancient rights and liberties restored. And renewed demands for Parliamentary and electoral reforms were stimulated in the 1790s by the views expressed in the widely circulated *Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine, at a time when the

success of the recent revolutions in France and America were influencing increasing numbers of politically conscious British citizens to question the existing system of government. But fearing similar upheavals in Britain, the government introduced strong measures to inhibit the growing reform movement. Following the outbreak of war with France, in 1793, Pitt suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, leading to the possibility of reformers being imprisoned without trial, and in what became known as the "English Reign of Terror", many who had taken leading parts in the British political societies were arrested and transported while others suffered severe harassment and intimidation.³

Reformers, themselves, believed their demands for the vote to be entirely just and reasonable. Their goal, as Paine had expressed it, was "to transform the followers of the Camp (i.e. the rabble) into followers of the Standard of Liberty",⁴ aiming to change the British electoral system from within rather than by precipitating violent revolution. To the authorities, however, such ideas were held to be dangerously levelling and seditious, and thus for the first half of the 19th century the call for Liberty was bound up with suggestions of revolutionary Jacobin totalitarianism and political extremism, and all demands for political liberty were vigorously suppressed.

It was against this background that "Liberty or Death" emerged as a political slogan. The motto was first adopted in the mid 1790s by the undercover, semi-insurrectionary, reforming United Irishmen, Englishmen and Scotsmen reform societies,⁵ and was to remain current in popular radicalism from that time, right through the Radical Reform agitation of 1819-21 and 1830-2, on to and beyond the Chartist reform agitation of the 1840s.

With the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 popular demands for a reform of Parliament were renewed. The agitation was strongest in the textile-manufacturing areas in Northern England and Central Scotland, where rising prices, high unemployment and deteriorating social conditions turned men's minds once more to the necessity of possessing the vote. Between 1816-18, attempts were made to unite men of every social degree in a single campaign for Parliamentary Reform, by Major Cartwright in his Hampden Clubs,⁶ but by this time it is probably true to say that social divisions were too widely marked in the industrial districts for this to be feasible, and by the autumn of 1818 other political groups were being formed amongst the lower classes, organized on the lines of the United Societies of the 1790s. These were known as *Union Societies for a Radical Reform of Parliament*:⁷ they had the same forms of organization, and their objectives were the same as those of the earlier societies in their demands for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, votes by Ballot and payment of M.P.s. Many of their members had been associated with the earlier movement, and the slogan "Liberty or Death" again came to be widely used, being displayed at Radical Reform meetings along with revolutionary Tricolours and Caps of Liberty.

To the alarm of the authorities, who still opposed Parliamentary reform, the new movement was widely supported, and by the summer of 1819, the Radical Reformers, as they called themselves, were able to organize a series of great open-air meetings throughout the manufacturing districts, to which tens of thousands of the lower classes marched, peacefully but purposefully, in almost military order. At what was to become the most famous Radical meeting of all – that held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, on August 16th, 1819 – the Yeoman Cavalry charged the horrified crowd with drawn swords and bayonets, killing and injuring innocent people. For the growing Reform

movement, this incident, the "Peterloo Massacre", had the widest repercussions: one historian has gone so far as to suggest that "although no one will ever find a point in history when . . . the whole of the British working classes achieved a total awareness of their own class identity, the days after Peterloo, with the mass meetings of protest which followed . . . must come near to it".⁸

It was as part of this movement that the Carlisle Radical Reformers first took to the Carlisle streets with their flags and banners, in October 1819, when they too, organized their Grand Political Demonstration to call for Parliamentary reform.

From its inauguration in July 1819, the *Carlisle Political Union Society* attracted a good deal of attention from the local newspapers. As the greater part of the membership were poor handloom weavers and those likewise employed in lowly capacities, the *Carlisle Journal* and the *Carlisle Patriot* found some amusement in their activities, which were fully, if patronizingly, reported. The Radicals, holding their self-education and political classes in the open-air, on Sundays during the hours of divine service, were likened to "Druids in their circles being harangued by their leaders".⁹ The *Carlisle Journal* informed its readers that "a fine flag and a Cap of Liberty were being procured at considerable cost" by the Female Radicals, who, "having no money of their own, were obliged to beg for it".¹⁰ And in a subsequent issue, readers were promised that the display at the forthcoming Grand Demonstration "would absolutely astound the natives":

"The flags, five in number, are, strange to say, most aristocratically gorgeous, and the Lady Radicals have exerted their utmost taste and skill in the production of at least half-a-dozen of the finest Caps of Liberty imaginable. One of these, the tip-top cap defies description. It is composed of velvet, curiously ornamented, and bound with brilliant gold band . . .".¹¹

But there can be little doubt that the marching and drilling and the educational activities which were such a conspicuous part of the movement, did much to improve the morale of the Radical Reformers and provide them with a sense of purpose and self-esteem. This was evident when they assembled in front of their Committee Room in Damside St. Cuthberts with their flags and banners, on the morning of October 11th, 1819, to march to their demonstration on Coalfell Hill, at Newtown, on the city boundary. The procession was led by two men carrying placards calling for *Peace and Goodwill* and *Order*, and was accompanied by the beat of a muffled drum and the music of three men and a boy, playing "Scots wha hae" on the bagpipes. The Committee men followed, two by two, carrying white wands tipped with black, in mourning for the victims of Peterloo.

Then came the flags, amongst which were a tricolour, a green flag celebrating *The Rights of Man*, a blue flag inscribed *Remember the Manchester Massacre*, and a crimson flag with *Liberty or Death* on one side and *Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage* on the reverse. Marching three abreast, more than 400 of the Radical body followed their banners through the streets, along English Street and Castle Street, over Caldew Bridges, through Caldewgate and Caldcoats to Newtown and on to the meeting place. The men wore laurel in their hats as symbols of their peaceable intentions, and a group of Lady Radicals made a splash of colour in red shawls and green veils over their black dresses and bonnets – the radical colours. Two magistrates watched the proceedings from a coach drawn up beside the hustings, and in the Castle Yard, armed troops were ready to march out at a moment's notice. Addressing a crowd estimated to have been in the

region of 5,000, the principal speaker, a poor Scots weaver called James Weems, urged the reformers to prepare themselves for the struggle to gain their political liberty – “once possessed of the vote they might consider themselves the equal of any man”. As a result of their radical activities, he believed, “a race of enlightened men would arise, who would take no denial, but demand . . . those rights which every man is constitutionally entitled to”.¹²

Encouraged by the success of their movement, the Political Unions now demonstrated their ability to organize and maintain a widespread political agitation by organizing simultaneous meetings throughout the country in protest at the events of Peterloo. In more than twenty of the larger manufacturing centres, great numbers of the lower classes met on the 15th November 1819, and later in the month sent their delegates to represent them in an alternative “Parliament” meeting in Nottingham. Playing their part in this widely-supported political action, the Carlisle Radical Reformers once again marched to Coalfell Hill on the appointed day in even greater numbers, and with an even more impressive collection of flags and banners, to attend their second mass demonstration.¹³

It would be a splendid thing for this study if it could be shown that it was at one of these meetings that the *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws, Equal Rights* flag now in Tullie House Museum first appeared: but it seems not to have been so. Although the words “Liberty or Death” and “Equal Laws, Equal Rights” were displayed on a notice stuck on the Carlisle Market Cross in July 1819,¹⁴ and also appeared on placards plastered all over the town on the night of April 8th, 1820,¹⁵ the crimson *Liberty or Death* flag carried to those first Radical Reform meetings, as we have seen had *Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage* on the reverse. The first printed evidence regarding the *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws, Equal Rights* flag now in Tullie House dates from 1830,¹⁶ and in 1838 it is referred to as “the old Radical flag of 1819”,¹⁷ so we must assume that the Union Society acquired it as their funds increased sometime in late 1819 or early 1820.

By claiming rights which had every indication of being both just and legal, the 1819 Radical Reformers put themselves in a strong position against a government intent on opposing them. In the earlier repression of the 1790s, Pitt could justify his actions against reformers as protecting the British way of government from revolutionary innovations in time of war. By 1819, however, the position was reversed and the policies of the post-war Liverpool administration, as implemented by Sidmouth and Castlereagh, were seen by many as unjustly denying British subjects their basic constitutional liberties. But, as in 1790, alarmed at the strength of Radical support appearing in the Northern industrial districts, and apprehensive that the Radical reformers might secretly be preparing for armed rebellion, Parliament again moved to confine the popular reform movement. This time the Six Acts of 1820 put an end to the monster open-air gatherings, prohibited marching and drilling and curtailed the dissemination of political literature. So the banners and Caps of Liberty were laid by, and it was not until 1830 that the Reformers’ flags were seen again in the streets of Carlisle. The Six Acts did not spell the end of the local Radical Reform movement, however. It had taken too strong a hold amongst the local lower classes to be easily stamped out, and throughout the 1820s the Carlisle reformers certainly made their presence felt at Parliamentary Elections, taking full advantage of these constitutional opportunities for political debate by closely questioning candidates on their views regarding Parliamentary Reform, and vigorously heckling those whose answers were not to their liking.¹⁸

By 1830 opinion within Parliament itself was moving in the direction of reform. A degree of constitutional reform had indeed been instituted by the Wellington administration in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and in the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, which granted political rights to those excluded from the franchise on religious grounds. The way was now open, and two reform bills came before Parliament in 1830. These were unsuccessful but they created enormous interest in the country and Parliamentary Reform became the leading question of the day. However, Parliament was still divided on the issue. The Whig party, by and large, wanted a measure of reform restricted to property owners. On the other side Wellington and his colleagues, disturbed by the news of the 1830 revolution in France, were against reform altogether. Wellington was replaced by Lord Grey in November 1830, by which time the country was displaying symptoms of serious unrest. In the disturbed agricultural districts "Captain Swing" incendiaries burnt hay-ricks and threshing machines – protests which in some places had political undertones – while in the manufacturing districts Radical Reformers were meeting openly once more to agitate for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. In this agitation they were now joined by reformers from the middle classes who pressed for the more moderate reform of household suffrage and triennial Parliaments.

Although hay-ricks and threshing machines did blaze around Carlisle in the autumn of 1830, and "Captain Swing" letters circulated in the district,¹⁹ it was political, rather than industrial protest which brought forth again the Carlisle tricolours and the *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws, Equal Rights* flag, in November of 1830. Now its message glowed in the flickering light of bonfires lit in the streets outside the Town Hall, as crowds numbering between four and five thousand fed effigies of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington – the chief opponents of the proposed reforms – to the flames.²⁰ Called together by one Robert Johnston, a Radical orator sent by the Radical Committee at Preston to revive the Union Societies in Carlisle, Glasgow and Edinburgh in the Great Northern Union, the Carlisle Reformers took up the cause once more.

Johnston's visits to Carlisle at this time worried both the Carlisle and the Government authorities, and amongst the Home Office papers relating to Carlisle at this period are several letters from a Government spy, "E.F." Having infiltrated the Carlisle Reformers "E.F." reported that some of them had been holding secret meetings with Johnston, who had been encouraging them "to arm, and to hold themselves in readiness to rise at a moment's notice".²¹ He further stated that there were about 1,000 armed militants in the Carlisle organization, with more than 300 others in both Wigton and Brampton, who discussed their plans in the political classes held in the various co-operative societies. In spite of official concern, however, no violent rising resulted from Johnston's meetings, nor from the effigy burnings. When the bonfires died down, the crowds marched quietly back into Caldewgate with their *Liberty or Death* flag and their tricolours, and as far as can be ascertained, the members of the co-operatives seem to have thereafter confined their activities to distributing provisions cheaply amongst themselves and to furthering their self-help educational schemes.

Much of the discontent which fuelled popular agitation during the first decades of the 19th century sprang from the appalling social conditions which existed in the developing industrial towns where housing standards were abysmal and overcrowding was rife in every working-class district. Carlisle was no exception, as may be gathered from the

Sanitary Reports referring to the town.²² Anger at being forced to live in such circumstances was behind the next protest by the Carlisle Radicals, as they paraded their flags again in March 1832 in an angry response to the Government's decree that a national Day of Fasting and Humiliation be held to pray for an end to the Cholera epidemic which was sweeping the country. In the handloom weaving districts, where many were existing at starvation levels, and where repeated requests to Parliament to fix a minimum wage had for long gone unanswered, this Fast Day was regarded as an insult.

Resolved to show their bitterness and contempt for the government, 3,000 Carlisle people marched out on the appointed day with the Radical banners, amongst them *The Rights of Man*, *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws, Equal Rights*, and another, *The Great Northern Union*. With admirable timing the procession of working men made its way along Castle Street as the Cathedral congregation was emerging. The *Carlisle Patriot* was moved to complain of "this show of contempt, alike for religion and constituted authority",²³ but the more sympathetic *Carlisle Journal* praised the "quiet demeanour" of the men, "whose gaunt faces bore traces of too much fasting and to whom a feast would have been a blessing".²⁴

Between 1831-32, the campaign for Parliamentary Reform reached its climax. In the build-up to the Reform elections of 1832, the Carlisle Radical Reformers were persuaded to throw in their lot with the middle-class Whig *Carlisle Reform Association*, which had been inaugurated in 1831 to work for Parliamentary Reform and to "promote peace and union amongst all classes". Believing that once the limited measure of reform then being proposed by the Whig party was realized, further reforms would quickly follow, the Carlisle Radical Reformers were urged by their leader, James Weems, to welcome the measure "as the first step, and to be amongst the foremost to hail it".²⁵ This they did, and the *Liberty or Death* flag and the tricolours are frequently mentioned in connection with the local Parliamentary elections, being paraded, the Tory *Carlisle Patriot* believed, "with the intention of intimidating those politically opposed to Reform".²⁶

The Carlisle people, at this time strongly pro-Whig, celebrated the passing of the First Reform Bill, in June 1832, with one of the most colourful spectacles ever beheld in the town. Through streets decorated with triumphal arches, and in a procession 6-7,000 strong taking three hours to pass, the Radical Reformers proudly paraded their flags amongst all the other trade and political banners. These included the *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws Equal Rights*, the *Rights of Man*, and *Remember the Manchester Massacre*. Other Radical flags proclaimed *The Great Northern Union: The Producers of the Nation's Wealth deserve their Rights*, and *Civil and Religious Liberty over all the World*.

"As far as the eye could see splendid flags waved in every direction: music was playing, and the shouts of joyous men were heard extending along the line, and every window was crowded . . . The weavers wore clean white aprons and sashes with the word Reform printed on them, the spinners wore beautifully printed aprons, and the smiths and the shoemakers had new leather aprons, and a great number wore scarves specially printed for the occasion . . ."²⁷

Afterwards, everyone who had taken part was treated to a grand dinner of roast beef, Yorkshire pudding and a pint of ale.

The Reform Act of 1832 had been brought about by the exertions of all shades of Radical pressure, but in the event, its qualifications, restricting the vote to those adult males occupying houses worth £10 annual rent, benefited only the propertied classes

and left the great majority of working men no further forward. Deeply disappointed, the lower classes now renewed their fight to win the vote by supporting the Chartist movement. The demands called for in the *People's Charter* were much the same as those of the earlier Radical Reform movements: universal manhood suffrage, annual Parliaments, votes by ballot and payment of Members of Parliament, to which the Chartists now added the request for equal electoral districts. Marching with flags and banners was as essential to the Chartists' ritual in the mid-1830s as it had been to the 1819 Radical Reformers in the Political Unions, and throughout the Chartist agitation in Carlisle the *Liberty or Death* flag, now entering on a new chapter of its career, was revered as the symbol of the Carlisle working people's long association with the cause of Parliamentary Reform, being given an honoured place in all the great Chartist demonstrations.

In the euphoric early days of Carlisle Chartist, from 1838-1842, when the threat of physical force was ever present in local Chartist acitivities, the Radical flags and banners appeared on many occasions. It was customary for the supporters of the movement to march in a body, with the flags and band, to the railway station at the foot of London Road to meet such visiting Chartist celebrities as Feargus O'Connor, Dr John Taylor and George Julian Harney, and escort them into the town. The same radical flags are also mentioned many times as having been displayed on the stages of the Town Hall and the Athenaeum²⁸ or on the hustings on the Sands, when the Chartist "stars" addressed packed meetings in the town. Two of these occasions may be singled out here, to illustrate the excitement and even glamour which had come to be associated with the old *Liberty or Death* flag during the Chartist period.

In October 1838, the first Great Chartist Demonstration to be held in Carlisle was attended by Feargus O'Connor, the Rev. J. R. Stevens, Abraham Duncan from the Scottish Chartists, and Robert Lowery from Newcastle. As one Carlisle Chartist recalled it:

"The meeting had taken weeks of preparation and was well publicized in the Chartist press. Several of the leading lights of the movement had been announced as speakers, and when it became known that extra precautions had been taken against disorder, expectation, not unmixed with anxiety, was on tiptoe . . . The arrival of each contingent was the signal for ringing cheers, and when the local leaders, Bowman, Hanson and Mackenzie, followed by the strangers, mounted the rostrum, the enthusiasm became perfectly furious."²⁹

The Carlisle meeting merited a lengthy report in the Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star*, which recorded that "the whole town had been taken by storm by the sight of this vast cavalcade". A "whole host" of flags and banners had followed the four orators in their open carriage, being carried by contingents from Wigton, Cummersdale, Upperby, Cockermouth, Dalston, and Brampton, and by the Carlisle men themselves. The Female Radical Association had a flag with a picture of a workhouse keeper dragging a child from its mother's bosom on one side and a Poor Law Guardian separating husband from wife on the other. And the place of honour was given to "the old Radical flag of 1819", the *Liberty or Death: Equal Laws, Equal Rights* flag of the Radical Reformers. Three bands accompanied this procession, and members of the Carlisle Radical Association brought up the rear, marching five abreast and decorated with the medals of the Northern Political Union.³⁰ The Dalstoners were considered "very strong", and marched with

something like military precision, under a splendid flag emblazoned with the figure of a “Dalston blue-reed” fighting cock “as emblematical of their supposed pluck”.³¹

The second occasion to be noticed here took place in June 1840, when the *Liberty or Death* flag was brought out to accompany the Carlisle Chartists who marched out to Dalston to listen to the “physical-force” orator George Julian Harney. Learning that the Carlisle contingent was already on the way, Harney set out with the Dalston men to greet them. As the *Northern Star* reported it:

“Their meeting was the most glorious . . . The fraternal cheers that each body of men gave utterance to caused the very heavens to ring, amongst banners flying, the strains of a band of music, and ever anon the discharge of musketry”.³²

In 1846, a meeting in Carlisle was told that Chartists were still looking forward to the day “when one cry of Liberty or Death would resound through the Nation”,³³ but by 1850 militant Chartism was fading, as “knowledge” Chartists and Temperance men took over the leadership of the local association. Marching and demonstrating went out of fashion and the flags and banners were once more put away. The *Liberty or Death* flag was still treasured, however, in the Chartist Committee Room at 6 John Street, Caldewgate. This property subsequently became the Caldewgate Working Men’s Reading Room, and there *Liberty or Death* remained until the mid 1930s, when the Committee entrusted it to Tullie House museum.

When the former Chartist leader, Ernest Jones, spoke in Carlisle at the time of the passing of the Second Reform Bill, in 1867, he took as one of his themes the subject of Liberty, reminding his hearers that the further extension of the franchise was “the result of years of toil by our glorious Chartist organization”.³⁴ By this time the words “Liberty or Death” had lost their dread implications for British people. Although some Chartists did suffer long terms of imprisonment and others were transported or obliged to flee abroad, as time went on, the justice of the demands enshrined in the *People’s Charter* gained wider acceptance. It was not until well into the 20th century, however, that universal suffrage became the right of British citizens. For the followers of the Standard of Liberty the way had been long and hard: the Carlisle *Liberty or Death* flag of 1819 remains as a moving memorial to the political faith of the local people and their active participation in the struggle.

Notes and References

¹ Handbill displayed in Carlisle. *Carlisle Journal*, 15th April 1820. Given in full in W. Roach, the Radical Reform movement in Scotland. Ph.D. Thesis, Glasgow 1970.

² For John Wilkes and the elections of 1768, 1774 see G. Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty* (1962).

³ For British political societies in the 1790s see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1968), also *Cumberland Pacquet*, Nov. 15th 1795: “These clubs have existed in the country since the French Revolution . . . many since the American War”.

⁴ Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1791), Pelican ed. (1977), p. 81.

⁵ “Liberty or Death” – United Irish/English sign or oath. “You reached out your left hand to shake hands, then pressing your thumb and first joint and he pressing the same way – one saying “Unity” the other “Truth”, one saying “Liberty” the other “Death”. Quoted in E. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶ For the Carlisle Hampden Club see *Carlisle Patriot*, 4 Jan. 1817.

⁷ The 1819 Radical Reform movement is fully covered in E. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, and W. Roach thesis, *op. cit.*

- ⁸ R. Morris, *Class and Class-consciousness* (1980), p. 44.
- ⁹ *Carlisle Patriot*, 17 August 1819.
- ¹⁰ *Carlisle Journal*, 25 Sept. 1819.
- ¹¹ *Carlisle Journal*, 9 Oct. 1819.
- ¹² *Carlisle Journal*, 16 Oct. 1819.
- ¹³ *Carlisle Journal*, 17 Nov. 1819. Other places included Newcastle, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Barnsley, Bolton, Manchester, Wigan, Blackburn, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Nottingham, Leicester, Burnley, Coventry, Glasgow.
- ¹⁴ *Carlisle Patriot*, 24 July 1819.
- ¹⁵ *Carlisle Journal*, 15 April 1820.
- ¹⁶ *Carlisle Journal*, 23 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1830.
- ¹⁷ *Northern Star*, 27 Oct. 1838.
- ¹⁸ For a full account of popular participation in Carlisle Parliamentary elections see J. C. F. Barnes, *Popular Protest and Radical Politics: Carlisle, 1790-1850*. (Ph.D. Thesis, Lancaster University, 1981), ch. 6.
- ¹⁹ C.R.O., Carlisle City Corp. Correspondence of 5 Dec. 1830, 4 Jan. 1831. See also E. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1969), p. 169.
- ²⁰ *Carlisle Journal*, 23 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1830.
- ²¹ Information from "E.F." P.R.O. HO 40/25/11 October, November 1830.
- ²² See *Report to the General Board of Health on the City of Carlisle*, 1850, pp. 50-4.
- ²³ *Carlisle Patriot*, 24 Mar. 1832.
- ²⁴ *Carlisle Journal*, 25 Mar. 1832.
- ²⁵ *Carlisle Journal*, 1 May 1832.
- ²⁶ *Carlisle Patriot*, 3 May 1832.
- ²⁷ *Carlisle Journal*, 15 June 1832.
- ²⁸ The Athenaeum is now the Trustee Savings Bank in Lowther St. Carlisle.
- ²⁹ William Fairish, *Autobiography of a Handloom Weaver* (1868), pp. 35-6.
- ³⁰ *Northern Star*, 27 Oct. 1838.
- ³¹ William Fairish, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.
- ³² *Northern Star*, 8 June 1839.
- ³³ *Northern Star*, 25 Apr. 1846.
- ³⁴ *Carlisle Journal*, 7 June 1867.

